

The Emphasis Given to the History of the South African Liberation Struggle in the Nation's Universities

Gregory F. Houston, Chitja Twala and
Nkululeko Majozi

Abstract

This article analyses the emphasis given to the teaching of the South African liberation struggle history at the country's universities. Although this history has been analysed in books, chapters, journal articles, conference papers, theses and dissertations by South African scholars working in various disciplines, it is generally underrepresented in the curricula of the country's universities. This absence stems, at least in part, from the racial segregation that divided South African universities until the end of Apartheid in 1994. Today, the overwhelming majority of lecturers devote, on average, six or fewer of their annual class sessions to the subject, when most university modules run from seven to fourteen weeks. Despite the limited time given to topics on South African liberation struggle history, a majority of academics surveyed in history and political science departments believe that their institution's undergraduate curriculum deals sufficiently with the history. Thus, aside from some notable exceptions, South African departments of history and political science have failed to integrate this field within the broader study of national history. As a result, most university-educated South Africans lack post-secondary formal study on the history of the liberation struggle, a reality that affects the development of research and scholarship on this topic.

In South Africa, apartheid-era historical education and scholarship can be characterized by a conscious tendency to overlook black history. Histories depicting the events of the black masses often remained neglected, although a rich body of literature on the liberation struggle would emerge later, in the early 1990s, when writing on the topic intensified.¹ Black history began to be

integrated into the national narrative at an increasing pace following the first democratic elections in 1994, a change that resulted in a transformation of school and university history curricula. After 1994, the national Department of Education mandated the curricular integration of black history, including a strong focus on the South African liberation struggle. Whereas apartheid-era school and university curricula advocated Afrikaner nationalism and propagated a Eurocentric perspective of the world, post-1994 curricula promoted an understanding and appreciation of constitutional values.² While the Department's efforts succeeded on the level of primary and secondary education, the process of transforming university curricula remained a daunting task as South African universities maintained a higher degree of autonomy in determining course content. Later, with the establishment of the Department of Higher Education, to a certain extent this challenge has begun to receive attention.

These changes have been accompanied, since 1994, by systematic efforts to collect and archive the materials of four groups: the African National Congress (ANC) at Fort Hare University and at the University of the Western Cape's Mayibuye Centre; the material of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) at Fort Hare University; the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) at Fort Hare University; and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) at Fort Hare University. Significant collections occupy the National Archives of South Africa, as well as the archives of the universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, South Africa (UNISA) and KwaZulu-Natal. In addition, the South African History Archive (SAHA), the Nelson Mandela Foundation's Centre of Memory, Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA), and South African History Online (SAHO) have worked to document and provide access to archival holdings that relate to the history of the liberation struggle.

In the early 1990s, the advent of democracy and the return of thousands of exiles provided researchers with varied informants on hidden and neglected aspects of South Africa's past. This period yielded opportunities to engage with individuals from the liberation movements, the former Nationalist Party (NP) and Bantustan authorities, and members of apartheid-era civil services and security forces. These circumstances enabled the development of a number of major projects to interview key (and, in many

cases, less well-known) actors in the country's history, thereby stimulating a growing body of literature on the South African liberation struggle. Despite such scholarly output, however, the struggle remains insufficiently addressed in the nation's university classrooms, as this article illustrates through a broad study of its treatment in South African history departments. This article is the first to consider the content of history curricula, but it is preceded by several studies addressing the state of university disciplines in South Africa.

Literature Review

After centuries of colonial and apartheid rule, the introduction of democracy in 1994 transformed South African society and led to reforms in the nation's system of higher education. Most significantly, the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) was appointed to recommend ways in which the system should be changed. Among other topics, the Commission was mandated to consider curriculum reform.³ It appears, however, that the curricula of certain university departments, such as History and Political Science, were left untouched by this Commission, which focused more upon reforms that would meet the needs of the national economy. For instance, five surveys analyzed the state of Political Science at universities between 1990 and 2014.⁴ Two of these studies, which focus on curriculum content, are relevant to the inquiries of this article.

In a study conducted in 1997, Susan Booysen and Anthoni van Nieuwkerk applied a two-phased, quantitative-followed-by-qualitative survey among individual members of the South African Political Studies Association (SAPSA) and all heads of South African departments of Political Studies and international Relations.⁵ Booysen and Van Nieuwkerk found that while fourteen political science departments in the country offered a course on the Introduction to Political Studies at first-year level, only seven offered a course on South African Politics and Government, and one offered a course on Southern Africa at this level. Nine departments offered a course on International Relations/organizations at the second-year level, with only three offering a course on South African politics and three on African Politics/Southern African Politics at this level. South African politics was

offered by three departments at third-year level, while Southern African Politics was offered by one department and international relations/organizations by eleven departments. It is clear from the above that the course content offered by political science departments should, to a certain level, respond to the broader transformation agenda of the higher education sector in South Africa. At the Honors level, twelve departments offered Political Theory, compared to six that offered South African Politics and another two that offered Southern African Politics.⁶ Some South African departments of political science and history present courses or modules highlighting the history of the liberation struggle. It is therefore imperative to interpret and understand statistics pertaining to the above.

In the most recent study of the state of the discipline, Amanda Gouws, Joleen Steyn Kotze and Jo-Ansie van Wyk used a two-pronged method to collect data for a survey they administered from July to October 2012. They sent a questionnaire to political scientists who were members of the South African Association of Political Scientists (SAAPS) at the time, and a second, different questionnaire to heads of departments.⁷ The most relevant finding from this study was their syllabi had not changed much since 1997, despite the fact political science departments had gone through rigorous processes of curriculum review and the merger of universities created new terrain in which to develop syllabi that responded to the changing socio-political landscape.⁸

No comparable study exists regarding the state of the historical discipline at South African universities. This gap in the literature may be the result of a widespread lack of interest in a discipline perceived to be irrelevant, as William Worger had argued. He writes, "History departments and their faculties have, in particular, chosen a path of irrelevancy, irrelevancy to higher education, and irrelevancy to society at large [...] especially to the majority of the population who want to find out about their history and can't in the university."⁹ Worger's assessment draws upon the earlier observations of Mahmoud Mamdani, who, as Director of the Centre of African Studies at the University of Cape Town in 1997, wrote that: "Students are being taught a curriculum which presumes that Africa begins at the Limpopo, and that this Africa has no intelligentsia worth reading."¹⁰ In a review of the 2014 history curricula at the University of Cape Town, University of the Witwatersrand, and

Rhodes University, Worger found that: “In none of these universities do students get to the history of their own country until their second year, that is, if they still want to pursue history, and most do not since history enrollments in South African universities plummet in second and subsequent years of study.”¹¹

Perhaps as a result, the humanities and social sciences in South Africa appear to be in decline. A 2011 study released by the Academy of Science of South Africa sounded a wake-up call to the Department of Education. The study concluded, “There is a crisis in the Humanities reflected in declining student enrollments, falling graduation rates, and decreasing government funding within institutions of higher learning.”¹² In the same year, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) released the *Charter for the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSS)*.¹³ This charter notes that South Africa’s policy framework prioritizes the sciences and technology, mobilizing the academy in an effort to accelerate economic growth.¹⁴ In attempts to address these challenges facing the humanities, the Minister of Higher Education and Training launched the National Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS). The NIHSS was established on December 5, 2013 in order to advance and coordinate scholarship, research and ethical practice in the humanities and social sciences within and through the existing public universities.

Despite the challenges faced by the humanities, the history of the liberation struggle (and black history more generally) has been granted increasing visibility in the narratives underpinning national holidays and the reforming of South Africa’s school curricula and heritage landscape. This study asks whether History and Political Science departments have adjusted in turn. Do South African universities offer relevant and appropriate structures through which their students can become formally educated on the history of the liberation struggle?

Methodology

The research conducted in preparation for this article uses a mixed methodology, which involved a review of the curricula on the websites of relevant university departments, an online survey administered to relevant academics and researchers, and a search of several databases for relevant theses and dissertations.

In August 2015, an examination of the webpages of most history and political science departments identified the relevant modules offered by each.¹⁵ These webpages and online handbooks are generally where prospective students obtain information related to course selection or study modules; they thus provide insight into the relevance each department accords to the history of the liberation struggle. The analysis of curricula was then distributed to all heads of department (HODs) and their staff. Interestingly, several HODs pointed out discrepancies in the information on their webpages and handbooks, both of which sometimes failed to reflect updated data.

In the same month, invitations were emailed to all academic staff members of the departments of History and Political Science (or related departments) at every South African university to request their participation in an online survey on researching and teaching the history of the South African liberation struggle.¹⁶ A second questionnaire was administered to a select group of institutionally unaffiliated researchers, researchers based at non-university research institutes/councils, and other individuals who have independently published materials on the history of the liberation struggle. The questions of both surveys were identical, posing biographical questions and questions related to research and teaching experience. A total of 233 academics were invited to participate in the study. Only 47 responded (20.2%). Two individuals opted out (0.9%), 172 received the invitation but did not respond (73.4%), and 12 invitations bounced back (5.2%).¹⁷ Forty other researchers, both in South Africa and abroad, were invited to participate in the second survey; of these, 15 responded (37.5%); 22 did not respond (55%), and three invitations bounced back (7.5%). Several respondents from both groups abstained from answering some questions.

At least one scholar responded from every South African university except the universities of Limpopo and Zululand. Of the 50 respondents who submitted a response to the survey, 42% indicated an institutional affiliation lecturing in History departments at South African universities, whereas 30% identified with Politics departments, 4% with African Studies departments or centers, and 6% with a non-university research institute or council. Fourteen percent considered themselves independent researchers and 4% identified as “none of the above.” Of the 49 respondents who indicated their highest academic qualification, 73.5% have a

doctorate, while 24.5% indicate a master's degree. The majority of the 50 respondents who indicated their institutional rank are lecturers (24%), followed by associate professors (20%), professors (18%), senior lecturers (18%), and junior lecturers (4%). Of the 37 respondents who indicated their racial identification, 16 self-identified as Africans (43.2%), 16 as whites (43.2%), three as Indians (8.1%), and two as coloureds (5.4%). With respect to gender, 65% of the 46 respondents identified as male and 35% as female. Of the 47 respondents who indicated their country of origin, 76.6% identified as South African and 23.4% identified as non-South African.

A search of several databases was conducted using a wide range of key words and phrases to identify relevant theses and dissertations produced between 2010 and 2015. The search engines and databases included Open Access Theses and Dissertations, ETHOS, the UNISA Electronic Theses and Dissertations, SACat, the Nexus Database of the National Research Foundation, the Union Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global, and NTLTD Global.

The Liberation Struggle in the Curricula of History Departments

This study examines South African curricula at a moment when fewer and fewer undergraduate students become engaged with the country's history departments. Enrollment in undergraduate history courses at South African universities decreased from 1,870 students in 2004 (1.3% of total enrollment in the humanities) to 1,554 students in 2008 (0.9% of total enrollments in the humanities).¹⁸ History students constituted about 0.24% of all undergraduate students in 2008. The number of students enrolled in doctoral studies in history decreased from 107 in 2004 (3% of total doctoral enrollments in the humanities) to 99 in 2008 (2.9% of total doctoral enrollments in the humanities).¹⁹ A total of 120 History students obtained their doctorates between 2000 and 2009.²⁰

As it analyzes the curricula that direct the studies of this declining student body, this article's evaluation of departmental offerings defines 'relevant content' on the history of the South African liberation struggle as:

- the wars of resistance, beginning with the first Khoi-Dutch Wars, and other struggles (such as those of African intellectuals and black political formations from the mid-1800s) that arose during the period of initial contact between indigenous populations and white settlers from the seventeenth century to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910;
- the liberation struggle in the period from 1910 to 1960, which begins with the formation of the Union, and includes the growth of united opposition through political and other organizations, such as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, later the ANC); the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA); the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICU); and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU); and
- the liberation struggle from 1960 to 1994, which was shaped by the Sharpeville Massacre of March 21, 1960; the banning of organizations and the turn to armed struggle which was characterised by an escalation of resistance on the part of the oppressed; the suppression of internal political activity; the activities of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM); the 1976 Soweto Uprising and its consequences; the developments in the 1980s, such as the proliferation of popular organizations and struggles; increasing armed insurgency; a growth in the international anti-apartheid movement in the West; increasing solidarity with the liberation struggle on the part of countries in the former Eastern Bloc; and the onset of the negotiations process, concluding with the first democratic elections of April 1994.

In general, virtually all departments listed in Table 1 offer at least one module on South African history in their undergraduate and/or honors courses, with many of these modules including relevant content on the history of the liberation struggle. The significant exception is the undergraduate history course at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which includes no relevant content in the course outline on the departmental webpage.

Eight of the 15 departments whose curricula were reviewed do not offer a relevant module at first-year level.²¹ Student numbers normally drop off dramatically from the second-year level on, which thus affects the number of students who are lectured on the history of the liberation struggle.²² Only four of the 15 History

departments appear to offer coursework explicitly devoted to the history of the liberation struggle.²³

Table 1: Curricula of History departments with relevant content

UNIVERSITY	LEVEL	COURSE CONTENT
Cape Town	2 nd Year	Conflict and Conquest: South Africa to 1900
		Subjects to Citizens?
Free State	1 st Year	Introduction to the Twentieth Century History South Africa
	2 nd Year	The Rise of Nationalism in South Africa
	3 rd Year	En Route to the New South Africa
	Honors	Human rights violations, truth and justice in historical perspective
Fort Hare	1 st Year	Introduction to Historiography
	3 rd Year	The Eastern Cape
		South Africa's Liberation Struggle in the 20 th Century
	Honors	A theme from South African History -The Eastern Cape: Society and Politics
Johannesburg	1 st Year	Contemporary South Africa in Historical Perspective
	Honors	Historiography of South Africa
KwaZulu-Natal	Honors	Race and Racism in Historical Perspective
Limpopo		No information obtained from website. At this university History is taught by a professor in the Department of African Languages
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan		No information obtained
North West	1 st Year	South Africa: from Earliest Times to Mfecane
		South Africa: from Mfecane to the South Africa War
	2 nd Year	The Making of Modern South Africa
		Segregation, Apartheid and Resistance in South Africa
Pretoria	1 st Year	Africa and South Africa: a survey
	2 nd Year	Rise and fall of segregation and apartheid
Rhodes	2 nd Year	Themes in Southern African History
	3 rd Year	The Making of Modern South Africa

UNIVERSITY	LEVEL	COURSE CONTENT
South Africa	1 st Year	The Making of Early Colonial South Africa
	3 rd Year	Modern South Africa: From Soweto to Democracy – HSY3705
	Honors	Themes from modern South African history – HSY4804
Stellenbosch	1 st Year	Survey of South African History
	2 nd Year	South Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries
	3 rd Year	South Africa in the 20th Century
Venda		No information obtained from website. History modules are presented by the department of Development Studies. No stand-alone Department of History exists at this university. The Department of Development Studies is multi-disciplinary and includes Political Science, International Relations, Philosophy, History, Religious Studies and Development Studies
Walter Sisulu	1 st Year	South Africa: from Earliest Times to Mfecane
		South Africa: from Mfecane to the South Africa War
	2 nd Year	The Making of Modern South Africa
		Segregation, Apartheid and Resistance in South Africa
3 rd Year	Themes in the History of the Eastern Cape	
Western Cape	3 rd Year	History 321: The Making of the South African City in the Twentieth Century
		The TRC and the South African Past
Witwatersrand	2 nd Year	History of Sub-Saharan Africa
		South Africa before 1880
		Race, Class and Nation in Modern South Africa
	3 rd Year	The Making of Modern South Africa A
		The Making of Modern South Africa B
	Honors	Rural Transformation: Town & Countryside in Transition
		Rural Development
The Making of Urban South Africa		
Zululand	1 st Year	South African History
	2 nd Year	General topics related to 19 th and early 20th century South Africa
	3 rd Year	The Zulu Monarchy and KZN leaders in Retrospect
	Honors	Themes on the history of contemporary South Africa since 1948

Our analysis begins with those history departments that offer the greatest number of modules with relevant content regarding the history of the struggle. The history department of the University of Stellenbosch offers relevant material at all three levels of its undergraduate course modules. A first-year level module provides a survey of South African history with a focus, among other topics, on debates concerning the settlement of population groups in South Africa, clashes in the interior and the historical significance of 19th century migrations, segregation and apartheid, and Black Nationalism and politics in the 20th century. Its module at second-year level, *South Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries*, addresses the subjugation and colonization of the Tlhaping. The themes in the department's module on *South Africa in the 20th century* at third-year level include perspectives on apartheid and the growth and dynamics of black political organizations. This is followed by an analysis of the nature and dynamics of opposition to the apartheid system.²⁴

Similarly, the History department at the University of the Free State offer relevant modules at all three levels of its undergraduate coursework. At first-year level, the department offers a two-part module, *Introduction to the Twentieth Century History of South Africa and Africa*, which focuses on the most important historical changes in the country, region and continent from the end of the 19th century to the end of the 20th century. At second-year level, the module titled *The Rise of Nationalism in South Africa* addresses the struggle against colonialism and the drive towards independence, while, at third-year level, *En Route to the New South Africa* focuses on the final struggles for and against Apartheid and the transition to majority rule. At honors level, a module is presented on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and human rights violations. The History department of the Walter Sisulu University, too, offers relevant modules at all three levels; *South Africa: From Earliest Times to the Mfecane* and from the *Mfecane to the South Africa War* at first-year level; *The Making of Modern South Africa* and *Segregation, Apartheid and Resistance in South Africa* at second-year level; and *Themes in the History of the Eastern Cape* at third-year level.²⁵

Other universities offer relevant content through several modules, but not at all year levels. The history department at the University of Fort Hare, for example, offers three modules—all at

third-year level—which deal with the evolution of South African historiography from the 19th century Settler and British schools to the 20th century emergence of post-colonial and postmodern historical theory; the setting for initial contact and subsequent interaction between settlers and pre-colonial African societies from the mid-18th century until South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994; and a phase-by-phase thematic narrative of the major political and ideological tendencies that shaped the liberation struggle in South Africa, as well as the evolution of the effects of major political organizations on trade unionism, working-class movements and rural resistance. One honors-level module focuses on *Society and Politics in the Eastern Cape*, dealing with the interacting religious, cultural and political forces that conditioned the evolution of race relations primarily in the Eastern Cape, and secondarily throughout greater South Africa.²⁶

It is particularly concerning that the history departments at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Fort Hare University, which hold extensive archival collections relevant to the South African liberation struggle, offer relatively little content in any of their undergraduate and Honors courses on the subject. The only relevant modules on South African history offered by UWC's History department are at the third-year level. These two modules, *The Making of the South African City in the Twentieth Century* and *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the South African Past*, include a focus on the circumstances of colonization and the responses to conquest; nationalism and the legacies of colonialism; and debates and themes emerging from and through the work of the TRC.²⁷

The History departments of two other South African universities which have extensive archival collections, the universities of Cape Town and KwaZulu-Natal, also appear to offer little relevant content on the history of the liberation struggle in their curricula. The Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town offers an introduction to the liberation struggle in a comparative perspective as part of a module offered at first-year level.²⁸ The relevant modules on South African history are offered by the department at second-year level.²⁹ The history of the liberation struggle is dealt with briefly in modules covering a range of issues about South African history offered by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's History department in the second and

third years.³⁰ However, the most relevant module is offered in the Honors course on *Race and Racism in Historical Perspective*.³¹

The above information provides details about the varying depths of focus currently placed upon the liberation struggle at different South African universities. The collected data indicates that the liberation struggle's history is generally underrepresented in their curricula.

The Liberation Struggle in the Curricula of Political Science Departments

Political Science Departments are arguably the only other academic departments at universities—with the exception of the very few African Studies departments or centers—where students are likely to find coursework on the history of the liberation struggle. Unlike history departments, enrollment in Political Science undergraduate courses increased, albeit only marginally from 3,629 in 2004 (2.6% of total enrollments in the Humanities) to 3,643 in 2008 (2.2% of total enrollments in the Humanities).³² Political Science undergraduate students composed 0.56% of the total number of undergraduate students in the country at the time. The number of students enrolled for doctoral studies in Political Science increased from 112 in 2004 (3.2% of total doctoral enrollments in the Humanities) to 132 in 2008 (3.7% of total doctoral enrollments in the Humanities),³³ and a total of 121 Political Science students obtained their doctorates between 2000 and 2009.³⁴

In general, nearly all of the departments listed in Table Two offer at least one module on South African politics in their undergraduate and/or honors courses, with many of these modules including content on the liberation struggle. The exception are the undergraduate and honors politics courses at the University of the Free State,³⁵ while the undergraduate politics courses at Rhodes University appear to offer no relevant content.³⁶

Table 2: The Liberation Struggle in the Curricula of Political Science Departments

UNIVERSITY	LEVEL	COURSE CONTENT
Cape Town	2 nd Year	South African Politics: Legacies of segregation and apartheid
	3 rd Year	South African Political Thought and Traditions
	3 rd Year	Advanced South African Politics: The ANC as a liberation movement and dominant party and its centrality in understanding contemporary SA politics
	Honors	South African Politics
Fort Hare	2 nd Year	South African Government and Politics
	Honors	South African Politics: Reform and resistance in contemporary South Africa
Free State		No relevant content
Johannesburg	2 nd Year	South African Politics: Term 1: South Africa's Transition to Democracy; Term 2: Identity Politics in South Africa: Race, Class and Gender
KwaZulu-Natal	2 nd Year	Politics and Law in South Africa
	3 rd Year	Contemporary South African Politics
Limpopo		No information obtained from website
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan	1 st Year	South African Politics and Government
North West	1 st Year	The South African Political Systems
Pretoria		Unclear from information on Department's web page
Rhodes		No relevant content
South Africa	2 nd Year	South African politics
	Honors	South African political issues
Stellenbosch	1 st Year	Introduction to Political Science and South African Politics
Venda		No information obtained from website. Political Science modules are presented by the department of Development Studies. No stand-alone Department of History at this university. The Department of Development Studies is multi-disciplinary, including Political Science, International Relations, Philosophy, History, Religious Studies and Development Studies
Walter Sisulu	1 st Year	Government and Politics in South Africa
	Honors	Southern African Politics
	3 rd Year	Themes in the History of the Eastern Cape
Western Cape	1 st Year	South African Politics & Government
	2 nd Year	South Africa in Comparative Politics

UNIVERSITY	LEVEL	COURSE CONTENT
Witwatersrand	2 nd Year	South Africa: Politics and Governance
Zululand	1 st Year	Introduction to South African Politics
		Politics of Southern Africa
	2 nd Year	Political Change and Behavior
	Honors	South African political history and political theories

However, eight of the 15 Political Science departments whose curricula were reviewed do not offer a relevant module at the first-year level. In addition, the departments of six universities offer modules with content that may or may not include relevant coursework: the University of the Western Cape, University of Pretoria, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Walter Sisulu University, the University of Zululand, and the University of the North West. There is only one Political Science department where content on the liberation struggle is explicitly outlined in the first-year: the University of Stellenbosch. However, this appears to be the only relevant module offered by the department at any level.

None of the 15 Political Science departments whose curricula were reviewed appear to offer the opportunity to study the history of the liberation struggle in great detail in their undergraduate and Honors courses. The Department of Political Science at the University of Zululand offers modules at first, second, and Honors level that might be relevant. However, the limited information available regarding the content of the modules on the department's web page makes it difficult to come to any conclusions.

Nevertheless, several departments provide a strong focus on the history of the struggle. The University of Cape Town's Political Studies Department offers a module at the second-year level that focuses on South Africa's recent political history, the political legacies of segregation and apartheid, the relationships between politics and broader social life, and the character and significance of the country's "democratic transition." The two relevant modules offered by the UCT Political Studies department at third-year level include a focus on the ANC as a liberation movement and dominant party and its centrality in understanding contemporary South African politics as well as a survey of the main developments in South African political thought since the beginning of the 20th century. This course examines a range of political thinkers,

including Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, Hendrik Verwoerd and Nelson Mandela. The latter module is intended to give students an understanding of the main political traditions in modern South Africa, and how they have interacted and developed. At honors level the department offers a module that draws on historical, sociological, and other materials to investigate the 20th century political history of the country.³⁷ While the Department of Historical Studies offers an introduction to the history of the liberation struggle at the first-year level, the Political Science department at UCT does not offer relevant modules at this level.

The Department of Politics and International Relations at Fort Hare offers a second-year module on South African government and politics which includes a section on historical resistance to apartheid, and another at honors level with a focus on reform and resistance in contemporary South Africa.³⁸ However, both the history and political science departments at Fort Hare appear to offer no relevant content at first-year level. The politics department at the University of the Western Cape offers a module at the first-year level on *South African Politics and Government*, and another at third-year level on *South Africa in Comparative Politics*.

Although the resources consulted do not provide information on the content of these modules.³⁹ Similarly, the curricula of the Political Science departments at the universities of the North-West⁴⁰ and South Africa⁴¹ include modules on South African politics, but detailed content on these courses is not provided.

The politics department at the University of KwaZulu-Natal offers two modules that may be relevant: *Politics and Law in South Africa* at second-year level; and *Contemporary South African Politics* at third-year level. There does not appear to be relevant content in any of the modules offered at the first-year level.⁴² The Department of Political Studies at Witwatersrand offers one module at the second-year level on *South African Politics and Governance* examining the role of both legal and extra-legal means and methods of protest during the apartheid era; this is the only relevant module among the department's undergraduate and honors courses. It places these discussions in the context of the country's political history, from colonialism throughout apartheid to the present day.⁴³

The overall impression from this review of curricula is that, aside from notable exceptions, South African universities place

a low priority upon the history of the liberation struggle, more often offering modules and courses on world politics, global governance, globalisation, cooperative governance, electoral politics, security and conflict studies, and politics of difference. Where relevant undergraduate and post-graduate modules are offered, they are generally not provided at first-year level. There are also some universities, namely the University of Cape Town, University of Fort Hare, and University of Rhodes, where neither the History nor the Political Science department offers first-year coursework addressing the history of the liberation struggle. This lack of first-year course offerings can be a barrier to students in pursuing their studies on the history of the liberation struggle.

Teaching and post-graduate research on the history of the liberation struggle

Given this assessment of curricular offerings, this study next examines the perceptions of academics regarding the relevance given to the history of the liberation struggle in their department. The results of the survey administered to scholars indicate that, of 39 respondents, 22 felt that their department's undergraduate curriculum dealt sufficiently with the history of the liberation struggle while 17 disagreed with this statement. In the survey, the liberation struggle was divided into the three phases previously described: the wars of resistance, the liberation struggle in the period from 1910 to 1960, and the liberation struggle from 1960 to 1994.

The bulk of those who expressed that inadequate attention was given to the history of the liberation struggle in their curricula believed that more attention should be given to the third phase (40%), while 36% felt more attention should be given to the second phase, and 24% felt more attention should be given to the first phase.

Respondents were asked to indicate the various thematic areas of the history of the liberation struggle that they had lectured on in the three years prior to August 2015. They were able to select more than one thematic area on which they had lectured during this period. 13 (25.5%) of those who responded to the question (total=51) indicated that the question was not applicable to them, and 8 (15.7%) indicated that they had not lectured on

any theme. The distribution of themes lectured on by the remaining 30 respondents is illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Teaching on various thematic areas of the history of the liberation struggle

Answer choices	Response	
	%	No.
The wars of resistance and other struggles up to 1910	100	30
Nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960	60	18
The history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1994	90	27

Most of the respondents lectured on the first phase, followed closely by themes in the third phase. Of the 28 who indicated the number of lectures they gave annually on the history of the liberation struggle, nine (32%) delivered between one and three lectures on the topic each year, while six (21.5%) delivered between four and six lectures, and 13 (46.5%) delivered more than six lectures on the various thematic areas. These results suggest that the majority of those who lecture on the history of the liberation struggle give six or fewer lectures (53.1%) on the subject per annum.

Respondents were asked to indicate if they had supervised postgraduate students on an aspect of the history of the liberation struggle in the three years prior to August 2015. Of the 50 respondents to this question, 11 (22%) indicated that the question was not applicable to them, while 16 (32%) had not supervised any students in the field. Sixteen had supervised students on relevant themes at honors level, 11 at master's level, and three at doctoral level. Twenty of the students that had been supervised in the field in the three years prior to August 2015 had conducted research on the history of the liberation struggle between 1960 and 1964, four on the history of nationalist resistance between 1910 and 1960, and five on the wars of resistance and other struggles up to 1910.

At least 33 relevant theses and dissertations were produced by students at South African universities between 2010 and 2015. Twenty-two of these are masters' dissertations. Most of the research outputs are by students in the history department of the University of the Western Cape (5), with other significant outputs from the Theology Department of the University of South Africa (4), and the History Department of the University of the Witwatersrand (2).

There appears to be no correlation between relevant content of the undergraduate and honors curriculum and a focus on the history of the liberation struggle at the master's and doctoral levels. Four doctoral theses on relevant topics were produced by South African students at universities abroad during the same period.⁴⁴

Table 4: Relevant Theses and Dissertations, 2010-2015

	TITLE	UNIVERSITY
Jacobs, J.A.	Then and Now: Activism in Manenberg, 1980 to 2010	M.A. dissertation, History, University of the Western Cape, 2010
Keniston, W.H.	Rick Turner's contribution to a socialist political culture in South Africa 1968-1978	M.A. dissertation, History, University of the Western Cape, 2010
Masuku, M.T.	The ministry of Dr Beyers Naudé: Towards developing a comprehensive mission (communication) strategy towards the victims of oppression	Ph.D. thesis, Theology, University of Pretoria, 2010
Mechnig, C.M.	A Comparative Study of the Namibian and South African Transitions to Democracy and the Effects on Reconciliation	M.Phil. dissertation, Political Science, Stellenbosch University, 2010
Moosage, R.	The Impasse of Violence: Writing necklacing into a history of liberation struggle in South Africa	M.A. dissertation, History, University of the Western Cape, 2010
Ndalamba, K.K.	In search of an appropriate leadership ethos: A survey of selected publications that shaped the Black Theology movement	M.Th. dissertation, Theology, University of the Western Cape, 2010
Petersen, C.M.	Exploring young black persons' narratives about the apartheid past	M.A. dissertation, Psychology, North-West University, 2010
Sarmiento, O.N.	A postcolonial analysis of Cuban foreign policy towards South African liberation movements, 1959-1994	M.A. dissertation, International Studies, Stellenbosch University, 2010
Dlwati, X.	The church as a social conscience: The quest for human dignity	M.Th. dissertation, UNISA, 2011
Lalla, V.	Being Indian, Being MK: An Exploration of the Experiences and Ethnic Identities of Indian South African uMkhonto We Sizwe Members	M.A. dissertation, (Political & International Studies), Rhodes University, 2011

	TITLE	UNIVERSITY
Maree, G.H.	“Listen to our song listen to our demand”: South African struggle songs, poems and plays: an anthropological perspective	M.A. dissertation, Anthropology, UNISA, 2011
Mohr, C.	Music to move the masses: Protest music of the 1980s as a facilitator for social change in South Africa	M.Music dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2011
Mufamadi, T.D.	The World Council of Churches and its Programme of Combat Racism: The evolution and development of their fight against apartheid, 1969-1994	D.Litt. et Phil. thesis, History, UNISA, 2011
Pretorius, J.D.	Ideology and identities: Printed graphic propaganda of the Communist Party of South Africa, 1921-1950	D.Litt. et Phil. thesis, History, University of Johannesburg, 2011
Present, H.F.	A narrative of omission: Oral history, exile and the media’s untold stories – a gender perspective	M.Phil. thesis, Journalism, Stellenbosch University, 2011
Rogobete, I.C.	Reconstructing trauma and recovery: Life narratives of survivors of political violence during apartheid	Ph.D. thesis, Psychology, University of Cape Town, 2011
April, T.	Theorising women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa	D.Phil. thesis, History, University of the Western Cape, 2012
Byrne, S.D.	“Building Tomorrow Today”: A re-examination of the character of the controversial “workerist” tendency associated with the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) in South Africa, 1979 – 1985	M.A. dissertation, Industrial Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012
Moloi, T.C.	Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government, and Generational Struggles, 1976 – 1995	Ph.D. thesis, History, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012
Sipuka, M.	Evolution of the African National Congress Youth League: From “freedom in our life time” to “economic freedom in our lifetime”	M.Phil. dissertation, Political Science, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2012
Tebello, L.	Ruth First in Mozambique: Portrait of a scholar	M.A. dissertation, Sociology, Rhodes University, 2012
Van Laun, B.P.	In the Shadows of the Archive: Investigating the Paarl march of November 22nd 1962	M.A. dissertation, History, University of the Western Cape, 2012

	TITLE	UNIVERSITY
Jones, D.	Objecting to apartheid: The history of the end conscription campaign	M.A. dissertation, History, University of Fort Hare, 2013
Le Roux, E.H.	Between complicity and resistance: A social history of the university presses in apartheid South Africa	Ph.D. thesis, IT, University of Pretoria, 2013
Mchunu, M.R.	A history of political violence in KwaShange, Vulindlela district and of its effects on the memories of survivors (1987-2008)	Ph.D. thesis, History, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2013
Daku-Mante, J.G.	An analysis of civil disobedience with specific reference to the role of the United Democratic Front in South Africa	M.A. dissertation, Political Science, University of Pretoria, 2014
Jolobe, Z.	Getting to CODESA: An analysis on why multiparty negotiations in South Africa began, 1984-1991	D.Phil. thesis, Politics, University of Cape Town, 2014
Kunene, P.S.	From apartheid to democracy: A historical analysis of local struggles in Phomolong Township, Free State: 1985-2005	M.A. thesis, History, University of the Witwatersrand, 2014
Mashabela, J.K.	Dr Manas Buthelezi's contribution to Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa's struggle against apartheid in South Africa, 1970s-1990s	M.Th. dissertation, UNISA, 2014
Mdingi, H.M.	"What does it mean to be human?": A systematic theological reflection on the notion of a Black Church, Black Theology, Steve Biko and Black Consciousness with regards to materialism and individualism	M.Th. dissertation, UNISA, 2014
Palombo, M.C.	Interfaith praxis in the South African struggle for liberation: Towards a liberatio-political framework for Muslim-Christian relations	D.Litt. et Phil. thesis, Semitic Languages, University of Johannesburg, 2014
Durbach, D.J.	A study of the linkages between popular music and politics in South Africa under Apartheid in the 1980s	M.A. Dissertation, African Studies, UNISA, 2015
Jibril, M.A.	The compulsion of the apartheid regime, its demise and the advent of a new political dispensation in South Africa, 1948-1996	D.Phil. thesis, History, University of Zululand, 2015

Although most of these dissertations and theses were produced by History (12), Theology (5), and Political Science (4) students, there were several from other disciplines, including Psychology (2), Sociology (1), Industrial Sociology (1), African Studies (1), English (1), Music (1), Semitic Languages (1), Anthropology (1), International Studies (1), Journalism (1), and Information Technology (1). The four theses produced at universities abroad were in the Geography, Anthropology, History, and Clinical Psychology departments. This indicates an interest in the history of the liberation struggle from students in diverse disciplines.

A large number of these studies were written by Black African students, who are increasingly becoming the majority of students at South African universities.⁴⁵ The Black African student registration at South African universities increased by 34% from 515,058 in 2008 to 689,503 in 2013. Black African enrolments increased from 64% of all enrolments in 2008 to 70% in 2013.⁴⁶ Black African students are the most likely to have an interest in the study of the history of the liberation struggle, but are often under-exposed to content on this thematic area at the undergraduate level in relevant departments. This affects both the future of scholarship on the topic and the social and popular relevance of the history and political science departments. The interest in the history of the liberation struggle among post-graduate students from diverse departments and ethnicities is not reflected in the relevance given to it at undergraduate level by most History and Political Science departments of South African universities.

Conclusion

The review of the curricula of the History and Political Science departments of South African universities indicates that, with some notable exceptions, the majority deal inadequately with the history of the liberation struggle. In addition, very few lectures on this history are given on average by History and Political Science lecturers, despite interest in the history of the liberation struggle among post graduate students in a variety of disciplines. As a result, South Africans may not be exposed to a formal education on the history of the liberation struggle beyond what they learn in secondary school. The long-term consequences of this tendency

remain to be seen, but may threaten to inhibit the development of research and scholarship on the topic.

All universities should consider introducing relevant content on the history of the liberation struggle at the first-year level. University history departments, in particular, might consider reforming their curricula to reflect a national narrative that includes the liberation struggle. Ideally, every university in South Africa should have a course that, as Ihron Rensburg, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Johannesburg, suggested, “is compulsory for all undergraduates” and focuses “on African issues and traditions, including African history, philosophy, anti-colonial struggles, and post-colonialism.”⁴⁷ Special attention should be placed on including modules on this history in the curricula at universities where both the history and political science departments lack relevant content. Universities with sufficiently large history departments could consider offering a number of relevant modules at the undergraduate level that would enable students to specialize in the history of the liberation struggle. Such universities might also consider introducing a bachelor’s degree in South African History (or South African History and Politics) that has significant content on the history of the liberation struggle, so as to enable students interested in intense specialization the ability to do so from their first year at university up to post-graduate level.

The study of the history of the South African liberation struggle can also benefit from radically improving relevant curriculum content and research in departments at those universities that are inadequate in this regard, but where there are significant archival resources. Centers of research excellence and teaching could be fostered by establishing National Research Foundation (NRF) South African Research Chairs linked to History departments at the universities of the Western Cape and Fort Hare, in particular.

Notes

¹ For instance, Peter Limb's annotated bibliography on the ANC published in 1993 lists over 4,000 publications on this organisation alone. Peter Limb, *The ANC and Black Workers in South Africa, 1912-1992: an Annotated Bibliography*, (London, Melbourne, Munich, New Jersey: H. Zell Publishers, 1993). See also: Greg Cuthbertson, 1998, "From white supremacy to black liberation': intellectual lineages from South Africa in the 'making of America'," Paper presented at the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Amerika Instituut, Amsterdam, September.

² Carol Bertram, "Procedural and substantive knowledge: Some implications of an outcomes-based history curriculum in South Africa," in *South African Review of Education* 15, no. 1 (2009): 52.

³ Nico Cloete, Richard Fehnel, Peter Maasen, Teboho Moja, Helene Perold and Trish Gibbon, (Eds.) *Transformation in Higher Education: Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta, 2002).

⁴ Rupert Taylor, "The State of Political Science in South Africa: A Survey of the Profession," in *Politikon* 17, no. 2, (1990), 115–129; Andre Du Pisani and Jacobus Van Wyk, "Restricted Palette: Reflections on the State of International Relations in South Africa," in *International Affairs Bulletin* 15, no. 1, (1991) 4–29; Amanda Gouws, "Women in Political Science: (An)other Look at the Discipline," in *Politikon* 20, no. 2, (1993) 5–24; Amanda Gouws, "Gender and the State of Political Science in Africa," in *Gender and Politics: The State of the Discipline*, Jane Bayes (Toronto: Barbara Budrich, 2012), 59–74; Susan Booyesen and Anthoni van Nieuwkerk, "Political Studies in South Africa: An Assessment of the Discipline and the Profession," in *Politikon* 25, no. 1, (1998), 3–29; and Amanda Gouws, Joleen Kotze and Jo Ansie van Wyk, "Celebrating 40 Years: The State of Political Science in South Africa in 2014," in *Politikon* 40 no. 3, (2013), 393–423.

⁵ Booyesen and Van Nieuwkerk, "Political Studies in South Africa," 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Table 1, 16–17.

⁷ Gouws, Kotze, and Van Wyk, "Celebrating 40 Years," 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁹ William Worger, 2014, 'The Tricameral Academy: Personal Reflections on Universities and History Departments in "Post-Apartheid" South Africa,' in *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 38no. 1, (2014), 194, 213.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹² Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study on the State of the Humanities in South Africa: Status, prospects and strategies*, August 2011. Retrieved from: <http://www.assaf.org.za/files/2011/09/2011-Humanity-final-proof-11-August-2011.pdf>. Accessed on 12 November 2015, 15.

¹³ Department of Higher Education and Training, *The Charter for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 30 June 2011. Available at <http://www.dhet>.

gov.za/Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/Report%20on%20the%20Charter%20for%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences.pdf. Accessed on 12 November 2015.

¹⁴ Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, 25.

¹⁵ Information could not be obtained for the departments at the universities of Limpopo and Venda, and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University does not have a separate History department.

¹⁶ Survey Monkey was used, a survey platform that enables researchers to send questionnaires by email to a target sample whose responses are electronically sent as an email to the platform, recorded and analysed. Refer to <https://www.surveymonkey.com>.

¹⁷ It is difficult to read much into this high non-response level. Several academics had referred the questionnaire to their colleagues because they felt that the survey did not apply to them since they had no research interest in, or taught any aspect of the history of the liberation struggle. On the other hand, several of those who responded to the survey had not done any research on, or taught any aspect of the history of the liberation struggle in the three years prior to August 2015.

¹⁸ Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 2, 65-6. These figures are drawn from the student record systems of the universities using the field for 'intended major'. They consequently do not take into account the larger number of students who take history courses as an 'elective'. For instance, the History Department at the University of Johannesburg had 773 undergraduate students in 2015 (Carmen Joel, Email communication, 27 November 2015). While enrollment numbers do not provide a full reflection of the number of students taking a course at the undergraduate level, the numbers here compare dismally with headcount enrollments in public administration (about 16,9% of total undergraduate enrollment in the humanities in 2008) and psychology (11,9% of total undergraduate student enrollment in the humanities in 2008). Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 3, 66-7.

¹⁹ Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 3, 66-7. Refer also to Table 14, 99-100. However, a substantial number of students do take history as an elective.

²⁰ *Ibid*, Table 15, 102. This can be contrasted with the 251 students who graduated with a doctorate in public administration and 526 psychology doctorates between 2000 and 2009.

²¹ In addition, it is unclear what content is offered in what could be a relevant first-year module of the history department of the University of the North West.

²² The universities are listed alphabetically so as to avoid any indication of preference or significance.

²³ The phrase 'appear to offer' is used here because the analysis is based on the information available on the curricula of the selected departments and not on actual teaching in the departments, and because some of the information of the

modules offered obtained from the websites of the departments does not contain detailed content of the modules.

²⁴ Department of History, University of Stellenbosch, Prospective Postgraduate Students < <http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/Departments/history/programmes>>(Retrieved 19 January 2017)

²⁵ Walter Sisulu University, Mthatha Campus, Faculty of Humanities, Social Science and Law,<<http://www.wsu.ac.za/waltersisulu/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Mthatha-Campus-Faculty-of-Humanities-Social-Science-and-Law-20151.pdf>>,(Retrieved 13 August 2016).

²⁶ Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of History, <<http://www.ufh.ac.za/faculties/social-sciences/departments/history>>(Retrieved 19 January 2017).

²⁷ University of the Western Cape, Faculty of Arts, Department of History,<<https://www.uwc.ac.za/Faculties/ART/History/Pages/default.aspx>> , (Retrieved 12 June 2016).

²⁸ Nigel Worden, Email communication, 26 November 2015.

²⁹ University of Cape Town, Course requirements for a major in History (from 2015), <<http://www.historicalstudies.uct.ac.za/hst/undergraduate-studies/requirements-for-a-major-in-history>>, (Retrieved 16 June 2016).

³⁰ Goolam Vahed, Email communication, 26 November 2015.

³¹ University of KwaZulu Natal, College of Humanities: Handbook for 2015, <http://saa.ukzn.ac.za/Libraries/handbooks_2014/COH.sflb.ashx>,(Retrieved 15 June 2016).

³² Academy of Science of South Africa, *Consensus Study*, Table 2, 65-6. The figures given here do not reflect the total number of students enrolled in Political Science undergraduate courses. For instance, the University of South Africa Department of Political Science had 4,396 undergraduate students registered in 2015 (Dirk Kotze, e-mail communication, 26 November 2015).

³³ *Ibid.*, Table 14, 99-100.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Table 15, 102.

³⁵ University of the Free State, Faculty of the Humanities, <http://humanities.ufs.ac.za/content.aspx?id=188>,> (Retrieved 24 April 2015).

³⁶ Rhodes University, Political and International Studies, <https://www.ru.ac.za/politicalinternationalstudies/studying/>,>, (Retrieved 19 October 2016).

³⁷ University of Cape Town, Department of Politics, <http://www.politics.uct.ac.za/>,> (Retrieved 20 December 2016).

³⁸ University of Fort Hare, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Political Science and International Relations, <http://www.ufh.ac.za/faculties/social-sciences/departments/political-science>,>, (Retrieved 20 December 2016)..

³⁹ University of the Western Cape, Faculty of Arts, Department of History <https://www.uwc.ac.za/Faculties/EMS/DPS/Pages/default.aspx>, > (Retrieved 12 June 2016)

⁴⁰ North-West University, Calendar 2015, <<http://www.nwu.ac.za/sites/www.nwu.ac.za/files/files/m-students/documents/2015%20HUMAN%20AND%20SOCIAL%20SCIENCES%20UNDERGRADUATE.pdf>>, (Retrieved 20 December 2016).

⁴¹ University of South Africa, <http://www.unisa.ac.za/default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=1586>, >, (Retrieved 20 December 2016).

⁴² University of KwaZulu-Natal, Politics-Pietermaritzburg Campus, Undergraduate Course, <http://politicspmb.ukzn.ac.za/current-student/Undergrdaute-courses.aspx>,>, (Retrieved 15 June 2016).

⁴³ University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Politics and International Relations, <http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/humanities/socialsciences/politicalstudies/undergraduate/8256/level_2000_courses.html>, (Retrieved on 21 December 2016).

⁴⁴ Rushil Arvind Ranchod, “‘A kind of magic’: The political marketing of the African National Congress,” PhD Thesis, Geography, University of Durham (2012); Ian Martin Macqueen, “Re-imagining South Africa: Black Consciousness, radical Christianity and the New Left, 1967-1977,” DPhil Thesis, History, University of Sussex (2011); Suren Pillay, “The Partisan’s Violence, Law and Apartheid: The Assassination of Matthew Goniwe and the Cradock Four,” PhD Thesis, Anthropology, Columbia University (2011); Siphon Mbuqe, ‘Political Violence in South Africa: A Case Study of “Necklacing” in Colesberg, PhD Thesis, Clinical Psychology, Duquesne University (2010).

⁴⁵ Although the authors of this article are aware of the possible value to be added by having a racial analysis and breakdown of those teaching in the History and Political Sciences departments as well as those who registered in these departments, this information is difficult to obtain. In particular, most universities do not provide statistics on the race of the students enrolled for specific courses.

⁴⁶ Council on Higher Education, *2013 Higher Education Data: Participation*, <http://www.che.ac.za/focus_areas/higher_education_data/2013/participation#field>, (Retrieved 17 November 2015).

⁴⁷ Greg Nickolson, “#FeesMustFall continues with victories and looks long-term”, in *Daily Maverick*, 2 November 2015, <<http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-11-02-feesmustfall-continues-with-victories-and-looks-long-term/#.Vz15qWYcTIU>>, (Retrieved 1 December 2016).

