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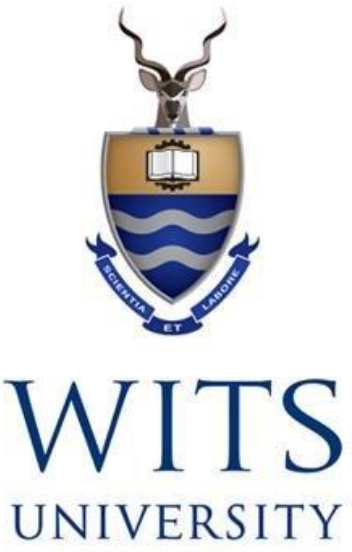
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The Neglected past in the South African History curriculum.

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2020

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
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ABSTRACT

The study examines the problem of the marginalisation of deep African pasts, for example human origins, in the South African National History Curriculum. It looks at the representation of this content from 1994 to the present, and the implications of the removal of this content on South African heritage and identity.

The aim of the research is to investigate the repetitive preoccupation with Twentieth Century content prevalent in the history curricula, and to suggest an alternative conversation of deeper African timelines that engage with and challenge perpetual colonial histories that have and continue to contribute, almost unknowingly, to the construction of an African identity and historicity as an advent/product of Colonial Empire.

The data and dialogue resulting from this project should continue to engage with and inform debate within the discipline. Support for the educative stance in archaeology is gaining momentum locally and has seen education outreach programmes at the Cradle of Humankind, Iziko Museum and The Origins Centre be developed.

The rationale behind the research topic is contained in the necessity for educative relevancy of archaeological histories in history education. The researcher questioned teachers and first year archaeology students about their knowledge of human origins related topics from the school curriculum.

The principal objective for this research was to gather and compare the insights of a small group of history teachers and first year archaeology students in order to elicit a deeper understanding of their awareness about archaeology related subjects such as human origins in Africa. The key finding of this research project showed that a familiarity of human origins in South Africa remains largely based on famous fossil finds popularised by the media, and that teachers and students are not exposed to deep African histories by the school curriculum.

It further finds that the current history curriculum does not represent early human origins and development in Africa, and other precolonial histories are marginalised and oversimplified. In addition, it was found that extra mural visits to museums and participation in museum education programmes offers one of the only ways for learners and teachers to engage with histories that are not found in the history curriculum. Education workshops and tours by museum and archaeology educators provide a means for school learners to study the archaeological past in

South Africa. However, these programmes are often impossible to roll out on a larger scale as a result of funding constraints

Keywords: human origins, archaeology, history curriculum, CAPS, RNCS.

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DEDICATION

To the friends and family who have given me kindness and hard talks when needed. Thank you to my best friend and partner, I could not ask for a better companion, thank you for always having my back and giving me the support and love to grow into this space. Your true grit has taught me resilience and groundedness in trying times.

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List of Abbreviations

ACARA – Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority

AQA- Assessment Qualifications Alliance, England

CAPS- Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement

CBA- Council for British Archaeology

CNE- Christian National Education

DBE –Department of Basic Education, South Africa

DfE- Department for Education, England

DoE- Department of Education, South Africa

GCSE- General Certificate of Secondary Education- England

HERI- Human Evolution Research Institute, University of Cape Town

HREC – Human Research Ethics Committee

NESA – New South Wales Education Standards Authority

NCS- National Curriculum Statement

NHREC – National Health Research Ethics Council

NRF – National Research Foundation

RNCS – Revised National Curriculum Statement

PAST- Paleontological and Scientific Trust

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

There have been significant and repeated changes to the History curriculum since the end of Apartheid. This is particularly true of the way in which the African past, dating back to the origins of humans, has been addressed. The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS 2002), implemented in schools between 2002 and 2008, gave teachers the opportunity to add material relating to the deep historical past. They were encouraged to include material from local archaeological sites, such as the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site, and hominin evolution in Africa. However, since the implementation of the Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement from 2009-2011 (CAPS 2011), this content has been removed and there is very little reference to archaeology and the deep African past in the latest version of the history curriculum. The content of hominin evolution in Africa has been absent and this may have far-reaching consequences for the perception of early human development in South Africa. This chapter provides the background and rationale for this dissertation, and presents the research problem, aims and objectives.

1.2. Background and rationale

There is a limited educational focus and representation of the African Stone Age and human origins in the current South African History Curriculum (CAPS 2011). Reid (2011:138) emphasizes that historians have become increasingly concerned with the modern era and that archaeology is not 'seen' as history. This trend is reflected in the current CAPS history curriculum that is preoccupied with late 19th and 20th Century narratives (Reid 2011).

However, South Africa is recognised globally as one of the major areas with fossil and archaeological data which provides insight into the evolution of hominins on the African continent (Esterhuysen 2000, 2019a). The Cradle of Humankind for example, is world renowned for many famous Australopithecine fossil discoveries by archaeologists and paleoanthropologists, such as Little Foot (*Australopithecus prometheus*) and Mrs Ples (*Australopithecus africanus),* which date between 3-2 million years before present (Esterhuysen 2019b). In 2013, the *Homo naledi* fossils were found in the Rising Star Caves of Sterkfontein, expanding the genera and species found in this area, and adding to the debate about the origins of anatomically modern humans (Berger *et al.* 2015). South Africa is also home to early modern human sites, such as Klasies River, Border Cave, Blombos Cave, Diepkloof Rockshelter, Pinnacle Point, Sibudu Cave and Ysterfontein, which represent significant archaeological explorations into human lifeways during the African

Middle Stone Age (Halkett *et al.* 2003; Wadley 2015; d'Errico & Blackwell 2016; Collins *et al.* 2017; Grine *et al.* 2017; Henshilwood *et al.* 2018; Wurz *et al.* 2018; Vanhaeren *et al.* 2019). There is also a multitude of Later Stone Age sites that provide further evidence for social and technological developments in South Africa (Deacon 1984; Wadley 1993; Forssman 2019). South Africa is a premier area that provides important research into deep history which pertains to our human origins. This information is not made available through the history curriculum, and historical themes are predominantly concerned with Western and European history.

Davison (1998) and Marschall (2009) allude to how narratives concerning history, heritage and memory have been selected by government, then refined and represented in a way that promotes only certain fragments of our history. The kind of history that is prescribed is informed by the kinds of records that are used and the methodologies followed (Jansen 1990: 41), for example, the CAPS history syllabus draws primarily from the written historic record from history during the 20th Century, more so than drawing from other epistemologies, such as the archaeological and paleoanthropological record (Reid 2011:138). This is certainly true of hominin evolution, which has been removed from the history curriculum. During the presidency of Thabo Mbeki, the deep African past and human origins were highlighted and celebrated (Mbeki 1998). Mbeki wished to instill pride in an African past to demonstrate that, much like its European counterpart, Africa had an illustrious past (Esterhuysen 2019b). He also wished to create a common past for all South Africans, to create a point of commonality that would help to reconcile an otherwise disparate population (Mbeki 1998; Esterhuysen 2019b). In his speech at the United Nations University in 1998, he emphasized the common past of all Africans and he used the emergence of *Homo sapiens* in Africa to rediscover our origins and our humanity in Africa (Esterhuysen 2019a, 2019b).

> *"When archaeology presents daily evidence of an African primacy in the historical evolution to the emergence of the human person described in science as Homo sapiens, how can we be but confident that we are capable of effecting Africa's rebirth?" (Mbeki 1998: 243-244)*

Mbeki influenced the school curriculum through the Minister of Education, the late Kadar Asmal. Asmal appointed an Archaeology and History panel to relook at the content of the Social Sciences curriculum (DoE 2002; Esterhuysen & Lane 2013). This resulted in a revision of the curriculum in 2005 and the introduction of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (grades R-9, RNCS). The RNCS outcomes-based-education system was based on developmental outcomes that learners would need to achieve by the end of the course, and enabled teachers to choose the

content in conjunction with these outcomes. The Social Sciences history curriculum included human origins in the Learning Areas and Learning Outcomes[1], especially the National Curriculum Statement (NCS Grades 10-12) which instilled an appreciation of heritage by identifying the relationship that history has with other disciplines such as palaeoanthropology, oral history, indigenous knowledge systems and archaeology (DoE 2002:2-3). When Mbeki lost his presidency towards the end of 2008, his philosophical and ideological imperatives fell away, and human origins and early human innovation in South Africa became marginalised in the revised Social Sciences and History curriculum, which favoured a strong civics focus (DBE, CAPS 2011). Revisions to the RNCS and NCS history syllabus were undertaken in 2009 under ANC (African National Congress) Minister of Education, Ms. Angie Motshekga.

The change from the 2002 RNCS to the CAPS saw a shift from an outcomes-based education (OBE) framework to a prescribed content-based framework. The transition to content focused CAPS meant losing the Learning Outcomes (LO) from the RNCS and NCS. While CAPS history content includes some deep past content, it does not include the same theoretical underpinnings from the RNCS/NCS that expected the learner to draw on and consider a broader range of evidence from archaeology, genetics, human origins and indigenous histories and apply it critically in the writing of history. The CAPS curriculum came to adopt a civics-based approach, with the study of history as one that supports the values of nurturing citizenship and "encouraging civic responsibility" (DBE 2011: 8). The marginal role given to the archaeological record and human origins in the CAPS curriculum needs to be investigated. This is relevant for the current climate in education in which efforts to decolonise systems of practice in various institutions has come to the fore (Ndlovu & Smith 2019; Wurz 2019).

Decolonisation, in the context of South African education, concerns the discourse and action of making changes and reconsiderations to established colonial frames of reference and ways of interepreting and learning content in the curricula. It is the effort to incorporate marginalised African and indigenous knowledge and to challenge deeply embedded colonial knowledge systems that are present in education. In the case of the South Africa history syllabus, decolonising would mean transitioning away from the preocupation with European-centered content, and including references

[1] [1] A Learning Area is a field of knowledge, skills and values which has unique features as well as connections with other fields of knowledge and Learning Areas (DoE 2002:15). A Learning Outcome is a statement of an intended result of learning and teaching (DoE 2002:7).

and content that equally represent the African past and reflect an African worldview (Van der Westhuizen *et al.* 2017). Decolonisation of the curriculum is a critique of the established and antiquated 'colonial' structures in education, and is comparable to Africanisation, which seeks to recenter African identity. Africanisation of the curriculum " implies that education and training as well as praxis be informed by the reality of the South African context" (Van der Westhuizen *et al.* 2017:1).

Understanding the representation of archaeological history in the curriculum is is important for understanding the barriers towards including this kind of content in the syllabus, as well as to engage with the associated stigma and mistrust towards the palaeosciences, which have historically been used to oppress and subjugate Africans.

The inclusion and representation of deep African pasts and timelines in formal education is crucial in a post-colonial society, where the common misperception still seems to exist that our historicity is solely derived from the colonial project in Africa (Trouillot 1995). The absence of a reference to archaeological knowledge in history education brings with it the implication of a 'shallow' historical consciousness and is problematic for untangling entrenched colonial frameworks in our society (Angier 2017). The inclusion and representation of human origins in the South African National

History Curriculum may provide one way towards decolonisation. This study investigated content about the deep past relating to human origins in the history curriculum, and the perceptions that history teachers and first year archaeology students have about this kind of content.

When referrring to the deep past, this study is particularly concerned with the development of human origins in Africa. This includes both anatomical (human evolution) and behaviourial changes (the development of complex behaviour) as demonstrated by archaeological fossil and artefactual evidence dating from the Early Stone Age (ESA), from about 3.3 million years ago through to the Middle Stone Age (MSA), which starts at 300 000 years ago and ends at about twenty thousand years ago, depending on the region in Africa (Henshilwood & Marean 2003; Compton 2016; Wurz *et al.* 2018). Although reference is made to other later archaeological periods (e.g. Later Stone Age), in this study the deep past refers to the ESA and MSA.

1.3. Research problem

The problem this research examined was the marginalisation of the archaeological past, specifically human origins content in Africa, in the CAPS History Curriculum.

1.4. Aims

The aim of this research was to investigate educators' and first year students' perceptions and understanding of the deep human past, after human origins content was removed from the National History Curriculum.

1.5. Objectives

The objectives of this study were:

(i) To examine South African and international curricula for the inclusion of early human origins content;
(ii) To understand the perceptions of history teachers towards human origins content in South Africa;
(iii) To discuss the perceptions of museum and archaeology educators about teacher familiarity with human origins content;
(iv) To document how familiar first year archaeology students are with human origins.

1.6. Dissertation outline

Chapter 1 introduces the study and presents the research problem, aims and objectives. In Chapter 2 the national curriculum revisions in South Africa and human origins content, and a critique of the National Curriculum Statement (CAPS- history) are discussed. An analysis of the history curricula of Australia, England and Botswana is undertaken in Chapter 3 to provide a comparative perspective for this research. A postcolonial theoretical critique of South African history education is provided in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 includes the methodology and research design for the project. Chapter 6 details the results and data from teachers, first year archaeologystudents and museum educator interviews. In Chapter 7 the implications of this study are discussed, and conclusions presented.

1.7. Defining the deep African past and the relevance for education

South African human origins sites, such as those in the Cradle of Humankind and coastal modern human origins sites, such as Klasies River and Blombos Cave, have contributed to scientific knowledge and understanding of our deep human ancestry and cultural innovation and complexity in Africa (Henshilwood & Marean 2003; Compton 2016; Wurz *et al.* 2018). The

paleoanthropological and archaeological records provide findings that confirm a common human origin in Africa which predates the European record (Esterhuysen 2019b). The reason human origins content was selected for research is due to its removal from the previous National History Curriculum in South Africa; The Revised National Curriculum Statement in 2009. The previous National History Curriculum included hominin evolution content in the syllabus for Grade 7 learners (DoE 2002). The implication of this removal is the point of departure for this study. The reason to engage with history teachers and first year archaeology students was to find out what the general awareness of human origins is now in South Africa, after the content was removed from the history curriculum (DoE 2002; Esterhuysen 2000). A full analysis of the History curriculum for Grades 4- 12 was undertaken, however, more attention was paid towards the high school history curriculum, where the deep past is neglected.

The 'deep past' in this study refers to the precolonial, archaeological and paleoanthropological record in South Africa. For the purpose of this dissertation, the discussion of the 'deep past' is focused on human origins content, such as that discovered at human origins sites, for example Sterkfontein in the Cradle of Humankind, and modern human origins sites such as Klasies River (Compton 2016; Wurz *et al.* 2018). These sites are significant as they represent the earliest examples of our human ancestors, and some of the most recent examples of our modern human lineage in South Africa (Wurz *et al.* 2018; Esterhuysen 2019b). This content is important to consider for history education, for establishing an understanding of a common humanity in Africa, so that we may begin to break down and unpack deeply entrenched colonial frames of reference, which are still present in the current history curriculum.

Chapter 2: Curriculum development since Apartheid and deep past content in formal education in South Africa

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is an historical perspective on curriculum change in South Africa with a focus on human origins and the archaeological past in the History curriculum. Table 1 presents the curricula changes from 1992 to current. For 1992 to the 2005 curriculum, a general background of curriculum change is provided, and the Revised National Curriculum Statement, National Curriculum Statement, and CAPS curricula are discussed in detail with a focus on the history content. The treatment of indigenous people and histories of southern Africa in pre-Apartheid and Apartheid era history textbooks are discussed.

Table 1: History Curricula changes from 1992 to present.

Curriculum Reform in South Africa Apartheid to Post-Apartheid			
Political Government	**Curriculum**	**Period**	**References**
Apartheid Government, Minister of Education, Piet Marais (1992-1994)	Christian National Education	1992-1994	Stroebel *et al.* 2016.
ANC Government, Minister of Education Prof. Sibusiso Bengu. The National Education and Training Forum (NETF) - formed late 1992, NETF, pressure to address education crisis	Interim Core curriculum 1992-1994	Implemented by January 1995 revision began in late August 1994 emphasise African Nationalism	Jansen.1997
ANC government, Minister of Education Prof. Sibusiso Bengu (1994-1999). First Minister of Education (Post-Apartheid)	Curriculum 2005 (Outcomes-based- Education)	Introduced in 1997. Inherent challenges and flaws noted by 2000	Stroebel *et al.* 2016.
ANC Government, Minister of Education, Prof. Kadar Asmal (1999-2004) Second Minister of Education (Post-Apartheid)	Revised National Curriculum Statement (Grades R-9) and National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12	Implemented by 2002	DoE. 2002: 4
ANC Government, Minister of Education Naledi Pandor 2004 - 2009. Third Minister of Education (Post-Apartheid)	R-NCS and N C S revised in 2009. Ministerial Project Committee developed Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement	CAPS implemented in 2012	Stroebel *et al.* 2016.
ANC Government, Minister of Education Angie Motshekga (2009- present) Current Minister of Basic Education	The National Curriculum Statement, grades R-12 (also known as CAPS)	CAPS 2012	Stroebel *et al.* 2016.
Angie Motshekga 31 May 2018 Revision to the History CAPS Curriculum. Implementation plan for 2023-2025.	History Ministerial Task Team	2015-2018 and present	DBE 2018.

2.1. Curriculum development in South Africa

Archaeological history, and human evolution, was excluded from the history syllabus under the Christian National Education system the Apartheid government (Esterhuysen & Smith 1998;Esterhuysen & Lane 2013). White Afrikaner Nationalist ideals of racial hierarchy and categorisation were bolstered through the propaganda of Christian National principles, an education system premised on compulsory Biblical instruction, anti-evolutionist views, and racial separation, which became formalised as Christian National Education (CNE) in 1948. This became the basis for all education from 1967 until 1993. Black and white children were educated in separate schools and received an unequal quality of education (Esterhuysen 2000). Black children were provided with a vastly inferior level of education that would only permit them access to unskilled labour in the job market (Esterhuysen & Smith 1998; Esterhuysen 2000; Van Eeden & Vermeulen 2005; Engelbrecht 2006). Born out of the policies of Christian National Education, several education acts were introduced in order to maintain segregationist education for non-white children in South Africa. The Bantu Education Act for Black Schools (later renamed Black Education Act) was introduced in 1953, which legalised and enforced racially separate education facilities and criminalised access for non-white students to universities that were originally open to all (Esterhuysen & Smith 1998; Esterhuysen 2000). Many religious organisations and missionary schools before 1953 provided non-white learners with education that was equal to state schools for white learners. Government, however, began to eliminate financial aid after the Bantu Education Act was passed and eventually these organisations closed their doors or sold their premises to the government (Van Eeden & Vermeulen 2005).

Indigenous histories were misrepresented and stigmatised in the Bantu education system, for example, by situating African farming communities as recent arrivals in the sub-continent (Van Eeden & Vermeulen 2005) and the use of Social Darwinist and Eugenics principles to support European ideas of “primitive men who could not exist in the same country with other superior races” (description of the Khoe and San in early school textbook descriptions) (Syphus 1968 in Smith 1983: 44). The curriculum indoctrinated learners about patriotism, nationalism, race-relations and creationism, and “presented a version of history that…omitted, distorted or vilified the role of blacks, coloureds and Asians in the country's past” (Dean & Sieborger 1995: 32 in Esterhuysen & Smith 1998:135). Schooling for students did not incorporate histories of deep time or early human development on the continent of Africa, and the histories of Khoe and San and early African farmers were completely skewed.

McGregor (2008: 3) critiques Bantu education as an unjust system that enforced prejudiced notions of "cultural infancy of the native who should be fitted to undertake his own education as soon as possible, under control and guidance from the state". McGregor's (2008) statement encapsulates the nature of Bantu Education in 1954, a system explicitly designed and institutionalised to keep Black people subservient and ensure job reservation for the White minority. It was "a system that functioned to denigrate them within South African society and alienate them from their heritage and their identity" (Esterhuysen 2000:160).

In 1994, various forums were created to navigate the changes from the Apartheid administration to a democratic one. A negotiating forum was created during 1992, following pressure to address the crisis within education (Jansen 1990; Esterhuysen 2000). The formation of the National Education and Training Forum (NETF) and an active Curriculum Technical Sub-committee (CTSC) effectively intervened on concerns related to factually inaccurate and racially discriminatory content within the curriculum, and worked toward the consolidation of multiple Apartheid syllabi for students of different racial categories (Jansen 1997:2).

Immediately after the elections of 1994, the Christian National Education and Bantu Education systems were revised by Education Minister Professor Sibusiso Bengu, in a hurried national effort to purge the curriculum of racial and inaccurate content (Jansen 1999). The ideal was for the establishment of a "long-term curriculum framework" (Jansen 1999: 59), however, because implementation required two to three years, a short-term revision framework was executed to sanitise the most problematic content.

Alterations to curricula began in August 1994 and were to be implemented by January 1995 (Jansen 1997). Within an exceptionally limited timeframe, from August to December of 1994, a great deal of attention went into the inclusion and rearrangement of new content and subsequent text-book revision, in-service training and assessment of teachers and sizeable support needed to generate understanding and training amongst parents and teachers (Jansen 1997).

In 1995, the Interim Core Curriculum was instituted, while the new syllabi were being finalised (Jansen 1999: 58, Table 1; Chamane 2006). At the time there was a deep seated concern that the haste of the State's "cleansing" of the school curriculum had little to do with "transforming the school curriculum" (Jansen 1999:57) but rather was motivated by the need to legitimise the new political dispensation (Jansen 1990).

In 1997, Curriculum 2005 (C2005) (DoE 1997) replaced the Interim Core curriculum under Minster Bengu (1994-1999) (Table 1). Curriculum 2005 adopted outcomes-based-education (OBE) (C2005), internationally borrowed from countries such as Australia and The United States and

was based on a continuous assessment approach to learning. Chisholm (2003:4) noted that OBE was considered by its initiators in 1997 as the pedagogical route out of apartheid education. C2005 was based on a non-prescriptive and alternative approach which enabled teachers to create their own pedagogical frameworks and learning materials. However, it soon became clear that OBE had its problems and the suitability of OBE for South Africa was brought into question, particularly as it resulted in inequalities for under-resourced schools with large classes and teachers who were untrained in the outcomes-based, learner-centred approach (Chisholm 2003). History became side-lined in C2005, due to a constructivist education system that "devalued formal historical learning" (Kallaway 2012: 22). One of the results of this revision was that history was subsumed into the Social Sciences and was removed as a standalone subject.

A ministerial review committee, the Working Group on Values in Education Initiative, was appointed in 2000 by Minister Asmal to review C2005 (Chisholm 2003). The recommendations of the Committee were premised on making education more accessible and understandable within the South African classroom. The report published by the Working Group encapsulated the values intrinsic for changes in education: equity, tolerance, multi-lingualism and social honour. Jansen (1990: 42) describes these values as 'symbolic policy frameworks (Jansen 1990: 43), in other words, the establishment of symbolic values within education policy. The values in the report sought to outline symbolic intentions of the curriculum for the promotion of human origins and the achievements of humanity in South Africa (DoE 2000; James *et al*. 2000). The History and Archaeology Panel was established by Minister Asmal, also in 2000 (DoE 2002). The History and Archaeology Panel undertook a critical enquiry into the quality and scope of history curriculum content. They recommended teacher-training resources and human evolution be incorporated in the History curriculum (DoE 2000). The ambition of the Minister and the Panel was to use history and archaeology as a "memory base for a population struggling with a traumatic past", to assess history instruction in schools and promote teacher training for history (King 2012: 91). As a result, these changes were included in the new curriculum of 2002, the RNCS for primary schools and the NCS for high schools.

The RNCS and NCS curriculum policies were gazetted in April of 2002 (Chisholm 2003: 193). These policies resulted in a new response to the treatment and representation of African history and became more inclusive of the intersection between history and related disciplines such as genetics, archaeology and palaeoanthropology. History was made a standalone subject for the NCS grades, Grades 10-12 (DoE 2002). Human evolution, palaeoanthropology, palaeontology, and archaeology were worked into the Learning Outcomes of the RNCS and NCS for the General

Education and Training Band (GET) and Further Education and Training Band (FET). Human Evolution became integrated into the knowledge focus for the Social Sciences curriculum, which ends in Grade 7 (DoE 2002: 60).

By 2008/9 implementation difficulties with the RNCS and NCS curricula sparked a renewed revision process (DBE 2011: i; Moodley 2013). The teachers were loaded with content and overwhelming jargon, such as Learning Area Statements, Learning Outcomes, Learning Programmes, Knowledge Focus, and Assessment Standards (DoE 2002: 2, 7; Moodley 2013). Minister Angie Motshekga called for an enquiry into the NCS and RNCS (Warnich & Meyer 2013) and established a ministerial task team. This task team identified some negative and challenging aspects of the RNCS and NCS and recommendations were made, which led to the revision process. As a result, these curricula were replaced with the National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12, comprising of a policy statement for each school subject. This is better known as 'CAPS' (Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement) (DBE 2011). All school subject content and criteria were reviewed.

Changes to the CAPS History curriculum resulted in the removal of confusing terminology, for example the terms Learning Areas, Learning Outcomes and Knowledge Focus were replaced with more easily understood terms such as Content, Topics, Aims and Assessment (DBE 2011: 4, 8, 13). As discussed below, CAPS retained many of the same history topics and focus of the RNCS and NCS, however, human evolution, which formed part of the content for Grade 7 in the RNCS syllabus, was removed and placed in the Grade 12 CAPS curriculum for Life Sciences (DBE 2011). The philosophies imparted through the Learning Outcomes in the RNCS and NCS curricula were also removed. These philosophies engaged learners in various critical thinking skills and historical enquiry by teaching them to draw on other historical sources to interpret and enquire about the past. For example, Learning Outcome 4 in the NCS (Grades 10-12) history curriculum, introduced learners to the links between different bodies of knowledge taken from genetics, archaeology and palaeoanthropology to understand the "origins of humans" and evolution in Africa (DoE 2002: 14).

For the RNCS and CAPS, the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6) includes themes that introduce learners to concepts of heritage, historical knowledge and indigenous societies and their lifeways (DBE 2011: 38). However, for Grade 4, no reference is made to any archaeological time periods. Learners are taught about leaders such as Mandela, and Ghandi, and about the ways transport and communication has changed over time (DBE 2011: 35-37). For Grade 5, ancient civilisations in addition to African ancient pasts are discussed. Both the RNCS and CAPS focus on a basic

introduction to early hunter-gatherers and herder groups in southern Africa. The Later Stone Age in Africa (60/50- 40 thousand years ago) and the famous Linton Rock Art Panel, discovered in the Eastern Cape, are referred to in the content of the CAPS document and in current learning books.

In the Clacherty *et al.* (2019), 'Learner's Book for the Social Sciences', for Unit 1, Hunter-gatherers and Herders, colour illustrations of archaeological sites are used to teach learners about the "first inhabitants of southern Africa, and how we find out about them", and how "archaeologists dig up or find things that peope long ago have left behind" (Clacherty *et al.* 2019: 82). An illustration, (Clacherty *et al.* 2019: 82), shows archaeologists digging for items such as animal bones, seal bones and shelfish, stone tools, seeds and fire places in different layers. A definition of what an archaeologist is, is provided as a key word, and learner acitivies involve how to investigate history through objects found by archaeologists, A story, about a "day in the life of a hunter-gatherer girl who lived 3000 years ago" is provided for learners in the style of an infographic illustration (Clacherty *et al.* 2019: 86). Learners can see pictures of rock art and how hunter-gatherers made various objects such as ostrich eggshell beads and bows and arrows (Clacherty *et al.* 2019: 88). Grade 5 content includes early African farmers, (DoE 2002: 39; DBE 2011: 38). In the same textbook colour illustrations and maps show the settlement of Khoekhoen herders and early agropastoralists in southern Africa (Clacherty *et al.* 2019: 100).

In Grade 5, provincial histories of South Africa are covered by the RNCS, and learners analyse heritage and identity, the significance of tradition and indigenous place names and significant historical landmarks. In CAPS, there is a similar focus in 'A Heritage Trail through the provinces of South Africa'. The Cradle of Humankind, the site of Mapungubwe in the Limpopo Province and San Rock art in the Drakensberg are discussed (DBE 2011: 41). In Grade 6, the topics 'Organisation of African Societies' (RNCS) and 'An African Kingdom long ago: Mapungubwe' are discussed (CAPS). Both curricula cover aspects of great African Kingdoms and societies in the Limpopo Valley that were founded during the period from 900AD – 1300, for example Mapungubwe and Thulamela in the Kruger National Park (DoE 2002: 39; DBE 2011:42).

In Senior phase history (Grade 7 – 9), human origins and evolution has been removed through the implementation of CAPS. The RNCS discussed human evolution and early hominin discoveries in South Africa and East Africa and the rock art of early hunter-gatherer societies in southern Africa. Human origins/evolution are now only in the Life Sciences Curriculum for Grade 12, which is taught in biology under the Topic Human Evolution, which falls under the content for Diversity, Change and Continuity (DBE 2011: 63; DoE 2002, CAPS, Life Sciences, 2011; Sanders 2016).

The CAPS Grade 7 history syllabus includes eyewitness accounts of Leo Africanus' trade

throughout the Saharan desert and Mansa Musa during the 14th century (DBE 2011: 33). This topic is a noteworthy inclusion as it references North and West Africa before colonial expansion. In Grade 8, in both RNCS and CAPS, European and 19th century history related to World War I and II, The Cold War, and the Industrial Revolution is covered, and pre-colonial African history is not represented. The Grade 9 history for both curricula focusses on World Wars I and II, and Apartheid.

In the Further Education and Training Phase, in CAPS, (Grades 10-12), history topics are orientated towards European histories as well as independence from and resistance to the Imperial project of Colonial states by African countries. In CAPS, the topic 'Ideals of Race in the late 19th and 20th Centuries' (CAPS grade 11) discusses concepts such as eugenics and Social Darwinism and theories supporting ideas of race in the 19th and early 20th Centuries (DBE 2011: 21). While there is not a specific focus in the FET phase history curriculum for the CAPS about human origins, learners are tasked with a compulsory heritage assignment in Grade 10 for CAPS. The content for the assignment is not specific but the focus of the assignment is aimed at any regional, local or national heritage sites, museums, monuments, oral histories, commemorative events, family and community traditions and rituals, local history, school history and family history (DBE 2011:35). The purpose of the assignment is to encourage learners to become familiar with heritage and how it "concerns our human origins in Africa", how it is represented and relates to how the past is remembered (DBE 2011: 35).

Textbook content for the Grade 12 NCS history syllabus is comparable (DoE 2002). In Bottaro *et al.* (2009),'In Search of History', significant coverage of the value of archaeological (and palaeoanthropological) research in South Africa is presented in study unit 7.2 which examines "the ways in which palaeontology, archaeology and genetics have… transformed our understanding of South Africa's distant past" (Bottaro *et al.* 2009: 358). Various textbook activities touch on how "archaeological data provides a picture of the past which is essentially different from, and in many ways complementary to, that which may be reconstructed from written or oral resources" (Bottaro *et al.* 2009: 361). The content in this section of the textbook references the Cradle of Humankind and the discovery of the Taung Child as well as the discovery and identification of many other hominid specimens in the Makapan Valley. Activity 2, 'evaluate the role of archaeology in our heritage', asks learners questions about why archaeology is important in Africa, and to make connections between the Cradle of Humankind an its significance as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Bottaro *et al.* 2009: 362). There is a strong emphasis in this section of the learners book that draws on the value of archaeology in being able to broaden the understanding of the distant past in Africa for learners.

Although the scope of this research considers the removal of the focus and content of the archaeological record concerning human origins in the CAPS history syllabus, the placement of hominin evolution in the recent CAPS Life Sciences curriculum must be considered. The reason for its placement in Life Sciences is not entirely clear. The association between human evolution and the historical use of disciplines such as anthropology and archaeology to racially categorise people, discussed in further detail later, makes this placement highly problematic. In a reappraisal of Apartheid-era thinking, by relegating deep African pasts to a biological subject, we once again reinforce the notion that while biological evolution occurred in Africa, cultural evolution only occurs in cohesion with European history (Esterhuysen 2019b).

While 'Human Evolution' is taught under the umbrella of Biology, the content does provide learners with an introduction to paleoanthropological and archaeological theories and terms. For example, the hominin fossil sites in Eastern and Southern Africa are considered, and fossils discovered from South Africa and the Rift Valley in Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania are covered in the content. Learners are required to understand different fossil genera found at these sites, for example, *Ardipethicus, Australopethicine* and *Homo* as well as "cultural tool-making" (DBE 2011: 63; Bridglall *et al.* 2018: 94). The Life Sciences topic underpins the concept of "African origins for all modern humans" and draws on the Out of Africa hypothesis (DBE 2011: 63; Bridglall *et al.* 2018: 95). The exam study guide for the Grade 12 Life Sciences (Bridglall *et al*. 2018), contains infographics and illustrations of archaeological relative and absolute dating methods of animal and human fossils (Bridglall *et al*. 2018: 89), a graph of different geological and archaeological time periods (Bridglall *et al.* 2018: 90) and pictures and content of modern human and fossil hominin ancestors, the sites these remains were found, the various stone tools that were found with these fossils, and the scholars and academics who discovered them (see Bridglall *et al.* 2018: 96-102). While this is commendable as learners receive exposure to human origins and archaeology and palaeoanthropology-related content, there is still an issue as to whether students see this material as completely divorced from historical subjects (Esterhuysen 2019b). It is argued elsewhere in this thesis that including more content relating to Africa's archaeological past within the curriculum may contribute towards the greater project of decolonisation.

In a curriculum progress assessment during 2016-2017, Suren Govender, the Department of Education's Chief Director for the Curriculum, mentioned in a comment to Parliament that "The Curriculum has to be decolonised" (Parliamentary Monitoring Group CAPS Evaluation

28.02.2017; Govender 2017). During the process of finalising the progress report, Mr Govender commented on the subject of history, "We have done so much to decolonise history but we don't feel our job is done. Our history is divided into South African history with an equal emphasis on European history and international history" (Parliamentary Monitoring Group CAPS Evaluation 2017). The reason behind the call for a curriculum revision by Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, was thus because of the need to decolonise history education and to promote Afrocentric histories that are more suitable to South African learners. The Minister appointed a new History Ministerial Task Team (MTT) during 2015 to evaluate history in the curriculum. The MTT committee reported on the superficial manner that CAPS treats deep African history "CAPS tackles the study of 'pre-colonial' Africa superficially in the early phases of schooling in the lower grades, resulting in a curriculum that fails to treat Africa adequately as a continent with a rich past. In part, this marginalization of Africa in CAPS has to do with the excision of archaeology from the curriculum as well as the absence of key concepts in African oral tradition" (DBE 2018: 2, 3).

The report produced by this team advised that the curriculum needed to be rewritten. The team was reappointed in 2019 to oversee and overhaul the CAPS history curriculum. Currently, the task team is working on content re-writing (The Report of the History Ministerial Task Team 2018, Van Eden 2018). The next section examines content from South African history textbooks from the early Twentieth Century until the Apartheid era. It is useful to consider how past prejudices were written into the curriculum, in order to ensure that this does not occur again with current revisions.

2.2. History textbooks and Curricula in South Africa

Textbooks control, transmit and reinforce knowledge (Engelbrecht 2006). Apple (1990: 43) questions "whose meanings and visions" are represented, and whose cultural capital is idealised and distributed in schools and curricula. Apple (1990: 47) defines schools and the curriculum as institutions that "embody collective traditions and human intentions, which are products of ideology", thus, curriculum and textbooks act as an "officially sanctioned version of knowledge*"* and have the ability to determine *what* and *whose* pasts are chosen to be remembered (Engelbrecht 2006: 71). The following examples illustrate how textbooks treated African histories from the early 1900's to the 1980's in South Africa.

Smith (1983) examined the treatment of indigenous histories in history textbooks by education authorities in South Africa during the First and Second World Wars. The histories of Black farmers, Khoekhoen and San Bushmen were narrated in a paternalistic fashion in early Colonial textbooks.

Some of these textbooks were, for example, *Historical Geographies: South Africa* (Fisher 1914), *Geskiedenis van die Unie voor Suid-Afrika (History of the Union of South Africa)* (Fouche 1916) and *Student Teachers' History Course in use in Coloured Training Colleges* (Hendricks & Viljoen 1936). Textbooks were loosely based on early European traveller accounts of the Cape during the 17th and 18th Century. Textbook writers capitalised on these accounts in order to maintain expansionist goals by creating the impression that Voortrekker occupation had been synchronous with African populations, thus supporting the Voortrekkers claims to land (Smith 1983). In an edition of *History of South Africa 1795-1834,* historian George McCall Theal indicated that the South African territory was "almost depopulated by the Zulu Wars before 1834" (cited in Smith 1983: 39). The impression taken from this was that Voortrekkers were moving into empty land. The following quotes from textbooks published in South Africa during the First and Second World Wars express the way history education perpetuated this worldview and indicates the treatment of aboriginal peoples of South Africa (cited in Smith 1983: 42-43).

> "We may safely say that before the appearance of Europeans in South Africa the country possessed no history of its own. It was inhabited ... but these inhabitants played no important part in the history of the world ...being totally uncivilized" (Fisher 1914: 20);
>
> "The Bantu ... like the Europeans, were comparative newcomers to Southern Africa. In all probability their original home was Central Asia" (Geen 1946: 9);
>
> "On the 6th April, 1652, the social, political and economic history of South Africa began" (Hendricks & Viljoen 1936: 150).

The consistent theme in history textbooks just before the First World War, is of *terra nillus,* or 'no man's land' (King 2012). The South African landscape was seen as a free-for-all, and that indigenous South Africans had migrated from the north, arriving in the south at the same time as the Voortrekkers. The migration of African peoples was seen as the result of southward migration from North Africa and Asia that coincided with the Colonial Frontier expansion into the South African interior (Smith 1983: 40).

Once the Afrikaner Nationalist government had been appointed in 1948, the South African schooling system became embedded with dominant Nationalist Party propaganda, i.e. "White and Western to prevail" which was typical of Apartheid thinking (Engelbrecht 2006: 77). As a result, school textbooks stigmatised groups outside of the Afrikaner culture. Christian National Education promoted prejudice and racial stereotypes, undermining and essentializing people of colour, and

giving favourable disposition to the white elite (King 2012: 89). The textbook and curriculum acted as a mechanism to reinforce selected cultural values in an unequal society. History was taught to idealise the Afrikaner, with a particular obsessive emphasis on the Great Trek, which createdan 'implicit other' through its narratives (Engelbrecht 2006: 78).

A study conducted by JM Du Preez in 1983 probed the use of 'master symbols' used in textbooks in Afrikaans and English speaking schools during apartheid. Du Preez identified the use of 12 master symbols of Afrikaner identity that formed the core of the worldview that underpinned apartheid ideology (Du Preez 1983). Some of the symbols Dreez identified were: "whites are superior, while blacks are inferior*",* "the Afrikaner has a privileged relationship with God", and "South Africa rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner" (Engelbrecht 2006: 1-2). The consistent exposure to these symbols, in an organised value-system reinforced the Apartheid racial paradigm (Smith 1983: 38).

A first example of a textbook that moves away from this way of thinking is the publication of *Ruimland* (meaning 'open, expansive land') by Botha *et al.* in 1989 (Engelbrecht 2006). This Afrikaans textbook for first-language Afrikaans speakers, was published and co-authored by Tony Links, the Head of the Afrikaans Department at the University of the Western Cape. He was the first person of colour to author a national textbook during apartheid South Africa (Engelbrecht 2006: 6). The title of the textbook links to an influential poem by academic Hein Willemse, who spoke of rebuilding the land "waar mensheid verwar word" (where humanity is negated/becomes confused) (Engelbrecht 2006: 6-7). *Ruimland* became an ideological shift away from the stereotypical Afrikaner perspectives of apartheid society (Engelbrecht 2006: 6). *Ruimland* began the movement against the master symbols of apartheid and changed how Afrikaans was taught. Despite this, the publication was challenged in Parliament in 1991 by members of the Conservative Party, a right-wing Afrikaner party, however, it continued to be a bestseller long after publication (Engelbrecht 2006)

Archaeology and knowledge of deep pasts that conflicted with political party historical ideals were kept out of the media, and the intricacies of a deep African past were rejected by the Apartheid government (Nackerdien 1994; King 2012: 87). Sites such as Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe are examples of this (Nackerdien 1994: 25). This view was supported by local South African scientists in accordance with the dominant political ideology of the time. Professor Raymond Dart, for example, fervently believed in a Phoenician and Egyptian origin for South African rock art (Nackerdien 1994). These views came under scrutiny by English scholars, however, and British archaeologists Caton-Thompson and Randall MacIver argued for the sites having African origins

(Nackerdien 1994). Despite the criticism from British archaeologists, these ideas followed the belief that while humans may have evolved in Africa, civilisation only truly began in Europe (Esterhuysen 2019b). Africans were effectively seen as too primitive to have constructed what was clearly an advanced civilisation (Esterhuysen 2019b). Historic local leaders, such as Prime Minister Jan Smuts (1919-1924, 1939- 1948), drew on archaeological examples frequently to illustrate and promote the "racial experiment" in South Africa (Smuts 1917: 76, Esterhuysen 2019b: 283).

Despite Christian National Education not including coverage of evolution, archaeology, and palaeoanthropology, the topics were used by government during the early 1920's to support Social Darwinist ideals (Esterhuysen 2019a). Paleoanthropologist Raymond Dart, for example, is often viewed as something of a hero in the academy for his discovery of the Australopithecine Taung child skull. However, Dart is also a prime example of why Africans distrust archaeology and palaeoanthropology because he used his discoveries to inform his own prejudiced views concerning race typology and cultural diffusionism (Dubow 1996).

Towards the end of Apartheid and in the early years of democratic South Africa, archaeologists such as Mason (1987), Shepherd (1998) and Esterhuysen (2000) lobbied for the inclusion of archaeology in the curriculum, in an effort to give the discipline greater visibility (King 2012: 85). Some of the early archaeology education projects, for example, the Clanwilliam Living Landscape Project (Sealy 2002), and the Archaeological Resource Development Project, developed in the 1990's and 2000's, were aimed at teaching numeracy, science and analytical skills through archaeological simulated methodologies (King 2012: 90). After achieving democracy, South African archaeologists were able to openly communicate and collaborate with government on archaeological and heritage-based projects, and matters concerning education (King 2012: 86). Despite these efforts, archaeology has, for the most part, been relegated to a *"*conversation among archaeologists and a footnote in the national curriculum*"* (King 2012: 85). The following table 2 illustrates the content for the CAPS and R-NCS history syllabus.

Table 2: Content for the CAPS history syllabus: intermediate phase (DBE 2011).

CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT POLICY STATEMENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES: HISTORY (Grades 4-9)

INTERMEDIATE PHASE (GRADES 4-6)			
Grade 4	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Local History	No
	2	Learning from Leaders	No
	3	Transport through Time	No
	4	Communication through Time	No
Grade 5	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Hunter-gatherers and Herders in South Africa	1) A discussion on the way of life of hunter-gatherers in SA. 2) South African people from 10 000 years ago- Later Stoner Age, the San and Khoekhoen societies. 3)San Hunter- gatherers - invention of bow and arrow, plant medicines, rock art and interpretations (Linton Rock art panel). 4) Khoikhoi herder society: pastoral way of life; how Khoikhoi and San shared same language.
	2	The first Farmers in Southern Africa	The first farmers in southern Africa were Bantu-speakers and archaeology shows that they entered southern Africa between 2 000 and 1 700 years ago. The study of Iron Age archaeology provides a history for the majorityof present-day southern African and South African citizens.
	3	An Ancient African Society: Egypt	1)The way of life in Ancient Egypt. The Nile river and its influence on human settlement. 2) Social structure; hieroglyphics; Pharoahs; Pyramids; beliefs and religion; Medicines and physicians; Astronomy. 3) The discovery of Tut's tomb. 4) The spread of advanced Egyptian knowledge to other societies in the World- Europe and Middle east
	4	A Heritage Trail through the provinces of South Africa	1)An overview of the diversity of South African cultural heritage, tangible and intangible heritage. 2)Heritage Trail that looks into various places within SA and significant aspects we have inherited from our past. 3) Signifcant Heritage sites in 9 provinces for example The Cradle of Humankind in Gauteng, The Castle in the Western Cape and Mapungubwe in Limpopo
Grade 6	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	An African Kingdom long ago in Southern Africa: Mapungubwe	1) Mapungubwe 900 AD- a focus on how South African interior societies became part of a world trade, commerce and cultural exchange. 2) Understanding Mapungubwe from a political and historical context, the setttlements in Limpopo prior to Mapungubwe and conclusion of Great Zimbabwe (centre of South African Trade)
	2	Explorers from Europe find South Africa	No
	3	Democracy and Citizenship in South Africa	No
	4	Medicine through Time	No

Table 2: CAPS history syllabus continued: senior phase (DBE 2011).

SENIOR PHASE (GRADES 7-9)

Grade 7	Module	Topic	Archaeological / human origins content
	1	The Kingdom of Mali and the City of Tumbuktu in the 14th Century	1) Trade across the Sahara desert. 2) Spread of Islam across North Africa and West Africa via 9th Century traders. 3) The Kingdom of Mali - Mansa Musa. 4) The City of Timbuktu- Leo Africanus. 4) Why Timbuktu is a WHS. 5) The Timbuktu Manuscripts project and South African collaboration
	2	Transatlantic Slave Trade	No
	3	Colonisation of the Cape 17-18th Century	No
	4	Co-operation and conflict on the frontiers of the Cape Colony in early 19th Century	No
Grade 8	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The Industrial Revolution in Britain and Southern Africa from 1860	No
	2	The mineral revolution in South Africa	No
	3	The scramble for Africa: Late 19th Century	No
	4	World War I (1914- 1918)	No
Grade 9	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	World War II (1919-1945)	No
	2	Nuclear age and the Cold war	No
	3	Turning Points in Modern South African History	No
	4	Turning Points in South African History 1960, 1976, 1990	No

Table 2: CAPS history syllabus continued: FET phase (DBE 2011).

FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING PHASE (GRADES 10-12)

Grade 10	Module	Topic	Archaeological / human origins content
	1	The World around 1600	A comparative overview of some of the major Empires in Europe around 1600.
	2	European expansion and conquest during 15 to 18th Century	No
	3	The French Revolution	No
	4	Transformations in Southern Africa after 1750	No
	5	Colonial expansion after 1750	No
	6	The South African War and Union	No
Grade 11	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940	No
	2	Capitalism in the USA 1900 to 1940	No
	3	Ideas of Race in the late 19th and 20th Centuries	the theories of race and eugenics that were widespread in the 19th century, how these ideas developed and how different counties applied them.21)
	4	Nationalism- South Africa, The Middle East and Africa	No
	5	Apartheid in South Africa 1940's to 1960's	No
Grade 12	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The Cold War	No
	2	Independent Africa	No
	3	Civil Society protests 1950's to 1970's	No
	4	Civil Resistance in South Africa 1970's to 1980's	No
	5	The coming of Democracy in South Africa, and coming to terms with the past	No
	6	The end of the Cold War and a new Global World Order 1989 to present	No

Table 2 continued: Content for the R-NCS history syllabus: Intermediate phase (DoE 2002).

THE REVISED NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT: SOCIAL SCIENCES

INTERMEDIATE PHASE (GRADES 4-6)			
Grade 4	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The history of the local area or district	The history of the local area or district: people, places, resources, beliefs linked. oral histories and traditions: finding out about place names, names of rivers, mountains and other landmarks and indigenous environmental practices; People as historical sources: interviewing members of the community; stories of families and communities which express human values of concern for others, triumph over obstacles, resistance against wrong, valuing human rights.
	2	Learning from leaders in all spheres of life	What makes a good or great leader; stories of leaders from South Africa and around the world over time.
	3	The history of transport and travel over time	The earliest ways of transporting goods and people to the most modern on land, sea and in the air, including the environmental impact of different types of transport.
	4	Broad historical overview of the origins of major world religions reflected in South Africa	African traditional religion; Judaism; Christianity; Hinduism; Islam; Buddhism.
	5	Democracy and human rights in the school and the community.	No description given
Grade 5	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Early civilisations	An early African civilisation: Egypt/Nubia; and one example from the rest of the world: Mesopotamia, Indus River Valley, China, the Americas; why these civilisations occurred where they did; the key characteristics of these societies (e.g. the role of the environment in shaping the societies, use of resources, farming, the development of cities, technology, trade, communication, belief systems)
	2	Early Southern African societies until 1600	How the environment shaped these societies, social organisation, appropriate technologies, stories exploring systems of belief, co-operation and conflict: hunter-gatherer societies; herders; African farmers.
	3 and 4	Provincial histories	Heritage and identity; tradition and indigenous knowledge of the significance of place names, rivers, mountains and other landmarks, including indigenous environmental practices; provincial government and symbols; role of democratically-elected leaders; how to participate in a democracy.
Grade 6	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Organisation and African Societies	Kingdoms of southern Africa: Mapungubwe, Thulamela, Great Zimbabwe; Cattle, gold, ivory and iron.
	2	Exploration and exploitation from the fourteenth century onwards	Early mapping: representations of Africa; science and technology: investigating contributions from different parts of the world; examples of exploration from Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Africa, and its impact on indigenous people.
	3	The History of Medicine	Important medical discoveries; indigenous medicine and traditional healing
	4	Democracy in South Africa	What is democracy? How is South Africa governed? National symbols such as the Coat of Arms and the National Anthem; the Children's Charter; the Earth Charter.

Table 2 continued: R-NCS history syllabus: senior phase (DoE 2002).

SENIOR PHASE (GRADES 7-9)			
Grade 7	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / Precolonial content**

	1	Human Evolution	Early hominid discoveries in South Africa and East Africa; becoming human in southern Africa; Rock art as an expression of hunter-gatherer society and world-view
	2	A broad overview of early trading systems	Indian Ocean and East Africa: Arab trade, Swahili coastal communities, and links with Great Zimbabwe - ninth to sixteenth centuries; West Africa and trans-Saharan trade: salt, gold, slaves and ancient trade routes, centres of learning, historical reporting - ninth to sixteenth centuries; European trading systems in the Middle Ages - fourteenth to sixteenth centuries; Dutch settlement, the Indian Ocean slave trade and slavery at the Cape - seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Africa and the Atlantic slave trade - sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.
	3	Moving frontiers	Contact, conflict and dispossession on the Cape eastern or northern frontiers in the nineteenth century; Contact, conflict and dispossession: frontiers in America in the nineteenth century.
	4	Systems of democracy: the American Revolution.	No details provided
Grade 8	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Changing worlds: the French Revolution	No details provided
	2	Changing worlds: industrialisation.	No
	3	Resisting British control:	No
	4	The experience of colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:	No
	5	Changing Ideas and Technologies - World War I	No
Grade 9	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Human rights issues during and after World War II	No
	2	The end of World War II and the struggle for human rights:	No
	3	Apartheid in South Africa:	No
	4	The Nuclear Age and the Cold War:	No
	5	Issues of our time:	No

Table 2 continued: National Curriculum Statement history syllabus: FET phase (DoE 2002).

FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING PHASE (GRADE 10-12)

Grade 10	Module	Knowledge Focus (Topic)	Archaeological / human origins content
	1	What was the world like in the mid-fifteenth century?	No
	2	What was the impact of conquest, warfare and early colonialism in the Americas (Spain), Africa (Portugal, Holland) and India (France, Britain)?	No
	3	Atlantic Slavery	No
	4	The quest for Liberty	No
	5	Industrial Revolution	No
	6	What transformations occurred in Southern Africa between 1750 and 1850?	No
	7	How did the world change between 1450 and 1850?	No
	8	What are the constructed heritage icons from the period that are celebrated today?	No
Grade 11	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	What was the world like by 1850?	No
	2	Imperialism	No
	3	What were the range of responses to colonialism in Africa and Asia?	No
	4	Challenges to Capitalism: the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the communist state (Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism).	No
	5	What was the impact of pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism on the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries	No
	6	Competing Nationalism and identities in Africa	No
	7	How did the world change from 1850-1950?	No

Table 2 continued: National Curriculum Statement history syllabus Grade 12

Grade 12	Module	Knowledge Focus (Topic)	Archaeological / human origins content
	1	What was the impact of the Cold War in forming the world as it was in the 1960s?	No
	2	How was uhuru realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?	No
	3	How was uhuru realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?	Independent states? What types of states were set up? What were the possibilities and constraints?; What was the impact of internal and external factors on Africa during this time?
	4	What was the impact of the collapse of the USSR in 1989?	No
	5	How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s?	No
	6	What do we understand by globalisation?	No
	7	What are the ideologies and debates around the constructed heritage icons from the period?	What are the ideologies and debates around South African heritage symbols and representations today? How have the findings of palaeontology, archaeology and genetics transformed the notions of race?

2.3. Non-formal Archaeology education in South Africa

Many teachers and learners are not exposed to neglected African narratives unless they are able to visit museums and public learning centres. It seems that much education on human origins and the deep past is facilitated outside of the formal education curricula. Below, 3 examples are discussed to illustrate this.

2.3.1. The Pretoria Archaeology Club for Schools (PACS)

The Pretoria Archaeology Club for Schools (PACS) was initiated in 2014 but was formally established in 2016 as an NPO (PACS 2016). The club was established to reach out to different communities and to make archaeological and heritage knowledge accessible to communities, especially disadvantaged communities. PACS additionally aims to make learning about the past fun and to produce a community that appreciates their heritage and are open-minded. PACS conducts outreach programs where members and volunteers visit schools and give presentations about archaeology. PACS is also involved in outreach programmes that give back to the community, for example, by providing financial assistance to learners to apply and pay for their

application fee to enter first year archaeology studies (PACS 2016 accessed 1.03.2019).

2.3.2. The Iziko Museum Teach-the-Teacher archaeology education programme.

In response to some of the concerns that teachers have with the content in CAPS, and on account of numerous requests, Dr W Black, curator of Archaeology at Iziko National Museum, in collaboration with other archaeology professionals established a workshop in 2017, "Teach-the-Teacher". This workshop is aimed at providing information on human evolution, South African Rock art and African archaeology to school teachers from different teaching backgrounds. From the period of 2017-2019, a number of workshops have been provided for teachers, each a series of three day lectures and practical engagements to address the common questions teachers have about the curriculum content. Each teacher is given a resource pack which included posters on archaeology and human evolution to use in the classroom (Black pers. comm 2018).

The teachers interacted with archaeological objects, exhibitions and fossils during the workshops. Lectures by museum professionals were presented on the Stone Ages, Iron Age, Historical/Maritime, and Rock art. The workshop enlisted the help of post-graduate students from the archaeology department at the University of Cape Town. Teach-the-Teacher was an important first step toward teacher and heritage sector collaboration, for the benefit of teachers and learners. Dr Black mentions that: *"*with minimal effort, it is possible to include more information about archaeology in the curriculum by positioning aspects of the syllabus within a broader communication about the archaeological record" (Black 2017: 2).

2.3.3. Public Participation Initiative by Heritage Worx

Heritage Worx was founded in 2011 by Karin Scott and Mariette Harcombe as a public engagement platform for aspiring archaeologists and enthusiasts. The organisation presents a number of heritage and archaeologically themed short courses for all members of the public including learners and students, regardless of their skills. These include, for example, the use and production of stone tools, an archaeological bead analysis workshop, both conducted in 2012, and a series of lectures on interpreting Rock Art, presented in 2013, by Dr Tim Forssman. Workshop participants had to mix their own paints using a variety of raw materials (ochre, egg yolk, and charcoal) and were encouraged to make their own paint brushes using horse hair, feathers and porcupine quills.

In 2013, The East Fort Archaeological Project was established in collaboration between Heritage Worx and an organisation, Archaetnos, with Dr Anton van Vollenhoven in Pretoria. "The project

represents the first of its kind in a series of public participation initiatives" (Heritageworx 2020). The project was initially aimed at high school learners as an extra-curricular activity for history but has grown in recent years to include primary school learners and interested members of the public. It includes two days of intensive theoretical and practical work with archaeology professionals, in order to take part in a real archaeological excavation project. No prior archaeological training is required (Heritageworx 2020).

2.4. Conclusion

Despite the advancements of the disciplines of archaeology and palaeoanthropology in South Africa during the early 20th Century, scholars and scientists were still drawing from European theoretical frameworks (Esterhuysen 2019b). Concepts such as social evolution, social Darwinism and social diffusionism were used, together with early fossil finds in South Africa, to bolster supremacist notions of racial science and typology during the pre-Apartheid and Apartheid state (Esterhuysen 2019a, 2019b).

If we are to consider the problem of the marginalisation of human origins in the history curriculum and its possible reinstatement in future, the historical misuse of human evolution in association with racist science to subjugate and stigmatise people of colour in South Africa, must be remembered. This cannot be overlooked when investigating the perceptions of history educators and museum educators about the topic of human origins in history education.

Chapter 3: History Curricula in England, Australia and Africa

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a comparative overview of the place of the archaeological past and human origins in formal school education in Africa, England and Australia. The place of archaeology, in understanding the deep past and human origins, in formal and informal education, has been debated amongst international heritage and archaeology professionals since the first World Archaeology Congress held in 1986 (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994: 46). This chapter looks at how this has been attempted in different countries with the aim of understanding the rationale for its inclusion and subsequent success and failure.

The reason for including England as an example is to reflect on the efforts that have been made to include archaeology as a standalone subject in the curriculum for school learners (Corbishley 2017). Australia is useful to consider because, like South Africa, they too were previously colonised. One method with which Australians have begun to decolonise their history curriculum is to engage with communities marginalised by colonialism and include the indigenous histories of Australian Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders in their history curriculum (Zarmati 2018). Finally, African countries that are drawn on are Botswana, and to a lesser extent, Nigeria and Rwanda, as most history curricula in African countries do not teach history as a standalone subject, but include aspects of history under the Social Studies umbrella (Agbelusi 2015).

3.2. Botswana, Nigeria and Rwanda

Esterhuysen and Lane (2013) indicate that as many efforts to include archaeological content as a method for learning about the archaeological past in school curricula have been attempted in Western countries as in African countries. Since their colonial independence, African countries have made attempts to include elements of precolonial and archaeological histories available in formal schooling, in subjects such as 'Social Studies' in Nigeria, Botswana and Rwanda, however, these efforts have been met with various challenges, such as the effect of the colonial legacy on education policies and conservative education philosophies (Rammapudi 2010; Esterhuysen & Lane 2013: 5). Botswana is discussed as an African example of the inclusion of archaeologically relevant pasts in schooling, and Nigeria and Rwanda are considered briefly. It is useful to consider these countries because, like South Africa, they have experienced a history of European colonisation, albeit not with the same level of European settlement as South Africa. However, this

colonisation nonethelessimpacted their education systems. Most African countries, post-independence, sought to formally revive indigenous cultural heritage. Botswana, however, did not adopt such an approach and has been criticised for its education policies having remained overly westernised (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994; Rammapudi 2010).

In 1928, the British appointed an education director to regulate and control schooling affairs in Botswana (Chishom & Chilisa 2012). The director's first action was the implementation of the South African Cape Colony Primary School syllabus, putting Botswana's education philosophies on par with education policies for white South Africans in the Cape (Chishom & Chilisa 2012: 377). After Botswana's independence in 1966, some changes were made to the primary school history syllabus (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994: 50). Due to limited archaeological resources about Botswana's archaeological history, oral traditions of the Setswana-speaking people were worked into the history curriculum as a means of embedding more of an African history (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994). However, reliance upon the memory of history by these groups meant that Botswana's past could only be recalled as far back as it was remembered. The lack of archaeological resources inhibited the support of these early narratives (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994).

Greater success was achieved with the secondary school history curriculum which offered European and British history as a standalone subject to school students. After independence, national examinations boards such as the Cambridge Overseas Schools Examinations Syndicate, offered students the opportunity to write exam papers on African history. The content only touched on the African past in two broad cultural-historic frameworks: the Bantu speaker migrations and European contact (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994: 52; Chisholm & Chilisa 2012: 80).

Education and schooling systems in Botswana have undergone several curriculum revisions, (Rammapudi 2010). During the 1970's, there was national concern over the quality of education provided in public primary and secondary schools. The curriculum was developed by governmental departments and commissions during a series of National Development Plans between 1977 and 1993 (Segobye 2005; Rammapudi 2010). The Revised National Policy on Education (1994), which was implemented in response to Botswana's expanding socio-economic position, improved and expanded education at primary and secondary school levels, and enabled the establishment of teacher training colleges (Rammapudi 2010). The policy was aimed at developing education and training up to "modern standards" (Rammapudi 2010: 83). The rationale and goal of these developmental plans were for a successful transition to post-independent education, and one that would introduce Science, Mathematics, Social Studies,

English and Setswana to school learners in primary and secondary schooling (Rammapudi 2006, 2010). During the period of revisions in 1977 the National Commission for Education introduced the subjects History and Geography into the Social Studies syllabus, which incorporated the use of ethnographic sources, archaeological data and cultural resources to facilitate learning about human development, with an emphasis on the history of culture and society in Botswana (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994).Segobye (2005: 35) notes, the revisions in education policies have "resulted in greater archaeology content in education" however, "there are still disparities in how archaeology is presented in schools, and what resources are devoted to it in the context of heritage development across the continent". It must be noted that literature on Botswana's history curriculum, and what archaeological content has come to be included, is limited.

An impact assessment study by Rammapudi (2006, 2010: 101) revealed that the curriculum development process in Botswana was "exclusively done by curriculum developers and that "learners, teachers and museum employees were not involved". In addition, Rammapudi (2006) concluded that the museum outreach programmes provided by the Education Division of the National Museum would benefit from more correspondence with schools and teachers. These might include regular reviews of museum education programmes with school teachers and possible collaboration between regional museums, government and education departments. The development of complimentary, activity-based teaching kits on topics concerning "natural history, art, archaeology and ethnology" may enrich classroom lessons (Rammapudi 2006: 28).

The gradual progress for introducing archaeologically related content into formal and public education in Botswana can be attributed to a shortage of necessary resources prioritised for heritage and museum education programmes, as well as socio-economic and political factors (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994; Segobye 2005; Rammpudi 2010). These are similar challenges faced by other African countries whose education systems have played a major role in the redress and development of social, political and economic policies after independence (Rammpudi 2010). After its independence in 1966, Botswana's education reform was guided by two primary education policies. These were the 1977 National Policy on Education, which focused on expanding primary school education, and the Revised National Policy on Education, in 1993, which expanded secondary school education (Rammapudi 2010:1).

Perhaps owing to its peaceful transition to independence, a cultural policy had not been developed in Botswana to "re-establish a spirit of conservation and appreciation of indigenous cultures" (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994:47). Only in 2001, the Department of Culture developed and

implemented a national cultural policy for environmental and heritage conservation, which resulted in increased demand for heritage impact assessment and development. The archaeology unit, forming part of the Department of History at the University of Botswana, was founded in 1986 (Segobye 2005). Although archaeology gained popularity, it is still is subsumed under the discipline of History, rather than being an independent discipline (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994; Segobye 2005).

Archaeological research in Botswana is relatively recent, with very limited work conducted prior to the 1970's (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994). Present-day Botswana was considered inhospitable to human occupation by early researchers. Historians with an Afrikaner nationalist agenda, believed that communities of agro-pastoralists were late arrivals on the landscape (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994). This sentiment was also echoed during Apartheid South Africa where it was taught that African farming communties only arrived in the country around the same time as European colonists (Smith 1983; Engelbrecht 2006). These beliefs, and subsequent teachings, implied that European settlers had an equal, or greater, claim to the land than Africans (Engelbrecht 2006).

Botswana's First President, Sir Seretse Khama, captures the sentiment of the colonial education system:

> *"We were taught, sometimes in a very positive way, to despise ourselves and our way of life. We were made to believe that we had no past to speak of, no history to boast of" (Rammapudi 2010: 78).*

Since the 1980's, archaeological research has challenged early ideas and revealed the precolonial settlement of agro-pastoral communities in present-day Botswana during the fourth century AD (Segobye 2005). In more recent years, archaeologists have become involved in the governmental sectors, such as mining, geology and national parks ,however, there are still a limit on resources set aside for the heritage sector.

A case study by Keitumetse (2009, 2011) points out that Botswana's cultural and heritage sector is primarily aimed at eco-tourism and natural resource management policies (i.e. wildlife and nature conservation). An impact assessment study was carried out by Keitumetse (2009) in a cultural village project called 'Sherendeka', which forms part of the larger Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (1995) in the Moremi Game Reserve. The trust was established as part of a wildlife management agreement with the Botswanan government. The cultural village project was

added to this initiative. Findings from the study illustrated the disconnect between various stakeholders, village elders and community groups. There was a clear separation bertween that of “culture and heritage resources as components of the broader ‘environment’”, and the “disconnection between the conventional environment and the historic environment, imbued with cultural and heritage resources” (Keitumetse 2009: 223). Keitumetse’s study indicates that tourism in Botswana has been primarily focused on natural resources, with marginal emphasis on historical and heritage tourism (Keitumetse 2009, 2011).

Another example that demonstrates the marginalisation of resources in the public heritage domain in Botswana is a study by Rammapudi (2006, 2010) of the National Botswana Museum. Since its establishment and nationalisation in 1976, the Botswana National Museum has been a resource for schools and teachers, running consecutive educational outreach programmes for primary schools. The first, ‘Pitse ya Naga mo Maotwaneng’, or, ‘Zebra-on-Wheels’ mobile museum was launched in 1980, and the second, a teacher training workshop in 1996. These were the result of a growing interest to develop the Museum’s relationship with schools (Rammapudi 2006: 20, 2010). These outreach programmes have “involved all the primary schools in the country, at least twice” and were aimed at taking museum resources, such as cultural artefacts and exhibits, talks and films, to schools in Botswana (Rammapudi 2006: 20). Through its mandate, the Botswanan government aspired to make indigenous artefacts and ethnographic knowledge, social and cultural values of the Batswana peoples before the colonial period available to learners and teachers (Rammapudi 2006, 2010). The museum houses many collections, including archaeological artefacts ranging from Botswana’s Early Stone Age to the Late Iron Age (Rammapudi 2010: 52). As of 2001, the Botswana museum had a staff contingent of 254 qualified museum professionals, national galleries and collections, historical exhibitions and a library. Budgetary resources to fund educational programmes are still constrained, however, and the Mobile Museum lost its budget during the periods of 2009, after an extensive impact assesment by the Museum’s Education Division in 2003. Some of the findings from teachers were that they wanted to be part of the content planning that went into some of the outreach programmes. Due to budgetary cutbacks, the museum has refocused its attention on national monuments preservation and protection projects (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994; Segobye 2005; Rammapudi 2010).

Comparably, when looking at Nigeria, one sees similiarities and differences with Botswana in terms of the integration and use of indigenous histories in public and formal education.

The integration of archaeological resources in education to learn about the archaeological past does

not have a formal position in history education in primary and secondary schools (Agbelusi 2015; Nzewunwa 1990). Unlike Botswana, Nigeria was governed by a military dictatorship from the period of 1966-1978 and 1983-1998, which had a profound impact on the education system and, specifically, on the teaching of history. Social Studies, a subject in the Nigerian primary and secondary school curriculum, embeds education about culture and current affairs, but does not include the earlier archaeological past of the region as an historical resource (Agbelusi 2015). A study conducted in 2018 by the History Ministerial Task Team (DBE 2018:14) for the Minster of Education in South Africa, revealed that history, as a standalone subject, was phased out of the Nigerian primary and secondary school curriculum entirely. After the 1969 National Curriculum Convention, teaching history as an independent subject gradually declined, and Geography and History were subsumed into the subject Social Studies (Agbelusi 2015).

When looking at public education in heritage, museums were first established in Nigeria by the British colonial government in the 19th Century, and reflected the colonial ideology of the time (Hellman 2014). Although these institutions exhibited Nigerian artefacts, the primary purpose was to demonstrate British dominance, as was the case with the British colonial museum in Nigeria, which maintained ties with Europe (Hellman 2014). Since the colonial period, museums have struggled as a result of poor governmental financial support, limited jobs in the heritage sector, low visitor attendance, and the archaeological profession as not having been regarded as a 'priority' discipline in the country (Hellman 2014; Agbelusi 2015; Ibem *et al.* 2017).

The National Museum, or Onikan, in Lagos, Nigeria, was founded by archaeologist, Kenneth Murray in 1957 (Ibem *et al.* 2017). Ibem *et al*. (2017) conducted an impact study of the usability and accessibility of the Onikan museum. In it they (Ibem *et al.* 2017: 13737) discuss the inaccessability and poor usability of certain aspects of the Onikan museum, for example, poor lighting of certain exhibits and artworks, and the lack of provision for braille or sign language, which renders the space inaccessible for people with sensory disabilities. Equally noted was the unavailability of a wheel chair ramp at the entrance of the museum. Ibem *et al.* (2017:1371) concluded that due to various design flaws in museums in Nigeria, a "comfortable learning experience" has not been met and has failed to promote a visitor-centered approach, making it imposisble for every member of the public to attend.

Despite these challenges, the National Commission for Museums and Monuments in Nigeria is looking to redevelop many of its museums so as to address "issues like decolonisation, sustainability and climate change, migration, cultural integration, employment and social justice" (Onuoha 2019: 111).

For example, on International Museum Day, museum staff in Nigeria are involved in outreach that engages with members of the public to promote museums and Nigerian heritage.

In comparison to some of the challenges highlighted above in Botswana and Nigeria, Rwanda, has successfully integrated archaeological material as a primary resource for teaching about African human origins in the school curriculum. The African Case studies section in the Report of the History Ministerial Task Team (DBE 2018: 14) revealed that, for primary and secondary school, the history curriculum includes content about human origins in Africa. The subjects 'Ancient, Colonial and Pre-colonial Rwanda, the history of 'Ancient Africa', 'The Evolution of Mankind', and 'The Kingdoms of East and Central Africa' in the history curriculum (DBE 2018: 20-22) are noteworthy because it uses archaeological sources to support education about African history.

3.3. England

Contrary to that of South Africa and Botswana, the English curriculum places an emphasis on using the archaeological record as a source for history education in school (Corbishley & Dhanjal 2019). The Department for Education (DfE) is responsible for education in England. The National Curriculum is governed by parliament but Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales have their own education system (World Class Teachers 2013). The National Curriculum in England has undergone four revisions since 1988 (Corbishley & 2019). With the introduction of the General Secondary Certificate of Education (GCSE), the London Board of Education requested a framework syllabus for archaeology from the Schools Committee of the Council for British Archaeology (CBA). The CBA fosters the study of archaeology and public interest in the historic environment in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Education for the promotion of archaeology is one of the central tenets of the CBA (Council for British Archaeology 2012). Together with English Heritage, the organisation for heritage conservation in Britain, the CBA create tangible resources for teaching archaeology to the public, and in the classroom (Mitchell & Lane 2013). Adding to this there are a number of archaeologically themed television shows such as Time Team which are consumed by the British public (Bonacchi 2013).Early developments in England, such as the Schools History Project, founded in 1972, was created to teach school students "to do history", and not just passively learn it (Corbishley & Dhanjal 2019: 65). This project provided necessary course learning materials for English schools. Soon after, in 1975, organisations such as the CBA and English Heritage made an enquiry into the promotion of archaeology in schools, and the CBA Schools Committee was formed in the same year and was involved in various archaeological and

education based initiatives for the development of resource materials for schools (Stone & MacKenzie 1990).

By 1977, the Council appointed its first education officer, Dr Michael Corbishley (Stone & MacKenzie 1990), with the task of promoting the use of archaeology in schools. The syllabus was sent to the Secondary Education Council for approval and the first GCSE examination in archaeology was written in 1988 (Corbishley 1992). Thereafter, the CBA was approached by the Joint Matriculation Board and was requested to develop an A/S and A-level in Archaeology for the first time (Corbishley 1992: 1). A/S and A-levels are advanced levels of training offered to school leavers, usually at ages 16-18 and include years 11, 12, and 13. They are comparable to South African Grade 11 and 12 (DBE 2011; Department for Education 2013).

'Prehistory' was a minor part of the primary curriculum at Key Stages 1-2, ages 5-11, beginning with Roman occupation up until the 20th Century in England. Content differed slightly with the curricula in Wales and Scotland, which were beginning with the ancient civilisations, the Celtic Iron Age and the history of early hunter-gatherers in areas outside of the Roman province of Britain (Corbishley *et al.* 2004: 22).

Through lobbying by archaeologists, teachers and historians, the revised curriculum orders in 2000 proved positive for archaeology for the inclusion of prehistoric settlements at Key Stage 1 and 2 (ages 5-11), however Key Stage 3 focused mainly on classroom-based documentary sources in the history syllabus (Corbishley *et al.* 2004). By 2000, the revised national curriculum introduced archaeology as a free-standing subject for Key Stage 4/GCSE level, Advanced Subsidiary (A/S) at year 12, and Advanced (A) level at year 13. Archaeological techniques and excavation methods formed the core content (Henson 2004: 19). GCSE Key Stage 4 standalone subjects were offered by different examining boards, originally administered by Universities, such as The Northern Universities, now Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (AQA), Cambridge (OCR) and London (Pearson/Edexcel), who have undertaken various changes and mergers, becoming separate examining organisations. A/S and A-levels are offered independently by the following bodies: AQA, Edexcel and OCR (Assessment Qualifications Alliance 2020; Oxford, Cambridge and RSA 2020; Pearson Qualifications 2020).

The motives for including archaeology by the CBA at school level were based on the principles of promoting a sense of archaeological awareness amongst the public and school pupils. The following framework details the content and the skills included in the high school curriculum, for the GCSE level, which is year 10 (DfE 2014).

3.3.1. Framework for the General Education Certificate for Secondary Education in Archaeology before 2006

Listed below is the content for Key Stage 4 (GCSE). The last exam for GCSE in Archaeology was written in 2006 (DfE, 2014).

- **Archaeological skills and techniques:** map work, aerial photography, landscape observation, field walking, geophysical survey, documentary evidence;
- **Excavation:** excavation methods, site interpretation and finds (stone, metal, pottery, bone, glass, organics), site recording, finds conservation, heritage legislation, publication of results;
- **Dating:** relative dating, scientific methods, documentary sources, inscriptions;

Archaeology of the British Isles in four sections:

- **Prehistory:** early prehistory - Palaeolithic & Mesolithic - environment, diet, tool making, occupation sites; late prehistory - Neolithic to Iron Age - agriculture, ritual & burial, stone tools, metals, pottery, fortifications, linear monuments, land use, domestic activity, settlements, trade, art;
- **Roman:** military sites, roads, civilian sites, religion, burial, industry, inscriptions, coins, arms & armour, mosaics, pottery, tools
- **Migration and Medieval:** migration - continuity, settlements, burials, linear monuments, religion, art, transport, arms & armour, medieval - domestic tools, rural settlement, towns, ecclesiastical sites, defensive sites, arms & armour, trade, pottery, water power, agriculture;
- **Post Medieval:** rural landscape, industry, transport, towns, domestic building, military structures, and graveyards.

The National Curriculum was revised again in 2013 and implemented during September 2014 (DfE 2014). Corbishley and Dhanjal (2019) point out that the new curriculum does not require teachers and students to use artefacts and historic sites as the 1999/2000 history curriculum prescribed. The English curriculum from Key Stage 1 to Key Stage 4 adopts a chronological approach, starting with the British Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age, working through the Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Viking era. The curriculum considers Ancient Egypt, Ancient China and Greece, and the Palaeolithic and Neolithic.

Although an A-level in Archaeology was taught in the 1970's, the Department for Education has recently published the new subject content for A-S and A-level Archaeology (DfE 2016). The first A-S level examinations was due to be held in 2018 and A-level in 2019. However, the slow uptake by schools and learners does not make it viable to offer a new A-level in Archaeology (Henson 2004; Corbishley *pers comms.* 2017).

3.4. Australia

Australian history and the 'difficult' histories (violence, disspossession and genocide) of Australia's past entered into the academic discourse of non-indigenous Australians during the 1970's(Zarmati 2015: 92). It was only in 1992, after years of legal proceedings which began in 1982, and demonstrations by Australian Aboriginal people, that the indigenous people of Australia were finally given Native Title (Fieldes 2019). Native Title meant giving official recognition to indigenous Australians as being the original inhabitants of the landscape before the colonisation by the British. The previous legislation was based on a colonial concept of *terra nullius*, in which Australia's Aboriginal people and the Torres Strait Islanders were deemed to have no rights to the land (Fieldes 2019).

Australian history curricula have shown considerable emphasis on including indigenous human histories relating to the Australian Aboriginal people. The Australian government is responsible for the administration and funding of education at both federal and states/territory level, who manage schooling at a local level (Barlow 1990). The national Australian School Curriculum is managed by the Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). ACARA is the federal body that regulates education and curriculum development, revision and implementation for the varying states and territories of Australia. The facilitation of the state-developed curriculum differs somewhat according to state or territory. Queensland, Victoria and New South Wales have developed their own versions in line with the Australian National Curriculum to suit the local context and pedagogical frameworks (Zarmati 2018: 1). The school system is divided into three phases for children in Australia: Primary phase, (years 1-6), Secondary Phase, (years 7-10) and Senior Secondary Phase, (years 11 and 12).

In 2007, Claire Smith (Smith *et al.* 2007) sent a proposal on behalf of the Australian Archaeological Association and the World Archaeological Congress to Julie Bishop, Minister of Education, Science and Training, requesting the inclusion of an archaeological framework for teaching history that would address the exclusion of the indigenous Australian's history in the syllabus. The proposal was titled: 'A Past for all Australians: Archaeology and Australia's National History

Curriculum'. They hoped to promote the development of a new national curriculum that would include archaeological methodology and knowledge of the entire continuum of Australian history (Smith *et al.* 2007).

Since this period, the'History Wars' of left and right wing ideologues concerning which version of Australia's past should be taught to children and how British occupation should be treated in the curriculum, became a heated debate (Zarmati 2015). The conflict polarised over the interpretation of British expansion in Australia and over which narratives and agendas should be given attention: the pessimistic views of the violence and dispossesion of Australia's First Nations people by the British, or the "patriotic, self-congratulatory, three cheers view of the post-World War II generation" (Zarmati 2015: 92). The debate soon entered into the school history curriculum during the early 2000's. A movment towards the decolonisation and reconceptulisation of history teaching became a central tenet of the 'education revolution' of the Rudd Labour government (2008-2013), which sought for the establishment of a national curriculum. In 2009, the National Australian Curriculum was developed and the cultural histories of the First Australians and Torres Strait Island Peoples were considered "essential knowledge that should be embedded across all learning areas of the curriculum" (Zarmati 2015:92).

Archaeology, as a resource for teaching students about the deep past, is included in Primary, Secondary and Senior Secondary Phase history. The inclusion of archaeology in the school curriculum has played a substantial role in the acknowledgment of the Australian Aboriginal people and Torres Straight Islanders who were settled in the region about fifty thousand years before British occupation (Zarmati 2015). This inclusion has proven vital for the recognition of Australia as a multi-cultural society that includes the history of its Indigenous peoples (Zarmati 2015, 2018: 4). Below, a brief overview of the content for the primary phase history curriculum is presented.

3.4.1. Primary Phase curriculum – Foundation to year 6 (ages 5-12)

The history curriculum during the Primary years is situated in the Humanities and Social Sciences Curriculum (The Australian Curriculum, Humanities and Social Sciences accessed 3.11.2017). In primary school, the history curriculum follows a chronological approach to Australian history in the context of World History. Learners "study the diversity of Australia's first peoples and the long and continuous connection of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples to Country" (Zarmati 2018: 6).

It starts from the pre-contact period and settlement of the Aborigines and Torres Straight Islanders from around 60 000 before present, illustrating the deep connection of the indigenous peoples of Australia to the landscape. Archaeological and Australian cultural sites are examined and visited by schools within the different territories, for example Devil's Lair (Western Australia) and Kutikina Cave (Tasmania) (Zarmati 2018: 6; Gilbert 2011). Learners at this phase are taught about European expansion, exploration and British colonisation up until Australia's federation in 1901. The syllabus looks at the impact European colonisation had on Australian Indigenous peoples. Pupils visit World Heritage archaeological sites that are significant in their state for out of the classroom learning. The primary phase syllabus underpins concepts such as change and continuity, cause and effect, empathy and historical enquiry (Zarmati 2018: 4). There are a wealth of textbooks and online resources available to teachers for archaeology that are produced for the national History and Ancient History syllabus (The Australian Curriculum 2018). By the time pupils enter secondary phase they have grasped the sensitive experiences of Australia's indigenous past (Zarmati 2015, 2018)

The Secondary phase (years 7-10, 13 to 16 years old) history falls into the category of Humanities and Social Sciences. Content is concerned with the rise of the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia, Rome, India and China, events, people and geographical areas, positioning Australia relative to other parts of the world. The content includes indigenous histories, human origins, the Out of Africa Hypothesis, and early contact history of Aboriginal Australians (Zarmati 2018: 5).

3.4.2. Secondary Phase History (years 7-10, ages 13-16)

In the Senior Secondary phase, history is divided into two separate elective subjects; Modern and Ancient History, developed by ACARA, and was first included in the New South Wales syllabus in the early 1980's, which coincided with an increased popularity of archaeology in documentary media (Owen & Steele 2005; Zarmati 2018: 6). Some of the aspects covered in the Ancient History elective is the investigation, conservation and reconstruction of ancient sites, cultural heritage, ownership and the role of museums (Zarmati 2018: 7-9).

History at Secondary phase schooling encompasses the rise of civilisations, people and geographical areas, for example, ancient Greece, Rome and Egypt, positioning Australia in context to other major historical events in other parts of the world. The two areas that draw on archaeology at Secondary level are years 7 and 8 which include Below is a brief overview of this content (The Australian Curriculum, Humanities and Social Sciences 2018, Zarmati 2018:4-5).

Year 7

- The earliest human settlements and communities to the end of the ancient period (60 - 650 BCE);
- The Out of Africa Hypothesis; the theory of the movement of people out of Africa around 100 000 years ago;
- How historians and archaeologists use archival sources and excavation to investigate the past;
- Indigenous sites are selected for case studies, for example, Ancient Australia and what local archaeological sites can say about Australia's past, as well as the importance of conservation of local archaeological and indigenous Australian sites and heritage of the Torres Strait Islanders and Australian Aboriginal peoples;
- Ancient societies: Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, India, China, the Maya and Rome.

Year 8

- The end of the ancient period to the modern period, for example, the Anglo-Saxons, The Vikings, Celts, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, Khmer, Aztec and Incas, the spread of Roman occupation and Christianity and Islam;
- The Polynesian expansion across the Pacific Ocean
- Australian indigenous peoples and their colonisation and contact history.

Secondary Phase, year 8 includes content about using archaeological sources and sites, and excavation and research to investigate the ancient past of Australia. Emphasis is placed on the conservation of the remains and heritage of the Indigenous Peoples of Australia (Zarmati 2018: 7).

In New South Wales, a History Elective (1982-2018) is offered to history enthusiasts who can study an extended version of history in addition to the mandatory history in their Secondary phase schooling (Zarmati 2018: 10). New South Wales was the first territory to offer Ancient History in 1982, and followed by Queensland in 2000, in an effort to promote multi-culturalism. It is offered from years 7-10 with an option to undertake 100 or 200 hours of history. They are granted access to a choice of three topics and must not overlap with the mandatory history content. Topic 1 includes examining the nature of history heritage and archaeology, the collection, display and reconstruction of the past and the methodology used by historians and archaeologists; Topic 2 focuses on Medieval and modern societies; in topic 3 students can choose an archaeology topic

or site, material culture or archaeologist and analyse it from a local thematic perspective, allowing students to engage with the archaeological and indigenous heritage of Australia (Zarmati 2018 : 10-11).

3.4.3. Senior Secondary Phase (years 11 and 12, ages 16-18)

At Senior Secondary Phase, History is divided up into two separate elective subjects; Modern and Ancient History, developed by ACARA, and was included first in the New South Wales syllabus in the early 1950's, which coincided with an increased popularity of archaeology in documentary media (Owen & Steele 2005). The rationale for the Ancient History syllabus is for students to study early civilisations based on the "analysis and interpretation of physical and written remains" (The Australian Curriculum, Humanities and Social Sciences, Ancient history, 2018). In addition, teachers are given the opportunity to select written evidence, as well as archaeological evidence in their history lessons to learn about ancient cultures from Greece, Rome and the Near East (Zarmati 2018).

The syllabus is well resourced through school trips to museums and archaeological sites. The syllabus is supported by textbooks, academic articles and professional teacher and student workshops (Zarmati 2018: 8). Below is a brief outline of the content per module.

Module 1 – Investigating the Ancient World

Students examine relevant issues related to two topics from a list of the following:

- Historical authentication and reliability;
- Preservation, conservation and reconstruction of ancient sites;
- Cultural heritage, ownership and the role of museums;
- Treatment and display of human remains.

Students then select one ancient site, event or group and how it is represented and interpreted. The sites students can choose from are, for example, the Battle of Kadesh, fall of the Roman Empire, or the Celts (The Australian Curriculum, Humanities and Social Sciences, Ancient history, 2018).

Module 2 – Ancient Societies

Students may choose two electives and through the chosen ancient society they will investigate the chronological, geographical, socio-political structure and cultural aspects of that given society i.e. art, architecture, warfare.

Ancient societies can be chosen from the following:

- Egypt 3rd-6th Dynasty, the Ramesside period;
- Bronze Age Greece;
- Sparta, Persia, Rome;
- Ptolemaic Egypt;
- China, Qin and Han Dynasty;
- India and Mauryan Dynasty.

The above is a concise summary of the topics covered in the Ancient History syllabus at year 11 and 12.

There is, in addition to Modern and Ancient History in the Senior Secondary phase, a History Elective, which is offered to enthusiastic history students in New South Wales. This elective gives students the option to take an additional history subject over and above the mandatory History education in years 7-10. Students may elect to take either 100 or 200 additional hours of history education and choose three additional topics that do not overlap with the mandatory history curriculum, such as Constructing History (History, Heritage and Archaeology), Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Societies (Archaeology of the Ancient World) and Thematic Study which allows student to thematically study an archaeology topic such as an archaeological site, an archaeologist, or material culture (Zarmati 2018: 11). Offering the History Elective may provide the opportunity for students to develop an understanding and appreciation of Australian indigenous cultures, by encouraging student to understand Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural history, archaeology, and heritage (*ibid*). Some of the activities that students learn in Senior Secondary History are: reconstructing historical sites, site surveys and excavations at local sites, human exhumation, analysing DNA, using and understanding archaeological evidence to reconstruct the past (NESA Modern History, 2017). Some of the sites students and teachers may visit include local memorial buildings, national parks, museums, open air archaeological sites, and indigenous heritage sites, for example, Nauwalabila in the Australian Northern Territory, and Budj Bim fish and eel traps at Lake Condah in Victoria (Zarmati 2018). While it is not mandatory for teachers to take students for out-of-classroom excursions for history education, it has been made compulsory in the New South Wales curriculum for history students to conduct a site visit or 'site study', in years 7-10 which comprises of an historic enquiry of a locally significant historical site, which enables students to actively engage with and 'do history' (Zarmati 2009; NESA History 7-10, 2012).

The Australian history curriculum illustrates how using local archaeological resources for education supports the efforts to acknowledge and include the histories, heritage and cultures of indigenous Australians, and Torres Strait Islander People thousands of years before British Colonialism (Zarmati 2018: 3, 11). The Australian curriculum underpins a strong narrative of ancient and precolonial histories in its content. Human origins and indigenous cultural development on the continent of Australia before Colonial expansion is not marginalised in the history curriculum and is given equal attention as other topics. A sense of multiculturalism and pride in indigenous origins and heritage is salient from an examination of the Australian history curricula. Archaeological history and resources have become integrated into public and formal education in different ways. Australia promotes public and school participation in heritage and archaeological histories, for example, The Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre in Sydney, in an area called the Rocks, which is one of the largest urban archaeological excavations in Australia (Zarmati 2015). The Centre houses an education facility for schools where learners can take part in archaeology learning activities that includes artefact analysis, interpretation panels and walks into the archaeological ruins of the buildings that were once home to Australia's earliest settlers (The Big Dig 2020).

3.5. Conclusion

The subject of Social Studies in both Botswana and Nigeria, whilst drawing on the discipline of archaeology to understand the archaeological human past, does not emphasize human origins, or indigenous histories in their school curricula. Rwanda, however, provides a positive case of a African country where the integration of archaeological content, as well as indigenous historieshave proven to be a feasible and beneficial addition to the Social Studies syllabus in aidinglearners appreciation of human origins and the precolonial past in Africa.

The English curriculum includes archaeology as a way of teaching school students deep time, however, the inclusion of content about human origins in Africa is unclear. In England there has been a gradual decline in the popularity of archaeology for the GCSE and A/S levels. Archaeology, despite government backing and infrastructure, is being slowly phased out of the curriculum. England is an example of where the inclusion of archaeology as an independent school subject has not been successful overall, however, the British people are more informed about British history through publicly available archaeological resources.

The Australian history education system is comparatively progressive for the inclusion of indigenous pasts, and archaeological resources in the curriculum. A major strength of their

curricula is the representation of Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and their cultural histories (Zarmati 2018).

These countries have been drawn on to compare and contrast the contested space of including archaeologically linked histories in formal education. I now demonstrate how this contested space in the South African context can be understood through social theory.

Chapter 4: Postcolonial Theory and history education in South Africa

4.1. Introduction

Postcolonial theory as well as the work of Michel Foucault is used to consider the place of the archaeological past in the national history curriculum, and to interpret the data I have collected (Chapter 6). A brief discussion is drawn from the social theory of Foucault and postcolonial authors, Gayatri Spivak and Michel Trouillot to critique the colonial ideology still inherent in the history curriculum in South Africa.

4.2. Postcolonial theory and colonial ideology

It is important to acknowledge that archaeology and the scientific study of human origins is grounded within Western philosophical traditions. It is for this reason that a critique using the works of postcolonial writers Gayathri Spivak (2001), Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995), and social theorist Michel Foucault (1978) is undertaken.

Postcolonial theory critiques and seeks to expose the colonial legacy inherent in previously colonised, but now independent, societies. Postcolonial discourse provides the tools to recognise and to transition away from antiquated colonial-era fixed and binary categories like 'savage-civilized', 'us-them' and the 'self' versus the 'other', which framed and influenced the work of 19th Century naturalists and social scientists (Johnson 2010; Ashcroft *et al.* 1995: 9).

The categorisation of cultures according to social progress was strongly rooted within the European preconceived ideal of society (Esterhuysen 2019a, 2019b). Disciplines like archaeology and anthropology were complicit in supporting the scientific ideal of European colonialism (Esterhuysen 2019a), an ideal that was shared by the Apartheid government of South Africa, which categorised the population into racial hierarchies (Esterhuysen 2019a). Gayathri Spivak (2001) interrogates this in her theory of Subalternity, which critiques the perceivedinferiority and categorisation of groups that were subjugated by the British Empire during colonial oppression. Subalternity refers to populations who were oppressed and silenced and who are on the periphery of the social and political powers of the colonial homeland. Spivak (2001) describes how truth has historically been subjected to constructed ideology. She also looks at how 'epistemic violence' is committed against alterities and how the voices of the disenfranchised and marginalised have been silenced in the course of history. Leitch (2001: 2193) describes Spivak's focus as the "discourses of knowledge that carve up the world and condemn to oblivion the pieces that do not easily fit". The rationalisation and normalisation of the tools of oppression were readily

used by those in power, and the Apartheid history curriculum was one of the many ways in which Apartheid ideology was perpetuated (Esterhuysen 2019b). It served those in power, and silenced non-white South Africans, the 'subaltern' (cf. Spivak 2001).

The Apartheid education system was a product of the 'constructed ideology' of Apartheid society. The history curriculum and textbooks of this era, and even prior to the Apartheid era, underpinned the European discourses of knowledge and capitalist agenda that served to maintain the social and economic standing of European society, and diminish the histories and standing of non-white South African groups (Esterhuysen & Lane 2012).

The knowledge discourse that galvanised this agenda emerged during the 19th and 20th century, when palaeoscientists, drawing on Darwin and Spencer's ideas on evolution, regarded Africans as living relics of a primitive past and classified them as 'savages' (Gosden 2002: 26, 48). It was thought that all societies had evolved through a series of stages beginning with savages and eventually achieving civilization. Grand ideas of 'genetic' fitness and the classification of racial and ethnic differences became deeply entrenched within the social and political paradigm of the West and filtered down into South Africa during the 1900's (Dubow 1992; Esterhuysen 2000)

Social theorist, Michel Foucault, argued that western theories of racial hierarchy and Darwinism, were used by colonial societies to support oppressive practices on indigenous groups, such as institutional racism (Foucault 1978). Biopolitics, an expression coined by Foucault in the 1970's, highlighted governmentality in the forms of racialism, state power and the control of knowledge systems (Foucault 1978; Foucault *et al.* 2008). Governmentality, in this context, refers to the way in which the state controls and shapes society through various mechanisms (Foucault 1991). These mechanisms can take the form of authoritarian and subjugative means to control the biological life of 'inferior' groups (Lemm & Vatter 2017: 44). The Christian National Education system (CNE) of Apartheid in South Africa arguably is an example of Foucault's expression of biopolitics. CNE contained the motive of biopolitics by controlling the level, and kind of education that various South African population groups received, which determined the kind of work and space that people could occupy in society (Esterhuysen 2000). Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans were forcibly given a substantially inferior level of education in comparison to White South Africans (Esterhuysen 2000). South African youths were also taught a skewed and manipulated version of history that alienated indigenous populations from their heritage in South Africa, and fostered the apartheid ideology of white Afrikaner superiority (Van Eeden & Vermeulen 2005). The Apartheid CNE was designed with the inherent goal of controlling knowledge for the sake of economic control over the South African population. Race categorisation became a 'biopolitical' strategy to divide people into sub- categories, and therefore "a way of conceiving the self and the other, friend

and enemy, the death of the bad race, of the inferior race" (or of the degenerate or the abnormal) (Lemm & Vatter 2017: 43). The premise of Foucault's discourse is not aimed at critiquing society as a whole, instead Foucault examines how we have come to accept forms of knowledge and power as self-evident and how this distorts an understanding of ourselves and other beliefs that we carry about the society we live in (Woermann 2012: 112). The philosophy of Foucault provides the ideal basis for understanding the importance of moving away from biopolitical strategies to categorise people or histories.

There is a need to move away from understanding and describing histories in relation to European contact. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995: 108), for example, states that "Europe started to redefine the world….contact with the West is seen as the very foundation of the beginning of African history… at this meeting, the other finally enters the world". The history of all 'others' is thus defined by contact with the West as is evident in the way in which non-white South African histories were portrayed in Apartheid textbooks. It was proposed that the Bantu and Bushmen arrived at the same time as early settlers of the Cape Colony (Smith 1983) and were thus being brought into existence through European contact.

Trouillot (1995) highlights the colonial 'antagonist' within historical narratives. He examines the oppression of slaves during the Haitian revolution from 1791-1804, demonstrating how power suppresses and silences the subaltern, and thus how history has been controlled within and by certain dominant societal structures and groups. Apartheid South Africa can be critiqued using Trouillot's (1995) expression outlined above. The colonial antagonist of Apartheid's education system is a form of the dominant societal structure, acting within South Africa at the time. The regime of Christian National Education was a powerful societal mechanism that suppressed the deep cultural and historical pasts of subaltern groups. Through this epistemic control, subaltern groups in South Africa and their heritage became 'silenced' within Apartheid society (Trouillot 1995).

The prescription of selected histories in the national curriculum, through the control of power structures in government, is part of the colonial legacy in South Africa (Van Eeden & Vermeulen 2005). The curriculum and history syllabus were stringently controlled and facilitated by the white-Afrikaner government to create a strong sense of Apartheid nationalism that was fundamentally ignorant of an accurate and unbiased version of history (Dubow 1992). Historical narratives were largely based on derogatory early European traveller accounts to the Cape. Adding to this, students were not encouraged to question or interpret the sources or credibility of the knowledge they learnt in school. CNE as a system, embodied the symbols of white-Afrikaner nationalism, and this was its sole ambition for all South African citizens (Van Eeden & Vermeulen 2005: 185).

The current National History curriculum, the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS 2011) and its post 1994 predecessors do not fall outside of these critical frames. A form of governmentality is discernible in the series of curriculum revisions and content prescription since 1994 (Woermann 2012) by the African National Congress (ANC) led government. The history curriculum has undergone four revisions under the ANC since 1994, initially to remove racist and historically inaccurate content after the dissolution of Apartheid, and to assert historic and political legitimacy (Jansen 1990; DoE 2002). Thereafter, revisions implemented the outcomes-based-education (OBE) principles for inclusive education in 1997 (Curriculum 2005). During 2001, the Revised National Curriculum (R-NCS) was instituted. This was the product of a lengthy reviews process by late Minister of Education Professor Asmal and the History Panel, which argued for the inclusion of archaeology in the history syllabus (DoE 2002). The R-NCS covered the topic of human evolution in the Senior Phase, Grade 7 history syllabus. More recently, revisions processes have been used to foster patriotic pride and citizenship in the CAPS version (DBE 2011). Mbeki's efforts to draw on the palaeosciences, and the human fossil record to imbue a sense of national pride and collective human identity as Africans, in his African Renaissance speech in 1998, have become silenced, with the removal of human origins content in CAPS (DBE 2011). Efforts by the ANC to remove the 'Dark Continent' and 'primitive' aspects in the syllabus, and to reinforce struggle history and identity in the prescribed content for high school history, may suggest its own form of governmentality. This can especially be seen when one considers that even in the focus on struggle history, it is particularly the struggle history of the ANC that is emphasised in the CAPS history curriculum (DBE 2011, Esterhuysen 2019b: 281).

It is at this juncture, that a renewed revisions process to CAPS history has been called for by the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, for an assessment and reinstatement of marginalised histories, such as those removed in the R-NCS, including, for example, human origins (DBE 2018).

The CAPS history curriculum is, at present, undergoing a process of revision by the History Task Team established by the Minister of Basic Education in 2015 (DBE 2018). These changes are still under review, however the inclusion of muted histories, and the incorporation of various historical resources drawing from the palaeosciences and archaeology are a matter of interest and are discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

4.3. Conclusion

The postcolonial theories of Spivak (2001) and Michel Trouillot (1995), and the work of Michel Foucault (1978; 1991; *et al.* 2008) have been used to interpret how South African history was distorted through the Christian National Education system, and how history content, at present, is still confined to the prescripts of the dominant political party's historic struggle (DBE 2011; Esterhuysen 2019b). The removal of the archaeological past in the South African education system has led to, in Foucault's (1978; 1991; *et al*. 2008) terms, a society with a distorted understanding of itself. The legacy of this type of history education in South Africa is explored in Chapter 6, where a variety of themes are highlighted about teachers' and learners' perceptions of current history education in South Africa.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1. Introduction

The methodology is discussed in this chapter. It includes an explanation of the approach used and the methods used to capture data. The research design, sample population and sampling method, data collection and ethical considerations are outlined in detail.

5.2. Research Design

A research design frames a research project in relation to the research questions (Kothari 2004: 31; Moodley 2013). The project used an anthropological approach, and qualitative design with the addition of a short questionnaire for archaeology students. This questionnaire was analysed statistically, ascertain opinions and perspectives of students about the research topic.

The qualitative research design differentiates itself from quantitative methodology in that the central aim is to elicit the subjective meaning from research participants and involves any research that "uses data that does not involve ordinal values" (Guest *et al*. 2012: 5). Thereason for selecting a qualitative methodology for the teacher and museum participants was to collect and understand meaningful insights, opinions and feelings of these individuals about the research topic. The research sample is sizably small, and participants were selected for their individual opinion. Divan *et al.* (2017:18) defines operational qualitative research as "one that explores a central phenomenon without assigning a quantifiable attribute, permitting a broad view of the participants experiences."

In other words, qualitative data is often non-numerical and less structured than that of quantitative research and "stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants" (Bryman 2016: 380). Data collection relies on an inductive reasoning process, which is a cause and effect approach that permits the conclusion to support the premise of the research. Inductive reasoning, often used in qualitative research designs, begins at a specific set of circumstances to a generalised conclusion of the data (Guest *et al.* 2012: 10). The use of qualitative methodology was developed and used primarily in the fields of sociology and anthropology, where the goal is to understand group and societal interactions and behaviour (Bernard 2017). The intention is one that "goes beyond the sole purpose of scientific inquisitiveness, beyond accumulating knowledge" (Žikić 2016: 124).

In qualitative studies, the steps are flexible and more interrelated than in quantitative studies. In this research, a qualitative approach was used. Qualitative enquiry focuses on the lived experiences of individuals, groups and communities on a social and cultural level. What participants say is measured by how "human beings construct meaning about their lives and the world's in which they live" (Bless *et al.* 2013: 339). The responses are not measured for accuracy, but for subjective attributes that give clarity to the question.

In a qualitative research design, the characteristics of a social phenomenon are investigated (*cf*. Kothari 2004: 37). In this case, the attitudes and beliefs of history teachers about the place and relevance of human origins in the history syllabus are analysed.

5.3. Population sample and sampling method

Qualitative research utilises different methods of obtaining data, including focus groups, life-histories, case studies, participant observation, questionnaires, interviews and ethnographic observation (Bless *et al.* 2006). In this study, face-to-face interviews were undertaken. The sample population consisted of a total of nine participants for the teacher sample, including 6 high school teachers from private schools, and 3 high school history teachers from model C schools.

The teachers were selected based on a recommendation from personal contacts who had attended various high schools in Johannesburg. The sample of teachers are from different regions in Johannesburg with one interview undertaken with a teacher from Cape Town, arranged by my co-supervisor. The inclusion and representation of teachers from government schools in the sample proved to be unsuccessful. Gaining access to the correct contact details to correspond with teachers was one of the biggest challenges. In many instances the telephone calls went unanswered and unreturned, or the teacher was not involved in teaching the history syllabus. Due to time constraints this process had to be abandoned. In addition to the teacher sample, first year archaeology students studying at the Wits Archaeology department were selected to answer a questionnaire for the study. The sample of students consisted of 47 individuals from across various schooling backgrounds including government and private schools.

A small sample of museum educators were selected for their expertise in public education on topics related to human origins and archaeological history. A post-doctoral researcher was consulted for their expertise and research on the topic of human evolution education in schools.

The high school teachers, an archaeology postdoctoral researcher, museum educators and first year archaeology students were selected using a purposive, non-probability sampling strategy (Bless *et al.* 2013: 166). Non-probability sampling is used when the probability of including each

element of the target population in the sample is unknown (Bless *et al.* 2013: 166). The non-probability strategy is useful when randomization is not possible and generalization to the larger whole is not required or desirable (Gentles *et al.* 2015; Etikan *et al.* 2016). When it is difficult to reach certain groups or attain a sizeable sample due to time constraints, non-probability sampling methods have their advantages: they are usually more cost-effective and faster at yielding information; however, having a larger sample increases the generalizability to the target population (Etikan *et al*. 2016: 1).

Non-random sampling uses a subjective methodology to decide which participants should be selected to form the sample. It is therefore advisable to mention that non-random samples are created in a process where not all individuals from the target population have an equal chance of being included in the study (Etikan *et al*. 2016).

Sampling is dependent on the nature and context of the research question. In smaller groups, there are fewer concerns about the central tendency than there is to elicit insights in individual case studies. Individuals and their context within a group are important and are not seen as interchangeable as in some other forms of research (Palys 2008). To add, research participants are not always equal, particularly in social studies. Some participants may be more knowledgeable or articulate about a topic than others, which makes random selection of participants unfavourable (Palys 2008).

Purposive and convenience sampling need to be differentiated in brief (Gentles *et al.* 2015: 779) as Etikan *et al*. (2016: 2) indicates, many purposive studies fail to distinguish themselves from convenience studies. Convenience studies frequently access members of a population that are easily accessible. In the case of a convenience sampling design, the researcher will simply select participants based on their availability or proximity. This method may result in poor quality research data and may not be applicable to the research problem. Convenience sampling is not advisable in the context of attaining a representative sample (Gentles *et al*. 2015) and is sometimes excluded in various literatures because of its limitations. Convenience sampling is more suited to exploratory studies where the aim of the research is to acquire information at random (Neuman 2011). In this research, purposive sampling has been undertaken as the research methodology and data collection methods were not based on a selection of participants that were easy, fast or convenient to reach.

Purposive sampling methods are premised on the fact that the selected participants are the most suitable for the purposes of the research problem and deliberately selected because of specific qualities they possess (Neuman 2011: 274). This implies that the sampling method and sample

selection is tied to the research objective and the researcher has particular questions in mind (Gentles *et al.* 2015: 1178). High school history teachers, museum educationists, first year archaeology students at University, and archaeology lecturers are information-rich respondents who are privy to narratives in the history syllabus and archaeology education for the public.

The schools and museums for the study were further selected based on availability and willingness to take part. The teachers had to fulfil the criteria of teaching history at the Further Education and Training Phase (DBE CAPS 2011). The museum educators and lecturers were selected on the basis of their acquaintance with human origins education programmes for schools. Obtaining a larger sample of teachers, particularly history teachers in government- funded schools was a challenge. Some teachers were reticent to partake due to a belief that they were not adequately trained to answer the questions of the interview. Another challenge was being able to make contact with government-funded schools that did not have an active landline or website. Several attempts to establish contact with government-funded high schools were unsuccessful. Below is Table 3 which illustrates the school teacher sample per region.

Table 3: Sample of School teachers per region in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

School / Teacher Code	Suburb / Region	Private	Model C	Teachers per interview
1	Southern Suburbs Cape Town (Wynberg)	**X**		1
2	Northern Suburbs (Region B)		**X**	1
3	Northern Suburbs (Region B)		**X**	1
4	Northern Suburbs (Region B)	**X**		1
5	Kensington (Region F)		**X**	3
6	Edenvale (Region E)	**X**		1
	Northern Suburbs (Region B)	**X**		1

A number of museum educators were interviewed, with three participants from the Iziko National Museum in Cape Town (Iziko participant 1, Iziko participant 2, Iziko participant 3); one participant from Ditsong Natural History Museum (Ditsong participant 1) in Pretoria; and one participant from the Origins Centre Museum in Johannesburg (Origins Centre participant 1), detailed in Table 4.

In addition, a postdoctoral researcher at the Human Evolution Research Institute (HERI) from the University of Cape Town (HERI participant 1) was interviewed for her expertise and research on the subject of human origins education outreach programmes.

Table 4: Sample of Museum Participants

Museum Educators & Archaeology Professionals		**Role**
1. Iziko National Museum		
(i)	Participant 1	Palaeontologist / educator
(ii)	Participant 2	Archaeologist / Curator / teacher training
(iii)	Participant 3	Archaeologist / assistant educator
2. Ditsong Natural History Museum		
(i)	Participant 1	Museum educator and tour guide
3. Origins Centre Museum		
(ii)	Participant 1	Curator, educator, archaeologist
4. Archaeology Postdoctoral researcher (HERI UCT)	(i) Participant 1	Postdoctoral research fellow and archaeology educator

5.4. Data collection method

5.4.1. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews

The data from participants were collected using semi-structured, face-to-face interviews that were conducted in the privacy of the participant's work-place. Semi-structured interviews are interviews that adhere to a set list of questions that guide the researcher whilst conducting the interviews and discussions with the interviewees (Neuman 2011; Bryman 2016; Bernard 2017). Unlike structured interviews, which follow a specific premeditated format, semi-structured interviews allow for open ended discussion with, and response from, participants. Semi-structured interviews are useful when conducted as face-to-face interviews with participants because the researcher is able to read non-verbal cues (Bernard 2013: 9).

The open-ended questioning allows participants to express themselves, giving the researcher the chance to engage with them personally and elicit the social context of their responses. Face-to-face interviews are flexible and allow the interviewer to probe for more information (Bless *et al.* 2013). Open-ended conversations permit a relaxed interaction where topics can be discussed freely, in contrast to surveys that aim to locate frequencies within participant responses. The interview is an interactional process through which the researcher and participant create meaning together (Brenner 2006: 357).

Given that there were challenges associated with acquiring a larger sample, the smaller sample provided the researcher the opportunity to spend more time with each person, engaging in conversation about the topics of the interview schedule but also the problems and challenges that are currently present in education. Semi-structured interviewing permitted the interviewer to pursue additional queries on the matter. The aim was to use a select number of intensive interviews to gain subjective insights that could be thematically analysed.

In-depth or semi-structured interviewing follows an interview or question and answer process, using a system of scheduled interview questions that the researcher has constructed that are best suited to source informative responses from the participant about the topic (Bernard 2017: 163). The interview follows a general script, and permits an open-ended exchange that covers a range of topics. Interviewing is a technique built on gaining rapport with participants. The purpose is to obtain detailed and personal narratives that underlie professional opinions. Bernard (2017) points out that the effectiveness of an interview begins with probing the knowledge that is already present and the knowledge that is yet to be learned through interviewing. Semi-structured interviews are

best used when there is only one opportunity to interview or speak to the participant. It utilises the same skills and "freewheeling" qualities of unstructured interviewing in ethnographic fieldwork; however, the interview follows a set guide of questions that follow a specific order (Bernard 2006: 212). In order to gain comparable data, the interview schedule should be followed with every participant, though there is room to probe for further information in each individual case. To gain meaningful data and a context-rich interaction, interviews allow the researcher the ability to judge non-verbal cues (Dooley 1995).

Participants were audio-recorded using an iPhone 4 that had a built-in voice recording application. Voice recordings were only taken once permission from the participant was obtained (see ethical application and clearance documents, appendix G and I). The voice recordings of the teachers and museum educators were then transcribed. Voice recognition technology was not used. Transcriptions were typed verbatim from the recordings and it took roughly 4 hours to transcribe 1 hour of recording. The recorded interviews were then backed up to cloud storage. A thematic analysis was undertaken on the transcriptions.

5.5. Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis describes a common process in qualitative social research where themes or patterns in the data are identified, interpreted and analysed (Bryman 2016). The primary aim of thematic analysis is to develop themes of interest by identifying commonly occurring elements, or trends (Braun & Clarke 2006). Thematic analysis "explores explicit and implicit meanings within the data" (Guest *et al.* 2012: 11). The thematic approach taken for this study involved identifying various categories of interest from the interview responses, and developing themes bases on the assigned categories. Thematic analysis was chosen as the primary method to analyse the data from participant interviews. This method was selected as a way of ascertaining deep insights from general themes noted from the interviews. Deep insights, or what is termed 'Thick Data', in anthropology, is often used to uncover meaningful and valuable qualitative human insights surrounding a research problem or question (Why Big Data Needs Thick Data, Tricia Wang. 2016).

Data was first coded and then themed, as described in the reflexive approach outlined in Braun and Clarke (2006). Text is the most common form of data analysed in qualitative research and is suitable for gaining "richly detailed accounts of human experiences (emotions, beliefs and behaviours)" (Divan *et al.* 2017: 18).

Text can either be the object of analysis, as in the case of linguistics or a “proxy for experience”, where the “perceptions, feelings and knowledge of individuals are represented in the text and generated through the interaction with research participants” (Guest *et al*. 2012: 9).

Although thematic analysis is not the only way for analysing qualitative data (content analysis is, for example, another), it was felt that this was the best approach. For one, despite the interviewees coming from different backgrounds (e.g. high school teacher, museum educator etc.), thematic analysis encourages the researcher to examine the data for specific words, terms or sentiments, repeated among all interviewees, that may then be grouped into themes (Bryman 2016: 580). These themes are then studied in depth and interrogated. This is a far more practical approach than analysing every individual response as if they were in a vacuum from the other participants. Taking into account that all of the interviewees are involved, one way or another, in the archaeology and education sector, there would likely only be a finite number of themes of merit to the study. In grouping responses into themes, the researcher is also better able to apply a theoretical framework to the study (Bryman 2016: 580) since, instead of trying to theorise the individual responses, the researcher focuses on the broader themes.

A full thematic analysis of the collected data is discussed in Chapter 5.

5.6. Ethical considerations for the project

Research that involves human subjects are compelled to follow a systematic application for ethical clearance through an internal body, the Human Research and Ethics Committee, prior to commencing any data collection from participants (Madushani 2016: 27). To address the ethical needs of any given research, institutions have usually established an Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) that will review research proposals and applications in light of the ethical considerations and implications for any given research project. The HREC operates as a structure that maintains the rights of the researcher and will make a decision about whether any additional tasks need to be undertaken in order to ensure the ethical integrity of the participants, the institution and that of the researcher, protecting the institution and the researcher from any potential litigation (Madushani 2016: 27).

The HREC at the University of the Witwatersrand subscribes to the standards set out in the Singapore Statement on Research Integrity (2010). The principles set out in the statement represent the “first international effort to encourage the development of unified policies, guidelines and codes of conduct, with the long-range goal of fostering greater integrity in research worldwide*”,* and is the product of individuals from 51 countries who attended the 2nd World Conference on

Research Integrity. The statement was drafted by a committee and finalised for use on 22 September 2010 in Singapore and is a “global guide to the responsible conduct of research” (University of the Witwatersrand Research Ethics 2019).

The ethical responsibility encapsulates how the research will be carried out and how the data will be used and disseminated. Research practices should ensure that participants are not placed in harmful situations or coerced into participating. Their privacy should be protected and anonymity ensured, unless consent has been granted by them to be on record. Respondents must be informed about the nature and purpose of the study and their consent must be obtained prior to gathering information.

All interviewees in this study were supplied with a consent form prior to being interviewed. Added to this, a formal permission letter was required by the HREC from the principals or relevant heads of department from the participant schools. This permission letter was written and signed by the head of the school of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Sciences (GAES), as well as the head of the Archaeology Department. A template of the participant information sheet, permission letter and informed consent form can be found at the HREC website and in the appendices. The central reason that ethics committees insist on these forms is to i.) Ensure that participants understand what participation will involve and to ensure that they know their rights in relation to participation and issues of confidentiality and anonymity and ii.) To protect researchers from later accusations by study participants (Mollet 2011: 5). Information that is particular to the individuals must remain confidential at all times. Any identifying information should only be accessible to those directly involved in the study (Mollet 2011: 5). Upon completion of this research project, all original recordings of interviewees will be destroyed, as required by the HREC. Transcribed interviews will be kept on an online drive which is password protected, so that they may be made available for future research should the need arise.

Chapter 6: Thematic Analysis

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter a thematic analysis and discussion of the data sourced from transcribed interviews is presented. The data have been taken from four sample groups selected for the study: high school history teachers, first year archaeology students studying at Wits University, museum educators and professionals, and an archaeology postdoctoral researcher from the Human Evolution Research Institute at the University of Cape Town. The data have been divided into four sections, teacher interview responses, first year archaeology students' responses, museum educator's responses and the archaeology postdoctoral researcher's responses. Table 4 contains the themes and related interview questions for each group of participants. The interview schedule for the teachers' sample can be consulted in Appendix C. Additional questions that are not included in the table below were used to gather background information as per the semi-structured interview method.

Table 5: Themes and interview questions for each group of participants

Research participants	Theme	Interview schedule questions	Source
Teachers	1	4,5	Appendix C
	2	6,7	Appendix C
	3	9, 10, 14, 17	Appendix C
	4	8, 11, 12, 13,15,16,18 and 20	Appendix C
First year Archaeology students	Theme	Questionnaire questions	
	1	2, 4, 5 and 7	Appendix D
	2	8	Appendix D
	3	9,10	Appendix D
	4	6	Appendix D
Museum educators	Theme		
	1	5, 6, 7, 19, 20, and 21	Appendix E
	2	9, 10, 11 and 12	Appendix E
	3	8, 13, 14 and 15	Appendix E
Archaeology postdoctoral research fellow	Theme		
	1	3, 4, 5, 7, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22	Appendix F
	2	6, 8, 12, 13,	Appendix F
	3	9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18	Appendix F

6.2. School teacher interview themes

Interviews with nine High school history teachers at seven high schools were conducted. All the teachers teach the CAPS history syllabus for Grades 8-12 except teachers at school 2 and 7, who

only teach Grades 9 and 11. The different grades are specified by the education bands, General Education and Training (GET) and Further Education and Training (FET)[2]. The GET band for the study only includes the senior phase grades, 7-9. Teachers have roughly 200 to 350 learners per year for history. Class sizes range from 30 to 50 learners per class, and teachers take up to 3 or 4 classes per grade for history. Teachers from schools 4 and 7 were noted for smaller class sizes. All teachers teach the CAPS history syllabus, however teachers from private schools have the freedom to select topics or leave topics out in their lessons as private school exams are regulated by an independent exams board.

The teachers' responses are discussed in relation to four themes:

- Theme 1: Content preference of teachers and their learners
- Theme 2: Opinions about the curriculum (R-NCS and CAPS)
  Theme 3: Familiarity with South African archaeology and human origins
- Theme 4: The perceived importance of including topics about human origins and archaeology in school.

6.2.1. Theme 1: Content preference of teachers and learners

Four teachers (schools 1, 2, 4, 7) out of nine showed an interest and preference for teaching African history (10-12) and African independence movement~~'s~~ topics (grade 12). The remaining 5 teachers (schools 3, 5, and 6) enjoyed teaching European and American history topics such as the French Revolution (grade 10) and the Cold War (Grade 12) over African subjects. When queried on their responses, teachers mentioned that it was merely a matter of personal interest. Some of the teachers responded by saying that learners enjoyed learning about the World War I and II, and war protagonists. Only three teachers (school 4, 5 and 7) in the sample mentioned that their learners really enjoyed the African independence content and Apartheid history. These teachers mentioned that learners identify with the topics on a personal level and find some of their identity in the struggle and liberation movements.

The following quotations highlight teachers' and learners' preference for certain topics in the syllabus:

[2] The National Qualifications Framework in South Africa recognises three bands of education: General Education and Training Phase: grades 0 to 9. Further Education and Training Phase: grades 10 to 12. (DBE 2011) and Higher Education and Training for tertiary level. DBE 2011. The GET band includes Foundation Phase (Grades r-3), Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6) and Senior Phase (Grades 7-9).

"Teaching the Russian Revolution is totally fascinating as well as African history, but learners really enjoy the French Revolution and European history" (teacher 3, school 3, April 2018).

"It all depends on the learners. Some learners enjoy European history and others enjoy African history. It's really a case of the type of learner" (teacher 2, school 2, March 2018).

"The girls love and embrace all topics. Their second most popular choice is South African history after Independent Africa" (teacher 4, school 4, April 2018).

"As they become more educated, learners become invested in identity and more interested in the liberation movements in Africa" (teacher 5, school 5, April 2018).

The data indicates that teachers who have academic training or a degree in African studies or history showed a greater preference for teaching African history over European or Western topics. Additionally, these teachers showed an interest in nurturing an appreciation of African history with their learners.

One of the respondents suggested that the nature of the training before and after their education degree was important:

"History education is down to your B.Ed. The degree focuses entirely on the school syllabus, whereas my three years of getting my History degree, I did so much more. Teacher training is a massive factor" (teacher 1, school 1, February 2018).

6.2.2. Theme 2: Opinions about the curriculum (R-NCS and CAPS)

Out of 9 teachers, only four had taught the previous R-NCS history curriculum (teachers 1, 4, 5, 6, schools 1, 4, 5, 6).

The opinions from teachers about the previous curriculum (R-NCS) were limited. The teachers who had taught the R-NCS had been based at private schools and were able to be selective about what topics to teach in the syllabus. Teachers based at private schools have the liberty to leave out certain content if preferred.

Teacher 1 at school 1 remarked: "confusing jargon of the R-NCS. For me at a private school it was fine, but for my colleagues it wasn't" (teacher 1, school 1, February 2018).

Regarding the CAPS curriculum, teachers feel that the syllabus is overburdened with "too much information", (teacher 1, school 1, February 2018) and that there is a lot of emphasis on Apartheid

topics throughout the high school grades, so much so that “learners are so tired of it” (teacher 2, school 2, March 2018). Teacher 3 at school 3, and a history teacher interviewed at school 6, also noted the repetitiveness of Apartheid content in each grade for the high school history syllabus. They feel that CAPS history seems to mandate Apartheid content, that, in some respects, “it dictates what content learners should know” (teacher 3, school 3, April 2018).

Two teachers from school 6 remarked on having to abandon topics because of time constraints. The majority of teachers (5 out of 9) felt that the curriculum is content heavy and their primary focus is to get through all the topics before the examination period.

The Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) of the curriculum (Curriculum 2005: 1997) before the R-NCS and CAPS, focused on group work and group assessment and moved away from rote learning. However, there is a marked return to rote learning in the CAPS curriculum. Based on the discussion with teachers at private schools, they are able to navigate this by providing their own supplementary learning material that nurtures a skills-based learning approach in the classroom.

> *“I did teach the R-NCS but probably can’t comment too much because we were not directly controlled, being independent. We kind of go way beyond the curriculum and the textbook. I’ve brought in a lot of stuff that is relevant to South Africa like archaeology and palaeontology, even if it’s not in the textbook”* (teacher 4, school 4, April 2018).

Teachers remarked about the inconsistency of CAPS history content, and how the content does not link up well between topics. Learners are taught about human evolution in Life Sciences and about the arrival Jan van Riebeek and the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1652 at the Cape in History. Content about early hominin evolution in Africa and South Africa is removed from its historical context by its placement in the Life Sciences, where it is studied from a biological perspective. By removing human development from the historical timeline, the concept of human endeavour on the African continent before the Colonial Project is unacknowledged. As indicated from teacher responses, topics are taught as isolated historical events and have become individually periodized.

> *“Historical events are inconsistent and don’t require much interpretation by learners. There is no chronological flow, but pockets of history interspersed throughout various grades that don’t link up”* (teacher 1 school 1, February 2018).

Teacher 3 at school 3 commented about his experience of completing the R-NCS history syllabus in Matric when he was still in school:

> *"I much prefer the older one [R-NCS syllabus]. Not only in terms of the content, I felt that we were given a lot more information; we were given a lot more opportunity to think for ourselves. Our teachers gave us proper research assignments and you went to Universities and to historical sites. I feel that CAPS dictates what learners should feel and what they should learn. The syllabus still focuses a lot on racism and separation and doesn't mention that we all come from the same place"* (teacher 3, school, 3 April 2018).

The responses suggest that teachers generally feel that CAPS is content heavy. This is particularly the case for teachers at model C or semi-private schools that do not allow teachers to select or leave out topics, as is the case of private schools that are independently examined.

6.2.3. Theme 3: Teachers' familiarity with South African archaeology and their views on human origins

Theme 3 encompasses how familiar teachers are with hominin origins in southern Africa, modern human origins, and the archaeological artefacts found at these sites. It further encompasses what teachers *think* their learners know about these topics.

It was found that the teachers are familiar with the Cradle of Humankind and the discovery of *Homo naledi* because it has been covered so extensively by the media. Teachers commented their views about the finds and what they think about human origins in general:

> Teacher 2 (school 2, March 2018) for example says: *"It's something to be proud of".*
>
> Teacher 4, school 4, (April 2018) says: *"I think that a common origin is incredibly important for people to understand that there is one humanity in the World".*

Teachers are much less familiar with modern human origins sites and when asked, teachers mentioned that information about Blombos Cave and Klasies River was not as easily accessible. For example, teacher 1 from school 1 (February 2018) said that "it is just not out there".

Teachers perceive that their learners are unfamiliar with hominin evolution or archaeology because of what they see in the media in films and animated movies such as 'Ice Age' and 'Early Man'. These films are entertaining for teenagers but not historically accurate. Teachers added that the CAPS syllabus does not include topics about the early developments of humankind during the Stone Age. There is an absence of this kind of content in the history syllabus. It was

generally felt that their (teachers') and learners' exposure to human origins and African deep time is limited, if not entirely missing, because it is not part of the prescribed content in the curriculum.

The following quotations illustrate this:

> *"They know about the Khoe San in Grade 5 but that's about it"* (teacher 2, school 2, March 2018).
>
> *"We don't teach that kind of content at all"* (teacher, school 6, March 2018).
>
> *"On the whole, in my experience it depends on what learners know from their home environment but it's lacking a lot"* (teacher 7, school 7, March 2018).
>
> *"You're going to hate this answer but when I ask my learners what they know about the Stone Age, they talk about the movie 'Ice Age'. They talk about Mammoths and Sloths"* (teacher 3, school 3, April 2018).

Five teachers out of the sample are unfamiliar with the details of modern human origins archaeological research in South Africa. Four teachers (teachers 1, 4, 5, and 7) are aware of the site names of Blombos Cave and Klasies River shelters. Three of these teachers have a basic understanding of what artefacts have been discovered at these sites. Teacher 4 from school 4 (April 2018) spoke about her understanding of how people living at Klasies River survived off marine life, from the archaeological findings in the cave:

> *"It's going to teach us so much about the social networks of people, and to see how people lived and what they lived on"* (teacher 4, school 4, April 2018).

Teacher 7 from school 7 spoke about the ochre that was found at Blombos Cave and teacher 5 from school 5 has personally visited Blombos Cave.

In response to the second part of question 19, "what do you think of the evidence, such as objects and artefacts, found there?" positive responses were elicited. For example:

Some teachers regard the objects and artefacts found at Klasies River and Blombos Cave as well as Sterkfontein at the Cradle of Humankind as very important for history education:

> *"I think it is very necessary, especially for subjects like art history, to understand early technological methods. It's something where we can see the technological advancements*

but also how art becomes a form of expression and culture. This content is very foundational and is not taught enough" (teacher 7, school 7, March 2018).

"It's not in the syllabus, and we're so syllabus bound" (teacher 5, school 5 (April 2018).

"I'm excited about the idea of expanding further back. If you're in Africa you should know this" (teacher 2, school 2, March 2018).

Teachers illustrated a keen interest about the research topic and made enquiries about it. In general, teachers felt that content about African human origins is missing in the prescribed history curriculum.

6.2.4. Theme 4: The perceived importance of including topics about modern human origins and archaeology in school.

Teachers agreed on the importance of learning about local archaeological discoveries and early African human origins, as it is important for learners to understand the beginnings of human innovation and development in Africa. It is also necessary for them to be able to interpret and appreciate other topics in the prescribed history curriculum in more depth, such as the topics, pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism in the 19th and 20th Century (DBE 2011, CAPS Grade 11).

This is illustrated by the following responses:

"I try to combat feelings of racism by going back to Scientific Adam, and to show the boys that there is really no differences between us. That race is a construct" (teacher group 6, school 6, March 2018).

"There is a misconception about the human race and about evolution. Sometimes learners come up with a really strange understanding. I think their perception is that what is written down is what constitutes as history. It's so important for understanding identity" (teacher 7, school 7, March 2018).

"A lot of what they know is so flawed. Everything is so social media based" (teacher 3, school 3, April 2018).

"I think it is very important because there seems to be a lot of confusion about this" (teacher 2, school 2, March 2018).

> *"I think that living in a society where racism is such a prevalent thing, it has enormous value. We need to make it significant. Learners are very ignorant. It is a very difficult concept for young learners to get their head around"* (teacher group 6, school 6, March 2018).

> *"My learners would definitely be able to tell you that human origins began with the earliest life form on the continent of Africa"* (teacher 4, school 4, April 2018).

In response to question 15, teachers believe that it is important that learners should be exposed to more content about early human developments and human origins in Africa using the archaeological record. They felt strongly that the history syllabus does not provide a deeper understanding of early human origins, with the CAPS history curriculum only reaching back to 1488 with the travels of Bartolomeu Dias, in the Grade 6 history syllabus (DBE 2011: 43). Including early human origins in the syllabus is a step away from a pervasive assumption that Africa 'begins' with the Dutch at the Cape.

The following comments from teachers indicate this:

> *"We are doing Transformations in Africa (grade 11) after 1750 and it starts with Jan van Riebeek at the Cape"* (teacher 2, school 2, March 2018).

> *"There is a lot of misconception and a lot of religious views about human origins. People have a blind spot about early modern humans"* (Teacher 5, school 5, April 2018).

> *"Jan van Riebeek. They probably don't think history goes further back even though they learn about the Khoe San. I don't think they think of Africa in context. There's shocking gaps in their knowledge"* (teacher group 6, school 6, March 2018).

Teachers feel that more programmes and resources are needed about human origins and archaeology in the syllabus. Some teachers (teacher 2, school 2, and teacher 7, school 7) recommended that content such as this would be suitable for the senior phase syllabus (Grades 8 and 9), where learners are still learning new topics and are not solely focused on their Matric exams.

For example, teacher 3, school 3, April 2018 said:

> *"I think we need to put this into the start of Grade 8 when they come into High school when we start with the Mineral Revolution in South Africa and the start of Colonisation. You could link it up there".*

> *"It could be incorporated in at Grade 11 when we cover pseudo-scientific racism, because it's very important to understand the racism in archaeology in South Africa as well"* (teacher 4, school 4, April 2018).

One of the challenges pointed out by teachers is the recurring time constraints to cover the entire CAPS syllabus. Teachers feel forced to complete content for exam revision and often do not have the time to include extra content especially at FET phase where learners are preparing for their matric examinations. Including content about human origins using archaeology as a resource would need careful consideration concerning the time and budget constraints for schools that are bound to the curriculum.

> *"I think that the value of archaeology to enrich, strengthen and deepen the history curriculum is particularly relevant to African and southern African history, but this requires the hard work of accessing academic literature that is relevant to the curriculum at a particular Grade, then 'translating' that literature into classroom resources. This is really difficult and time-consuming work and it requires collaboration between academic practitioners and classroom educators, which to date has happened very rarely"* (teacher 1, school 1, February 2018).

6.3. Wits First year Archaeology students

The questionnaire that was handed out to forty seven first year archaeology students at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (Appendix D) sought to draw responses from students as to whether they learnt about human origins and the deep African past using archaeology as a resource in high school (from the curriculum) and how familiar they are with these topics.

Students were asked to supply details about what kind of high school they attended (private, semi-private or government) and whether they learnt about human origins and archaeology-related topics in their high school curriculum. Two students attended a government or non-fee paying school. Twenty students attended private high schools, twenty-two attended semi-private or model C high schools, and two students attended high schools abroad.

The following themes emerged and are discussed.

Theme 1: Exposure to archaeology topics in high school;
Theme 2: Reasons students choose to take archaeology at University;
Theme 3: Student familiarity of South African human origins archaeological sites;

Theme 4: Favourite archaeological topics in archaeology first year.

6.3.1. Theme 1: Exposure to archaeology topics in high school

More than half of the students in the sample had never learnt about archaeological topics during their years in high school before coming to university. Thirteen students had some familiarity with archaeological topics prior to attending university. Thirty-four students who had no exposure to archaeological topics had taken the subjects History, Geography and Life Sciences in school. This contrasts with the experience of the sample of thirteen students who had learnt about archaeological topics in school. They had taken the same list of subjects as the sample with no exposure to archaeology. This suggests that exposure to content in school may depend on teacher familiarity with the subject (as suggested in the teacher sample). The responses from this group, the thirteen students, are interesting because they mention having learnt about archaeological topics such as rock art and hominin evolution from the subjects Geography, Life Sciences (Biology) and Art. None of the students in this group responded to having learnt about archaeological topics from the history curriculum. Moreover, forty-one students had not learnt about the African Stone Age in particular from the high school curriculum.

Of the students who had learnt about archaeological topics in school, only six students answered in which subjects they had learnt about these topics. Two students learnt about rock art in Art, and four students had learnt about archaeological topics, such as human evolution, in Life Sciences and Geography.

The responses suggest that students learnt about human origins and archaeological topics through Geography, Art and Life Sciences primarily, and not through History (February 2018).

6.3.2. Theme 2: Why students choose to take archaeology at University

Of the sample of forty-seven students, only forty-two students responded to this question. Of these responses, thirty-six students elected to take archaeology at university out of general interest. Five students chose to take archaeology as an elective course, and one student responded that they “wanted to try something new”. This illustrates that a general interest in archaeology is relatively high, despite only a few students having learnt about archaeological topics in high school.

6.3.3. Theme 3: Student familiarity with South African archaeological sites.

The response rate for the questions related to this theme was relatively poor (only 45 students responded to questions 8 -10 and some did not answer all of the questions).

Thirty-three students knew of local archaeological sites and could name them. Some of the responses included “Cradle of Humankind, Maropeng, Mapungubwe, Qwo Qwa Lesotho, Sebohong and Melville Koppies”. Thirty-three students from the sample are familiar with local archaeological sites from their exposure to archaeology in their first year university course. The majority of students (41) are familiar with the term modern human origins. Despite most of the responses to question 10 having been factually incorrect in that students did not know what ‘modern human origins’ means, they nonetheless tried to answer to the best of their understanding. Thus, it can be suggested that students ‘feel’ that they are aware of what modern human origins are.

6.3.4. Theme 4: Favourite archaeological topics in archaeology first year

Of forty-seven students, only seventeen responded to question 6, which gauged their favourite topics. The most favoured topic amongst the group is human evolution with most students choosing hominin evolution as their favourite topic in their first year archaeology courses.

Figure 1: Student responses on questions regarding archaeology an human origins

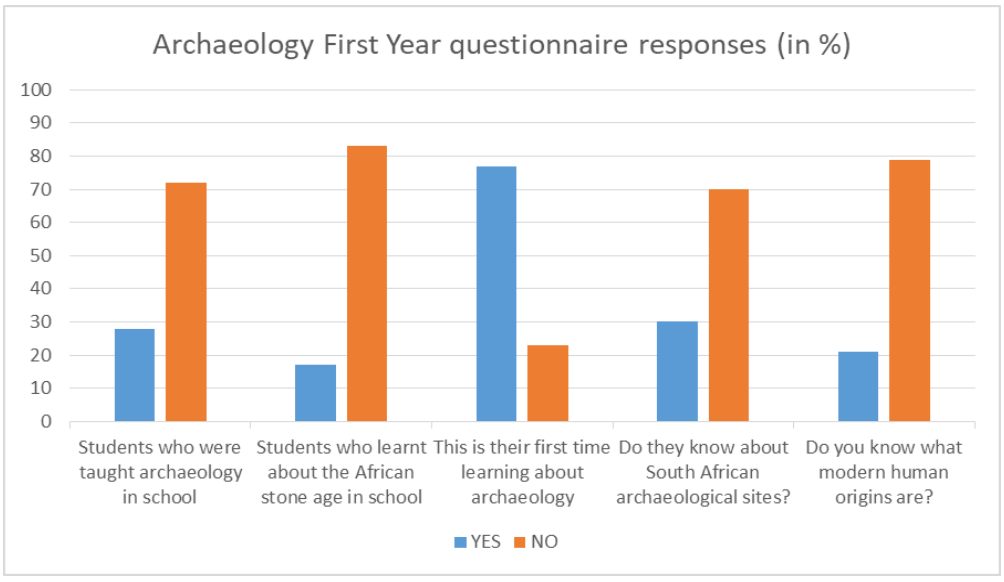


Figure 1 illustrates students’ notable degree of unfamiliarity with archaeology and the African Stone Age terms, modern human origins, and local archaeological sites in South Africa.

6.4. Museum interview responses.

The following section is a discussion of the themes drawn from interviews and discussions with museum professionals at the Iziko National Museum in Cape Town, Ditsong Natural History Museum in Pretoria and the Origins Centre Museum in Johannesburg. Please consult Appendix E for the interview schedule.

6.4.1. Background of school programmes provided by each organization

As a background, a brief summary of the school programmes that are provided by each organisation is detailed below.

a) Iziko National Museum

Discussions were held with a palaeontologist (Iziko participant 1), curator for the Pre-colonial Archaeology division (Iziko participant 2) and a research archaeologist (Iziko participant 3) from the Iziko National Museum in Cape Town. These participants are involved in school workshops and facilitate the human evolution education programme.

The human evolution workshop is modelled on the CAPS Life Sciences topic for Grade 12 on human evolution in Africa. It was developed by Iziko participant 2 and a colleague from the Human Evolution Research Institute (HERI), who is currently researching the interest learners have about deep time topics, such as human evolution, in the Life Sciences curriculum. HERI participant 1 is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Cape Town, and co-creator of the Human Evolution Workshop at Iziko National Museum. The interview with HERI participant 1 is discussed in section 6.4. HERI participant 1 is presently undertaking a postdoctoral position that researches the 'Receptiveness and interest of Grade 10-12 learners about human evolution at school' (HERI, participant 1, July 2018). HERI participant 1 analyses whether learners are more interested in recent human diversity or deep time evolution and fossil hominids. The results of the study are yet to be published.

Teachers and learners from Grades 8 through 12 attend the workshop at Iziko. The programme covers different aspects of hominin evolution and looks at various South African fossils to help

learners understand the process of change (evolution) over time. The workshop aims to facilitate learners' interpretation skills from the comparison of objects.

> *"Our workshop specifically uses South African hominid specimens (fossil casts) to teach kids about human evolution and to understand the concept of change over long periods of time. Learners and teachers really enjoy the interaction of being able to touch the skulls. The response has been very positive"* (Iziko Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

The evolution programme is aligned with CAPS, "but we expand on it substantially" (Iziko Museum, participant 2, June 2018). The process of creating school programs is detailed and topics from the CAPS curriculum (Life Sciences) are evaluated by curators and postgraduate students. Content for workshops are chosen based on whether it is covered in school and whether it can add an additional resource for teachers to gain a broader knowledge of the subject.

The general response to the workshop by teachers is that they are grateful for the support that the programme provides,

> *"Teachers are grateful and say that they learn a lot from the workshop. They really enjoy the practical work and have since requested another workshop as a refresher course"* (Iziko Museum, participant 2, June 2018).

b) Ditsong Natural History Museum

The Ditsong Natural History Museum provides a variety of educational activities for teachers and learners. Their learning programmes are aligned with CAPS, and are designed by museum curators, educators and curriculum advisors for learners at Foundation phase (Grades 0-3), Intermediate and Senior Phases (Grades 4-9) and Further Education phases (Grades 10-12). Their programmes do not specifically include content about archaeology, however as, "only aspects of archaeology are included in talks about palaeontology" (Ditsong Museum, participant 1, July 2018). Participant 1 is an education official at the Ditsong Natural History Museum in Pretoria and frequently runs education workshops and school outings for teachers and learners for History and Life Sciences.

The school programmes at Ditsong are modelled on human evolution, biodiversity and classification, and reptiles and mammals. The education programmes are "reviewed often to be able to be aligned with CAPS content and to accommodate new research or curriculum content"

(Ditsong Museum, participant 1, July 2018). The following is an overview of their offering to schools.

Foundation Phase: Birds (characteristics, types and nests); Reptiles (types, characteristics and dinosaurs); Insects (characteristics, types, helpful and harmful insects); Life cycles – Process, stages, life cycles of mammals, insects, birds and amphibians.

General Education and Training (GET) Phase: Biodiversity and classification – animal diversity, kingdoms, vertebrates and invertebrates; Food chains and food webs – ecosystems, animal relationships, feeding habits; Fossils – types, formation, examples, important South African Discoveries. Earth and Beyond.

Further Education and Training (FET) Phase: Fossils and Evolution – concepts, fossil formation and dating, human origins, importance of the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage site. Biodiversity and Classification – Different groups, characteristics and adaptations.

(c) Origins Centre Museum

The Origins Centre Museum provides school seminars that are aligned with the CAPS Life Sciences and History syllabus for Grades 10, 11 and 12. Talk topics include a discussion about hominin evolution, early hunter-gatherers and African farmers. This initiative has been gaining momentum amongst teachers and schools attending the museum.

The Origins Centre participant 1 is an archaeologist and curator. The team at Origins Centre Museum conduct guided tours through the various sections of the museum, and host family activity days and school learning workshops that focus on: making ochre, early hunter-gatherers, rock art, and human evolution and hominin fossils of the African Stone Age.

6.4.2. Themes from Museum Educator responses

The following themes are discussed in relation to the museum educators' responses (see Appendix E)

Theme 1: Teachers' and learners familiarity about archaeology, human origins and modern human origins sites;
Theme 2: Views on the CAPS syllabus by museum educators;
Theme 3: Challenges for school education and outreach programmes;
Theme 4: Outreach and collaboration with the public.

6.4.2.1. Theme 1: Teachers' and learners' familiarity about archaeology, human origins and modern human origins sites.

The questions for theme 1 enquired what museum professionals believe teachers and learners know about archaeology, human origins and modern human origins sites such as Klasies River and Blombos Cave, and the artefacts from these places. It also queried which topics teachers and learners favour when they visit the museum.

a) Iziko National Museum: The data from the interviews with Iziko Museum participants 1, 2, and 3 suggests that the familiarity and knowledgeability of learners and teachers on this topic vary from school to school. Some teachers and their learners are more familiar with these topics than others.

Participant 3 felt that learners and teachers know the topic of human evolution relatively well because of the coverage in the Life Sciences curriculum before they come to the museum.

> *"Students know a fair amount about human evolution because for them to participate in the workshop, they need to have covered this section in school first"* (Iziko Museum, participant 3, June 2018).

However, participant 1 and participant 3 felt that the topic of human evolution is problematic for teachers.

> *"Teachers are not as familiar about the depth of the scientific research that goes into archaeology and palaeontology, it's an alien world to them. Teachers are muddled when it comes to teaching the content about human origins, the Khoesan and early African farmers. They know the theory to some degree, but some teachers only teach it because it is in the curriculum but they don't believe it. There isn't a clear distinction in their understanding about these early populations, teachers know very little about the Middle and Late Stone Age in Africa"* (Iziko Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

Topics about modern human origins sites are not widely known by teachers and learners. There is currently no programme aimed at schools by Iziko on this content. "Learners and teachers seem to know only the site names and the fact that it is important" (Iziko Museum, participant 2, discussing teacher's knowledge of Klasies River and Blombos Cave).

Regarding the human origins content in CAPS, important information is left out and "very simple or old school explanations are provided" (Iziko Museum, participant 1, June 2018). This was the impetus for the design and implementation of the teacher-training workshop at Iziko National Museum.

> *"Most teachers I have liaised with don't know much about the Late, Middle or Early Stone Age. They might know a bit but there is no broad general knowledge of these subjects"* (Iziko Museum, participant 2, June 2018).

Iziko Museum, participant 1, made comment on what it was like working with schools and education professionals:

> *"Often it's teachers writing the worksheets, about palaeontology and archaeology, and are getting it wrong. They don't have the understanding. There are a lot of errors that are picked up from one source and carried over to the next"* (Iziko Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

b) Ditsong Natural History Museum: The data from an interview with participant 1 from Ditsong Museum indicated that different topics are favoured individually, according to teacher and learner preferences. Children of younger ages enjoy reptiles and insects while the senior phase learners enjoy biodiversity and human evolution. Participant 2 feels that learners and teachers know the least about human evolution and natural selection in her experience of teaching human origins.

> *"Stone tools, rock art and trade is well known but early technology is less known by learners"* (Ditsong Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

A common misconception is that many learners and teachers think that the only sites of significance for human origins are those in the Cradle of Humankind.

> *"Some textbooks only make reference to the Cradle of Humankind as the most important site when unpacking the topic of human origins"* (Ditsong Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

Based on the response from participant 1 at Ditsong Museum, familiarity about human evolution and archaeology is dependent on the age of the teacher, and their educational and religious background.

> *"Interestingly, younger teachers are more interested in human evolution and archaeology topics than older teachers"* (Ditsong Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

Regarding the familiarity of modern human origins sites, Ditsong Participant 1 said some teachers and learners might know of Blombos or Klasies River shelters. However, what they know is very basic information about where the site is and that it holds information about early modern humans. Ditsong participant 1 added that unfortunately,

> *"the museums displays were done before excavations in some of these sites and therefore information from the sites is not represented very well"* (Ditsong Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

c) Origins Centre: Some of the most prevalent misconceptions the Origins Centre participant 1 noticed when facilitating education workshops is that children and teachers have heard of famous fossil discoveries like *Homo naledi, Australopithecus sediba*, Little Foot and the Taung Child, but they don't know what time periods these hominin species originate from. Children often think skulls look like monkey skulls and interpret that archaeology tries to link humans to ancient monkeys.

> *"When it comes to modern human origins sites, the teachers and learners in general, generally do not know about these things"* (Origins Centre, participant 1, September 2019).

> *"A few might say they heard about something about the sites on the southern Cape coast. The few that do know sites will usually know of Blombos or Pinnacle Point, but are usually unclear about what time period or when the MSA is"* (Origins Centre, participant 1, September 2019).

> *"Teachers and learners have a very basic understanding of our early ancestors and modern human origins, and often information is excluded from lessons because it requires simplifying the content".* (Origins Centre, participant 1, September 2019).

6.4.2.2. Theme 2: Views on the CAPS syllabus by museum educators.

a) Iziko National Museum:

The participants from Iziko Museum felt that CAPS does not cover a large amount of content on human evolution, and that teachers need support with the material.

> *"I think the curriculum skips out a lot of things that were previously there for palaeontology and archaeology. Topics don't really align well so it's much harder for learners to grasp*

them. It's disjointed and teachers are battling with it" (Iziko Museum, participant 2, June 2018).

"Teachers need support to grasp the content" (Iziko Museum, participant 2, June 2018).

As discussed above in section 6.3.1, Iziko museum, participant 2 mentioned that they expand on the curriculum substantially in their education workshops.

b) Ditsong Natural History Museum: Ditsong museum participant 1 felt differently from the participants at Iziko Museum. The participant felt that education programmes offered by Ditsong museum are directly in line with the various topics in the CAPS curriculum for Life Sciences and History.

"I think the guidelines from CAPS are quite clear and inform our programmes. We can enhance the classroom experience through museum collections. I think that CAPS adequately covers these topics" (Ditsong Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

c) Origins Centre Museum: Origins museum participant 1 felt that CAPS does not include enough content about archaeology and human origins. Participant 1 said of their experience facilitating school workshops:

"Learners don't really know about the African Stone Age from what they learn in school" (Origins Museum, participant 1, September 2019).

6.4.2.3. Theme 3: Challenges for school education and outreach programmes

a) Iziko National Museum:

A major concern for education at the Iziko National Museum is the limitation of funding at the institution for education programmes, education workshops, and funds to hire qualified professionals who can facilitate education programmes about topics that cover and expand on the CAPS syllabus. Staff training is a consistent challenge and the longevity of programmes and workshops are at risk.

Iziko Museum, participant 1 said that

"when professionals are hired, education material and programmes are abandoned when the individual moves on to another job" (Iziko Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

The cost to create and print materials for schools is another factor that requires time to develop and has high cost implications.

> *"Teachers tend to want worksheets and printed reference material. It takes time and money to develop and these needs cannot always be met"* (Iziko Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

Teachers need additional information to be able to grasp the topics in the curriculum that are related to archaeology. Some of the benefits of aligning programmes with CAPS, as per discussion with Iziko participant 2, is that the workshops

> *"assist teachers so that they can be more confident in their explanations about heritage, archaeology and human evolution"* (Iziko Museum, participant 2, June 2018).

Iziko participant 2 continues,

> *"One of the biggest challenges when teaching topics about archaeology and hominin evolution is the biases against teaching these subjects. Archaeology is often viewed as a 'Colonial' subject. Students have not been exposed to archaeology consistently and the ideas of deep time are foreign and difficult to understand. Heritage is not highlighted as an important topic so the message is not imbedded from a young age. Also, there is so much information missing from the curriculum; students will struggle to get broad knowledge of these topics in the classroom"* (Iziko Museum, participant 2, June 2018).

b) Ditsong Natural History Museum

A challenge for the museum is the lack of resources for support functions. Information and technological updates are needed for many of the exhibitions and installations. Language barriers are a big challenge for educators because certain languages do not contain the same term in Setswana or Zulu, and the meaning is lost.

> *"Some concepts become very difficult to explain in the local languages where the translation means a different thing entirely"* (Ditsong Museum, participant 1, June 2018).

> *"Occasionally lessons and activities are attended by disinterested teachers who are not engaged or interested in the lesson with their learners, and prefer to socialise or break with other teachers outside of the class. Teachers then return to school having not gained any new insight or training for their own lessons"* (Ditsong Museum, participant 1 June 2018).

c) Origins Centre: Finances and time are a constraining factor for the creation and implementation of education programmes and tours:

> *"It is difficult for any of the relevant staff members to find the time to create extra material, and we don't have money to hire someone for this role. We bypass this by collaborating with other institutions on material. We are also looking for sponsorship (government or private) to help fund outreach initiatives"* (Origins Centre, participant 1, September 2019).

Whilst there are limitations, the Origins Centre does provide topical talk sessions, education tours and programmes for schools that are well attended by the public.

Attendance is another factor that creates a challenge for the Origins Centre. The museum only deals with certain sections of what is found in the CAPS curriculum,

> *"We don't have a huge 'pool' of school groups that choose to come to the museum for their (only or few) school outing(s), but these numbers are growing"* (Origins Centre, participant 1, September 2019).

The Origins Centre does not provide education programmes or seminars outside of the facility. Mobile seminars and talks are not provided to schools for learners and teachers due to budget limitations. At present, workshops and school programmes are run at the facility at Wits University.

> *"We very rarely go out to do outreach. We have accepted all invitations we've received and the programs have been successful, but are not actively looking to move activities off campus at this stage but we would love to explore how staff and students could assist with this and in the process satisfy grant requirements"* (Origins Centre, participant 1, September 2019).

6.5. Responses from Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Cape Town, Archaeology department.

The following discusses the responses from an interview and personal communication with an archaeology postdoctoral researcher, based at the University of Cape Town's Human Evolution Research Institute (HERI). For the purposes of this section, the researcher has been labelled HERI participant 1.

The interview with HERI participant 1 elicited the following themes:

Theme 1: Student and teacher interest and familiarity of archaeology and human origins;
Theme 2: The challenges for education about human origins and archaeology;
Theme 3: Perspectives on the CAPS curriculum**.**

6.5.1. Theme 1: Student and teacher interest and familiarity of archaeology and human origins.

HERI participant 1 is conducting postdoctoral research on whether learner interest rests on more recent human diversity or deep time evolution, the results of the study are yet to be determined. From HERI participant 1's experience, however, there are key aspects that learners and teachers are unfamiliar with when it comes to topics about human evolution, namely: the conceptualization of deep time, learners difficulty understanding multigenerational reproduction (over single-lifetime events), and access to informative resources.

There is disparity amongst teacher familiarity about human origins. HERI participant 1 describes familiarity of the topic of human evolution as,

> *"Minimal, and in passing, as part of the curriculum"* (HERI, participant 1, July 2018).

> *"Some teachers are clued up and well read about topics like these, and others are even suspicious about the discipline"* (HERI, participant 1, July 2018).

HERI participant 1 places the misconception of human origins and archaeology from teachers and learners on a:

> *"misunderstanding of the discipline and how it is relevant to them"* (HERI, participant 1, July 2018).

> *"The fossil family tree is almost always emphasised in museum education for learners"* (HERI, participant 1, July 2018)

6.5.2. Theme 2: The challenges for education about human origins and archaeology.

Some of the same challenges that teachers experience with learner perception and understanding of deep time are experienced by HERI participant 1.

Regarding the design and implementation of participant 1's research (questions 8 and 12, July 2018), HERI participant 1, "anticipates a lot of problems getting appropriate schools involved" because of the nature of the audience that they are researching.

> *"It will pose a challenge because of the high variability in target audience regarding their knowledge and receptiveness of the curriculum"* (HERI, participant 1, July 2018).

Also, HERI participant 1 finds one of the biggest challenges is a salient "mistrust of the discipline by teachers" (HERI, participant 1, July 2018).

In other words, gaining trust with educators and teachers to teach human evolution is still a grey area in the discipline. Design of material resources for teachers and schools is another major challenge for educational initiatives in archaeology. Accessibility creates a challenge for the research.

> *"Making material and coursework which is both effective and not reliant on expensive material or a lot of data is difficult. In human evolution, outreach tends to focus on donating fossil casts to schools. This is a lovely initiative, and an effective learning strategy, but is impossible to roll out broadly"* (HERI, participant 1, July 2018).

6.5.3. Theme 3: Perspectives on the CAPS curriculum

In response to question 9, HERI participant 1 felt that the inclusion of human evolution and hominid fossil discoveries and discovery sites in South Africa in the CAPS Life Sciences curriculum is a step forward for local education about archaeology.

HERI participant 1's research programme is aligned with the CAPS Life Sciences syllabus and is twofold:

> *"I look at information already contained in the CAPS curriculum, then to look at more recent evolution which is not contained currently",* from this juncture she aims to understand where learner interest lies (HERI, participant 1, July, 2018).

By doing this, participant 1 hopes to anticipate how educational material should be developed for CAPS (HERI, participant 1, July 2018). The following is HERI participant 1's perspective on whether CAPS covers enough content of human origins for learners:

> *"there is never enough content that learners can engage with when it comes to aspects of their heritage, though on the other hand the curriculum makes the assumption that learners are interested in things because the people who set the curriculum are"* (HERI, participant 1, July 2018).

6.6. Conclusion

The themes discussed in this chapter indicate a general agreement that the CAPS history curriculum does not sufficiently cover deep African time, and that learners and teachers are not familiar with this content. This finding is supported by the findings in the sample of archaeology students, who were mostly unfamiliar with topics about human origins and archaeological sites in South Africa from their education at school. There are challenges for including archaeological topics as a resource to teach learners about the deep past, as part of the history curriculum. Most content about the deep past and human origins in Africa is offered in the Life Sciences curriculum, where its historical context is absent.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

In Chapter 7, the key findings in relation to the research problem and project aims are discussed. The study investigated the marginalization of the deep past, especially human origins content, in the CAPS History Curriculum. The study contributes to larger debates concerning the inclusion of history and the deep past in school education, and argues for the integration of archaeologically relevant themes, such as human origins, in the curriculum.

7.2. Human origins and deep time content in the CAPS and international curricula

The first objective was to examine the South African and international curricula for the inclusion of human origins and deep African history. In Chapter 2, it is shown that the CAPS History Curriculum addresses this content superficially from Grades 4-9, and that human origins content is absent in the Further Education and Training Phase (FET) phase syllabus. The examination of content in international curricula in Chapter 3, illustrates that this content is prominent in the Australian national history curriculum (Zarmati 2018). In contrast, teaching archaeology in the English curriculum at the GCSE level was slowly phased out from 2006 and at A/S and A levels has declined in popularity and uptake in recent years.

Archaeologically-studied histories and content are not given attention in southern African school curricula. For example, in chapter 3, it is shown that the Botswanan Social Studies curriculum draws primarily from disciplines such as sociology, psychology and geography (Kiyaga-Mulindwa & Segobye 1994). The implementation of CAPS (2011) in the South African curriculum marked a notable exclusion of topics which are fundamental for learning about deep African history (DBE 2018). The Report for the History Ministerial Task Team (MTT) outlines the superficial way that CAPS treats the study of precolonial history (DBE 2018: 44). By including a variety of methodologies that offer different perspectives of the past, the necessary tools are provided to begin to question and disentangle the learned colonial narratives in the syllabus. The inclusion of indigenous histories in the Australian history curriculum has promoted the recognition of indigenous perspectives and created progress towards reconciliation with Australia's colonial past (Zarmati 2018). The integration of content such as human origins in the South African curriculum, may promote a similar recognition of indigenous and precolonial heritage, and reconciliation with some of the difficult histories of the past.

Educators' and first year students' perceptions and understanding of the deep human past were established through interviews and questionnaires. Here, the main findings and their implications are discussed.

7.3. The perceptions of history teachers' about human origins in South Africa

Important feedback from interviews with teachers shows that the majority of interviewees feel negatively about the absence of deep African pasts in the FET phase curriculum. Teachers agreed on the problematic issue of Eurocentricity and Western narratives in the FET history syllabus and the marginalisation and oversimplification of indigenous African pasts in the intermediate grades (4-6). As teacher 3 from school 3 mentioned, the 'origins route' emphasizes humanity's common African origins and so, like the study of Apartheid, may too contribute to a sense of identity through a connection with a deeper past. Teachers feel that topics in the FET history syllabus need to integrate more African and indigenous narratives.

Teachers noted, as described in chapter 6, that many African learners enjoy the Apartheid topics in the history syllabus, as they were able to identify and connect with a shared history of trauma with the struggle icons, and African liberation movements. A similar theme was also noted by Angier (2017), in her study on the historical consciousness of South African history students. The very framework of the history curriculum, however, still imparts separate historic identities, either white history or black history, and a sense of a common identity as Africans is neglected.

A collective historical consciousness is a product of how history is recounted, and interpreted, whose history is being told, and by whom. Agency and emphasis are the pillars for historical interpretation and memory for learners (Angier 2017). The past is remembered and internalised differently by learners from different cultural and historical backgrounds. Angier (2017) noted that white learners included topics of hominin evolution when asked to recount South African history in an essay, and black learners showed an emphasis on the apartheid struggle heroes and colonial oppression. Thus, the sense of collective historical consciousness that learners have taken from CAPS history is still, in a manner of speaking, 'black and white' (Angier 2017).

An interesting response from teacher interviews, in lieu of the findings by Angier's (2017) study, is that just over half the sample of teachers are unfamiliar with the deep African pasts in South Africa. For example, modern human origins sites, such as Blombos and Klasies River, do not appear in the National history curriculum. These topics are far beyond the scope of CAPS history, and teachers are bound by the parameters of the curriculum. Therefore, learners become bound

by the curriculum. Some teachers in the sample are, however, familiar with the Cradle of Humankind and the discovery of *Homo naledi,* because this was covered in popular media (Esterhuysen 2019b).

All teachers demonstrate a genuine interest in drawing from subjects such as archaeology and human origins, as a resource to learn about deep African history, and remarked on the benefits of integrating more African history topics in the history curriculum. It was noted that teachers with academic training, either in African studies or African history at University, indicated a wider-ranging knowledge and interest of deep African history. However, due to the limited sample, this insight cannot be generalised to the wider teacher population.

In a recent museums conference held in Cape Town: Living Forward, Looking Back: Museum Practice for Postcolonial Futures (2020), the Professor of History at the University of the Western Cape, Dr Ciraj Rassool, a key note speaker, discussed the contested nature of objects and the representation of memory and the pasts in the museum setting. In a similar vein, the history curriculum is an epistemic body of knowledge that is now being contested, and challenged, to change deeply immersed colonial frameworks through which "we understand societies and people" (Towards the Postcolonial Museum, Rassool, 2018)

The CAPS History curriculum does not draw on the palaeosciences or archaeological record to understand human origins, nor does it teach learners about the Cradle of Humankind and the East African fossil record. The ancient, precolonial and colonial African past could be studied by infusing the curriculum with primary evidence which is part of the methods and techniques used in archaeology and/or palaeoanthropology. Including archaeological resources in classroom education, as a method to learn about the human past in Africa, would teach learners to draw on and engage with material sources as an alternative to written works (DBE 2018).

South Africa's Stone Age cultural history is a good example for this. The South African modern human origins site of Klasies River (Wurz 2019), could be an example for learning about early forms of technology, developed and used by hunter-gatherers/herders and fishermen in southern Africa. Learners would be able to consider this in addition to the Industrial Revolution in Britain and southern Africa in the Grade 8 CAPS history syllabus (DBE 2011), and critically engage with the topic of pseudo-scientific racism. This racially-informed science assumed Africa as the 'Dark Continent', as 'primitive' and 'undeveloped' (Esterhuysen 2019:9). Using different historic sources would enable learners to interpret history in a critical way, and to consider the past outside colonial frameworks (Esterhuysen 2000).

7.4. The familiarity of WITS first year archaeology students with human origins content.

Whilst the sample of students is small and cannot be seen to represent the larger population, the data indicates that, within this particular group, a small number of students learnt about archaeology and human origins from high school. Some of these students had knowledge of local human origins sites. Most of the students, like the teachers, are familiar with well-known and highly publicized human origins discoveries and archaeological sites, including Mapungubwe and the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site.

Interestingly, students did not learn about archaeology themed content from the history curriculum, as one might expect, but rather from the subjects Art, Geography and Life Sciences. Students selected to take archaeology out of a general interest in the topic, despite many of them having not learnt about these kinds of topics in school.

7.5. Museum interview responses.

The responses gained from the museum educators at Iziko Museum, Ditsong and Origins Centre Museum, and the post-doctoral researcher at the Human Evolution Research Institute indicate that the topic of human origins can be problematic for teachers and learners. This is because of the confusing terminology and timelines discerning the development of different populations in southern Africa. Moreover, museum educators agree that, in their experience, teachers and learners are not very familiar with the African Stone Age, or the differences between, for example, the Early, Middle and Late Stone Age. Museum educators confirmed that teachers only know very popular site names like Sterkfontein in the Cradle of Humankind but are not familiar with the time-depth of these sites and are confused with the details.

The responses from museum educators from Iziko Museum felt that CAPS does not cover a large amount of content on deep African histories, and that teachers need support with the material. Teachers and learners who participate in human evolution workshops at Iziko, Ditsong and Origins Centre museums, do so primarily for supplementary education for the Life Sciences syllabus. Workshops and school programmes are dedicated to prioritising content in the school syllabus, and topics about human origins are not common place for education and workshop material at the moment.

The museum educators also highlighted challenges that they experience with regards to school education and outreach programmes. Museums are currently short of funds for staff training, new exhibits, public programmes, school and public outreach projects, and education material, as well

as the hiring of qualified staff. Without the adequate resources, education workshops are not feasible. It is worth noting that the Life Sciences curriculum encourages learners and teachers to take up additional extra mural activities that support their understanding of the human origins content in the curriculum, for example, to take part in the Human Evolution education programmes at the Iziko National Museum or the activities at the Ditsong Museum. This suggests that most interaction and collaboration between museums, archaeologists and schools is facilitated through the Life Sciences curriculum. The lack of representation in the history curriculum of topics such as archaeology, early human history and human origins in Africa, may have contributed to learners losing the opportunity to become enthused about archaeological studies . This removal impacts how learners perceive South African heritage and identity (Angier 2017). As noted in Angier's (2017) study, learners perceive history differently, according to their historical and cultural backgrounds. It is only in Grade 5 CAPS that South African learners study content covering early southern African civillisations, and hunter gatherers and herders (DBE 2011). Secondary level history education gives primary attention to oppression and emancipation movements in South Africa and Europe (DBE 2011; Angier 2017; Esterhuysen 2019b). A sense of deep African heritage is overlooked.

A collaboration between history educators and heritage and museum practitioners may be facilitated through the inclusion of themes such as hominin evolution, however the inclusion of this is a highly sensitive and contested domain in South Africa (Esterhuysen 2019b: 281). The barriers to teaching human evolution in schools is complex, and rests on misgivings far broader than religious apprehension. The construction of the African identity by the West drew on white colonial theorists and Social Darwinism of the early twentieth century to bolster a racist ideology which championed the social and evolutionary advancement and superiority of the white European. The inclusion of human origins and evolution in the curriculum is today met with contention which springs from an inherent mistrust of Western science, which was responsible for rationalising racial segregation during the Apartheid, and the pre-Apartheid era (Esterhuysen 2019b: 284-285)

Responses from the interview with HERI participant 1, at the University of Cape Town, discussed in Chapter 6, mentioned that some teachers and learners are biased, to the point of mistrust, towards the subject of archaeology, palaeoanthropology and evolution. The concept of deep time is foreign and difficult to understand, especially as it is not embedded from a young age. The missing information in the history curriculum means that learners will struggle to obtain broad knowledge and familiarity on this topic.

Language barriers are another challenge noted by a museum educator, participant 1, at Ditsong Natural History Museum, as noted in Chapter 6. This participant also discussed the difficulty of establishing trust with teachers who are uncomfortable with teaching learners about hominin evolution.

The alignment of museums education workshops, and school programmes with the CAPS Life Sciences topic of hominin evolution, provides support for learners and teachers, if they wish to engage in extra-curricular activities and need supplementary education on topics such as hominin evolution. As outlined in Chapter 6, the Iziko Teach-the-teacher workshops provide programmes that help develop a community of practice between teachers and heritage sector professionals, as they collaborate on topics such as evolution and human origins.

7.6. The broader implications of the underrepresentation of the deep past in the history curriculum

This study illustrates that the CAPS history curriculum currently underrepresents deep African pasts, and that it only gives an elementary coverage of this content in the Intermediate and early Senior phases. Human origins topics in Africa and southern Africa are absent in the history syllabus. Teachers perceive their learners to be mostly unfamiliar with hominin evolution and early human developments during the African Stone Age because of the limited content in CAPS history. Students' responses confirm that teacher perception about learner awareness of these topics is fairly accurate. Hominin evolution is now firmly established in the Grade 12 Life Sciences CAPS subject statement (DBE 2011). It is argued, however, that this content is severed from the historical context that it deserves, by being removed from the history curriculum. Teaching human evolution through the lens of biology in the Life Sciences curriculum, by only teaching learners' fossil names and sites, means that the temporal and spatial scope of human development in Africa is made obsolete. This has implications for the way learners perceive and appreciate the depth of African deep time, and the cultural innovations that occurred within these contexts. The historical and cultural depth that goes hand-in-hand with learning about the African fossil record becomes redundant by teaching it purely from a biological perspective, and the significance of historical and cultural lifeways before modern humans becomes disregarded and irrelevant in this understanding.

The issues raised bythe CAPS history curriculum sparked an evaluation in 2015 by Minister of Basic Education, Ms Angie Motshekga. As discussed in Chapter 1, the History Ministerial Task Team was established in 2015 to conduct a comparative analysis of history curricula in thirteen countries across Africa, Asia and Europe (DBE 2018). A central finding outlined in the report is the elementary representation of precolonial African histories in the Intermediate phase in the

CAPS history curriculum, and the disuse of other historical resources and methodologies, including archaeology and oral history traditions, to teach history.
Moreover, it was found that in other African countries, such as Botswana and Nigeria, the history, sociology, business and geography disciplines are integrated under the umbrella of Social Studies (DBE 2018). In Botswana and Nigeria, history is not taught as a standalone subject in these cases. In Botswana, the independent study of history and the use of resources from archaeology and similar disciplines is marginalised , as discussed in Chapter 3.

Another issue detailed in the report of the History Ministerial Task Team (DBE 2018) is the representation of African pasts in CAPS, for example, the marginalisation of the early human development in eastern and southern Africa over the last 100 000 years. The view of the Task Team is that African history, as reflected in CAPS, is limited (DBE 2018:44). Further issues touched upon are that CAPS history primarily makes use of written historical sources, such as early European traveller accounts, and that other knowledge systems are not consulted. The Task Team regards the disuse of primary evidence provided by archaeology and similar disciplines for teaching the precolonial and ancient periods as problematic (DBE 2011:63-67).

The History Ministerial Task team advocates that, by integrating the use of other historical sources such as archaeology, an appreciation for the unwritten record and deep time would be embedded. The report further notes that CAPS also reinforces racial division rather than multi-vocality, and Black and White histories are still compartmentalized. Resistance by African empires, kingdoms and chiefdoms are not represented, nor the interactions and experiences of people during precolonial Africa time periods (DBE 2018: 2). The task team recommended that archaeology be integrated into the curriculum as a resource, and that teachers be trained to use archaeology resources for teaching and interpreting history. This kind of training might empower teachers to learn and teach about African pasts from a different perspective. By interacting with the original materials, teachers might gain a greater sense for ancient African cultures and peoples that cannot be fully appreciated from secondary perspectives and written sources in the curriculum. This may also provide an understanding of the material culture of African peoples long before the colonial period. Though the complexity of training teachers in archaeology methods is taken into consideration by the Task Team, they are conscious of the part that palaeosciences can play in understanding African history.

7.7. Human origins and archaeology as history

In many African countries the history curriculum underpins a civic agenda, often to address political or patriotic issues (DBE 2018). There is a demand to address the neglected histories in South Africa's past, and to reform the making and teaching of South African history in context within the African past, not merely as an adjunct to the Colonial period (Ndlovu & Smith 2019; Esterhuysen 2019b). Therefore, the work of archaeologists, heritage sector practitioners and the heritage education of young South Africans is equally as important to redress the topics in the history curriculum. It is not merely about inserting previously excluded content, but about how the understanding and interpretation of South African history can be broadened by consulting other bodies of knowledge that are intrinsic to a deeper appreciation of the African past. There is a relevance for integrating archaeology as a resource for teaching African pasts and human origins in school learning, and the necessity to draw on these resources to redefine how learners engage with Colonial and Apartheid history (DBE 2018, Esterhuysen 2019b). By providing common historical ground that is neither rooted in colonialism nor racialism, a common African identity is reappraised. This provides a look at African identity other than that which is contextualised though Colonial histories. In response to the calls to Africanise and decolonise, the timing could not be more ideal to critically engage with and transform the prescriptive history embedded in CAPS.

In CAPS, indigenous and precolonial African pasts are dealt with in the younger grades, where learners cannot create sophisticated connections to the content. Content about deep African pasts become trivialised by this approach (DBE 2018). For higher grades, precolonial themes are forgotten, and content focuses on modern history. At a level when learners are more intellectually mature, the curriculum is preoccupied with the modern era and patriotic narratives. CAPS undermines a multi-perspective approach by isolating and periodising South African history from the deeper African past, especially at the FET phase, which is primarily concerned with civil rights and liberation themes (Esterhuysen 2019b).

The inclusion of topics and primary evidence from the discipline of archaeology, to teach about the African past, might address some of the underlying assumptions we have about our history. One such assumption is that history is an unchanging and static entity without different layers and different perspectives. This is noted in the periodisation indicated in CAPS history (DBE 2018, Esterhuysen 2019b). Integrating different methods to analyse the past might teach learners and educators to engage with the past in a way that is not dictated by the written record, but is open to other sources and chains of evidence to learn about history and, in particular, precolonial history (DBE 2018).

By acknowledging and celebrating our deep past in the national curriculum, we may be able to challenge some of these assumptions and create a sense of history that is representative of multiple voices and uses different historical sources. Australia is an example of how the integration of marginalised indigenous histories in the curriculum, including the Torres Straight Islanders and Aboriginal Australian heritage, has proven to be a point of celebration and national pride (Zarmati 2015). By embedding indigenous histories in the history curriculum and by representing their deep pasts in Australia, it gives a voice to Aboriginal Australian indigenous identity in education (Zarmati 2015)

Drawing on the perspectives of postcolonial writers Trouillot (1995) and Spivak (2001), one might consider the removal of human origins in the CAPS history curriculum, and the preoccupation with 'subaltern' struggle history of apartheid, as an effort by curriculum writers to embed a sense of labour and solidarity, by emphasising struggle and liberation histories in CAPS. The human origins story has been muted by its removal and placement in the Life Sciences curriculum. Is this a form of contemporary governmentality? (Foucault 1976). Foucault 1976) expressed governmentality as a form of state control over the production of knowledge using various mechanisms by those in power. It may be understood through the lens of Foucault, that the preoccupation with apartheid struggle history in CAPS is a mechanism by the government to highlight the subaltern experience of the anti-apartheid movement, and to silence the Western, 'white' colonial science of human origins in the curriculum as a way to move towards a renewed sense of African identity, and away from the 'primitive' (Esterhuysen 2019b; Wurz 2019). Arguably, by including 'muted histories' exposed by the postcolonial lens, such as that of the African human origins story, as well as African human origins sites and cultures, we might further efforts to recenter the African historical identity within the present efforts to Africanise and Decolonise the South African history curriculum by celebrating and giving more attention to early African cultures.

Providing ways for learners and schools to learn about African pasts might help critique previous misconceptions about early human developments in Africa. The inclusion of which, as seen through the findings of the research, would be beneficial for creating a deep appreciation and historical awareness amongst learners, and more collaboration between the education and heritage sectors in South Africa (Ndlovu & Smith 2018; Wurz 2019).

The findings of this study elucidate the place and efforts of museums and museum education programmes, and the challenges that are experienced in this sector, not just for funding and support infrastructures, but for relevancy in mainstream education. Through the loss of deep African origins content in CAPS, the essential link between learning in schools and learning in

museums has become redundant. If anything, museums have become an important public platform that gives a voice to the negated histories not represented in CAPS. Further still, introducing these topics in the history curriculum, and in general, African origins education is imbued with socio-cultural and religious complexities. There is mistrust by teachers who have to teach hominin evolution in the Life Sciences, which have historically, and still are considered to be, 'white western science'.

The controversy surrounding the teaching of hominin evolution is a global phenomenon, notmerely confined to a single country or region. Teaching the topic of hominin evoutionary theory is controversial in many countries, and a site of contestation within curriuculum development,, especially in a country with the historical, political and social background as South Africa (Deniz & Borgerding 2018; Sanders 2018). Learning about the hominin fossil record, and the archaeological past in South African schools would seemingly be an authentic and highly relevant learning experience given the richness and diversity of the historical landscape (Sanders 2018). Although South Africa is a secular country, there are many Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Hindu religious groups, with Christianity being the most predominant religion (Sanders 2018:410)

Deniz and Borgerding (2018) describe religious and non-religious epistemology as 'non-overlapping magisteria', that science and religion each represent different areas of inquiry, or fact versus values (Deniz & Borgerding 2018). Confining the theory of human evolution to a atheistic / philosophical materialist worldview has implications for anti-evolution movements, motivated by a strong sense of commitment to religious worldviews and backgrounds (Deniz & Borgerding 2018). "The controversial nature of evolutionary theory makes teaching evolution a difficult task for biology teachers…science educators need to consider various domains when teaching about evolutionary theory, such as the epistemic, conceptual, religious, social, cultural worldview" (Deniz & Borgerding 2018: 3-4). Deniz and Borgerding conclude that teaching evolutionary theory may not necessarily need to be conveyed from a place of philosophical materialism (atheism). Scientists come from various backgrounds and many still retain their individual cultural and religious belief systems. In other words, whilst scientists use scientific methodologies for research, they may interpret these results from the perspective of their personal worldview (Deniz & Borgerding 2018).

A study conducted by Miller *et al.* (2006) considered the acceptance of evolutionary theory in 34 western European countries, such as Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, the United Kingdom and France. The study indicated a 75% acceptance rate among adults in western European countries, in comparison with lower

acceptance rates, of 40% in the United States and 25% in Turkey. “If a concept has a little leverage within a cultural milieu, it will not be readily acceptable, and it will be difficult for that concept to be included in the school curriculum” (Deniz & Borgerding 2018: 7). In addition, the way learners’ transition from their personal social and cultural values, to the science classroom depends largely on the compatibility of their home environment and the school culture. An example of this is illustrated in the teacher interviews with school 6, an all-boys Catholic school. Interviews conducted with the history teachers from school 6, as discussed in Chapter 6, indicated that there was some contention and unease with teaching the concept of hominin evolution (school 6, April 2018.) The sentiment was that teachers do not wish to undermine the religious views of their learners.
If there is conflict between home values and the culture of science, “instruction tends to damage students’ socio-cultural values by forcing students to abandon their indigenous values” (Deniz & Borgerding 2018: 7).

One example of when the clash between African experience and science came to the fore was following the discovery of *Homo naledi* (de Robillard 2018). The find was presented as being a specimen of an early ancestor to modern humans. However, for many Africans, this presentation was a stark reminder of the racialised hate speech that they had personally been targeted with (de Robillard 2018). Zwelinzima Vavi of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), ANC member Mathole Motshekga and Bishop Ziphozihle Siwa of the South African Council of Churches, described how they had been called terms such as ‘monkeys’, ‘apes’ or baboons’, by those who wished to dehumanise them (Debut 2015). They argued that the portrayal of an ‘ape’, *Homo naledi*, as their ancestor further illustrated the racism of western science. Although scientists responded that *Homo naledi* would have been an ancestor for all humans, not just Africans (Debut 2015), the furore which the discovery met with demonstrates how paleoanthropological studies may be seen as controversial, and therefore, difficult to teach, in the South African context.

Postcolonial critique is a necessary precursor to being able to explore and appreciate different or alternative knowledge systems. Only through understanding the deep psychological damage caused by skewed and racist colonial interpretations of the deep, past can meaningful redress occur. Further, recognising that all knowledge systems are created in the present to serve a particular purpose may create the space for seemingly incongruous interpretations to co-exist. For example, from a scientific perspective, the preserved footprints of *Australopithecus afarensis* are found at Laetoli in Tanzania dating to approximately 3.5 million years ago (Leakey and Hay 1979). The local Maasai people, however, believe the footprints to have been created by a folk hero named Lakalanga, whose great size meant that where he walked he left his footprints in the rock (Ichumbaki *et al*. 2019). Ichumbaki *et al.* (2019)

argue that it is necessary for scientists to engage with the Maasai, and in so doing, be sensitive to their folklore, so that all stakeholders may appreciate the footprints from a holistic perspective that will ensure greater appreciation, and therefore preservation, of the footprints. This example demonstrates how scientists need to be acutely aware of the experience and beliefs of Africans when presenting their research. This awareness may assist with avoiding the sort of controversy that occurred with the discovery of *Homo naledi*.

A study by Sanders and Ngxola (2009) looked at the concerns of 125 secondary school biology teachers in South Africa, about teaching the topic of hominin evolution. The introduction of human evolution in the CAPS Life Sciences syllabus in 2009, for Grade 12 learners, was met with apprehension (Sanders & Ngxola 2009; DBE 2011). Teachers indicated a personal issue with having to teach human evolution, as it was contradictory to their fundamental religious beliefs. Other studies in a similar vein, (Aguillard 1999; Rutledge and Mitchell 2002) have correlated the contended relationship between teachers' religious views and the time they spend teaching evolutionary theory (Sanders & Ngxola 2009). Sanders & Ngxola (2009) found that if teachers do want to teach hominin evolution, they have concerns about undermining learners' personal religious and cultural beliefs. In addition, examiners for the local Matric examinations found that learners from a number of schools had left out all the evolution-related exam questions, which leaves the assumption that many schools were not teaching this content. Sanders & Ngxola (2009) also noted that that many biology teachers did not havethe necessary content training, and thus had misconceptions about the topic of hominin evolution.

Despite these important studies, and the recent work by the History Ministerial Task Team to investigate and advocate the integration of topics related to African human origins in the syllabus, human evolution has been relegated to the biology classroom (DBE 2009; DoE 2001; DBE 2018; Sanders 2018).

Scholars in the public archaeology and heritage education domain need to carefully consider and inform their education programmes alongside teachers and learners with religious and cultural backgrounds that are not inclusive towards western centric theories of human evolution.

7.8. Limitations and Recommendations

The project used anthropological methodology to enquire about or investigate the perceptions that history educators have about archaeological themes and resources, such as modern human origins sites, and human origins discoveries in South Africa, after these themes were removed

from the history curriculum. Further, it set out to understand the implications for marginalising this content, over the selection of European and Western content, for teacher and learner (public) awareness of African deep pasts. The issue of teaching human origins in history education, and the debates around whether to integrate the use of archaeological resources, highlights a current social and educational problem that exists at the moment for history education (DBE 2018).

Using an anthropological approach to investigate this area of interest made it possible to engage with the personal and lived experiences of educators in this space. However, the sample was limited to a small number of individuals and the responses were not particularly varied. A larger sample, comprising teachers from more non-fee paying schools and learners, as well as archaeology professionals from other South African museums might illuminate further data in this area of debate and possibly provide a more varied response. A larger and more diverse sample would draw more data which too may be used for arguing the case of representing themes such as human origins and African pasts in the history curriculum. In addition, further study on how audiences (schools and businesses) receive the topic of human origins and the story of humankind, told through the Walking Tall education initiative, a theatrical dance production run by the Palaeontological and Scientific Trust (PAST), would provide a wider understanding of public perception of the topic of human origins in Africa (PAST, Walking Tall 2020).

The collaboration between archaeologists, anthropologists, and educators for the development and inclusion of different ways of knowing and learning about African history, is underpinned in this dissertation.

7.9. Conclusion

This dissertation investigated the perceptions and understanding history teachers and first year archaeology students have about African human origins after this content was removed from the CAPS history curriculum. It identified how the marginalisation of such content has negative implications for historical awareness and the identity of young South Africans. Despite these findings, the issue of which topics should be included in the history curriculum is still a topic under review (DBE 2018, Esterhuysen 2019b).

In order to understand the current history curriculum, it was necessary to review how history was taught previously, during the Apartheid and pre-Apartheid eras. This review is the central theme of Chapter 2. It was shown that during this period, history education was used as a political and social mechanism to support European ideals of white superiority and enforce racial hierarchies in South Africa.

Chapter 3 made use of a global comparison. Here, current South African history education and curriculum content was contrasted with that of the Australian, Botswanan and English curricula. It was found that the representation of precolonial pasts in the history syllabus is still a matter of contention and contestation in African curricula, whilst Australia has made reparations to include Aboriginal histories. England, on the other hand, is undergoing the removal of archaeology as an independent subject at GCSE and A / S levels.

The context provided in Chapter 2 and 3 was analysed through the works of postcolonial writers, and the theory of Post-Colonialism in Chapter 4. The work of Ralph Trouillot, Gayatri Spivak and Michel Foucault, was particularly drawn on. The way in which the narrative of history, and how the voices of the oppressed, have been silenced and subjugated in South African historiography was unpacked. It was shown that despite multiple revisions and reparations to the history curriculum in the past few years, certain topics and histories, for example, early human origins histories in East and southern Africa and early hunter-gatherer's and Khoe and San histories, are still silenced and trivialised in CAPS history.

Chapters 5 and 6 moved beyond the published literature discussed in the preceding chapters to include first-hand accounts from those in the educational sphere, consisting of teachers, museum educators and students. The methods used to interview teachers, first year archaeology students and heritage practitioners was outlined in Chapter 5 and the themes from interview discussions are addressed in Chapter 6. The central finding which was salient in interview discussions with all participants, is the partial understanding and distorted perspective of African origins, by teachers, and learners.

The practice of archaeology and the palaeosciences have historically been rooted and intertwined with white colonial philosophies and oppressive practices. Colonial ideology and racial categorisation imposed the forced removal and suppression of indigenous identity and peoples in Africa and South Africa (Smith 1983). The collective memory of oppression of marginalised groups in South Africa has given rise to the #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall movements which advocate the decolonisation of academic practice and knowledge systems in South Africa's Universities, as well as museums and education in schools. Global trends for decolonising academia have been recorded in other countries, for example, the UK 'Why is my Curriculum White?' campaign and the US film 'Dear White People' (Wurz 2019). Decolonisation within education may be supported by giving a voice to silenced, precolonial African pasts in education, in schools, and universities. Such campaigns for decolonisation, as well as other socio-political movements for feminism, gay rights, Pan-Africanism and the inclusion of indigenous histories are part of the discourse and social movements to redress and transform the way society and

historically white-Western colonial institutions such as universities, treat and represent the collective identity and experiences of the subaltern, the indigenous and the historically oppressed (Wurz 2019).

In order to achieve this, however, the deep African past and topics concerning human origins need to be included in the history curriculum to emphasise their social relevance, rather than the biological approach in the Life Sciences. That said, they must be included and considered in a sensitive way so as to not repeat the previous tropes of racial science.

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Appendix A: The Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (DBE 2011)

CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT POLICY STATEMENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES: HISTORY (Grades 4-9)			
INTERMEDIATE PHASE (GRADES 4-6)			
Grade 4	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Local History	No
	2	Learning from Leaders	No
	3	Transport through Time	No
	4	Communication through Time	No
Grade 5	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Hunter-gatherers and Herders in South Africa	1) A discussion on the way of life of hunter-gatherers in SA. 2) South African people from 10 000 years ago- Later Stoner Age, the San and Khoekhoen societies. 3)San Hunter- gatherers - invention of bow and arrow, plant medicines, rock art and interpretations (Linton Rock art panel). 4) Khoikhoi herder society: pastoral way of life; how Khoikhoi and San shared same language.
	2	The first Farmers in Southern Africa	The first farmers in southern Africa were Bantu-speakers and archaeology shows that they entered southern Africa between 2 000 and 1 700 years ago. The study of Iron Age archaeology provides a history for the majority of present-day southern African and South African citizens.
	3	An Ancient African Society: Egypt	1)The way of life in Ancient Egypt. The Nile river and its influence on human settlement. 2) Social structure; hieroglyphics; Pharoahs; Pyramids; beliefs and religion; Medicines and physicians; Astronomy. 3) The discovery of Tut's tomb. 4) The spread of advanced Egyptian knowledge to other societies in the World- Europe and Middle east
	4	A Heritage Trail through the provinces of South Africa	1)An overview of the diversity of South African cultural heritage, tangible and intangible heritage. 2)Heritage Trail that looks into various places within SA and significant aspects we have inherited from our past. 3) Signifcant Heritage sites in 9 provinces for example The Cradle of Humankind in Gauteng, The Castle in the Western Cape and Mapungubwe in Limpopo
Grade 6	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	An African Kingdom long ago in Southern Africa: Mapungubwe	1) Mapungubwe 900 AD- a focus on how South African interior societies became part of a world trade, commerce and cultural exchange. 2) Understanding Mapungubwe from a political and historical context, the setttlements in Limpopo prior to Mapungubwe and conclusion of Great Zimbabwe (centre of South African Trade)
	2	Explorers from Europe find South Africa	No
	3	Democracy and Citizenship in South Africa	No
	4	Medicine through Time	No

Appendix A: The Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement

SENIOR PHASE (GRADES 7-9)			
Grade 7	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The Kingdom of Mali and the City of Tumbuktu in the 14th Century	1) Trade across the Sahara desert. 2) Spread of Islam across North Africa and West Africa via 9th Century traders. 3) The Kingdom of Mali - Mansa Musa. 4) The City of Timbuktu- Leo Africanus. 4) Why Timbuktu is a WHS. 5) The Timbuktu Manuscripts project and South African collaboration
	2	Transatlantic Slave Trade	No
	3	Colonisation of the Cape 17-18th Century	No
	4	Co-operation and conflict on the frontiers of the Cape Colony in early 19th Century	No
Grade 8	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The Industrial Revolution in Britain and Southern Africa from 1860	No
	2	The mineral revolution in South Africa	No
	3	The scramble for Africa: Late 19th Century	No
	4	World War I (1914- 1918)	No
Grade 9	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	World War II (1919-1945)	No
	2	Nuclear age and the Cold war	No
	3	Turning Points in Modern South African History	No
	4	Turning Points in South African History 1960, 1976, 1990	No

Appendix A: Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement

FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING PHASE (GRADES 10-12)			
Grade 10	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The World around 1600	A comparative overview of some of the major Empires in Europe around 1600.
	2	European expansion and conquest during 15 to 18th Century	No
	3	The French Revolution	No
	4	Transformations in Southern Africa after 1750	No
	5	Colonial expansion after 1750	No
	6	The South African War and Union	No
Grade 11	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940	No
	2	Capitalism in the USA 1900 to 1940	No
	3	Ideas of Race in the late 19th and 20th Centuries	the theories of race and eugenics that were widespread in the 19th century, how these ideas developed and how different counties applied them.21)
	4	Nationalism- South Africa, The Middle East and Africa	No
	5	Apartheid in South Africa 1940's to 1960's	No
Grade 12	**Module**	**Topic**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The Cold War	No
	2	Independent Africa	No
	3	Civil Society protests 1950's to 1970's	No
	4	Civil Resistance in South Africa 1970's to 1980's	No
	5	The coming of Democracy in South Africa, and coming to terms with the past	No
	6	The end of the Cold War and a new Global World Order 1989 to present	No

Appendix A continued: The Revised National Curriculum Statement and National Curriculum Statement Grades 4-12 (DoE 2002)

THE REVISED NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT: SOCIAL SCIENCES			
INTERMEDIATE PHASE (GRADES 4-6)			
Grade 4	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	The history of the local area or district	The history of the local area or district: people, places, resources, beliefs linked. oral histories and traditions: finding out about place names, names of rivers, mountains and other landmarks and indigenous environmental practices; People as historical sources: interviewing members of the community; stories of families and communities which express human values of concern for others, triumph over obstacles, resistance against wrong, valuing human rights.
	2	Learning from leaders in all spheres of life	What makes a good or great leader; stories of leaders from South Africa and around the world over time.
	3	The history of transport and travel over time	The earliest ways of transporting goods and people to the most modern on land, sea and in the air, including the environmental impact of different types of transport.
	4	Broad historical overview of the origins of major world religions reflected in South Africa	African traditional religion; Judaism; Christianity; Hinduism; Islam; Buddhism.
	5	Democracy and human rights in the school and the community.	No description given
Grade 5	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Early civilisations	An early African civilisation: Egypt/Nubia; and one example from the rest of the world: Mesopotamia, Indus River Valley, China, the Americas; why these civilisations occurred where they did; the key characteristics of these societies (e.g. the role of the environment in shaping the societies, use of resources, farming, the development of cities, technology, trade, communication, belief systems)
	2	Early Southern African societies until 1600	How the environment shaped these societies, social organisation, appropriate technologies, stories exploring systems of belief, co-operation and conflict: hunter-gatherer societies; herders; African farmers.
	3 and 4	Provincial histories	heritage and identity; tradition and indigenous knowledge of the significance of place names, rivers, mountains and other landmarks, including indigenous environmental practices; provincial government and symbols; role of democratically-elected leaders; how to participate in a democracy.
Grade 6		**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Organisation and African Societies	kingdoms of southern Africa: Mapungubwe, Thulamela, Great Zimbabwe; Cattle, gold, ivory and iron.
	2	Exploration and exploitation from the fourteenth century onwards	Early mapping: representations of Africa; science and technology: investigating contributions from different parts of the world; examples of exploration from Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Africa, and its impact on indigenous people.
	3	The History of Medicine	Important medical discoveries; indigenous medicine and traditional healing
	4	Democracy in South Africa	What is democracy? How is South Africa governed? National symbols such as the Coat of Arms and the National Anthem; the Children's Charter; the Earth Charter.

Appendix A: The Revised National Curriculum Statement

SENIOR PHASE (GRADES 7-9)			
Grade 7	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / Precolonial content**
	1	Human Evolution	Early hominid discoveries in South Africa and East Africa; becoming human in southern Africa; Rock art as an expression of hunter-gatherer society and world-view
	2	A broad overview of early trading systems	Indian Ocean and East Africa: Arab trade, Swahili coastal communities, and links with Great Zimbabwe - ninth to sixteenth centuries; West Africa and trans-Saharan trade: salt, gold, slaves and ancient trade routes, centres of learning, historical reporting - ninth to sixteenth centuries; European trading systems in the Middle Ages - fourteenth to sixteenth centuries; Dutch settlement, the Indian Ocean slave trade and slavery at the Cape - seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Africa and the Atlantic slave trade - sixteenth to nineteenthcenturies.
	3	Moving frontiers	Contact, conflict and dispossession on the Cape eastern or northern frontiers in the nineteenth century; Contact, conflict and dispossession: frontiers in America in the nineteenth century.
	4	Systems of democracy: the American Revolution.	No details provided
Grade 8	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Changing worlds: the French Revolution	No details provided
	2	Changing worlds: industrialisation.	No
	3	Resisting British control:	No
	4	The experience of colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:	No
	5	Changing Ideas and Technologies - World War I	No
Grade 9	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	Human rights issues during and after World War II	No
	2	The end of World War II and the struggle for human rights:	No
	3	Apartheid in South Africa:	No
	4	The Nuclear Age and the Cold War:	No
	5	Issues of our time:	No

Appendix A continued: The National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12

NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT: HISTORY			
FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING PHASE (GRADE 10-12)			
Grade 10	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	What was the world like in the mid-fifteenth century?	No
	2	What was the impact of conquest, warfare and early colonialism in the Americas (Spain), Africa (Portugal, Holland) and India (France, Britain)?	No
	3	Atlantic Slavery	No
	4	The quest for Liberty	No
	5	Industrial Revolution	No
	6	What transformations occurred in Southern Africa between 1750 and 1850?	No
	7	How did the world change between 1450 and 1850?	No
	8	What are the constructed heritage icons from the period that are celebrated today?	No
Grade 11	**Module**	**Knowledge Focus (Topic)**	**Archaeological / human origins content**
	1	What was the world like by 1850?	No
	2	Imperialism	No
	3	What were the range of responses to colonialism in Africa and Asia?	No
	4	Challenges to Capitalism: the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the communist state (Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism).	No
	5	What was the impact of pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism on the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries	No
	6	Competing Nationalism and identities in Africa	No
	7	How did the world change from 1850-1950?	No

Appendix A continued: The National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12

Grade 12	Module	Knowledge Focus (Topic)	Archaeological / human origins content
	1	What was the impact of the Cold War in forming the world as it was in the 1960s?	No
	2	How was uhuru realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?	No
	3	How was uhuru realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?	independent states? What types of states were set up? What were the possibilities and constraints?; What was the impact of internal and external factors on Africa during this time?
	4	What was the impact of the collapse of the USSR in 1989?	No
	5	How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s?	No
	6	What do we understand by globalisation?	No
	7	What are the ideologies and debates around the constructed heritage icons from the period?	What are the ideologies and debates around South African heritage symbols and representations today? • How have the findings of palaeontology, archaeology and genetics transformed the notions of race?

Appendix B: Curriculum changes from 1992-2015

Curriculum Reform in South Africa Apartheid to Post-Apartheid			
Political Government	**Curriculum**	**Period**	**References**
Apartheid Government, Minister of Education, Piet Marais (1992-1994)	Christian National Education	1992-1994	Stroebel *et al*. 2016.
ANC Government, Minister of Education Prof. Sibusiso Bengu. The National Education and Training Forum (NETF) - formed late 1992, NETF, pressure to address education crisis	Interim Core curriculum 1992-1994	Implemented by January 1995 revision began in late August 1994 emphasise African Nationalism	Jansen 1997
ANC government, Minister of Education Prof. Sibusiso Bengu (1994-1999). First Minister of Education (Post-Apartheid)	Curriculum 2005 (Outcomes-based-Education)	Introduced in 1997. Inherent challenges and flaws noted by 2000	Stroebel, *et al*. 2016.
ANC Government, Minister of Education, Prof. Kadar Asmal (1999-2004) Second Minister of Education (Post-Apartheid)	Revised National Curriculum Statement (Grades R-9) and National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12	Implemented by 2002	DoE. 2002: 4
ANC Government, Minister of Education Naledi Pandor 2004 - 2009. Third Minister of Education (Post-Apartheid)	R-NCS and NCS revised in 2009. Ministerial Project Committee developed Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement	CAPS implemented in 2012	Stroebel *et al.* 2016.
ANC Government, Minister of Education Angie Motshekga (2009-present) Current Minister of Basic Education	The National Curriculum Statement, grades R-12 (also known as CAPS)	CAPS 2012	Stroebel *et al*. 2016.
Angie Motshekga 31 May 2018 Revision to the History CAPS Curriculum. Implementation plan for 2023-2025.	History Ministerial Task Team	2015-2018 and present	DBE. 2018.

Appendix C: Interview schedule for teachers

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The Neglected Past in the South African History Curriculum

Witwatersrand University

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Sciences

I would like to investigate the perceptions of history educators about the archaeological pasts, human origins, and the African Stone Age in the History curriculum.

Could you tell me a bit about your background and your current work as an educator? Any information about your career as a history teacher would be helpful. You are welcome to list any challenges, initiatives or current issues that you have experienced in your profession thus far. Background

In this section I am interested in gaining insight into history as a subject and what learners and educators enjoy about history.

1. How many learners do you take for History a year?
2. Which grades do you teach for history?
3. Which topics do you cover in your history lessons?
4. Which topics are favoured by learners in history class?
5. Which topics or subject matter do you prefer? Why?

In this section I am interested in understanding the perceptions of educators about the previous history curriculum and their opinions on human origins.

6. Did you teach the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) (2002) history syllabus, prior to the implementation of the Curriculum and Assessment Statement (CAPS) in 2009?
7. What is your opinion about the previous History Curriculum versus CAPS History?
8. Do you think it is important for learners to understand that we all share a common origin?

9. What are your views on human origins?
10. What are your views on the fossil discoveries of *Homo naledi* and *Australopithecus africanus,* and modern human origins sites like Blombos Cave and Klasies River?
11. Do you think learners should learn about the evolution of early hominins in Africa?
12. Why do you think this is important?
13. Do you think learners should learn about the developments and advancement of humans in Precolonial Africa?

In this section, I wish to gain insight into current perceptions about modern human origins sites in South Africa.

14. Are you aware of the kinds of artefacts that help us understand the deep history of our country? Which examples do you think are important?
15. Do you think that learners are sufficiently exposed to knowledge about the archaeological record of South Africa?
16. If not, what resources or programmes are needed?
17. Do learners know about the Stone Age in South Africa? Are there any misconceptions?
18. If not, do you think it could be incorporated into the syllabus?
19. Have you heard of the Blombos or Klasies River archaeological site and if so, what do you think of the evidence such as objects and artefacts found there?
20. What are some of your biggest challenges with the history or life sciences curriculum?

Conclusion

21. Do you have any comments that you wish to share or add?

Appendix D: Questionnaire for Archaeology first year students at Wits

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

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The Neglected Past in the South African History Curriculum

Witwatersrand University

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Sciences

Questionnaire Archaeology First Year Students

*In this questionnaire I would like to understand if students learnt about archaeology or archaeology related topics in High school.

In this section I wish to gain insight into the concepts learners were taught in History in their High School career

1. What kind of high school did you attend? background
2. What subjects did you take in High school?
3. Did you learn about Archaeology? background
4. Did you learn about the African Stone Age?
5. If so, in what subject were you taught about the African Stone Age and in what Grade?
6. What were your favourite topics in archaeology?
7. Is this the first time you are learning about Archaeology? (At University)
8. What made you decide to take this as a first year subject?
9. Are you aware of any South African Stone Age sites? Can you name any?
10. What does the term “modern human origins” mean to you?

Appendix E: Interview schedule for archaeology and museum educators

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***Interview Schedule for Museum Educator / Curator**

I would like to gain insight into the programmes run by museum educators about content related to archaeology and human origins in the African Stone Age and how the programmes are aligned with the CAPS Curriculum.

Background

In this section I am interested in gaining insight into the programmes that are facilitated at and what learners and educators enjoy about these programmes.

22. What programme/s do you run throughout the year?
23. Which grades and subject statement is the programme aimed at?
24. Do you align your education programmes with the CAPS Curriculum?
25. What is the general response to these programmes by learners and teachers?
26. Which topics or focus area are favoured by teachers and learners?

27. Which topics are least known about by teachers / and or learners?
28. Is there unfamiliarity about archaeological history and human origins by teachers and learners?
29. What are the challenges when designing material resources for schools and teachers?

In this section I am interested in understanding the views museum educators and professionals have about CAPS. I also wish to understand what the associated challenges are for education programmes.

30. The old history South African history curriculum contained more content about heritage, archaeology and palaeontology. What is your opinion about this in comparison to CAPS?
31. Do you think that the material in the CAPS Curriculum is adequate for an understanding of South African Archaeology and early human development?
32. Does the museum have to provide a support structure for schools when it comes to learning about human origins?
33. Can you elaborate?
34. What are some of the challenges involved when creating education programmes?
35. What professionals are involved in designing education material for archaeology?
36. What are some of the challenges specific to archaeological education?
37. In your profession, what is the biggest misconception amongst learners and teachers about the South African archaeological record?
38. If so, what could be done to mitigate this?
39. What programmes could be created for this?
40. What material culture in archaeology is the most known about and the least known about by teachers/ learners?
41. Do teachers and learners know about modern human origins sites such as Klasies River Mouth?
42. If yes, what is their level of knowledge about this site?

Conclusion

43. Do you have any comments that you wish to share or add?

Appendix F: Interview schedule for Postdoctoral Researcher at Human Evolution Research Institute

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Interview Schedule for Archaeology professional

- The interview should take around 30 minutes to fill in;
- In my research I wish to gain insight from archaeology professionals about how human origins and archaeology related subjects are understood by teachers and learners.
- Please feelfree to add any additional comments or information at the end of this interview schedule that you feel may be valuable.

Background Questions

In this section I wish to gain insight into the programme that you facilitate and what teachers and learners know about the topics of the programme.

1. **Interviewer:** What programme/s do / did you run for learners and teachers? At what museum?
2. **Interviewer:** Which grades are/ were the programmes designed for in particular?
3. **Interviewer:** Which topics in the programme are favoured by teachers and learners?
4. **Interviewer:** Which topics are least known about by teachers / and or learners?

5. **Interviewer:** Is there difference in awareness of archaeological / human origins history by teachers?
6. **Interviewer:** What are the challenges when designing material resources for schools and teachers?

In this section I am interested in understanding perceptions about CAPS and the challenges around archaeological education programmes.

7. **Interviewer:** What aspects of museum education are given primary focus at the moment in your opinion?
8. **Interviewer:** What are the challenges of this?
9. **Interviewer:** What is your opinion about the CAPS school curriculum where Human Origins and archaeology is concerned?
10. **Interviewer:** Do / did you align your education programmes with the CAPS Curriculum?
11. **Interviewer:** What professionals are involved in designing education material for archaeology?
12. **Interviewer:** What are some of the challenges you have encountered when doing this?
13. **Interviewer:** What are some of the challenges specific to archaeological education?
14. **Interviewer:** What are some of the benefits of aligning programmes with CAPS?
15. **Interviewer:** Do you think that the material in the CAPS Social Sciences (History) and Life Sciences Curriculum is adequate for an in depth understanding of South African archaeology and early human development?
16. **Interviewer:** If not, please elaborate on what programmes, resources or materials could be created and used to mitigate this.
17. **Interviewer:** What kind of education programmes do you consider to be the most useful for archaeology?
18. **Interviewer:** Do teachers and learners know about modern human origins sites such as Klasies River, Border Cave or Blombos Cave?
19. **Interviewer:** If yes, what is their level of knowledge about this site?
20. **Interviewer:** Are any of the artefacts from Klasies River, Blombos or Border Cave used in the education programmes?
21. **Interviewer:** In your profession, what is the biggest misconception by learners and teachers about archaeology and human origins?

Conclusion

23. Do you have any comments that you wish to share or add?

Appendix G: *Gauteng Department of Education Research Approval Letter*

GAUTENG PROVINCE
Department: Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

8/4/4/1/2

GDE RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	**09 October 2017**
Validity of Research Approval:	**05 February 2018 – 28 September 2018** **2017/239**
Name of Researcher:	**Gathercole M.S**
Address of Researcher:	**1162 Luit street, Radiokop**
	Randburg
	1724
Telephone Number:	**076 245 3958**
Email address:	**1734087@students.wits.ac.za**
Research Topic:	**Modern Human Origins in Education and Klasies River**
Number and type of schools:	**Fifteen Secondary Schools**
District/s/HO	**Ekurhuleni North, Johannesburg East, Johannesburg North, Johannesburg West**

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.

09/10/2017

The following conditions apply to GDE research. The researcher may proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met. Approval may be withdrawn should any of the conditions listed below be flouted: 1

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 H: Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Gathercole

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/10/05**
PROJECT TITLE	Modern human origins in education and Klasies River
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss M Gathercole
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Science/
DATE CONSIDERED	20 October 2017
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Permission letters required before data collection can commence
EXPIRY DATE	19 February 2021

DATE 20 February 2018 **CHAIRPERSON** _____
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor S Wurz and Prof A Esterhuysen

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES