

**Applicability of Changes in History Pedagogy in Malawian
Secondary Schools, with Special Reference to Mzuzu Government
Secondary School since 1964.**

By

Nerva Dzikanyanga

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Education in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Education (M.Ed.) in
Teacher Education**

Of

Mzuzu University

Mzuzu, Malawi

2017

DECLARATION

I, **Nerva Dzikanyanga**, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work that has not previously been submitted either in part or full, for the degree of any other university. Where material written and published by any other persons is used, this has been appropriately acknowledged through applicable citations.

Name_____

Signature_____

Date_____

APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis by Nerva Dzikanyanga entitled
Applicability of Changes in History Pedagogy in Malawian Secondary Schools, with Special
Reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School since 1964.

is submitted with my approval

Signed _____

Professor K.M. Phiri

SUPERVISOR

Date _____

DEDICATION

To my late father and mother, Waston Dzikanyanga and Chrissy Mphamba, respectively, for instilling in me the belief that I am destined for great things in life. To my wife Stella for persevering the long days and nights I had to spend on studies for this project. To my children, Pasha and Patra, for giving me the joy of fatherhood. This work is also dedicated to my brothers and sister: Stanely, Rankin and Mellicy, for always being there for me and my family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks should go to the omnipotent and omnipresent God almighty for his divine grace and mercy which has enabled me to complete this study within the allocated time.

Special thanks should also go to Prof. Kings M. Phiri for his untiring effort in guiding me through this research project and ensuring that I stay motivated and focused. The thesis being presented here drew so much strength from his guidance, while the weaknesses and errors must remain my responsibility.

I would also be failing my duty if I do not acknowledge the efforts of the following lecturers; Assoc. Prof. V. Mgonezulu, Assoc. Prof. B.G. Nkhoma, Dr. S.D.D. Safuli, Dr. D.M. Ndengu, Dr. M.M. Mdolo, Dr. S.G. Gwayi, Dr. F. Lungu, Dr. A. Itimu, Mr. C.E. Sangoma and Mrs. F. Chibambo who led me into the depths of the Master of Education (Teacher Education) course from where I came out greatly enlightened.

Friends and colleagues in the History Department at Mzuzu University also deserve honourable mention for the support they rendered to me in various ways. I would also like to acknowledge the support I received from various participants in the study for this thesis, for their time and input.

My last word of gratitude should go to my classmates, in particular to Officer David Kumwenda, Macdonald Luka and Henry Tambudzai, for being a source of inspiring mutual support. What an experience it has been to soldier along with them!

ABSTRACT

In the 1950s, the Great Tradition of history teaching which dates back to classical times began to be replaced by the Alternative Tradition across the world. Consequently, the Alternative Tradition has become the *modus operandi* in modern history education. But literature on secondary school history education in Malawi attests to the continued domination of the Great Tradition despite several pedagogical reforms designed to embrace the Alternative Tradition. It is against this background that the present study sought to examine the applicability of changes in history pedagogy in Malawian Secondary Schools since 1964. The study was conducted with four objectives in mind: to identify major changes in history pedagogy since 1964; to examine measures taken to sustain the pedagogical changes in question; to analyze obstacles faced in sustaining those pedagogical changes; and to assess the applicability to the Malawian context of the said pedagogical changes. This was a multisite study which used qualitative research design to collect and analyze data. Data for the study was collected from both oral and written sources in different institutions which are pivotal in the country's history education. Guided by conflict theory, the study used Mzuzu Government Secondary School as a point of reference.

The study has yielded several results. Firstly, it identifies four different types of pedagogy which have been implemented in the country's history education in an attempt to embrace the Alternative Tradition: decolonizing, patriotic, objective based and outcome based. Secondly, it demonstrates that the Malawi Government and other stakeholders put in place several measures to sustain these pedagogical changes such as the promotion of revisionist history and establishment of various institutions mandated to promote and sustain the reforms. However, lack of adequate preparation and resources, poor working relationship among different

stakeholders and inadequately trained history teachers militated against effective implementation of the changes in question thereby rendering them less applicable. It has furthermore been established that these obstacles emanated from deep rooted conflicts, tensions, compromises, inconsistencies and contradictions in the country's education system. The study concludes by recommending that the government should provide the necessary resources before implementing reforms; history education should be freed from political influences; the university should be proactively involved in implementing pedagogical reforms; and other stakeholders in history education should establish a strong working partnership with one another.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
Declaration.....	ii
Approval.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	viii
List of Tables and Illustrations.....	xi
List of Appendices.....	xii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background Information.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement.....	5
1.3.0 Research Questions.....	5
1.3.1 Central Research Question.....	5
1.3.2 Guiding Research Questions.....	5
1.4.0 Aim and Objectives of the Study.....	6
1.4.1 General Aim of the Study.....	6
1.4.2 Specific Objectives of the Study.....	6
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	6
1.6 Theoretical Framework.....	7
1.7 Layout of the Study.....	9
1.8 Conclusion.....	11
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12
2.1 Introduction.....	12
2.2 Review.....	12
2.2 Conclusion.....	20
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	21
3.0 Introduction.....	21
3.1 Research Type.....	21
3.2 Research Paradigm.....	22
3.3 Research Design.....	24
3.4 Study Area.....	25
3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques for Oral Sources.....	25
3.6 Methods and Tools for Data Collection.....	27
3.7 Pilot Testing.....	30
3.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	31
3.9 Credibility and Trustworthiness of the findings.....	33

3.10	Limitations and Delimitations of the Study.....	33
3.11.0	Ethical Issues: Confidentiality, Consent and Avoidance of Duplication.....	35
3.11.1	Confidentiality.....	35
3.11.2	Consent.....	35
3.11.3	Avoidance of Duplication.....	36
3.12	Conclusion.....	36
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RAW FINDINGS.....		37
4.0	Introduction.....	37
4.1	The Key Research Questions.....	37
4.2	Raw Findings from Oral and Written Sources.....	38
4.3	Conclusion.....	84
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS.....		85
5.0	Introduction.....	85
5.1.0	Major Changes in History Education.....	85
5.1.1	Decolonizing Pedagogy (1964 - 1969).....	87
5.1.2	Patriotic Pedagogy (1970 - 1998).....	90
5.1.3	Objective Based Pedagogy (1999 - 2015).....	94
5.1.4	Outcome Based Pedagogy (2015 - present).....	96
5.2.0	Measures taken to Sustain the Pedagogical Changes since 1964.....	98
5.2.1	Establishment of a High Level Consultative Committee on Education.....	99
5.2.2	Establishment of Book Lending and Selling Institutions.....	100
5.2.3	Establishment of Malawi Institute of Education.....	102
5.2.4	Establishment of CATS Department at Chancellor College.....	104
5.2.5	Establishment of more Tertiary Institutions for Training History Teachers.....	105
5.2.6	School Supervision and Inspection.....	107
5.2.7	In-service Teacher Training.....	109
5.2.8	Involvement of other Stakeholders in Education.....	110
5.3.0	Obstacles faced in the Implementation of the Pedagogical Changes.....	111
5.3.1	Lack of Resources.....	112
5.3.2	Removal of History from Primary School Curriculum.....	115
5.3.3	Continued Use of Traditional History Textbooks in Schools.....	116
5.3.4	Lack of Working Partnerships between Universities and Secondary Schools.....	118
5.3.5	Poor Working Relationship among Key Stakeholders in History Education.....	120
5.3.6	Lack of Continuous Professional Development among History Teachers.....	122
5.3.7	Availability of unqualified and under-qualified History Teachers in Schools.....	124
5.3.8	Bulky History Syllabus.....	126
5.3.9	Continued use of Information Auditing Examinations.....	128
5.3.10	Lack of Professional Associations for History Teachers.....	129
5.4	Applicability of Pedagogical Changes since 1964.....	131
5.5	Conclusion.....	137
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION.....		139
6.0	Introduction.....	139

6.1	Summary of Findings.....	139
6.2.0	Issues Calling for Further Research.....	147
6.2.1	The Purposes for which Historical Education is being promoted in Malawi.....	147
6.2.2	Problems of Foreign-driven Conceptions of History Pedagogy.....	148
6.2.3	Resources needed for Effective Implementation of the Alternative Tradition.....	148
6.2.4	The Working Relationship between Universities and Secondary Schools.....	149
6.2.5	Thematic Teaching of History in Malawian Secondary Schools.....	149
6.3.0	Recommendations.....	150
6.3.1	Need for curriculum review to include pedagogical and assessment reforms.....	150
6.3.2	Need for enough resources before initiating the pedagogical reforms.....	151
6.3.3	Need for universities to be proactive in curriculum and pedagogical reforms.....	151
6.3.4	Need for strong links among stakeholders in history education.....	152
6.3.5	Need for freeing history education from political and socio-economic influences...	152
6.4	Conclusion.....	153
REFERENCES.....		154
Oral Sources.....		154
Secondary Sources.....		155
Appendices.....		172

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Table 1: List of notable secondary school libraries in Malawi in the early 1970s.....	61
Table 2: Bachelor of Education graduates from Chancellor College, 1976 – 1985.....	63
Table 3: Number of MSCE history candidates by year, 1972 - 1989.....	69
Table 4: Teaching staff in Malawian Secondary Schools 1975/76 - 1980/81.....	74
Table 5: MSCE History candidates at Mzuzu Government Secondary School since 2000..	84
Table 6: General Enrolment Ratio for secondary education in Southern Africa.....	113

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix I	The Two Traditions of History Teaching.....	172
Appendix II	Secondary Education Enrolment in Malawi 1964 – 2012.....	173
Appendix III	Notable banned History Books in Malawi, 1968 – 1988.....	174
Appendix IV	Expansion of Libraries in Malawi, 1994 – 1973.....	175
Appendix V	List of reference books in MSCE History Syllabus, 1970 – 2013.....	176
Appendix VI	List of Topics in MSCE History Syllabus, 1970 – 2013.....	179
Appendix VII	Letter of Approval to Conduct Research from ETS Department.....	180
Appendix VIII	Request for the study to the Ministry of Education.....	181
Appendix IX	Introduction Letter from NED.....	182
Appendix X	Letter to Research Participants.....	183
Appendix XI	Informed Consent Form for Research Participants.....	184
Appendix XII	Interview Guide for Key Stakeholders in History Education.....	185
Appendix XIII	Interview Guide for History Students.....	186

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEB	: Associated Examining Board
ASSP	: Africa Social Studies Program
CATS	: Curriculum and Teaching Studies
CDSS	: Community Day Secondary School
CIDA	: Canadian International Development Agency
CPD	: Continuous Professional Development
DANIDA	: Danish International Development Agency
DIAS	: Department of Inspectorate and Advisory Services
DREPS	: Department of Research, Evaluation and Policy Studies
DSTV	: Digital Satellite Television
EDM	: Education Division Manager (Manageress)
GER	: General Enrolment Ratio
GHA	: General History of Africa
ICT	: Information and Communication Technology
INSET	: In-service Training
JC	: Junior Certificate
JICA	: Japanese International Cooperation Agency
MANEB	: Malawi National Examinations Board
MBS	: Malawi Book Service
MCC	: Malawi Correspondence College
MCDE	: Malawi College of Distant Education
MCE	: Malawi Certificate Examination
MCE and TB	: Malawi Certificate Examination and Testing Board
MIE	: Malawi Institute of Education
MGDS	: Malawi Growth and Development Strategy
MNLS	: Malawi National Library Service
MOEST	: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MPRS	: Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy
MSCE	: Malawi School Certificate of Education

MTTA	: Malawi Teacher Training Activity
MTTT	: Mobile Teacher Training Troupes
MYP	: Malawi Young Pioneers
NCHE	: National Council of Higher Education
NED	: Northern Region Education Division
NESP	: National Education Sector Plan
OBE	: Outcomes Based Education
ODL	: Open and Distance Learning
OI	: Oral Interview
NORAD	: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
PCAR	: Primary School Curriculum and Assessment Reform
PCK	: Pedagogical Content Knowledge
PIF	: Policy Investment Framework
PT 2	: Primary School Teacher Grade 2
PT 3	: Primary School Teacher Grade 3
PU-GHA	: Pedagogical Use of General History of Africa
REO	: Regional Educational Office (Officer)
SADC	: Southern African Development Community
SAP	: Structural Adjustment Policy
SCAR	: Secondary Curriculum and Assessment Reforms
SMASSE	: Strengthening of Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education
TSR	: Teacher Student Ratio
TTC	: Teacher Training College
UCE	: University Certificate of Education
UNESCO	: United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	: United Nations Children’s Fund
USIS	: United States Information Service
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
VSO	: Volunteer Service Overseas

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This introductory chapter of the thesis captures the setting of the study. It presents contextual information about historical education in Malawi; the aim and objectives of the study; justification; the guiding theoretical issues; and the way the thesis has been organized.

1.1 Background Information

Traditionally, History has been defined as an account of the past (Furay and Salevouris, 2009). However, historians are not agreed on the nature of the discipline as seen from the diversity of definitions of the discipline advanced by different scholars (Kochhar, 2004; Munslow, 2006; Pathak, 2003). Each definition implies a philosophical commitment on the part of the proponent, which could be idealist, empiricist or materialist (Evans, 1994; Zeleza, 1990). For instance, the question of history-literature dichotomy has been greatly debated by numerous historians some of whom consider narrative-linguistic representation as the hallmark of meaningful historical scholarship while others emphasize the scientific aspect of the discipline as epitomized by its over-reliance on empiricism and rational analysis (Furay and Salevouris, 2009; Munslow, 2006; Tosh, 2010). There have also been disagreements between those who conceptualize History as a construction and others who perceive it as a reconstruction and even those who view it as a deconstruction (Munslow, 2006). These disagreements among historians on the nature of the discipline have implications on the purpose and pedagogy of school history (Husbands, Kitson and Pendry, 2003; Nora, 2008; Seixas, 1993).

History was invented in classical times by the Ancient Greeks (Furay and Salevouris, 2009; Marwick, 2000). However, the discipline has gone through several paradigm shifts and structural changes since classical times (Marwick, 2000). History is an academic discipline which objectively reconstructs the past through a process of inquiry, analysis and interpretation of available sources (Seixas and Peck, 2008). Therefore, its learning must go beyond mere receiving of knowledge and memorization of facts since like professional historians, History students actively reconstruct the past though at a lower level of cognition. According to Bain (2001) this helps them to achieve a deep historical understanding. If taught properly History helps students to: develop a proper conception of time, space and society; develop research skills; develop right attitudes; broaden their intellect; develop national and international understanding; develop the ability to resolve contemporary social and individual problems; develop tolerance; nurture moral principles; and develop responsible citizenship skills (Garg, 2007; Kochhar, 2004). This explains why it remains an indispensable school subject.

In Malawi, secondary school history education can be traced back to the 1940s when the country's secondary education was established (Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014). History was one of the subjects included in the secondary school curriculum that came as a result of this development (Banda, 1982). But school history in colonial Malawi was an alien discipline, which was disconnected from the country's past as it focused on British Imperial History taught through the Great Tradition (Kalinga, 1988). The approach was fact-based and required students to copy and memorize factual knowledge delivered by their teachers through textbook-driven didactic lectures (Sylvester, 1993). In the Great Tradition the past is presented as if it were chiseled in stone and contained the key lessons for the success of humanity (Freyhofer, 2000). It

is an approach that is generally promoted by politicians who propagate a single historical narrative for purposes of state building (Smith, 2001; Zajda, 2015). In Malawi, it was further entrenched by the use of foreign examinations, which measured memorization and repetition of factual knowledge at the expense of interpretation and understanding (Banda, 1982).

The Great Tradition had been the pedagogical mainstay of history education across the world until the 1950s when calls to replace it with the Alternative Tradition emerged in the USA where it was championed by the Amherst History Education Project.¹ The Alternative Tradition is the antithesis of the Great Tradition (*see Appendix I*). It is a disciplinary approach to history teaching which promotes historical literacy by requiring students to use historians' heuristics in the classroom (Keating and Sheldon, 2011). It is informed by the constructivist theory of learning, which views learners as being capable of developing their own understanding in the teaching and learning process. Here students are taught the conceptual tools and strategies necessary to criticize a historical account, examine the base of evidence upon which it rests, and assess it in relation to various competing accounts (Seixas, 2008). This approach is informed by the conceptual framework of history as an approach to knowledge and not as knowledge itself (Loewen, 2009). The Alternative Tradition is now the standard practice in history education in many countries.

Since 1964, Malawi has experienced several pedagogical changes in education in general and history education in particular. For instance, in 1967 the History Department at Chancellor

¹ The Amherst History Education Project was conceived in the 1950s to reform the teaching of history in American high schools which was dodged by antiquarianism and patriotism. The main aim of the project was to change the teaching of history in schools from a mere act of giving an agreed body of knowledge to the development of the capacity in learners to work with cognitive tools that would enable them to question evidence, interpret material and develop arguments just like professional historians. This marked the beginning of the Alternative Tradition.

College in the University of Malawi organized its first major conference with the aim of acquainting secondary school history teachers with the latest thinking on Malawi History (Kalinga, 1998). This was an attempt to make history more relevant in independent Malawi. But a major change occurred in 1969 when the Malawi Government established and mandated the Malawi Certificate of Education Examinations Board to write school syllabuses and set national examinations locally (Moss, 1974). However, the newly established MCE Board was fully sponsored by the Associated Examinations Board (AEB) from Britain, which also underwrote the syllabuses and examinations of the board in order to maintain quality and international standards (Banda, 1982; Moss, 1974). This implies that the new history syllabuses were informed by the latest thinking in history education prevailing in the West.

Today history pedagogy in Malawi remains an embodiment of the Great Tradition (Andsen, 2015; Lora, 1980; Morrow, 1986; Sibande, 2014), against the view that education in the 21st century is about dealing with real-world problems, fostering creative thinking, entrepreneurial spirit and lifelong learning (Tan, 2003). However, the available literature also hints at the existence of some structural features of the Alternative Tradition in Malawi's history education (Andsen, 2015; Chiromo, 2015). It is for this reason that this study intends to examine the applicability of changes in history pedagogy in Malawi's secondary schools since 1964. The study has been carried out with special reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School in Mzuzu City. This school was chosen because it is one of the few schools in the country whose history span across the period under study. In addition, it is one of the few national secondary schools, which are well endowed with human, material and financial resources; hence it is likely to be one of the few centers of education innovation in the country.

1.2 Problem Statement

Despite several concerted efforts to reform it, History pedagogy in Malawian secondary schools remains rooted in the Great Tradition (Chiromo, 2015; Lora, 1980; Morrow, 1986; Sibande, 2014; Zeleza, 1990). But as early as 1964, the Johnson-Survey Team, which was commissioned by the Malawi Government to review the country's education system condemned it as alien, imported, excessively academic, extremely passive and addicted to rote learning (Banda, 1982; Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014). This resulted in a chain reaction of educational reforms in an attempt to address the issue in question. For History education it meant migrating from the Great Tradition to the Alternative Tradition. Hence it is worth noting that in History education there have been several attempts to embrace the Alternative Tradition since the 1960s. However, fifty years down the line, the country's history pedagogy remains an embodiment of the Great Tradition. This is what has prompted this study on the practicality and appropriateness of pedagogical changes that have been attempted so far.

1.3.0 Research Questions

1.3.1 Central Research Question

The central question addressed by this study was as follows:

“How applicable have been pedagogical changes carried out in Malawi's secondary school History education since 1964?”

1.3.2 Guiding Research Questions

There were four guiding questions that shaped this study, viz:

- a) What have been the major changes in the country's History pedagogy since 1964?
- b) What measures have been taken to sustain the pedagogical changes in question?

- c) What obstacles have been faced in sustaining these pedagogical changes?
- d) To what extent have the pedagogical changes initiated since 1964 been applicable in the Malawian context?

1.4.0 Aim and Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Aim of the Study

In general terms the study sought to assess the applicability of pedagogical changes in History education in Malawian secondary schools since 1964, with special reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School. In other ways the study aimed at exploring the gap between intended reform and actual classroom practice.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- a) Identify major changes in history pedagogy since 1964
- b) Examine measures taken to sustain the pedagogical changes in question
- c) Analyze obstacles faced in sustaining those pedagogical changes
- d) Assess the applicability to the Malawian context of the said pedagogical changes.

1.5 Justification of the Study

There are both overt and covert factors that have always militated against reform in History pedagogy in Malawian secondary schools since the 1960s (Kalinga, 1998; Lora, 1980; Morrow, 1986; Andsen, 2014; Zeleza, 1990). Generally, History pedagogy in Malawian secondary schools has maintained its original outlook despite persistent efforts by authorities to implement changes consistent with international standards and latest thinking in the discipline. This may be

a result of the fact that in the face of reform, “teachers have always had the tendency to cling to the old practices with some even trying to prove at the end of the day that they were right not to jump onto the bandwagon of unproven methods and paradigms” (Tan, 2003, p.9). Barton and Levstik (2004) argue that History teachers are greatly affected by this conservative and pessimistic tendency. In addition, educational reformers have always been concerned with curriculum development at the expense of pedagogy (Thornton, 2005). However, there should be more to the issue in question than meets the eye. It is for this reason that the decision was taken to conduct a comprehensive analysis of reforms in history pedagogy since 1964 whose results will greatly benefit education policy makers and all stakeholders in History education. The study has been worth undertaking in view of the challenging demands of 21st century education which is renowned for propagating knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that are relevant to the modern economy.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Being an examination of the applicability of changes that are generally a result of differences in ideological inclinations among different stakeholders in History education, this research can best be understood through the prism of Conflict theory. This is an alternative to the Structural-Functionalist theory. Its key proponent is Karl Marx who viewed societies as characterized by basic contradictions, which prevent them from surviving forever in their existing forms (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). The theory views society as a socio-economic battlefield characterized by competition over resources. There are many variants of conflict theory such as: Marxism, Neo-Marxism, Feminism, Critical theory, Post-colonial theory, and World Systems theory (Macdonis and Gerber, 2010). However, Haralambos and Holborn (2000) observe that

these various shades of Conflict theory share certain commonalities such as the use of the notion of existence of different groups with different interests within a society; and acknowledgement of the fact that social arrangements will tend to favour some groups at the expense of others.

Dahrendorf, another key proponent of conflict theory, identified the following four basic tenets of the theory: social change is ubiquitous; social conflict is inevitable; every society sows seeds of its own change and possible disintegration; and in every society some people are coerced by others (Delaney, 2013). Generally, conflicts among members of a society originate from a number of factors such as: individual differences; unclear authority structures; differences in attitudes; differences in perceptions; task asymmetries; communication problems; inconsistency in allocation of resources; differences in values or ideologies; and differences in goals (Deutsch, 2005). Conflict theorists see schools as instruments of elite domination and social reproduction that are characterized by special interest groups who initiate or resist change. Hence they are battlefields where the struggle over control of knowledge and values between different social groups is fought. Wilson (2011) identifies a number of structural features of the school that perpetuates conflict such as an increasing disconnect between the social class and cultural values of teachers and those of their students. But conflicts in schools generate friction and mistrust between administrators, parents, community members, teachers, and students which might in the end compromise the achievement of strategic goals by the schools (Sacks, 2000).

It has been observed that history teachers differ in a number of ways such as age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background, intellectual training and even their general conception of the subject (Husbands et al., 2003). This implies that the history teaching environment is a pedagogical battleground replete with ideological conflicts among history teachers themselves.

In fact, every classroom is a contested site that displays competing discourses, unique experiences, silences, resistance, and compliance (Giroux, 1988). The conflict is further entrenched by the fact that there is no consensus on the best way of teaching history; hence each history teacher pursues a specific pedagogy in line with his or her conception of the discipline (Evans, 1994; Kochhar, 2004). The situation is further compounded by conflicting expectations among different stakeholders about the purposes of history education. For instance, although modern research is in favour of doing history, politicians still support history education that emphasizes reproduction of hard political facts (Zajda, 2015; Zuniga, O'Donoghue, Clarke, 2015). In countries like Australia, this development has led to the infamous History Wars.² In countries like Malawi, the situation is also complicated by poorly communicated and implemented government policies, which only serve to promote conflicts than consensus in the education system (Wolf, Lang, Mount and VanBelle-Prouty, 1999). Therefore, the applicability of pedagogical changes in history can be understood in the context of conflicts and tensions among different stakeholders in the history industry³ and education in general.

1.7 Layout of the Study

This thesis is presented in several chapters and thematically, as follows:

In **Chapter One**, effort is made to present a general introduction to the study. This chapter introduces most of the major issues that form the focus of the study in an attempt to properly contextualize it. It therefore sets the broad context by examining the foundations of History

² History Wars are an ongoing divisive public debate over the interpretation of the history of the British colonization of Australia and development of contemporary Australian society as taught in schools. However, the concept is now used to refer to any divisive public debate concerning the teaching of history in schools.

³ History industry comprises all people involved in the production of historical knowledge such as history teachers, academic scholars, heritage site officials, professional and public historians, history and social studies curriculum developers, museum staff and curators, archivists, members of historical societies, and documentary producers.

education and explaining major developments in the field and how these relate to the current situation before zeroing in on the research problem. The major issues in this chapter include: the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the research questions and research objectives. The chapter also underlines the significance of the study before introducing its guiding theoretical framework.

Chapter Two reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on History education with special emphasis on pedagogy. This is a discussion of the two major traditions of history pedagogy that have been advocated since the 19th century. This chapter exposes the never-ending debate between proponents of the Great Tradition and the Alternative Tradition in History education. This chapter clearly justifies the fact that the study can best be understood through the lens of Conflict Theory.

Chapter Three is a discussion of the research methodology through which data was gathered for the study. The chapter examines the qualitative research paradigm as selected and implemented for this study. It therefore discusses the qualitative inquiry in terms of the ontological and epistemological positioning of the study. Fundamental issues regarding data collection and analysis tackled in this chapter relate to epistemological, ethical and methodological principles of qualitative research.

Chapter Four provides a summary of raw data collected in the course of the research project through observations, oral interviews, field notes and document analysis. Several sources in this chapter are quoted verbatim to enable them speak for themselves on the issue under study. This

chapter has been produced on the basis of eight key questions on the interview guide that was used during data collection.

Chapter Five presents an analysis and discussion of the research findings relative to the objectives of the study. Contents of this chapter have been organized in a way that reflects the research objectives as outlined in Chapter One. In this chapter the researcher interprets the research findings by linking them back to the theoretical framework and the findings of previous scholars on the subject in order to show how the present research fits into the overall picture.

Chapter Six is the concluding chapter of the thesis where effort is made to summarize the main findings of the study in the context of its objectives. The chapter also draws attention to a number of issues to which further research should be directed. It concludes by presenting some recommendations which might be of practical use in various areas for future pedagogical reforms to be meaningful.

1.8 Conclusion

In this introductory chapter, effort has been made to introduce the research problem and to identify a series of research aims and questions with the help of which to address these aims. The rationale of the study has also been presented and the theoretical literature on which the study is anchored highlighted. Lastly, each chapter of the thesis has been outlined to provide the reader with a clear overview of what the thesis is about.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a critical overview of the main theoretical and empirical literature on traditions of History teaching. It sets the context for appreciating the challenges encountered in trying to improve the teaching of the subject in Malawi, relative to the two competing pedagogical traditions introduced in Chapter One. The review is anchored on the works of: Husbands et al. (2003); Granatstein (1998); Misco and Patterson (2009); Carretero and Van Alphen (2014); Mathews (2009); Colby (2008); Levstik and Barton, 2010; VanSledright (2011), Morrow (1986) and Bonga (1986).

2.1 Literature Review

Husbands et al. (2003) have identified the two main traditions of history teaching in relation to pedagogy, content and purpose: Great Tradition and Alternative Tradition. They argue that the Great Tradition prescribes a didactically active role for the teacher in contrast to the passive role for learners who are expected to assimilate, organize and reproduce the teacher's matter-of-fact interpretation. In terms of content, it places emphasis on the primacy of chronologically organized political history. They further argue that the Great Tradition promotes the teaching of history for largely intrinsic and cultural reasons meant to transmit a shared national political culture. It therefore thrives on what Klein (2010) calls closed historical narratives. Hence as argued by Laville (2006), history is presented to the student as given knowledge and its assessment is done as if knowledge were static, eternal and unchangeable. On the other hand, Husbands et al. (2003) highlight the fact that the Alternative Tradition is the antithesis of the Great Tradition, which emphasizes constructivist models of learner engagement with the past

thereby enabling learners to construct their own understanding of historical issues. In addition they contend that this tradition aims at preparing learners for working life through the acquisition of skills. This implies that a history curriculum based on the Alternative Tradition is structured in a way that it is not centred on chronological national history but rather divides up learning units so that the focus is on themes and structures, rather than time divisions (Foster, 2008).

But although the Alternative Tradition has become the *modus operandi* in history pedagogy, there are some scholars who are advocating a return to the Great Tradition. One of them is Granatstein (1998) who laments the onslaught on Canadian History of the Alternative Tradition. He argues that school history has suffered at the hands of misguided skills-obsessed bureaucrats and child-centered progressivists while in universities the discipline has been systematically annihilated by academic specialization, divisive social history approach and several other botched schemes aimed at celebrating diversity. He then laments the sorry state of Canada's military history, which he considers as having been virtually neglected in modern textbooks and school curricula. Granatstein (1998) argues that knowledge of history is central to the creation of politically aware, informed, and democratically committed citizens. He therefore champions a history curriculum that is chronological in organization, largely political and diplomatic, though with some social history included, and, above all, national so that it is designed to tell the story of a nation state as a collective entity. But like Husbands et al (2003) he argues that the history teacher's role is to: interest students in the past; teach them historical knowledge and skills; show them how the past illuminates the present; make them historically minded; and introduce them to the questions they will face as citizens and not to teach them already answered questions. Therefore, one may validly argue that he is not totally against the Alternative Tradition.

Misco and Patterson (2009) advocate the use of reverse chronology in modern history classes in an attempt to reform the Great Tradition from within. They observe that several pedagogical innovations aimed at solving the perennial problems in history education have proved futile by failing to take into account the taxing demands placed on teachers by different stakeholders. Reverse chronology involves teaching history backwards thereby connecting the past, present and future. Simpson (1983) calls this procedure the chaining of the past, present, and future, whereby the perceived barriers between these three constructs are removed. It uses history pragmatically to shed light on present and future societal concerns by fostering hindsight thinking among students. The argument here is that although it is important for students to understand the past from the perspective of developments of the past, it is even more important for them to understand it from the perspective of today's contemporary issues and problems. Therefore, although, it is an old strategy that failed to gain ground in the past, Misco and Patterson (2009) argue that modern education offers new and unique challenges to which reverse chronology can effectively respond. But they acknowledge the fact that no rigorous and comprehensive study of the approach exists; hence their arguments may not be taken seriously by reformers of history education. Besides, this approach is likely to be affected by presentism⁴.

In defense of master narratives, which are the hallmark of the Great Tradition, Carretero and Van Alphen (2014) argue that there is a steady change towards a more historical understanding as learners interact with narratives in history. They contend that history and the construction of narratives are closely intertwined so much so that history is oftentimes produced and taught as narrative in schools. Consequently, they recognize historical narratives as powerful tools for

⁴ Presentism in History is the unwarranted tendency of interpreting the past in present terms and the shift of general historical interest toward the contemporary period and away from the distant past.

historical understanding since narrative competence is considered as essential for developing historical literacy. They observe that the development of narratives is the best way of initiating children in understanding and explaining historical processes and concepts, especially where there is significant change toward more historically sophisticated narrative accounts as the levels progress. This view is shared by Lee and Ashby (2001) who argue that history students deepen their understanding of the discipline by perceiving historical narratives as copies of the past with accidental errors or deliberate distortion subject to interpretation. Carretero and Van Alphen (2014) further argue that the exclusion of narratives from history teaching impoverishes the focus and deprives social events of their singularity in the historical realm. They contend that history can be taught in a narrative format, as long as the narrative is reflected on with the proper critical historical attitude. But they denounce grand narratives that provide an anachronistic⁵ view of national history. But there is no evidence that a history curriculum based primarily on narrative and storytelling is either good teaching or good history (Levstik and Barton, 2010).

Another scathing attack on the Alternative Tradition comes from Dereck Mathews, an economics lecturer. In an article titled *'The Strange Death of History Teaching'*, Mathews (2009) reports the results of a short quiz set for 284 undergraduates over a three year period, which reveal a serious lack of historical facts among the students. For instance, 88 per cent of the students in his study could not name a single 19th century British Prime Minister while 65 per cent could not identify the reigning British monarch when the Spanish Armada attacked Britain. Mathews (2009) singles out the drive to teach historical skills rather than historical knowledge as a major culprit behind this development. For instance, he observes that modern students spend time playing games, role playing, drawing pictures, discussing in groups, trying to imagine what it feels like

⁵ Anachronism in history refers to an error on the date and period of an event and phenomenon under study.

to be a medieval peasant or studying a range of historical source materials. He contends that this is done at the expense of essential historical knowledge and generic history classroom skills such as reading, taking notes, précising and essay writing, which are virtually neglected. However, it must be noted that with the explosion of historical knowledge it is impossible to teach every significant historical event as time for school is limited.

But the majority of modern scholars are in support of the Alternative Tradition. For instance, Colby (2008) developed an instructional model for History called the 'historical narrative inquiry model' in an attempt to overcome the dullness and boredom associated with history learning environments. He defines historical narrative inquiry as a cyclical learning process involving inquiry, investigation and interpretation. Colby's model centers on knowledge development, the posing of meaningful questions, the scrutiny of secondary and primary sources, and the organization of historical material into a narrative framework; hence historical sources are its central feature. The model includes a revolving six-stage process beginning with contextual analysis which is aimed at providing contextual knowledge and establishing foundational skills. This is followed by in-depth questioning in which students evaluate historical narratives. Then there is secondary source analysis, which helps to improve students' comprehension and knowledge base. The fourth stage is primary source analysis which enables students to work as historical detectives in finding answers to their questions. The process continues with student authorship whereby students compare and contrast their discoveries to secondary accounts and the grand narrative. Lastly there is philosophical reflection, which enables students to revisit their notions of the past. But much as Colby's model attempts to bring life to history teaching by

turning history students into professional historians, Cooper (1995) observes that there are limits to which young learners can replicate the work of professional historians in class.

In a related development, Levstik and Barton (2010) examine the applicability of the Alternative Tradition in elementary and middle schools. Their central argument is that children can effectively learn history through active engagement in valid forms of historical inquiry just like professional historians. They contend that all history is interpretive hence history students should learn how people create stories about the past and how such stories can be told from different perspectives. They contend that effective history teaching and learning is that which: focuses on in-depth understanding; builds on students' prior knowledge; engage students in disciplined inquiry; involves extensive scaffolding; and is assessed through a process of constructive evaluation. This view is shared by Taylor and Young (2003) who identify three characteristics of effective history teaching as: knowing history; doing history; and scaffolding learning. But Levstik and Barton (2010) observe that disciplined inquiry is a cumbersome process requiring history teachers to guide and support students at every step of the process. This explains why although many history teachers have embraced the Alternative Tradition of history teaching; their classroom practices do not reflect it at all (Barton and Levstik, 2004)⁶.

Vansledright (2011) argues for a more inquiry-oriented approach to history teaching and learning so as to foster a sense of citizenship through the development of critical skills of historical investigation among students. He compares effective history teaching to an investigative practice with learners aimed at increasing their capacity to explore the past critically and understand it

⁶ Barton, K.C. and Levstik, L.S. (2004). *Teaching History for the Common Good*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates and Levstik, L.S. and Barton, K.C. (2010). *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools*. London: Routledge are two different books by the same authors.

from a variety of perspectives. This approach requires students to think and act like historians thereby enhancing their learning and ability to reason historically. Vansledright (2011) justifies the need for the investigative approach to history teaching by arguing that history is an approach to knowledge and not knowledge itself. Therefore, like Levstik and Barton (2010), he argues that authentic teaching in history should move beyond the mere memorization of facts to engage students directly in the interpretation of primary sources and the construction of original historical accounts. Vansledright (2011) calls upon history teachers to teach using the investigative approach by among other things acquiring a reasonable amount of subject matter, theory of how students best learn history, powerful pedagogical principles and effective assessment strategies. However, he appears to ignore the fact that the investigative approach is greatly compromised by a number of factors which are beyond the control of teachers such as lack of resources, bulky history syllabuses and examination oriented school systems.

Morrow (1986) subtly advocates the use of the Alternative Tradition in a study conducted to assess the extent of the problem of resources in the teaching of history in Malawian secondary schools. Among other things he discovered that Malawian schools were still using outdated and Eurocentric textbooks, of course on recommendation from the Ministry of Education. He also finds that in many schools, textbook resources were badly overstretched so much so that one of the sampled schools had no relevant reference or text books at all. Morrow (1986) further observes that the majority of the sampled schools had no commercially produced resources for the teaching of history such as: historical maps, chart papers, overhead projectors, working slide projectors, crayons and felt-tipped pens while other resources such as typewriters and duplicating facilities were usually congested. Consequently, he argues that while some teachers could

display pedagogical heroism by doing more than simply lecturing in such situations, chances are high that such schools are bound to be filled with increasingly frustrated and cynical teachers, and with students whose history education is not even worthy to be called as such. Hence he recommends that donor agencies who construct school blocks should be persuaded to devote some of their funds toward the purchase of teaching and learning resources.

In a related development, Bonga (1990) touts the Alternative Tradition in his examination of the relationship between the use of adequate instructional media and pupils' academic achievement in History at MSCE Level in Malawian Secondary Schools. He attributes the downward trend in achievement rate among history students in national examinations to the way the subject is taught in schools. He observes that not all schools in Malawi are equitably supplied with resources necessary for effective teaching and learning. He therefore argues that this disparity in the distribution of instructional materials leads to instructional variation and consequently differential achievement among MSCE History candidates. Bonga (1990) further contends that although most teachers do not use supplementary media in teaching History, there is a positive effect on students' academic performance in schools where instructional media exists and is used effectively. Hence he advises that more textbooks and supplementary instructional media should become part and parcel of the history teaching process in Malawi to offset the prevailing trends. Besides, he encourages teachers to become active researchers and participants in History education. But Bonga's findings might be faulted because he is silent on how other factors that affect student performance were controlled in his study.

2.3 Conclusion

The body of literature reviewed in the foregoing sections of the chapter has highlighted the pedagogical conflict that characterizes History education by examining two main schools of thought on History pedagogy. The first school of thought is the Great Tradition, which gives primacy to factual knowledge and chronological organization of content. The second is the Alternative Tradition, which stresses the use of themes and teaching of History for skills (Husbands et al., 2007). But this study is situated within the perspective that history should be taught as interpretation, rather than a fixed story of the past to be simply retold. It therefore supports the propagation of historical thinking skills in the history classroom. However, historical knowledge and skills are interdependent and equally important hence one should not be prioritized over the other. Similarly, themes and chronology in history are equally important. History education in Malawian secondary schools epitomizes the pedagogical conflict highlighted in this literature review. For instance, although at policy level it appears to be guided by the Alternative Tradition since the 1960s, it has always been implemented through the Great Tradition (Bonga, 1990; Lora, 1980; Morrow, 1986; Sibande, 2014).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the data gathering and analysis procedures and techniques engaged in carrying out this study are discussed. This includes justification of the steps, techniques and tools in question. Note is taken of the observation made by Scott and Morrison (2007), who maintain that research methodology is the art of how and why researchers gain knowledge in research contexts. It comprises the steps, techniques and tools that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying the research problem as well as the logic behind their selection (Cohen, Mannion and Morrison, 2011; Hatch, 2002). Generally, it is a blue print for a research study that effectively guides researchers in their work by providing them with a frame through which the phenomena under investigation can be examined. To that effect, Kothari (2014) argues that researchers need to know which methods and techniques are usable in their study besides knowing the criteria for deciding to use certain techniques and procedures while discarding others. Therefore, the research methodology guides the reader much as it guides the researcher in analyzing and interpreting research findings.

3.1 Research Type

Scholars have identified three major types of research: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed (Cohen et al., 2011; Creswell, 2012; Hatch, 2002; Scott and Morrison, 2007). But the present study is based on a qualitative approach to research whose main focus according to Kumar (2011) is to understand, explain, explore, discover and clarify situations, feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs and experiences of the study group. This augured well with the researcher's intention of studying human behaviour in a naturalistic environment while giving

voice to the feelings and perceptions of the participants. Therefore, in line with what Cohen et al. (2011) advocate, the study conceptualized reality from inside through empathetic understanding since the researcher took an interactive role in it through close contact with different stakeholders in history education who participated in the study.

In keeping with the demands of qualitative research, the researcher carried out research over a period of three months in order to accrue rich and thick descriptive data for thorough analysis. And typical of a qualitative research, the researcher did not work on a null hypothesis to retain or reject since he intended to establish patterns of relationships among the detailed specifics that were collected from the research setting, as advised by Hatch (2002). Besides, the study had an emergent character that made it prone to change while it was being implemented in line with what Hatch (2002) and Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle (2006) advocate. Note was taken of reservations raised by Kumar (2011) who argues that this approach is somehow disadvantageous because of its flexibility and lack of control, which may affect the validity and reliability of the findings. To overcome this weakness, the researcher resorted to triangulation of data gathering. This is the process of cross-checking evidence by collecting different kinds of data about the same phenomenon to ensure validity and reliability of the findings (Creswell, 2012). Hence in this research, data collected through oral interviews, document analysis and literature searches were later compared for trustworthiness.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The research was situated in the constructivist paradigm. This is one of the most common research paradigms alongside positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and post-structuralism (Hatch, 2002; Cohen et al., 2011). According to Creswell (2012) constructivists contend that

there are multiple realities that are inherently unique because they are constructed by individuals who experience the world differently. Therefore, in constructivism knowledge is a subjective human construction and not an objective entity. This implies that different persons bring different conceptual frameworks to a situation based on their personal experiences, which in the end influence their perception of the situation at hand and the world at large (Lodico et al., 2006). Hence there are always multiple and sometimes conflicting versions of social reality as constructed by individual respondents. The hallmark of this paradigm is to understand the subjective world of human experience which is shaped by historical, socioeconomic, and cultural factors. Hence the researcher intended to understand the subjective world of different stakeholders in history education such as head teachers, teachers, students, curriculum developers, examiners, university lecturers and school inspectors, among others.

Typical of a constructivist, the researcher believes that each specific event and individual in the present study was unique such that clumsy generalizations may not have been representative of reality. Consequently, instead of reducing several historical developments to simplistic interpretations and conclusions, the researcher relied on rich and thick descriptions in an attempt to be as objective as possible in presenting the complexity of reality on the ground. As asserted by Neumann (2006), the main purpose of constructivist paradigm is to understand change; hence the researcher found the paradigm ideal for the present study which focuses on change. Besides, the constructivist paradigm enabled the researcher to interact with various participants such as history teachers, head teachers, curriculum developers, examiners and students in deeply meaningful ways in reconstructing the past to ensure credibility and dependability of the findings since data for historical studies like this one are prone to bias, inaccessibility and incompleteness.

3.3 Research Design

According to Kothari (2014) research design is a conceptual structure within which research is conducted constituting the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. Since Creswell (2012) and Kumar (2011) contend that the major research designs are quantitative and qualitative; it might be argued that the present study employed a qualitative design. But among the several qualitative research designs, this study used the historical design. Scott and Morrison (2006) define a historical research as a systematic collection and evaluation of data to describe, explain and understand actions and events that occurred in the past. Informed by this thinking, this study involved the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence across the country in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about the applicability of changes in the country's secondary school history pedagogy since 1964. Therefore, it is not a mere accumulation of facts, dates and events, but as advocated by Adeoti and Adeyeri (2012), an act of reconstruction undertaken in a spirit of critical inquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of the past phenomena under study.

But much as the design was historical, the study employed a case study approach in order to produce a rich, vivid and analytical narrative of events under study within a chronological framework. Sidhu (2004) defines a case study as a form of analysis involving a very careful and complete observation of a person, situation or an institution. The case study approach was selected because as observed by Burns (2000); Kumar (2011) and Merriam (1998), it is ideal for a thorough, holistic and in-depth examination of the events which is a key feature of the present study. Consequently, the design combined the key elements of historical and case study methods in order to benefit from the strengths of each while overcoming the weaknesses of the two. The

case study design was suitable to the objectives of the present study because it enabled the researcher to undertake an intensive examination of the phenomena under investigation, ‘changes in history pedagogy’. The case study was seen as the best way to intensively and holistically explore this rather illusive phenomenon and bring to light its inner dynamics.

3.4 Study Area

This was a multi-site study which was conducted in different parts of the country. However, Mzuzu Government Secondary School in Mzuzu City received primary attention because it was identified as a point of reference. This is a public secondary school that was established by the colonial government in 1958. According to Chimombo, Meke, Zeitlyn and Lewin (2014) there are four types of public secondary schools in Malawi: National Conventional Secondary Schools, District Conventional Secondary Schools, Community Day Secondary Schools, and Open Day Secondary Schools. Mzuzu Government Secondary School is among the smaller group of national secondary schools, which have a history of offering the highest quality of secondary education in the country. In addition, it is one of the few national secondary schools in the country where one can get the views of both male and female students since it is co-educational unlike the majority of national secondary schools. Therefore, it was an ideal point of reference for the study. But apart from Mzuzu, data was also collected from different parts of Malawi such as Blantyre, Zomba, Kasungu and Lilongwe. Data from these areas was crucial since as opined by Bailey (2000) pedagogical reforms are usually done by forces outside the school.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques for Oral Sources

As argued by Kothari (2014), sampling is the process of obtaining information about an entire population or universe by examining only a part of it. Since Lodico et al. (2006) describes

population in research as a group to which the researcher intends to generalize the results of the study; the population in this study comprised former and current head teachers, history teachers and students in Malawi as a whole but with special reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School. Therefore the sample was drawn from former and current head teachers, history teachers and students of the school in question and a few related schools whenever it was felt necessary to do so. These oral respondents were sampled through consultation of management records for teachers and head teachers and snowball search for those who once studied at the school. But since there are different stakeholders in education, the sample also included at least current and former officials from the following institutions: Northern Education Division (NED), Malawi Institute of Education (MIE), Malawi National Examinations Board (MANEB) and the University of Malawi, which have been directly involved in the country's history education.

The study had a total sample of twenty-four key informants comprising: eight students, two head teachers, six teachers, two Education Methods Advisors, two examiners, two MIE officials and two History Education Methods lecturers from Chancellor College and Domasi College of Education. In order to establish credibility of the findings, the researcher made a deliberate effort to have a sample that was evenly spread across the period under study i.e. from 1964 to present. Since this was a qualitative research, the researcher applied the ideas of Cohen et al. (2011) and Creswell (2012) by employing purposeful sampling which involved the identification of key informants with specific knowledge about the topic being investigated. And as suggested by Kumar (2011) the study employed snowball or network sampling to ensure that participants who were involved in History education during the period under study were selected and asked to identify others who were also involved in the same. This sampling technique was ideal for the

study since the researcher knew very little about the target population. An attempt was also made to employ the maximum variation sampling so as to include participants with different views on the phenomena under study as advocated by Lodico et al. (2006). This helped to provide balance to the research findings.

3.6 Methods and Tools for Data Collection

The study is primarily built on data collected from primary written sources, which according to Tosh (2010) are extremely important because they have a direct connection with the event being investigated. The written sources accessed by the researcher in various institutions included school syllabuses, student textbooks, chief examiners' reports, examination records, examination papers, government documents, diaries, speeches, letters and memos, manuscripts, newspaper and magazine articles, autobiographies and memoirs, census statistics, organizational records, photographs and maps, among others. A good amount of these sources were accessed from the point of reference. But the Malawi National Archives in Zomba also provided valuable written sources of data. Redman (2013) defines the archives as establishments where government records as well as those records belonging to individuals and private institutions whose activities are of national importance are kept in their original form. Therefore, archival sources provided the researcher with the most authentic written data than any other written source because they are created through a natural process. But as observed by Tosh (2010), these sources are greatly affected by the politics and economics of preservation and access, which might compromise the researcher's ability to do a thorough job. For instance, several sources deemed important by the researcher were not available in the National Archives. But this challenge was overcome by consulting a variety of other equally relevant sources in other institutions.

The researcher also collected primary data from oral sources by conducting a series of interviews with respondents who consented to be interviewed. Using the ideas of Vansina (1981) these key informant interviews involved the collection and recording of personal memoirs as historical documentation. The respondents were given the opportunity to view the interview schedule prior to the interview in order to have time to consider their responses. Each respondent was then interviewed for a period of about forty minutes after being asked to consent to whether the interview should be recorded or not. During these interviews, the researcher recorded the names, sex, age and physical address of the respondents, as well as date of the interview for research purposes only. Such information helped him to make follow up visits relative to some grey areas requiring clarification as advised by Shenton (2004). The semi-structured interview technique was employed during the oral data collection based on recommendations from Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander (1995) who argue that this style of interviewing allows researchers to use both a structured approach as well as a more relaxed conversational style in order to address the research questions effectively.

Although Salevouris and Furay (2009) argue that they are considered as less useful than primary and archival sources; secondary written sources were also used in this study. Since these sources interpret, examine, analyze, describe, infer or draw conclusions based on works of other people as argued by Sidhu (2004); they were used by the researcher to present evidence, compare findings, back up arguments and statements, or articulate an informed opinion in the light of the theoretical framework adopted for the present study. The secondary sources used in the present study include encyclopedias, biographies, monographs, published books, journal articles, textbooks, commentaries, literature reviews and meta-analyses. These sources were mainly

accessed from Mzuzu University Library, Mzuzu Government Secondary School Library, Katoto Secondary School Library, Chancellor College Library, Malawi Institute of Education Library, Malawi National Library in Mzuzu, and Malawi National Library Headquarters in Lilongwe, among other institutions. Document analysis which is the analysis of the written and visual contents of a document was the major technique adopted in the use of archival, primary and secondary written sources deemed usable.

Tosh (2010) argues that the essence of historical inquiry is the selection of relevant sources for the objective reconstruction of the past. Consequently, the researcher subjected all sources of information to external and internal criticism in order to determine their authenticity and usability. According to Harvey (2008) external criticism refers to the process of determining the validity, trustworthiness, or authenticity of a historical source; while internal criticism is the process of determining the reliability of the information contained in the sources collected. Questions concerning the period when the source was produced, its producer and its preservation were asked at external criticism level. After external criticism the researcher subjected the sources to internal criticism, which involved identifying the purpose with which the source was written as well as understanding both the literal and symbolic meanings to be attached to the source. As advised by Storey (2008) the researcher used corroboration, sourcing and contextualization to verify authenticity and reliability of evidence provided by the sources. Hence no source whose authenticity and accuracy was questionable was used in the study. The researcher applied the principle of cross-triangulation of sources in which different sources were compared as advised by Tosh (2010). This proved extremely important when dealing with oral sources, which were usually affected by exaggerations, vagueness, atemporality and presentism.

Therefore, the main tools for data collection in the present study comprised: voice recorders, digital cameras, notebooks, and interview guides. Interview guides were used in the series of interviews undertaken with all participating current and former history teachers and students as well as other officers who are or were directly responsible for History education in Malawi. The interview protocol for this study comprised a semi-structured set of questions that only served as a guide during the interviews since responses to the open-ended questions initiated a flow of conversation focusing on issues highlighted for each interview. Besides interview guides, voice recorders were also used during the interviews so as to ensure a natural flow of conversation. But the collection of data for this study also included the keeping of field notes, which were recorded in notebooks while visiting and immediately after visiting the research sites. These notes which were unstructured and often recorded in point form captured participants' expressions and physical reactions to the interviews. The field notes aided the researcher's interpretation and understanding of the audio-taped data.

3.7 Pilot testing

Some of the data collection tools for this research were tested in a pilot study as recommended by Cohen et al. (2011). Kumar (2011) defines a pilot study as a small study conducted in advance of a planned project to test aspects of a research design. The instruments for data collection in this study were pilot tested among history students and teachers at one conventional secondary school in Mzuzu City. As argued by Lodico et al. (2006), among other things the piloting of these instruments helped the researcher to: determine the duration for interviews; ensure clarity of all questions and instructions; remove items which might not have yielded usable data; and establish the validity and reliability of the instruments. Pilot testing helped to

improve the dependability and trustworthiness of the research data collected thereafter. But although all instruments are supposed to be pilot tested, the researcher did not test some instruments due to lack of appropriate population on whom they could be pilot tested. These instruments included those which were designed for informants occupying positions held by a single person at a time such as School History Inspectors, Subject Officers and Examiners.

3.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Merriam (1998) defines data analysis as the process of making sense of the data which involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read. The method of data analysis employed in this study was generally driven by both the research question and broader theoretical assumptions guiding the study. Since the purpose of this study was to develop themes regarding changes in history pedagogy over a long period of time, the collected data was subjected to a systematic analysis using qualitative methods, which according to Cohen et al (2011) involves organizing, accounting for and explaining the data using various forms. This enabled the researcher to turn the collected data into meaningful explanations and interpretations of the phenomenon under study. But to avoid creating confusion and maintain focus of the study, data collection and analysis were undertaken simultaneously as recommended by Tuckman and Harper (2012) who argue that this enables the researcher to build a coherent interpretation of data. There was also data reduction to eliminate data overload and redundancy as recommended by Creswell (2012).

The researcher took a thematic approach in the analysis of data for this study. Braun and Clarke (2006, p.79) define thematic analysis as ‘a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data.’ This approach was deemed ideal because it allows for flexibility in the

researcher's choice of theoretical framework as compared to other methods of analysis that are closely tied to specific theories. Therefore, as advised by Braun and Clarke (2006) the data analysis process involved the following six phases: becoming familiar with the data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; and producing the report. However, the researcher moved back and forth along the phases since data collection and analysis went hand in hand.

However, since this is a historical study, the researcher also employed historical data analysis. Here both hermeneutics and critical analysis were used. The hermeneutics analysis is similar to thematic analysis in that it critically examines in detail the phenomena under study while the critical analysis approach sees everything as part of a set of changes to systems of social relationships and how people are dependent upon each other (Bryman, 2008; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983; Tyson, 2006). However, critical analysis was dominant in the historical analysis as compared to hermeneutics analysis since the study was aimed at examining changes and continuities over time. Historical analysis also involved subjecting the data to both internal and external criticism in order to establish its validity and authenticity. And as suggested by Harvey (2008) the researcher employed the process of cross-triangulation in which data from different sources was compared in order to detect biases, inconsistencies, oversights and gaps.

The use of theory in qualitative data analysis has been a contestable issue among researchers. In fact, there is no clear agreement regarding the role and significance of theory in qualitative research among scholars (Tavallaei and Talib, 2010). For instance, Creswell (2012) argues that in a qualitative research one does not begin with a theory to test or verify but the theory may only emerge during the data collection and analysis phase. But Agee (2009) argues that theory is

inextricably linked to research questions. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) on the other hand posit that paradigms equate with theory and bear the researcher's epistemological, ontological and methodological premises which direct the conduct of the researcher. But the researcher is of the view that theory should be part of an entire qualitative research process since it provides the basis for understanding, analyzing and investigating a problem. Therefore, the conflict theory served as a blueprint for the study and dictated its data collection and analysis. However, since the ultimate purpose of this research was developing a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study, the researcher was not constrained by the theory. This approach augured well with the emergent design of the research besides increasing its trustworthiness.

3.9 Credibility and Trustworthiness of the findings

As suggested by Shenton (2004), the researcher employed the following strategies to bolster the study's credibility and trustworthiness:

- a) Triangulation of sources;
- b) Member checks;
- c) Frequent peer debriefing sessions with colleagues;
- d) Thick description of the phenomena under scrutiny and
- e) Examination of previous research findings on related topics.

3.10 Limitations and Delimitations of the study

There are a number of unavoidable factors associated with this study that the researcher believes could potentially limit its findings. Above all, the quality of data collected for the study was constrained by time, resources and even geographic location of the respondents many of whom are scattered across Malawi. In addition, some informants who could have given very useful

information covering the earliest period of the study have long died while the few survivors appear to be affected by memory loss, presentism and anachronism. This definitely compromised the data collection and analysis. Furthermore, the researcher experienced difficulties in getting initial access to some respondents from MANEB due to examination security concerns. These respondents include practicing History teachers who are engaged by MANEB as Chief Examiners, item writers and moderators. However, the information that these people could have provided was obtained from the Subject Officer (History) at MANEB. But a major problem in all the institutions involved in the study was poor record keeping. This was compounded by frequent transfers of staff. All this required persistence and determination from the researcher.

In terms of delimitations, the study was based on firm boundaries for research. As already explained before, its aim was to examine the applicability of changes in history pedagogy in Malawian Secondary Schools from 1964 to present, with special reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School in Mzuzu City. This implies that other educational institutions apart from secondary schools in Malawi were excluded from the study. However, it is expected that institutions experiencing similar circumstances will be able to make their own comparisons based on the research findings. In addition, the study also excludes transferability to students that did not study history and teachers that did not teach the same at secondary school level in Malawi. But these can also make their own comparisons on the basis of the findings. Furthermore, the study was guided by the four key research questions introduced in chapter one and data was analyzed through the prism of Conflict Theory.

3.11.0 Ethical Issues: Confidentiality, Consent and Avoidance of Duplication

3.11.1 Confidentiality

Confidentiality was assured to all participants and subsequently observed by the researcher. All materials for the study have been stored in a lockable cabinet at the researcher's home. These materials will be destroyed upon successful completion of the project. Where the information is sensitive, names of institutions as well as participants have been disguised so as to maintain their confidentiality. The goal of this study is not disclosure of confidential information or other information of personal nature that might be potentially sensitive and damaging to any participant but rather to examine pedagogical reforms in history education in ways that would improve history teaching in the country and beyond. Therefore, extra effort was made by the researcher to interpret participants' utterances with fidelity and authenticity. However, most of the information contained in this study is less sensitive; hence the majority of respondents have been identified. This has enhanced the credibility of the study since as opined by Corti, Day and Backhouse (2000), even basic removal of identifiers can lessen the value of data. But this does not translate to breach of confidentiality for it was agreed upon with the participants.

3.11.2 Consent

Informed consent was obtained from all participants in the present study in writing. Here each participant received a letter outlining fully and meaningfully the aims of the research and a consent form for their records, as well as a consent form that the researcher kept. As advised by Creswell (2012) participants were made aware of their right to refuse to participate; told the extent to which confidentiality will be maintained; made aware of the potential use of the data. For students under the age of eighteen, consent was sought from their class teachers who are

entrusted with their care. This was so because Mzuzu Government Secondary School is a boarding school; hence it was difficult for the researcher to access the parents of prospective student participants in time some of whom come from distant parts of the country. The researcher also obtained written consent from the Ministry of Education to conduct scholarly research in various educational institutions targeted by the study.

3.11.3 Avoidance of Duplication

The researcher is also aware of the fact that a number of ethical considerations accompany the use of existing literature on and around the phenomenon under study. Therefore, effort was taken to ensure that this study does not duplicate any other. This was done through comprehensive literature searches. Existing literature was compared to the current study so as to avoid duplication. Wherever someone's work was used, the copyright owner was duly acknowledged.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the research methodology on which the study is based. The research methodology falls within the interpretive paradigm and is constructivist in nature. The chapter has also discussed the strengths and weaknesses of this methodological framework and justified its use in the current study. Among other things the chapter has described the research design, sampling techniques, data collection and analysis procedures that were employed. The chapter has also explained the position and role of theory in the study and how ethical issues were duly observed. A number of potential limitations inherent in the present study have also been discussed including ways in which effort has been made to address these limitations.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RAW FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation in summary form of the raw research findings of the study in relation to key questions at the heart of the interview guide. Its aim is to let the sources and interviewees speak for themselves on the crucial issue of the pedagogical changes which have taken place in Malawi's secondary school History education since 1964. To that effect effort is made to present the range of responses and observations that were obtained for each of the key questions in the interview guide used during data collection. It is in the next chapter that the raw data presented in this chapter will be discussed and analyzed in relation to the objectives of the study and in the context of the existing schools of thought on the subject under study.

4.1 The key research questions

The oral interviews and document analyses that yielded the raw data being reviewed were conducted in order to assess the applicability of changes in history pedagogy in Malawian Secondary Schools since 1964. During the data collection exercise, oral interviews involved face-to-face interaction with former and current history teachers, history students, Head teachers, Ministry of Education officials, MIE officials, MANEB officials, and History Teaching Methodology lecturers. Document analysis, on the other hand, involved a critical examination of history syllabuses, history textbooks and teachers' guides, MANEB past history examination papers and Chief Examiners' reports, articles from peer reviewed journals, school records, conference proceedings, Malawi parliamentary proceedings, dissertations, book chapters, monographs and educational policy documents, among others. These oral sources and documents were interviewed and analyzed, respectively, in an attempt to address the following questions:

1. What have been the major changes in history teaching, learning and assessment since 1964?
2. What factors have been responsible for these major changes in history pedagogy?
3. What measures have been put in place to monitor and evaluate the changes in history pedagogy?
4. What strategies have been employed to promote and sustain these changes?
5. What working relationship has been there among different stakeholders in sustaining the pedagogical changes in question?
6. What challenges have been faced in sustaining the changes over time?
7. How effective were these pedagogical changes over time?
8. How appropriate were the pedagogical reforms in question in the Malawian context?

4.2 Raw Findings from Oral and Written Sources

The first research question was aimed at identifying the major changes and continuities in History pedagogy in Malawian Secondary Schools since 1964. Here the study found that generally there have been four distinct periods of pedagogical changes in the country's secondary school history education since 1964 as follows: 1964 to 1970; 1970 to 1998; 1999 to 2015; and 2015 to present. According to the findings, each of the four periods identified above was characterized by a distinct history curriculum and pedagogy, which was largely dictated by prevailing political and socio-economic factors. In actual fact the entire Southern Africa has experienced these educational changes, as opined by Chisholm (2005, p.298) who argues that:

Educational change and development in the region (Southern Africa) has been marked by different periods of history: the period of colonialism and struggle for independence, the immediate post-independence period, the era of structural adjustment, and the political and economic liberalization of the post-1990 period.

The study found that in 1964 Malawi inherited a history curriculum that was alien. Banda (1982, p.93) observes that the history syllabus was alien to such an extent that if there was African history, ‘it hardly included Malawi’s history apart from mentioning that it was a British Protectorate’. Hence the years between 1964 and 1969 were marked by the governments’ effort to challenge colonial interpretation of the past (Oral Interview 1, May 8, 2017).⁷ For instance, in the mid to late 1960s the History Department in the University of Malawi planned a syllabus on the History of Malawi and later organized its first major conference with the aim of acquainting secondary school teachers with the latest thinking on the history of Malawi (Kalinga, 1998, p.538). This was in line with the recommendations of the UNESCO sponsored 1961 Addis Ababa Conference, and 1965 International Congress of African History, which aimed at reforming the content of education in Africa in order to realign it with the existing political and socio-economic conditions (Pachai, 1971; UNESCO/ECA, 1961). In history education, this work was marshaled by the UNESCO General History of Africa Project (GHA).⁸ However, Chirwa (2001, p.3) refers to the years from 1965 to 1969 as a period of political consolidation in the country’s political history ‘during which the Banda regime eliminated elements of internal opposition and Dr. Banda began to emerge as the central figure in the country’s politics’. According to Kenyon (2009, p.39), ‘the highly charged political atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s in Malawi made recent history a controversial subject.’

⁷ Hereafter the abbreviation OI will be used instead of Oral Interview

⁸ Launched in 1964 and completed in 1999, the General History of Africa (GHA) mobilized more than 350 historians, two thirds of whom were African, to produce the history of the African continent from within. This resulted in the production of 8 volumes of more than 800 pages each, a Guide to the Sources of the History of Africa in 9 volumes, and 12 complementary studies on different aspects of the history of the continent published in the series The General History of Africa – Studies and Documents. The GHA became the pedagogical blueprint of history education in Africa.

But in terms of history pedagogy one respondent observed that in this period, historians and history teachers in Malawi were called upon to challenge the existing colonial historiography by embarking on meaningful historical research and consulting a wide variety of sources in planning their lessons (OI, May 25, 2017). And another concurred with this opinion by highlighting that the duty of history teachers was to guide learners in detecting biases, generalizations and over simplification in western majoritarian historical narratives (OI 1, May 8, 2017). According to the respondents, these were the early attempts by the country's education authorities to introduce the Alternative Tradition of history teaching in Malawi. However, it was also noted that the output of teachers from Chancellor College did not match the acute shortage of qualified secondary school history teachers (OI, May 25, 2017). Some former history students of the 1960s and 1970s that were consulted for the study observed that the teaching of history during this time, just like that of any other subject, remained the teachers' show contrary to the demands of the Alternative Tradition (OI 24, June, 23 2017; OI 10, May 25, 2017).

However, almost all respondents who studied or taught secondary school history at Mzuzu Government Secondary School in the 1960s and 70s agreed that a notable change that had a big impact on history pedagogy during this period was the introduction of local history syllabus and examinations in 1969.⁹ The new syllabus was aimed at acquainting students with the history of their own country in particular and of Central Africa in general which was to provide scope for comparative study (Ministry of Education, 1972). This was in line with the recommendations of the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference, which called for the ending of the preferential treatment

⁹ But although Malawi parliament enacted a law that created the Malawi Certificate Examination Board (MCE Board) to develop a new syllabus and administer the Malawi Certificate of Education (MCE) examination in conjunction with the Associated Examining Board (AEB) in 1969; the first such examination was only administered in 1972.

given to the teaching of non-African History (UNESCO/ECA, 1961). In addition, the new syllabus aimed at promoting historical literacy by among other things emphasizing the development of various historical skills such as comparison, analysis and evaluation among students; hence it compelled both content and pedagogy to change (OI 1, May 8, 2017). However, the respondents observed that just like the Cambridge syllabus that preceded it, the local history syllabus was examination oriented; hence it did not greatly transform pedagogy. In addition written sources attest to the fact that the history curriculum remained examination oriented although it underwent numerous revisions between the 1960s and 1990s (Bonga, 1990; Chakwera, Khembo, and Sireci, 2004; Lora, 1980; Morrow, 1986). In concurring with this general view, one respondent observed that:

The lecture method was the most common teaching method in the History classroom during this period due to the fact that the examination syllabus forced teachers to cover several issues on the topics. The only difference among teachers was the extent to which individual teachers enriched their lectures with various attention grabbing techniques (OI 1, May 8, 2017).

But according to some sources, history teaching, learning and assessment between 1970 and 1994 was greatly influenced by Dr. Banda's authoritarian policies, which somehow contravened the established principles of historical scholarship (OT 21, June 15, 2017). This was the case because when Dr. Banda became life president in 1970, he tightened his control of the country's political history for the survival of his regime (OT, 1, May 8, 2017). For instance, from 1968 to 1994, Dr. Banda is said to have used the Malawi Censorship Board to ban 'hundreds of books, including many important (and especially left-wing) works of history, one of the disciplines that were most affected (De Beats, 2002; Kalinga, 1998; Vail, 1989). *Appendix III* provides a list of notable history books banned by Dr. Banda's government between 1968 and 1985. However, Mweso (2014, p.21) argues that:

It was after the Cabinet Crisis of 1964 that the Malawi Congress Party regime successfully constructed a historical narrative that dominated public discourse for nearly 30 years due to the regime's control of communication as well as the political and institutional state.

Indeed, Chirwa (2001) refers to the period from the early 1970s to the late 1980s as the 'peak of Banda's autocratic rule, characterized by political detentions, deportations, and in some extreme cases, the killing of those who did not follow his political orders' (p.3). In fact, both oral and written sources are in agreement that Dr Banda virtually controlled the history curriculum and pedagogy between 1970 and 1994. According to Pachai (1989), research in the humanities and social sciences during this period was quite sensitive. This somehow turned history education into indoctrination and distraction. For instance, Kalinga (1998, p. 542) says:

In his public speeches and lectures given at the University of Malawi, Banda would make some definitive statements on the pre-colonial history of Africa and Malawi. Teachers would take notes at such gatherings and would repeat his version of history in their classrooms; similarly, some college students would uncritically incorporate Banda's renditions in their essays.

In addition, the study found that the Banda Regime harnessed popular art forms to rewrite the country's history and entrench Dr. Banda's historical perspective into the country's collective memory. For instance, Mweso (2014) contends that 'there were numerous art songs and dances that were composed in order to encourage a reconceptualization of Malawi history so that Dr Banda should feature prominently on the country's historical landscape and in the process obliterate all other significant actors from public memory' (p. 21). At Mzuzu Government Secondary School, these songs and dances were performed by students during MYP lessons, Morning Assemblies, Youth Week projects, and Independence Day celebrations (OI 1, May 8, 2017). According to one respondent, some students could even use the faulty historical narratives contained in such songs to tackle questions during history lessons or even examinations, which

put history teachers in a fix for failure to accept Dr. Banda's version of history was tantamount to treason (OI 2, May 10, 2017).

But the study also revealed that as early as the late 1960s students demonstrated that they were historically conscious beings with the power to uphold a specific historical perspective. One respondent pointed out that one of the reasons why history was becoming unpopular in the 1980s was that students were not comfortable with the lies that history teachers were forced to peddle in the name of Kamuzuism (OI 10, May 25, 2017). This could be substantiated by events which unfolded at Mzuzu Government Secondary School in 1964 as recounted by Mwasi (2009):

Hardly two months after my appointment as Headmaster of Mzuzu Government Secondary School, came the Cabinet Crisis....The pupils were divided between those who supported the rebel Ministers and those who supported the Banda Government. I was informed by Congress (Malawi Congress Party) officials soon after the Cabinet Crisis that the Prime Minister (Dr. Hastings Banda) was coming to Mzuzu and was also advised that my school would be required to go and sing at the Prime Minister's meeting. I called the prefects and told them to organize and practice some songs. They replied that they could not get their friends to agree to practice and sing for the Prime Minister as there was division amongst them (p. 57).

Things began to change towards a liberalized approach to the country's past in the mid 1990s after the introduction of multiparty democracy, which also led to the introduction of elements of democracy in history education. In fact, Mweso (2014, p.34) argues that 'the period before and after the referendum created a new impetus for the people to understand their history.' This is also borne out by Van Donge (1996) who points out that several conferences, books, and journal articles focused on uncovering Malawi history during Banda's regime. According to one respondent, Dr. Banda's interpretation of the past began to be questioned by scholars and politicians alike through revisionist history of Malawi which blossomed in the mid 1990s (OT 21, June 15, 2017). For instance, Dr. Banda's successor, Bakili Muluzi, co-authored a history

book titled *Democracy with a Price*, which was even recommended for use in secondary schools.¹⁰ The late 1990s also saw calls for the review of the existing history syllabus which became irrelevant in the new political environment. These calls began as early as 1993 but were subsumed by political developments that resulted in the collapse of Banda's rule only to reappear in the late 1990s (OT, 12, May 30, 2017). But respondents who taught or learnt history at Mzuzu Government Secondary School between 1970 and 1998 observed that since the old examination syllabus was still in use up to 1999, pedagogy did not significantly change during the last part of the millennium. In the words of OI 1 (May 8, 2017), the main mode of teaching was parroting.

The study found that another noticeable change only occurred in 1999 when the Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education introduced the Objective Syllabus after comprehensively reviewing the secondary school curriculum in a process that started in the mid 1990s (OI 13, May 30). One respondent observed that the new history curriculum was in actual fact a product of the history teachers' conference of 1993 although it was directly linked to the National Symposium for Secondary School Curriculum Review Process held in 1995 (OI 10, May 25, 2017). In fact, the impetus for reforming the school curriculum emanated from the new direction set by the Policy Investment Framework (PIF), which championed the provision of quality education in the country. Some of the key policy changes suggested by PIF in Malawi's secondary education were that:

¹⁰ This book was authored in 1999 by Bakili Muluzi, alongside scholars such as Dr. Desmond D. Phiri, Prof. Yusuf Juwayeyi, and Mercy Makhambera. It rewrote the country's political history by among other things recognizing Dr. Banda's 'rebels' such as Kanyama Chiume, the Chisiza brothers, Henry Masauko Chipembere, Orton Chirwa, Atati Mpakati and Medson Silombera as heroes of the nation. Although the book did not appear in the reference list of the new history syllabus, schools were required to purchase several copies for use in the teaching and learning of the subject. For instance, Mzuzu Government Secondary School had more than ten copies in the early 2000s.

The curriculum of secondary education will be revised to make it more relevant to the needs of the 21st century. Computer skills will be introduced, systematically and gradually in all secondary schools. Secondary examinations will be reformed. School-based assessment will replace the JCE. The MSCE will be revisited and reformed in order to improve management (reduce cheating and reduce marking/reporting time) and to make it more responsive to the needs of the public and private sectors (Ministry of Education, 1995).

Respondents observed that much as it did not meet all the suggested policy changes outlined by PIF, the newly introduced teaching syllabus was an ideal instrument of the Alternative Tradition of history teaching. For instance, one respondent observed that unlike its predecessor which was examination-oriented and left choice of teaching methods at the teacher's discretion; it was objective-based and compelled history teachers to use participatory pedagogy (OI 12, May 30, 2017). In addition, while the scope for the previous syllabus was unknown; the delimitations for the objective syllabus were clearly spelt.¹¹ Another respondent observed that the new syllabus had a number of components such as objectives and suggested teaching and learning activities, which effectively guided even the most inexperienced teacher in using participatory methods (OI 2, May 10, 2017). According to OI 12 (May 30, 2017) the new syllabus was social and thematic in orientation as compared to the exclusively political and chronological syllabuses the country had been using since the 1940s.¹² However, OI 10 (May 25, 2017) pointed out that very few history teachers knew how to incorporate the recommended themes in their lessons.¹³ And another respondent observed that:

¹¹ Both the JC and MSCE teaching syllabuses had the scope and sequence chart and lesson objectives which clearly set the boundary for the history teacher in terms of length and breadth of content to be covered.

¹² A thematic history syllabus is a set of learning experiences that are organized around central ideas rather than chronological periods. A theme is a central message about a topic which could be integrated into individual history lessons e.g. *Ordinary people make history*. Teaching thematically, therefore, requires the history teacher to facilitate lessons into which themes are carefully integrated.

¹³ Scholars have acknowledged the fact that teaching thematically is hard since it requires the teacher to relate everything that is taught to a theme. Therefore, it requires special training on part of the history teacher.

The implementation of the new syllabus at Mzuzu Government Secondary School was hit by serious lack of history textbooks, which impeded the implementation of the Alternative Tradition so much so that students had to solely rely on their teachers' notes. In the early 2000s the school's library did not have relevant history textbooks and this forced many students to drop the subject altogether (OI 8, May 19, 2017).

Lastly, in 2015 the Malawi government introduced the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) curriculum in secondary schools after a review process which started in 2009. According to OI 22 (June 19, 2017), this was a continuation of OBE which was introduced in primary schools in 2007 through the Primary School Curriculum and Assessment Reform (PCAR). The OBE is an educational theory that bases each part of an educational system around goals or outcomes; hence its curriculum focuses on the acquisition of skills, concepts and knowledge as well as desirable attitudes and values in order to prepare learners for the world of work (OI 14, May 30, 2017). According to Chirwa and Naidoo (2014, p. 342) the key design features of the Malawi Outcomes-Based Curriculum are: Outcomes Based Education, Learner-Centred Pedagogies, Indigenous Knowledge and Continuous Assessment. The learner-centred methods recommended in the OBE history syllabus include class discussion, pair work, role play, debate, projects, think-pair-share, and field study while the suggested teaching and learning resources include textbooks, resource persons, artefacts, documents, films, paintings, archaeological sites, fossils and museums (Ministry of Education, 2013). In the views of one respondent:

Malawi's OBE curriculum has been greatly informed by the new Education Act (2013) which stipulates that the purpose of education is to equip students with knowledge, skills and values to be self-reliant and to contribute to national development (OI 17, June 10, 2017).

Current history students at Mzuzu Government Secondary School hailed the OBE innovation for bringing several history textbooks to the institution. For instance, a form four student pointed out that the school did not have any history textbook when she started form one, and continued that

the large stock of history textbooks in the library is a result of the OBE curriculum (OI 4, May 29, 2017). Another student concurred with his schoolmate by arguing that history was very unpopular before the introduction of the new syllabus due to shortage of textbooks and other learning aids (OI 3, May 11, 2017).

However, it appears that even the OBE syllabus has done little so far to change history pedagogy since the Great Tradition continues to hold sway to this day. For instance, an OBE student at Mzuzu Government Secondary School had this to say:

History is a very difficult subject because it requires students to copy a lot of lesson notes, and memorize a lot of names, dates and events of the past. In addition, many of its conclusions cannot be proven because it studies dead people from the distant past (OI 5, May 12, 2017).

The second research question aimed at accounting for the pedagogical changes identified in question one. The study established that these major curricular changes occurred in 1970, 1999 and 2015 (OT 10, May 25, 2017). For instance, one respondent observed that the new topics on African History in the new curriculum required teachers to change their pedagogical approaches by consulting alternative sources of history, which was not necessary at the time of implementing the Cambridge Curriculum (OT 1, May 8, 2017). Another observed that the curriculum change of 1970 resulted in a paradigm shift from teacher-centred to learner-centred pedagogy in response to the Johnston Report of 1964 (OT 23, June 23, 2017). However, this change might also have been influenced by ASSP, which criticized the inherited social studies teaching methods as didactic, passive, discouraging the development of initiative and promotion

of self-confidence (ASSP, 1968).¹⁴ And indeed, the Ministry of Education (1974) insisted on the use of constructivism and dismissed wholesale dictation of notes by the teacher and tedious transcription from the blackboard or textbook as valueless by arguing that such a practice:

Leads both pupil and teacher into a false sense of security in that they assume that such notes are accurate in all respects; the pupil does not read them critically, and the teacher sees no immediate need for scrutinizing them carefully and marking them; it does not make for full attention to expositions and demarcations in class, because the pupil knows the teacher will later give the gist in note form; and it deprives the class of essential practice in English expression, at which many pupils, even some of the best in other directions are deplorably weak (p. 12)

However, some respondents argued that the comprehensive curriculum change of the 1970s did not radically transform pedagogy due to the fact that the newly introduced history curriculum did not compel teachers to employ constructivist teaching methods advocated by the Great Tradition. Respondents who taught and learnt history at Mzuzu Government Secondary School between 1970 and 1999 agreed that history teaching during this time was generally nothing but a teacher's show. One respondent noted that in the 1990s History was very unpopular at the school due to the purely didactic pedagogy teachers employed in teaching so much so that in 1996 only 8 students sat for MANEB History examinations (OI 25, June 27, 2017). Another respondent argued that it was the 1999 curriculum that compelled history teachers to use participatory teaching methods by among other things reducing the content to be covered and pre-specifying objectives, and suggesting teaching and learning aids as well as methods for every lesson (OI 12, May 30, 2017). However, another respondent was of the opinion that curriculum reforms in Malawi have always moved ahead of pedagogical changes so much so that the pedagogical practices of the 1960s continue to hold sway in modern history education (OI 1, May 8, 2017).

¹⁴ ASSP is an abbreviation for African Social Studies Programme, a nonpolitical and nonprofit intergovernmental organization established in 1967 to stimulate, promote and monitor innovative social studies curriculum across the continent. Malawi was one of the 11 African nations that established ASSP.

Besides curriculum change, the study also found that major education policy shifts have also resulted in pedagogical changes in secondary school History. For instance, the 1964 Johnston Report, which dismissed the classical type of academic education as inappropriate for Malawian secondary schools, has greatly influenced the country's policy direction and curricular as well as pedagogical choices since independence (Banda, 1982). According to one respondent, the Johnston Report became the watershed for elaborate educational plans and innovations implemented after the country's independence (OI 23, June 23, 2017). In the views of another respondent, it is educational plans such as: the first Educational Plan (1972 – 1980); the second Educational Plan (1985 to 1995); Malawi Education for All; the Policy Investment Framework (1995 - 2005); National Education Sector Plan (2008 - 2017); and the National Strategy on Inclusive Education (2016 - 2020) that have in one way or another impacted on pedagogical reforms in various disciplines including History (OI 22, June 19, 2017). In addition, the country's Education Acts have also greatly impacted on the teaching, learning and assessment practices in history and any other secondary school subject in Malawi's education system. For instance one respondent observed that:

The other factor for the pedagogical changes in history is the coming of the new Education Act (2013), which stipulates that the purpose of education in Malawi is to equip students with knowledge, skills and values to be self-reliant, and to contribute to national development (OI 17, June 10, 2017).

However, the study also found that politics have always played a critical role in both curricular and pedagogical changes in the country's secondary school history education. For instance, it has been established that in colonial times, history curriculum and pedagogy were aimed at promoting loyalty to the British Empire and adherence to colonial policies among African subjects (Kalinga, 1998). But according to one respondent, the attainment of independence in the

1960s saw the emergence of nationalist history pedagogy, which was later used to promote loyalty toward Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda and the Malawi Congress Party (OI 21, June 15, 2017). Mweso (2014, p.28) concurs with this observation by arguing that during the Banda regime history was reconstructed to serve political purposes by those in power, hence the only narratives that were allowed were those that celebrated Dr. Banda's hegemony. Therefore in 1994, when Malawi underwent the political transition from one-party dictatorship to a multi-party system of government 'came the imperative to reform the curriculum' (Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014, p. 341). In the new political environment, curriculum reform was necessitated by the need to uncover repressed histories and preserve historical narratives that were not recorded in official records and to counter biased historical interpretations disseminated through the previous political landscape (Mweso, 2014; Marschall, 2010). This development resulted in the emergence of a democratic pedagogy in 1999 which according to one respondent:

Encourages history teachers to create democratic classroom environments where they could hear their students and respect their voices and allow them to freely express their intellectual thoughts and personal opinions; encourage them to respect and listen to diverging viewpoints and opinions on historical issues (OI 21, June 15, 2017).

One respondent observed that the introduction of OBE in the country is a result of maturity in our democracy (OI 10, May 25, 2017). However, Chirwa and Naidoo (2014) have also looked at the role of inter-state politics and diplomacy in the pedagogical changes associated with OBE by contending that 'the adoption of an Outcomes-Based Education in Malawi could be attributed to the dominant role that South Africa plays in the SADC region' (p. 344). But Chisholm (2005) is surprised that the hegemonic influence of South Africa has resulted in the diffusion of a problematic educational innovation. She argues that:

The South African experience of OBE has not been one that deserves export, is widely acknowledged to be flawed, and yet it is being exported. As in its own case, the reasons for import are local and specific, the sources of the idea diverse – including both South African and more international personages, agencies and institutions – and it is to be expected that the export will be modified, adapted and resisted along the way (Chisholm, 2005, p.303).

And indeed, OI 21 (June 15, 2017) doubts the applicability of OBE in Malawi arguing that what has happened is change without transformation as teachers have simply substituted objectives with success criteria without any meaningful understanding of the difference between the two. Another respondent observed that students are being forced to learn while seated in very uncomfortable positions as teachers arrange their students in clusters in the name of OBE but continue teaching traditionally instead of facilitating the lessons due to lack of teaching and learning resources (OI 20, June 15, 2017). He argued that while the cluster seating plan is ideal for facilitation of lessons in OBE, Mzuzu Government Secondary School did not find it ideal due to large classes.¹⁵

The third research question examined the measures put in place by different stakeholders to monitor and evaluate the changes in history pedagogy since 1964. Here the study established that the monitoring and evaluation of these changes has been the responsibility of different stakeholders such as the Ministry of Education,¹⁶ MANEB, MIE and individual schools themselves. But about 90 percent of the respondents identified supervision and inspection by the Ministry of Education as the key strategy employed in monitoring and evaluation of the pedagogical reforms. The study established that Ministry of Education introduced the Department of Inspection comprising of subject specific inspectors for secondary schools who

¹⁵ Although few students take history at senior level at the school, the OBE curriculum has made the subject compulsory in the junior section. It is the large numbers of students at this level that makes cluster seating plan quite problematic at the school.

¹⁶ The Ministry of Education usually works through various departments some of which are semi autonomous.

were based at the Ministry of Education Headquarters in colonial times (OI 23, June 20, 2017). But in the mid 1990s, the department evolved into the Department of Inspection and Advisory Services (DIAS) and was subsequently decentralized in a process that saw the original three Regional Education Offices (REO) being turned into six Education Division Offices led by Education Division Managers (EDMs): three in the southern region, two in the central region and one in the northern region (OI 17, June 10, 2017). Mzuzu Government Secondary School fell under Northern Education Division (NED). According to one respondent, this promoted efficiency in supervision and inspection by DIAS across the country (OI 22, June 19, 2017).

But apart from supervision and inspection by Ministry of Education officials, the study found that head teachers in secondary schools have also been encouraged to supervise teachers under their charge and submit regular written reports to the Ministry of Education on the basis of such supervision (OI 1, May 8, 2017). For instance, the Ministry of Education (1974) advised that:

Heads should make a practice of visiting all teachers at work with their classes....these visits should have regard not only to preparation and content of lessons, presentation of subject matter efficacy of methods, quality of chalkboard work, handling of pupils, and class management generally (p.9)

However, one respondent observed that supervision by head teachers in secondary schools has proved to be futile due to strong resistance by teachers to be supervised by their superiors (OI 21, June 15, 2017). The study found that this resistance could be traced back to the period from 1964 to 1994 when supervision of history lessons was compromised by the activities of MYP, which recruited people from all walks of life like students, teachers, cleaners, messengers and government officials to spy on each other on behalf of the Banda regime (Chirambo, 2004). But the study found that at Mzuzu Government Secondary School, the resistance could also be traced back to the independence struggle when African teachers fortified by the nationalist ideology

resisted supervision by European education officials many of whom were not professional educationists (OI 1, May 8, 2017). For instance, one respondent who taught at Mzuzu Government Secondary School in the 1960s recounted a situation where black teachers refused to be supervised by a white school inspector whom they considered deficient in PCK and demeaning in his attitude toward black teachers (OI 23, June 20, 2017).

The study also established that the Malawi Certificate Examinations Board (MCE Board) which was established in 1969 and later evolved into the Malawi National Examinations Board (MANEB) is another institution charged with the responsibility of monitoring and evaluating the pedagogical innovations in history and other subject areas. The body was established not only to prescribe or recommend syllabi for schools but also to monitor and evaluate their implementation (Chakwera et al., 2004). But the study found that although MANEB ceded its role of developing syllabuses to MIE in 1998, history pedagogy in schools is influenced more by MANEB examinations than by the official curriculum designed by MIE. In the words of one respondent:

MANEB promotes best pedagogical practices among history teachers in the country through the production of 'Chief Examiner's Reports', which are produced after the marking of national examinations. These reports provide a review of the performance of candidates in history examinations and a detailed analysis of the standards of answering, which in turn informs teachers' pedagogical practices (OI, May 30, 2017).

However, one respondent argued that much of the monitoring and evaluation work conducted by MANEB is done by the teachers themselves since they are subcontracted by the board as invigilators and examiners during national examinations; hence such teachers force their beliefs on effective teaching and assessment practices on MANEB (OI 10, May 25, 2017). For instance, the study found that several history teachers at Mzuzu Government Secondary School have

worked as history examiners since the 1970s.¹⁷ But another respondent observed that teachers who do not go for marking benefit a lot from the Chief Examiner's Reports by adopting the best practices recommended by the examiners (OI 2, May 10, 2017). However, another respondent argued that sometimes the Chief Examiners' Reports do not reach the teachers responsible for specific subjects hence the recommendations remain unimplemented (OI 20, June 15, 2017).

In addition, the study found that MIE has also been responsible for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of subject specific methodologies in the country. The Malawi government established the MIE in 1979.¹⁸ One respondent pointed out that the institute is mandated to undertake curriculum development, carry out research in education, assist with the training of teachers, provide continuous professional development for teachers, and produce teaching and learning resources (OI 13, May 30 2017). Another source explained that from 1982 to 1998, MIE was only concerned with primary education and primary teacher education (OI 1, May 8, 2017). But the study found that between 1960s and 1990s, this role was conducted by the Malawi National Examinations Board, which was responsible for curriculum development in conjunction with the Ministry of Education (OI 23, June 20, 2017). MIE took over this role in the late 1990s when it became responsible for the development of secondary school curriculum (OI 1, May 8, 2017). On the curriculum development role of MIE, one respondent had this to say:

The Research, Evaluation and Policy Studies Department (DREPS) at MIE carries out educational research, evaluation and policy studies in Secondary Schools to provide the basis for informing the curriculum development process and formulating the policies that facilitate the improvement of the quality of education in Malawi besides evaluating educational programmes and instructional materials in order to ensure that they are relevant (OI 14, May 30, 2017).

¹⁷ In the past when secondary schools were very few, almost all secondary school teachers were examiners but now only a few teachers are chosen per subject due to increase in the number of teachers.

¹⁸ Although the Malawi Institute of Education (MIE) was established in 1979 but became operational in 1982 as a product of the country's first Educational Reform (1973 - 1985).

The fourth key research question examined measures employed by the Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education in sustaining the pedagogical changes identified in the foregoing discourse. Here the study found that since 1964, a number of measures were taken to promote and sustain the pedagogical changes in History just like in other learning areas. However, the study established that these measures were generally informed by the results and recommendations of the Johnson Survey Team, which conducted a stock taking exercise of the country's education system and called for a radical change in the country's educational policy and practice (Johnson, Blake, Porter and Twum-Barima, 1964). The report was mimeographed and published under the title: 'Education for Development: Report of the Survey Team on Education in Malawi', which became the blue print for education planning in Malawi (Banda 1982). In the realm of history education, respondents identified a number of measures which were employed to sustain pedagogical changes as explained below.

Above all, the Malawi Government established a high level Consultative Committee on Education to act as an advisory body on education and assist in addressing a number of issues in the education sector such as examinations, curriculum and pedagogy among other things (OI 23, 20th June, 2017). This body was largely composed of representatives from different departments in the Ministry of Education. The other representatives were from: public secondary schools; religious institutions, Malawi Correspondence College; Institute of Public Administration; University of Malawi Office and some constituent colleges of the university such as Chancellor College, the Polytechnic and Bunda College of Agriculture. This committee discussed, among other things; the demands on the university for Secondary School teachers for the next ten years; postgraduate courses in education; tests and measurements; and the selection methods for

Secondary Schools (Mwasi, 2009). One respondent argued that the establishment of the committee marked the beginning of the direct involvement of the University of Malawi in the country's education planning, which led to greatly improved education (OI 1, May 8, 2017).

The sources also revealed that the History Department at Chancellor College got actively involved in the decolonization of the country's history curriculum and the production of revisionist historical knowledge for schools (OI 10, May 25, 2017). The first involvement of the History Department in the decolonization of the country's history curriculum and promotion of the Alternative Tradition was in 1967 when it organized the first conference for history teachers in Malawi to update them on the latest thinking and approaches on Malawian History (Kalinga, 1998). However, the study found that the conference was hijacked by Dr. Hastings Banda who used it to consolidate his political power. For instance, in their report on the conference, Smith, Pachai and Tangri who chaired it argued that:

For the president of Malawi is an honours graduate in that subject (History) from the University of Chicago, (who) has maintained a keen interest in the discipline, and actively promotes its study. No one is keener than he in the Africanization of African history. To his and many other people's way of thinking, the average Malawian has been exposed to a partial and prejudiced selection of facts which have been wildly misconstrued. The conference which produced the papers under review was designed to remedy this defect (Smith, Pachai, and Tangri, 1971, p. 497).

But a ground breaking conference was organized in 1971. This conference led to the publication of a monograph on the early history of Malawi, which became a key text on the history of Malawi (Kalinga, 1998). One respondent also pointed out that besides these conferences, the History Department also organized several biannual conferences and published manuals for history teachers to inform them on new trends and best practices in historical scholarship and pedagogy between 1967 and 1993 (OI 10, May 25, 2014). According to another respondent,

proceedings at history conferences were facilitated by university history lecturers, history inspectors and some experienced history teachers; hence they were very beneficial (OI 12, May 30, 2017). But the study established that from the mid 1990s, these biannual conferences died a natural death due to funding problems. One respondent opined that:

The issue of funding was compounded by the development of the allowance syndrome among Malawians in the mid 1990s. During the one party era, participants to such conferences did not receive any allowance as the government provided them with full-board accommodation; hence it was easy to organize them (OI 10, May 25, 2017)

Thirdly, the establishment of MCE Board in 1969 was another measure designed to sustain the pedagogical changes (Banda, 1982). This development led to the phasing out of the Cambridge Examinations, which were replaced by the Malawi Certificate Examinations in 1972. According to OI 1 (May 8, 2017), from 1970 to 1971, Mzuzu Government Secondary School accommodated all students from the northern region secondary schools who became the last cohort of Malawian students to write the Cambridge Overseas Examinations in 1971. The sentiments expressing the justification for phasing out the Cambridge Examinations were properly captured in a 1968 circular which announced the impending curriculum and assessment reforms as follows:

It is necessary that the contents of the syllabuses for the new examination should be geared to serving the local needs and meeting the country's development requirements. The examination, therefore, will be so structured as to portray the national aspirations both in content and approach (Ministry of Education, 1976, p.6)

One respondent observed that in an attempt to promote and sustain best pedagogical practices, MANEB developed new history syllabuses and adjusted national examinations to the local environment (OI 1, May 8, 2017). For instance, the history syllabus and examinations now included topics on the history of Malawi, Africa and other parts of the World. The majority of

former and current history teachers commended MANEB for promoting best pedagogical practices in history education through the production of ‘Chief Examiner’s Reports’ which provide a detailed review of the performance of candidates in history examinations vis-à-vis a detailed analysis of the standards of answering so as to inform history teachers’ pedagogical practices. These reports which contain various pedagogical recommendations for schools and Ministry of Education officials responsible for specific subjects are sent to individual schools and the Ministry of Education headquarters (OI 10, May 25, 2017). For instance, the 2012 MANEB Chief Examiner’s Report in History made the following recommendations for schools:

- *Teachers should cover the whole syllabus adequately up to the last topic.*
- *Teachers should instill good essay writing skills in learners.*
- *Head teachers should promote school-based INSETS for History teachers.*
- *Teachers should facilitate learner-centred lessons.*
- *Teachers should scheme their work using the current syllabus and not from old schemes of work or memory.*
- *Teachers should use recommended textbooks (MANEB 2012, p 4).*

In addition, sources also revealed that the government established MIE to promote and sustain the pedagogical changes in history and other disciplines. But according to one respondent, initially MIE was only concerned with primary education and primary teacher training; hence it could not be accredited for promoting secondary school educational reforms (OI 10, May 25, 2017). But since 1998, when it became responsible for developing secondary school curriculum, MIE has conducted several In-Service Trainings (INSETs) for secondary school teachers. As argued by OI 13 (May 30, 2017) during periods of curriculum change, MIE has also been responsible for orienting secondary school teachers on the OBE curriculum as was the case in 2000, 2015 and 2017, besides evaluating school textbooks and teachers’ guides for the new curriculum. But according to OI 14 (May 30, 2017), currently the institute is now focusing more on building Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) among teachers in all subjects after research

showed that many teachers are deficient in this area. Another respondent argued that all history teachers from Mzuzu Government Secondary School were oriented on the 1999 objective curriculum (OI 7, May 18, 2017). However, one respondent had this to say on the current Cascade Model¹⁹ being implemented by MIE in orienting secondary school teachers:

The model which involves orienting very few teachers from one school on the understanding that they will in turn orient their colleagues is quite problematic since many secondary school teachers are not oriented on the new curriculum right now. For instance, currently Mzuzu Government Secondary School has only two teachers who have been oriented in the OBE curriculum as many who were oriented have been transferred to other schools (OI 19, June 12, 2017).

Another respondent observed that MIE appears to continue prioritizing primary school education over secondary school education by championing more pedagogical innovations in the former thereby leading to compromised pedagogical innovations in the secondary school sector (OI 21, June 15, 2017). But according to another respondent, this is a result of donor influence and neocolonialism as the majority of educational projects implemented by MIE are donor funded (OI 14, May 30, 2017).

On top of that, respondents identified the use of INSETs as another strategy devised by the Ministry of Education to sustain the pedagogical changes in the teaching of history. Here a number of respondents argued that although MIE has been in the forefront conducting INSETs for teachers in Malawi; Education Divisions, Clusters and even individual schools have also been taking their own initiatives to conduct INSETs. For instance, one respondent pointed out that the Northern Education Division (NED) to which Mzuzu Government Secondary School belongs

¹⁹ In the Cascade Model MIE trains few teachers who are then required to train fellow teachers in individual schools, clusters, or Education Divisions. However, the study established that the model has been ineffective in Malawi since the few trained teachers do not train their colleagues as expected.

has three super clusters: Maghemo, Katoto and Mzimba, through which it conducts INSETs for teachers in different subjects (OI 5, May 12, 2017). According to OI 22 (June 19, 2017):

Super cluster INSETs are usually organized to address major educational reforms such as curriculum changes and assessment reforms. Besides, the super clusters, there are also zonal clusters which are minor clusters comprising a few secondary schools within a specific locality. The zonal clusters are responsible for organizing INSETs aimed at addressing minor educational issues including minor pedagogical reforms. But schools which are well funded like Mzuzu Government Secondary School are also able to organize school-based INSETs for their teachers as compared to poorly resourced schools in the countryside.

Furthermore, respondents observed that the Malawi government established the now defunct Malawi Book Service (MBS) by an Act of Parliament in 1963 (OI 23, June 20, 1017). According to the Ministry of Education (1976) the main functions of the Malawi Book Service were to serve, assist and promote the educational systems and organization of Malawi by acting as a central supplier of educational materials to schools and other educational establishments in Malawi. One respondent observed that in the early 1970s the MBS opened a retail shop for its products and services in Mzuzu City in order to serve as a supply centre for all educational requirements in the Northern Region and Northern districts of the Central Region of Malawi (OI 1, May 8, 2017). Another respondent argued that availability of textbooks was critical for the implementation of the pedagogical reforms; hence the MBS played a very important role in these reforms. He explained that:

Books and other educational materials from MBS, which were sold at highly subsidized prices, helped to promote and sustain educational reforms such as pedagogical changes in the country. In fact, Mzuzu Government Secondary School which received a lot of government subvention as compared to other schools in the region benefited a lot from book purchases. However, since the school offered a lot of subjects as compared to other schools, teaching and learning resources remained a challenge in the 1970s and 1980s (OI 1, May 8, 2017).

In a related development, the study found that government also established the Malawi National Library Service (MNLS) by an act of parliament in 1967 with its main task being to operate nationally distributed public library and information services in the country. According to sources, MNLS began its operations in Blantyre in 1968 and by 1971 the number of its library centers had increased steadily. With passage of time the MNLS was able to effectively provide free book lending services to the whole country through its branches in the southern, central and northern regions of Malawi (Kent, Lancour and Daily, 1976). The MNLS has also established library centers throughout the country in primary, secondary schools, colleges, agricultural development projects, clubs, adult literacy centers, mission stations, prisons, hospitals and community centers. Mzuzu government secondary school is one of the schools in Malawi which are privileged to have a library centre supported by MNLS and other foreign donor agencies (OI 9, May 19, 2017). However, by the early 1970s its library was not fully developed hence it was not included on the list of notable existing school libraries presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: List of Notable Secondary School Libraries in Malawi in the early 1970s

Name of School Library	Volumes
Blantyre Secondary School	Over 6000
St. Andrew's Secondary School	6,800
Marymount Girls' Secondary School	6,995
Mtendere Secondary School	5,000
Dedza Secondary School	5,500
Likuni Girls Secondary School	5,500
St. Patricks Secondary School	4,711
Zomba Secondary School	5,000

Source: Kent et al (1976, p. 12 - 13)

However, Kent et al. (1976) argue that 'the provision of library facilities in Malawian schools and other educational institutions is an old concept dating back to the 1970s' (p. 12). But Mzuzu Government Secondary School is also the only national secondary school which is conspicuously

missing on the chronology of the foundation or expansion of libraries in Malawi (see *Appendix IV*). Even respondents who were at the school between the 1980s and the present are in agreement that the school's library has always been poorly resourced. But all the respondents in the study acknowledged the importance of a vibrant school library for effective teaching and learning of History. In fact, the critical role of a school library has been properly expounded by the Ministry of Education (1974) which argues that:

Every effort should be made by Head and staff to build up and maintain a School Library, gradually, but surely, as funds and circumstances permit; a school without a representative Library, well stocked, well organized and well used, is hardly worthy of the name (p.11).

However, one respondent strongly contended that the school libraries are usually stocked with either donated or outdated history textbooks which do not fully address the demands of our history syllabus (OI 21, 15th June 2017). In agreement, The World Bank (2008, p.71) argued that:

In Malawi, most secondary school libraries are reported to be in bad shape, despite the work of the Danida textbook rental scheme, which was based on the rapid development of secondary school libraries. Before the Danida project provided schools with matching funds for textbooks and school library purchases schools had to be able to demonstrate that they had an operational school library with sufficient shelving, basic student study spaces and adequate security to keep books safe, accessible and well-used....Unfortunately, with the withdrawal of donor and GoM financial support in 2002 there is now insufficient funding even for textbooks so that reading books and curriculum support materials are no longer ordered, existing stocks are not being replenished and the library rooms are not being maintained.

The sources consulted also hinted on the establishment of the Department of Curriculum and Teaching Studies (CATS) at Chancellor College, University of Malawi, in 1988 as another strategy designed to sustain the pedagogical changes in history education. According to OI 16 (May 31, 2017), the CATS Department was set up in 1988 to be responsible for subject specific teaching methodologies in the Faculty of Education at Chancellor College. Prior to that, the

History Department had been responsible for both content and pedagogical training of history teachers since 1965 (Kalinga, 1998; Smith, Pachai and Tangri, 1967). As observed by OI 12 (May 30, 2017), the education of history teachers was part of the department’s larger mission to train students to be historians. In the words of OI 10 (May 25, 2017):

This enabled academic historians in the department to give greater attention to issues of collaboration with schools and practicing history teachers, thereby ensuring the implementation of best practices in the country’s history education. This explains why professional development workshops and conferences were a common feature in the first twenty-five years of the university when the History Department was intact than in years following its unbundling.

However, it has also been shown that when history departments in universities are charged with the responsibility of educating history teachers, pedagogical knowledge often suffers as academic historians prioritize content over pedagogy. Therefore, one respondent observed that the establishment of CATS Department was a step in the right direction (OI 16, May 31, 2017). But another respondent observed that History Departments in newly established institutions like Mzuzu University, Livingstonia University, Domasi College of Education and Nalikule College of Education have maintained the earlier Chancellor College format which bundled the departments responsible for both content and teaching methodologies (OI 21, June 15, 2017).

The study also noted that the establishment of more public tertiary institutions is another strategy aimed at sustaining the pedagogical changes. This was a result of the failure by Chancellor College to meet the demand for qualified secondary school teachers as seen in *Table 2* below.

Table 2: Bachelor of Education Graduates from Chancellor College (1976 - 1985)

Year	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1976 - 85
Output	8	11	3	4	10	19	42	27	21	30	175

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture (1985)

Consequently, the following public universities and colleges were established to supplement the output of qualified teachers of history and other subject areas from Chancellor College: Domasi College of Education in 1993; Mzuzu University in 1997; and Nalikule College of Education in 2016 (OI 2, May 10, 2017). But apart from public universities and colleges, private colleges and universities have also been involved in training secondary school history teachers since the 1990s with the African Bible College as the pioneer (Stauffer, 2010). The study found that over time the following private universities have joined the training of history teachers in the country: Catholic University of Malawi; University of Livingstonia; Adventist University of Malawi; DMI St. John of God University; Skyway University; Malawi Assemblies of God University; and Nkhoma University, just to mention a few. For instance, records indicate that since 1964 history at Mzuzu Government Secondary School has been taught by teachers trained at Chancellor College, Mzuzu University, Domasi College of Education, University of Livingstonia, and African Bible College in Malawi as well as at some foreign universities.

Lastly, the study also established that the government has engaged various stakeholders in order to promote and sustain the pedagogical changes in secondary school history over time. According to one respondent since the 1960s the government has engaged the National Archives of Malawi, Museums, MNLS, MBS, British Council, United States Information Service (USIS), French Cultural Center, and UNESCO to provide various teaching and learning resources to history teachers (OI 1, May 8, 2017). While some stakeholders have pulled out along the way, several others continue to service the education system and some have just joined the cause. For instance, OI 19 (June 12, 2017) observed that:

Since 2004, Multichoice Malawi in partnership with the Ministry of Education has commissioned a number of schools across the country as Multichoice Resource

Centers furnished with DStv Explora decoders, VCR player, blank video tapes, 32 Inch Smart TV's and free subscription to the DStv Education Bouquet. Mzuzu Government Secondary School has been a beneficiary of this project. History teachers are even benefitting more because the DStv Education Bouquet includes the Historical Channel which has programs that address some topics in the curriculum.

And in an attempt to promote the ICT Revolution in schools, several organizations such as the Centre for Youth Development (CYD) have donated computers to government secondary schools including Mzuzu Government Secondary School which now boasts a fully fledged ICT Room although without internet connection. According to OI 11 (May 29, 2017), this initiative has helped to supplement government's efforts in providing ICT infrastructure and accessories in schools in this digital age. However, one respondent complained about lack of technical knowhow among teachers and persistent blackouts in the country, which are rendering the ICT gadgets useless (OI 19, June 12, 2017). For instance, the study established that the LCD Projector at Mzuzu Government Secondary School is used by very few teachers although it is meant to be used by all teachers at the school (OI 9, May 19, 2017). Another argued that since the majority of the stakeholders in question operate from Blantyre and Lilongwe cities, Mzuzu Government Secondary School has not benefited much from their products and services as compared to other national secondary schools in the southern and central regions of Malawi (OI 9, May 19, 2017). For instance, one respondent observed that:

Since Multichoice Malawi doesn't have a branch in Mzuzu, maintenance costs for the Multichoice Learning Resource Centre are high because the school relies on the Lilongwe Branch. Consequently, it has not been properly serviced. This even explains why the Learning Resource Centre (at the school) is currently non-functional as some gadgets need maintenance (OI 9, May 19, 2017)

Question number five of the research study analyzed the working relationship among different stakeholders in the country's history education in their attempt to promote and sustain the pedagogical reforms. Different key stakeholders were identified in the country's history

education such as: the schools themselves, Ministry of Education, MANEB, MIE, Universities and Colleges responsible for training history teachers, Museums, Malawi National Archives, and MNLS. Data for this study was collected among respondents sampled from the Ministry of Education, secondary schools, MANEB, MIE and Universities. One thing that is clear from the range of responses is that the working relationship among these stakeholders has always been cordial since the 1960s. According to OI 17 (June 10, 2017), these stakeholders have always worked together in the production of history syllabuses and other educational materials as well as assessment of history examinations. However, the study noted some changes in the working relationship over time. For instance, one respondent noted that the relationship was stronger between 1960s and early 1980s when the University of Malawi was well resourced so much so that even university professors were engaged in the production of textbooks and teachers' manuals for secondary schools as compared to the present scenario (OI 10, May 25, 2017). This observation concurs with the argument by Kenyon (2009, p. 21) that:

The period from 1964-2007 can be defined by three major eras. From 1964 to 1980, the University community enjoyed a period of tremendous growth, as higher education came to Malawi for the first time. A middle period, from 1981-1994, marked the peak era for the Banda administration and a tremendous set of economic challenges, causing a significant decline in the quantity and quality of resources available. Lastly, a third period, from 1994-2007, has improved academic freedom, but the dual weight of economic decline and technological underdevelopment has left the country with some major challenges.

But although the working relationship among the different stakeholders appears to have been cordial, the study found that it has always been characterized by subtle conflicts and tensions. The majority of sources consulted hinted that there has never been a strong working relationship among the various stakeholders in the history industry. The study discovered that from the 1960s to the 1990s, the volatile political environment in the country made it almost impossible for

people of different institutions to work together on politically toned subjects like history due to lack of mutual trust (Chirambo, 2004; Chirwa, 2001; Kalinga, 1998). However, sources also revealed that even in the second democratic dispensation that began in the mid 1990s, the relationship among the different stakeholders has remained strained. For instance, respondents from Mzuzu Government Secondary School which is a few kilometers away from Mzuzu University disclosed that they have never established any working relationship with History Department of the university. In addition, various sources confirmed that there has never been any meaningful working relationship between Secondary Schools, MANEB, MIE, and History Departments in Universities. Even the Ministry of Education (2008) acknowledges this problem by arguing that one of the major challenges facing teacher education in Malawi is:

Lack of teacher education co-ordinating bodies mandated to link the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and universities and colleges in order to produce a qualified, dedicated and flexible teaching force (p.19).

The study also discovered that the working relationship among the various stakeholders has been greatly compromised by decentralization of educational decision-making in the country. This started with the creation of MANEB in 1987, which resulted in the merging of the examinations section of the Ministry of Education with the MCE and TB and limited control by the Ministry of Education over national examinations. According to one respondent:

The creation of MANEB preceded the dissolution of the three REOs and the subsequent creation of the six education divisions in the mid 1990s. This was closely followed by the creation of the Teaching Service Commission which is tasked with the responsibility of creating high profession standards in the teaching profession through its recruitment, promotion and disciplinary as well as control functions. In the end, these developments have complicated the working relationship among various stakeholders in the country's secondary education (OI 22, June 19, 2017).

The study also established that in the late 1990s, MIE took over the responsibility of curriculum development from MANEB thereby segmenting and complicating the education system even further. In fact, one respondent contended that while decentralization of public education services has worked elsewhere, in Malawi it has resulted in the balkanization of the education system which has generated more conflicts among different stakeholders (OI 21, June 15, 2017).

The Ministry of Education (2008) paints a vivid picture of this problem by arguing that:

The problem of co-ordination extends to teacher management. Teachers are prepared by one organization, posted by another, managed by two others, and potentially disciplined by at least two others. There is a need to ensure clear roles and responsibilities for each organization and a mechanism for co-ordinating them (p. 19).

Question number six examined the challenges faced in sustaining the pedagogical changes in the country's secondary school history education since 1964. Here the study found that the implementation of the pedagogical changes identified and explained above has been dogged by numerous obstacles. However, the study established that these obstacles have generally been a result of political and socio-economic factors prevalent during the period under study. It also found that these obstacles have had an impact of watering down the changes and rendering them less impactful over time. Some of these obstacles are explained in the paragraphs that follow.

According to various sources, the major obstacle militating against the pedagogical changes has been lack of teaching and learning resources. These resources include textbooks, teachers' guides, syllabuses, maps, charts, models and artifacts, among others. However, the range of responses revealed that there have been notable changes in the availability of the resources in question over time. For instance, according to one respondent:

The teaching and learning resources for all subjects were readily available in the early 1960s due to the limited number of secondary schools and low secondary

school enrolments in the country. But the situation changed a few years after independence; the country witnessed an unprecedented expansion of secondary education which strained resources. For instance, Mzuzu Government Secondary School used to accommodate 120 students before independence but by the late 1960s it had doubled its intake (OI 24, June 23, 2017)

The study established that during Dr. Banda’s regime there was limited access to secondary education opportunities as Malawi’s secondary education was geared to serving the country’s economic development rather than social demand; hence the shortage of resources was not greatly felt (Banda, 1982). This status quo was entrenched by increased donor interest in primary education from the 1980s onwards (Ndjabili, 2004). But one respondent argued that from the 1980s these resources became scarce due to a steady increase in the number of secondary schools and student enrolment vis-à-vis limited funding (OI 10, May 25, 2017). This resulted in increased enrolment of secondary school history students as captured in *Table 3* below.

Table 3: Number of MSCE History Candidates by Year (1972 - 1989)

Year	Number of MSCE Candidates
1972	1182
1973	1772
1974	1711
1975	1791
1976	1588
1977	1838
1978	1744
1979	1618
1980	1764
1981	1978
1982	2326
1983	2345
1984	2214
1985	2695
1986	2559
1987	3301
1988	3634
1989	3789

Source: Bonga (1990)

The study established that from 1964 to 1994, Mzuzu Government Secondary School steadily increased its enrolment over time. The enrolment increased from 120 in the 1960s to 240 in the 1980s, then to 360 in the late 1990s and 450 in the 2000s. According to one respondent, this unprecedented increase in student enrolment resulted in acute shortage of textbooks such that in the 1990s history students relied on MCDE modules (OI 25, May 27, 2017). The study found that by the 1990s the school was acutely short of history books as the limited resources were depleted. For instance, one respondent pointed out that in the mid 1990s, the school only had one copy of each of the following recommended books in its library: *Cornwell*; *Catchpole*; *Snellgrove*; and *Tindall* (OI 25, June 27, 2017). Another respondent corroborated this observation by acknowledging that since 2000, there were virtually no history textbooks for learners' use at the school until the introduction of the OBE in 2015 (OI 4, 11th May 2017). In fact, according to OI 19 (June 12, 2017):

The introduction of the OBE has helped Mzuzu Government Secondary School to acquire enough textbooks through donations from MIE and other stakeholders. For instance, the school can now afford to provide every history student in class with a textbook for the first time in almost thirty years.

Secondly, the study established that the removal of history as a school subject from the primary school curriculum has also posed a challenge to the sustenance of pedagogical changes in secondary school history education. The study found that from the early 1970s to the mid 1990s, history was offered as a school subject in primary schools from standard six, alongside Geography and Civics, as General Paper and it was also separately examined in the General Paper Examination (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1973). In the words of one respondent:

The primary school history syllabus in the country was content-heavy and comprehensive hence primary school graduates went to secondary school with a strong foundation in history. In addition, they were able to master the skills of note

making, summarizing and essay writing. This enabled secondary school history teachers to implement the Alternative Tradition with ease (OI 21, June 15, 2017).

The study established that the 1995 curriculum review which removed history as a separate subject in primary school by incorporating it into Social Studies meant that history students are now being introduced to the subject at form one level. In fact, all the current students interviewed at Mzuzu Government Secondary School explained that they were introduced to history at form one because in primary school it was not taught as a distinct subject. According to one respondent, even though there are historical topics in the primary social studies syllabus, they are taught by primary school teachers who have no PCK in history for the subject is not taught in TTCs (OI 21, June 15, 2017). Another respondent argued that, the novelty of form one students forces teachers to teach through the Great Tradition so as to properly ground them in historical scholarship, contrary to the demands of the pedagogical changes which have been promoting the Alternative Tradition (OI 8, May 19, 2017).

Thirdly, the study found the continued use of traditional history textbooks in secondary schools as another obstacle militating against the pedagogical changes in history education. Modern history textbooks are expected to contain open historical narratives, to be supplemented by the students' own accounting of the past (Repoussi and Tutiaux, 2010). A search at Mzuzu Government Secondary School Library revealed that besides being poorly stocked, the history section of the library is full of archaic history books. But the library also has a relatively large stock of history books tailored to the OBE curriculum and a few reference books such as the *World Book Encyclopedia*. However, it is seriously handicapped in newly published Central

African and Modern World History textbooks for the OBE senior secondary school (OI 19, May 12, 2017). This observation concurs with the argument of one respondent that:

Although the history curriculum has undergone unprecedented change since 1964, the majority of Malawian history textbooks have never gone through any meaningful revision to take into account the latest thinking in historical textbook didactics. For instance, schools are still using textbooks by Cornwell, Catchpole, Tindall and Junior Secondary History Course which have been used in Malawi since the 1960s. However, these books are traditional by modern standards (OI 22, June 19, 2017).

It has also been observed that the new history textbooks are being written from old textbooks thereby repeating the old biases presented in colonial and nationalist history textbooks (Zezeza, 1990). Another respondent argued that instead of encouraging students to think historically, the new books continue to encourage memorization and regurgitation of agreed historical facts (OI 10, May 25, 2017). And according to OI 2, (May 10, 2017), both MIE and MANEB use such traditional history textbooks in curriculum development and assessment which makes it difficult for history teachers to help students move beyond the ill-informed and one-sided views they might have of the past to meet the demands of Alternative Tradition. For instance, Pachai's *Malawi: The History of the Nation* is one of the reference books for the OBE curriculum (see *Appendix V*). But according to Kalinga (1998) this book was first broadcast on radio over many months in Malawi before becoming a major school textbook. Hence he argues that the book:

Presents facts selectively and avoids issues which would have upset the ruling party. To this extent it too helped to perpetuate a version of history which had been orchestrated by the Malawi Congress Party since 1964 (p. 542).

One respondent argued that the continued availability of traditional history textbooks in our schools emanates from the lack of interest by academic historians in the production of materials for schools (OI 7, May 18, 2017). Another respondent concurred with this observation, by

arguing that apart from Brown Katombosola,²⁰ academic historians in Malawi have never written history books for secondary schools in the past thirty to forty years (OI 21, May 15, 2017). The study established that some enterprising teachers are filling this gap by turning their teaching notes into textbooks.

Furthermore, the study also found that lack of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) activities among history teachers is another obstacle negatively impacting on implementation of the pedagogical changes. According to one respondent, methods of history teaching nowadays are the subject of constant research, experiment and adaptation as numerous discoveries are being made through historical and educational research (OI 16, May 31, 2017). For instance, the study established that recent research in history education advocates instructional approaches that engage students in the process of doing history, including building historical knowledge through the use of primary sources, conducting historical inquiry, and encouraging students to think historically (Levstik and Barton, 2001). According to OI 22 (June 19, 2017), this definitely calls for wholesale retraining of history teachers since the majority were trained in the Great Tradition. But another respondent argued that CPD for history teachers has been almost non-existent in the country (OI 11, May 29, 2017). The Ministry of Education (2008, p. 18) concedes that ‘qualified teachers (in Malawi) rarely attend professional development courses.’ According to one respondent, the only training which most history teachers receive is their preparatory tertiary education which explains why pedagogical content knowledge among history teachers in the country varies markedly (OI 22, June 19, 2017).

²⁰ Dr. Brown Katombosola is a history lecturer at Domasi College of Education who has co-authored history student textbooks and teachers’ guides for Malawian junior secondary school history.

It was also established that the continued availability of unqualified and under-qualified teachers in secondary schools is another factor militating against pedagogical changes in the country's secondary school history education. The Ministry of Education (2008, p. 19) observes that 'a significant number of secondary school teachers are under-qualified.' This is probably a result of unprecedented increase in secondary school enrolment since the 1960s (see *Appendix II*). One respondent argued that this development forced the government to employ primary school teachers to teach in secondary schools (OI 11, May 29, 2017). And according to OI 20 (June 15, 2017), many of these unqualified teachers opt to teach information-rich subjects like history as compared to sciences which require a lot of experiments, practicals and a great deal of technical knowhow. But the study found that unqualified teachers have always been part of the country's secondary education system (see *Table 4* below).

Table 4: Teaching staff in Malawian Secondary Schools between 1975/6 and 1980/81

Academic Year	Teaching Staff						T1, T2, MYP & other	Total Teachers
	Graduates			Diplomates				
	Exp	Local	Total	Exp	Local	Total		
1975/76	202	136	338	37	292	329	81	748
1980/81	195	172	367	46	343	389	78	834

Source: Ministry of Education (1977); Ministry of Education and Culture (1981).

The study found that a lot of unqualified teachers were recruited to teach in secondary schools after the 1999 presidential decree which unified the secondary school system by converting all Malawi Distance Education Centers into Community Day Secondary Schools (Kadzamira and Rose, 2001). According to one respondent, these Community Day Secondary Schools ended up recruiting primary school teachers to teach subjects like History due to shortage of qualified

teachers (OI 20, June 15, 2017). In addition, the government has also been employing degree holders without any education background as secondary school teachers. According to one respondent, these teachers are under qualified because although they possess academic degrees, they are deficient in pedagogical content knowledge; hence they cannot provide their students with the best experiences in history education (OI 21, June 15, 2017). Another respondent observed that the presence of unqualified or under-qualified teachers in secondary schools is compounded by lack of meaningful CPD for teachers (OI 7, May 18, 2017). The study found that there have been some occasions when history at Mzuzu Government Secondary School has been taught by under-qualified teachers.²¹

Further still, the study found that the bulkiness of the secondary school history syllabus also poses a big challenge in the implementation of the pedagogical changes. One respondent argued that although the country's history curriculum has gone through several changes, it has always maintained its bulkiness despite the reviews (OI 2, May 10, 2017). For instance, an analysis of the MSCE history syllabus since the 1970s revealed that more content has been added to the syllabus over time (see *Appendix VI*). One respondent complained that the OBE syllabus has only managed to reduce reference books instead of content as required by the Alternative Tradition (OI 21, June 15, 2017). In fact, all respondents were in agreement that two history courses covered at MSCE level have always been content-heavy. In the words of OI 2 (May 10, 2017), teachers are always rushing to complete the History of Central Africa Course by the end of form three, hence they employ teacher-centred pedagogy. Another respondent said:

²¹ The study established that since the 1970s, history at this school has sometimes been taught by teachers who possessed pure Social Science, Humanities, Political Science, Biblical Studies and Theology degrees without any education component. These teachers employed the Great Tradition due to their compromised PCK in the subject.

Bearing in mind the bulkiness of the syllabuses vis-à-vis the age-group of the students for whom the syllabuses are designed on one hand and the limited amount of time allocated to history lessons in secondary schools on the other; one finds that the syllabuses are simply designed to promote mere acquisition of content contrary to the pedagogical changes propagated by the curriculum review processes that gave birth to these syllabuses so as to promote acquisition of skills, values and attitudes (OI 19, June 12, 2017).

The bulkiness of the syllabus is further complicated by an overloaded school curriculum with a lot of subjects on offer. According to OI 20 (June 15, 2017) the school curriculum has been overloaded by the 1999 and 2015 curriculum reviews which created additional subjects for secondary school. For instance, the study found that currently Mzuzu Government Secondary School offers a total of 21 subjects as follows: Agriculture, Additional Mathematics, Biology, Bible Knowledge, Chichewa, Computer Studies, Chemistry, English, French, Geography, History, Home Economics, Life Skills, Mathematics, Metal Work, Physical Science, Physical Education, Social Studies, Technical Drawing, Wood Work, and Business Studies (OI 5, May 12, 2017). One respondent argued that the overloaded curriculum results into an overloaded timetable that makes it extremely difficult to have recommended periods for history as required by the Alternative Tradition (OI 7, May 18, 2017).

The study also found that the continued use of examinations designed to merely audit content acquisition among students is obstructing application of the Alternative Tradition. The existing assessments of historical knowledge from a number of schools across the country and even MANEB clearly attest to the fact that students are usually subjected to a stock-taking exercise of historical knowledge during examinations. However, one respondent observed that sometimes the students are also asked questions which require some historical thinking, especially essay questions (OI 7, May 18, 2017). But another respondent argued that even such questions are

handled as if they were calling for mere presentation of facts by both the students and their assessors (OI 21, June 15, 2017). One Chief Examiner's Report concurs with this observation by arguing that:

Candidates answered questions as if the questions were all of low order level. They tended to simply list or state, when the questions actually required them to explain, describe or discuss, thereby scoring less marks. Candidates failed to express themselves fully and failed to use historical terminology and chronological order correctly (MANEB 2014 Chief Examiners Report, p.2).

A survey of MANEB examination papers also revealed that multiple-choice items are written in a way that emphasize factual recall while the short answer questions require mere presentation of historical facts. For example, one of the Chief Examiners' Reports argued that question five of Paper II in 2008 was very easy and 'candidates who studied it did very well as it did not require any thinking' (MANEB, 2008, p.2). But one respondent, opined that the tendency by MANEB and History teachers to repeat examination questions over time force students to memorize answers than reason historically when taking examinations (OI 10, May 25, 2017).

Lastly, individualism among historians and lack of professional associations for history teachers was also identified as another formidable challenge. These observations were made against the background that history teachers are expected to be members of professional communities. According to Taylor and Young (2003), these communities provide members with access to new thinking, and encourage discussion about theory and practice in history education since informed teaching becomes the responsibility of the history communities in question. According to one respondent:

The synergy yielded by these communities has the potential to promote the establishment of collaborations between history departments in universities and schools; dialogue between all history educators, ministry of education, institutions

and other bodies involved in history matters; links with similar international associations; and unity of purpose among history educators (OI 20, June 15, 2017).

But the fact is that there are no professional history associations in the country apart from the Society of Malawi, which was established in colonial times. But one respondent argued that many history teachers are not even aware of the existence of the Society of Malawi whose activities are becoming more and more obscure over time (OI 21, June 15, 2017).²² In fact, the study found that none of the current crop of history teachers at Mzuzu Government Secondary School is affiliated to any national or international history association. As observed by one respondent, this has had the effect of curtailing the ability of history teachers to speak with one voice and share experiences on challenges and best practices in the teaching, learning and assessment of the subject (OI 19, June 12, 2017).

The last but one question examined the effectiveness of the pedagogical changes in secondary school history education since 1964. In this study effectiveness is used to mean the degree to which something is successful in producing a desired result when applied to the population of interest. The question, therefore, assessed the extent to which the pedagogical changes have promoted historical literacy among history teachers and students alike in Malawi. Historical literacy has been defined as the ability to use historians' heuristics or strategies for working with historical evidence (Wineburg, 1991). But here the study found that effectiveness of the pedagogical changes could be gauged from teachers' adoption and usage of the recommended pedagogical practices over time. However, one respondent observed that the effectiveness of the

²² However, the study established that the Society of Malawi is confined to Blantyre City where it mainly caters for the relatively few surviving ex-colonial officers and their descendants. Therefore, even if local history teachers would join the society they may feel out of place and find its activities more in line with the Great Tradition as opposed to the Alternative Tradition. In addition, its location makes it difficult for teachers from Mzuzu to take part in its occasional activities which are always scheduled in the evening at Mandala House in Blantyre.

changes need to be understood in the context of the wider socio-economic and political factors that have always impacted on history education in Malawi (OI 21, June 15, 2017).

The majority of the respondents were of the view that the pedagogical changes have been less effective over time as teachers continue to employ the Great Tradition even 50 years after the initial attempts to embrace the Alternative Tradition were made in Malawi. One respondent argued that the resilience of the Great Tradition in the country's secondary school history education clearly implies that the pedagogical reforms have failed to survive the test of time because they were problematic (OI 7, May 18, 2017). Another opined that the fact that history teaching remains teacher-centered, fact-based and knowledge oriented in the majority of our secondary schools is a sign enough that the pedagogical changes have been less effective. Even the current crop of secondary school history students at Mzuzu Government Secondary School who were sampled for the interviews were of the view that history learning requires more memorization than thinking as opposed to other disciplines. According to one respondent:

In fact, even in the so called best schools where students perform extremely well at MSCE, history teaching and learning is examination-oriented, strategic and characterized by rote learning as students are simply drilled on how to tackle MANEB examinations using past examination papers. Since we are still stuck in the old Great Tradition, we might conclude that the changes have been less applicable (OI 21, June 15, 2017).

So despite the fact that all efforts were made to support and promote the pedagogical changes over time, various sources revealed that the changes in question have been dogged by poor implementation strategies. According to OI 11 (May 29, 2017), poor implementation is generally a result of a number of factors one of which is the fact that the country's education policy is by nature political, conservative and change averse. For instance, the study noted that despite its attempts to promote educational reforms, Malawi continued to use the colonial 1962 Education

Act to govern its education until 2013. One respondent observed that the review of this colonial document was long overdue when one takes into account the transformations that the country's education system underwent over the years (OI 2, June 10, 2017). Another collaborated that failure to change the Education Act for almost 50 years after independence meant that the pedagogical changes could only be implemented in lukewarm fashion to avoid contravening the existing policy (OI 11, May 29, 2017). The study found that the new Education Act for Malawi advocates the Alternative Tradition of history teaching which the country introduced but apparently failed to sustain due to political interference in history education. For instance, on Curriculum and Instruction in Schools, the new act says:

- 1) *The national curriculum shall__*
 - a) *prepare students for the world of work, social and political participation in the context of a rapidly changing and dynamic global economy and society;*
 - b) *be student-centered and non-authoritarian and encourage active participation of students in the learning process;*
 - c) *stimulate critical and effective reasoning and develop problem solving and information processing skills;*
 - d) *foster self-discipline;*
 - e) *treat knowledge as provisional and contestable;*
 - f) *promote moral and ethical behaviour;*
 - g) *develop necessary understanding, values and skills for sustainable development;*
 - h) *promote respect for human rights;*
 - i) *promote unity in diversity through a flexible framework which allows for the accommodation of cultural differences and needs;*
 - j) *take into account cross-cutting emerging and contemporary issues;*
 - k) *promote entrepreneurial and technological values and skills; and*
 - l) *prepare students for lifelong training.* (Malawi Education Act, 2013, p.

62)

And in contrasting the two Education Acts, one of the respondents observed that:

Unlike the 1962 Education Act which did not specify the pedagogy to be employed in schools, the new Education Act (2013) compels teachers to employ constructivist pedagogy in the teaching of any subject so as to equip students with knowledge,

skills and values to be self-reliant, and to contribute to national development (OI 17, June 10, 2017).

The last question on the interview guide was aimed at assessing the appropriateness of the pedagogical changes in the Malawian context. The term appropriateness is being used here to mean the quality of being suitable or proper in the prevailing circumstances. This question was therefore aimed at understanding if the changes were adopted at a time when the country was ready for them. Here the study found that the appropriateness of the pedagogical changes has been as contestable as it has been illusive due to a number of underlying factors. Almost all the respondents agreed that the pedagogical changes were appropriate but were quick to underline the fact that it is implementation of the changes in question which has been problematic.

Above all, the study found that the pedagogical changes were appropriate in the context of time. This is the case because the curricular changes attempted after independence coincided with the paradigm shift in history pedagogy from the Great Tradition to the Alternative Tradition in Africa and across the World in the 1960s and 70s (Husbands et al., 2003; Kalinga, 1998; Zeleza, 1990). Therefore, according to one respondent, when Malawi was decolonized in 1964, it became inevitable for the country to embrace decolonizing pedagogies in history education in order to embrace the nationalist paradigm (OI 1, May 8, 2017). In Malawi, just like elsewhere in independent Africa, decolonizing pedagogy required the interpretation of new and existing historical narratives to be guided by pan-Africanist ideals, which provided the theoretical framework for decolonized historical knowledge in Africa (Zeleza, 1990). According to OI 23 (June 20, 2017), these pedagogical changes were designed to put the country on an equal footing with the rest of the countries in post-colonial Africa. Another respondent argued that:

The same applies to the mid 1990s when pedagogical change in history became inevitable due to the fact that the country had embraced multiparty democracy; and in 2015 when the education system had to be realigned with the 2013 Education Act that has replaced the Education Act of 1962 (OI 17, June 10, 2017).

The pedagogical reforms also appear to be relevant and efficient in the context of financial, material and human resources, due to the fact that all attempts were made to ensure that history teachers were properly supported with the knowledge and resources for effective implementation of the changes in question. For instance, attempts by the History Department at Chancellor College between the 1960s and 1990s to ensure the availability of revisionist historical knowledge on the country's past among history teachers through various avenues, such as conferences, helped to ensure the applicability of these pedagogical changes to the Malawian context (Kalinga, 1998). According to various respondents, the same also applies to the critical role played various stakeholders such as MANEB, MIE, Malawi Book Service, MNLS, Multichoice, UNESCO, British Council, USIS, Malaptop and CYD among others during major curriculum and assessment reforms and consequently the pedagogical changes that followed. One respondent argued that these institutions ensured the availability of human, financial and material resources necessary for effective implementation of the new curriculum during periods of curriculum reform (OI 2, May 10, 2017). And another argued that wide consultations were made before any major pedagogical change was effected (OI 17, June 10, 2017).

But despite the fact the majority of respondents perceived the pedagogical changes as appropriate; they faulted the Ministry of Education for poor implementation, which rendered them virtually inappropriate. One respondent argued that these changes have always been implemented when we are not ready to support and sustain them; hence they have always been inappropriate (OI 7, May 18, 2017). According to OI 21 (June 15, 2017), this may be a result of

years of a broken educational system characterized by divisions among major stakeholders, which has made the implementation of educational reforms in the country quite problematic. Some respondents attributed poor implementation to several socio-economic and political factors that militated against these pedagogical changes while others have singled out donor influence as the main culprit. In general, respondents were of the view that the pedagogical changes have been less applicable overtime.

The Ministry of Education has all along attempted to bring pedagogical changes without any meaningful transformation and this is almost impossible in history education since history teaching is associated with one's beliefs. They first need to transform the beliefs of the history teachers before enforcing the changes. In the absence of meaningful transformation we will always be running around in circles like we have done so far (OI 21, June 15, 2017).

Generally, the majority of respondents were of the view that there has been more continuity than change in history pedagogy; hence the subject appears to be less responsive to the needs of modern Malawi. Little wonder, therefore that the subject has lost its popularity as seen from the low student enrolment for MSCE History examinations at Mzuzu Government Secondary School in *Table 5* below.

Table 5: MSCE History candidates at Mzuzu Governments Secondary School since 2000

Year	Number of History candidates out of 150²³	Percentage
2000	*	*
2001	27	18%
2002	71	47.3%
2003	09	6%
2004	*	*
2005	*	*
2006	24	16%
2007	32	21.3%
2008	36	24%
2009	29	19.3%
2010	20	13.3%
2011	26	17.3%
2012	29	19.3%
2013	23	15.3%
2014	31	21.6%
2015	27	18%
2016	17	11.3%
2017	22	15%

*No data available

Source: Mzuzu Government Secondary School

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a summary of the raw data collected in the course of the research project through observations, oral interviews, field notes and document analysis. The main findings have been presented in relation to the four key research questions that guided the study in an attempt to address the main research question. It started by identifying the major pedagogical changes in history pedagogy before examining strategies employed to promote and sustain such changes. It then proceeded to analyze obstacles faced in the implementation of the pedagogical changes before assessing the applicability of the changes in question.

²³ The total class enrolment at Mzuzu Government Secondary School since the late 1990s has been 150. The number is divided among three classes with 50 students each.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion and analysis of research findings. As advised by Hatch (2002), the analysis being attempted is a product of a rigorous process of making sense of the data which involved organizing and interrogating data in various ways in order to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories. This is done through the prism of the conflict theory and in relation to what other scholars in Malawi and abroad have found on issues being dealt with. The analysis of research findings was guided by the four key objectives of the research. It, therefore, starts by examining the major pedagogical changes in Malawi since 1964 before exploring the strategies employed by the Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education to sustain the pedagogical changes in question. It then looks at the challenges experienced in sustaining the changes before ascertaining the applicability of the changes over time.

5.1.0 Major Changes in History Pedagogy since 1964

The changes in history pedagogy in Malawi from 1964 to the present can best be understood in the context of conflicts, contradictions, tensions and compromises among various stakeholders in history education. In fact, secondary school history education in Malawi has always been characterized by conflicts, contradictions, tensions and compromises ever since it was introduced in the 1940s. The British heritage of education was systematically imposed on Malawian secondary school students so as to divorce them from their past and enforce their allegiance to

the British Empire.²⁴ History education in colonial Malawi was therefore contradictory since it tended to produce cultural misfits. Little wonder, therefore, that the Johnson-Survey Team, which reviewed the education system in the country in 1964 described it as alien, imported, excessively academic, extremely passive and addicted to rote learning (Banda, 1982; Kabwila, 1995; Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014). This observation led to attempts to decolonize the history taught in Malawian schools following the country's independence in the late 1960s championed by the History Department at Chancellor College of the University of Malawi (Kalinga, 1998). The ultimate result of this development was the production of revisionist history for schools and a paradigm shift in pedagogy from the Great Tradition to the Alternative Tradition.

Malawi attempted to overhaul the colonial education system by drawing new educational plans and reviewing the colonial curriculum to reorient it towards the socio-economic needs of the nation (Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014; Banda, 1982). Being a politically sensitive subject, history was one of a few subjects that were subjected to a complete overhaul.²⁵ However, the production of historical knowledge for schools in Malawi has been overtaken by various political and socio-economic developments that have taken place since 1964. Although many of these developments have occurred outside the education system, they have had a big impact on history pedagogy in secondary schools over time. Consequently, four major pedagogical changes in history education have been identified in relation to some political and socio-economic developments: decolonizing pedagogy (from 1964 to 1969); patriotic pedagogy (from 1970 to 1998); objective-based pedagogy (from 1999 to 2015); and outcome-based pedagogy (from 2015 to present). But

²⁴ The introduction of a completely alien secondary school history syllabus in Malawian schools in the 1940s can be compared to a systematic oppression by a well-intentioned liberal society, which accomplishes its ulterior motives by placing system-wide constraints on various groups to limit their freedom.

²⁵ The new history curriculum that came in 1969 focused on the history of Africa and the world at large as opposed to the colonial syllabus which focused on the British Empire and colonial its dependencies.

these changes occurred hand in hand with curriculum changes since according to Thornton (2005), how we teach becomes part of what we teach and what we teach influences which methods we select. However, the changes have been subjected to heavy undercurrents of continuities which in the end have diluted them as explained below.

5.1.1 Decolonizing Pedagogy (1964 - 1969)

The period between 1964 and 1969 witnessed the advent of decolonizing pedagogy, which challenged the official historical knowledge provided in schools. When Malawi became independent in 1964, it inherited a British colonial education system whose history curriculum was more British than Malawian (Banda, 1982; Kalinga, 1998). This was compounded by the fact that secondary school teaching staff comprised mainly of European teachers since the country had no university to train its own secondary school teachers (Banda, 1982). Soche Hill College was the only institution which trained secondary school teachers to diploma level but it had just recruited its first cohort of students in January 1964 (Sasnett and Sepmeyer, 1966). What is more, the institution drilled prospective teachers in the implementation of the Cambridge Syllabus, which focused on Europe and the expansion of the British Empire with literally nothing on Africa except a few notes on South Africa (Kalinga, 1998). The syllabus was content-heavy and examination oriented, hence teachers implemented it through fact-based closed narratives in line with the principles of the Great Tradition. This made history teaching nothing but a teacher's show with students as mere spectators (OI 12, June 23, Mzuzu).

Graduate secondary school teacher education began with the establishment of the University of Malawi in 1964 (Banda, 1982). Hence, from the mid 1960s many graduate secondary school teachers in the country were trained at Chancellor College, a constituent college of the

University of Malawi, which by 1973 had incorporated the Soche Hill College of Education (OI 1, May 8, 2017). Chancellor College took a proactive approach in the improvement of secondary education in general and history education in particular. The History Department at the college played a pivotal role in initiating pedagogical reforms in the country's history education immediately after independence. For instance, in 1967 the department organized its first major conference with the aim of acquainting secondary school teachers with the latest thinking on the History of Malawi (Kalinga, 1998). The conference attracted a horde of revisionist historians and had its proceedings mimeographed and published under the title *Malawi Past and Present*, which became the main reference for history teachers (Smith, Pachai and Tangri, 1971). However there were a lot of compromises in the proceedings such that serious revisionist papers on Malawi's history only appeared in the book edited by Brigdal Pachai titled *The Early History of Malawi*, which was a product of the International Conference on Malawi History organized by historians at Chancellor College in 1970 (Kalinga, 1998). The inspiration behind the work of the History Department was the International Congress of African History held at the University College of Dar es Salaam in 1965 (Pachai, 1971).

Therefore, the period between 1964 and 1970 was characterized by a shift from the colonial pedagogy to the critical decolonizing pedagogy. During this period, the existing colonial pedagogy became contradictory to the status quo. The Africanisation process had made critical dialogue necessary for the youth to become suitable social, historical, and cultural agents in independent Africa (Shizha, 2005). Therefore, political elites championed critical pedagogy in an attempt to question, challenge and firmly reject western historical notions about the African

past.²⁶ This was done through the promotion of revisionist history. But while revisionism became necessary, it generated a lot of conflicts, especially when the new historical knowledge found its way into classrooms. For instance, prior to 1967, revisionism was thwarted by the lack of a truly History of Malawi course at Chancellor College to champion this academic rebellion.²⁷ It was also arrested by the continued use of a colonial syllabus and strong resistance from the largely expatriate history teaching staff (Kalinga, 1998). In addition, the output of teachers from Chancellor College did not match the acute shortage of qualified secondary school history teachers who were to act as a vanguard of decolonizing pedagogy.

But a major drawback to the production of revisionist history for Malawian schools was the Cabinet Crisis of 1964 which virtually suspended research and free discussion of the recent political history of the country (McCracken, 2002; Kalinga, 1998). After the Cabinet Crisis, Dr. Banda became more suspicious and intolerant of research historians. For instance, Lihoma (2014, p. 85) argues that Dr. Banda's government 'employed strict measures to control access to public records, such as lengthy and complex access procedures, frequent closures of the national archives, banning of foreign researchers, use of the archives for surveillance intelligence, and restrictions on research subjects.' In one instance in the 1960s, Dr Banda closed the National Archives to researchers for a period of 20 months, which definitely suffocated historical research at a time when decolonizing pedagogy was gaining momentum (De Beats, 2002; Lihoma, 2014). Consequently, decolonizing pedagogy failed to gain ground as powerful socio-economic groups struggled for control of the past in the history classroom.

²⁶ A key player in decolonizing pedagogy was the UNESCO General History of Africa Project which mobilized more than 300 scholars from Africa and abroad in an attempt to produce a well researched decolonized history of Africa.

²⁷ It has been observed that the history of Malawi course was polluted by historical accounts of colonial masters, which became the easily accessible source for the country's past.

5.1.2 Patriotic Pedagogy (1970 - 1998)

The period between 1970 and 1998 saw a gradual shift from the decolonizing pedagogy to a patriotic pedagogy. But unlike decolonizing pedagogy, which was guided by the Alternative Tradition; patriotic pedagogy subscribed to the ideals of the Great Tradition. It was born out of several changes in the country's education system. The first major change was the introduction of the local history syllabus and examinations to replace the Cambridge Syllabus and Cambridge Overseas School Leaving Examination, respectively (Banda, 1982). In 1969 the Malawi Parliament enacted a law that created the Malawi Certificate Examination Board (MCE Board) which was mandated to develop a new syllabus and administer the Malawi Certificate of Education (MCE) Examinations in conjunction with the Associated Examining Board (AEB) of Britain (Chakwera, Khembo and Sereci, 2004). The content of the new history syllabus changed in response to national and social needs (Mwasi, 2009). But just like the Cambridge syllabus, the newly introduced syllabus did not change the gate keeping role of examinations due to its examination orientation. Hence in implementing it, teachers were usually guided by an examination syllabus, past examination papers and Chief Examiners' reports produced by MANEB (Mndolo, 2012). Generally, the new curriculum was content based and focused on the achievement of objectives and coverage of content mainly from the perspective of the teacher.

Examinations exerted a big influence on history pedagogy between 1970 and 1998. In fact, whenever MANEB changed its examination format, both the curriculum and pedagogy were adjusted to meet the demands of the new examination format (Bonga, 1990; Chakwera, Khembo and Sereci, 2004; Chalira and Nkhoma, 2003). For instance, in 1986 the history syllabus was reviewed to accommodate two examination papers in History of which Section A of each paper

comprised 25 compulsory multiple choice questions while Section B of each paper consisted of six questions out of which candidates were expected to answer any three (Bonga, 1990). Originally, the MSCE History paper consisted of 20 questions in two sections from which candidates were required to answer a total of five questions in essay form (OI 1, May 8, 2017). In a related development, the wholesale use of multiple choice items at JCE from 1995 to 1999 forced history teachers to employ a fact-based pedagogy in order to effectively prepare students for examinations. However, the Ministry of Education advised teachers to use participatory teaching approaches during this period although it did not necessarily compel them to do so (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1974; Ministry of Education and Culture, 1986). This signaled a conflict of interest between Ministry of Education, secondary schools and MANEB.

There were also several developments outside the education system which led to the substantial watering down of history curriculum content and greatly impacted on pedagogy. One of these developments was the declaration of Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda as the Life President of Malawi in 1971,²⁸ which had a big impact on production and dissemination of historical knowledge in Malawi. Following this development, Dr. Banda took control of the production of historical knowledge for schools. Kalinga (1998) presents an analysis of how Dr. Banda controlled the production of historical knowledge and, by implication, corrupted the same. He argues that the president declared holidays for some historical events; identified martyrs, heroes and villains; deposed chiefs in the name of correcting history; gave public lectures on the country's history; and declared Chichewa as a national language at the expense of other local languages (Kalinga, 1998). Dr. Banda also used the machinery of his party to control publication and education through the Malawi Censorship Board, which banned a lot of historical works

²⁸ The declaration was first made by MCP in 1970 and confirmed by the legislature in 1971.

(Beats, 2002; Moyo, 2001).²⁹ Besides, he used unconventional modes of education such as the annual MCP Conventions and MYP Movement to propagate his historical perspective (Banda, 1982). Therefore, the patriotic pedagogy was simply an academic coup d'état aimed at entrenching Kamuzuism³⁰ in the country's history pedagogy. It ran counter to the demands of the existing history syllabus, which promoted the Alternative Tradition by expecting students to:

Explain historical events in Central Africa (Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique), and the 20th Century World in a coherent and logical manner; interpret historical events and ideas and relate them to contemporary issues; discuss historical events in terms of their causes and results; and evaluate historical information and form opinion on it (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1986).

Patriotic pedagogy led to the collapse of historical thinking in schools as it enabled Kamuzuism to suffocate all competing historical accounts of the country's political past in order to entrench Dr Banda's regime (Vail, 1988; Kalinga, 1998). The problem was that Banda was first and foremost a historian and a medical doctor and politician later; hence he developed a keen interest in the subject (Pachai, 1989). However, instead of promoting historical scholarship, he threw spanners in the works of professional historians. For instance, his version of Malawi's past became the official history of the country as all attempts by scholars to write an authentic history of the period of his activities were thwarted through legislation and espionage (Kalinga, 1998; De Beats, 2002). The hostile atmosphere under which historians were forced to work resulted in very little serious research to sustain history education in the country (Kalinga, 1998). In the classroom, history teachers worked as political agents whose job was to foster loyalty to the

²⁹ See *Appendix III* for a list of notable history books that were banned in Malawi

³⁰ Kamuzuism was an ideology that Banda was the Father and Founder of the nation, a Messiah that God provided to save and lead Malawi for life, the fount of all wisdom, and always knew what was best for the nation. It was vividly expressed in songs and dances of praise and worship that the people of Malawi composed and performed for Banda.

republic as stipulated in the Second National Education Plan, 1983-95 (Moulton, Mundy, Walmond and Williams, 2002). In fact, Mweso, 2014 argues that:

During the whole period of Dr. Banda's rule there developed an extreme form of politics of memory and historiography. The essence of the collective memory championed by the Banda regime was to indoctrinate people with a specific understanding of the past that excluded all other leaders that had fallen out with Dr. Banda but only glorified and celebrated his achievements (p.21).

Anyone deviating from the official history was regarded as anti- government, a 'rebel', a 'confusionist', an 'ungrateful' person and, therefore, someone deserving detention without trial (Kalinga, 1998, p. 541). As in other African states, patriotic pedagogy proclaimed the need for authoritarian government in order to repress and punish the traitors (Ranger, 2004). But this brought conflicts and tensions in the history learning environment as exploration of controversial and unconventional ideas among teachers and students alike was forbidden. In fact, Dr. Banda's regime was characterized by a battle for the country's historical narrative (Kalinga, 1998; Mweso, 2014; Pachai, 1989). Little wonder, therefore, that from the 1980s, performance levels of students in History at MSCE began to fall tremendously (Phiri, 1993). Dr. Banda's behaviour was typical of founding fathers who extensively promote closed historical narratives that embody the politically correct teleology of the state for the sake of unity (Anderson, 1991; Smith, 2001). But this had a damaging impact on the country's history education for good history teaching incorporates historiography by including many different interpretations of historical events written from different angles. This scenario was quite different from that of Europe and other parts of the world where according to Vella (2015):

For the past 40 years history pedagogy has been developing and today it is dramatically different from the traditional history teaching of fifty years ago. The main objective in history teaching today is the teaching of history thinking skills and concepts within a historical context, rather than mere memorization of facts, and pupils are made aware of the main characteristics of the discipline (p. 62 - 63).

5.1.3 Objective Based Pedagogy (1999 - 2015)

The Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education began promoting objective-based pedagogy with the introduction of an objective based teaching syllabus in 1999. It also transferred the task of curriculum review and syllabus development, which all along had been the responsibility of MANEB, to MIE. However, the review of the examination curriculum could be traced to the mid 1990s. In 1995, the government produced a draft Sector Policy Investment Framework Paper (1995 -2005) intended to guide educational change in the context of the country's newfound democracy (Moulton et al., 2002). Consequently, the new syllabus was an embodiment of the new democratic dispensation, which upheld people's rights to articulate their opinion and ideas without fear of government retaliation and censorship.³¹ It became an ideal instrument for inquiry-based instructional practices, which are the hallmark of the Alternative Tradition (Husbands et al., 2003). Moreover, unlike its predecessor which was examination-oriented and left choice of teaching methods at the teacher's discretion; the new syllabus was objective-driven and compelled history teachers to employ participatory pedagogy, which is a hallmark of democratic teaching (OI 12, May 30 2017). In addition, the syllabus was manageable to teachers and deeply engaging to students as its boundaries were properly delineated by the objectives. It was also greatly influenced by historical revisionism.³²

The new syllabus benefited from the fact that it was conceived out of the vestiges of Dr. Banda's rule. The collapse of Dr. Banda's dictatorial regime in 1994 and the rise to power of a democratically elected government under Dr. Bakili Muluzi provided an enabling environment

³¹ Doing history is defined as students implementing the methods and heuristics used by historians at an appropriate level for their cognitive and educational development. This may involve interacting with sources to ask unconventional questions and seek unconventional answers. It therefore requires a free and protective environment.

³² For instance, the Chikulamayembe kingdom became the Tumbuka-Nkhamanga kingdom in the new curriculum.

for pedagogical change and objective study of the past. For instance, multiparty democracy ensured the presence of an active parliamentary opposition and free press which allowed for the publication of critical views of government, while at an academic level, it enabled scholars to indulge in debate and conduct research without official hindrance (McCracken, 2002). In addition, the removal of MYP teachers from schools through the Operation Bwezani³³ of 1993 also freed history teachers from unnecessary suspicion and fear in discharging their duties. The academic freedom guaranteed by the democratic dispensation created an impetus for improvements to the country's education system which had been tarnished by 'fear and incrimination' (Phiri and Ross, 1996, p.13). Consequently, the Banda version of history was subjected to scholarly debate by revisionist historians and history teachers alike. The late 1990s could be equated to the late 1960s as a period in which revisionist history ruled the roost. However, liberalization of textbook production became a source of conflict as some people attempted to harness the past to their own advantage by strategically situating themselves in the annals of the country's history.

But the teaching syllabus had a number of structural features which ended up entrenching the Great Tradition. For instance, its focus on objectives meant that teaching became factual, brief and straight to the point than was previously the case. Therefore, instead of presenting teachers with images and concepts, the new syllabus simply gave them a script to follow. In addition, the objectives of the new syllabus focused much on knowledge than skills; hence it simply required history teachers to interpret past events and explain them to students in an understandable way,

³³ Operation Bwezani was a code name for a military insurrection among Malawi Army junior officers who militarily disarmed the Banda regime's paramilitary wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP), following the killing by the later of a junior army officer after a misunderstanding in Mzuzu City. This led to the sudden collapse of all MYP Branches including the removal of MYP teachers from secondary schools and the demise of MYP as a school subject.

which is typical of the Great Tradition (Husbands et al., 2007). On top of that the syllabus had many objectives, which made it extremely bulky. This was worsened by the reduction of the number of history lessons within a week so as to accommodate new subjects like Business Studies, Computer Studies, Life Skills and Social Studies.³⁴ Hence history pedagogy remained didactic contrary to the demands of the Alternative Tradition. Therefore, from 1999 to 2015 history teachers went through a period of pedagogical dilemma due to the contradictory nature of the history curriculum, which failed to enforce what it advocated.

5.1.4 Outcome Based Pedagogy (2015 - present)

In 2015 the Malawi government introduced the Outcome Based Education (OBE) curriculum after a review process which started in 2009. This was a result of Secondary Curriculum and Assessment Reform (SCAR) which was a continuation of the Primary Curriculum and Assessment Reform (PCAR). OBE focuses on the outcomes displayed by students after teaching and learning has taken place and has continuous assessment as the main mode of assessment (Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014). Therefore, it is an ideal tool for entrenching the Alternative Tradition. For instance, it stresses the importance of equipping students with relevant skills so that they could live meaningful lives in their communities (Chirwa and Naidoo). The new syllabus is likely to entrench the Alternative Tradition of history teaching due to its emphasis on doing history by encouraging the development of various skills among students such as: critical skills, social relating skills and the skill of analyzing, synthesizing and interpretation of historical data (Ministry of Education, 2013). Thus long at last history education in Malawi might be seriously embracing the Alternative Tradition.

³⁴ The minimum number of history periods per week in the previous syllabus was three; but in the new syllabus this became the recommended number of periods per week

Generally the adoption of OBE syllabus appears to be the best way of migrating from rote learning which has always characterized Malawi's history education since 1964. The new history curriculum presents a great paradigm shift in terms of pedagogy due to its strong focus on student outcomes and activity based learning. For instance, facilitation and scaffolding are becoming the new roles for history teachers in the implementation of the OBE curriculum as required by the Alternative Tradition (Husbands et al, 2003). Hence the current secondary school history students who also happen to be PCAR graduates are now becoming more active in teaching and learning process (OI 22, June 19, 2017). Since OBE has integrated teaching, learning and assessment; it has made the use of alternative assessment³⁵ a great possibility as required by the Alternative Tradition (VanSledright, 2014). Therefore, OBE has the capacity to promote the alternative due to its ability to engage students in employing heuristics of professional historians in the history classroom.

However, there are still a number of issues to be sorted out in order to make the current history syllabus fully compliant to the Alternative Tradition. For instance, the OBE history curriculum largely promotes the use of assessment to audit retention of content than acquisition of skills. And although Continuous Assessment is a key area of any outcomes-based curriculum, many history teachers continue to ignore it (OI 19, June 12, 2017). This situation is even complicated by the fact that MANEB is yet to accept the use of Continuous Assessment and devise an assessment system that could comprehensively assess students' acquisition of knowledge, skills and values (OI 15, May 30, 2017). The new curriculum is also virtually lacking in source-based assessment, which is a critical component of the Alternative Tradition (Barton and Levstik,

³⁵ Alternative assessments are diagnostic tools designed to improve both the teachers' instruction and students' learning of history by revealing three dimensions about the latter's historical literacy: knowledge acquisition, ability to reason, and ability to communicate their historical knowledge.

2001). In addition, the new history syllabus has simply substituted objectives for learning outcomes success criteria to address the same topics in the same manner.³⁶ Consequently, teachers are continuing with their old pedagogical practices without running the risk of violating the demands of the new curriculum. Another deficiency of the syllabus is that it has completely ignored the important role played by ICT in the 21st Century history education.³⁷ Therefore although it takes a step forward in history pedagogy, it takes two backwards in the context of 21st century education which hinges on ICT (Tan, 2009).

5.2.0 Measures taken to sustain the Pedagogical Changes since 1964

Since 1964, Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education has employed several measures in an attempt to sustain the pedagogical changes identified in the preceding paragraphs. These measures have largely been employed in the context of the Johnson Report, which guided education policy direction throughout the second half of 20th century Malawi (Banda, 1982; Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014). But they have also been carried out in the context of the colonial Education Act of 1962, which guided education policy direction in Malawi until 2013 (OI 17, June 10, 2017). Although some of these measures specifically targeted history pedagogy, others have been more general and aimed at addressing changes in the country's entire education system. But these measures have always been enshrouded in conflicts, tensions and compromises due to the nature of history as an academic subject and the diverging interests of various stakeholders involved as explained in the following paragraphs.

³⁶ Generally, the approach to old topics remains the same except that they are to be taught using success criteria instead of objectives which does not affect pedagogy at all.

³⁷ The OBE history syllabus does not promote the use of ICT tools although their role is indispensable in modern history education. For instance, the reference list of the new syllabus does not contain and website (see Appendix V)

Above all there was the promotion of revisionist history and the Alternative Tradition of history teaching by the History Department at Chancellor College, University of Malawi. This was closely followed by the establishment of a local examinations board, which evolved into MANEB over time. The contribution of the University of Malawi and MANEB has already been alluded to in the earlier part of the chapter, dealing with the introduction of the nationalist paradigm in the 1960s.

5.2.1 Establishment of a High Level Consultative Committee on Education

One of the first initiatives by the government to implement and sustain the pedagogical reforms in various disciplines was the establishment of a high level Consultative Committee on Education in 1967 (Banda, 1982; Mwasi, 2009). Besides acting as an advisory body on the country's education, the committee was also tasked with the responsibility of assisting in addressing a number of issues in the education sector such as examinations, curriculum and pedagogy among other things (OI 23, June 20, 2017). The committee's strength lay in the fact that it was composed of a diversified array of scholars and experts from different governmental and non-governmental organizations such as Ministry of Education, public secondary schools, religious institutions and several constituent colleges of the University of Malawi. It therefore ensured that the country's secondary education reforms were properly coordinated and sustained on both short and long term basis. For instance, the committee took a special interest in the role of the university in promoting quality secondary school education through research, publications and training of Secondary School teachers (Mwasi, 2009). This ensured that the Alternative Tradition, which started gaining momentum in the 1950s, was introduced in schools.

The establishment of the Consultative Committee on Education led to great involvement of the University of Malawi in the country's education planning at all levels including secondary schools. For instance, a Joint Education Advisory Committee on Education between the Ministry of Education and University of Malawi was established to spearhead meaningful education reforms in the country. Consequently, several departments in the constituent colleges of the University of Malawi began taking an appreciative interest in secondary education, including history education (McCracken, 2012). For instance, university professors and lecturers were always prepared to discuss school and university matters with teachers and pupils whenever possible and were ready to give research-based advice on academic matters when approached (Ministry of Education, 1974). The University of Malawi Senate also established the Institute for Social Research in 1971 to conduct interdisciplinary problem-solving research, organize conferences and seminars, and develop local teaching materials for arts and humanities (Crosby, 1993). Being a social science, school history benefited a lot from the institute which later became the Centre for Social Research. However, the bringing together of experts in different fields in a single committee was a source of conflict as some fields, especially the sciences, were prioritized at the expense of others (Banda, 1982; Mwasi, 2009). Consequently, politically fragile subjects like history did not receive the equal measure of attention given to science subjects.

5.2.2 Establishment of Book Lending and Selling Institutions.

The Malawi Government established two institutions for selling and lending books by Acts of Parliament in the 1960s: MBS and MNLS. These institutions were established to promote the implementation of the school curriculum by supplying various teaching and learning materials, especially books, to schools and other education establishments in Malawi (Ministry of

Education, 1976). While the MBS sold books and other educational materials at highly subsidized prices through its retail shops across the country; the MNLS provides free book lending services to teachers, students and other consumers of the written word through various library centers scattered across the country. Overtime, the MNLS has established library centers in various schools across Malawi and trained some teachers in basic library and information management (see *Appendix IV*). The services offered by these institutions to the country's history education need no emphasis because textbooks are an important ingredient of the history teaching and learning activity (Kochhar, 2004; Pathak, 2003). Ministry of Education (1974) emphasizes the importance of school libraries by arguing that:

At the secondary level, the key outputs that can be expected from effective school libraries are: the development of improved reading and comprehension skills, which also underpin performance in all other curriculum subjects; and the ability to access required information and to research and read around curriculum subjects. These are essential skills in the information age and these skills elsewhere in the world increasingly form the basis for secondary school methodologies that emphasize student centered learning and individual student responsibility for their own learning (p.71).

In fact, the importance of history textbooks which are usually kept in the library needs no emphasis. In the hands of an expert teacher, a good history textbook is a versatile teaching and learning resource that could be used single-handedly to implement the Alternative Tradition (Marsden, 2001). This explains why some history teachers even use textbooks as curriculum to inform their content and pedagogical choices in the classroom (Kochhar, 2004). For instance, during the implementation of OBE, the history syllabus came quite late after students' textbooks and teachers guides had already been distributed at Mzuzu Government Secondary School. This meant that teachers had to use the textbooks as their syllabus.

However, the provision of history textbooks by these institutions was greatly compromised by Dr. Banda's censorship policy. Between 1968 and 1994 the Banda regime ran the notorious Malawi Censorship Board, which banned hundred of books with history being the most affected discipline (see Appendix II). These books were banned for propagating views that deviated from Banda's view of the country's development. However, according to Levstik and Barton (2001) controversies and contestations are the hallmark of the Alternative Tradition. Therefore, lack of multiperspectivity and contestability, rendered the country's history education less ideal for the Alternative Tradition. However, after the collapse of the Banda regime, the strict censorship policies were discarded and many history books became accessible. But only few teachers are accessing these supplementary texts in libraries as the education system has become more examination oriented.³⁸ In addition, MNLS centers are now stocked with few and archaic history books in response to people's demands.³⁹ For Mzuzu Government Secondary School, the library has never been well developed during the period of its existence as compared to libraries in other national secondary schools in Malawi.

5.2.3 Establishment of Malawi Institute of Education

The establishment of the MIE, which has also been very active in running teacher education programs, is one of the strategies put in place to promote the pedagogical changes in different subject areas. MIE was established in 1979 to undertake curriculum development, carry out research in education, assist with the training of teachers, provide continuous professional development for teachers, and produce teaching and learning resources among other things (OI

³⁸ The researcher found that history teachers are relying on students' textbooks to prepare their lessons instead of consulting peer reviewed journals or monographs as is required of them.

³⁹ History is currently becoming a less popular discipline in Malawi; hence the MNLS is not ordering many history books.

1, May 8, 2017). Consequently, it has been greatly involved in teacher training. For instance, when the PCAR rolled out in primary schools, the onus fell on MIE to train teachers on the outcomes-based curriculum that evolved from the PCAR innovation (Mchazime, 2003). The institute ran two sister projects called Malawi Education Support Activity (MESA) and Malawi Teacher Training Activity (MITA) between 2003 and 2006. While MESA trained teachers in pedagogies, the aim of MITA was to address content issues (Mizrachi, Padilla, and Susuwele-Banda, 2010). MITA further developed the Mobile Teacher Training Troupes (MTTT) project to further assist in CPD among primary school teachers (OI 22, May 30, 2017).

However, although MIE has been running various projects for secondary school education in Malawi such as curriculum reviews, INSETs, and textbook evaluation; its major focus has always been primary education and primary teacher training ever since it was established. This may be a result of lack of enough funding for running its programs, which has left the institute prone to donor manipulation since the 1980s (Ndjabili, 2004). In fact, just like other institutes of education across Africa, MIE has never been an independent entity due to political and donor influence. The situation is complicated by the fact that within the same centre it is common to find programs supported by different donor agencies running concurrently (Ndjabili, 2004). But the huge donor influence behind many of its projects has turned MIE into a semi-alien institution that hardly considers ground reality before rolling out its innovations. In fact, MIE has become an instrument of foreign domination, which is constantly subjecting Malawian schools to unrealistic pedagogical experiments (OI 21, June 15, 2017). This ends up confusing teachers who are charged with the responsibility of implementing the programs. Therefore, MIE operates in a

state of conflict and dilemma due to political and neo-colonial manipulation which has the effect of watering down curricular-pedagogical reforms (Ndjabili, 2004).

5.2.4 Establishment of the Curriculum and Teaching Studies (CATS) Department at Chancellor College, University of Malawi

The History Department at Chancellor College had been solely responsible for both content and pedagogical training of history teachers in Malawi from the 1960s to the late 1980s (Kalinga, 1998). This set-up was a result of the belief that only those who have expert knowledge and understanding of this discipline can structure it in such a way as to make it more useful for future secondary school history teachers. Since academic historians best understand the epistemology of the field, they were therefore considered better placed to enable prospective history teachers acquire a more sophisticated PCK of the discipline which is ideal for the Alternative Tradition. However, in 1988 Chancellor College established the CATS Department to assume the responsibility of equipping prospective teachers in History and other subject areas with the necessary values, concepts, practices and skills for success in the teaching profession. Academic staff in the CATS Department has expertise in curriculum design and implementation; teaching and learning theories, subject specific teaching methodologies of the various subjects taught at secondary school level in Malawi. But the History Department continued to provide both substantive and syntactical content knowledge⁴⁰ to the prospective history teachers while the CATs Department took care of PCK.

⁴⁰ Substantive knowledge is the specific information, ideas, concepts and topics of a field. Syntactical knowledge, on the other hand, consists of the tools and rules used when determining how and what information can be incorporated into a field through various modes of inquiry.

The ceding of pedagogical training of students by the History Department to departments of education has been a common phenomenon across the globe due to its benefits. For instance, it has enabled history departments to offer more content courses in order to give history majors a broader outlook on historical issues in preparation for their history teaching career. On the other hand the departments of education are better placed to train prospective history teachers in harnessing different factors to bring about meaningful history learning environments to young secondary school students. It must be understood that a teacher who is deficient in teaching methodology is greatly disadvantaged in making the right pedagogical choices for his or her students (Thornton, 2005). However, although this development has given academic staff in the history department the opportunity to deepen their students' understanding of history as an academic discipline; it has also led to knowledge gap between the CATS Department and subject specific departments. Bain and Mirel (2006) contend that experts in education by themselves cannot effectively provide future history teachers with the teaching tools they need to be effective. The creation of CATS department has therefore brought conflicts in history teacher education as students are going through disjointed courses in history and education.

5.2.5 Establishment of more Tertiary Institutions for Training History Teachers

From the mid 1960s the majority of secondary school teachers in the country were being trained at Chancellor College, University of Malawi. The output of Chancellor College, however, did not match the acute shortage of qualified teachers in secondary schools. The limited output of qualified teachers from the University of Malawi forced Dr. Banda's government to convert Domasi Primary Teacher Training College into a college of education for secondary school teachers in 1993 (Mlangeni, Chibaya, Malinda, Kapito, Kamundi, Kaperemera and Likupe,

(2015). In the post-Banda era, other institutions of higher learning such as Mzuzu University and Nalikule College of Education which offer history education have been established. But despite these developments, Teacher Student Ratio (TSR) has always been high since the 1990s due to ever-increasing student enrolment (see *Appendix II*). This is a side effect of the 1999 presidential decree, which unified the secondary school system by converting all Malawi Distance Education Centers into Community Day Secondary Schools (Ministry of Education, 2005). This development has forced Mzuzu University and Domasi College of Education to introduce ODL mode of delivery to increase teacher supply (Msiska, 2013).

Besides the public universities, there are also several private colleges and universities that have entered the market. However, the establishment of more public and private universities has not really paid the dividends as history education remains a reserve for few motivated individuals in the education system. In addition, the existence of several private universities and colleges in Malawi, which are sometimes managed by under qualified staff has led to serious quality concerns. These private universities appear to prioritize competition with their counterparts at the expense of quality education. In addition, the presence of several universities among which there is no working relationship has only promoted chaos in history education. Overtime, this has led to the watering down of history content and pedagogy. Furthermore, the establishment of ODL programs at Domasi and Mzuzu University, which also target history students, has led to serious concerns on the quality of the program. Some stakeholders fear that ODL will dilute academic rigour and compromise educational standards. But the establishment of the Malawi National Council of Higher Education (NCHE) is likely to address these concerns. NCHE is mandated to

regulate higher education in order to ensure quality and adherence to international standards among local universities and colleges (OI 17, June 10, 2017).

5.2.6 School Supervision and Inspection

Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are critical for success in any enterprise. In education, monitoring and evaluation is conducted by different stakeholders such as teachers, school heads, students, parents, communities, traditional leaders, government officials, development partners, and the civil society (UNICEF, 2005). But formal monitoring and evaluation is carried out by specially designated departments in the Ministry of Education. The officials responsible for monitoring and evaluating teachers and their activities are given different titles across the globe. For instance, Malawi uses ‘Education Methods Advisor’, and Uganda uses ‘Teacher Development Advisor’, while Nigeria uses ‘Inspectors’ (Adewale, 2014). However, the most common forms of evaluation in the education system are supervision and inspection whose basic purpose is to help teachers improve the teaching process in the classroom by working cooperatively with them without making judgments about their competence or controlling them (Sullivan and Glanz, 2000).

In Malawi, school inspection can be traced back to colonial times with the establishment of the Department of Education in 1926 (Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014). But since independence, DIAS in the Ministry of Education is mandated to provide inspection and advisory services to schools nationwide. DIAS performs a number of functions such as: enforcement, maintenance and evaluation of education standards; initiation of the development and review of education curriculum; formulation of Inspection and Advisory Policies; registration of both Government and private schools; registration and licensing of teachers; and supervision of Education Division

Offices (MOEST, 2012). Therefore, it is tasked to perform both management and training roles. The policy of Ministry of Education on inspection is that every school should be visited by inspectors at least three times in a year (MOEST and UNESCO, 2008). However, less than 70% of the schools are inspected three times as per government recommendation due to shortage of inspectors and wanton establishment of schools in the country (Mkandawire, 2002). This is compounded by inadequate resources and transport problems. For instance, each Education Division has only one vehicle for the Advisory section (Mkandawire, 2002).

But apart from supervision and inspection by Ministry of Education officials, head teachers in secondary schools have also been encouraged to supervise teachers under their charge. Head teachers are obliged to supervise all new teachers, whether experienced or not, so as to see if they require advice and assistance in settling down in fresh surroundings (Ministry of Education, 1974). Besides, they are required to inspect and supervise probationers and submit regular reports in writing to the Ministry of Education Headquarters. A drawback of this supervision is that, in terms of pedagogy the head teachers could only supervise teachers who specialized in their area of expertise. It would appear awkward for a head teacher who studied sciences to supervise a history teacher. It should be noted, however, that head teachers are allowed to delegate these duties to their Deputy Head Teacher or the Head of Department to ensure efficiency (Ministry of Education, 1974). However, a major drawback of school-based supervision is resistance by teachers to be supervised by their colleagues. In fact, if clumsily done by the head teacher, it may breed serious conflicts in the school.

5.2.7 In-Service Teacher Training

Although MIE has been in the forefront conducting INSETs for teachers in Malawi; Education Divisions have also been organizing INSETs for their schools in clusters. These local INSETs have become popular in the 2000s. In fact, they have become a safety valve for teacher CPD after the sudden death of the biannual teacher conferences of the Banda era. For instance, the three super clusters in NED organize INSETs for teachers in various subject areas including History. Initially, these INSETs included Science and Mathematics teachers, who are now being excluded with the coming of SMASSE (OI 9, May 19, 2017). In NED these INSETs are organized annually to orient new members in the teaching profession and perfect the skills of practicing teachers in both public and private schools. But individual schools are required to make some monetary contributions towards the INSETs to cater for some costs that are incurred during the training. This implies that teachers from schools that cannot afford to pay are not allowed to attend the INSETs.

In all these INSETs, Inspectors and Advisors from the NED and other specialists act as facilitators (OI 19, June 12, 2017). The INSETs are generally tailored to the actual needs of the teachers as well as the school system. Therefore, they provide a forum where teachers in different subject areas are trained and have an opportunity to discuss their work with colleagues from other schools as well as experts from other institutions. This helps to promote a shared vision among teachers in NED to make any curricular innovation work effectively. But one history teacher observed that these INSETs always degenerate into hot spots of academic debates and conflicts as teachers trained in various institutions try to outshine each other in PCK. This implies that they hardly yield their intended results as consensus is rarely reached during such

debates. In addition, these INSETs usually attract low patronages due to the growth of the allowance syndrome among Malawian teachers since the mid 1990s.⁴¹ However, these INSETs need to be viewed as a mere survival strategy devised by the schools and Education Divisions involved in the context of limited government involvement in secondary school teachers' CPD since the mid 1990s.⁴² Hence their impact is likely to be compromised.

5.2.8 Involvement of other Stakeholders in Education

Different stakeholders have been engaged at different levels by the Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education in order to promote and sustain the pedagogical changes in secondary school history over time. For instance, since the 1960s, The National Archives of Malawi, Museums, Malawi National Library Service, Malawi Book Service, British Council, United States Information Service, French Cultural Center, DANIDA, CIDA, NORAD, JICA, UNICEF and UNESCO have supported various pedagogical innovations in the country (OI 1, May 8, 2017). From 2004, Multichoice Malawi in partnership with the Ministry of Education has commissioned a number of schools across the country as Multichoice Resource Centers. The schools were presented with DSTV sets and free subscription to the DSTV Education Bouquet. Mzuzu Government secondary school is one of these Multichoice Resource Centers in the country although its set is now non-functional. The DSTV Education Bouquet is beneficial to history teachers because it includes a number of educational TV channels with rich historical content such as: Discovery, National Geographic and History Channel. Documentaries from these channels are likely to promote and sustain the Alternation Tradition.

⁴¹ Due to the growth of allowance syndrome, nowadays teachers rarely attend seminars or workshops where they will not be paid anything.

⁴² While primary school teachers in Malawi have almost been choked with donor-funded INSETs since the 1990s, some which even run concurrently at MIE, such INSETs are virtually nonexistent for secondary school teachers.

However, the engagement of these stakeholders has also resulted pedagogical in conflicts in history education. For instance, the British government has always promoted the ideals of British life through the British Council in Malawi while the same has also been done by France through the French Cultural Centre and USA through USIS. Usually the history books these institutions donate to schools focus on their heritage and not on Malawi or Africa, which promotes neocolonialism in education (Falola, 2005). Sometimes they also send their citizens to help in the cultural onslaught through various programs such as the Peace Corps and Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO). Therefore, Malawian secondary schools have been reduced to battle grounds for neo-colonial influences, which impacts negatively on objective teaching of history. In addition, international donors have even bulldozed the country into implement various education programs thereby generating curriculum pressures which have a negative impact on pedagogy (Ndjabili, 2002). For instance, secondary education in Africa has been neglected by governments on advice from international donors who have put much emphasis on basic education instead.

5.3.0 Obstacles faced in the Implementation of Pedagogical Changes

The different measures employed by the Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education to sustain the pedagogical reforms have been met with a number of obstacles since the 1960s. These obstacles are rooted in a number of political and socio-economic developments affecting the country during specific periods of time. However, they could generally be attributed to the conflicts, tensions and compromises that have always characterized history education in the country and across the world. The study also found that there were also some notable differences in the obstacles faced during Dr. Banda's one party regime and the post-Banda democratic

government. However, some challenges affected the two political dispensations in equal measure. These obstacles are explained below.

5.3.1 Lack of Resources

Lack of teaching and learning resources such as textbooks, teachers' guides, teachers' reference books, syllabuses, maps, charts, models, artifacts and archival documents among others have always militated against pedagogical changes in the country's history education (Bonga, 1990; Chiromo, 2014; Morrow, 1986). The scarcity or unavailability of these resources in schools makes it extremely difficult for history teachers to implement the Alternative Tradition in the history classroom (Lora, 1980). It is, therefore, common to see a teacher rely heavily on a textbook while students spend a lot of time copying notes from the chalkboard than absorbing what they are being taught (Ndala, 2006). Lack of resources is a general problem in least developed countries like Malawi where Seguin (1989) observes that:

It is not uncommon, for instance, to discover schools which have no textbooks at all for certain subjects or levels of schooling, and sometimes the only solution for the teacher is to dictate summaries of his lessons (p. 6).

Generally this has been a result of geometric increase of student enrolment against decreasing government expenditure on secondary education (see *Appendix II*). This trend can be traced to the period immediately after independence when the government prioritized secondary education to meet its socio-economic development needs. For instance in 1964 only four of the 17 secondary schools offered a full program leading to a secondary school certificate (Banda, 1982). But following independence, the Banda government tried to promote access to school opportunities by building a day secondary school in each of the 21 administrative districts (Mwasi, 2009). This was somehow contradictory in that access to education during Dr. Banda's

rule was unusually restricted (Sturges, 1998). However, in the early 2000s General Enrolment Ratio (GER) for secondary schools in Malawi rose dramatically as compared to other Southern African States (see *Table 6 below*). This unprecedented expansion of secondary education had a negative impact on resource mobilization in schools; hence pedagogy was compromised.

Table 6: General Enrolment Ratio in for secondary education in Southern Africa

Country	1980	1990	2002
Angola	13	12	19
Botswana	21	43	73
Lesotho	18	23	35
Malawi	3	4	33
Mozambique	5	8	16
Swaziland	38	47	88
Tanzania	3	5	6
Zambia	16	20	28
Zimbabwe	8	50	36

Source: UNESCO, 1991 – 2005

However, the study found that there have been notable changes in the availability of the resources in question overtime. For instance, the resources were readily available during the one party era, possibly due to the limited number of secondary schools and low secondary school enrolments in the country (see *Appendix II*). In addition there were a number of stakeholders who were ready to provide audio visual teaching aids to schools even for free. For instance, schools were encouraged to make full use of these resources which could be obtained from the: Chief Information Officer in Blantyre; The English Language Centre in Limbe; Extension Service in Lilongwe and Extension Aids Branch in Blantyre as well as the information and cultural services of foreign embassies among others (Ministry of Education, 1974). However, since the majority of these stakeholders were located in Blantyre and Lilongwe, only a few schools benefited from their corporate social responsibility. But soon after independence, the country witnessed a rapid

expansion of secondary school enrolment especially after the liberalization of secondary school education from the mid 1990s and the unification of the public secondary school system in 1999 (Mkandawire, 2002; Steiner–Khamisi and Kunje, 2011). Consequently, the scarcity of teaching and learning resources became more pronounced from the mid 1990s and this greatly impacted on the pedagogical reforms. But the lack of resources from the 1990s could also be blamed on the imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on African countries from the 1980s, which put restrictions on government educational spending (Zezeza, 2002).

The importance of teaching and learning resources in a subject that requires great use of imagination in decoding the past needs no emphasis. These resources are ideal in the history classroom because they stimulate auditory or visual senses or both and thus help the child to receive knowledge or information with greater intensity (Pathak, 2003). Besides they give students the opportunity to model the work of historians and develop a range of important life skills including communication, observation, deduction, interpretation, and questioning (Smith, 2010; Lee and Ashby, 2000). But lack of resources could also be attributed to the conflict that has characterized Malawi's education system. For instance, the shift in focus from secondary to primary education due to international pressure from the 1980s left secondary schools neglected and poorly resourced. The situation was compounded by the introduction of new subjects in secondary schools in 1999. For instance, Social Studies which has almost the same objectives as history has been greatly promoted at the expense of the latter. The promotion of sciences and unwarranted degrading of the arts by curriculum decision makers over the past ten years has worsened the problem even further. But all these developments epitomize an education system

full of conflicts, controversies, tensions, dilemmas and compromises. In fact, Deutsch (2005) cite inconsistency in allocation of resources as a cause of conflicts in society.

5.3.2 Removal of History from Primary School Curriculum

The study also found that from the early 1970s to the mid 1990s, History was offered as a school subject in primary schools from standard 6 alongside Geography and Civics, as components of the General Paper. It was also separately examined in the General Paper Examination which comprised 40% Geography, 40% History and 20% Civics (OI 21, June 15, 2017). However, in 1995 a new primary school curriculum which changed the way history was to be approached and organized by teachers was introduced (Tlou and Kabwira, 2002). Since then primary school history has been organized in cross-curricular themes that are approached from a social studies perspective (Chirwa and Naidoo, 2014). The primary school history syllabus was content heavy and covered a comprehensive history of the world from ancient to modern times. Therefore, primary school pupils went through a comprehensive history course which effectively prepared them for secondary school history by introducing them to the generic skills of professional historians (OI 11, May 29, 2017). This enabled secondary school history teachers to implement the Alternative Tradition with ease. But currently, primary school graduates go to secondary schools with a great deficiency in these skills and this greatly compromises the implementation of the Alternative Tradition by secondary school history teachers. In addition, the students often make poorly informed choices about secondary school subjects, sometimes rejecting history because of its unfamiliarity (Taylor and Young, 2003).

But the adoption of social studies in 1995 was long overdue since it was a new approach to primary school history and geography courses agreed by a number of African states in the 1960s

under the Africa Social Studies Program (ASSP). In fact, Malawi was one of the eleven states that founded ASSP in September 1967 (Merryfield, 1988). ASSP members agreed on a new approach based on integration of the traditional subjects (history, geography, and civics), and some elements from economics, sociology, and anthropology. They also adopted inquiry pedagogy for social studies in order to promote the development of a number of skills required by citizens of a free society such as discovery, critical thinking, and problem solving as well as attitudes like respect, appreciation, cooperation and compassion (Merryfield, 1988). Social studies taught this way could effectively prepare students for secondary school history. However, the implementation of the primary school social studies curriculum is nowhere near the one recommended by ASSP due to a number of factors impacting on the country's education system. To make things worse, the majority of teachers who handle historical topics in the primary school social studies curriculum happen never to have learned history in their school years.⁴³ Therefore, they end up teaching history poorly to the dislike of pupils.

5.3.3 Continued Use of Traditional History Textbooks in Schools

Textbooks just like teachers are critical in the management and success of educational reforms (Ndjabili, 2004). This implies that educational reforms should include the review of textbooks currently in use. But secondary schools in Malawi continue to use traditional history textbooks which do not subscribe to the principles of the Alternative Tradition. These textbooks usually present the past as a presumably official and closed single narrative with a predominantly political orientation. They portray the past as a simple-minded morality play focused on politics and diplomacy and hardly use it to illuminate the present (Loewen 1995; Levstik and Barton,

⁴³ History is characterized by low student enrolments in secondary schools and it is not offered as a course of study in TTC.

2001). In the end this matter-of-factly presentation of the past reinforces the mistaken idea in some history teachers and students alike that the past could be synthesized into a single and standardized chronicle. But these textbooks are typical of the Great Tradition; hence of little value in modern history education. However, they could still be used as sources by history teachers to teach students various skills. Modern history textbooks treat historical accounts as purposefully created hence controversial and contestable (Levstik and Barton, 2001; Repoussi and Tutiaux, 2010). In fact, they are designed in a way that they could teach different versions of history. Hence they are multi-purpose tools, through which teachers could shape their own paths (Nicholls, 2006). It is such books that are ideal for implementing the Alternative Tradition.

However, the study found that while the history curriculum has undergone several changes in line with education research, the majority of history textbooks used in Malawi have never gone through any meaningful revision to incorporate the latest thinking in historical scholarship. For instance, books like *A Map History of Modern World* by B. Catchpole, *World History in the Twentieth Century* by R.D. Cornwell; *The Modern World History since 1870* by L.E. Snellgrove; *Malawi: The History of the Nation* by B. Pachai; *History of Central Africa* by P.E.N. Tindall; and the anonymously written Junior Secondary Course⁴⁴ which were all published in the 1960s have always been the major references for history teachers and students alike since the 1970s (see Appendix V). But Morrow (1986, p. 15) argues that even in the context of 1960s, the Central African History textbook by Tindall was euro-centric, hence decades of rapid development in Central African history since it was written have rendered it startlingly unsuitable as a basic text. Pachai's book, on the other hand, was Dr. Banda's political project. These books turned history

⁴⁴ According to Morrow (1986), this book which was first published in 1961 in the then Southern Rhodesia is a product of a white settler view of African History intended for African junior secondary school pupils in settler-controlled Rhodesia.

students into passive assimilators of political and cultural orthodoxy. But there is no absolute truth and final certainty in history.

Unfortunately, even after the liberalization of textbook production in the 1990s, the new generation of history textbooks being used in schools has maintained the traditional outlook. This might be a result of a general lack of interest by academic historians in the writing of school history textbooks. But in the absence of objective scholarly research and political will to promote historical research, school textbooks are being written from other textbooks thereby repeating the biases of colonial and nationalist historiography (Zezeza, 1990). This state of affairs might also be attributed to the fact that most world history textbooks are usually produced in the west; hence they are always written from a euro-centric perspective. Global history is being used by powerful western states to retain their dominance over relatively weaker African states (Falola, 2005). The reproduction of old historical narratives in new history textbooks is being championed by some enterprising local history teachers who are simply turning their lesson notes into textbooks. Although these teachers have filled the vacuum left by academics in textbook production, their work is somehow less scholarly.

5.3.4 Lack of Working Partnerships between Universities and Secondary Schools

The need for history departments in universities to develop and sustain strong partnerships with their counterparts in secondary schools is critical if attempts to sustain pedagogical changes in the discipline are to bear fruits. Academic historians and university history departments, in general, are in a better position to take the lead in the promotion of pedagogical changes in history education due to their exposure to opportunities for funding and collaboration. In addition, academic historians who best understand the epistemology of the discipline in

collaboration with education faculty and with currently effective teachers of history are able to help move prospective teachers toward a more sophisticated and better understanding of history (Bain and Mirel, 2006). Therefore history departments can assist in the preparation of prospective history teachers by collaborating with schools and with colleges of education in pedagogical training, by self-consciously modeling history teaching methodology, and by updating their curricula to better serve prospective history teachers in their midst (Wineburg, 2005). However, the study found that collaboration between history departments in public and private universities on one hand and secondary schools on the other is almost non-existent.

The lack of working partnerships between the history departments in universities and history departments in secondary schools has resulted in knowledge gulf between the universities and secondary schools, which has always worked to the disadvantage of both (OI 12, May 30, 2017). Academic historians do not know what is going on in secondary school history classrooms and history teachers do not know the skills required by modern history undergraduate students. Since 1993 when the last History Teachers Conference was held, there has been no proper forum in the country where secondary school history teachers and academic historians could engage in productive dialogue on history education. Academic historians appear to have abandoned their role of mentoring history teachers and prospective secondary school history students in the ways of a professional historian (OI 21, June 15, 2017). But this might be attributed to general economic meltdown in the country which has negatively impacted on the country's institutions of higher learning. According to Kenyon (2009):

The period from 1964-2007 can be defined by three major eras. From 1964 to 1980, the University community enjoyed a period of tremendous growth, as higher education came to Malawi for the first time. A middle period, from 1981-1994, marked the peak era for the Banda administration and a tremendous set of economic

challenges, causing a significant decline in the quantity and quality of resources available. Finally, a third period, from 1994-2007, has improved academic freedom, but the dual weight of economic decline and technological underdevelopment has left the country with some major challenges. (p. 21)

Therefore, while history departments in the universities are attempting to keep abreast of the times through academic research using the meager resources at their disposal, many secondary school history teachers remain stuck in the old tradition of history teaching. But this is a potential source of conflict between new college graduates trained in modern history pedagogy and the old timers who usually hold positions of authority. This might result in chaotic history education in schools. The ceding of pedagogical training of prospective teachers to faculties and colleges of education, might have greatly contributed to the current state of affairs. This implies that history departments must play a major role in the pedagogical training of prospective history teachers to reverse the trend (Wineburg, 2005).

5.3.5 Poor Working Relationship among Key Stakeholders in History Education

The study also observed that the key stakeholders in the country's history education such as: Ministry of Education, Department of Antiquities, history departments in various universities and colleges, academic and public historians, historical associations, MANEB and MIE among others have always worked in isolation on matters concerning history education. But this could also be attributed to politicization of some institutions. For instance, from 1965 to 1993, the National Archives was closed on a number of occasions as the Dr. Banda saw fit thereby preventing researchers from accessing any of the records in the archives (Lihoma, 2014). This frustrated efforts of the History Department at Chancellor College in promoting meaningful history education. In addition, there is too much individualism even among history teachers worldwide (Taylor and Young, 2003). But since each of these stakeholders is essential to the

success of history education in general and the pedagogical reforms in particular, development of a synergistic relationship among them is no longer an option but the only way if the pedagogical reforms in the country's history education are to be sustained. The poor working relationship among these stakeholders has resulted in the watering down of the reforms.

In addition, the differential history teacher education programs in the country's tertiary education system have resulted in great inequalities in PCK among history teachers. These inequalities also affect the diffusion of pedagogical innovations in schools. For instance, there are some teachers who possess a deep understanding of historical knowledge and are quick to embrace constructivist history teaching ideas; while others have a poor knowledge base, which according to Wineburg and Wilson (1991) leads to their slowness in embracing change. Therefore, although the establishment of more historical institutions responsible for training history teachers has been touted as a positive development, it has also brought pedagogical confusion. For instance, the study found that currently Mzuzu Government Secondary School has history teachers from four different institutions of higher learning with extreme differences in PCK. While some are still using the Great Tradition, some are trying to implement the Alternative Tradition despite several challenges being encountered at the institution.⁴⁵

The differences in the history teacher educational programmes have also led to the creation of hostile camps among history teachers in individual schools. Therefore, history departments in secondary schools are at best split and at worst fragmented.⁴⁶ Such strained relationships among

⁴⁵ Oftentimes history teachers at Mzuzu Government Secondary School have to teach demotivated history students using very limited resources at their disposal due to the wide repertoire of subjects on offer.

⁴⁶ In a split department, members show strong commitment to common goals, but conflicting factions within the department divide loyalties while a fragmented department is characterized by members who show low commitment and low inclusion with minimal interaction on teaching and organizational matters.

history teachers have the potential of derailing the pedagogical innovations. In addition, the absence of a working relationship between departments responsible for training history teachers, MIE which develops the curriculum, and MANEB which assesses it as well as other institutions which sustain implementation of the history curriculum has had a negative impact on sustainability of the pedagogical innovations. Although these innovations originate from MIE, they require the support of various stakeholders before their implementation in schools without which they are doomed to fail. But currently, these key stakeholders appear to work in an environment full of conflicts and dilemmas since they operate under the influence of different forces. For instance, MIE has been working under heavy donor influence since the 1980s so much so that some of its reforms disregard the reality on the ground (Ndjabili, 2004). This has resulted in commercialization of the education system as the country is slowly becoming a dumping ground of failed education reforms coated with huge funding.⁴⁷

5.3.6 Lack of Continuous Professional Development among History Teachers

CPD is a component of teacher education, which consists of reflective activities designed to improve teachers' attributes, knowledge, understanding and skills by supporting individual needs and improving professional practice, which in the end provide the teachers with an opportunity for professional autonomy and growth (Day, 1999). It has three interconnected purposes: extension, growth and renewal. While extension is realized through acquisition of new knowledge and skills by the teachers, growth is achieved through the development of expertise and renewal is attained through transformation and change of knowledge and practice (Grundy and Robison, 2004). Fareo (2013) argues that teachers' education is often divided into three

⁴⁷ A case in point is the OBE which was introduced after its failure in several countries and yet no initiatives have been made to work on the factors behind its failure such as lack of resources and poorly prepared teachers among other things.

stages: Initial teacher training; the induction process of teacher trainees during the first few years of teaching; and teacher development or continuing performing development for practicing teachers. This implies that CPD is not a want but rather a need for practicing teachers.⁴⁸ In fact, it has been argued that long-term and high-quality professional development is a critical factor in eliciting teacher change (Fullan, 1991).

But while it is conventional wisdom that professionalism in teaching cannot be attained without adequate training and CPD; the study found that CPD programs for history teachers are almost non-existent in Malawi. Apart from the INSETs organized by NED and other Education Divisions, the study did not find any CPD program that has been put in place by the Ministry of Education for history teachers in the country. Therefore, the only training which the majority of history teachers receive is their initial training in various universities and colleges since the induction process is almost non-existent as well (OI 7, May 18, 2017). But the lack of CPD for history teachers implies that PCK among them is varied due to differentials in training. It also implies that teachers' conception of history as an academic discipline and its pedagogy is quite varied as well. However, during the Banda regime, there were CPD opportunities for history teachers just like teachers in other subjects in form of subject specific biannual conferences. But apart from donor funded SMASSE workshops which target Mathematics and Science teachers, CPD programs for secondary school teachers have been illusive since the mid 1990s. For instance a study conducted in 2004 revealed that 55 percent of teachers in the country had never attended in-service training for the previous five years yet they were implementing the objective curriculum introduced in 2000 (Orey, Fitzgerald and Branch, 2004).

⁴⁸ In economics needs are goods and services that are required for survival while wants are goods and services that are not necessary but that we desire.

But the lack of CPD among history teachers in modern Malawi could also be attributed to isolationism among different stakeholders and the fact that colleges and universities have not paid much attention to the retraining of history teachers in recent times. This is compounded by the fact that university research findings in Malawi are not properly disseminated to their intended audience since they are geared towards publication of journal articles and the rewards associated with them. But again, the indifferent university involvement in secondary school education could be a result of the university reward system, which does not always recognize community work, curriculum development, or collaborative teaching with secondary school teachers unless funded by a grant or resulting in an article. Therefore, history teachers in Malawi can undergo CPD in universities only by enrolling for upgrading and postgraduate programs as individuals. But such teachers run the risk of being deleted from the government payroll for abscondment since the government has of late been discouraging humanities teachers from enrolling in either mature entry or postgraduate programs on the basis that there are more than enough of them in the system.

5.3.7 Availability of unqualified and under-qualified History Teachers in Schools

Teachers are a key enabling factor in improving the quality of secondary education especially in low-income countries where they become a critical, and sometimes the only, resource in the teaching and learning process (Ndala, 2006, p.9). Malawian secondary school teachers generally enter the teaching profession as holders of either a degree or diploma in education. Those with non-education degrees and diplomas enter the profession as under-qualified teachers who can only qualify upon attaining a University Certificate of Education (UCE). But there are some unqualified teachers who are deployed from primary schools to teach in secondary schools (OI

22, June 19, 2017). This study found that in many schools history is taught by unqualified and under-qualified teachers. Therefore, meaningful pedagogical reforms in history education could only be championed by a few qualified teachers. But according to MOEST (2008), these qualified teachers rarely attend professional development courses. This implies that their PCK gets diluted overtime; hence they are less likely to embrace change.

But the problem of unqualified and under-qualified teachers cuts across all subject areas in the secondary school education system (MOEST, 2008). For instance, a study conducted in early 2000 involving 449 secondary school teachers from Nsanje, Thyolo, Machinga, Ntchisi and Nkhatabay revealed that 288 out of the 449 (64.1%) were MSCE holders while 124 were diplomats and only 35 were degree holders (Chimombo, 2004). In fact, in 2000 Malawi was at the bottom of the list in terms of teacher quality in Sub Saharan Africa as only 27 percent of its teachers in secondary education had the necessary qualifications (Ndala, 2006). In 2004 almost half (44%) of secondary school teachers in Malawi were MSCE holders, hence unqualified to teach in secondary school (Orey, Fitzgerald and Branch, 2004). However, unqualified and under-qualified teachers have always been teaching in secondary schools since colonial times. For instance, between 1964 and 1994, the government engaged several PT2 and PT3 teachers as well as MYP teachers who did not possess a degree or diploma. But research indicates that a full complement of qualified subject specialists is essential in shaping productive work and learning environments (Taylor and Young, 2003).

However, the explosion of unqualified teachers in Malawian secondary schools in the 2000s could be attributed to the unification of the secondary school system and the establishment CDSSs (Steiner-Khamsi and Kunje, 2011). This meant that the primary school teachers who

were teaching in Malawi College of Distance Education Centers (MCDEs) became secondary school teachers overnight. Therefore, the majority of unqualified secondary school teachers in the country are found in CDSSs. Unqualified and under-qualified teachers lack the necessary PCK in their subject areas; hence they cannot provide their students with the best learning opportunities in history classroom. Taal (1996) argues that even UNESCO observed that although they are in the frontline of educational reform, many teachers in sub-Saharan Africa have an acute deficiency of PCK in the subjects they teach besides being poorly motivated to promote educational reform. But in addition to being in conflict with the pedagogical reforms, the presence of unqualified teachers in secondary schools is also in conflict with various education policy documents such as MGDS, MPRS, NESP and PIF, which have been championing equity, quality and access in education.

5.3.8. Bulky history syllabus

The study also found that despite several reviews, the history syllabus remains too overcrowded with content; hence less conducive to the Alternative Tradition. This is the case because it has maintained its chronological design overtime (Banda, 1982; Bonga, 1990; Kalinga, 1998).⁴⁹ This design requires the syllabus to address a number of related topics for the sake of continuity and coherence. However, from colonial times to 2000, the history syllabuses were bulkier than recent syllabuses due to their vagueness in scope (Bonga, 1990). For instance, the content based syllabus forced teachers to cover almost everything under a specific topic of study so as to effectively prepare their students for examinations (OI 1, May 8, 2017). In addition, decolonizing pedagogy in newly independent Africa made history syllabuses bulky since they were designed

⁴⁹ Although the new syllabuses are said to be thematic, they are in actual sense chronological since the topics have always been the same since the 1970s.

to contain a lot of the tribal histories (Zezeza, 1990). But although the objective and OBE syllabuses appear to have limited content; they are in actual sense bulkier than their previous syllabuses. For instance, have more topics as compared to the content-based syllabus (*See Appendix V*). This is compounded by the fact that limited time is allocated to history teaching and learning in schools, which force teachers to rush through the syllabus.

The bulkiness of the syllabus is therefore a result of prioritizing content over skills on the part of curriculum developers. For instance, since the 1970s the junior syllabus covers a vast expanse of time from prehistory to the modern world in chronological fashion. The senior school history syllabus, on the other hand, has always been presented as two separate courses of study since the 1970s: History of Central Africa and Modern World History. Each of these two courses is content heavy and chronologically designed (Bonga, 1990). Although the syllabuses are said have been guided by themes since 1999; they continue to divide the history course into time blocks to be taught in a strict chronological order. This implies that the current secondary school history syllabus suffers from an identity crisis of being thematic and chronological at the same time, which might confuse teachers, students and other stakeholders in history education. In fact, the recent curriculum change has complicated things by making the history syllabus bulkier than it was before through the addition of more topics while at the same time demanding teachers to teach for skills acquisition (OI 19, June 12, 2017). The large content to be covered greatly compromises the doing of history for historical literacy,⁵⁰ as teachers resort to the use of the lecture method to cover the content thereby ignoring skills.

⁵⁰ Historical literacy is the ability to use historians' heuristics in dealing with the past. Such heuristics include sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization. Therefore, historical literacy allows students to independently construct interpretations of the past based on historical evidence just like professional historians.

5.3.9 Continued use of Information Auditing Examinations

It has been argued that examinations and assessment procedures ought to be servants of the curriculum than the other way round (Ndjabili, 2004). But the existing history assessment exercises from a number of schools across the country and even from MANEB clearly attests to the fact that Malawian secondary school students have usually been subjected to a stock-taking exercise of historical knowledge during examinations and even the teaching and learning exercise. This implies that the history assessments do not fully support the curriculum and pedagogical reforms that have occurred in the country since the 1960s. The information auditing assessment was entrenched in colonial Malawi when secondary school students were subjected to foreign examinations. However, it has been observed that assessments could only be servants of the curriculum if a country controls the assessment of its own educational systems and programmes (Ndjabili, 2004). But although Malawi took full control of national examinations in 1987, it has failed to tame the impact of examinations on teaching and learning (Chakwera et. al, 2004). In fact, Bonga (1990) argues that one of the major problems surrounding the way history is taught is that teachers always teach for examinations.

The role of assessment in influencing pedagogy can be best appreciated by looking at the evolution of MANEB history papers overtime. Originally the MSCE paper consisted of 20 questions: Section A (Central African History) consisted of ten questions out of which candidates were required to answer two or three questions only; and Section B (World History) had 10 questions and candidates required to answer two or three questions. But in 1987 the syllabus was revised to accommodate two examination papers of which Section A of each paper comprised 25 compulsory multiple choice items while Section B consisted of six questions out of

which candidates were expected to answer any three in essay form (Bonga, 1990). The wholesale use of multiple choice questions at JC by MANEB between 1995 and 2000 epitomized national examinations as a tool for auditing knowledge acquisition. Currently there are two papers during MSCE Examination: Paper 1 comprises multiple choice questions: 30 on Central African and 30 on Modern World History; while Paper 2 comprises three sections: sections A and B are structured questions on Central African and Modern World History, respectively. In section C students are required to write essays from both courses. But MANEB has never revised its assessment procedures in order to incorporate continuous assessment, which is a key component of the OBE curriculum and the Alternative Tradition (OI 15, May 30, 2017).

A number of studies have shown that the majority of history teachers in Malawi view “covering” the syllabus as a measure of success, the lecture methods as the most efficient means of achieving that goal, and factual-recall items as an effective mode of assessment (Bonga, 1990; Andsen, 2014; Chiromo, 2014). For instance, most multiple-choice items are written in ways that emphasize factual recall while the short answer questions require mere presentation of historical facts. Unfortunately, even MANEB generally assesses students’ recall of factual knowledge. However, sometimes the students are also asked to analyze and discuss the historical significance of events which requires some historical thinking but even such questions are handled as if they were calling for mere presentation of facts by both the students and the assessors (OI 21, June 15, 2017). But since no attempt is made to assess historical skills as required by the Alternative Tradition, teachers employ the Great Tradition which prioritizes knowledge for the sake of helping their students pass the traditional examinations.

5.3.10 Lack of Professional Associations for History Teachers

Taylor and Young (2003) postulate that the professional development of history teachers takes place in various ways and contexts through: ‘practice, interaction with students and colleagues, participation in subject associations, networks and conferences, and formal studies’ (p. 170). A history association is a formal grouping that brings together members of the broader history community such as public and academic historians, history teachers, history students, journalists, playwrights, musicians, illustrators, museum curators and decision makers among others. For history teachers, participation in these societies deepens interest in history and its teaching; provide a forum for discussion and exchange of valuable ideas on the teaching of history; and deepens their PCK in line with the latest thinking. These associations also bridge the knowledge gap between academic historians in universities and history teachers in schools to the benefit of the two groups (Seixas, 1993). However, for such organizations to be established and sustained there is need for political will on part of the government and unity of purpose on part of the different stakeholders involved. Unfortunately, the study found that these ingredients have virtually been lacking since the 1960s.

The Malawi government has never promoted the establishment of Historical Associations both in the education system and outside. In fact, the Society of Malawi, which is the only historical association to have been established in the country, is a colonial relic dating back to the 1940s. During Dr. Banda’s one party rule the environment was not conducive for the establishment of a working association due to the fact that the political leadership was always suspicious of the activities of intellectuals and let alone groupings established by them (Lwanda, 1993). Even attendance of international conferences and seminars was subjected to heavy censorship (Vail,

1989). But since the 1990s there has been too much individualization in the history industry as scholars and teachers prefer to work in isolation (OI 10, May 25, 2017). However, the balkanization of the history community could also be attributed to the rise of social history, which has destroyed the unity of purpose which once existed in the era of traditional history. For instance, economic historians would prefer to work with economists than fellow historians. And the same might also be said of environmental, political, gender, cultural, digital and sports historians just to mention a few. Therefore, the history education environment is characterized by conflicts of interest among different practitioners. In the end this fragmentation of the history community has negatively impacted on history teaching in secondary schools which is losing direction.

5.4 Applicability of the Pedagogical Changes since 1964

This section assesses the applicability of the pedagogical changes in history education since 1964. However, applicability of the pedagogical changes in the country's history education could best be understood in the context of conflicts, controversies, disputes, tensions, dilemmas, compromises and challenges that have always characterized the secondary school history teaching environment since the 1960s. Generally the study found that the pedagogical changes could be viewed as having been applicable or inapplicable depending on the context in which the appraisal is made as explained below.

Above all, the pedagogical changes can best be understood in the context of their relevance to the country's educational system in particular and the country in general. Relevance is used here to mean the degree to which something is useful to a situation. Here the study found that the majority of the pedagogical changes were relevant in the Malawian context during the time of

their implementation.⁵¹ Almost all the reforms were designed to address the country's political and socio-economic reality. However, their relevance was somehow compromised by the fact that they were hastily imported and implemented before the country could be in a position to fully own them. For instance, when the Alternative Tradition was first being introduced, the basis was the GHA and the International Congress of African History, which challenged the stereotyped western mindset on African Heritage. It was further informed by the ASSP, which criticized colonial teaching methods as didactic, passive and theoretical. The first steps to reform were taken early as 1967. However, by the mid 1970s these reforms were toppled by Kamuzuism, which directed the country's historical scholarship until the mid 1990s. Kamuzuism used detention and censorship to deprive the reforms of the necessary resources and mastermind. This left history teachers ill prepared to implement the reforms. Later reforms which were also hastily implemented through limited donor funds and suffered the same fate of lack of resources and poorly prepared teachers.

In a related development, the study found that the pedagogical changes in Malawi's history education have been appropriate in the context of time. In the 1960s, decolonization of historical knowledge for African schools was considered as an epistemological necessity designed to promote cultural and political independence of the continent. This intellectual revolution of the 1960s was championed by the UNESCO General History of Africa project to counteract biased and stereotyped world views of Africa as a mere object on the sidelines of the history of humanity. Therefore the pedagogical reforms employed by Malawi from 1964 were a timely response to this paradigm shift. In fact, UNESCO's goal in this extremely ambitious project was

⁵¹ Three quarters of the respondents and most of the documents consulted presents a general picture that the curriculum has been less relevant since the colonial times.

‘to ensure that the General History of Africa is widely disseminated and used as a basis for producing children's books, school textbooks and radio and television programmes across the continent (M’Bow, 1981, p.xxi). In addition, after the second advent of multiparty democracy attempts have been made to introduce and implement pedagogical reforms in the context of democracy. And in 2015 it introduced the OBE curriculum, which is ideal for doing history, to respond to the unique needs of the pragmatic 21st century world. But as argued by conflict theorists, the pedagogical reforms clearly represent elite domination of history education in Malawi. This explains why all major pedagogical reforms run contemporaneously with major political reforms.

Furthermore, the pedagogical changes also appear to be somehow appropriate in the context of human, material and financial resources. These resources are critical in the implementation of the Alternative Tradition, which the country adopted as early as the 1960s. There is enough evidence to prove that the country had the resources it needed to implement the changes in question. The History Department at Chancellor College, which provided the blue print for the decolonizing pedagogy and the Alternative Tradition in the 1960s, was well endowed with human resources. For instance, scholars like Kings Phiri and Owen Kalinga were among the 350 authors and editors from Africa and abroad who contributed to the preparation and publication of the GHA, which became the curricular and pedagogical engine room of decolonized historical knowledge and the Alternative Tradition of history teaching across Africa (Belinga, 2011). It was this group of scholars that was to act as a vanguard in the implementation of the pedagogical changes by conducting teacher orientations, offering advisory services to the government and producing the necessary materials for use by history teachers and students alike. The GHA has provided

pedagogical materials for use in African schools such as teacher's guides and textbooks since the 1960s. There are also several stakeholders that have readily assisted the Ministry of Education in implementing the reforms (Banda, 1982). However, as argued by Deutsch (2005) unclear authority structures, differences in ideologies and task symmetries among the different stakeholders involved in history education have resulted in conflicts and compromised gains.

However, despite the fact that time was ripe and resources could easily be mobilized for effective implementation of the pedagogical changes, the study found that the political will to promote the changes has always been lukewarm since the 1960s. During the Banda regime, efforts by the History Department at Chancellor College to promote the pedagogical reforms were continually thwarted by both overt and covert political interference in academic work (De Beats, 2002; Kalinga, 1998; Kenyon, 2009; Pachai, 1989; Phiri and Ross, 1996).⁵² Dr. Banda's censorship policies frustrated scholars so much so that many of them ended up in exile in western universities (De Beats, 2002). Hence historical and social research in Malawi during Banda's rule was sustained by a comparatively small group of scholars, among whom two were very prominent: Kings Phiri and Leroy Vail (McCracken, 2002).

The mid 1990s experienced an explosion of historical knowledge, of the 1970s' proportions, due to the liberalization of knowledge production and dissemination. This provided an ideal environment for the Alternative Tradition. However, an excessive scientific obsession in the 21st century Malawi has seen politicians and curriculum decision makers ignoring subjects like history. For instance, Malawi has never fully participated in the second phase of the GHA

⁵² While Dr. Banda openly banned some books; he deliberately ignored others. For instance, the General History of Africa was never included in the reference list of the country's secondary school history syllabus although this was one of the reasons for the UNESCO project. Please, consult Appendices III and V to validate this argument.

referred to as the *Pedagogical Use of the General History of Africa Project (PU-GHA)*. This phase has been designed to take the content from the General History of Africa into school curricula and give history education in Africa a specific purpose (Baker, 2013). But Malawi has never shown any in the PU-GHA. Little wonder, therefore, that in schools like Mzuzu Government Secondary School, no effort is being made to promote History. This lack of political will has rendered the pedagogical changes virtually impractical and unattainable.

In addition, it has been observed that the country's education system has been too disconnected and disjointed to properly sustain the pedagogical changes in question. The education system has always been characterized by the presence of different players with the potential to sway pedagogy in a certain direction. But one distinct feature about these stakeholders is their inability to work as a team. In fact, since the 1960s, the key stakeholders have at best worked in isolation and at worst worked in conflict. This explains why there has never been a well organized historical association in Malawi apart from the Society of Malawi, which has colonial roots. For instance, efforts by the History Department to effectively train the implementers of the curricular and pedagogical reforms were frustrated by Dr. Banda's oppressive policies. The History of Malawi Course was taught selectively to avoid police intervention (De Beats, 2002). In the secondary schools, efforts by history teachers to promote disciplined inquiry were checked by political agents masquerading as MYP teachers. MYP even recruited students to spy on their teachers (Chirambo, 2004). Elsewhere, suppliers of pedagogical materials risked detention without trial if found with banned publications (De Beats, 2003). To make things worse, external examinations dictated pedagogy against the recommendation of the syllabus. Since the mid 1990s, things became even more complicated. The system has been chocked with unqualified

and under-qualified teachers. And the majority of history teachers have not been oriented on the new history pedagogy while MANEB, MIE and Universities continue to work in isolation.

Furthermore, the applicability of the pedagogical changes could also be well understood in the context of the subject matter-method dichotomy, which has resulted in the neglect of methods in curriculum development process. But this might be a result of a long-standing prejudice on part of educational reformers who consider subject matter more important than classroom instruction in systematic curriculum development (Thornton, 2005). For instance, although official education reports since the 1960s have been calling for the use of methods that tie subject matter directly to students' everyday lives, teaching methods have never been prioritized in the curriculum development process (Banda, 1982; Chirwa and Naidoo, 2015). The result has been a sharp separation of subject matter and method in the country's history curriculum, which can also be attributed to the conflict between methods and content experts involved in curriculum development.⁵³ In Malawi, curriculum development might have had taken place only at content level. However, the most familiar complaint about history education in Malawi is that teaching methods fail to capture student interest (Andsen, 2014; Bonga, 1990; Lora, 1980; Morrow, 1986). But a closer look at the history syllabuses for the OBE curriculum will attest to the fact that the suggested methods were not subjected to critical analysis. In addition the list of references is not wide and varied enough to promote multiperspectivity (see *Appendix V*).

But notwithstanding everything that has been said in the foregoing discourse, poor implementation strategies have negatively impacted on the pedagogical reforms thereby

⁵³ When developing the actual history syllabus, MIE engages two major groups of people: academic historians who are experts in content and history teaching methods specialists and teachers who take care of the teaching and learning methods.

rendering them inappropriate. While all the pedagogical reforms since the 1960s have been relevant and in line with the educational thinking of the day, implementation challenges have always left both the initiators and implementers of the reforms frustrated. For instance, during the Dr. Banda's rule almost all teachers could be oriented in order to effectively implement the reforms. However, the orientation of these teachers was diluted by Kamuzuism, which compromised their ability to effectively teach history. But from the mid 1990s only few teachers have been oriented due to the increase in student enrolment. This has been compounded by the economic crisis that the country has been experiencing since the 1980s (Kenyon, 2009). The situation has even forced MIE to adopt the Cascade Model which unfortunately has left many teachers ill prepared for the reforms. These developments could be attributed to a deep rooted conflict and tensions in which the country's education system is entangled. But poor implementation might result from colonial influence in most African countries as development agendas continue to be set by outside actors (Ndala, 2006). This explains why Malawi has always had difficulties in implementing education policies due to political, logistical, social and cultural barriers, which in the end render the innovative reforms irrelevant (Wolf, Lang, Mount and VanBelle-Prouty, 1999).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a discussion and analysis of the research findings in relation to the objectives of the study as outlined in Chapter 1. The discussion and analysis has been made in line with the conflict theory that guided this study. It has also taken into a comparative dimension by reflecting on the findings of other researchers on related issues in Malawi, Africa and the whole world. It first identified four major pedagogical changes in the country's history

education from the decolonizing pedagogy of the 1960s to the outcomes-based pedagogy of the 2000s before examining measures employed to promote and sustain these changes. It then analyzed the obstacles faced in sustaining the pedagogical changes before assessing the applicability of the changes in question. The results show that the pedagogical changes have always been implemented in a state of conflict; hence they have been faced with several challenges that have rendered them less applicable overtime.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

In this last chapter, effort is made to summarize the main findings of the study, and to draw attention to aspects of the pedagogical changes that have taken place in historical education in Malawi since 1964 to which further research should be directed. The chapter also presents recommendations as to what should be done to Malawi to make the pedagogical reforms that have so far been advocated realizable.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The study has established that history education at Mzuzu Government Secondary School, which was established in colonial times, has gone through several pedagogical reforms aimed at migrating from the Great Tradition to the Alternative Tradition just like all other similar schools in Malawi. But just like elsewhere in the country, the pedagogical reforms at this institution have been met with a number of obstacles despite several attempts by the Malawi Government and other stakeholders to sustain such reforms. In the end the study has concluded that the reforms have generally been inapplicable.

This study has established that just as the content for Malawian secondary school history has gone through significant changes since the 1960s, there have also been attempts to reorient history pedagogy in line with the prevailing political and socio-economic climate and trends in educational theory and practice (Banda, 1982; Kalinga, 1998; Mweso, 2014; Zeleza, 1990). Consequently, among other things, the Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education has ceaselessly made attempts to migrate from Great Tradition to the Alternative Tradition since

the 1960s. For instance, the study has identified four main periods of pedagogical changes: period of decolonizing pedagogy, 1964 – 1969; patriotic pedagogy, 1969 – 1998; objective-based pedagogy, 1999 – 2015; and outcome-based pedagogy 2015 to present. Generally, these changes have been orchestrated by the different ideological inclinations among the country's power brokers during the period under study (Banda, 1982; Kalinga, 1998; Mweso, 2014). Therefore, as proposed by conflict theorists, the study has established that history education in the country's secondary schools has been an instrument of elite domination characterized by ideological conflicts. Literally, it has been a battlefield where the struggle over control of the past between different power brokers has been fought. But apart from the power brokers, various socio-economic developments have also been responsible for the changes and conflicts in question.

Generally the study has revealed that these pedagogical changes have emanated from a series of conflicts, tensions and compromises that have always characterized the country's political and socio-economic landscape since the 1960s. For instance, it has been established that the introduction of decolonized pedagogy in independent African states championed by UNESCO in the 1960s was a result of ideological conflicts between the newly emerging independent African states and the outgoing colonial establishment. The country's independence in 1964 rendered colonial pedagogy which sustained the Cambridge Curriculum virtually inappropriate in the new political context (Banda, 1982; M'bow, 1981). This forced African historians to decolonize African history by deconstructing and reconstructing the existing African historical narratives through the GHA. In a related development, history teachers in Africa were required to implement a decolonizing pedagogy that called for the reinterpretation of African history through the use of authentic oral traditions, local written records, archaeology, historical linguistics, and

ethnography, among others. In Malawi, the History Department at Chancellor College of the University of Malawi played a crucial role in imparting new theories and practices in all secondary school history teachers across Malawi (Kalinga, 1998).

But as argued by Nasibi (2015, p. 641), ‘for the reconstruction of African history to have a long lasting effect in education it must be reflected in the history syllabus’ content and objectives.’ In Malawi, this was realized as early as 1969 when the newly established MCE Board developed a decolonized history syllabus that was to be implemented through the Alternative Tradition (Banda, 1982). However, conflicts soon emerged as nationalist pedagogy was swept away by a strong undercurrent of Kamuzuism, which influenced the development of a patriotic pedagogy between 1970 and the mid 1990s. However, there was a thin line between patriotism and Kamuzuism so much so that during this period, the two concepts meant the same thing. Therefore, patriotic pedagogy was rather parochial and similar to what Paulo Freire refers to as pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 1972). It was implemented through a selective history pedagogy aimed at consolidating Dr. Banda’s one party rule (Kalinga, 1998; Mweso, 2014). Contrary to the existing history syllabus, the objective narrative of the past was banished by a strict censorship policy that blocked alternative historical narratives. In addition, history teachers were spied upon by government agents, fellow teachers and even students in class. Patriotic pedagogy was ignited by the conflict between Kamuzuism and the UNESCO-GHA propelled pan-African pedagogy (Kalinga, 1998; Zeleza, 1990). Therefore, although official documents manifested the government’s conviction in promoting the Alternative Tradition, this period marked a return to the Great Tradition and the closed historical narrative (Kalinga, 1998, Mweso, 2014).

The study has also found that the adoption of the rather democratic learner-centred pedagogy through the introduction of the objective syllabus in 1999 was rooted in the triumph of democracy over Dr. Banda's authoritarian regime. By the mid 1990s, Kamuzuism which flourished on a closed one-sided historical narrative and teacher centred pedagogy became incompatible with the new political order characterized by freedom of thought and conscience. This incompatibility provided the impetus for curricular and pedagogical change in the country's secondary history education (Mweso, 2014). Hence the new syllabus that emerged in 1999 was designed in such a way that it could enable students practice democracy in the history classroom by incorporating multiperspectivity on social, economical and political issues. The ability of this syllabus to promote the Alternative Tradition of history teaching was bolstered by a second wave of historical revisionism in the mid 1990s during which Dr. Banda's interpretation of the past was questioned and challenged by politicians and scholars alike (Mweso, 2014). History teachers were therefore required to employ constructivist teaching paradigm which effectively scaffolds the Alternative Tradition. However, the new syllabus was a product of hasty revision hence it had a number of structural flaws which worked against the adoption Alternative Tradition. It therefore became a source of conflict for it worked against what it advocated.

In a related development, the political and socio-economic developments of the 21st century world in general and Malawi in particular necessitated another comprehensive curriculum review in 2015. The adoption of an effective pedagogy for the development of an intelligent citizenry that would actively participate in Malawi's maturing democracy and the globalized village became a huge necessity. The OBE syllabus whose implementation started in 2015 has been designed to serve demands of the pragmatic 21st century world, which the objective syllabus of

the late 1990s had failed to address. It has also been designed to address the demands of the new Education Act of 2013, which advocates participatory and problem-based learning in schools in order to prepare students for the world of work, social and political participation in the context of a rapidly changing and dynamic global economy and society. Therefore, the OBE curriculum has made the Alternative Tradition inevitable by promoting the development of a history learning environment in which students are able to learn actively and think critically. But to some extent, the study has established that OBE history curriculum has not brought about any radical pedagogical change apart from bringing new pedagogical nomenclature. This has made it possible for history teachers to implement the OBE curriculum using the same old pedagogy they employed in implementing the previous curriculum thereby rendering it meaningless.

The study has also established that the Malawi Government through the Ministry of Education put in place several measures to promote and sustain the pedagogical changes whenever they were introduced overtime. Among others such measures include: establishment of a high level Consultative Committee on Education; promotion of revisionist history; establishment of a local examination board; establishment of book lending and selling institutions; establishment of the Malawi Institute of Education; Establishment of the CATS Department at Chancellor College; establishment of more universities and colleges for training secondary school history teachers; school supervision and Inspection; In-service teacher training; and involvement of various stakeholders in history education. While some of the measures identified were applied whenever the pedagogical reforms were introduced, others have been once off applications whose impact has been felt overtime. But one notices traits of conflicts even within the strategies in question, especially, where several stakeholders are involved. This is a result of differences in interests and

values among the stakeholders involved. Hence, instead of complementing each other, some strategies have actually brought more conflicts in the history learning environment. This has resulted in poor implementation of the pedagogical reforms so much so that the more things have changed the more they have remained the same overtime.

The study has also established that although the pedagogical reforms in question were cushioned to ensure that they achieve their intended goal of migrating from the Great Tradition to the Alternative Tradition in line with prevailing trends; the country's history education continues to be guided by the Great Tradition fifty years after the initial attempts to embrace reforms were made. This is due to the presence of a number of obstacles that have always militated against the implementation of the reforms in question. Such obstacles include: lack of teaching and learning resources; removal of history as a school subject in primary school; continued use of traditional history textbooks; lack of working partnerships between universities and secondary schools; poor working relationships among key stakeholders in history education; lack of CPD opportunities for history teachers; continued availability of unqualified and under qualified history teachers; bulky history syllabuses; continued use of information auditing examinations; and lack of professional associations for historians and history teachers in the country. Generally, the challenges are a result of conflict of values and interests among different stakeholders in the history education. For instance, while the Alternative Tradition employed by the OBE require the use of alternative assessments, MANEB is not comfortable with the use of such assessments in schools. In addition, there are differences in PCK among the history teachers responsible for implementing the reforms since they were trained in different institutions.

From the foregoing discussion, it could clearly be seen that the measures taken to sustain the pedagogical changes have been marred by conflicts among different stakeholders in history education. These conflicts have had the potential of generating both covert and overt history wars in the classroom and diluting the pedagogical reforms so much so that it has been quite challenging to migrate from the Great Tradition to the Alternative Tradition of history teaching. However, the study has found that politics have been chiefly responsible for all the measures taken and the subsequent obstacles experienced. For instance, during the reign of Dr. Hastings Banda, when the country was guided by a conservative political ideology; the measures were guided by Dr. Banda's conservative reforms. Therefore, teachers were generally trained to conserve values and traditions of the country. But after the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1994, the country appears to have embarked on a liberal democratic path. Consequently, a number of policies such as the unification of secondary schools, which also affected teacher education, were enacted thereby turning the country into a social welfare state. In addition, the government has prioritized basic education due to international pressure thereby leaving secondary school education virtually neglected. In fact, just like in other Africa countries, Malawi is slowly being turned into a laboratory for educational reforms by international organizations (Ndjabili, 2003). Unfortunately, such reforms have not been properly supported.

In the context of the foregoing discourse, the study has found that the pedagogical changes have generally been less applicable overtime. The fact that schools like Mzuzu Government Secondary School, which pioneered the pedagogical changes in the 1960s continue to employ the Great Tradition at the expense of the Alternative Tradition is a sign enough that the reforms have been less applicable. Generally, the study has found that the pedagogical changes have been

greatly compromised by conflicts, tensions and contestations among different stakeholders chief of whom are the history teachers, the donor community, the government and even history students themselves. This is because the reforms were generally employed for diametrically opposing purposes by different stakeholders: political gains and academic freedom. For instance, while UNESCO pursued an objective inquiry of the African past that guaranteed academic freedom historians and history teachers, Dr. Banda used the reforms for state building and political gains. It is the failure of the education system to effectively address such tensions that has led to the conflicts in question as history teachers have were pulled in different directions in accordance with the dominant political and socio-economic ideologies of the country's powerbrokers overtime. In fact, one might argue that the history of history pedagogy in Malawi has been surrounded by constant tensions, arguments, contestations, conflicts and discussions between competing political and socio-economic movements since the 1960s. In the end such conflicts, tensions and compromises, have greatly affected the implementation of the pedagogical reforms thereby rendering them virtually inapplicable and meaningless overtime.

As explained already, inapplicability of the pedagogical changes could be attributed to four major forces at work in the country's history education: history teachers, the government, donour community and history students. History teachers have posed a challenge to the reforms due to their deficiency in the necessary pedagogical content knowledge for implementing the pedagogical reforms. This deficiency emanates from the lack of opportunities for CPD among history teachers in the country. The majority of history teachers in Malawi are ill prepared and equipped to effectively implement the Alternative Tradition. In addition, the government has failed to provide the necessary human, material and financial resources for effective

implementation of the reforms thereby rendering them irrelevant. This has left history teachers with no choice but to cling to the Great Tradition. On top of that, the donor community which has been the chief financier and initiator of pedagogical innovations in Malawi has often times moved ahead of time. For instance, sometimes the country has been hoodwinked into joining the bandwagon of implementing some seemingly innovative reforms when the country's education system does not even possess the basic structures for sustaining such reforms. The introduction of the OBE curriculum could be cited as one good example of these haphazardly introduced pedagogical reforms. Students on the other hand are not so much interested in the acquisition of knowledge, values and skills but rather in passing examinations; hence they want their teachers to teach to the examinations even if it means going against well laid pedagogical principles of the discipline. All these factors have rendered the pedagogical changes less applicable in Malawi.

6.2.0 Issues Calling for Further Research

This study has taken a bold step towards comprehending change and continuity in history pedagogy in Malawian secondary schools since the mid 20th century. But in the process pursuing its main objective, the study has also unearthed a number of issues about pedagogical reforms in the country's history education which leave more questions than answers. Such issues provide a natural guide for future research. Future researchers need to focus on the issues identified in the paragraphs that follow.

6.2.1 The purposes for which Historical education is being promoted in Malawi.

The study established that the majority of history teachers and students continue to take the purposes of history for granted by clinging to classical justifications for the teaching and learning of the subject. However, times have changed and proponents of the Alternative Tradition are

more critical about the purposes of generating historical knowledge for schools (Husbands, et al., 2003). For instance, the current OBE curriculum identifies the promotion of patriotism as one of the reasons for the teaching of history although this has been challenged by modern scholars with the advent of human rights, democracy and globalization. Today, history education is no longer indoctrination as it is more concerned with the development of intelligent citizens than blind patriots who might become a danger to themselves, their own countries and the world at large. It is for this reason that future researchers need to examine the purposes for which history education is being promoted in Malawi.

6.2.2 Problems of Foreign-driven Conceptions History Pedagogy

The study has established that pedagogical reforms in secondary school history have always turned the classroom into a battlefield where conflict between foreign-driven and home-grown strategies. However, Malawi's history education in general and pedagogy in particular are based on the experiences of other countries. This renders home-grown strategies less effective. Foreign-driven conceptions here might include the GHA, PU-GHA and other pedagogical reforms imported from western Universities and Institutes of Education such as the Alternative Tradition itself. Home-grown conceptions, on the other hand include outputs from the workshops and biannual conferences for secondary school history teachers convened at Chancellor College in the 1960s and 1970s. Future researchers need to examine the relationship between the two in order to establish the best model for incorporating the two in history education.

6.2.3 Resources needed for Effective Implementation of the Alternative Tradition

The study has established that the Alternative Tradition of History teaching was conceived with the aim of invigorating history education in schools by making it more relevant to the modern

world. This explains why the content of history has taken on a more public face in many countries overtime. The Alternative Tradition focuses on preparation of learners for working life and the acquisition of skills. Therefore, it emphasizes the teaching of historical skills such as analyzing, comparing and evaluating disparate evidence in order to construct historical accounts (Husbands et. al., 2003). It also emphasizes the use of constructivism in history classrooms whereby learners construct their own understanding of the past through disciplinary inquiry. However, for the Alternative Tradition to be fully implemented there is need for a diversified array of resources to be readily available. Future researchers need to ascertain the resource base necessary for the implementation of the Alternative Tradition in Malawi.

6.2.4 The Working Relationship between Universities and Secondary Schools

The study has established that secondary schools and universities as well as colleges have been working in highly compartmentalized environments with little knowledge and recognition of what is happening elsewhere. The system is therefore broken and full of gaps. To make matters worse, there is no appropriate forum for dissemination of research findings so much so that knowledge generated by scholars remains within the confines of the universities. Similarly, lessons learnt by teachers in the implementation of the history curriculum remain shelved in school staffrooms and unnoticed by academics. Therefore, there is greater need for an action research on this broken relationship among the major stakeholders in history education for smooth implementation of future pedagogical reforms.

6.2.5 Thematic Teaching of History in Malawian Secondary Schools

The study has also established that the Alternative Tradition calls for the use of thematic rather than chronological syllabus. The chronological approach has been criticized because of its lack

of depth and superficial coverage of more time periods by only by skimming over years, names, vocabulary and events. This explains why the country adopted a thematic history curriculum in 1999. However, history teachers in Malawi have not been properly oriented on thematic history teaching so much so that many are failing to effectively integrate themes in their everyday history lessons. In fact, scholars agree that thematic history teaching is difficult; hence teachers have to be effectively prepared if the concept is to be successfully implemented. This leaves one doubting if the introduction of thematic history syllabus has translated to thematic teaching of the subject in our secondary schools. Therefore, there is need for a study to examine the practicality of thematic teaching of history in Malawian secondary schools.

6.3.0 Recommendations

In view of the findings of this study, the following recommendations are being made so as to ensure that pedagogical reforms aimed at entrenching the Alternative Tradition in the country's secondary school history education are properly devised and implemented.

6.3.1 Need for Curriculum Review to include pedagogical and assessment reforms

The study has revealed that the country's history curriculum review has always prioritized content over pedagogy since the 1960s. For instance, although official reports from the Ministry of Education from the 1960s have been advocating constructive pedagogies that would directly tie subject matter to learners' everyday lives and bring relevance to subject, teachers continue to employ transmission pedagogies. The resilience of the Great Tradition could also be attributed to the continued use of information auditing examinations by MANEB which have never been significantly reformed since the 1960s. Unfortunately, the country's secondary education system has always been examination oriented ever since it was conceived in the 1940s. And as long as

teachers continue to teach to the examination, there will be more continuity than change in pedagogy. Therefore, close attention should be given to pedagogical and assessment reforms during curriculum reviews.

6.3.2 Need for Adequate Resources before initiating the Pedagogical Reforms.

The study has revealed that the pedagogical reforms were implemented against the background of limited resources; hence they were doomed to fail. Here human resources include qualified history teachers with basic pedagogical competencies and a mastery of history content trained in accredited colleges and universities within and outside the country. It also includes qualified curriculum developers, evaluators and subject inspectors whose work will be guided by latest thinking in history education. Material resources on the other hand include enough teaching and learning materials such as teachers' guides, learners' textbooks, supplementary readers, source books; training tools; ICT tools, maps, posters, and history rooms. They also include historical sources provided by institutions such as art galleries, museums and archives. However, the availability of human and material resources is highly dependent on financial resources.

6.3.3 Need for Universities to be proactive in Curriculum and Pedagogical Reforms.

There is greater need for university historians to share the content they have accumulated through reading and research with policy makers and other stakeholders in history education. This will help to ensure that the country's history education is in harmony with the latest principles of historical scholarship and international as well as regional trends. The current scenario where universities and colleges are recipients of reforms generated by MIE has allowed western countries, which finances the institute, to control our education system. However, the western countries continue to disregard the GHA which is the heart and soul of African History.

Consequently, the institutes of education which are responsible for curriculum development in Africa have ignored the GHA as well. For instance, UNESCO (2010) reports that some of the participants present at the Tripoli Regional Conference in 2010 claimed that they had never seen a single volume of the GHA during their lives working as professional historians and history teachers. In Malawi, no single volume of the GHA has been included in the reference section of the history syllabus (*see Appendix V*). Failure by universities to get involved in secondary school education will definitely lead to the collapse of the later.

6.3.4 Need for strong links among Stakeholders in History Education

Here the key stakeholders include: Ministry of Education, History Departments in various universities and colleges, Departments responsible for History Teaching Methodologies in various universities and colleges, MANEB, MIE, Malawi National Archives, Department of Antiquities, Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Departments responsible for history education in Secondary Schools. Such links will help in curriculum development, production of relevant pedagogical materials, continuous professional development of history teachers and meaningful assessment of historical knowledge, values and skills among learners.

6.3.5 Need for freeing History Education from political and socio-economic influences

The study has established that political interference has contributed to the watering down of history education over time. While those politicians who have had the opportunity to twist the past to their advantage have attempted to promote it, those who could not control it have attempted to suppress it by promoting other subjects like Social Studies at the expense of history. Therefore, curriculum developers and implementers should endeavor to resist the powerful forces of politics and commercialization currently dominating history education. But this calls

for a special caliber of history teachers and curriculum developers who are well versed in the principles of historical scholarship and have an unyielding passion for the subject.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together major conclusions in view of what has transpired in the preceding discussion. The conclusions have been made to address the research questions and objectives at the heart of this study. However, the conclusions have been woven in the Conflict Theory that guided the study and gave the researcher the methodological lenses for examining the issues under study. In addition, the chapter has highlighted a number of issues requiring further research besides being enriched with well-informed practical and policy recommendations for different stakeholders in history education.

REFERENCES

Oral Sources

- Banda, C. (OI 10) Kasungu, 25th May 2017
- Bhunu, W. (OI 14) Zomba, 30th May 2017
- Chanthunya, H. (OI 11) Blantyre, 29th May 2017.
- Chauma, T. (OI 4) Mzuzu, 11th May 2017
- Chikomangwina, L. (OI 19), Mzuzu, 12th June 2017
- Chimaimba, F. (OI 3) Mzuzu, 11th May 2017
- Chiponda, A. (OI 16) Zomba, 31st May 2017
- Chirwa, G. (OI 20) Lilongwe, 15th June, 2017
- Kamanga, S. (OI 7) Mzuzu, 18th May 2017
- Kapira, M. (OI 22) Mzuzu, 19th June 2017
- Katundulu, M. (OI 13) Zomba, 30th May 2017
- Kumwenda, S. (OI 5) Mzuzu, 2th May 2017
- Kumwenda, T. (OI 9) Mzuzu, 19th May 2017)
- Malata, M. (OI 15) Zomba, 30th May 2017)
- Manja, A. (OI 17) Lilongwe, 10th June 2017)
- Mhango, N. (OI 12) Zomba, 30th May 2017)
- Mpeta, I. (OI 6) Mzuzu, 12th May 2017)
- Mulaga, E. (OI 24) Mzuzu, 23rd June 2017)
- Mulungu, N. (OI 21) Lilongwe, 15th June 2017)
- Mwasi, E. (OI 23) Mzuzu, 20th June 2017)
- Nkosi, V. (OI 8)Mzuzu 19th May 2017)
- Nyirenda, J. (OI 25) Mzuzu, 27th June 2017)
- Saka, Z. (OI 2) Mzuzu 10th May 2017)
- Simbeye, E. (OI 1) Mzuzu 8th May 2017

Secondary Sources

- Acedo, C. (Ed.) (2002). *Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project: Case studies in Secondary Education Reform*. Washington DC: American Institutes for Research.
- Adeoti, E.O., & Adeyeri, J.O. (2012). History, the Historian and His Work: Issues, Challenges and Prospects, *International Journal of Educational Research and Technology*, 3 (4) 36 – 41.
- Adewale, O.S. (2014). School Inspection or, and Supervision Effects in Public Secondary School in Ogun State, Nigeria: Where are we and where do we go? *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 3 (6) 74 – 80.
- Agee, J. (2009). Developing Qualitative Research Questions: A Reflective Process, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 22 (4) 431–447.
- Alhojailan, M.T. (2012). Thematic Analysis: a Critical Review of its Process and Evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, 1 (1) 39 – 47.
- Allington, R. (2002). *Big Brother and the national reading curriculum: How ideology trumped evidence*. New York: Heinemann.
- Andsen. S. (2015). *Effectiveness of History Teaching in Secondary Schools*. Bachelor of Arts Dissertation, Mzuzu University, Mzuzu, Malawi.
- Apple, M.W. (1993). Does a National Curriculum make sense? *Teachers College Record*, 95 (2) 222 – 241.
- Apple, M. W, & Christian-Smith, L. K. (1991). The politics of the textbook. In M. W. Apple & L. K. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook* (pp. 1-21). New York: Routledge.
- Ashmawi, A.F., Reiss, W., Dougi, N., Riley, M., Idrissi, M.H., & Thurffell, D. (2012). *Guidebook for History Textbook Authors: On a Common Path New Approaches to Writing History Textbooks in Europe and the Arab and Islamic Worlds: The Case of the Mediterranean*. Paris: UNESCO.
- ASSP (1968). Report of a Conference of African Educators, EDC and CREDO on Social Studies, Mombasa, Kenya, August 19-30.
- Aubert, V. (1963). Competition and Dissensus: Two Types of Conflict and Conflict Resolution, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 7, 26 – 42.

- Bailey, B. (2000). The Impact of Mandated Change on Teachers. In Bascia, N. & Hargreaves, A. (Eds.), *The Sharp Edge of Educational Change: Teaching, Leading and the Realities of Reform* (pp. 112 -128). London: Routledge Falmer.
- Bain, R.B. & Mirel, J. (2006). Setting up Camp at the Great Instructional Divide: Educating beginning History Teachers. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 57 (3), 212 – 219.
- Baker, B. (2013). The Purpose of History? Curriculum Studies, Invisible Objects and Twenty-first Century Societies. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 29 (1), 25 – 47.
- Banda, G.W. (2010). *An Illuminative Evaluation of the Standard of the Standard 7 and 8 Expressive Arts Curriculum in Malawi*. Doctor of Philosophy Thesis. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Banda, K. (1982). *A Brief History of Education in Malawi*. Blantyre: Dzuka Publishing Company.
- Banner, Jr., J.M. (2012). *Being a Historian: An Introduction to the Professional World of History* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Barnes, H.E. (1962). *A History of Historical Writing*. London: Dover Publications.
- Barton, K.C. (2005). Primary Sources in History: Breaking through the Myths. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 86 (19) 754 – 753.
- Barton, K.C. & Levstik, L.S. (2004). *Teaching History for the Common Good*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Barton, K.C. & Linda S. Levstik, L.S., (2013) *Teaching History for the Common Good*. Mahwah: Routledge.
- Baum, W.K. (1987). *Transcribing and Editing Oral History*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History.
- Bloch, M. (1992). *The Historian's Craft*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bonga, M.M. (1990). *A Study of the Relationship between the Use of Adequate Instructional Media and Pupils' Academic Achievement at MSCE Level in Malawi*. Master of Education Thesis, University of Malawi, Chancellor College, Zomba.
- Burke, P. (Ed.). (2001). *New Perspectives on History Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Burston, W.H. (1972). The Syllabus in the Secondary School, in W.H. Burston and C.W. Green (Eds.) *Handbook for History Teachers* (pp. 59 - 73). London: Methuen.

- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in Psychology* 3 (2) 77–101.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, T. (1981). *Seven Theories of Human Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Carretero, M., & Van Alphen, F. (2014). Do Master Narratives Change among High School Students? Analyzing National Historical Representations Characteristics. *Cognition and Instruction*, 32 (3) 1 – 23.
- Chakwera, E., Khembo, D., & Sireci, S., (2004). High-Stakes Testing in the Warm Heart of Africa: The Challenges and Successes of the Malawi National Examinations Board. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 12 (29). Retrieved March 23, 2017 from <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v12n29/>.
- Chalira, M.V. & Nkhoma, M. (2003). *The Malawi National Examination Board*. A paper presented at the Association of Educational Assessment in Africa (AEAA). 25th-29th August 2003. Cape Town, South Africa.
- Chimombo, J.P.G. (2004). *A Report on the Profile of Primary and Secondary School Teachers in the Six Pilot Districts*. Zomba: CERT.
- Chimombo, J. P. G. (2005). Quantity versus quality in education: Case studies in Malawi. *International Review of Education*, 51, 155 – 172.
- Chimombo, J., Meke, E., Zeitlyn, B. & Lewin, K.M. (2014). *Increasing Access to Secondary School Education in Malawi: Does Private Schooling Deliver on its Promises?* Research Report for the Privatization in Education Research Initiative (PERI), Open Society Foundation. ESP Working Paper Series No. 61. Zomba: CERT.
- Chiromo, M. (2014). *Apathy in History Education among Girls in Secondary Schools: The Case of Henry Henderson Institute (HHI) and Our Lady of Wisdom since 1994*. Unpublished Bachelor of Arts in Dissertation. Mzuzu University, Mzuzu, Malawi.
- Chirambo, R. (2004). “Operation Bwezani”: The Army, Political Change, and Dr. Banda’s Hegemony in Malawi. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 13 (2) 146 – 163.
- Chirwa, G. & Naidoo, D. (2014). Curriculum Change and Development in Malawi: A Historical Overview, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5 (16) 336 – 345.
- Chirwa W.C. (2001). Dancing Towards Dictatorship: Political Songs and Popular Culture in Malawi, *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 10 (1) 1 – 27.
- Cohen, M., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research Methods in Education* (7th ed.). London: Routledge.

- Colby, S.R. (2008). Energizing the History Classroom: Historical Narrative Inquiry and Historical Empathy, *Social Studies Research and Practice*, 3 (3) 60 – 79.
- Collingwood, R.G. (1994). *The Idea of History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cooper, H. (1995). *History in the Early Years*. London: Routledge.
- Corti, L., Day, A. & Backhouse, G. (2000). Confidentiality and Informed Consent: Issues for Consideration in the Preservation of and Provision of Access to Qualitative Data Archives. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1(3), Art. 7. Retrieved May 24, 2017 from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs000372>.
- Creswell, J.W. (2012). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Crookall, R.E. (1972). *Handbook for History Teachers in Africa*. London: Evans.
- Crosby, C.A. (1993). *Historical Dictionary of Malawi* (2nd Ed). London: Scarecrow Press.
- Crotty, M. (2003). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. London: Sage Publications.
- Dahrendorf, R. (1958). Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociology Analysis, *American Journal of Sociology*, 64, 115 – 127.
- Daniel, D. (2012). Teaching Students How to Research the Past: Historians and Librarians in the Digital Age, *The History Teacher*, 45 (2) 261 – 282.
- De Baets, A. (2002). *Censorship of Historical Thought: A World Guide 1945 – 2000*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Delaney, T. (2013). *Classical and Contemporary Social Theory: Investigation and Application*. New York: Routledge.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.), California: Sage Publication.
- Deutsch, M. (2005) *Cooperation and Conflict*. In West, M.A, Tjosvold, D. & Smith, K.G. The essentials of teamwork: International perspective (pp. 1 - 36). Maryland: Wiley.
- Dimkpa, D.I. (2015). Teachers' Conduct in the 21st Century: The Need for Enhancing Students' Academic Performance, *Journal of Education and Practice*, 6 (35) 71 – 78.

- Dodds, M. (2001). Continuing professional development nurturing the expert within. In Soler, J., Craft, A., & Burges, H. (Eds.). *Teachers' development: exploring our own practice* (pp. 141 - 159). London, Paul Chapman Publishing and the Open University.
- Dondo, J.M.C., Krystall, A. & Thomas, D. (1974). *Report of an Evaluation of the African Social Studies Programme*. Unpublished Paper.
- Dreyfus, H.L. & Rabinow, P. (2004). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Evans, R.W. (1994). Educational Ideologies and the Teaching of History. In G. Leinhardt, I.L. Beck & C. Stainton (Eds.), *Teaching and Learning in History* (pp. 171 - 208). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Evans, R. W. (2004). *The social studies wars: What should we teach the children?* New York: Teachers College Press.
- Fage, J.D. (1981). The Development of African Historiography. In Ki-Zerbo (Ed.) *UNESCO General History of Africa I: Methodology and African Prehistory* (pp. 24 – 42). California: Heinemann.
- Falola, T., Writing and Teaching National History in Africa in an Era of Global History, *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2005), pp. 499-519
- Foster, S. (2008). History. In G. McCulloch & D. Crook (Eds.), *The Routledge International Encyclopaedia of Education* (pp. 294– 295). London: Routledge.
- Friere, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum Publishing Company).
- Michael. G. Fullan, M.G. (1991). *The New Meanings of Educational Change*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Furay, C. & Salevouris, M.J. (2009). *The Methods and Skills of History: A Practical Guide*. New Jersey: Harlan Davidson Inc.
- Garg, B. (2007). *Teaching of History*. New Delhi: Rajat Publications.
- Giroux, H.A. (1983). *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition*. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey.
- Giroux, H.A. (1988). *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning*. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey.
- Glatthorn, A. (1995). Teachers Development. In L. Anderson (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of Teaching and Teacher Education* (pp. 41 – 46). London: Pergamon Press.

- Granatstein, J.L. (1998). *Who Killed the Canadian History?* Toronto: Harper Collins.
- Grant, S.G. (2003). *History Lessons: Teaching, Learning, and Testing in U.S. High School Classrooms.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Greene, M.A. (1993). Moderation in Everything, Access in Nothing?: Opinions About Access Restrictions on Private Papers, *Archival Issues* 18 (1) 31-41.
- Haralambos, M. Holborn, M. (2000). *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives.* London: Collins Educational.
- Hart, C. (2001). *Doing Literature Review.* London: Sage.
- Harvey, G. (2008). *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students.* Indianapolis: Hackett.
- Hatch, J.A. (2002). *Doing Qualitative Research in Education Settings.* New York: State University of New York Press.
- Hauya, R.J.R. (1993). *Primary School Education in Malawi: The Question of Curriculum.* Zomba: Malawi Institute of Education.
- Havekes, H., Arno-Coppen, P. & Luttenberg, J. (2012). Knowing and Doing History: A Conceptual Framework and Pedagogy for Teaching Historical Contextualization, *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 11 (1), 72 – 93.
- Hays, P.A. (2004). Case Study Research. In K. deMarrais & S.D. Lapan (Eds.) *Foundation for Research: Methods of Inquiry in Education and the Social Sciences* (pp. 217 - 231). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hirsch, E. D. Jnr. (1987). *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Hooker, J.R. (1971). *Malawi past and Present: Selected Papers from the University of Malawi History Conference, 1967, African Studies Review*, 14 (3) 497-500
- Husbands, C. (2011). What do teachers (need to) know? A framework for understanding and developing practice, in I. Davies (Ed.) *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 84 - 95) London: Routledge.
- Husbands, C., Kitson, A. & Pendry, A. (2003). *Understanding History Teaching: Teaching and Learning about the Past in Secondary Schools.* Philadelphia: Open UP.
- Jankowitz, A. D. (1995). *Business Research Projects.* London: Chapman Hill.

- Johnson, D.W. & Johnson, R.T. (1996), Review of Educational Research, *American Educational Research Association*, 66, (4) 459 – 506.
- Jansen, J. & Taylor, N. (2003) Educational change in South Africa 1994-2003: Case-studies in Large Scale Educational Reform. *World Bank Country Studies. Education Reform and Management Publication Series*, 11 (1). World Bank: Washington DC.
- Johnson, J. A., Musial, D., Hall, G. E., & Gollnick, D. M. (2011). *Foundations of American education: Perspectives on education in a changing world*. Boston: Pearson.
- Jonston, E.L., Blake, J.W., Porter A.T. & Twum-Barima, K. (1964). *Education for Development*. Report of the Survey Team on Education in Malawi. Lilongwe: Ministry of Education.
- Kabwila, V. P. (1993). *Teaching General and Social Studies: A Handbook for Teachers and Teacher Trainers* (Domasi: MIE, 1993)
- Kabwila, V. (1995). *Factors affecting the implementation of English, Social Studies, Music, Chichewa and Mathematics curricula implementation in Malawi*. Unpublished Master of Education Research Report. Brandon University, Brandon.
- Kadzamira, E. & Rose, P. (2001). *Educational Policy Choice and Policy Practice in Malawi: Dilemmas and Disjunctures*. IDS Working Paper 124. Institute of Development Studies.
- Kalinga, O. (1998). The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnston, the Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr. Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party, *African Affairs*, 97 (389) 523 – 547.
- Keating, J. & Sheldon, N. (2011). History in Education: Trends and Themes in History Teaching, 1900 – 2010. In Ian Davies (Ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 5 – 17). London: Routledge.
- Kent, A., Lancour, H. & Daily, J.E. (Eds.) (1976). *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, Volume 17: Malawi to Metro*. New York: Marcel Dekker Inc.
- Kenyon, J. (2009). *Access and Availability of Scholarly Information in Malawi, 1964 – 2007*. Master of Arts Thesis, Indiana University, Indiana.
- Klein, S.R.E. (2010). Teaching History in the Netherlands: Teachers' Experiences of a Plurality of Perspectives, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 40 (5) 614 – 634.
- Kochhar, S.K. (2004). *The Teaching of History*. New Delhi: Sterling Publisher.
- Kothari, C.R. (2014). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age.

- Kumar, R. (2011). *Research Methodology: A Step by Step Guide for Beginners*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Laville, C. (2006) Historical Consciousness and the Historical Education: What to expect from the First to the Second (S. Darnton, Trans). In P. Seixas (Ed.), *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (pp. 165 - 182). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Lee, P. & Ashby, R. (2000). Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7-14. In P.N. Stearns, P. Seixas & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (pp. 199 – 222). New York: New York University Press.
- Leedy, P.D. (1997). *Practical Research: Planning and Design*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Lévesque, S. (2008). *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the 21st Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Levstik, L.S. (2011). Learning history. In R. Mayer & P. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Learning and Instruction* (pp. 108– 126). New Jersey: Taylor and Francis.
- Levstik, L.S. & Barton, K.C. (2001). *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools*. London: Routledge.
- Lihoma, P. (2014). The influence of the one party regime on archives in Malawi: 1964 to 1994. In J. Lowry & J. Wamukoya (Eds.), *Integrity in Government through Records Management: Essays in Honour of Anne Thurston* (pp. 85 – 98). Surrey: Ashgate.
- Lodico, M.G., Spaulding, D.T. & Voegtle, K.H. (2006). *Methods in Educational Research: From Theory to Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Loewen, J.W. (1995). *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. New York: The New Press.
- Loewen, J. W. (2009). *Teaching what really happened: how to avoid the tyranny of textbooks and get students excited about doing history*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Lora, E.E. (1980). Piaget's Theory of Formal Operational Thinking and the Teaching of History in Malawian Secondary Schools, *Malawi Journal of Social Science*, 8, 148 – 167.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Lukacs, J. (2011). *The Future of History*. New Haven: Yale UP.

- M'Bow, A. (1981). Preface. In J. Ki-Zerbo (Ed.) *UNESCO General History of Africa I: Methodology and African Prehistory* (pp. xvii – xxi). California: Heinemann.
- Macionis, J. & Gerber, L. (2010). *Sociology*. Toronto: Pearson Canada.
- Malawi (2013). Education Act, 2013.
- MANEB. (2008). *History Chief Examiner's Report*. Zomba: MANEB.
- MANEB. (2012). *History Chief Examiner's Report*. Zomba: MANEB.
- Marius, R. & Page, M.E. (2015). *A Short Guide to Writing about History*. Boston: Pearson.
- Marschall, S. (2010). *Landscape of Memory: Commemorating Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. London: Brill.
- Marsden, W.E. (2001). *The School Textbook: Geography, History and Social Studies*. London: Routledge
- Marshall, C. & Rossman, G.B. (2010). *Designing Qualitative Research*, (5th ed.). London: Sage
- Marwick, A. (2001). *The Nature of History*. New York: Delta Books.
- Mathews, D. (2009). The Strange Death of History Teaching. Retrieved November 10, 2016 from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download>.
- McCracken, J. (2002). Malawi, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (1) 5-7.
- Mchazime H (2003). Integrating Primary School Curriculum and Continuous Assessment in Malawi, Improving Education Quality (IEQ) Project in collaboration with the American Institutes for Research.
- McLaren, P. (2003). Critical pedagogy: A look at the major concepts. In A. Darder, M., Baltodano & D. R. Torres (Eds.), *The Critical Pedagogy Reader* (pp. 69- 103) New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Mdolo, M.M (2011). *Factors that affect the use of Constructivist Approaches when Teaching the new Biology Curriculum in Malawi*. Master of Science Research Report, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merryfield, M.M. (1988). The African Social Studies Program: An Effort to Improve Curriculum and Instruction across 17 Nations. *Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education*.

- Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E. & Alexander, L. (1995). *In-depth Interviewing: Principles, Techniques, Analysis*. Cheshire: Longman.
- Ministry of Education (1977). *Major Trends in Education in Malawi: 1974 – 1976*. Lilongwe: Planning Unit.
- Ministry of Education (1995). *A Policy and Investment Framework for Education in Malawi, 1995 – 2005*. Lilongwe: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (1972). *Malawi Senior Secondary School Syllabus*. Government Print: Zomba.
- Ministry of Education (1972). *Malawi Junior Secondary School Syllabus*. Government Print: Zomba.
- Ministry of Education (1973). *Malawi Primary School Syllabus*. Government Print: Zomba.
- Ministry of Education (1974). *Notes for Head teachers*. Planning Unit: Zomba
- Ministry of Education (1976) *Ten Years of Development and Progress in Education 1966 – 1976*. Lilongwe: PU.
- Ministry of Education and Culture (1977) *Education Statistics: Malawi 1977*. Lilongwe. PU
- Ministry of Education and Culture (1981). *Education Statistics: Malawi 1981*. Lilongwe: PU.
- Ministry of Education and Culture (1985). *Education Development Plan: A Summary*. Lilongwe: PU
- Ministry of Education Sports and Culture (1998). *Junior Secondary School Teaching Syllabus – Forms 1 and 2*. Domasi: MIE.
- Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2001). *Senior Secondary School Teaching Syllabus for History – Forms 3 and 4*. Domasi: MIE.
- Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2008), *National Education Sector Plan, 2008 – 2017: A Statement*. Lilongwe: Malawi Government Print.
- Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2013a). *Syllabus for History – Forms 1 and 2*. Domasi: MIE.
- Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2013b). *Syllabus for History – Forms 3 and 4*. Domasi: MIE.

- Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2013c). *Education Statistics 2012*. Lilongwe: EMIS.
- Misco, T. & Patterson, N. (2009). An old fad of great promise: Reverse Chronology History Teaching in Social Studies Classes. *Journal of Social Studies Research*, 33 (1) 71 – 90.
- Mizrachi, A., Padilla, O. & Susuwele-Banda, W (2010). *Active Learning Pedagogies as a Reform Initiative: The Case of Malawi*. USAID
- Mkandawire, J. K. (2002). The Growth of Private Secondary Schools in Malawi: Its Implications on the Registration and Quality Monitoring Systems. *Master's Capstone Projects*. 63. Retrieved December 18, 2016 from http://scholarworks.umass.edu/cie_capstones/63.
- Mlangeni, A., Chibaya, S.B., Malinda, E.E., Kapito, N., Kamundi, E.A., Kaperemera, N. & Likupe, F. (2015). Investigating Agriculture Teacher Shortage in Secondary Schools in Malawi. *Journal of Studies in Education*, 5 (2) 224 – 238.
- Msiska, F.G.W. (2013). *The Use of Distance Education for Teacher Training and Development in Malawi: Models, Practices, and Successes*. Paper Presented at Distance Education and Teacher Education in Africa (DETA) Conference. Nairobi, Kenya
- Morrow, S. (1986). Teaching History in Malawi's Secondary Schools: The Problems of Resource, Teaching History, *Teaching History*, 45, 14 – 20.
- Moulton, J., Mundy, K., Walmond, M. & Williams, J. (2002). *Education Reforms in Sub Saharan Africa: Paradigm Lost?* Conn: Greenwood Press.
- Moyo, T. (2001). Marginalisation of Indigenous Languages in Literary Publications, *Alternation*, 8 (1) 134 -149.
- Munslow, A. (2006). *Deconstructing History*. London: Routledge.
- Mwasi, E.D. (2009). *Service above Self*. Zomba: Kachere Book Series.
- Mweso, C. (2014). *Legacy of One Party Dictatorship: Collective Memory and Contestation in Malawi 1994 – 2004*. Master of Philosophy Thesis, Centre for African Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- Nasibi, M.W. (2015). A Critical Appraisal of History Taught in Secondary Schools in Kenya. *International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development*, 4 (1) 639 – 654. Retrieved April 15, 2017 from www.hrmars.com/journals.
- Ndala, K.K. (2017). Developments and Trends in Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Retrieved February 25, 2017 from <http://lst-iiep.iiep-unesco.org/cgi-bin/wwwi32.exe/>.

- Ndjabili, A. F., (2004). *Curricula under Pressure*. Aspects from the Eastern and Southern African Region Reform Forum.
- Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Nicholls, J. (2006). *School History Textbooks across Cultures: International Debates and Perspectives*. Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Nora, P. (1996). General introduction: Between memory and history. In L. Kritzman (Ed.), *Realms of memory: The construction of the French past* (pp. 1–20). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Orey, M., Fitzgerald, M.A. & Branch, R.M. (2004). *Educational Media and Technology Yearbook 2004: Vol. 29*. California: Libraries Unlimited.
- Pachai, B. (1971). *History in Our Changing Times*. A Public Lecture given in University of Malawi on 11 May 1966. University of Malawi: Blantyre
- Pachai, B. (1973). *Malawi: the History of the Nation*. London: Longman.
- Pachai, B. (1989). *My Africa, My Canada*. Hansport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press.
- Pathak, S.P. (2003). *The Teaching of History: The Paedo-centric Approach*. New Delhi: Kanishka.
- Phiri, K.M. (1993). *The Relevance of Teaching in Malawi's Secondary School*. A paper presented at the 1993 History Teachers' Conference, Zomba, Malawi.
- Phiri, K., & Ross, K. (1996). Introduction. In K. Phiri & K. Ross (Eds.), *Democratization in Malawi: Stocktaking* (pp 9 – 16). Zomba: Kachere.
- Ranger, T.O. (2004). The Uses and Abuses of History in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30 (2) 215 – 233.
- Redman, S.J. (2013). *Historical Research in Archives: A Practical Guide*. New York: American Historical Association.
- Repoussi, M. & Tutiaux-Guillon, N (2010) New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies toward a School Historiography, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*, 2 (1) 154–70.
- Rousmaniere, K. (2004). Historical Research. In K. deMarrais & S.D. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations for Research: Methods of Inquiry in Education and the Social Sciences* (pp. 32 - 50). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Sacks, P. (2000). *Standardized Minds*. New York: Perseus.
- Scott, D. & Morrison, M. (2007). *Key Ideas in Educational Research*. London: Continuum.
- Scott, J.W. (1986). Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. *The American Historical Review*, 91 (5) 1053-1075.
- Seixas, P. (1993). The community of inquiry as a basis for knowledge and learning: The case of History. *American Educational Research Journal*, 30 (2) 305 – 324.
- Seixas, P. & Peck, C. (2004). Teaching Historical Thinking. In A. Sears & I. Wright (Eds.), *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies* (pp. 109-117). Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.
- Senguin, R. (1989). *The Elaboration of School Textbooks: Methodological Guide*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Shafer, B.C. (1960). History, Not Art, Not Science, but History: Meanings and Uses of History, *Pacific Historical Review*, 29 (2) 159 – 170.
- Sasnett, M & Sepmeyer, I. (1966). *Educational Systems of Africa: Interpretations for Use in the Evaluation of Academic Credentials*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for Ensuring Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research Projects. *Education for Information*, 22 (1), 63-75.
- Shiza, E. (2005). Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the Curriculum. In G. Emeagwali & G. J. Sefa Dei (Eds.), *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Disciplines*. (pp. 113 - 129). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Shor, I. (1992). *Empowering education: critical teaching for social change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shulman, L.S. (1986). Those who understand: Knowledge growth in teaching, *Educational Researcher*. 15 (2) 4 – 14.
- Sibande, E.K. (2014). *Unpopularity of History in Community Day Secondary Schools: The Case of Msongwe and Masasa Community Day Secondary Schools in Mzuzu City since 2000*. Bachelor of Arts Dissertation, Mzuzu University, Mzuzu, Malawi.
- Sidhu, K.S. (2004). *Methodology of Research in Education*. New Delhi: Sterling.
- Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. London: Sage.

- Siraj-Blatchford, I., Sylva, K., Muttock, S., Gilden, R. & Bell, D. (2002). *Researching Effective Pedagogy in the Early Years (REPEY)*. London: Department for Education and Skills/Institute of Education, University of London. Retrieved January 19, 2017 from www.ioe.ac.uk/REPEY_research_brief.pdf
- Simpson, M. (1983). Why the past comes last. *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, 36 (2) 33 - 44.
- Smith, A. (2001). *Nationalism: Theory, ideology, history*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Smith, G.W., Pachai, B. & Tangri, R.K. (Eds.) (1971). *Malawi Past and Present: Selected Papers from the University of Malawi History Conference, 1967*. Blantyre: CLAIM.
- Smith, N. (2010). *The History Teacher's Handbook*. London: Continuum.
- Stanford, M. (1994). *A Companion to the Study of History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. & D Kunje, D (2011). The third approach to enhancing teacher supply in Malawi. Vol. 1. The UNICEF ESARO Study on Recruitment, Utilization, and Retention of Teachers. *A Study on Recruitment, Utilisation and Retention of Teachers*. Retrieved December 12, 2016 from <http://www.tc.columbia.edu/faculty/steiner-khamsi/publications>
- Storey, W.K. (2008). *Writing History: A Guide for Student*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sturges, P. (1998). The Political Economy of Information: Malawi under Kamuzu Banda, 1964-1994. *International Information and Library Review*, 30, pp. 185-201.
- Sullivan S. & Glanz, J. (2000). *Supervision That Improves Teaching: Strategies and Techniques*. California: Corwin Press, Inc.
- Sylvester, D. (1993). Change and continuity in history teaching: 1900-1993. In H. Bourdillon (Ed.), *Teaching History* (pp. 9– 26). London: Routledge.
- Taal, A.H.S. (1996): Teacher Education and Training in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Teacher Education in Africa: Past, Present and Future*, UNESCO Regional Office, Dakar.
- Tan, O. (2003). *Problem – Based Learning Innovation: Using Problems to Power Learning in the 21st Century*. Lor Chuan: Cengage Learning.
- Tavallaei, M. & Talib, M.A. (2010). A General Perspective on the Role of Theory in Qualitative Research, *Journal of International Social Research*, 3 (11) 570 – 577.
- Taylor, T. (2000). The Past, Present and Future of History Teaching in Schools. In B. Moon, M.Ben-Peretz, & S. Brown. (Eds.), *Routledge International Companion to Education* (pp. 843 - 854). London: Routledge.

- Taylor, T. & Young, C. (2003). *Making history: A guide for the teaching and learning of History in Australian schools*. Carlton: Curriculum Corporation.
- Thornton, S.J. (2005). *Social Studies that Matters: A Curriculum for Active Learning*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Tlou, J. & Kabwila. V. (2000). Social Studies in Malawi. In M.B. Adeyemi (Ed.) *Social Studies in African Education* (pp. 217-231). Gaborone: Pyramid Publishing.
- Tosh, J. (2010). *The Pursuit of History*. London: Longman.
- Tyson, L., *Critical Theory Today: A User-Friendly Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2006)
- Tuckman, B.W. & Harper, B.E. (2012). *Conducting Educational Research*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield
- UNESCO. (1991). *World Education Report 1991*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (1993). *World Education Report 1993*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (1995). *World Education Report 1995*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2003). *Global Education Digest 2003: Comparing Education Statistics across the World*. Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
- UNESCO. (2004). *Global Education Digest 2004: Comparing Education Statistics across the World*. Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
- UNESCO. (2005). *Global Education Digest 2005: Comparing Education Statistics across the World*. Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
- UNESCO. (2010). General Report, Regional Conference on ‘Renovating History Teaching in Africa’: the Pedagogical Use of the General History of Africa, Tripoli, Libya, 10 – 16 June 2010, General Report.
- UNESCO. (2011). Pedagogical Use of the General History of Africa Project: Elaboration of the Common Pedagogical Content for Use in African Schools. First Meeting of the Drafting Teams, Harare: Zimbabwe, 4 – 9 September, 2011.
- UNESCO/ECA. (1961) Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa 15-21 May 1961. Final Report.
- Vail, L. (Ed.) (1989). *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. London Berkeley: Currey University of California Press.

- Van Donge, J.K. (1996). The Mwanza Trial as a search for a usable Malawian past. In: K. Phiri & K. Ross (Eds.), *Democratization in Malawi: a Stock-taking*, (pp. 21 – 51). Zomba: Kachere.
- VanSeldright, B. (2002). *In search of America's past: Learning to read history in elementary school*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- VanSledright, B. (2011). *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policy*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- VanSledright, B. (2014). *Assessing Historical Thinking & Understanding Innovative Designs for New Standards*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Vansina, J. (1981). Oral Tradition and Its Methodology. In J. Ki-Zerbo (Ed.), *General History of Africa, Vol. 1: Methodology and African Prehistory*, (pp. 142 - 165). Paris: UNESCO.
- Vella, Y. (2015). How do students learn History? The Problem with Teaching History as part of an Integrated, Interdisciplinary or Cross Curricular Pedagogical Approach. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 13 (1) 60 – 68.
- Van Donge, K. J. (1998). The Mwanza Trial as a Search for a Usable Malawian Political Past. *African Affairs*, 97, 91 – 118.
- Von Ranke, L. (2011). *The Theory and Practice of History*. London: Routledge.
- Watkins, C. & Mortimer, P. (1999). Pedagogy: What do we know? In P. Mortimer (Ed.), *Understanding Pedagogy and its Impact on Learning*, (pp. 20 - 45). London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.
- Wertsch, J. (2000). Is it possible to teach beliefs, as well as knowledge about history? In P. Stearns, P. Seixas & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History* (pp. 38 – 50). New York: New York University Press.
- White, L. & Vail, L. (1989). Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi. In L. Vail (Ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (pp. 151 - 184). Berkeley: UCP.
- Wiggins, G. (1989). The Futility of Trying to Teach Everything of Importance. *Educational Leadership*, 47 (3) 44-59.
- Williams, C. (1987). *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race from 4500 BC to 2000 AD*. Chicago: Third World Press.
- Wilson, A. C. (2004). Reclaiming our humanity: Decolonization and the Recovery of indigenous Knowledge. In D. A. Mihesuah & A. C. Wilson (Eds.), *Indigenizing the academy: Transforming scholarship and empowering communities* (pp. 69-87). Manitoba: Bison.

- Wilson, R. (2011). The Relationship between School and Society: Part II – Conflict Theory, *Colleagues*, 6 (1) 10 – 1.
- Wineburg, S., (2005). What Does NCATE Have to Say to Future History Teachers? Not Much. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 658-665.
- Wineburg, S. S. (1991). On the reading of historical texts: Notes on the Breach between School and Academy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 28, 495-519.
- Wineburg, S.S. & Wilson, S. (1991). Subject matter knowledge in the teaching of history, *Advances in Research in Teaching*, Vol. 2. Greenwich, C.T: JAI Press.
- Wolf, J., Lang, G., Mount, L.L.B, & VanBelle-Prouty, D. (1999). *Where Policy Hits the Ground. Policy implementation Processes in Malawi and Namibia*. U.S Agency for International Development. SD Technical Paper No. 95.
- Wood, G. (1991). *Historian's Handbook: A Key to the Study and Writing of History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- World Bank (2008). *World Bank Working Paper No. 126: Textbooks and School Library Provision in Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington: World Bank
- Zajda, J. (2015). Globalization, Ideology and History School Textbooks: The Russian Federation. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, (pp.29 – 50). New York: Springer.
- Zezeza, P.T. (1990). The Production of Historical Knowledge for Schools, *Transafrican Journal of History*, 19, 1 – 23.
- Zezeza, P. (2002). The politics of historical and social science research in Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (1) 9 – 23.
- Zuniga, C.G., O'Donoghue, T., & Clarke, S. (2015). *A Study of the Secondary School History Curriculum in Chile from Colonial Times to the Present*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: The Two Traditions of History Teaching

History Teaching Tradition	The Great Tradition	The Alternative Tradition
Conceptual framework of History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History is knowledge. • History can be known by remembering it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History is an approach to knowledge. • History can only be known by doing it.
Learners and pedagogy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes the didactically active role of the teacher. • Assumes a high level of teacher subject knowledge. • Learner's role is largely passive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizes constructivist models of learner engagement with the past. • Places a premium on teacher's ability to manage student learning activities.
Main teaching and learning resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textbooks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical sources
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Characterized by a concern with national history. • Focuses on the understanding of the present through engagement with the past. • Focuses on political facts, with only a minor emphasis on economic and social events. • Content is organized in chronological frame. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Characterized by a variety of content reflecting world history and the experiences of a variety of groups. • Stresses the importance of learning about a variety of historical situations and contexts. • Focuses on social structures and processes. • Content is organized thematically.
Purposes of learning history	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defined through the content of the subject. • Focuses substantially on the cultural capital of historical content. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defined through the contribution of the subject to wider general education. • Focuses substantially on preparation for working life and the acquisition of skills.
Assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional pencil and paper tests designed to measure memorization and repetition of knowledge. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative assessments designed to promote historical literacy and development of higher order cognitive skills.

Source: Husbands et al., 2003; Lévesque, 2008; Loewen, 2009; Seixas, 2007; Sylvester, 1993.

Appendix II: Secondary Education Enrolment in Malawi 1964 - 2012

Academic Year	Secondary	MCDE
1964	5,951	---
1965	7,573	1,424
1966	6,538	1,856
1967	7,921	6,037
1968	9,529	3,848
1969	9,647	3,461
1969/70	10,930	2,185
1970/71	11,736	2,769
1971/72	12,858	3,080
1972/73	13,451	3,560
1973/74	13,779	3,601
1974/75	13,900	3,712
1975/76	14,451	3,590
1976/77	14,826	3,574
1977/78	15,140	3,797
1978/79	15,559	4,796
1979/80	16,488	5,128
1980/81	18,006	5,641
1981/82	19,329	8,137
1982/83	19,832	8,274
1983/84	22,245	8,704
1984/85	24,343	10,268
1985/86	25,177	10,529
1986/87	25,681	11,472
1987/88	26,396	12,076
1988/89	28,564	16,397
1989/90	29,326	19,596
1990/91	31,495	28,220
1991/92	33,826	35,130
1992/93	36,550	35,779
1993/94	46,444	42,308
1994/95	48,360	57,481
1995/96	57,812	81,574
1997	70,761	108,844
1998	59,636	132,455
1999	75,959	166,781
2000	46,396	118,063
2001	57,635	118,617
2002	45,989	93,767
2003	54,492	76,258
2004	180,157	*
2005	183,854	*
2006	218,310	*
2007	210,325	*
2008	233,573	*
2009	243,838	*
2009/2010	240,918	*
2010/2011	256,343	*
2011/2012	260,081	*

* No data available: MCDE was integrated into secondary school as a result of change to community day secondary school.

Source: Ministry of Education Science and Technology (2013c)

Appendix III: Notable banned History books in Malawi, 1968 -1988

Author	Title	Year
African Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences	Political Parties in Africa	1977
Bailey, Bernadine	Malawi in Pictures	1974
Carter, Gwendolyn and John H. Hertz	Government and Politics in the 20 th century	1975
Chiume, Kanyama	Kwacha: an autobiography	1975
Crosby, Cynthia	A Historical Dictionary of Malawi	1986
Davidson, Basil	The Liberation of Guinea	1969
Guevara, Che	Guerrilla Warfare: a Method	1969
Kirkpatrick, Jean J.	The Strategy of Deception	1976
Larkin, Bruce, D	China and Africa: 1940 - 1970	1976
Lipset, Seymour, M.	Passion Politics: Student Activism in America	1976
Liston, Robert, A.	Dissent in America	1976
Loyyd, P.C.	Africa in Social Change	1976
Marx, Karl	The Revolutions of 1848 and 1973	1973
McMaster, Carolyn	Malawi: Foreign Policy and Development,	1974
Menesses, Enrique	Fidel Castro	1980
Michener, James, A	Kent State: What happened and why?	1975
Mwase, G.S.	Strike a blow and die: Narrative of Race Relations in Africa	1974
Needham, D.E.	From Iron Age to Independence: A History of Central Africa	1975
Nkrumah, Kwame	Dark Days in Ghana	1971
Odinga, Oginga	Not yet Uhuru	1976
Overstreet, H.	Iron Curtain: The War called Peace (Khrushchev's Communication)	1976
Rotberg, Robert, I	The rise of nationalism in Central Africa: the making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873 and 1964? 1965?	1965
Scott, G.R.	A History of Torture throughout Ages	1970
Short, Phillip	Banda	1972
Skotnes, C. and Gray, S.	The Assassination of Shaka	1974
Staley Eugene	Future of under-development Countries	1977
Toynbee, Arnold	Impact of the Russian Revolution: 1917 to 1967	1974
Trotsky, Leon	History of the Russian Revolution	1974
Trotsky, Leon	The Revolution Betrayed	1974
White, Landeg	Magomero: Portrait of an African Village	1988

Sources: De Beats (2002); Kenyon (2009); Sturges (1998); Vail (1989).

Appendix IV: Expansion of Libraries in Malawi, 1894 - 1973

1881 – 1890	: Livingstonia Mission Library, Bandawe
1886 – 1892	: UMCA Library, Likoma Island
1894	: Walter Library, Zomba
1895	: Zomba Administration Library
1899	: Agricultural Library, Zomba, Blantyre Mission School Library
1911	: Blantyre Public (Subscription) Library
1922	: Geological Survey Library, Zomba
1924	: Forestry and Game Department Library, Zomba
1930	: Secretariat Library, Zomba
1939	: Kachebere Major Seminary Library, Mchinji
1942	: Zomba Catholic Secondary School Library
1949	: Mtendere Secondary School Library, Dedza
1950	: Nyasaland African Library, Blantyre; Society of Malawi Library, Blantyre; Zomba Community Centre Library; Department of the Registrar General Library, Blantyre
1951	: British Council Library, Blantyre; Blantyre and Dedza Secondary School Libraries
1954	: Mzimba African Library; Robert Blake Secondary School Library, Dowa.
1955	: St. Andrew's Secondary School Library, Blantyre
1957	: Parliament Library, Zomba
1958	: Zomba Mental Hospital Library; Malawi National Archives Library, Zomba
1959	: St John's Teacher Training College Library, Lilongwe; Colby Community Centre Library, Blantyre (Later Kwacha National Cultural Centre)
1960	: St. John Bosco T.T.C. Library, Champira, Mzimba; Fisheries Research Unit Library, Monkey Bay; Soche Technical School Library, Limbe
1961	: United States Information Service Library, Blantyre; St. Patrick's Secondary School Library, Limbe
1962	: Montfort T.T.C. Library, Limbe; Institute of Public Administration Library, Blantyre; British Council Branch Library, Zomba
1963	: Soche Hill College Library, Limbe; British Council Branch Library, Lilongwe
1964	: Kasungu, Likuni Boys', Likuni Girls', Henry Henderson Institute and Chiradzulu Secondary School Libraries; Bvumbwe Research Station Library, Limbe
1965	: University of Malawi, Library, Blantyre; Magomero Community Development Training Centre Library; Dowa, Mzumba, Rumpi and Thyolo Secondary School Libraries
1966	: Central Library, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Chitedze, Lilongwe; William Murray Library, Nkhoma Mission, Lilongwe; Masongola and Marymount Girls' Secondary School Libraries
1967	: Chikwawa and Salima Secondary School Libraries
1968	: Malawi National Library Service, Blantyre, Makoka Research Station Library, Thondwe, Zomba
1969	: Lilongwe Girls' and Providence Secondary School Libraries; Ministry of Works and Supplies, Design Department Library, Lilongwe; Fisheries Training Centre Library, Mpwepe, MANGOCHI; Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare Library, Limbe
1970	: Lilongwe Land Development Project Library, Lilongwe.
1972	: Ministry of Works and Supplies, Buildings Department Library, Lilongwe; Shire Valley Agricultural Development Programme Library, Ngabu.
1973	: Fisheries Department Library, Lilongwe.

Source: Kent, Lancour and Daily (1976) pp. 4 – 5.

Appendix V: List of reference books in MSCE History Syllabus, 1970 – 2013

1970 Syllabus	1986 Syllabus	2001 Syllabus	2013 Syllabus
Barracough, G (1967). <i>Introduction to Contemporary History</i> . Harmondsworth: Penguin.	Alpers, E.A. (1975). <i>Ivory and Slaves</i> . London: Heinemann.	Alpers, E.A. (1975). <i>Ivory and Slaves</i> . London: Heinemann.	Bulliet, R.W. et al (2001). <i>The earth and its peoples: a global history</i> . Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Carr, E.H. (1946). <i>Twenty Years Crisis, 1919 - 1939</i> . London: Macmillan.	Beach, D.N. (1984) <i>Zimbabwe before 1900</i> . Gweru: Mambo Press.	Beach, D.N. (1984) <i>Zimbabwe before 1900</i> . Gweru: Mambo Press.	Duiker, WJ and Spielvogel, J.J. (2008). <i>Essential world history</i> . Belmont: Thomson.
Catchpole, B. (1968). <i>A Map History of the Modern World</i> . London: Heinemann.	Birmingham, D. (1981). <i>Central Africa to 1870</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge UP.	Birmingham, D. (1981). <i>Central Africa to 1870</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge UP.	Chiunguzeni, G. (2006). <i>New Junior Secondary History Course</i> . Blantyre: CLAIM.
Cornwell, R.D. (1969). <i>World History in the Twentieth Century</i> . Longman: New York.	Catchpole, B. (1968) <i>A Map History of the Modern World</i> . London: Heinemann.	Brooks, A. (1998). <i>Revise for History GCSE the Modern World</i> . London: Heinemann.	Kamwaza, H.J. (2007). <i>Senior comprehensive history of Central Africa</i> . Blantyre: CLAIM.
Davidson, B. (1968). <i>East and Central Africa to the late Nineteenth Century</i> . London: Longman.	Cornwell, R.D. (1969). <i>World History in the Twentieth Century</i> . Longman: New York.	Catchpole, B. (1968). <i>A Map History of the Modern World</i> . London: Heinemann.	Lowe, N. (1997). <i>Mastering modern world history</i> . Hampshire: Palgrave.
Gann, L.H. (1969). <i>History of Northern Rhodesia</i> . New York: Humanities Press.	Davidson, B. (1968). <i>East and Central Africa to the late Nineteenth Century</i> . London: Longman.	Catterall, P. (1999). <i>Exam Essays in 20th Century World History</i> . London: Heinemann.	Ministry of Education. (1998). <i>Junior Secondary School teaching syllabus for History</i> . Domasi: MIE.
Gann, L.H. (1965). <i>History of Southern Rhodesia</i> . New York: Humanities Press.	Neville, P. (1982). <i>World History, 1914 - 1980</i> . London: Heinemann.	Chandler, M. (1999). <i>Modern World History</i> . Chicago: Heinemann.	Ministry of Education. (2001). <i>Senior Secondary History Syllabus</i> . Domasi: MIE.
Hall, R. (1965). <i>Zambia</i> . London: Pall Mall Press.	Pachai, B (1973). <i>Malawi: The History of the Nation</i> . London: Longman	Clare, J.D. (1997). <i>The Middle Ages 1066 – 1500</i> . London: Thomas Nelson.	Pachai, B. (1973). <i>Malawi: The History of the Nation</i> . Longman: London.
Grant, A.J. and Temperley, H.W.V. (Eds.) (1945). <i>Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries</i> . London: Longman	Pachai, B. (Ed.). (1972). <i>The Early History of Malawi</i> . London: Longman	Cornwell, R.D. (1969). <i>World History in the Twentieth Century</i> . Longman: New York.	Shillington, K. (1995). <i>History of Africa</i> . London: Macmillan.
Gray, R. (1960). <i>The Two Nations</i> . London: Oxford UP.	Poulton, R. (1981). <i>A History of the Modern World</i> . London: OUP.	Culpin, C. (2000). <i>South Africa since 1948</i> . London: John Murray.	
Marcham, A.J. (1968). <i>The Rise of Outer Continents</i> . Edinburgh: Harrap.	Ranger, T.O. (1968). <i>Aspects of Central African History</i> . London: Heinemann.	Curtin, P. (1995). <i>African History from the Earliest Times to Independence</i> . London: Longman.	
Oliver, R. and Atmore, A. (1967). <i>The Middle Age of African History</i> . London: OUP	Ranger, T.O. (1968) <i>The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898 - 1930</i> . Nairobi: Heinemann.	Davidson, B. (1968). <i>East and Central Africa to the late Nineteenth Century</i> . London: Longman.	
Pachai, B. (Ed.). (1972). <i>The Early History of Malawi</i> . London: Longman	Roberts, A.D. (1976). <i>A History of Zambia</i> . London: Heinemann.	Davis, N.E. (1990). <i>A History of Southern Africa</i> . Nairobi: Longman.	
Pagan, B.M. (1966). <i>A Short History of Zambia</i> . Nairobi: Oxford UP.	Snellgrove L.E. (1968). <i>The Modern World since 1870</i> . London: Longman	Elliot, B.J. (1986). <i>Twentieth Century Times: World History since 1900</i> . London: Hutchinson.	

Pike, J. (1968). <i>Malawi: A Political and Economic History</i> . London: Pall Mall.	Tindall, P.E.N. (1968). <i>History of Central Africa</i> . London: Longman.	Grey, P. (1997). <i>Germany 1918 – 1945</i> . London: Cambridge UP.	
Ranger, T.O. (1968). <i>Aspects of Central African History</i> . London: Heinemann.	Wills, A.J. (1967). <i>An Introduction to the History of Central Africa</i> . London: OUP.	Hewitt, T. (1999). <i>Modern World History</i> . Chicago: Heinemann.	
Snellgrove L.E. (1968). <i>The Modern World since 1870</i> . London: Longman	Wilson, D. (1967). <i>A History of South and Central Africa</i> . London: Cambridge UP.	Howarth, T. (1997). <i>Twentieth Century History</i> . London: Longman.	
Stokes, E. and Brown, R. (eds). (1966). <i>The Zambezi Past</i> . Manchester: MUP.	Wood, D. (1968). <i>This Modern World</i> . London: Heinemann.	Illife, J. (1995). <i>Africans: The History of a Continent</i> . London: Longman.	
Thomason, D. (1965). <i>World History 1900 – 1960</i> . London: Oxford.		Jones, J.A.P. (1997). <i>Challenging History: Europe 1500 – 1600</i> . London: Nelson	
Tindall, P.E.N. (1968). <i>History of Central Africa</i> . London: Longman.		Kelly, N. (1996). <i>The Modern World Heinemann Secondary History Project</i> . Oxford: Reed	
Trease, G. (1965). <i>This is your Century</i> . London: Heinemann.		Lee, S. (1998). <i>NAZI Germany</i> . London: Heinemann.	
Wills, A.J. (1967). <i>An Introduction to the History of Central Africa</i> . London: Oxford UP.		Mason, J. (1997). <i>Summary Book: Modern World History GCSE</i> . London: Oxford UP	
		McAleavy, T. (1999). <i>Modern World History</i> . London: Cambridge UP.	
		Muronda, T.K. (1997). <i>'O' Level History Practice Book</i> . Harare: Longman.	
		Needham, D.E. (1997). <i>From Iron Age to Independence: a History of Central Africa</i> . London: Longman.	
		Neville, P. (1982). <i>World History: 1914 – 1980</i> . London: Heinemann	
		O'callaghan, B. (1997). <i>Understanding History: The World and Africa</i> . Namibia: Longman.	
		Pachai, B (1973). <i>Malawi: The History of the Nation</i> . London: Longman	
		Pampallis, J. (1996). <i>They fought for freedom: Mohandas Gandhi</i> . Cape Town: Longman.	
		Peacock, H.L. (1982). <i>A History of Modern Europe 1789 – 1981</i> . Johannesburg: Heinemann.	

		Ray, J. et al. (1986). <i>History for You: Twentieth Century World</i> . London: Hutchinson	
		Rea, T. (1997). <i>International Relations, 1914 – 1945</i> . Oxford: Oxford UP.	
		Scott, J. (1989). <i>The World since 1914</i> . London: Heinemann.	
		Sharman, M. (1989). <i>Man, Civilization and Conquest from Prehistory to World Exploration</i> . Nairobi: Evans.	
		Shillington, K. (1995). <i>History of Africa</i> . London: Macmillan.	
		Sieborger, R. (1996). <i>What is Evidence?</i> Cape Town: John Murray.	
		Snellgrove L.E. (1968). <i>The Modern World since 1870</i> . London: Longman.	
		Thurlow, R. (1999). <i>Fascism</i> . London:	
		Tindall, P.E.N. (1997). <i>History of Central Africa</i> . Harare: Longman.	
		Traynor, J. (1997). <i>The Struggle for Peace</i> . London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.	
		Walsh, B. (1997). <i>GCSE Modern World History: Teachers Resource Book</i> . London: John Murray.	
		Walsh, B. (1997). <i>History in Focus GCSE: Modern World History</i> . London: John Murray	
		Walsh, B. (1999). <i>History in Focus GCSE: Modern World History</i> . London: John Murray	
		Watson, J. (1948). <i>Success in 20th Century Affairs</i> . London: John Murray.	
		Wilson, D. (1996). <i>Peoples' Revolutions and Nations</i> . Nairobi: Evans Brothers.	

Source: Malawi Secondary School History Syllabuses for 1970, 1986, 2001 and 2013

Appendix VI: List of Topics in MSCE History Syllabus, 1970 – 2013

1970	1986	2001	2013
History of Central Africa 1000 – 1964 AD	Central African History	Central African History	Central African History
The Iron Age	Iron Age in Central Africa since 1500	Iron Age in Central Africa	The 19 th and Early 20 th Centuries Immigrants into Central Africa
Pre-colonial Kingdoms of Central Africa	Pre-colonial Kingdoms of Central Africa	Pre-colonial Kingdoms of Central Africa	Growth of Trade in Pre-colonial East and Central Africa
The Portuguese Influence in the Pre-Livingstone Period	Growth of Trade in Gold, Ivory and Slaves	Growth of Trade in Gold, Ivory and Slaves	The Missionary Factor in Malawi
The Slave Trade	Nineteenth Century Immigrants into Central Africa	Nineteenth Century Immigrants into Central Africa	Ivory and Slave Trade
The Missionary Factor in Central Africa	Missionary Factor in Central Africa	Missionary Factor in Central Africa	The European Occupation and Administration of Africa.
The Ngoni and the Ndebele	The European Occupation and Administration of Africa.	The European Occupation and Administration of Africa.	Economic Developments in Central Africa: From the Colonial Period up to Independence
The European Occupation and Administration of Africa.	Political and Economic Developments up to Independence	Political and Economic Developments up to Independence	Political Developments in Central Africa: From the Colonial Period up to Independence
Social, Economic and Political Developments up to 1953	World History in the 20th Century	World History in the 20th Century	World History in the 20th Century
The Independent States of Malawi and Zambia	Events leading to World War I	Causes and Results of the First World War	Causes and Results of the First World War
World History in the 20th Century 1900 – 1964	Inter-War Period 1919 - 1939	Inter-War Period 1919 - 1939	Developments in the Inter-War Period 1919 - 1939
The World in 1900	Causes and Results of World War II	Causes and Results of Second World War	Causes and Results of Second World War
World War I	Decolonization in Asia and Africa	Decolonization in Asia and Africa	The Second World War: its Causes.
The Inter-war Period 1919 – 1939		Post-colonial Crises and Challenges in Africa	Decolonization in Asia and Africa
Results of World War II			Post-colonial Africa up to 2000
Decolonization of Africa and Asia			

Source: Malawi Senior Secondary School Syllabuses for 1970, 1986, 2001 and 2013

Appendix VII: Approval to Conduct Research from ETS Department



MZUZU UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TEACHING STUDIES

Mzuzu University
Private Bag 201
Luwingu
Mzuzu 2
MALAWI

Monday, 10 April 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to testify that Nerva Dzikanyanga is a bonafide student of Mzuzu University currently pursuing a Master of Education (M.Ed.) Degree Programme in the Faculty of Education.

As a partial fulfillment for the award of the M.Ed. Degree, he is required to do a small scale research on an educational issue in schools or colleges culminating into a thesis. The title of his research is: *"Applicability of changes in History pedagogy in Malawian secondary schools: A case study of Mzuzu Government secondary school since 1964."*

I should be most grateful if you can assist him accordingly.

Yours faithfully,

Dominic M. Ndengu (PhD)

PROGRAMME COORDINATOR AND SENIOR LECTURER

Appendix VIII: Request for the study to the Ministry of Education

Mzuzu University,
P/Bag 201,
MZUZU.
12th April 2017.

The Director of Administration,
Ministry of Education, Science and Technology,
Private Bag 328,
LILONGWE.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT YOUR MINISTRY AND VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

I am writing this letter to request for permission to collect research data from your ministry and a number of educational institutions in the country such as Malawi National Examinations Board, Malawi Institute of Education, Public Universities and Colleges, Northern Education Division offices and some National Secondary Schools.

I am a Master of Education (Teacher Education) student in the Faculty of Education at Mzuzu University where I am also working as an Assistant Lecturer in History Teaching Methodology. I have just completed my course work, and I have now embarked on a data collection exercise for my thesis. My study is titled '**Applicability of changes in History pedagogy in Malawian Secondary Schools with special reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School since 1964.**' I am, therefore, interested in collecting historical data on history education in Malawi from oral sources through face-to-face interviews and written sources through document analysis.

In your ministry, I would like to interview the officer responsible for secondary school History Education in the Department of Inspection and Advisory Services (DIAS). In NED, I would like interview the officer responsible for History supervision and inspection. I also intend to conduct my research at Mzuzu Government and Katoto Secondary Secondary Schools as well as Masasa CDSS. Other educational institutions to be included in my research are MANEB, MIE, Chancellor College, University of Malawi and a few selected schools in the Central West Education Division and South East Education Division.

I will be very grateful if my request is favourably considered.

Yours faithfully,

Nerva Dzikanyanga (Researcher)

Appendix IX: Introduction Letter from NED

Telephone: +265 1 312 144
+265 1 312 107
Fax: +265 1 312 640
In reply please quote:-



Communications should be addressed to
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
EDUCATION DIVISION MANAGER (NORTH)
P.O. BOX 133
MZUZU

Ref.No. NED/2/1

3rd May, 2017

The Head Teacher

- Mzuzu Government Secondary School,
- Katoto Secondary School
- Masasa CDSS,

RE: INTRODUCTION LETTER FOR MR NERVA DZIKANYANGA

The above captioned subject matter refers.

I write to introduce Mr Nerva Dzikanyanga a Master of Education Student at Mzuzu University. He has been permitted to do research in the inspectorate section (NED) and the following schools: Mzuzu Government Secondary School, Katoto Secondary School and Masasa CDSS.

Please assist him accordingly.

EDUCATION DIVISION MANAGER(N)

Appendix X: Letter to Research Participants

Mzuzu University,
P/Bag 201,
MZUZU.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH STUDY

Thank you for volunteering to be a participant in this research. This letter outlines information regarding the research and your part in it. The title of this research will be: 'Applicability of changes in History pedagogy in Malawian Secondary Schools with special reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School since 1964.' In general terms the research is designed to assess the extent to which pedagogical reforms in Malawi's secondary school history education since 1964 have been applicable with special reference to Mzuzu Government Secondary School.

The research will take place in three stages. Firstly, I will collect data from written sources such as published books, journal articles and archival documents on history pedagogy in Malawi and abroad. My focus during this information mining will be on the types of pedagogical reforms that have characterized history education in Malawi during the period under study. Therefore, an attempt will be made to examine: the major pedagogical changes in the country's secondary school history education; measures employed to sustain such changes; challenges encountered in sustaining these changes; and appropriateness of these pedagogical changes overtime.

The second stage will involve one-on-one interviews with several oral respondents like you on the issues identified above. Before the interview, you will receive the schedule of questions to give you time to prepare, if you would like to do so. The interviews will take no longer than one hour at a place that is convenient to you. The oral interviews may be audio-taped or not at your discretion. I will contact you within the next few weeks to set up an interview date, time and venue. The data from both oral and written sources will help me to explicitly understand the applicability of changes in history pedagogy in Malawian Schools.

During the third stage I will send you my findings. Here you will be granted the opportunity to refute or confirm the findings and provide me with feedback. Your feedback will be taken into account during the publication of my thesis. It must be emphasized that confidentiality will be observed during the entire research process. However, your name will be acknowledged on issues that are not sensitive but this might be negotiated. The final results will be packaged and submitted as a Masters' Degree thesis to the Faculty of Education at Mzuzu University, Malawi. If you have any questions you wish to discuss with me, my contact details are: 0999 280 674/0884 460 914 or nervadzikanyanga@gmail.com

Regards,

Nerva Dzikanyanga (Researcher)

Appendix XI: Informed Consent Form for Research Participants

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I, _____ have read the accompanying information and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, on the understanding that I may withdraw at any time without prejudice.

I agree that the research data gathered for this study may be published for academic purposes only provided that confidentiality is observed in the use of information accrued from my person.

I agree to have my interviews audio – taped. YES NO (Please tick).

Participant / Authorized representative

Date

Researcher: Nerva Dzikanyanga

Date

Appendix XII: Interview Guide for Key Stakeholders in History Education⁵⁴

1. Briefly describe your work in relation to history education in Malawi.
2. What are the major changes in history teaching, learning and assessment since 1964?
3. What factors have been responsible for these major changes in history pedagogy?
4. What measures have been put in place to monitor and evaluate the changes in history pedagogy?
5. What strategies have been employed to promote and sustain these changes?
6. What working relationship has been there among different stakeholders in sustaining these pedagogical changes?
7. What challenges have been faced in sustaining these changes overtime?
8. How effective were these pedagogical changes overtime?
9. How appropriate were these pedagogical reforms in the Malawian context?
10. How appropriate were these pedagogical reforms in the Malawian context?

⁵⁴ This was a general questionnaire for the following stakeholders: History Teachers, History Teaching Methodology Lecturers, Head Teachers, Ministry of Education Officials, MANEB Officials and MIE Officials

Appendix XIII: Interview Guide for History Students

1. When did you do your secondary school education in Malawi?
2. What kind of history syllabus did you cover during your time as a student?
3. What teaching methods, resources and assessment activities did teachers use in the teaching of History?
4. What kind of History books did you use during your time as a history student?
5. What was the format of history national examinations during your time as a history student?
6. What special facilities were available at your school for effective teaching, learning and assessment of History?
7. What challenges did you experience in the learning of history?
8. What measures did the school put in place to overcome such challenges?
9. How popular was History as a school subject during your secondary school years?
10. What do you think should have been done to the history teaching, learning and assessment in order to improve it?