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## HISTORY OR HERITAGE? AN ANALYSIS OF GHANA'S PRIMARY SCHOOL HISTORY CURRICULUM

Charles Adabo Oppong  
University of Cape Coast, Ghana, [coppong@ucc.edu.gh](mailto:coppong@ucc.edu.gh)

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## Cover Page Footnote

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## Introduction

History, as a school subject, has been part of Ghana's education system from pre-colonial days to the current educational dispensation (Cobbold & Oppong, 2010). History has fared differently in the school curriculum under different education regimes. During the colonial rule, history was a subject in the curriculum of both the missionary schools and the schools established by the British colonial administration (Cobbold & Oppong, 2010). After independence in 1957, history effortlessly retained its place in the school curriculum primarily from the middle school level to the secondary school level where it was taught as an elective subject from form one to form five to Arts students. At the sixth form level, history was again one of the subjects offered for the School Certificate and General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (SC/GCE 'A' level) examination. Following the 1987 Ghanaian educational reform, curriculum designers meshed history with a bouquet of subject contents into a social studies curriculum for basic schools (Ages of learners: 6 – 14). Thus, history lost its place as a distinct subject in the basic school curriculum. At the high school level, history was made elective for General Arts students. The subject remained an elective subject in the General Arts programme after the 2007 educational reforms in Ghana.

By the time the curriculum reforms of 2019 were introduced, history remained confined to high schools as a subject of breadth. The curriculum reforms of 2019, however, marked a sharp turn from this tradition. The designers of the curriculum reintroduced history at the primary school (Ages of learners: 6 – 11) level as a mandatory subject of study. This reintroduction was thought about in part due to the subject's special utility in the school curriculum, and the global benefits in general (Ghana Ministry of Education, 2019). For instance, history's contribution to pupils' cognitive development has been acknowledged as a positive distinctive value (Harnett, 2000). Dwarko (2007) also notes that history helps nations to comprehend the positions they belong to and reassure their hopes of the future based on the past. The cultural identity of nations is thus inherent in the history of every nation since it highlights the origins of nations and provides future directions (Cobbold & Oppong, 2010).

The more pronounced argument for the introduction of history as a subject at the primary school level in Ghana is to enhance patriotism among citizens (Adjepong & Kwarteng, 2017). Patriotism is significant because it contributes to good citizenship and nation building. Cobbold and Oppong (2010) suggest that the inculcation of desirable attitudes into students will make them responsible and valuable citizens of their country, particularly when they realize that the present conditions they enjoy are results of the selfless contributions of their forefathers. Such an educational outcome calls students to a higher ideal of sacrifice for the national good in emulation of generations gone by. Therefore, making history one of the core subjects of study in the primary schools is appropriate. However, the conceptual ambiguity between the titling of the new syllabus as 'history' by the curriculum designers and the 'heritage' content of the material leaves cognitive

gaps that are deserving of further attention. Lowenthal (1998) acknowledges that history and heritage are largely separate disciplines or are even conceived as being ‘antithetical’ in nature though, the two subjects are often used interchangeably (Mermion, 2012) and “are habitually confused with each other” (Lowenthal 1998, p. x). While ‘expert’ academics may be at ease with the distinctions between the two, non-experts may not explicitly understand the nuances (Mermion, 2012), and therefore an attempt to provide a scholarly distinction is rightly placed. The corollary of not delineating this explicit distinction has the tendency of creating the impression that any subject matter on past issues packaged in the school curriculum could be christened as ‘history curriculum’. It is important to point out that certain characteristics define a curriculum content as either ‘History’ or ‘Heritage’. This paper seeks to examine the ‘history’ in the present curriculum vis a vis the ‘heritage’ it contains to ascertain the utility of the document to the specific aims/goals the designers envisaged. The intention is to examine whether the subject should be referenced as Heritage of Ghana or History of Ghana at that level of schooling.

The paper begins by exploring the conceptual distinction between history and heritage. This is followed by an analysis of the Ghana Primary School History Curriculum. Finally, concluding remarks are made with a call to rename the ‘History of Ghana curriculum for primary schools’ as ‘Heritage of Ghana curriculum for primary schools’.

## **History and Heritage: Some conceptual clarification**

Timothy and Boyd (2003) and Ahmad (2006) suggest that a widely accepted definition of concepts and terminologies is useful for simplifying complicated issues and creating a conceptual frame of reference. Nevertheless, there is an endless debate on the definitions of history and heritage.

Carr (1961) defines history as “a continuous process of interaction between the present and the past”, suggesting that, interpretation is the lifeblood of history (Adeoti & Adeyeri, 2012). This process orientation to defining history emphasizes a procedural approach to the past in arranging events and people in a nation’s story. Similarly, Walsh (1967) defines history as “a reconstruction of the past which is both intelligent and intelligible”, indicating that, history is a description, interpretation and understanding the past in ways that make meaning for people. These definitions reflect the different foci of definitions of the term ‘history’. This implies that there is no unanimity regarding the exact meaning of history.

Certain scholars prefer etymology-oriented definitions. The term *history*, according to Adjepong (2019), was originally derived from the Greek word “*ἱστορία* – *historia*, which is also translated as *historia* in Latin”. Generally, the Greek word, *ἱστορία*, is translated as *inquiry*, *knowledge from inquiry* – *knowledge acquired by investigation*, or *judgement*. In its deeper sense, “*ἱστορία* means any learning or knowing achieved through a vigorous and a critical inquiry designed to elicit truth” (Cohen & Nagel, 1934). This suggests that history is an inquiry into the past which entails diligent research - selection, interpretation and analysis of available data. History, as an inquiry, is considered as asking questions about the past and hence, seeking answers.

At this level of appreciating history, it is important to think both about analyses, and how the various questions would determine the answers to provide (“What is History”, retrieved March 2, 2018). In view of this, some scholars have defined history as the carrying out of inquiries into the past, the analysis of sources, and the production of interpretations of the past, contributing to the accumulating body of knowledge about the past, and which together permits aspects of the past and interrelationships of the past to be considered as coherent history (Marwick, 1993). Davidson and Lytle (2004, p. xviii) also state that history is an “act of selecting, analyzing, and writing about the past. It is something that is done, that is constructed, rather than an inert body of data.” Therefore, for a subject to be regarded or qualified as history, that subject should possess elements that would give room for students to assemble relevant materials, do analysis of them, and make appropriate conclusions. History thus transcends the records of the past to include a critical approach to those records and their place in the lives of people.

The concept of heritage is also defined differently by different scholars (Fairclough, 2009). Marsden (1992) defines heritage as things society want to keep for posterity. To keep ‘something’, generally, means that it must have been bequeathed to persons from generations to generations unborn. This may have led Seixas (2017) to define heritage as inheritance, a past that is bequeathed to society with the responsibility to preserve for those who will come after them. The Quebec Association for the Interpretation of the National Heritage (1980) points out that heritage are the possessions of a society, and a rich inheritance that may have been passed on, and demands society’s strict recognition and celebration. In essence, heritage becomes the cherished collective assets which are preserved by a society that tells the identity of that society (Mersden, 1992). However, Vecco (2010) notes that heritage maybe tangible and intangible. The tangible may include antiques, traditional symbol and physical monuments inherited from the past. The intangible include rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe (UNESCO, 2003).

The Quebec Association for the Interpretation of the National Heritage’s (1980) proposed explanation of heritage, which appears to be the most comprehensive, suggests that heritage includes three major areas: the material culture (cultural properties), the geographic, and the human environments. In this regard, heritage is defined as all the tangible and intangible materials, immovable and movable things a society inherits from the past that have cultural significance and cannot be compensated for if lost or damaged (Ghrab, 1990; The Oxford Dictionary of English, 2005). The tangible relates to physical things that can be seen in society such as monuments, craft, objects, among others. The intangible are the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills that societies recognize as part of their cultural heritage (Ahmed, 2017). This understanding suggests different subject matter obsession for heritage and history.

The knowledge of history as events and process of human development pitched against heritage as the more material, tangible, and even, intangible components of human productions over generation seen in cultural institutions, practices, ideas and things raise questions about which to emphasize in schools. It is important to note that heritage provides the raw materials for history in this sense. We may use historical inquiry methods to question the origins and nature of heritage

because the purpose of history is to go beyond the facts to question ‘why’ and ‘what could have been’ of a heritage. It is this distinction that has led some scholars (Lowenthal, 1998; Jenkins, 2003; Marmion’s, 2012) to provide different analytical frameworks to explain heritage and history.

First, Lowenthal (1998) frames the scope of reference for heritage and history to distinguish both. He uses the aims of the two disciplines and the methodological approaches used in both disciplines to frame their scope. Lowenthal states that *heritage* primarily aims *to use the past* ‘who we are as a people’. In doing this, heritage touches on legacy and custom that enhance the identity of a people. Heritage as a school subject wholly emphasizes the identity of a people. Thus, the landmark events in the past of a society that are taught in schools are packaged as heritage. The heritage fashioner does not wrestle with how such events were investigated, but only the celebration of the events. As Lowenthal notes “heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes” (p. x). For example, Ghanaians think of the ‘BIG SIX’ as the founders of Ghana or torch bearers of the nation. Ghana celebrates these individuals on 4<sup>th</sup> August of every year as Founders’ Day. Again, the Independence Day celebration and other events have been accepted and celebrated as such without any contestation. The acceptance of these events and personalities provides a sense of national identity and consciousness which define a common route and culture which people have become associated with.

History, on the other hand, basically seeks to inquire *into the past* as its chief objective. Thus, history essentially investigates what happened in the past. The end product of the investigation is what heritage teachers profess. Jenkins (2003) notes that heritage is drawn from history, as the past itself is an absent subject only available through the constructions of the historian. There is a common place between history and heritage, and in Lowenthal’s view, heritage depends largely on and enlivens historical study. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged from Lowenthal’s perspective that history looks into the past while heritage honors the past. Therefore, any subject in the school curriculum that uses the past should be regarded as ‘heritage’ while a subject that looks into the past should be recognized as ‘history’.

Lowenthal further provides another dimension in his framework. This has been mentioned as the methodological orientations of the two disciplines. Historians apply rigorous methods in their study of the past purposely to overcome bias in their accounts. In the school system, the students who study history go beyond the material product of historians to inquire, using primary and secondary sources, to corroborate historical findings. In the classroom, there is peer judgment about exhaustive inquiry. Therefore, history in the school conveys a past consensually known, open to inspection and proof, that could continually be revised (Lowenthal, 1998). Sexias (2017) adds that students who study history in school are expected to criticize and question historical evidence and these form the critical test of historical interpretation. As such, history is recognized as more than just the study of a common past, but the past is open to an endless debate. This methodological orientation of the study of history in schools distinguishes the history teacher from the heritage teacher who conventionally relays the past in a celebrated form to end users. The heritage teacher presents the past to identify a people, their customs and legacies without any

further probe. Lowenthal (1998) points out that the heritage fashioner historically seeks to present a past that fixes the identity and enhances the well-being of some chosen individuals and events of a society. Perhaps, Bennett's (1994) description of heritage as a subject that champions parochialism and patriotism, and history as a subject that pursues cosmopolitanism and skepticism is acceptable. By Bennett's (1994) description, schools typically do not teach much history at all, nor will they necessarily want to, given the way the past is packaged in the school curriculum, and how teachers teach the past in the classroom. Therefore, any study of the past that does not involve undertaking the same activities that influence the work of historians: collection and examination of evidence, assessment of probability, rigorous argument, submission of claims to a tribunal of peers, revision of claims in light of new evidence or successful challenges to their validity cannot be accepted as history, but heritage (Lowenthal, 1998). As Grever, de Bruijn and van Boxtel (2012) have clarified, heritage refers to direct encounters, emotions and veneration, not to arguments or examinations or verifications.

Lowenthal's framework provides an 'overall orientating lens' (Creswell 2009, p. 231) from which to contextualize and position this study. In what follows, I submit some indices (adapted from Marmion's, 2012 study) that provides a sort of 'acid test' to assess Ghana's Primary School History curriculum to establish whether the curriculum should be referenced to as 'History of Ghana' or 'Heritage of Ghana'.

### ***History***

1. History is a selected and interpreted reference to a past influenced by historians' unique situation, background, values and motives. History is what a historian regards as worth recording. In this sense, history is subjective from the author(s) point of view
2. The validity and relevance of history is accepted based on the sources and rigorous methodologies used by historians. This checks for biases and excessive author subjectivity.
3. History is chronological.
4. History teachers and students play a key role in the appraisal of history by re-interpreting the past based on their experiences and contemporary evidence. Thus, history is continuously reconstructed in the classroom.
5. History largely covers the positive and the negative of the past.
6. History is a contemporary and value-laden interpretation of the past for the present.

### ***Heritage***

1. Heritage is a selected tangible and intangible product (most significant events and personalities of a particular society's past) of a historical study.
2. The validity and relevance of heritage is based on society's selective preference from a number of cultural resources from the past.

3. Heritage is based on themes
4. Heritage teachers and students do not re-interpret selected themes of the past. There is a recognition of the past as it is.
5. Heritage usually draws upon the positive cases of the past.
6. Heritage is a contemporary subject that presents the value-laden inheritance of the past for the present.

## **Analysis of Ghana's Primary School History Curriculum**

The analysis of the curriculum is done by focusing on the strands, sub-strands, with occasional reference to the indicators and exemplars in the curriculum (See appendix). First, the curriculum under investigation has been organized around major themes, namely: history as a subject; my country Ghana; Europeans in Ghana; colonization and developments under colonial rule in Ghana; journey to independence; independent Ghana. It has been established in Marmion's (2012) characteristics of history and heritage curricula that topics or strands in heritage curriculum is usually organized under thematic strands which conventional history curricula are not associated with. As Turan (2020) admits, the thematic approach has been around for almost a hundred years. To a great extent, history curricula continue to be organized within the framework of the chronological approach. Though the curriculum's knowledge is structured using key historical themes (Bertram 2006), the curriculum prioritizes pupils' age in the thematic orientation of the content. This kind of arrangement is mostly found in heritage curriculum and it is done to address pupils' experiences, understanding and age (Thompson, 1972). Burston (1972) reminds us of the fact that topics in school curriculum should be limited to the gradually maturing abilities of the learners. Similarly, Opong (2012) notes that thematic curricula are meant to satisfy the gradual but maturing nature of learners based on learners' grasp of the heritage value of the past. Perhaps, the cognitive abilities of learners in primary school informed the designers of the curriculum to fashion the curriculum at that level using thematic strands.

It may be argued that learners at that level of schooling do not possess the intellectual ability to meet the demands that the study of history requires. The heritage bent is suitable for the less sophisticated minds of lower level learners. The content is simple, evidenced and well arranged. But it lacks the critical strand that sharpens the minds of the learners and makes them questioning citizens. This proves the curriculum as heritage rather than history. Opong (2012) reiterates that, but for the abstract nature of history, learners at the primary school level are not matured enough mentally to handle the subject. And Hallam (2006) even makes the point that the abstract nature of history can "perplex the most intelligent student" (p. 195). This strengthens the argument that history should be reserved for mature students (Elton, 1970). Perhaps, any attempt to expose young learners to the past should be through heritage studies, and not history. The sub-strands make the argument much stronger. For instance, sub-strands such as, *Why and how we study history; The learner's own history; Family History; Community History; Some selected*

*Individuals; Social Development; Economic Development and The Republics* reflect the theme-based approach to content organization in curriculum development. This thematic conceptualization of the content in the primary school history curriculum sits well with the characteristics of heritage curriculum than history curriculum. This is because theme-based curriculum makes provision for the study of less abstract concepts for young learners (Burston, 1972).

In the framework, it was noticed that heritage teachers and students do not re-interpret selected themes of the past. There is a recognition of the past as it is. Heritage is seen as a closed story that suppresses how that story was constructed (Wineburg, 2001; Hafstein, 2018). The indicators and exemplars espoused in the curriculum suggest that teachers are expected to present the materials as they are. The implementation detailed approach calls for teachers to espouse the stated and preferred heritage of the peoples of Ghana with limited rigor to the intellectual and critical component of those materials presented. This is a further essentialization of the heritage dimension of the curriculum over the historical professions of the designers. Teachers are not therefore, expected to re-evaluate the contents of the curriculum with a view to helping learners arrive at critical conclusions. For instance, some of the exemplars in the curriculum read as:

1. Explain that history deals with past human activities;
2. Recall when the name Ghana came into formal use;
3. Identify Ghanaians of diverse fields who have contributed significantly to national development;
4. Identify the presidents Ghana has had since 1960;
5. Identify Ghanaian women who have made significant contributions to national development;
6. Identify the ethnic groups in each region in Ghana; Identify the forts and castles built along the coast of Ghana;
7. Identify the roles played by some traditional rulers in the national development; Name Ghanaians who have made significant contributions locally and internationally;
8. Identify the political parties that have governed the country under the Fourth Republic (See Appendix).

These exemplars are definite for teachers to comply. Exemplar one (1) for instance, makes the case for teachers to explain categorically that history deals with past human activities. Here there is very little evaluative roles for teachers beyond presenting the fact on the definition of history. However, the methodological requirements of the history discipline demand rigor in exploring what history is. Those considerations that are beyond the realm of activities we may consider as history are lost in the process of simplifying our definition of history without a critical approach. With history, the curriculum would require teachers to explore *whether* history deals with past human activities. This requirement is occasioned by the understanding that not all past human activities fall within the purview of history. And that, those significant events that have impacted on society are recognized as such. Wineburg (2001, p. 131) suggests that “students learn the subject

by rewriting it”, simply because history goes beyond the past (Barzun, 1985). However, as argued earlier, learners at that level do not possess the mental maturity to re-interpret historical claims much to the expectation of what Wineburg (2001) recommends. In the light of this, it is appropriate to state that the curriculum merits heritage designation.

It is also important to note that, to date, there has not been any in-service training program for primary school teachers in Ghana that seeks to expose teachers to proper historical reconstruction which stimulates students’ interest and enhances their balanced, critical academic development. Before the implementation of any new curriculum, in-service programs, in the form of seminars and workshops, are organized for implementers. Such in-service programs cannot adequately provide teachers with the requisite pedagogical content knowledge that conventional history teaching requires. And while Oppong (2018) contends that primary school teachers lack the requisite historical training to teach professional history in Ghanaian schools, we still have not seen policy steps since the 2019 changes to provide that professional sharpness to teachers. Shulman (1987) has emphasized that a critical component of teachers' expertise in classroom history teaching is their pedagogical content knowledge. Barton and Levstik (2004) share that much of the recent researches on the thought and practice of history teachers have been consistent with Shulman’s argument that the conception of teachers’ thinking particularly is its emphasis on teachers' understanding of the underlying conceptual structures of history and their implications for classroom practice. Vansledright (1996) had earlier noted that “history teachers need to possess deep knowledge of this discipline and robust understanding of how to teach it” (p. 268). History teachers therefore ought to possess the requisite pedagogical as well as content knowledge that can be employed to assist learners to interpret historical evidence and consider multiple perspectives (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Unfortunately, the current teacher preparation program for basic school teachers in Ghana does not equip teachers with what Vansledright recommends. From this viewpoint, if the designers of the curriculum conceptualized history as involving the interpretation of evidence in the classroom, and if they desired that teachers apply that knowledge of interpretation in the classroom to boost learners cognitive growth, then presumably they would not have titled the curriculum as a history curriculum for primary schools. This assertion is grounded in the lack of history pedagogical content knowledge on the part of the current practicing teachers in the primary schools in Ghana as acknowledged in Oppong (2018) and Shulman (1987). Therefore, the primary school teachers will implement the curriculum as representing the facts of the past that remains largely unquestioned in the classroom (Mermion, 2012).

The framework further provides that the validity and relevance of heritage is based on society’s selective preference from a number of cultural resources from the past, while the validity and relevance of history are accepted based on the sources and methodological rigors used by historians. The curriculum under investigation contains mostly landmark events that took place in Ghana before, during and after colonization in Ghana. These themes are celebrated events that are often not subjected to any intense intellectual contestation. Thus, the topics are usually historical events that are largely agreed on by both specialist audience and non-specialist audience. This contrasts the more critical judgements history teachers make of content with fellow teachers and

historians before teaching. As Lowenthal (1998) and Sexias (2017) note, history in the school conveys a past consensually known, open to inspection and proof, criticism and whose meaning could continually be revised in the light of new evidence through arguments. It is also worth noting that the common past or the celebrated past that characterizes any heritage curriculum is inevitably an attempt at constructing through historical methods of inquiry but the outcomes are not necessarily historical. In the framework, as suggested, heritage is seen as a selected tangible and intangible product (most significant events and personalities of a particular society's past) of a historical study. This affirms Lowenthal's (1998) position that "heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes" (p. x). A similar view is that history is seen as a "scholarly activity that produces knowledge about the past as opposed to heritage which is a means of consumption of that knowledge" (Sant Cassia 1999, p. 247).

While recognizing that both history and heritage have similar and inevitable overlapping social bases from which the past is celebrated (Sant Cassia, 1999), the belief that history is a producer of knowledge of the past relates more to the paradigm of history as an interpretation of the past. As Wilson (1991) succinctly notes, history curriculum promotes discernment, judgment and caution, not as a tool for promoting dates and names, but for conveying larger themes of heritage. Though history and heritage are inextricably bound up with one another as the former produces the latter, the objectives that enliven the two disciplines, and their modes of persuasion, are nonetheless contrary to one another (Lowenthal, 1998). The primary school curriculum could be seen as satisfying more of the characteristics espoused for heritage. Two reasons inform the conclusions made. First, the themes in the curriculum are the product of historical reconstruction. Second, the themes in the curriculum reflect significant events and personalities in Ghana's remote past which have been recognized by all and sundry. This knowledge of the past does not constitute historical understanding, but a part of a common heritage (Morton, 2000). And it is through history that students can properly acquire historical understanding, its fundamental elements such as causation and sequence, and not that "magpie's nest of diamonds and baubles called heritage" (Morton, 2000, p. 58).

Another distinguishing feature is what heritage and history consider worth recording. Historians regard history as what is worth recording and heritage fashioners consider heritage as what contemporary society chooses to inherit and pass on. The selectivity element that characterizes historical writing makes it essential for learners to question and evaluate (Seixas, 2017) historical events in the history classroom, a practice not associated with heritage classroom. The heritage classroom therefore deepens its allegiance to social preferences about the past while history curricula pay fidelity to critical, intellectual components of inquiry. Though the issues of bias and selectivity identified as intrinsic to the nature of history may be implicitly relevant to the concept of heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), the idea of 'worth' and the choices that society makes are necessarily based on the collective values of society. The collective decision is normally accepted without further questionings and this is what heritage curriculum represents. In the case of history, the decision of what is worthwhile only reflects the orientation of the historian, and this

makes its acceptance problematic. As Mermion (2012) notes the understanding of history is one that is constructed over a considerable amount of time and is not always accepted as such. The nature and validity of history recognize that history is a record of ‘worthwhile’ past events. This presupposes that the sources and context of the ‘worthwhile’ create further philosophical dimensions to consider when evaluating history (Mernmoion, 2012). Hence, it is necessary to scrutinize what is presented as history in the classroom. However, this is not the case in the primary school curriculum. The topics outlined in the curriculum may not instill a questioning or evaluative approach to materials. Even if learners are tasked to evaluate the themes outlined in the curriculum, as mentioned earlier, their mental abilities would not support such an enterprise.

Finally, it has been established that heritage usually draws upon the positive aspects of the past while history dwells on both positives and negatives. Heritage curricula across educational systems usually favor achievements of societies in general, and the achievements of national heroes in particular. A large portion of the themes on Ghanaian historical actors in the curriculum contains the achievements of selected actors. Their shortfalls are excluded from the topics. For instance, topics such as “*Ghanaian women who have made significant contributions to national development*”; “*the roles played by some traditional rulers in the national development*”; “*Ghanaians who have made significant Contribution locally and internationally*” do not highlight the shortfalls of the selected heroes. History curricula, however, do not subscribe to this arrangement. History curricula in schools, largely, inculcate moral values in the minds of the young ones. Historical topics have implicit moral issues (Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, 1965). The teaching of historical topics, therefore, inspires a sense of moral indignation against the crimes of national leaders such as Napoleon, Stalin, Charles I, among others. It must be noted that in the history classroom, moral values are neither taught like the facts of a science subject nor preached in the form of a sermon. Rather, in history curricula, the past can be seen as a kind of a stage on which the learners see all kinds of men and women (Cobbold & Oppong, 2010). Therefore, their deeds, misdeeds, their courage, wisdom, folly, their achievements both good and bad, tend to influence the students’ sense of moral values (Crookall, 1975). This means that history describes the vices, unmasks the false virtues and exposes the errors done by men and women (Johnson, 1940). In this way, the history curriculum provides students with standards of reference for measuring the values and achievements of their own age (Cobbold & Oppong, 2010), something heritage curriculum does not provide. It is obvious that the primary school curriculum is silent on the misdeeds or the vices of our national actors. For instance, an exemplar from the curriculum provides that teachers ought to “Describe the roles played by the leaders of the two major political parties (UGCC and CPP) in the independence struggle in the Gold Coast after the Second World War”. In doing so, the teachers are expected to focus on the positive contribution of these individuals. The concentration on the virtues and achievements of these actors strengthens the argument that the primary school curriculum best fits as Heritage of Ghana, and not the current title ‘History of Ghana’.

## Concluding remarks

This paper has shown that history and heritage should be understood as different and clearly distinguishable disciplines and there is little sense that the two are ‘habitually confused with each other’ as Lowenthal (1998) suggests. However, the paper suggests that heritage is intrinsically linked to the understanding of history. For instance, in order to designate a subject as heritage, it will need to have a history in its own right. This supports the suggestion that whilst history and heritage are different disciplines, there is a “fundamental and inextricable” connection between the two (Davies, 2004, p. 281). Again, while it is admitted in this paper that heritage is inextricably linked to history, it is the characteristics of heritage as discussed that resonate much more widely with the history of Ghana curriculum for primary schools. Therefore, the paper concludes with a call to rename the current curriculum, ‘History of Ghana curriculum for primary schools’, as ‘Heritage of Ghana curriculum for primary schools’. This renaming will address the curriculum misnomer created, and further avoid the tendency that any subject matter on past issues packaged in the school curriculum could be christened as ‘history curriculum’.

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**APPENDIX**  
**SCOPE AND SEQUENCE OF THE GHANA BASIC SCHOOL HISTORY**  
**CURRICULUM**

<b>STRAND</b>	<b>SUB-STRAND</b>	<b>B1</b>	<b>B2</b>	<b>B3</b>	<b>B4</b>	<b>B5</b>	<b>B6</b>
HISTORY AS A SUBJECT	Why and how we study history				√		
	The learner's own history						
	Family History						
	Community History						
MY COUNTRY GHANA1	The People of Ghana			√	√		√
	Inter-Group Relations			√			
	How Ghana got its name						
	Major Historical locations				√		
	Some selected Individuals			√	√		√
EUROPEANS IN GHANA	Arrival of Europeans			√			
	International trade including Slave Trade						√
	Missionary Activities				√		
	Impact of European presence						√

COLONISATION AND DEVELOPMENTS UNDER COLONIAL RULE IN GHANA	Establishing Colonial rule in Ghana				√		
	Social Development						√
	Economic Development						√
	Political Development						√
JOURNEY TO INDEPENDENCE	Early Protest Movements						√
	Formation of Political Parties						√
	The 1948 riots						√
	Ghana gains independence						√
INDEPENDENT GHANA	The Republics	√			√		√
	Military Rule						√