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Two double-blind peer-reviewed issues are annually published. *Yesterday & Today* focus and envision research articles in the following fields of research:

- History teaching/education
- Educational history/History of education/History in education
- The History of any education-related theme
- History research that relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in History curricula

The above covers 75% of the journal

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- Hands-on reports - articles based on authors' personal experiences/opinions with history within or outside the classroom

Hands-on reports cover 25% of the journal

Contributors need to note the following:

- Manuscripts must be in British English and should not exceed 8000 words
- Times New Roman 12 pt font and 1.5 spacing should be used
- Manuscripts in Microsoft Word should be submitted electronically to the editor
- Images (such as photographs, graphics, figures and diagrams) are welcome but the author(s) should secure the copyright of using images not developed by the author
- Six to ten keywords should be included in the manuscript
- Opinions expressed or conclusions drawn in *Yesterday & Today* are in the first place those of the authors and should under no circumstances be considered the opinions of the SASHT or the editorial board.

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YESTERDAY & TODAY EDITORIAL BOARD

Contact Details: Editor-in-Chief

Prof Johan Wassermann, Department of Humanities,Education Faculty of Education
Groenkloof Campus, University of Pretoria Private Bag X20, Hatfield, 0028
Telephone: (012) 420 4447 | Email: johan.wassermann@up.ac.za

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EDITORIAL

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History Education greetings,

Welcome to the July 2023 edition, volume 29, of *Yesterday & Today.* This edition appears against the backdrop of ChatGPT taking the world of academic publishing by storm. Much ink (mostly virtual) and even more spoken words have been spilt about ChatGPT and academic publishing. Artificial Intelligence (AI) in academic publishing is nothing new, however, the evolving potential poses specific challenges. Simply put, academic articles, and other publications can be generated by means of ChatGPT and similar AI tools. Consequently, it is expected of all journals to adapt their editorial policies to take cognisance of ChatGPT and similar forms of AI to protect the integrity of the academic publishing process. Starting with this edition, *Yesterday & Today* requires all authors to provide a signed statement indicating whether or not they utilized AI in their work. If AI was utilized, the authors must provide a clear explanation of how it was incorporated in the methodology section of their contribution.

While the above is all good and well for academic publishing, it is also necessary to move the AI debate beyond the "ivory tower" of academia. *Yesterday & Today* serves all history educators, also those who are teaching the subject at the school level. This is necessary for a number of reasons including thinking with practitioners of history education, thinking in a bottom-up organic and democratic manner, and giving voice to those who teach hundreds of thousands of history learners. This we did in the "Teachers Voice" section of volume 29. Three history teachers from very different schools shared their thoughts and practices as it relates to ChatGPT and AI tools. Hopefully, these issues will be further explored in the upcoming South Africa Society for History Teaching (SASHT) conference taking place under the auspices of the Department of Education and Curriculum Studies (ECS) at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) from 3-4 October 2023. The conference theme, *"School History- where are we heading"* lends itself to this.

This volume contains five academic articles:

- In their contribution, Georgia Kouseri engages with the neglected field of family history as it relates to school history.
- The second article by Paul Maluleke discusses teaching history with decolonial love.

- In his article Sipho Mkhomi investigates how values can be taught in history at the primary school level.
- Natasha Robinson and Nicholas Kerswill deal with the learning about race in the South African history classroom.
- In the final article Paul Maluleka and Lesiba Ledwaba reflect on the Ministerial Task Team in South Africa and school history.

The July 2023 edition, volume 29, of *Yesterday & Today* concludes with several book reviews.

Happy reading, take care, and stay safe!
Johan Wassermann (Editor-in-Chief)

Adolescents and family history: Memories, testimonies, narratives, and perspectives

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Georgia Kouseri
Faculty of Education, School of Primary Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, Greece
Orcid: 0009-0008-8223-1473
kouseri@eled.auth.gr
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/ 2223-0386/2023/n29a2

Abstract

This paper discusses how family history can be selected, read, and utilised in historical education to cultivate historical thinking among pupils aged between 16 and 18 years of age. The research derives its epistemological basis from the theories of memory and history, oral and family history, theory of historical consciousness, and historical thinking. Family history was used as a bridge that connects the past with the present.

The research was carried out within the context of four family history action research projects. The narratives which were selected by pupils were analysed by the teacher/researcher, based on how the pupils orientated their lives toward the past, present, and future. From the family stories of the pupils, individual acts of heroism and acts of life were highlighted within a wider indefinite historical context. The narration of these stories within the school environment raised a variety of questions about their historical context and second-order concepts, such as change through time, significance, causes, and consequences. The multiple phases of the activities as well as the exploratory tasks carried out, contributed to the realisation that living memory requires meaningful reading by the pupils, a critical approach, and the synthesising of their individual and collective pasts. Reflection during each phase of the research, more so at the end of the activities, highlighted teaching practices through which family memories can be used in the learning process, encouraging continuous and two-way interaction of individual and collective consciousness.

Keywords: Life stories; Family history; Memory; Historical consciousness; Historical thinking; Teaching activities.

Introduction: memory, history, oral, and family history

During the final four decades of the 20th century, 'modern' and 'postmodern' approaches in historiography resulted in a more critical view of history, the role of the historian and consequently of historical education and teaching. With the prevalence of the New History movement of the 1970s there was a shift in the study of the topic to emphasise the conditions and everyday lives of people in historical focus, including socially excluded groups, such as women and ethnic minorities (Iggers, 1999). Echoes of these changes are present in the teaching of history today, including a variety of historical narratives, such as "local history 'history from below', oral history, personal and family history, gender and history" (Repoussi, 2004: 281–282).

The purpose of this paper is to explore how family history could be selected, read, and utilised in historical education to cultivate historical thinking. For that reason, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of both family memories and family history.

Researchers have shown how people are interested in their past in contemporary contexts (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Ashton & Hamilton & Paul, 2010; Clark, 2014). A literature review for this study shed light on how people interpret the past through memory and how memories are reconstructions of the past. Memory studies have focused on how the past is accessible. Noiret (2015) suggests that individual and collective memories consist of parts of the past that are active in the present, while Halbwachs (1992) argues that individual memory is not shaped in isolation, but through interactions with other people and by collective memory. Halbwachs also refers to family memories as constructed narratives that contain general attitudes and values of life in space and time, transmitted from generation to generation. Hence, the family is the first memory community for everyone, one that determines our autobiographical memory (Green, 2013: 2018).

Access to family memories is achieved through the oral history method. Oral history research allows the lived experience of social groups, who for years have coexisted but not interacted with their history — a lived experience that offers a different reading of the past to that which is officially available (Passerini, 1998; Abrams, 2010). According to Thompson (2000), one of the advantages of oral history is that it helps express the original plurality of views among everyday people, as a new meaningful reading by the pupils, in the synthesis of their individual and collective pasts. Reflection during each phase of the research, particularly at the end of the activities, highlighted teaching practices through which family memories can be used in the learning process, to encourage continuous and two-way interaction of individual and collective consciousness.

Critical reading of oral history and by extension family history, compared with other sources, mostly written, is beneficial (Repoussi, 2004; Apostolidou, 2016). In some cases, controversial points in the written sources are made clear while in other cases the different manifestations and complexities of the historical context of a period are highlighted. In the second phase of oral history (Apostolidou, 2016) a rich subjectivity emerged as the main characteristic of the approach. Green (2018) argues that although family history as oral history has drawn criticism from scholars regarding its use as a historical source in research due to its subjective nature, this limitation also highlights its potential –– especially in how subjectivity relates to the conscious choices of differentiation from the collective identity. These are of particular interest to the contemporary oral and family researcher. The study of personal and family past presents many meaningful possibilities if we are to familiarise pupils with the processes of historical inquiry ¬–– a goal of any modern approach that seeks to cultivate the pupils' historical thinking (Counsell, Burn, & Chapman, 2016).

However, family memories also come with limitations. Memory and history are differentiated, as Liakos states:

> *The gaze of history is not the gaze of memory. The former is the public gaze. The latter is multiple, partial and particular. The discourse of history is neutral, it must create safe distances between us and then. The discourse of memory must be direct. History sets events against their context in order to understand them. History must explain, but the discourse of history, by explaining memory, relativizes experience. Memory and history claim the past, each in their own way* (2015: 39).

On the other hand, according to Repoussi (2000: 12), among other things, family history brings out the emotion in the approach to the historical past, an approach that is far from the concept of history and closer to that of memory. However, emotion is not irrelevant to the past in the context of public history, narratives about the past can be overly dominated by emotions (Liakos, 2015), adding further reservations about the use of family history (Repoussi, 2000).

Repoussi (2000) stresses that along with the risks of dealing with family history, the emergence of traumatic and difficult experiences may prove challenging for the teacher to manage in the classroom. Sensitive issues related to the variable forms of the family may add to the difficulties faced by teachers. Despite these issues, Repoussi (2000) sets out several specific objectives that can be realised within the context of engagement with family history, especially in local history programmes.

Reading and utilising family history in education

How can family history be read in education and how can it be used in this context? Ricoeur (2009) proposed processing memory through its historicization. The current research derives its epistemological foundation from the theories of historical consciousness and especially those of Green (2018), who linked intergenerational family memory with the theory of historical consciousness. For Rüsen (1987), historical consciousness is a general category that is not only related to teaching and learning in history, however, also covers all forms of thinking about the past. In other words, historical consciousness mediates our relationship with the past, as it is through historical consciousness that the individual encounters the past and interprets it as history (Rüsen, 2005). It includes all mental processes through which the past is used as a means of orientating the present and the future, thereafter, interpreted to understand the present and establish expectations for the future (Rüsen, 2005). To understand this concept, Rüsen proposes a multi-layered scheme of dimensions and distinctions (Rüsen, 2005; Seixas, 2006; Apostolidou, 2006) as follows:

- Different levels of consciousness and awareness.
- Different dimensions (political, cognitive, rhetorical, and aesthetic).
- Different modes of articulation than usual and in more complex ways.
- Different places of meaning.

Four types of historical consciousness that express the respective ways of historical meaning-making:

- The traditional, in which there is no distinction between the past and history and where the past is treated as a set of events and interpretations that automatically make sense and function normatively for the present.
- The paradigmatic, in which paradigmatic historical phenomena are sought that form timeless rules and universal laws that apply both in the present and for the future.
- The critic, in which the paradigmatic character of history and the dominant values are questioned, and where space is created for rival narratives.
- The genetic, where the inevitability of change is the determinant, which itself produces historical meaning.

In using family history to cultivate historical thinking in history education, the current study is based on the disciplinary approach, along with second-order concepts, including evidence, historical significance, cause and consequence, continuity and change, historical perspectives, and the ethical dimension (Seixas 2010; Seixas & Morton, 2012). Recent

studies utilising family history in education and reported on in the journal *Teaching History*, include those by Edwards (2006); Johansen and Spafford (2009); Barret (2011); Mohamud and Whitburn (2014); Priggs (2020); Vlachaki and Kouseri (2020); and Toettcher and West (2021). All the afore-mentioned studies highlight the advantages of using autobiographical memory in education, but also its limitations, particularly partial and selective reconstructions of the past in the present. Barret (2011) argues that the use of family history in lessons can be useful when specific activities and teaching practices directly address historical concepts such as the significance of historical events experienced by the relatives of pupils in relation to their own lives in the present. Moreover, other researchers (Vlachaki & Kouseri, 2020) argue that family history can be the trigger for exploring the past and its repositioning by looking back from the personal to the collective and from the local to the global.

The use of family history was gradually implemented during an action research programme over the past four years with a total of four scenarios presented in various humanities courses.

Research design and methodology

Goals

The current research aimed to assess the possibilities and limitations of using the exploration of individual family narratives within the formal context of history education. The objectives were to answer the following specific questions.

a) How do secondary school pupils use the individual stories of their relatives as a means for orientating their lives in the present and the future?
b) How can this orientation be critically used in educational terms?

Research tools

Three methods were used to collect data. The first was based on semi-structured interviews during which pupils selected testimonies from their family histories. The second involved observation by the teacher of the pupil's interaction in the classroom during dialogue. And thirdly, each pupil kept a logbook to record their own observations.

Methodological framework

The investigations and the narrations of their family histories were carried out by groups of pupils between the ages of 16 and 18. The purpose was to assess the possibilities and

limitations of using these narratives within the context of formal history education. Action research was chosen as the methodological framework. Its implementation included specific procedures such as action, observation, and self-reflection, leading to further discussion and thereafter changes and improvements in teaching practices. Of the three main approaches of action research of the Habermas paradigm (the technical, the empirical, and the practical), we opted for the latter, the practical. This approach is scientifically based on the interpretative example and aims to develop practical knowledge and education theory through the processes followed (Creswell, 2011).

The sample

During the past four school years, four separate family history projects were carried out as part of the humanities courses.[1] Family history was used during the 2018–19 school year as a first-grade project in modern Greek language and literature. A total of 15 pupils took part and the project was entitled *Small and big narratives: Family history*. During the following school year (2019–20), a total of 25 pupils were familiarised with the concept and application of oral history as part of their second-grade course in modern Greek language and literature. This project was entitled *A family object: Family history*. The use of oral history was further developed within the context of the third-grade subject of modern Greek history during the same year. During the subsequent year (2020–21), a total of 17 pupils took part in a project entitled *My story, our stories, the large story*, as part of the modern Greek language and literature course. However, with the spread of Covid-19 and the school closures, family history interviews and oral testimonies had to be conducted remotely. During the 2022–23 school year, an opportunity presented itself to once again work on family history in an educational programme with five pupils, during which the historical archives of the European Union were utilised. In total, the studies which spanned four school years, included 65 pupils of the first, second, and third grades of high school.

Evidence-gathering and educational activities

The action research activities consisted of four phases of action and reflection. Each reflection phase was followed by feedback on the research process with new questions and

1 An action research programme was initiated during the 2017–18 school year in collaboration with a colleague from primary education, during which we dealt specifically with oral histories related to migration (Kouseri & Vlachaki, 2018, Vlachaki & Kouseri, 2020).

new action plans for utilising family history. Each of the activities included the following four objectives along with interconnected feedback loops:

1. Introduction to the project.
2. The collection of life stories (data analysis by the teacher).
3. The presentation of life stories and feedback from the school team — Activities.
4. Rewriting the life stories — Presentation — Reflection.

1) Introduction to the project

In the first phase of the projects *Small and big narratives: Family history* 2018–19 and *A family object: Family history 2019–20,* the pupils were coached on the purpose and procedure of the interviews to document the oral testimonies of their relatives. This was to introduce the pupils to ways of exploring and recording their family past as well as to encourage them to engage with earlier unfamiliar time periods. The research materials used included oral testimonies, witness evidence, photographs, objects, and documents, amongst others.

For the projects, *My story, our stories, the large story 2020–21*[2] and *Family history 2022–23,*[3] the introductory lesson included a presentation of the work of pupils from previous years. These examples also provided the context in which theoretical issues could be explained regarding the purpose and conduct of the interviews and the steps involved, the concession agreements and interview protocols, along with data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Also outlined were the diary, the interview and its transcription, summary and interpretation, along with any photographic material used. These steps were analysed both theoretically and experientially by creating teams of three pupils, each with an interviewer, an informant, and an observer during the trial interview and the remote procedure. Participants had the option to use material culture as a trigger for the

2 Although the Covid-19 pandemic's closing of schools halted the project *My story, our stories, the large story (2020–21)*, it was decided to continue by using remote interviews. We turned to the guide from the British Library team responsible for the oral history sector, and the advice from the British Oral History Society. was used. This guide, entitled, *"Advice on remote oral history interviewing during the Covid-19 pandemic (version 5)"* offered advice on remote oral history interviewing during the Covid-19 pandemic Version 7 (8 February 2021) (Updating version 6 which was posted online on 15 May 2020, and version 5 which was posted online on 4 April 2020) https://www.ohs.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Advice-on-remote-interviewing-during-the-Covid-19-Pandemic-v.70D0A-FINAL.pdf

3 During the 2022–23 school year, family history was the subject of an educational project that our school in Agia Paraskevi in Athens undertook in conjunction with the European University Institute (EUI) and the Historical Archives of the European Union in Florence. Pupils had to prepare family trees (family history), narration of family heirlooms (material culture) and interviews for family history (oral history).

autobiographical history of the family.

2) The collection of life stories
During the writing stage, the pupils expressed unseen aspects of their stories, their way of thinking surrounding different issues and their attitudes and feelings through their texts as narrators of their objects or their heroes. In this way the pupils were involved in decision-making and then proceeded to write their own narratives without explicit guidance.

Data analysis by the teacher

After the data was collected, the narrative texts were analysed to identify the ways in which pupils approached the past and how they orientated themselves in time through them. Their accounts of the past are examples of how historical knowledge, thought processes, and consciousness are expressed, as suggested by research in the field of history education (Gómez Carrasco, López Facal, & Sáiz Serrano, 2017). The aim was to use the characteristics of the narratives to provide feedback on approaches to teaching history.

An initial vertical analysis of the family histories was drawn up based on the analysis of the themes in each story. The timeframes covered by these narratives varied, from those focusing on the Asia Minor catastrophe, the immigration of Greeks from Alexandria in 1955 and the subsequent integration of refugees into Greek society from Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922), to the German occupation of Crete (1941–44) and the Civil War (1946–49) which began after the Second World War. Others included the migration of Greeks to Germany in 1960 and their experiences within the context of modern Greek history up until the seven-year dictatorship in 1967–1974, and finally the emigration from the Balkan countries in 1991 and Syria in 2005.

A horizontal analysis of these histories was also attempted (i.e. comparison between the histories told) to highlight common and different themes. In most cases, the narrative texts were subjected to a qualitative assessment (Tsiolis & Siouti, 2013) and to conduct a content analysis. (Robson, 2007). The analysis was based on the work of Green (2018) who identified the following three common aspects of historical consciousness in the family narratives that she studied as:

a) The temporal connections recognised in the narratives between past, present, and future.
b) The moral values that are considered essential components of the process of orientation to historical consciousness.

c) The concept of place (nature, environment, and landscape), since the orientation towards it plays a role in constructing identities and historical consciousness.

Summary of the results — Mapping historical consciousness

From the criteria set for data analysis, the following conclusions were reached:

a) The temporal connections recognised in the narratives between past, present, and future:

From the qualitative analysis of the autobiographical texts, it was clear that most of the stories narrated by the pupils incorporated a linear concept of time from the past into the present. Third-person narrations were also employed with the pupils assuming the role of informant. From the family stories of the pupils, individual acts of heroism and acts of life were highlighted in a wider historical context which, however, did not have further explanations in most of the narratives. There are, however, also stories of everyday life after the Second World War and during the dictatorship period (1967–1974) as the grandparents and great-grandparents of pupils had lived during these periods. For example, in response to a photograph of a man from Messenia a 16-year-old pupil wrote the following about her grandfather who participated in the resistance against the Germans:

> *My grandfather was born in 1925 and grew up in Chandrinou, a village in the prefecture of Messinia. In 1943, it was organised in EPON and functioned as a link, i.e. transmitting information and food, to the rebels who had left for the mountain, to resist the Nazi invaders. For this action he was imprisoned for a short time in the prisons of Pylos (southwest Messinia). After the war, while he wanted to study at the Polytechnic and had successfully passed his exams, he was unable to realise his dream due to his family's poor financial situation. Thus, he kept his father's shop, and indeed with great success, since residents from the neighboring villages also came to shop. (Tasos, 18-year-old secondary school pupil, C' Lyceum, A family object: Family history project 2019–20).*

In recounting the stories of their relatives, the pupils painted a picture of a past of war, poverty, and forced movement. Their stories go beyond living memory as they speak of ancestors, most of whom they did not know as many were born during the early to mid-20th century. The range spanned four generations. Green (2018) refers to similar experiences from her research. It is significant that three pupils with immigration histories mentioned both their parents, hence, they saw their past collectively. In the following example a pupil refers to the wave of immigration to Greece when Ceausescu lost power in Romania. The pupil describes the story of her parents rather than focusing on the collapse of the regime.

In the period from 1990 to 2001, an emigration process from Romania to Greece took place, mainly due to the fall of Ceausescu and communism in 1989. During this period and a two-year difference, my parents, Nikos and Elena, decided to make a change in their lives and come to Greece. (Alexandra, 16-year-old secondary school pupil, A' Lyceum, Small and big narratives: Family history project 2018–19).

The pupils tended not to interpret the historical context of their family histories, thus no mention was made of historians in in their narratives. Only one pupil attempted to interpret the historical context of her relatives' emigration. when she referred to the wave of immigration into Greece consequent to the change in the Albanian political system:

After the liberation of Albania from the Germans, the Communist Party rose to power and the country was renamed "People's Socialist Republic of Albania" in 1976. The country's leader was Enver Hoxha of the Party of Labour of Albania. At that time, industrialization in Albania had led to rapid economic growth by supporting and significantly improving free education and health. However, his regime was described as the most authoritarian and reclusive communist dictatorship in the world. Albania of the day resembles today's North Korea. Life, however, was meagre. Salaries were very low and, although Albania was agriculturally self-sufficient, citizens suffered from hunger and poverty for many years. Enver Hoxha ruled from 1944 until the end of his life in 1985. From then on, Albania took a downturn. Following his death, Hoxha was succeeded by Ramiz Alia, who tried to follow in his footsteps. However, the changes in Eastern Europe after the fall of the "Eastern Bloc" and the bloody clashes in Romania shook the previously reclusive and isolated Albania. The system collapsed and the country sank into poverty. Young people were leaving their country en masse; among them was my father. (Sofia, 17-year-old secondary school pupil, B' Lyceum, Small and big narratives: Family history project 2018–19).

b) The moral values that are considered essential components of the process of orientation to historical consciousness:

Connecting the pupils past with their present is usually done at the end of the narration as most pupils talk about why they chose to present this story. Many promoted the values that are important in their lives today in relation to their past. They now accept their immigrant past and respect the sacrifices of parents and grandparents and resolve to honour the sacrifices they made pupils belong. This is highlighted in the following example.

The fact that my father was forced to leave his country, his family, the profession he loved, immigrate to a foreign country and start from the beginning sometimes saddens

me. However, this is a driving force for me to strive daily to achieve my goals not only for myself but also especially for them, as I feel it is my responsibility to repay them for what they have done for me, to make them proud, always keeping in my mind their sacrifices. (Sofia, 17-year-old secondary school pupil, B' Lyceum, Small and big narratives: Family history project 2018–19)

Pupils as narrators had positioned themselves within history, highlighting the importance of migrant or refugee history as a process that helped to strengthen their positive self-image in the present and contributed to the evaluation of their past in relation to contemporary reality (intergenerational comparison). For example, 16-year-old Katerina reflected on how she thinks about her migrant past and the decisions her parents made:

I think that my parents staying here in Greece proved to be a positive element for me and my brother, for our education and our smooth integration into a democratic society. I recognise and understand this every time we go on holiday in Romania, where I can see the differences in the way of life and the culture of the people there. (Katerina, 16-year-old secondary school pupil, A' Lyceum, Small and big narratives: Family history project 2018–19).

Pupils recounted the stories of people in their families, listing their own expectations for the future, living in a more democratic society and with better educational opportunities.

c) The concept of place (nature, environment, and landscape) since the orientation towards it plays a role in the construction of identities and historical consciousness:

It was previously mentioned that the pupils tended not to interpret the historical context of the period in which the family history was included, thus no mention was made of historians. On the other hand, pupils tended to refer more specifically to the spatiotemporal contexts of their stories, mainly with descriptive reasoning, by referring to general information surrounding historical events related to places where their family members had moved. The following extract is a good example of this idea.

This photograph was taken a few months before the Asia Minor Catastrophe, and it is the last photo we have from our family's life in Ankara. It has been passed down from generation to generation and it depicts my great grandparents, Stefanos and Elisavet. It ages back to the year of 1922 when Greek populations still lived at the coasts of Asia Minor. My great-grandmother, Elisavet, was born in Smyrna and after meeting my great-grandfather, Stefanos, they started building their life together in Ankara, where he was raised. However, in September 1922, the Turkish army made its way into the city. At the outset, the Turkish occupation of the city was orderly. Though the Armenian and

> *Greek inhabitants viewed their entry with trepidation, they reasoned that the presence of the Allied fleet would discourage any violence. Contrary to what they expected, the first fire broke in the late afternoon of 13 September 1922 and resulted in the Asia Minor catastrophe. The Turkish army gave orders to the ships in the harbor not to take any refugees. Not only were thousands of people slaughtered or left homeless, but many cruelties happened there as well. My great-grandparents were lucky enough to escape with their two children from Smyrna and after spending three years in other places in Greece, such as Thessaloniki and Kozani, they eventually settled in Athens with their four children by then. They soon adopted a young boy whose parents were killed during the Asia Minor Catastrophe. Some years later, my grandma was born here, in Athens, where we still reside today. (Georgia, 17-year-old secondary school pupil, B' Lyceum, Family history project 2022–23).*

Rural areas on the Greek mainland and islands feature as places of origin in these stories. These locations frame the stories and the characters, as well as the natural environment which provided for their everyday needs. The rural environment is prominent, so too are descriptions of professions, wars, and heroic acts of resistance during the Second World War and the Greek Civil War as well as the resulting movement of Greek people, immigrants to Germany, or the refugees from Asia Minor. Further movements within the Balkans took place with the fall of communism in 1989 along with the internal movement of people in Greece from the 1970s up to the 1990s, from the countryside to cities. The Asia Minor catastrophe played an important part in many of the family narratives and was the abiding trauma as refugees since they could no longer live in the place of their birth. For example, in the following passage a midwife refers to an icon of the Virgin Mary that was brought from Asia Minor and is a "place of memory" for the life there, the journey of the refugee and the struggle of creation until today.

> *This icon of the Virgin Mary is the only thing left from that time. Today it is kept in our house. When we look at it, we always remember the journeys it went through, the places it got to know in order to reach our hands. The endless storms, the incomprehensible struggle for survival did not deter my family from Asia Minor to here even for a minute. They had faith with them. They knew that God owed it to them to straighten up. So, it happened. Sometime after the disaster, my family finally managed to secure a decent life. The losses and mental anguish were almost irreparable, but their faith remained steadfast. Looking at this picture we think of those places and the struggles they lived through. (Evangelia, 17-year-old secondary school pupil, B' Lyceum, Small and big narratives: Family history project 2018–19).*

d) The presentation of life stories and feedback from the school team — Activities

In the third phase the pupils presented the life stories to their classmates. They were encouraged to describe the sources and persons from whom they drew their stories as well as to describe the interview experience, circumstances, and limitations. For example, the following is a diary entry of 16-year old George:

> *At first, my grandfather was a little tense as if he was giving an interview with a journalist. Slowly, however, he began feeling more comfortable, from the clarifying questions I asked him, he opened up more and even seemed to be carried away by the memories. He mentioned even more than what I asked him, not entirely relevant to the subject. I didn't interrupt him, though. Despite the fact that I had heard some of the histories before, I acted as if I were hearing them for the first time. At various points, my grandfather was moved, especially when I asked him what it was like when he left his village and how he felt about the confinement due to the coronavirus epidemic. I remained calm, but I enjoyed sharing these memories with him. Even though I hadn't experienced them, I felt I could 'live' them with him again, even after so many years. (George 17-year-old secondary school pupil, C' Lyceum, My story, our stories, the large story project 2020–21).*

In the subsequent activities the results from previous teacher/researchers' analysis were indirectly used as highlights. Pupils were asked to consider the different ways in which people relate to time, through personal and symbolic objects or oral testimonies. Being able to understand who is speaking and in what time and space, and how, and whether the personal narratives of their relatives connect with the larger story, enabled the pupils to realise that living memory requires a critical approach. Their choice of which life stories to relate highlighted how the pupils connected their own narratives through this selective look at the past.

Their narrations were followed by deeper levels of questioning and discussion on their logbooks. The following three main questions discussed concerned the use of family history:

- What does this family history tell me?
- What can I assume about what it tells me? and
- What can it not tell me?

These questions explored the concept of historical testimonies and are important in developing the students' historical thinking. The dialectical interaction between the pupils and the classroom teacher enabled the initial questions which were very important, to be integrated within the process of historical investigation. Moreover, the questions posed

by the pupils during this phase helped to highlight the consequences of changes and events, both on the small and large scales on the lives of people and societies, respectively. Activities were organised to record people's life changes in time, place, and values (mapping the changes in geographical maps or concept maps) and search activities of cause and consequences by creative writing.[4] This encouraged dialogue and contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of the historical circumstances. The discussions drew on archival educational material, such as maps and documentaries, to historicise the individual past.

The pupils individual family histories were not linked to the wider global history and their brief mention of significant events often led to conceptual ambiguities. This is why the school team requested that some parts of the histories could be more explanatory. Further activities investigating the wider historical context at the local, national, European, and global levels were planned and based on the suggested changes which emerged from the discussions and were mainly concerned with the clarification of the historical events. Thereafter, extracts from the Greek book entitled *Minima memoralia: The history of my grandfather* by Elefantis (2001) were read.[5] The commentary on the text and the exchange of views generated new ideas about the way in which we connect with the past through objects, and the fact that this connection requires a dialectic between 'small' and 'big stories'. Based on this discussion, the pupils returned to their texts to document the social,

4 Several researchers have suggested the use of creative writing within the teaching of history, in order to promote historical perspective and empathy (Seixas & Morton, 2012). The historical perspective is one of the conceptual tools used in the investigation of the past and an important element in the cultivation of historical thinking (Seixas, 2006; 2010). According to Seixas (2006), this conceptual tool encourages pupils to appreciate the diversity of past human historical contexts and at the same time, to understand the range of human behaviour, beliefs, and perceptions. In addition, it broadens the horizons of thought and gives historical meaning to the ways in which we perceive modern conditions and events. Articles, letters, diaries, poems, audio and visual narratives, and role-playing are the most popular forms of historical creative writing in the classroom. By using all these different linguistic forms, pupils write in order to think and express the opinions, values, and motives of the people who lived during their chosen period (Seixas & Morton, 2012). If the pupils explore and make accurate factual reports about their characters, incorporating their own opinions as to what may have happened and why, and if they at the same time explore the socio-cultural and historical context of their stories, they begin to approach the past with greater interest. This interest may, in the case of some pupils, encourage the investigation of the past using other conceptual tools. However, it must be underlined that it would be much more productive for the pupils to be able to recognise why their stories are different, yet also how they can apply the concepts of multiple perspectives, through the documentation of the characters represented in their stories (Seixas & Morton, 2012: 156)

5 In the early 1960s, A Elefantis discovered some of the adventures of his grandfather, who fled to America at the beginning of the century. Forty years later he gathered these fragments together in a book, to tell the story of his family within the context of modern Greek history.

cultural, and historical context of their histories. Their work was enriched with evidence and historical references, and the historical and cultural contexts of the texts were more readily understood.

e) Rewriting the life stories — Presentation — Reflection

The post-writing stage explored reflection. The improved texts grew from group interaction. In a typical example of a text by a pupil dated in the civil war between 1946–49, the narrative interweaves the personal and larger history, as underlined below.

> *In particular, my grandfather's family, who lived in a mountain village near Mystras in Laconia, had left-wing political beliefs and his father together with one of his brothers had fled to the mountains during the civil war, being members of the Democratic Army. In retaliation, in August 1949, he, his mother and his sister were taken, against their will, to a concentration camp in Tripoli. There, after a few days, his elderly mother and his underage sister were set free, while grandfather Yiannis, a minor at the time, a sixteen-year-old boy, was taken to Lakki in Leros for re-education. The number of minors in the Tripoli concentration camp at that time is recorded at one hundred and sixty girls from eleven to twenty years old and two hundred boys from fourteen to nineteen years old. (Foivos, 18-year-old secondary school pupil, C' Lyceum, A family object: Family history project 2019–20).*

This was followed by a discussion of the characteristics of 'small' and 'big' narratives, their potential, and limitations, focusing on the concepts of memory, history, and family history. Many activities were organised such as multi-perspective activities with reading sources and creative writing exercises that focus on the perspectives of the people experiencing the events. Finally, pupils suggested ideas for a historic novel that they may like to write in the future.

Teachers and pupils held a reflective discussion on the importance of the educational research process and the practices that were deemed effective in empathising with both the individual stories as well as wider global history. A discussion was also had on how the pupils as narrators, had positioned themselves within history, highlighting the importance of family history as a process that helped to strengthen their positive self-image in the

present. Several activities have been in progress.[6]

Conclusion

This research aimed to assess how family history could be selected, read, and utilised in historical education to cultivate historical thinking among pupils aged between 16 and 18 years of age. Action research was implemented in four phases of action and self-reflection, within the context of four educational projects which included family history. Pupils were asked to collect family stories using oral narratives from their relatives. Their stories were then analysed by teacher/ researcher in relation to their vertical and horizontal contexts based on historical consciousness theory (Rüsen, 2005). The objective of the research was to answer how secondary school pupils could use the individual stories of their relatives as a means of orientation to the present and the future, and how this orientation can be critically used?

This research revealed that pupils initially presented the aspects of their family past which they had chosen to explore as informants in a linear narrative by focusing mainly on individual time and in some cases, on collective time (as in the emigration narratives). The pupils expressed their thoughts on how they evaluated the decisions made by these people and the events that shaped them. They also referred to the concept of place with the movements to different places, the description of the countryside and rural life that includes the actions of the protagonists and even the places of uprooting as places of memory ("lieux de memoire" as used by Nora (1989: 7). Taking into consideration the results of the analysis of their stories, a new cycle of activities was planned as these narratives had to be used appropriately for pupils to become acquainted with historical research and to understand these earlier historical periods which they were not familiar with.

The second question was how this orientation in the past could be critically used? Within the methodology of the approach, the scenarios presented highlighted the value of the constructive processes that framed the exploration of the family past by using biographical narratives in educational research (Tsiolis, 2006; Tsiolis & Siouti, 2013).

6 At the end of October 2022, the researcher as well as the pupils visited EUI in Florence and participated in an educational workshop, during which we presented our family interviews, heirlooms, and family trees in relation to significant events in European history. By integrating micro-histories within the historical exploration of sources and archives in a scientific way, the pupils were able to expand their understanding of historical complexity and transform pre-existing and stereotypical perceptions embedded in both individual and collective memory into meaningful historical understanding. The project was undertaken in collaboration with Vaso Siomou.

Moreover, during the phases of action research, the pupils as co-researchers acquired a more critical approach by taking part in the research of the past.

When presenting their work in the classroom, the narrators were questioned their classmates. These questions, shed light on appropriate activities that could be used to better historicise their family stories. In this dialogue with their peers and their teacher, the narratives were able to incorporate and clarify historical factors surrounding the subjectivity of the individuals through time. Whatever limitations were found, led to critical thinking since narratives surrounding the past is alternative and socio-culturally determined (Chapman, 2015). This historicization of the narratives was achieved by exploring additional historical resources (archives, maps, photograph, and documentaries) that enhanced the multifaceted nature of the learning process and the knowledge gained. Historicization was also used in resource utilisation activities which enabled the pupils to record their ancestors' life changes in time and place as well as their values. These activities enhanced the pupils' skills of searching for concepts of cause and consequences and seeking the wider historical context at local, national, European, and global levels. Finally, learners focused on the perspectives of how people experienced the events through multi-perspective activities and reading and creative writing exercises that.

The family history projects presented here had prescribed activities that led not only to the cultivation of the imagination of the pupils and their writing skills, but also to the opportunity to document their narratives. In turn, this enabled them to explore concepts such as the notion of change through time, the significance of personal stories, as well as their role within 'big' history. The family history projects provided the pupils with the opportunity to write about history in a more collective and global sense, considering the voices of people from different generations and origins. Exploring these concepts helped them to make the connection between local and world history — a necessary process for developing critical thinking (Vlachaki & Kouseri, 2020; Jansen, 2010; Harnett, 2009). Family histories were used during lessons in Modern Greek History as a trigger, as sources for corresponding historical periods (whether included in the textbooks or not) or even as an occasion to approach different topics during language and literature lessons throughout the school year. It highlighted the importance of history which permeates all the humanities subjects with the multifaceted nature of the past.

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Teaching and learning sensitive and controversial topics in history through and with decolonial love

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Paul Maluleka
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
Orcid: 0000-0003-3168-150X
Paul.maluleka@wits.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/ 2223-0386/2023/n29a3

Abstract

The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) school history curriculum of post-apartheid South Africa is littered with sensitive and controversial topics. Many history teachers and their learners do not know how to confront these topics, especially in multiracial, multicultural, and diverse classrooms. Therefore, this paper explores how the idea of decolonial love (Sandoval, 2000; Maldonado-Torres, 2006) could inform alternative creative pedagogies or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks that history teachers and their learners employ when engaging sensitive and controversial topics. In this paper I argue that decolonial love has the potential to enable both history teachers and their learners to engage with sensitive and controversial topics in history in ways that promote empathy, cognitive, social and epistemic justice, inclusivity, critical thinking, respect, love, and tolerance for others as envisioned in the CAPS document. This would, in turn, promote the transgression of knowledge boundaries for knowledge co-construction (Keating, 2013) and thus, enable a way of doing history that promotes pluriversal (situated) knowledges (Santos, 2014). Lastly, I argue that decolonial love can provide a useful pedagogical framework for teaching sensitive and controversial topics since it ties together different approaches to teach such topics.

Keywords: Decolonial love; CAPS; History; Sensitive and controversial topics.

Introduction

School History curricula round the world are littered with sensitive and controversial topics. These are histories that are often "most painful, most uncomfortable, and most [emotionally] taxing" (Godsell, 2019: 2) to teach due to the nature of history as an emotionally and politically charged discipline. These topics are usually distorted to avoid an emotionally and politically charged teaching and learning experience (Zinn, 2005; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2015; Ortiz, 2018).

The current post-apartheid school history curricula in post-apartheid South Africa, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (2011), is one such curricula strewn with sensitive and controversial topics in its curriculum-knowledge base. It fails to provide alternative creative pedagogical approaches or a framework that history teachers and their learners can use to engage such topics. As such, both history teachers and their learners are unable to engage with such topics in ways that promote empathy, cognitive, social and epistemic justice, inclusivity, critical thinking, respect, love, and tolerance for others as well as promotion for knowledge co-construction (Keating, 2013), to enable a way of doing history that promotes pluriversal (situated) knowledges (Santos, 2014).

In this paper I explore how decolonial love, as a humanising form, can inform the development of alternative creative pedagogies or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks (Sandoval 2000; Maldonado-Torres 2006). These could assist in creating conditions in which both history teachers and their learners engage "… in the experience of assuming themselves as social, historical, thinking, communicating, transformative, creative persons; dreamers of possible utopias, capable of being angry because of a capacity to love." (Freire, 1998: 45-46). This is based on the understanding that "the potential of decolonizing pedagogies is partly to understand that there is no simple or fail-safe formula that can be used to guide teachers. Also, that pedagogy cannot easily be detached from the content, resources, [assessment] and teacher-[learner] relationship[s] that shape any particular educational moment" (McGregor, 2012: 7).

The first review of the literature is on the teaching of sensitive and controversial topics in colonial-apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. This is based on the argument that the absence of an appropriate pedagogical framework for teaching sensitive histories can

lead to the teaching of dishonest history.[1] I then outline my understanding of decolonial love and how it could inform alternative creative pedagogies or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks that history teachers and their learners employ when engaging sensitive and controversial topics. The study is concluded by making a case for the teaching and learning of sensitive and controversial topics in history through and with decolonial love by reflecting on my own experiences as a history teacher-educator.

Sensitive and Controversial Topics in History during colonial-apartheid and post-colonial-apartheid South Africa: A Literature Review

Wassermann and Bentrovato argue that sensitive and controversial[2] topics characterise South Africa:

> *In South Africa, controversy is never far away, be it in relation to the language of instruction in institutions of learning, university fees, ownership of land, or issues of state capture by corrupt politicians and businessmen. These disputes are but examples of a plethora of controversial issues which South Africans are facing today, and which invariably are underpinned by issues of moral complexity such as race, gender, class, culture, language, and, more generally, politics, economics, and social justice. Against the backdrop of South Africa's apartheid past, race, as its historical legacy, inevitably transcends most matters of controversy; other controversial issues conversely are more contemporary in nature and the results of political and economic policies adopted after apartheid ended in 1994 (Wassermann & Bentrovato, 2018: 72-73).*

1 Drawing from Godsell's (2019: 2) conceptualisation of "honest histories"; I am also aware that my use of the phrase 'dishonest histories' is also contestable. However, I use the phrase to denote the opposite of what Godsell meant about "honest histories". That is, histories that "are [not] evidence based, that are [not] decolonised in that the people writing [and teaching] them are [not] continuously working to undo the colonial lens, who are actively [not] part of re-visioning and uncovering marginalised narratives (that were marginalised because previous histories served specific interests).

2 Larsson and Larsson (2021: 5) assert that there are several types of controversies, and these often are: "[*behavioural*, which is the] the first type of controversy, [which] can occur even though the defended positions can be factually wrong, for example, in cases where people are not sufficiently informed. The second type of controversy, the *political*, relies on Hand's (2007; 2008) distinction between private values, which are individual and embodied, and public values. The latter are foundational moral values on which governments in liberal democratic states plan and implement policy. The third type of controversy arises when each of the opposing views can be defended through rational reasoning. This is an *epistemic* controversy. Scientific over the correct interpretation of contradictory findings can be of an epistemic nature."

These sensitive and controversial topics often find expression in schools, especially in the school history curricula and classrooms (Chikoko, Gilmour, Harber, & Serf, 2011) since schools, their history classrooms, and curricula do not function in a vacuum; they mirror the societies that they are tasked to serve. Thus, both history classrooms and their curricula are "… sites where both inexperienced and experienced teachers and their learners encounter, and inevitably have to engage with, often uncomfortable and diverging "truths" about contested issues in societies." (Wassermann & Bentrovato, 2018: 73).

This, however, was not the case under colonial-apartheid since education was provided along racial, class, gender, and ethnic lines. This form of education emphasised separateness rather than common citizenship. It was also rationalised as a civilising and Christianising mission meant to modernise and develop the natives (Kallaway, 2021), since the natives were seen as being primitive and their histories were considered an extension of European History (Maluleka, 2018). However, the civilising and Christianising mission did not bring about the desired modernization and development it promised. It brought about forced assimilation of the colonised into new colonial identities that eroded social bonding, indigenous beliefs, values, and identities, and it denied indigenous children knowledge of themselves (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022). It also brought about homophobia, subjugation, misery, suffering, enslavement, and various genocides to the natives and their land (Lushaba, 2009). The genocides that the colonised suffered at the hands of the colonisers were excluded from the official school history curricula. The decision made by the colonial-apartheid regimes not to include both the sufferings inflicted on the indigenous populaces by themselves, as well as the exclusion of teaching African histories 'formally' through the official school history curricula was the regimes way of avoiding what they considered to be controversial. What was ironic is that this move itself, was controversial, especially when looked at and judged from the present. However, the colonisers at the time did not consider or see this move as being controversial.

The pedagogical decisions that informed school history under colonial-apartheid were rooted in Euro-western forms of rationality and modernity which included rote learning that was teacher-centred, authority-driven, content-based, examination-based, and elitist (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). This was done to produce 'noble savages' (Hartshorne, 1992). This view is supported by Wassermann when arguing that:

> *Under [colonial-] apartheid, History was taught according to a positivist model in which it was claimed that "objective truthful History" was passed on to learners. Consequently, since both learners and teachers were expected to subscribe to History in an uncritical manner, educational engagement with controversial issues hardly*

> *ever occurred and multiple perspectives to topics were not explored. At face value at least, the idea was created that History was taught in a neutral manner. In reality, School History was dominated by an Apartheid paradigm, an Afrikaner Nationalist framework, and content to support this. As a result, History was used as a tool to legitimize Apartheid (Wassermann, 2011: 131).*

Since 1994, there have been various constitutional and educational reforms meant to bring about an end to the colonial-apartheid model of education (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022). Hence, Kader Asmal[3] argued that "society cannot reconcile itself on the grounds of a divided memory. Since memory is identity, this would result in a divided identity" (Asmal, 2003). These reforms were aimed at achieving three things where school history is concerned. First, making sure that history teachers and their learners acquired the necessary historical skills needed to effectively and meaningfully engage the past (Robinson, 2018). Secondly, developing a common national identity through studying history (Robinson, 2018). This was meant to bring together different peoples who never imagined themselves as belonging to a single nation-state (Weldon, 2009). Thirdly, the need to foster social cohesion with the hopes of transcending "racial, class and ethnic barriers by recognizing the problem of prejudice and the issues facing a multi-cultural society" (Robinson, 2018: np).

Both Curriculum 2005 (C2005) that was adopted in 1997 as part of the National Curriculum Statement, and the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), introduced in 2002 included sensitive and controversial topics in history in their curriculum-knowledge base. Both the C2005 and the RNCS were designed on the principles of social transformation, human rights, inclusivity, and environmental and social justice (Maluleka, 2021a). However, both failed to provide alternative creative pedagogies or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks that history teachers and their learners could use to engage sensitive and controversial topics. What they merely provided were historical skills that both history teachers and their learners could use in engaging such topics. For example, both curricula asserted that the teaching and learning of sensitive and controversial topics in history ought to be taught through critical inquiry (Department of Education [DoE], 1997). History teachers were expected to make sure that their learners work independently "in formulating inquiry questions and gathering, analysing, interpreting and evaluating relevant evidence" (DoE, 1997: 11), and also engage with "a broad range of evidence and diverse points of view" and understand "that historical truth consists of a multiplicity of voices expressing varying and often contradictory versions of

3 Kader Asmal was the Minister of Education in post-apartheid South Africa from 1999–2004.

the same history" (DoE, 1997: 9).

The absence of alternative creative pedagogies or a pedagogical framework led to many history teachers, despite their subject being cluttered with sensitive and controversial topics and "the proclaimed value of teaching controversial issues", deciding "to teach History either in a neutral manner or by uncritically promoting official History as embodied in curricula and textbooks. In so doing they [were] hoping to side-step teaching controversial issues" (Wassermann, 2011: 135). One of the implications of this side-stepping has been the teaching of *dishonest histories*. This often led to the teaching of the past being ahistorical. This was partly to do with "the state and the education system [failing to] consider how much work was needed to dismantle colonial-apartheid education and rebuild something new in its place", and because of this, many history teachers "… decided to go back to teaching from the colonial-apartheid script because that was what they had access to" (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022: 75).

Because of the pedagogical vacuum of both C2005 and the RNCS, the CAPS school history curricula were introduced in 2011 to address this. However, like both its predecessors, the CAPS school history curricula merely offer history teachers and their learners, historical skills to use to engage with the past. It also fails to offer a pedagogical framework that history teachers and their learners can use in their engagement with the past, especially regarding sensitive and controversial topics. This is partly to do with post-apartheid South Africa being "divided in its understanding of [colonial-] apartheid's historical relevance for contemporary society and experiences; questions about *why* contemporary society is the way it is, and what caused it. This divided understanding of historical causality poses challenges for creating a shared national agenda since beliefs concerning the contemporary legacy of [colonial-] apartheid shape many of the defining questions that South Africa faces" (Robinson, 2021: 342-343).

This persistent pedagogical vacuum led Teeger (2015), who conducted a study that involved classroom observations, content analysis of notes distributed in class, and 170 in-depth interviews with in-service history teachers and their learners from multiracial schools in South Africa, to conclude that history teachers teaching the CAPS school history curricula continued to "side-step teaching controversial issues" (Wassermann, 2011: 135).

By teaching "both sides of the story"[4] or "both sides of the coin"[5], taught learners "… to ignore the contemporary effects of [colonial-] apartheid" (Teeger, 2015: 1776). Through such narrative pedagogy learners were taught *not* to "attend to the effects of histories of legislated racism on the present", to minimise *potential* inter-racial conflict in local school contexts, especially history classrooms, while ensuring that teachers maintained their positions "... as authority figures in mixed-race schools, and assuaging [white learners'] feelings of guilt and [African learners'] anger [towards past and present racism that is historical]" (Teeger, 2015: 1776). Although these history teachers meant well, teaching these topics could not be avoided. Despite how learners might have reacted in class, all learners came to history classrooms with a sense of their sensitive and controversial past. They learn about this past at home, the (social) media, in their communities, and beyond in the history classroom. They came to history classrooms with a fair degree of knowledge[6] and often bearing strong feelings about what occurred in the past, that they had not found in another school subject. Teaching sensitive and controversial topics allows history teachers to address historical inaccuracies or misunderstandings that learners might have (also see Robinson, 2022).

Furthermore, an enquiry-based, multi-perspective 'truth-telling' approach to *doing* history, has led to a continued disregard for teaching how contemporary realities (i.e., material, epistemic, economic or otherwise) are informed and shaped by past realities which are characterised by multiple injustices and vice versa (McCully, 2012; Keynes, 2019). Robinson argues that this has led to some history teachers denouncing any attempt from their learners to construct their narratives about sensitive and controversial histories that may be different from those that their teachers held (Robinson, 2021; 2022). Furthermore, this has also led to some South African history teachers denying their learners, especially African learners, from constructing contemporary South African society as a legacy of the colonial-apartheid past (Teeger, 2015). There is, therefore, a need for both history teachers

4 In the absence of a sound pedagogical framework for teaching sensitive and controversial, Teeger asserts that South African history teachers use "both sides of the story" strategy as a pedagogical approach to fill the vacuum created by the absence of a sound pedagogical framework. This approach "… suggests there is another side to the story of apartheid: rather than merely a story of black victims and white perpetrators, it also, importantly, depicts a story of white victims and black perpetrators" (Teeger, 2015: 1185).

5 A phrase used by one of the teachers interviewed by Teeger (2015). The teacher unpacked it this way: "To obviously make them understand that it's not this black versus white situation, that there were whites who disagreed with apartheid and there were those that agreed, so they can get a whole idea of what it's all about" (1186).

6 This knowledge is usually non-specialised or non-formalised, thus everyday knowledge. That is not to say that as particular knowledge is not important, thus it cannot be valued.

and learners to create spaces where being vulnerable because of the past is acceptable and even normal (hooks, 1994). Vulnerability enables both history teachers and their learners to engage with a difficult past in ways that promotes empathy, cognitive, social and epistemic justice, inclusivity, critical thinking, respect, love, and tolerance for others as envisioned in the CAPS. This kind of vulnerability "requires a rigour of reading as well as a rigour of understanding historical narrative and positionality" (Godsell, 2019: 14).

The unfortunate reality of the continued absence of alternative creative pedagogies or a pedagogical framework meant to assist both history teachers and their learners to meaningfully engage with sensitive and controversial topics means that *dishonest histories* continue to be taught in our schools. Both teachers and learners are denied engagements with *honest histories* (Godsell, 2019). To transcend this, alternative creative pedagogies underpinned by *decolonial love* needs to be developed.

Towards alternative creative pedagogies or existing pedagogical frameworks that are decolonised

The 2015/2016 nationwide student protests which I was privileged to join, and were dubbed the #MustFall movement, re-ignited calls for the decolonisation/Africanisation/Transformation of education and schooling in post-apartheid South Africa. These calls were a result of a pervasive coloniality and its power matrix that continues to regard Africans as non-beings or non-human (Lugones, 2010). Hence, Maluleka concluded that the CAPS school history curricula also,

> *… continues to socially produce what journalist Nat Nakasa*[7] *called "natives of nowhere", who are primitive, inferior, irrational, and [African]. These are colonized people who, through the systemic and institutional exclusion of their ways of knowing and being, are dislocated from their being, culture, and indigenous identities (Kumalo 2018, as cited in Maluleka, 2021a: 76-77 (sic)). This has resulted in these colonized people being pariahs who are homeless, de-homed, unhomed, and worldless (Madlingozi, 2018 as cited in Maluleka, 2021a: 76-77).*

This is because the CAPS school history curricula, much like the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), continues to create "an artificial sense of *rupture* between past and present and fail[s] to adequately examine and address aspects of the past

7 Nathaniel Ndazana Nakasa (1937–1965), better known as Nat Nakasa, was a South African journalist who worked in the 1950s during the early years of apartheid.

that have left their remnants in the present" (Teeger, 2014: 73). The stories of ordinary people (i.e., social history) that have suffered political, economic, epistemic, ontological, and educational discrimination under colonial-apartheid and continue to do so well into democracy are overlooked for political history in the school history curricula (Mamdani, 1998).

It is for this very reason that part of the struggle that we forged as Fallists[8] in 2015/2016 was also about contestations surrounding what ought to constitute university and school curricula, pedagogy and assessment in an African context given that the current curricula, pedagogy and assessment continue to embody Eurocentric knowledge traditions, ontological orientations, values, and beliefs that alienate the colonised (Mbembe, 2015; Ngcobozi, 2015; Badat, 2016, 2017; Heleta, 2016; Maringira & Gukurume, 2016; Bosch, 2017). We were calling for a *shift in the geography of reason* (Gordon, 2011) because we came to realise that there was an institutionalised and deeply entrenched coloniality and whiteness in the university and school curricula, pedagogy, and assessment processes (Alasow, 2015; Ngcobozi, 2015; Maxwele, 2016). This resulted, for example, in the unfortunate practice where the historical literature contained in the school history curricula, the pedagogy, and the assessment criteria often continued to portray Africans as people who do not face problems in their lives like everyone else, but as problems in and of themselves (Makhubu & Mbongwa, 2019; Gordon, 2000; Nyoka, 2021).

There was a need to do away with the institutionalised and deeply entrenched coloniality and whiteness that continues to characterise South African universities and schools, especially their curricula, pedagogy, assessment, and institutional culture(s) and to create new *priori* that was decolonised and thus, re-centred the global South's, specifically Africa's epistemic traditions, pedagogies, and assessments more broadly speaking (Mbembe, 2016; Heleta, 2018; Hlatshwayo & Fomunyam, 2019). Hence, in 2015-2016, we as Fallists argued for, and proposed decoloniality as this new priori necessary to realise this.

Thus, in the current study, I explore how the idea of decolonial love (Sandoval, 2000; Maldonado-Torres, 2006), what Mbongwa calls radical love (cited in Makhubu & Mbongwa, 2019), could inform alternative creative pedagogies or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks that history teachers and their learners can employ when engaging sensitive and controversial topics in history. "This is because love is rarely taken seriously as a political [epistemic or pedagogical] strategy in addressing the dire effects of colonialism

8 Fallist is a term that those of us who were part of the #MustFall protests use to describe each other and ourselves.

and continued neo-colonial domination and exploitation. Yet, key political movements of Black consciousness and Black nationalism are centred on love to challenge self-hatred" (Makhubu & Mbongwa, 2019: 12).

What then is decolonial love? For Sandoval (2000), decolonial love is the kind of love that demands one to love oneself,— "it compels [one] to choose [one]self, [it] has no space for any form of violence or abuse, [pedagogical, epistemic,] racial, sexual, ethnic, cultural and religious" (Mbongwa cited in Makhubu & Mbongwa, 2019: 23). This form of self-love is a way of transcending what West (1993:18) calls *nihilism* amongst Africans: "a disease of the soul" which "can never be completely cured", and thus, it "is not overcome by arguments or analyses; it is tamed by love and care".

Decolonial love also encourages one to recognise and affirm others' humanity in its wholeness despite differences (Sandoval, 2000). Hence, Maldonado-Torres (2008: 187) asserts that decolonial love recognises "alliance[s] and affection across lines of difference". This is love that "is predicated on a notion of 'equality', which denies the difference of the other" (Davids, 2019: 114). West (1993: 19) further asserts that, "there is always a chance for conversion – a chance for people to believe that there is hope for the future and a meaning to struggle [but that] turning is done through one's own affirmation of one's worth – an affirmation fuelled by the concern of others". This process of affirming one's worth and that of the other through this kind of love, would result in a situation where the re-humanisation of the dehumanised (colonised) and the dehumaniser (coloniser) occurs (Fanon, 1961; Freire, 1970/1996).

How, then, can decolonial love inform alternative creative pedagogies or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks for teaching and learning sensitive and controversial topics in history? Firstly, decolonial love is understood as a decolonial pedagogical approach that considers education and the teaching of history, as a tool for empowerment and a way of confronting injustices (Villanueva, 2013). It "challenges the dominant practices of schooling and makes schools [especially their history classrooms], concrete sites for developing critical consciousness in the interests of working class, indigenous and [and the colonised]" (Buttaro, 2010: 2). In this sense, *Conscientização* or critical consciousness should be understood as "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970/1996: 17). In other words, it concerns itself with establishing "opportunities to raise [learner] awareness on social issues, differential power, and how to work collectively to facilitate change" (Silva & The Students for Diversity Now, 2018: 2).

Secondly, by deploying decolonial love to inform one's pedagogical practices, history

teachers are better able to recognise that each learner experiences different social, educational, political, and economic conditions before their entry into, and during their participation in, history classrooms (Decolonising SOAS, 2018). By decolonising pedagogy, history teachers are duty-bound to make sure that they level the playing field for learners from different backgrounds as far as possible, and that it is their responsibility to respond to all needs of the different learners in their classrooms (Decolonising SOAS, 2018).

Thirdly, by foregrounding decolonial love in one's teachings, history teachers would be undoing colonial pedagogical practices that do not centre love for oneself and others. By foregrounding decolonial love in their teaching and learning of sensitive and controversial topics, both history teachers and their learners will be engaged in a pedagogical experience that is centred on love, honesty, trust, empathy, collaboration, and critical thinking (Freire, 1970/1996). Irrespective of the anxieties that might arise from engaging with sensitive and controversial topics, it is through such a pedagogical experience that history teachers and their learners would feel safe to contribute freely to the academic exercise, and thus benefit from a space that encourages honest meaningful engagement with past and present realities. This pedagogical experience resonates with Jansen's 'post-conflict pedagogy of hope', which he describes as follows:

> *Hope in a post-conflict pedagogy inside divided communities insists that the stories about oppressing and overcoming are mutually conceived and resolved. In other words, it is absolutely crucial that [history teachers and their learners] understand from the very beginning there were white resistors to slavery and colonialism fighting alongside the black cause (Jansen, 2009: 115).*

Such a pedagogical experience has the potential to inculcate historical consciousness in both history teachers and their learners, which the CAPS school history curricula "does not intentionally promote" although some evidence highlights that some history teachers in post-apartheid South Africa "do evoke very different forms of historical consciousness" (Robinson, 2021: 334). Historical consciousness can be understood as an interpretation of the past with the hope of understanding the present and the consideration of the future (Charland, 2003; Rüsen, 2004; Seixas 2006; Duquette, 2015). In other words, it is the deliberate act of showing how the past is dialectically and intersectionality connected with the present using alternative creative pedagogies, such as Arts-based pedagogies that are underpinned by decolonial love.

Fourthly, the fact that history teachers and their learners fail to recentre decolonial love in their pedagogical choices is an indictment to the embeddedness of coloniality in their

ways of being, knowing and *doing* history. Moreover, it is also an indication of the post-apartheid school history curricula's failure to fully delink from its colonial-apartheid past and from the modernity/coloniality project, especially where pedagogy, epistemology, and assessment are concerned (Mignolo, 2007; Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022). There is a need to unmask coloniality/modernity, not only to dismantle but to transcend it. Deploying decolonial love by history teachers and their learners to inform their pedagogical choices would enable them to solve the continued teaching of *dishonest histories* as well as dissolve the tensions that might arise from teaching *honest histories*. For example, history teachers and their learners would be able to embrace care[9] as part of their pedagogical experiences since it "embraces responsibility yet [. . .] usefully forces attention to the mediation and embeddedness of responsible relations in the interpersonal contact zones of the classroom" (Newstead, 2009: 80). Thus, decolonial love as a *caring pedagogy* goes beyond the co-creation and transmission of knowledge "… to include nurturing relations through which students dare to imagine how to reconstruct their world in new ways" (Millner, 2022: 7). Such a pedagogy does not "deny the importance of pain, grief, or anger in the coming to voice and agency but rather suggests the development of practices of emotional alchemy that are 'difficult … painful' but which enable their transformation into joy, courage, and love, 'without which there can be no wholeness'" (hooks, 2004: 156; Motta, 2014: 170-177).

Lastly, by recentring decolonial love in their pedagogical choices, teachers stand a chance of developing alternative creative pedagogies, such as the use of poetry (Godsell, 2019) to assist them in their teaching of sensitive and controversial topics. This is tied to their idea of recognising that one's learners are different and require different pedagogical strategies to accommodate everyone to have a beneficial academic experience. There is no expression of love greater than this one since it enables both history teachers and their learners to come to terms with the fact that some, among them, continue to benefit from historical injustices, while others continue to be disadvantaged. This way, both history teachers and their learners would, hopefully, realise the importance of working "towards a transformative future that transcends coloniality and its power matrix" (Maluleka, 2021b: 84), in order to empower themselves to "foster their own identities, as opposed to forcing identities upon them" (Dollie et al, 2020: 276). This would result in the re-centring of colonised ways of knowing, being, and doing and thus facilitate engagement with possibilities towards change in the world for the benefit of everyone (McGregor, 2012).

9 Care is one of the cardinal pillars of decolonial love.

When decolonial love underpins the pedagogical practices of both history teachers and their learners, it has the potential of informing their understanding of the legacy of colonial-apartheid and its direct impact on contemporary South Africa in ways that promote empathy, cognitive, social and epistemic justice, inclusivity, critical thinking, respect, love, and tolerance for others as envisioned in the CAPS document (Robinson, 2021).

A case for the Teaching and Learning of Sensitive and Controversial Topics in History through and with Decolonial Love

What is clear is that sensitive and controversial topics in history cannot be avoided. This I first came to realise as a high school history teacher, and now as a university lecturer teaching and researching the past. However, it was through my use of decolonial love in both instances that I was empowered in my teaching and research of sensitive and controversial topics as well as my general interactions with both students, learners, and colleagues.

As a high school history teacher, I had the opportunity of teaching at two historically white schools based in Johannesburg, South Africa. These are schools that under colonial-apartheid admitted and employed only white learners, teachers, and administrative staff. However, with the birth of democracy in South Africa in 1994, "many [history] classrooms in [South Africa became] far more heterogeneous which meant that while there was potential for [history] classrooms to become spaces in which new relationships could be built across racial lines and past prejudices could be broken down, [history] classrooms also became potential sites in which the dynamics of the divisions in the broader society, in many ways the legacies of [colonial-] apartheid, could become exacerbated and perpetuated", especially since post-1994 school history "curricula included the history of [colonial-] apartheid, as well as topics that raised issues of grave social injustice from much further back, such as slavery" (Glanvill-Miller, 2017: 55).

At this point I was determined to turn my history classroom into a space where my learners could *see themselves*, and *feel themselves* more in the work we did in the classroom (Godsell, 2019). This, I believed, needed to be informed by the teaching of honest histories, a rigour of reading and an understanding of historical narrative and positionality, as well as reasoned enquiry into past realities and how they inform present realities (Glanvill-Miller, 2017; Godsell, 2019). To achieve this, the following questions came to mind: how should I teach my learners who come from a divided society about their divided past without instilling anger, discomfort, hurt, offence, and risk and reinforcing those divisions that

already exist amongst them? How do I promote empathy, cognitive, social and epistemic justice, inclusivity, critical thinking, respect, love, and tolerance in my teaching of sensitive and controversial issues? How do I empower the learners to value multi-perspectivism when they engage the past in relation to the present? How do I make them realise that historical narratives are often partial and fragmented, and are frequently politically motivated? Hence, the need to continuously ask: "whose histories, whose voices, whose writing, whose knowledge" is legitimated in the historical record and whose is not? (Bam, Ntsebeza, & Zinn, 2018: 1).

I employed decolonial love in my teaching of controversial and sensitive topics in history since I understood decolonial love to inform a *humanising pedagogy* that is rooted in the Freirean notion of humanisation and focuses on the pursuit of one's full humanity (Freire, 1970/1996; Giroux, 2004). This is because "humanising pedagogies [sic] can become decolonising pedagogies when they involve a reframing of pedagogical practices and theoretical frameworks so that they are forced to explicitly confront coloniality with the aim of dismantling colonial practices" (Zembylas, 2018: 7).

I often used the 'silent conversation'[10] approach to help my learners deal with the emotional toll that comes with learning sensitive and controversial topics in history (Glanvill-Miller, 2017) while at the same time recognising and valuing their prior knowledge, literacies, and identities, thus emphasising their full participation in the teaching and learning process (Fataar, 2016). With this approach, I was able to foster meaningful humanising dialogues among my learners related to the issues taught. These dialogues were characterised by two conditions, namely acknowledging the situated selves; and the ontological need for, and right to, voice one's views (Roux & Becker, 2016; Zembylas, 2018). This made me a *risk-taker*, who fully acknowledge and embraced the social utility of history teaching. I consciously made my learners aware of the relationship between the present and the past, and I was not scared to push the boundaries because I was always ready to seize all opportunities to engage controversial issues in my teaching (Kitson & McCully, 2005).

Other pedagogical strategies that I often used, such as the use of poetry and other arts-based pedagogies were all underpinned by decolonial love which allowed my learners to question and critique the geopolitics of knowledge production; thus, enabling them to face

10 The 'silent conversation' approach uses writing and silence as tools to help learners explore and respond to stimuli related to a topic in depth as articulated in the *Facing History and Ourselves* website: https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/big-paper-building-silent-conversation. Accessed on 16 March 2023.

coloniality at its multiple and complex manifestations and to work through its unmaking (Zembylas, 2018).

As a university lecturer of history, I continued to rely on decolonial love to teach sensitive and controversial topics in history to my students in similar ways to how I taught my high school learners. However, it was at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic that I saw the value of centring decolonial love in my teaching when I had to teach large classes in an online/blended mode at a rural university, the University of Limpopo, South Africa (Maluleka, 2021b). The department in which I was employed in at the University of Limpopo did not dedicate some of its teaching times to tutorials since they did not have a well-established cohort of graduate students to assist with tutoring; and that the university was short-staffed only exasperated matters (Maluleka, 2021b). Because of the decolonial love I had for my students, I employed WhatsApp as a pedagogical tool in establishing and running tutorials. I knew that I "had to think of innovative ways to engage students beyond the scheduled lecture times to make up for what could 'normally' be tutoring periods. That is where WhatsApp comes in. I employed WhatsApp because I wanted to create conditions conducive to engaging students who have felt alienated from the university due to pervasive modernity/coloniality. This I believe was a show of decolonial love, in that, I employed a platform that was not consistent with university rules on teaching and learning platforms to make sure that all students were meaningfully part of the academic project" (Maluleka, 2021b: 87).

These are some of the insights on various aspects of how I deployed decolonial love to ensure that all my learners and students were meaningfully engaged in the academic project and that they succeeded. Those experiences, could be of interest to in-service history teachers and higher education practitioners keen on enacting decolonial love through their teaching to challenge the many inequalities and injustices that continue to confront them and their learners and students.

Conclusion

There is still much to be done to improve how both history teachers and their learners engage with and learn from teaching and learning about sensitive and controversial topics in history. Decolonial love, a form of radical love that is humanising, can enable individuals to work towards alternative creative pedagogies that are decolonised or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks in pursuit of a school history that is inclusive and engaging.
In this paper I discussed how sensitive and controversial topics in history were treated in the

school history curricula under colonial-apartheid as well as in post-apartheid South Africa. I then discussed what decolonial love is, and how it could underpin alternative creative pedagogies that are decolonised or contribute to existing pedagogical frameworks. Lastly, I made a case for the teaching and learning of sensitive and controversial topics in history through and with decolonial love by reflecting on my own experiences of using decolonial love in my teachings, as well as other interactions as both a high school history teacher and a university lecturer teaching history, and how these experiences can be of interest to both history teachers and university practitioners keen on enacting decolonial love through their teaching.

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"Myth" or "construct"?: What students are learning about race in the South African history classroom

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Natasha Robinson
Walter Sisulu University, Mthatha, South Africa
Orcid: 0000-0003-0394-0084
go22691@bristol.ac.uk
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/ 2223-0386/2023/n29a4

Nicholas Kerswill
SEK-Dublin International School, Co.Wicklow, Ireland
nkerswill@claremonthigh.co.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/ 2223-0386/2023/n29a4

Abstract

History education in post-apartheid South Africa addresses topics that are highly salient to the concept of race. To make sense of colonialism, slavery, the Holocaust, and most notably apartheid, students require an understanding of what race is, and how it has been used to justify discriminatory and unjust behaviour. The South African Curriculum and Policy Statements for Grade 9 History therefore devotes two hours to a topic on "the definition of race" (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2011a: 43).

However, what are students learning about 'the definition of race' from their history education? In this article, we draw on our experience as a history educator and history education researcher to argue that students often develop inaccurate and unhelpful understandings of race. This is partially since both the South African history curricula and textbooks describe race as a "myth" (DBE, 2011a, 43; Bottaro, Cohen, Dilley, Duffett, & Visser, 2013) with no scientific or evolutionary basis. Hence, students who learn that race is a 'myth' understandably struggle to understand discourses and policies that refer to racial identity and are at risk of misunderstanding theories of evolution.

While we agree that the concept of race has no legitimate scientific basis, we nonetheless

argue that students require an historical understanding of race; one that demonstrates how racial identities have been constructed in different ways and for different purposes over time. Such an approach would introduce students to the extensive historiography of the construction of race (e.g. DuBois, 1940; Dubow, 1995). By understanding race as a construct rather than a myth, we suggest that students will be better able to engage with the legacies of racialised violence as well as the ways in which racial identity is a legitimate source of meaning for many South Africans.

Keywords: South Africa; Race; History Education; Ethnography

Introduction

"Everyone is saying you shouldn't base university entrance on the colour of your skin, they should base it on your marks", says Amy. "People keep on saying that but then they don't stand up for it, do you know what I mean?"

She looks at me somewhat exasperated as we sit in her Grade 9 History classroom, the afternoon sun streaming through the high sash windows. We are discussing university admissions — a hot topic in this academically competitive Cape Town school — and inevitably the issue of race arises: "The whole world is basing everything on race but really it's just a pigment."

We have heard this reasoning many times in our conversations with young South Africans. It is one of several misunderstandings that stem from the way in which race is discussed in history classrooms. In post-apartheid South Africa, where racial discrimination has been a foundation of centuries of violence and injustice, many educators are eager to reinforce a message of non-racialism. This approach is consistent not only with the African National Congress' (ANC) policy of non-racialism, but also with the South African Curriculum and Policy Statements (CAPS) that advocate "human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia" (DBE, 2011a: 9). As a result, the South African CAPS refer to race as a "myth" with no scientific basis (DBE, 2011a: 43).

However, in this article we draw on hundreds of hours of history teaching and observation, as well as a detailed analysis of CAPS documents and several Grade 9 History textbooks, to question the appropriateness of the CAPS definition of race in the Grade 9 History curricula. Indeed, we argue that the understanding of race as a 'myth' or 'just a pigment' not only prevents students like Amy from engaging with the structural legacies of apartheid, but also results in several dangerous misunderstandings regarding race and evolution. We also suggest that this approach is ahistorical and that it ignores the substantial historical research that details how race as a concept, has been constructed over time.

The argument presented here is not the result of a defined research project, rather it represents the outcome of observations and reflections from several years of professional experience as a history teacher in Cape Town (Nicholas Kerswill) and a history education researcher in South Africa (Natasha Robinson). All observations conducted by Natasha that contributed towards this article were granted ethical permission by both the University of Oxford and the Western Cape Department of Education. The names of all students and schools mentioned in this article are pseudonyms.

This study is structured as follows: First we discuss how race is discussed and defined in the South African CAPS and in popular history textbooks. We then describe some of the common misunderstandings that we have observed in history classrooms because of the ways in which race is defined. In the third section we outline some of the ways in which history textbooks in the UK and historians internationally, have discussed the construction of race. The study is concluded with a suggestion that history teachers and curricula should rely less on the scientific claim that race does not exist and instead, help students to understand the historical ways in which race as a concept, has been constructed.

How the South African history curriculum teaches the complexities of race

History education in post-apartheid South Africa addresses topics that are highly salient to the concept of race. To make sense of colonialism, slavery, the Holocaust, and most notably apartheid, students require an understanding of what race is, and how it has been used to justify discriminatory and unjust behaviour. The South African CAPS for Grade 9 History therefore devotes two hours to a topic on "the definition of race" (DBE, 2011a: 43) as an introduction to studying apartheid.

However, the approach to teaching racism outlined by CAPS draws far more from natural science than it does from the humanities. Teachers are asked to cover two points: "Human evolution and our common ancestry" (DBE, 2011a: 43) and "The myth of race" (DBE, 2011a: 43).

The CAPS document clarifies this evolutionary focus on race by stating:

> *People often ask how understanding human evolution helps us. The issue of 'race' still vexes South African society today. Scientists say that 'race' is a cultural or social construct and not a biological one. Apartheid ideology, for example, selected superficial criteria of physical appearance to create categories of people and used these to classify people into 'population groups'. The study of human evolution shows us that we share a common ancestry - we are all Africans in the sense that we all descended from ancestors who lived in Africa as recently as 100 000 years ago* (DBE, 2011a: 43).

In this clarification, the CAPS document acknowledges that race is a "social construct" (DBE, 2011a: 43), yet does not define what is meant by "construct". It then continues to place emphasis on "the study of human evolution" (DBE, 2011a: 43) to argue that all humans share a common ancestor.

This natural science-focused approach to teaching about race is also reflected in the

presentation of race in history textbooks. The *Oxford University Press* textbook (Bottaro et al., 2013: 124), for example, discusses the development of hominids over approximately four-million years, accompanied by a picture showing the evolution of human beings. It speaks about the Cradle of Humankind in Africa and how early modern humans spread from Africa to the rest of the world. The *Maskew Miller Longman* textbook (Earle, Keats, Edwards, Sauerman, Roberts & Gordon, 2013: 158) devotes a page to "The Human evolution and our common ancestry", with a lengthy discussion of Australopithecines (otherwise known as 'southern ape'). The *Vivlia* textbook (Jardine, Monteith, Versfeld, & Winearls, 2013: 142) similarly describes how "our ancestors evolved in Africa, and then spread from Africa into Europe and Asia, and eventually to Australia and the Americas".

The purpose of this brief introduction to evolution is to show students that there are no genetic differences between people of different races. Race — according to the curricula — is therefore a "myth", which the *Oxford University Press* textbook defines as "a belief that is not based on fact" (Bottaro et al., 2013: 126). However, the terms 'historical construct' or 'social construct' are not used in the Grade 9 textbooks. Race as a concept, is simply described as non-factual, which implies that people who evoke race or are racist, are therefore irrational.

It is notable that CAPS documents do discuss "theories of race and eugenics" in Term 2 of the Grade 11 curricula, when students revisit the history of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. In Grade 11, the CAPS document re-emphasises the "unscientific bases" on which racial theories lie and which have "been discredited by modern genetic research" (DBE, 2011b: 21). Importantly, it also discusses how notions of race were applied in different ways at different times and in different contexts. However, even within this section which discusses race as a social construct, the "modern understanding of race" is described as the "human genome project" (DBE, 2011b: 21). The curriculum does not discuss how 'modern' South Africans might engage with race as something other than 'unscientific'.

History education within South Africa therefore leaves students without a framework for understanding how contemporary society engages with racial identities in meaningful ways. This is particularly true for most South African students who stop studying history after Grade 9, when it is no longer compulsory. The only message that these students are taught is that race is a myth that some people used for the purposes of discrimination.

What are students learning?

The approach to focus on race through a scientific evolutionary lens in a history textbook,

and conclude that it is a myth without explaining how such a myth was constructed, presents several challenges in the classroom. As an anthropologist of history education and a South African history educator, we have taught and observed Grade 9 History classes in a total of eleven Cape Town schools (see Dryden-Peterson and Robinson, 2013; Robinson, 2021). From our observations regarding how students engage with ideas of race, we outline three common misunderstandings.

Misunderstanding #1: "Race doesn't exist"

The first misunderstanding — that we commonly observed among White students — is the idea that since race 'doesn't exist', all mention of race must be at best irrational and at worst racist. The idea that 'race is a myth' aligns with a colour-blind agenda that proves comfortable for White students, and which largely absolves them from looking for the deeper structural causes of racial inequality in South Africa. These students challenge discourses concerning 'white spaces' or 'black culture', since to notice how race intersects with lived experience (in ways both oppressive and emancipatory) is to accept the myth.

An understanding of race as myth therefore, reinforces what Conradie (2016: 9) refers to as "power-evasive discourses" which "serve to justify the desire to avoid obtaining knowledge about the way race plays out in society". If all discussion of race is racist, then the relationship between power and race cannot be legitimately investigated or identified. Sue (2013: 666) explain that the fear of appearing racist in public hinders White students' willingness to gain knowledge about the social construction of race and to concede the possibility of new racism. Racism, according to Conradie (2016: 9), is therefore typically confined to anomalous individuals, with the corollary that systemic racism is isolated to a history that ended in 1994 and which has no bearing on the past.

White students who we have observed and taught seemed to baulk at using race as a heuristic for privilege or lack of privilege and instead, preferred to discuss individual circumstances. One of our students in a focus group suggested that a child who is Black and poor may in fact be more privileged than his wealthy White peer, if the Black child has loving parents but the White child has abusive parents. Our students' unwillingness to see race or poverty as structural, reflected Vincent's (2008: 1432) observation that:

> *Social ills are crafted as problems located within specific individual relationships and the possibilities for social action are thus undermined. The hegemonic liberal humanist discourse insisting that we focus on our "common humanity" erases the specificities of raced experiences and evades the question of who has the power to define that humanity.*

Related to this misunderstanding was confusion — on behalf of students of all racial identities — over the ubiquity of racial terminology within South African society and in particular, the idea that race might be legally used to determine opportunities. Affirmative action, most visibly in the form of university entrance, was very upsetting to some students who interpreted it as hypocritical and "reverse racism" (Robinson, 2021: 258).

The curriculum's message that race is a "myth" (DBE, 2011a: 43) reflects a tension within the South African government's position on non-racialism. On the one hand, students were attracted to South Africa's non-racial Constitution[1] (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: 3) and its commitment to making non-racialism a social reality. Non-racialism appears to be a logical consequence of a belief that race is a 'myth'. Yet, on the other hand, students' understanding of race as a myth prevented any acceptance of the ruling party's position that "racial classification cannot be avoided if we are to ensure representivity in the state and in society generally" (African National Congress, 2005). Indeed, this was not surprising given that the only forms of racial classification that students had been exposed to in history class were the Holocaust and apartheid.

The subtle distinctions between non-racialism as a reality vs an aspiration are well articulated by Suttner (2012: 27) who explains that:

> *The proposition that races do not exist is correct at an ontological level, for the construction of the concept of 'generic human' explicitly repudiates the invocation of any predicates whatsoever. But race, like class, therefore both does not exist ontologically (for generic humanism) and does exist structurally for it has been and is a mechanism of inequality like class.*

To assume — as the CAPS document does — that racial justice will be served from an acknowledgement that race does not exist ontologically, is as misguided as thinking that class inequalities will disappear if we acknowledge that class does not ontologically exist. Instead, Suttner warns that attempts to erase the significance of racial categories raises a danger of premature closure in addressing historic disabilities in all their forms. Suttner suggests that "non-racialism can only be viable if it also recognises and is not in conflict with attempts to address distinct qualities and experiences, particularly disadvantage and disabilities of various groups" (2012: 36). However, this approach to non-racialism can only make sense to students if they are taught about the structural existence of race as well as its ontological non-existence.

1 See Statutes, 1996: section 1(b), where it is described as one of the values on which the state is founded.

Misunderstanding #2: "Evolution didn't happen"

The second misunderstanding that we observed concerns the curricula and textbooks' reliance on theories of evolution to argue that race is a myth. In a highly religious country, such as South Africa, we observed how meaningful conversations about race during history lessons could be easily waylaid as students attempted to reject evolutionary theories in favour of creationism. This becomes particularly challenging given that the widely used *Vivlia* textbook cites Jared Diamond's *The Third Chimpanzee* (1991), which some of our students took as evidence of the claim that people used to be monkeys.

From a religious perspective the implication that human beings were monkeys is hugely inflammatory and the classroom discussions can quickly devolve into a discussion regarding the merits of evolutionary theory. When coupled with the absolute terms in which human evolution is described, textbook sections on race begin to feel both unhelpful and unnecessary. Evolution, a controversial theory to many, is used to justify anti-racism, which is a very uncontroversial idea among Grade 9 students.

The reliance on theories of evolution to discuss the nature of race is surprising for two reasons. First, students will not explicitly encounter theories of evolution in their natural science classes until Grade 12. Discussions of evolution in Grade 9 History classes may therefore be the first time that students formally engage with these theories. It is likely that they have not developed the scientific literacy to engage with such challenging and controversial concepts. Second, history educators are rarely trained to teach complex scientific concepts.

Indeed, as Sutherland and L'Abbé (2019: 1) argue, even among natural science teachers and learning materials, theories of evolution are poorly taught. For example, they found scientifically incorrect statements in all the curriculum statements and in eight of the recommended Life Sciences textbooks. Such errors included what Sutherland and L'Abbé refer to as "evolution on demand" and "survival of the fittest" (2019: 3).

Sutherland and L'Abbé (2019: 3) described "evolution on demand" as being characterised by teleological and anthropomorphic thinking in which 1) changing food types or environments cause evolution to occur, 2) individuals evolve 3) within their lifetime and 4) they decide to undergo these changes because they know the changes will be favourable, and 5) this evolution occurs in order to prevent extinction.

Sutherland and L'Abbé (2019: 3) describe "survival of the fittest" as implying that 1) only the fittest, or those with favourable adaptations survive, 2) less favourably adapted organisms will die or become extinct, 3) only the fittest will reproduce, while those not

considered fit cannot reproduce, 4) all the offspring of those with favourable traits will inherit the favourable traits, and 5) the whole population will eventually be made up of only individuals with favourable traits.

As well as this inaccurate and inadequate learning material, Sutherland and L'Abbé (2019: 4) found that Life Science teachers in South Africa were averse to teaching evolution because, a) they lack the content knowledge; b) they experience a conflict between their own religious beliefs and the requirement to teach evolution; and/or c) they are afraid of the reactions of their students or students' parents. Abrie (2010) for example, studied South African student teachers' attitudes towards teaching evolution and found that student teachers were largely religious and rejected the theory of evolution, with only 42% of student teachers participating in Abrie's study agreeing that evolution should be a compulsory part of the Life Sciences curriculum. Similarly, Mpeta, de Villiers and Fraser (2014: 160) found that among Grade 12 Life Science students in the Vhembe District of the Limpopo Province, South Africa, less than half of the students accepted the theory of evolution as scientifically valid.

Given that even Grade 12 Life Science teachers and students struggle to engage with evolution, it is not surprising that Grade 9 History teachers and students find this framing of race as particularly challenging and unhelpful. While we welcome the need for students to learn about theories of evolution, we suggest that using evolution to introduce a topic as contentious as the nature of race seems unwise. Indeed, the inclusion of evolution as an entry point to discussions about race perhaps betrays a bias on the part of the curriculum developers who may not be aware of the challenges of teaching evolution in South Africa.

Misunderstanding #3: "Racial hierarchies exist"

The last misunderstanding is perhaps the most disturbing, although it is not something that we have personally observed. Several scholars (Pandor, 2002: 63; Parle & Waetjen, 2005: 529; Sutherland & L'Abbé, 2009: 5) noted that some South African students are misconstruing theories of evolution to conclude that Black people are less evolutionarily advanced than White people. Our sense is that this is not something which teachers are communicating, however, rather what students are interpreting from the textbooks. For example, the Grade 9 History textbooks say that hominids originated in Africa — and were therefore 'African', suggesting that Africans are less evolved humans. Likewise, textbook images show darker-skinned hominids evolving into lighter-skinned 'modern humans'. There is a risk of conflation between White, modern, and human, in contrast to Black, pre-

modern, and hominid.

Parle and Waetjen (2005: 529) discuss this challenge in some depth in relation to the 'Africa in the World: From Mascence to Renaissance' (AITW) course they were teaching. Launched in 2001, AITW was conceptualised as the 'content' and 'bridging' course on the Pietermaritzburg campus of the former University of Natal. Evolution was covered in this course to emphasise the central role that Africa plays in human development. However, not only did students resist learning about human evolution for reasons of faith, some also perceived evolution as an attempt to assert the 'primitiveness of African people'.

For example, Parle and Waetjen (2005: 529) note that several students accused the instructor:

> *Of making the claim that Africans were 'closer' to early hominid species, due to their continued residence in the 'cradle of humanity' while other ancestors had migrated and moved on. They perceived that climatic adaptations such as skin colour and hair texture must be indications of 'development' or 'advancement' in the case of populations who moved out of Africa. The logic they attributed to the evolutionary scenario seemed to be that the negative aspects of the current African social plight (famine, conflict, HIV/ AIDS) were somehow due to a stagnation associated with natural selection. The instructor also experienced several crude and angry accusations that she was saying that 'Africans were closer to ape ancestors' because they were 'still' in Africa. Finally, a kind of Darwinian ('survival of the fittest') logic was also employed by students to explain why some Africans were now wealthy while others were poor – the new 'free market' post-apartheid environment being the context requiring new 'adaptations'.*

Related to this misunderstanding, Parle and Waetjen (2005: 529) also document students drawing the opposite racial conclusions from evolution as the ones described above. Instead, some students consider evolutionary theories as new ways of conceptualising 'racial purity'. Parle and Waetjen report that "Some students felt that the 'out of Africa' thesis was an indication that the only 'pure race' was the 'black man' and that 'all other races' were derivatives" (2005: 529). Furthermore, "this knowledge augmented a 'native/ settler' dichotomy, by increasing the indigeneity of people with dark skin who continued to live on the continent, while augmenting the alienness or foreignness of people from other continental (European, Indian, American) diasporas" (Parle & Waetjen, 2005: 529).

It is interesting to note that students' misunderstandings regarding Africans' failure to evolve, or Africans' racial 'purity', reflect some of the misunderstandings that Sutherland and L'Abbé (2009: 5) identified in their analysis of Life Science learning materials. The intention to use evolutionary theory to emphasise the unscientific basis for race therefore

risks backfiring. Without students having already developed strong scientific literacy, they may use evolutionary theory to reinforce a belief in racial science.

Towards an historical understanding of race

In a country with such a damaging legacy of racism there is a legitimate need and desire to communicate in the clearest possible terms that racism is irrational and wrong. However, as the examples above show, the language of scientific 'fact' is not always a straightforward way to communicate that message.

Even if evolutionary theory helps students to understand that race is not 'real' in any biological sense, it does not help them to make sense of the highly racialised society that they live in. Crucially, it does not answer the questions that our students pose, such as "*Why, of all the races, did White people end up on top*?" or even more heart-wrenching, "*Why do White people hate us*?"

To answer these questions an historical understanding of race is required, rather than simply a scientific understanding. Similarly, we need to move away from describing race as a 'myth' — as though it was a story without clear origins — and start describing race as a construct, which is and has been constructed in different ways throughout time by people with agency. Constructs are defined as concepts that do not exist in objective reality, however, as a result of human interaction. While a scientific explanation can be helpful for explaining that race is a construct, we need an historical explanation to teach students how and why race has been constructed.

WEB DuBois was a leading thinker in regards to the historical construction of race, writing in 1940 that, "it is easy to see that scientific definition of race is impossible" (DuBois, 1940: 137). Instead, DuBois argued that:

> *The discovery of personal whiteness among the world's peoples is a very modern thing, -a nineteenth and twentieth century matter, indeed. The ancient world would have laughed at such a distinction. The Middle Age regarded skin color with mild curiosity; and even up into the eighteenth century we were hammering our national manikins into one, great, Universal Man, with fine frenzy which ignored color and race even more than birth"* (DuBois, 1920: 923).

According to DuBois, the "scheme" of dividing people according to colour was a way in which "white civilization" (1920: 932) could overcome the impossibility of the continued subjection of the White working classes. Advances in education, political power, and increased knowledge of the industrial process were destined to equalise wealth, placing

the position of the very rich at risk in "white nations" (1920: 932). DuBois argued that this challenge was overcome through the "exploitation of darker peoples" which offered immense profit, yet, required the invention of "the eternal world-wide mark of meanness, - colour!" (1920: 932).

There are several new resources for teaching an historical approach to how the concept of race was constructed and increasingly, these approaches are being adopted in the USA and UK.[2] These approaches draw on a Du Boisian intellectual tradition that understands the construction of racial identities as a justification for African enslavement. As *Facing History and Ourselves* describes:

> *Despite the fact that Enlightenment ideals of human freedom and equality inspired revolutions in the United States and France, the practice of slavery persisted throughout the United States and European empires. In the late 1700s and early 1800s, American and European scientists tried to explain this contradiction through the study of "race science," which advanced the idea that humankind is divided into separate and unequal races. If it could be scientifically proven that Europeans were biologically superior to those from other places, especially Africa, then Europeans could justify slavery and other imperialistic practices (Facing History and Ourselves: np).*

Within this approach, students are taught that race — although having no scientific basis — was invented for the political purposes of maintaining power and economic superiority.

This historical approach to race is also discussed in a new history textbook on the British Empire that was published this year (2023) in the UK (Kennett et al. 2023). In this textbook, the authors explain:

> *There is no scientific evidence for race, but race is an important identity for many people. Its definition changes throughout history. The way in which people are grouped into races shifts, as does the way these groups are treated… Race is a 'construct' - its definition changes depending on the meaning people give to it* (Kennett et al 2023: 66).

The afore-mentioned textbook goes on to outline how ideas surrounding race changed across four time periods (before 1650, 1650–1800, 1800–1900, and 1900–the present) as well as how these ideas had a changing impact on the British Empire. Particularly interesting is how this textbook describes the ways in which scientific racism justified

2 It is worth noting, however, that the influence of these new learning resources on students' beliefs surrounding race has not been explored.

colonisation since "the British believed they had racial superiority and could colonise other races" (Kennett, Thorne, Barma, Allen, Durbin, Hibbert, Patel, Quinn, Stevenson, Stewart & Yasmin, 2023: 66).

One of the most useful resources for teachers is a *Guardian* article by Baird (2021, np). The article entitled "The invention of whiteness: the long history of a dangerous idea" argues that White superiority was invented as a way of justifying the slavery of Africans. Previously, such slavery was justified on the basis that these Africans were not Christian, however, as missionaries started to convert enslaved Africans to Christianity, a new justification was required. People who previously would not have identified as White started to do so as a means of legitimating their dominance.

Teaching the historical construction of race in practice

There are few available case studies of how teachers have taught the construction of race in their history classrooms, and certainly more research is required. However, one valuable example from the UK is Kerry Apps article in *Teaching History* entitled "Inventing race?" (2021). Apps (2021) documents how her Year 8 students used early modern primary sources to investigate the complex origins of racial thinking in the past, in order that students could understand why the experiences of Black people were different during the Tudor/Stuart expansion, and the trade in enslaved peoples.

The enquiry that Apps developed for her students spanned four history lessons and the summary can be found in the table below (Apps, 2021: 13):

Lesson 1: What were attitudes to Africa and people of African descent 1500–1603?	• link back to Kaufmann's (2017) Black Tudors (2017), but also African kingdoms • source material relating to attitudes prior to English involvement in the transatlantic slave trade • descriptions of Benin, the Moroccan delegation and sources upon ideas of difference and early involvement in slave trading

Lesson 2: How did the transition to enslavement have an impact on attitudes towards people from Africa?	• link back to colonisation • explanation of the shift towards the use of enslaved labour • section of Pseudodoxia Epidemica showing developing explanations of difference, Genesis 9:10, Barbados Slave Code excerpt, Morgan Godwyn's call for conversion
Lesson 3: What can Anthony Johnson's story tell us about colonisation's impact on attitudes to people of African descent in the colonies?	• link back to Virginia • introduction of 1619 as date of initial arrival of enslaved peoples from Angola • Anthony and Mary Johnson's story through snippets of colonial records – enslavement, freedom, building of a large estate, and descendants' loss of land
Lesson 4: When was 'race' 'invented'?	• looking back over prior material – when did ideas of difference or interest in Africa (positive and negative) shift to a hardening into concepts of 'Whiteness' and 'Blackness'? • a card sort through which pupils order the material and try to establish when 'race' developed

Apps (2021: 16) documents the positive learning outcomes from her students as a result of this enquiry. She notes that "my students had clearly been able to use the source record to discern a distinct shift between 1500 and 1700. The students perceived that the initially positive reaction of the English to African people such as John Blanke ultimately gave way to the negative implications of the slave codes" (Apps, 2021: 17). Apps goes further to say that, "understanding the historic roots of these ideas is powerful knowledge both because it gives pupils power in understanding subsequent periods and because it equips students to discern and deal with the modern consequences of these ideas" (2021:

18). Examples of students' analysis of the sources following this enquiry can be found in the original *Teaching History* article (Apps, 2021: 18).

Constructing ideas of race in South Africa

The examples noted above, address the construction of race in Europe and the Americas. There is a conspicuous lack of teaching resources that address the historical construction of race in the South African context. However, this is not because the historiography does not exist. Indeed, the history of the construction of race in Southern Africa is fascinating.

Saul Dubow (1995) (now a professor at Cambridge University) published the ground-breaking monograph entitled *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*. This book details the extensive debates that were ongoing throughout the 20th century among physical anthropologists who were trying (and failing) to develop a coherent theory of racial difference in Southern Africa. The desire to explore racial difference emerged from the typological method which lay at the heart of physical anthropology and which encouraged a belief in the existence of ideal categories. According to Dubow (1995: 114), this typological impulse was then overlaid by binary-based notions of superiority and inferiority, progress, and degeneration.

Of particular interest in Dubow's (1995: 84) work are the ways in which scholars of the time attempted to develop racial ideas to suit political ends without contradicting scientific evidence. For example, the Hamitic myth — used to justify the stigmatisation of Africans as the descendants of Noah's cursed son Ham — endured because of its capacity to adapt "in order to take account of changing ideological demands." (Dubow, 1995: 84). Through reinterpreting the Bible, many authorities declared that only Canaan-son-of-Ham had been cursed. Thus, the Egyptians (with their impressive civilisation) re-emerged as the uncursed progeny of Ham by way of his other son, Mizraim. This reinterpretation justified a belief that "Caucasian Egyptians" (Dubow, 1995: 84) were unrelated and superior to the "lowly" Negro (Dubow, 1995: 84). The history of Africa, according to this 'science', became one of tracing the superior Caucasian influence through the Sub-Saharan African population.

Dubow (1995: 285) also highlights how scientific racism became an important justification for social ordering as South Africa began to industrialise. The impact of rapid industrialisation on predominantly agrarian societies was profound and brought with it the characteristic problems and anxieties associated with modernity; proletarianism, mass poverty, crime, disease, and social breakdown. According to Dubow (1995), the concerns of racial science spoke directly to these anxieties; "its findings helped to rationalize social

strictures against racial and cultural inter-mixture, and its warnings of pollution, defilement and degeneration served as powerful justifications of the need for statutory segregation along lines of color" (285). In this way, racial science helped to facilitate the realisation and ideological maintenance of White power and authority.

However, apartheid continued to exist long after scientific theories that justified White superiority were debunked. Dubow (1995: 288) argues that the advent of the Second World War and the revelations about the Nazi use of eugenics which followed it, marked a dramatic shift in scientific attitudes to the force of heredity. At this time, there was a remarkable mid-century transformation in the understanding of the relationship between biology and society. For example, the 1950s UNESCO publication entitled *The Race Question* states that "it is impossible to demonstrate that there exist between "races" differences of intelligence and temperament other than those produced by cultural environment" (3).

The gradual unpicking of racial science that ran parallel to the gradual reinforcement of apartheid segregation throughout the second half of the Twentieth Century challenges the assumption that scientific beliefs about race shaped racially discriminatory policy. Indeed, as Gilbert (2019: 372) has argued, apartheid logic did not rely on scientific racism. For example, many apartheid-era history textbooks used the language of 'race' to explain Nazi actions in a way that recognised no relationship to apartheid's anti-black racism. Gilbert (2019: 371) goes on to say that although race was the key organising principle for all areas of life in apartheid South Africa, race was not conceptualised scientifically. She quotes the sociologist Deborah Posel (2001), who argues that apartheid ideologues "eschewed a science of race, explicitly recognising race as a construct with cultural, social and economic dimensions" (53).

It would therefore be a mistake to simply equate the racism of apartheid with the racisms that had existed prior to apartheid; different discriminatory logics were used to justify similar racial hierarchies. Dubow, for example, noted that, "Those who until very recently took black incapacity for granted, and designed social policies to reflect that 'fact', now speak smoothly of 'underprivileged communities' and 'educational disadvantage.'" (1995: 291). If 'flawed' scientific knowledge is not the cause of racism, then 'correct' scientific knowledge will not be the solution to racism.

Conclusion

We have argued that the concept of race should be taught as a 'construct' and not a 'myth' in South Africa. The current evolutionary approach to teaching about race in Grade 9 History

poses two serious challenges. The first is that evolutionary theories are highly contested by many South Africans and the second, is that most history teachers are not scientifically trained and therefore, ill-equipped to draw connections between race and evolution.

Given these constraints, the association created between evolutionary theories and racial theories can result in dangerous misunderstandings. As we have demonstrated both from our own observations and a review of the literature, students are at risk of concluding: a) that race does not exist and therefore, concerns about structural racism are unjustified; b) that evolution is a false theory that offends their religious beliefs and identities as human; or c) that racial hierarchies exist because evolution is evidence of the underdevelopment of Black people, or the purity of Black people. Ironically, these misunderstandings are in direct opposition to the learning objectives established by CAPS.

In contrast, a focus on the shifting historical construction of racial ideas is more appropriate for the history classroom, and would reflect international best practice. Such an approach would emphasise the ways in which ideas surrounding race have changed over place and time; how ideas about race and the science that has supported those ideas, have responded to the needs and interests of powerful groups; and, how people can both believe that race is a 'myth' while also engaging in violently racist behaviour.

South Africa is currently undergoing a review of its history curriculum which offers opportunities to rethink the way we teach fundamental concepts. The historiography we have discussed represents only a fraction of the research that has been undertaken on the history of the idea of race in South Africa. However, our purpose in presenting some of these arguments has been to demonstrate that this historical research exists, and that it could be used to inform an approach to teaching the concept of race to Grade 9 students.

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Attempts to (re)capture the school history curriculum? Reflections on the history ministerial task team's report

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Paul Maluleka
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
Orcid: 0000-0003-3168-150X
Paul.maluleka@wits.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/ 2223-0386/2023/n29a5

Lesiba Tumishang Ledwaba
North-West University, Vanderbijlpark, South Africa
Orcid: 0000-0002-0482-9997
Tumi.ledwaba@nwu.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/ 2223-0386/2023/n29a5

Abstract

The History Ministerial Task Team Report (HMTT) on the proposed compulsory school history in South Africa was made public in February 2018. Ever since, it has generated many debates and concerns among in- and pre-service history educators, History (of) Education scholars as well as the general public. Many of these concerns are premised on the fear that there is an attempt, at least by the state, through the work of the HMTT to (re)capture school history. This (re)capture, some argue, would deliver a school history that is both nationalist and patriotic in its approach, and glorifies only the African National Congress's (ANC) role in history, much in the same way as the apartheid curriculum glorified the role of the National Party (NP), Afrikaner nationalism and white supremacy thinking. However, we are convinced that there might as well be a different reading of the HMTT and its Report; thus, a different form of (re)capture. In this paper, we will explore, theorise and reflect on the HMTT's work and Report, as well as recent scholarly debates regarding the HMTT itself and its Report. This we do by employing the notion of (re)capture as our theoretical framework which is derived from the current 'state capture' discourse in South

Africa. We then use this theoretical lens to review literature on the contested epistemic nature of school history, as well as to read and make sense of the HMTT and its Report. We conclude that those who argue that there are indeed attempts to (re)capture the school history for narrow nationalistic aspirations which are nativist in nature, provide us with a different reading of the HMTT and its report. We contend that the form of (re)capture advanced by the HMTT, and its Report is for a greater cause related to current calls for decolonisation and Africanisation of school history in post-apartheid South Africa — where the colonised ways of knowing and being can also take centre stage in the historical literature and where cognitive, epistemic, existential, and ontological justice is realised.

Keywords: HMTT; Decolonisation; School history; South Africa; State capture; South Africa

Introduction

Since 1994, there have been attempts by the democratic state and other stakeholders involved in History (of) Education to remove the colonial and apartheid make-up that characterised the education system (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022). In the case of school history, it was hoped that *seriti sa MaAfrika*[1] would be re-established (Mphahlele, 2013) by countering the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, neoliberalism, as well as a pervasive coloniality and its colonial matrix of power that currently characterise the post-apartheid school history curriculum. This is because all of these characterisations continue "to socially produce what journalist Nat Nakasa[2] called "natives of nowhere" who are primitive, inferior, irrational, and [African]" (Maluleka, 2021: 76). Five major attempts of *Ukuhlambulula*[3], the cleansing of school history, have been initiated since then, with the latest attempt being the ongoing work of the History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT) – whose work we reflect on in this paper. By using the notion of (re)capture as a theoretical lens, we investigate, make sense, and reflect on the contested epistemic nature of school history as a discipline to show how, over the years, the subject has been (re)captured by both the colonial and apartheid regimes for their narrow colonialist and nationalistic interests. We also use this theoretical lens to reflect on the curriculum developments post-1994, as well as the HMTT, its Report, and recent debates surrounding the HMTT and the Report itself. We then advance an argument that supports the HMTT and its Report insofar as a decolonised and Africanised school history underpinned by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach based on a trans-modern pluriversal view which is to be realised (Dussel, 2012; Santos, 2014; Fataar, 2022).

We now turn to outline the theoretical perspectives of our paper, which is the notion of (re)capture derived from the discourse on 'state capture' to accentuate how it offers a useful framework for thinking through and reflecting on the contested epistemic nature of school history in colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid South Africa.

1 "Loosely translated this means the restoration of the dignity of Africans. *Seriti* means 'a shadow' – is also more than an individual's existential quest for appearance. It is a 'life force by which a community of persons are connected to each other' (Muvangua & Cornell, 2012: 529; Maluleka, 2021: 77).

2 Nathaniel Ndazana Nakasa (1937–1965), better known as Nat Nakasa, was a South African journalist during the apartheid era.

3 Tisani conceptualises ukuhlambulula as a process of cleansing, which entails "cleansing – inside and outside, touching the seen and unseen, screening the conscious and unconscious. This includes healing of the body and making whole the inner person, because in African thinking 'there is an interconnectedness of all things' (Thabede, 2008:238)" (Tisani, 2018: 18).

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Theoretical insights: From state capture to epistemic (re) capture

In recent times there has been the popularisation of the concept of 'state capture' in South Africa, especially during the tenure of former President Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma whose Presidency has been described by some in his political home, the African National Congress (ANC), as the "nine wasted years" (Ramaphosa, 2019). These nine wasted years are believed, by those who advance this narrative, to have become synonymous with allegations of corruption, mismanagement of state funds and resources, and the erosion of the citizenry's trust in the ability of the government to lead the country. Some analysts hold the view that "the notion of state capture has long been part of the dealings of the ruling party, the ANC, but has been concealed by the fact that the South African state has not been regarded as a failed or failing state" (Martin & Solomon, 2016: 21).

What then is 'state capture', especially in South Africa? To understand this concept, one needs to investigate the formation of the South African State dating back to colonialism and how different governments and those powerful in society have over the years (re)captured the South African State for their selfish political, economic, epistemic, and ideological interests. One also needs to investigate the post-1994 activities that led to the establishment of the *Judicial Commission of Inquiry into allegations of State Capture, Corruption, and Fraud in the Public Sector, including Organs of State* on 23 January 2018, which was established:

> *… pursuant to the remedial action taken by the then-Public Protector, Adv T Madonsela, in her "State of Capture" Report in October 2016. That Report arose from Phase 1 of an investigation she conducted concerning certain complaints she had received which included certain allegations of improper conduct on the part of the then President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Jacob Zuma, and on the part of certain members of the Gupta family. The remedial action included that President Zuma should appoint a judicial Commission of Inquiry to be chaired by a Judge selected solely by the Chief Justice* (Zondo, 2022: 1).

Currently, two perspectives on 'state capture' exist in South Africa. The first is a narrative that focuses on the influence wielded by the Gupta brothers, who are believed to be friends of former President Zuma and have allegedly been influential in the appointment of cabinet ministers as well as senior government officials, in securing lucrative estate tenders. The second perspective argues that 'white monopoly capital' continues to influence the appointment of cabinet ministers, and senior government officials to secure lucrative state tenders (Bond, 2020). The term 'white monopoly capital' is used in reference to the

Oppenheimer, Kebble, Rupert, and many other rich White families whose wealth is because of the theft that took place during colonialism and apartheid, as well as the enrichment obtained through the establishment of lucrative multinational companies.

'State capture' as a theoretical concept and phenomenon is not unique to (South) Africa. The term was first observed by Hellman, Jones, and Kaufmann (2000) while working on the first Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey in 1999 on behalf of the World Bank and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Dassah asserts that:

> *Hellman and colleagues used the term 'state capture' to describe a new dimension corruption had taken in East European countries moving from planned to market economy. 'State capture' was coined and used in referring to the existence of three grand corruption aspects among political and business elites in the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, which involved 'payment of bribes to gain contracts but also the purchase of political influence' (Hall 2012: 4). The phenomenon derives from the notion of regulatory capture (Wren-Lewis 2011: 148), which is about a problematic relationship between the regulator and 'special interests', the regulated. Similarly, state capture is about a problematic relationship between politics and business in the context of transition and rooted in the market for influence* (Dassah, 2018: 2).

Essentially, 'state capture' can be understood to speak to "the actions of individuals or groups both in the public and private sectors, influencing the formation of laws, regulations, decrees and other government policies to their own personal advantage" (Martin & Solomon, 2016: 22). In other words, 'state capture' is a *form of grand corruption* which entails a network of activities that involves both politicians and oligarchs (see Zondo, 2022). These dealings often result in the manipulation of economic and political policy formulations and outcomes.

In this paper, we extend the notion of 'capture' to make sense of how school history in South Africa is continuously (re)captured often for narrow cognitive, epistemic, existential, ideological, political, and ontological interests. In other words, we use the notion of (re) capture as a theoretical lens to investigate and reflect on the contested epistemic nature of school history in South Africa (Louw, 2015; Monama, 2015; Van Eeden & Warnich 2018). This is because such a theoretical framing can highlight how school history, like the state, can be (re)captured for both narrow interests of a few, or for the greater good of everyone. Consequently, we contend that in the context of school history, (re)capture can be understood in two ways. Firstly, it is understood as a positive attempt by the colonised to (re)capture school history with the aim of recentring their histories and experiences that

continue to be discursively marginalised in school history. In other words, their attempt to re(capture) school history should be viewed as an epistemic contribution towards transcending the cognitive, epistemic, existential, ideological, political, ontological, and social harm they suffer through the current school history in post-apartheid South Africa. Secondly, (re)capture can also be understood as a negative attempt by those who benefit from the status quo to maintain it. In contemporary South Africa, this status quo is characterised by the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, neoliberalism, a pervasive coloniality and its power matrix.

Contested epistemic nature of the history discipline: From colonial to post-colonial debates

History is a dynamic discipline that is contested (Maluleka & Mathebula, 2022). This is partly to do with the fact that "the history syllabus is closely followed by politicians and policy makers to make sure that the history that is taught is in line with the ideology of the ruling elite" (Ndlovu, 2019: 69). It also has to do with the nature of historiography that underpins it. Thus, in this section, we discuss the contested epistemic nature of the history discipline by investigating the South African historiographical trends dating back to colonialism. This is to highlight how the discipline of history has been and continues to be (re)captured, and how it is often used for narrow political, economic, epistemic, ideological, political, ontological and social interests.

Traditionally, the South African historiographical landscape has been made up of distinct historiographical schools that include: a British imperialist; a settler or colonialist; an Afrikaner nationalist; a liberal and a revisionist or radical school; and the African nationalist historiographical school (Visser, 2004). This classification was initially conceptualised by FA van Jaarsveld (1984) in his pioneering historiographical studies. Other leading historians such as K Smith (1988), C Saunders (1988), and many others have since retained the use of this classification. Therefore, we will also retain this classification for the purposes of investigating how the writing of history in South Africa has consistently been used to (re)capture the discipline.

The British imperialist school

The British imperialist school consists of historical accounts of the likes of William Clifford Holden (1855), Alexander Wilmot (1894), James Cappon (1902), Georg Wilhelm

Friedrich Hegel (1965), Hugh Trevor-Roper (1965), and many others. Many of these writers were trained in fields other than history, making them amateur historians. However, many themes emerged from their work. One of the major themes includes the idea that "British institutions and ideals were superior to the South African versions and the British presence in South Africa represented the spread of beneficial influences" (Visser, 2004: 1). This led to these writers spreading a profound lie that claimed that from the sixteenth century, Africa and her people were largely illiterate. Even though they lacked writing skills, they were considered a "people without history" throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Grosfoguel, 2007: 214). The twentieth century would characterise them as a "people without development" and, more recently, to the early twenty-first century, a "people without democracy" (Grosfoguel, 2007: 214).

This lie implied that Africans were not worthy of being considered fully human for they lacked history, political complexity, civilisation, democracy, and being (Wynter, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b) since they were also believed not to have had the capacity to think and rationalise and make sense of the world and their surroundings independently (Maluleka, 2018; 2021). This thinking was largely underpinned by the rise of Euro-western modernity (Lushaba, 2009) and Descartes' 'cogito ergo sum' (I think therefore I am) thesis, which, in turn, denied Africans their humanity and their ability to think, reason, and produce history (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a, 2013c). This is some of the thinking that informed the British imperialist school's historical accounts, which were used by the British governors in the colony after the British occupation of the Cape in 1795 to (re)capture school history to present the British imperialists as people who brought about civilisation and development to Africa, especially the Cape.

The settler or colonial school

The settler or colonial school represented "the values of colonial society which was subordinate to the greater order of things in the context of European imperial power centre, with nuclear centres of influence in the colonies" (Tempelhoff, 1997: 126). They were also largely informed by Euro-western modernity and Descartes' thesis mentioned above. Its pioneers included George McCall Theal (1877, 1883, 1888-1900), whose publications were widely used in schools to the school history of the time. There was also George Edward Cory (1910), Frank R Cana (1909), and many others.

Like the pioneers of the British imperialist school, many of these pioneers were also not professionally trained historians and produced historical accounts which were problematic,

and often controversial. For instance, according to Visser, Theal

> *… sought to extract from archival documents what he took to be "hard facts" and to reproduce these in his History of South Africa, but in doing so showing little imagination and minimal analytical skills. His chief aim was to write so complete a history that it would remain a fundamental text, one acceptable to both English and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans.* (Visser, 2004: 2).

Theal was regarded as a great promoter of the Afrikaners through his work because his historical accounts were "pro-white - and in particular pro-Boer - anti-missionary and anti-black" (Visser, 2004: 2). Theal wrote historical accounts that propagated the 'empty land' myth which was used by settler colonialists, Afrikaner nationalist historians, and the apartheid regime to justify their violent land dispossession practices. Theal also wrote historical accounts that projected Africans as inherently violent and inferior to Europeans (Maylam, 2001) – savages (Wylie, 2000, 2006, 2011). Theal's ideas found expression in an eleven-volume series, *History of South Africa* and in school history textbooks. These school textbooks signalled a form of capture of school history by those aligned with Theal's narratives. Unsurprisingly, these school textbooks were sanctioned by the then Cape and Orange Free State department of education and published in English and Dutch (Babrow, 1962). The textbooks included the *Compendium of South African History and Geography* (1876) and *Korte Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika 1486-1835* (1891).

The Afrikaner nationalist school

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of the Afrikaner nationalist school due to the growth in Afrikaner historical consciousness (Visser, 2004). This school had two phases: a pre-academic phase and an academic phase – whose aim was to rewrite Boer histories from an Afrikaner nationalist perspective and use that to (re)capture school history to promote Afrikaner interests at the expense of others. The former consists of works by JH Hofstede, SJ du Toit, CNJ du Plessis, J de V Roos, and WJ Leyds (Visser, 2004). The most prominent writer of the academic phase was Gustav Preller, a trained journalist (Visser, 2004). The work of these pre-academic writers reflected an anti-British imperialist and anti-African trend by interpreting the past as:

> *… the bitter struggle between the two Afrikaner republics and the British Empire between 1899 and 1902, the consequence of which was the loss of the independence of the former. History was presented in terms of a list of grievances against the British: it was a tale of suffering and struggle towards freedom, towards their own republican form*

> *of government. History became at the same time a source of solace and an inspiration – Afrikaners could take comfort from their persecuted past; they could draw strength from it* (Visser, 2004: 3).

Because of this, South Africa in general, and the Boer republics in particular, were thus not considered extensions of Europe (read Britain). This school was also meant to promote Afrikaner nationalism by writing history to make the Afrikaners aware of their national past to bring them together as a nation in the face of growing British imperialism and African barbarism (Visser, 2004).

Like Theal, the pre-academic writers also used the 'empty land' myth to justify land dispossession that was carried out against Africans at the instruction of their leaders, such as Piet Retief, Hendrik Potgieter, and Andries Pretorius. Consequently, Preller's accounts portray Africans as aggressors (Pagans) against Christian civilisation. All these writers use the 'Mfecane' or 'Difaqane' to justify the 'empty land' myth and the supposedly violent and 'tribal' nature of Africans (Hamilton, 1995, 1998; Richner, 2005; Wright, 2006b).

The academic phase of this tradition stemmed from the work of academic historians such as EC Godeé Molsbergen, W Blommaert, SFN Gie, JA Wiid, HB Thom, PJ van der Merwe, DW Krüger, ID Bosman, GD Scholtz, and FA van Jaarsveld. The approach to *doing* history by the afore-mentioned was informed by empiricism, which they associated with positivism. They believed that history, as an area of knowledge, is an attempt to know the objective past (Maluleka, 2018). This objective past can only be accessed through sensory observations and "systematic archival research into material documents" (Green & Troup, 1999: 1). This type of *doing* history was pioneered by a German historian, Leopold von Ranke, who argued that historians should stop interpreting the past and document what had happened (Maluleka, 2018). In line with the Rankean approach of doing history, these academic historians wrote historical accounts that centred on "'national' history-politics, the state and inter-state relations, military history, and the deeds of past great men" (Smith, 1988: 66-68). Other themes that these academic historians wrote about were the same themes that pre-academic historians wrote about – the difference was that the pre-academic's work was not presented as being scientific and the academic's work's was. However, the academic phase writings (as historians) were often descriptive rather than analytical.

The historical accounts produced by both the pre-academic and academic phase writers (historians) were used by the apartheid regime to (re)capture school history for their Afrikaner nationalist interests. Hence, the adoption of Christian National Education (CNE) was the basis of apartheid education and the adoption of the Bantu Education Act

of 1953. Article 15 of the CNE policy of 1948 explained the basis of apartheid education as follows:

> *We believe that the calling and task of White South Africa [about] the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally, and that … [there is] no equality [but] segregation. We believe … that the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and worldview of the Whites … especially the Boer nation as senior White trustees of the native* (cited in Msila, 2007: 149).

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 insisted that Africans be studied and presented as distinct groups with unique and separate cultures and geographical locations (Seroto, 2013). The Act also insisted on making sure that many of the African youths that were not in school because they were unable to attend Mission schools receive an education. This was partly aimed at easing the 'uncontrollability of these juveniles', which was believed to increase crime rates (Bonner, Delius, & Posel, 1993).

Towards the end of the twentieth century, other Afrikaner historians emerged whose historical narratives differed from those produced by the pre-academic and academic historians discussed above (Visser, 2004). These included the likes of Hermann Giliomee, André du Toit, and Albert Grundlingh. The central argument in their historical narratives was that Afrikaners/Boers as a people and "Afrikaner political thought was neither uniform nor consistent, but rather diverse in character and orientation" (Visser, 2004: 6). In other words, Afrikaners did not share the same views on the same topics or historical events and figures as suggested by the pre-academic and early Afrikaner academic historians. Their contrary views did not find expression in the school history curriculum of the time.

The liberal school

The liberal school in South Africa emerged from the 1920s "questioning the common sense of prevailing racial discrimination and preoccupations in a socio-political and a partial economic context" (Tempelhoff, 1997: 126). This signalled a historiographical shift, especially in how some Whites in South Africa came to think of and write about the past. At least in writing, they appeared to recognise that the historical accounts by the British imperialist, settler-colonial, and Afrikaner nationalist historians were not only Eurocentric but also patronising and paternalistic towards Africans. The first historians of this school of thought included the likes of WM Macmillan (1919, 1927, 1929, 1930), CW de Kiewiet (1929, 1937, 1941), E Walker (1928, 1934), and many others. According to Visser, these liberal historians

> *dealt with social and economic issues and gave greater prominence to the role of blacks in South African history. What was new in their vision was their rejection of a "segregated" history and the placing of people of colour [Africans] in the past as a factor of equal importance with whites. These liberal historians rejected racial discrimination and evinced a great concern for black welfare, but they did not actually study black societies themselves* (Visser, 2004: 6).

However, these liberal historians did not specifically study African societies because of their deeply negative attitudes about Africa and its people (Maluleka, 2018). They 'recognised' Africans as a people; however, at the same time, they believed that for Africans to be considered 'civilised', they needed help from Europeans (Richner, 2005; Wright, 2006a). They were (un)consciously propagating the same Eurocentric, patronising, and paternalistic approach to Africa and her people that they claimed they were challenging. Those who studied African societies did so because of "an overwhelming concern for the contemporary political, economic and social issues, race relations and a focus on the progression of events whereby Africans and colonists were drawn into a common society" (Richner, 2005: 19).

The 1960s, considered the decade of decolonisation in Africa, witnessed the emergence of another crop of liberal historians in South Africa. Some of their works included the two-volume *Oxford History of South Africa* edited by Leonard Thompson and Monica Wilson, published in 1969 and 1971. This volume "dispelled for all time the myth that South African history began when the Portuguese seafarers rounded the Cape in 1487 – it demonstrated that Africans had indeed had a history before the coming of the white man. It thus pushed back the frontiers of South African history by going beyond the founding dates of more traditional histories" (Visser, 2004: 9).

The revisionist school

The revisionist school in South Africa was established at the beginning of the 1970s because of "the need to rephrase the discourse on South African history. This followed in the wake of the open debate which had been sparked off once the synthesis of the liberal inspired *Oxford History of South Africa* filtered through to the historical and social science fraternity of the country" (Tempelhoff, 1997: 126). These historians held that theory needed to be at the centre of their reformulation of historical questions and the reinterpretation and representation of the past (Sparks, 2013). Some of the leading historians of this school include the likes of P Delius, M Legassick, F Johnstone, S Trapido, S Marks, B Bozzoli, C

Bundy, W Beinart, P Bonner, J Guy, K Shillington, FR Johnstone, A Jeeves, C van Onselen, R Turrell, W Worger, C Callinicos, M Lipton, and several others.[4] They carried out this new approach to *doing* history at different universities, with the two most important ones being the Institute of Commonwealth Studies (ICS) at the University of London and the History Workshop at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg (Visser, 2004).

Collectively and individually, these historians began to write history 'from the bottom up' or 'from below' – a social history. This signalled a historiographical shift from writing histories that only centred on 'big men' experiences to histories that also recentred ordinary peoples' experiences irrespective of their status in society (Tempelhoff, 1997; Sparks, 2013). These revisionist historians "sought to recover the experiences of those who had, until then, slipped through the cracks of historical narratives, and in particular the marginalized and dispossessed, from sharecroppers and peasants to gangsters and childminders" (Visser, 2004: 11). Embedded in this new approach of *doing* history was a Marxist historic-materialist analysis of the past to reinterpret and represent South Africa's past as characterised by multiple and interlocking realities and oppressions, such as class, race, gender, ethnicity, and sex, all of which are often created by international and South African capitalism and colonialism.

Some of the historical accounts produced by both these historiographical traditions have been used by the post-1994 state to (re)capture school history and to make it more inclusive. This also includes other historiographical traditions discussed in the paper. For instance, if we consider the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (2011) school history curriculum for Grade 10 that is currently in use, there is a topic on pre-African histories, entitled *Transformations in southern Africa after 1750*, in which learners are exposed to different interpretations of this period from the perspective of all these historiographical traditions discussed in this section. Other examples include the recentring of women's experiences and histories into the historical knowledge base of the CAPS school history even though not from all the above perspectives (Wills, 2016).

This has not proved to be enough, and consequently, the HMTT was established to review how school history could be improved to make it more inclusive in order for cognitive, epistemic, existential, ideological, political, ontological and social justice to be realised. For instance, CAPS school history curriculum continues to "… privilege 'masculinist'

4 For some of the major works that these historians produced, see: FA van Jaarsveld, *Omstrede Suid-Afrikaanse verlede: Geskiedenisideologie en die historiese skuldvraagstuk* (Lex Palria, Johannesburg, 1984: 72-122). Also, see: W Visser, Trends in South African Historiography and the present STATE of Historical Research. Paper presented at the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, 23 September 2004.

interpretations of the past which contribute not only to the general marginalisation of women [minority groups and indigenous peoples' experiences] as subjects of history but more importantly reinforces or ignores oppressive gendered [and othering] ideas" (Wills, 2016: 24). Additionally, CAPS school history curriculum also continues to ignore, marginalise, erase, and deny legitimacy to the histories and experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, Asexual, and many other terms (such as Non-binary and Pansexual, i.e., LGBTIQA+) in its knowledge base.

The African nationalist school

The African nationalist school arose in the 1950s and 1960s with the attainment of independence by many African States (Atieno-Odhiambo, 2002; Hendricks & Lushaba, 2005). Some historians believe that the African nationalist school in South Africa emerged partly because of the establishment of the radical revisionist historiography discussed above (Van Jaarsveld, 1984 & Smith, 1988). Some of the pioneers of this tradition include the likes of IB Tabata, H Jaffe, D Taylor, JK Ngubane, G Mbeki, BM Magubane, NO Sizwe, MW Tsotsi, D Dube, and many others (see Visser, 2004). These African historians committed themselves to articulating a "historiography with a clear reflection of black peoples' conceptions of the course of history, as well as their ideals regarding their position in South Africa" (Visser, 2004: 14). In other words, their main objective was to rewrite the African experience, being, and values into the historical record from 'African perspectives'. Hence, Whites in South Africa were considered by these historians as

> *rulers, oppressors, colonialists, and imperialists who subjugated the blacks – the original inhabitants of the land – purposefully and systematically. They deprived the black peoples of their land, broke up the black societies and transformed them into a landless proletariat. Greater attention is given to aspects such as slavery, wage labour, the black reserves and apartheid* (Visser, 2004: 14).

History writing for these African historians became a form of epistemic disobedience (Mignolo, 2007) meant to discursively overcome the challenges posed by other anti-African historiographical schools. Similar to the historical accounts that the revisionist school produced, some of the historical accounts produced by this tradition have been used to re(capture) school history by the democratic government (refer to the Grade 10 CAPS topic alluded to above).

The HMTT Report

Colonial education was a Eurocentric, divisive, racist, homophobic, sexist, misogynistic, authoritarian, prescriptive, unchanging, context-blind, and discriminatory form of education (Maluleka, 2018). It was designed with the view of stripping the colonised of their full humanity and thus rendering them as nonhuman. The knowledge of the colonised was suppressed, and as a result, this knowledge form suffered from epistemicides (Santos, 2014; Fataar, 2018). Epistemicides are "a product of the constant hegemonic western science model of knowledge construction, production and consumption that unproblematically circulates within education discourse and practice on the African continent as relevant, valuable and best practice." (Fataar & Subreenduth, 2015:107). School history was at the centre of advancing colonial aspiration since both slave and mission education were used to assimilate the colonised into new colonial identities which, "eroded the social bonding, indigenous beliefs, values, identities, and denied [indigenous] children knowledge about themselves" (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022:72).

The same approach that colonial education took also found expression in apartheid's brand of education. Apartheid education was also used as a weapon to divide society as it constructed different identities amongst educators, learners, and the public. This is evidenced in the statement made by HF Verwoerd, the then Minister of Native Affairs, in 1955. He said, "when I have control over native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them" (cited in Fru, Wassermann, & Maposa, 2013: 77-78). Verwoerd's utterances were made after he was part of the apartheid government officials who drafted and pushed for the adoption of the Bantu Education Act 1953 (Act No. 47 of 1953), which legislated the provisionally enforced racially-separated educational facilities, as well as the different curricular offerings. Verwoerd's utterances also led to the adoption of the Extension of University Education Act 45, which introduced and saw the establishment of various types of institutions of higher learning that were racialised and ethnicised (Badat & Sayed 2014; Badat, 2016).

With the end of official colonial and apartheid rule, there have been numerous attempts to decolonise and transform education in South Africa, especially school history. The first curriculum reform attempt saw the introduction of the interim syllabi (also known as the Interim Core Syllabus (ICS) documents) that moved to cleanse school history "of any clearly sexist and racist content, to eliminate inaccuracies in subject content and to establish a common core curriculum" (Bertram, 2006: 34).

This was immediately followed by adopting an Outcome-based Education, Curriculum

2005 (C2005) in 1997. This new curriculum aimed to have a transformed school history that was 'inclusive'. Education experts were tasked with creating a school history curriculum based on alternative interpretations of the past that differed from colonial and apartheid interpretations (Van Eeden, 1997; Van Eeden & Vermeulen, 2005). The aim was to establish a non-racial approach to *doing* history. However, Maluleka argues that part of the reason that C2005 failed was that "its epistemic and recontextualization logics were still very much dominated and controlled by government officials, academics, policymakers, curriculum developers and so on, who were still very much aligned with colonial-apartheid" (Maluleka, 2021: 78). It also failed "… because this policy [was] being driven in the first instance by political imperatives which have little to do with the realities of classroom life" (Jansen, 1998: 323). Thus, "naïve optimism prevailed, driven by very sincere attempts to sweep out the old and usher in the new as speedily and completely as possible" (Siebörger & Dean, 2002: 3).

C2005 failures led to the third curriculum reform attempt three years later. This attempt saw the adoption of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) in 2002 based on the recommendations of a Ministerial Review Committee (MRC) appointed in 2000. Part of the major recommendations of the MRC was that there was a need to make the school history curriculum more understandable in South African classrooms (Chisholm, 2005). The curriculum document argued for the "promotion of [neoliberal] values" that were "to ensure that a national South African identity is built on values different from those that underpinned apartheid education. The kind of learner envisaged … is one who will be imbued with the values and act in the interests of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, life, and social justice" (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2002: 8).

Much like C2005, RNCS suffered the same fate because "it [also] continued to foreground a market fundamentalist outlook, which meant that learner-centred approaches continued to dominate its evaluative logics, even though there was little to no training for educators. Its epistemic and recontextualization logics continued to be dominated and controlled by those aligned with colonial-apartheid even though there was some form of transformation (inclusion of some individuals from the previously colonized groupings) taking place in both logics" (Maluleka, 2021: 79). Euro-western knowledge traditions and their canons continued to enjoy much coverage in the curriculum at the expense of African-centred knowledge forms (Maluleka, 2021).

All these failures, and many others that we did not mention, led to the fourth curriculum reform attempt. This fourth attempt saw the adoption of the CAPS in 2011, which is

currently in use. CAPS is an amendment to RNCS (DBE, 2011). This means that RNCS was not fully done away with. It appears that the reasoning was to strike a balance between an RNCS, which was outcomes-oriented, and a CAPS, which is more content oriented. However, some shortcomings were identified in CAPS. The first is a coloniality/modernity project that continues to underpin the CAPS school history and is "hellbent on preserving the status quo that is characterized by epistemicide, culturecide, and linguicide" (Maluleka, 2021: 80). The HMTT identified the second shortcoming in the executive summary report in which they claim that:

> *… there was a marked depletion and fragmentation of credible content, concepts, and methods which are foundational to African History. It was noted by the HMTT that CAPS tackles the study of 'pre-colonial' Africa superficially in the early phases of schooling. This means that more than 100 000 years of human biological, social and cultural History that unfolded on the African continent are marginal to the curriculum and is dealt with in the lower grades, resulting in a curriculum that fails to treat Africa adequately as a continent with a rich past. In part, this marginalization of Africa in CAPS has to do with the excision of archaeology from the curriculum as well as the absence of key concepts in African oral tradition. The absence of archaeology and oral traditions is significant because these are both foundational methodologies. If these are not taught learners are unable to understand how the continent's very long human History can be discovered, given the sparseness of indigenous written records for southern Africa in particular* (DBE, 2018: 2-3).

Given these shortcomings of CAPS to meaningfully cleanse school history and many others that we did not mention here, we see the establishment and appointment of the HMTT (DBE, 2018) on 4 June 2015 as the fifth curriculum reform attempt in democratic South Africa. The HMTT was tasked with working within outlined terms of reference which were made official in October 2015 (DBE, 2015). These included the need for the HMTT to conduct a "comparative case study on compulsory History in certain countries…" (DBE, 2018: 9) in line with comments made by the Minister of Basic Education that "… the content of the history curriculum and the way history is being taught in our schools" (DBE, 2018: 8) need to be transformed. Other terms of reference included:

> *To advise on the feasibility of making History compulsory in the FET phase; To advise on where History should be located in the curriculum (for example, should it be incorporated into Life Orientation or not); To review the content and pedagogy of the History curriculum with a view to strengthening History in the curriculum; and to investigate the implications (for teaching, classrooms, textbooks, etc.) of making*

History a compulsory subject (DBE, 2018: 8).

The HMTT, in 2018, made several recommendations to the Minister of Basic Education. Part of these recommendations included the suggestion that there was a need to strengthen CAPS:

> *… against the exercise of wholesale changes or a complete overhaul of the CAPS syllabus and content at this present time. [They] felt that this was too soon, instead, the HMTT focused on the exercise of using the CAPS syllabus as the basis of strengthening the content in the interim, hoping that a complete overhaul of the CAPS syllabus and content will be carried out by the DoBE in future. This will depend, among other issues, on whether history will be a compulsory, fundamental subject at the FET phase* (DBE, 2018: 84).

In terms of what could be read as a decolonising imperative, the HMTT suggested:

> *…that Africa-centeredness becomes a principle in revisiting the content, and in particular bringing both ancient history and pre-colonial African history into the FET curriculum. Ghana's History syllabus at Senior High School, 1-3, that is, Grades 10, 11, and 12 is instructive in this regard. This is critical to understanding the layered history of South Africa and the continent of Africa at a more developed conceptual level. We recognize that certain aspects of pre-colonial history are taught in the GET curriculum, however, this tends to be portrayed as a "happy story", appropriate to that level, but fails to provide the nuanced and complex history which should be taught at a higher level at the FET phase. A conscious move away from this superficial history would also provide a bridge between GET, FET history, and history taught at universities. Problematic and controversial issues and themes in ancient history and the pre-colonial history of Africa should not be avoided. For example, themes about class, social stratification, kings and commoners, and the status of women and workers in ancient history and also in pre-colonial history must be included* (DBE, 20018: 134).

Some criticism and critique were levelled against the make-up of the HMTT and the subsequent Report they published (Van Eeden & Warnich, 2018).

Are there attempts to (re)capture School History?

We are satisfied that we have already established that the latest acts by the Minister of Basic Education and the ANC-led government through establishing the HMTT are attempts to (re)capture school history, given what we have already discussed in the previous section. The question now becomes whether these latest attempts to (re)capture school history is

a way for the ANC-led government to advance its narrow nationalistic aspirations that are nativist in nature, especially given its electoral decline over the years? Or are these latest attempts informed by the aspirations of the colonised to reclaim school history for them to be able to write themselves into history and make it more cognitively, epistemically, existentially, ideologically, politically, ontologically, and socially justice and inclusive – especially where historical literature, historiography, pedagogy, and assessment are concerned?

To help make sense of these questions, we turn to the criticism and critique that has been levelled against the HMTT and its Report. This will enable us to make our position clearer around the HMTT and its Report. Among the first individuals to critique the HMTT was Peter Kallaway[5] of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT), Michelle Friedman,[6] Linda Chisholm,[7] Elize S van Eeden,[8] and Pieter Warnich.[9] All these individuals implied that there was an attempt by the ANC-led government to (re)capture school history to recentre a kind of history that is nationalistic in its approach and that glorified only the ANC and its role in the fight against colonialism and apartheid. This might be due to the 'political pressure' that the Minister of Education is supposedly under:

> *… the Minister spoke about the political pressure she was under to deal with the teaching of the discipline of History. The concern seemed to be that our young people do not appreciate our country's history and that of the African continent. There was a feeling that history is necessary to inspire the psyche of the nation and in this regard, it is more than just 'another subject'* (DoBE, 2018: 8).

SASHT released a statement in 2015 after the establishment of the HMTT arguing that it "… seeks in the first place, the assurance that whatever recommendations the task team should make, the present place of history among the elective FET subjects for the National Senior Certificate (NSC) examination (DBE and IEB) will not be undermined or weakened" (SASHT, 2015: np). This was meant to position school history as a discipline in its own right. The SASHT went on to say that "it may well be that the best way to strengthen

5 Peter Kallaway is an Emeritus Professor in History Education at the University of Cape Town.

6 Michelle Friedman is a well-qualified educator of History and used to train pre-service teachers at the University of the Witwatersrand's School of Education until the end of 2017; she at the time of writing served as a history teacher at Sacred Heart College, Johannesburg.

7 Linda Chisholm is a Professor in the Centre for Education Rights and Transformation of the Education Faculty at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

8 Elize van Eeden is a Professor of History and Deputy Director of the School of Social Sciences at NorthWest- University.

9 Pieter Warnich is an Emeritus Associate Professor in History Education, at the NorthWest University.

the content of history in the GET and FET is not to make any big changes to it, but to improve teachers' content knowledge through training and to improve the quality of their teaching" (SASHT, 2015: np).

After this statement by the SASHT, many newspaper and scholarly opinions were published concerning the HMTT and the kind of work it undertook and produced. Kallaway (as cited in Van Eeden & Warnich, 2018), for instance, in a newspaper opinion piece, argued that the work undertaken by the HMTT was about justifying the delivery of "… a 'patriotic history' that glorifies the ANC's role in history, much in the same way as the apartheid curriculum glorified the role of the NP and Afrikaner nationalism". Similarly, Friedman (cited in Chisholm, 2018) argued that "… it would be 'a shame' if, in resistance history, the ANC was 'glorified'". On the other hand, Chisholm raised a slightly different argument concerning HMTT and its work. She questioned the practicality of introducing compulsory school history in South Africa's basic education system. She argued that "developing future history teachers might be a challenge [sic] … most [universities] allow students to register for history education, regardless of whether they studied the subject at school. As a result, most have little background in history" (Chisholm, 2018: np). Chisholm's argument might be read to mean that the lack of historical background by pre-service history educators might serve as an advantage for those wanting to implement a nationalistic compulsory school history since four years of training is not sufficient to close the gap that these pre-service teachers come with, especially historical skills, such as reading, thinking, and writing like a historian are a concern.

The most hard-hitting critique or criticism levelled against the HMTT and its Report, in our view, is by Van Eeden and Warnich (2018). They not only question the credibility of the task team members,[10] the reliability of the report,[11] and the quality of the research conducted by the HMTT; they also go as far as questioning the "scientific and coherent manner" of the report itself which they found to be "unfortunately highly contestable" because "it is accepted that a desktop research method was mainly to be followed, while some (selective) academics in the active field of History Education and teaching were approached for some information, assistance, and advice, though these resources seem to have been utilized to a limited extent." (Van Eeden & Warnich, 2018: 25).

10 The task team members credibility in relation to the kind of work they were to do for the Ministry of basic education was questioned because most of them, if not all, do not have a background in History (of) Education.

11 They consider the report to be poor, especially "in the baseline research activities regarding which information was requested, specifically compulsory History globally, is now further under review" (29).

While we might agree with the view of the SASHT (2015) that school history should not be used for political expediency that would result in a nationalistic approach to constructing a new school history curriculum; we believe that the outright rejection of the HMTT's Report without pragmatic experimentation of its findings is equally not useful. Our position is informed by our firm belief that there might very well be a different reading of the HMTT Report. This different understanding of the report might not only enrich the existing discourse around the report itself and the HMTT; but also has the potential to justify attempts (re)capture school history for the benefit of everyone, particularly the colonised. Consequently, this might aid the cleansing of the current school history with the view of decolonising and Africanising it. This new decolonised and Africanised school history will then need to be informed by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach based on a trans-modern pluriversal view of the past (Dussel, 2012; Santos, 2014; Fataar, 2022).

Equally, a compulsory school history until Grade 12 would mean all learners have the opportunity to learn about the country's past, sensitive and controversial as it may be, and that of the world — provided that this history is not ideologically biased in favour of the ANC-led government and against other alternative interpretations of that past that are inconsistent with interpretations favoured by the ANC-led government. The HMTT Report should be seen in that light as it would allow all learners to acquire much-needed skills, such as reading, thinking, and writing like historians while engaging with a complicated and contested past and juxtaposing that past with contemporary issues. This then means heeding the call made by Chisholm (2018) regarding structural adjustments and the number of years and amount of money that must be considered before implementing such a policy.

Where curriculum knowledge is concerned, we view the work done by the HMTT as creating a space for recentring alternative interpretations of the past in the official school history curriculum by other knowers, especially *oMakhulu* who "… have for decades analyzed their social world thus creating knowledge in the process. But, because they may not have used 'academic' theory and concepts, this knowledge exists outside of the academy" (Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022: 77). This, we believe, is useful and consistent with calls made by some decolonial scholars for a decoloniality approach that embraces knowledge pluralisation to underpin school history (see: Ramoupi & Ntongwe, 2017; Godsell, 2019; Maluleka, 2021; Maluleka & Ramoupi, 2022).

The proposal by the HMTT in its Report for recentring of Archaeology as History, Gender History, and African oral traditions is not only for knowledge pluralisation,

it could also be read as an intersectional approach to *doing* history. We see this move as transformative because recentring archaeology as history with oral African traditions, for instance, would enable a space in which history educators and their learners can be engaged in critical and meaningful debates surrounding issues of oral traditions and folklore as elements of history versus objects, material culture, physical evidence, and change over time (archaeology).

On recentring Gender History, we believe that the HMTT should be applauded for encapsulating women's experiences in teaching and learning of the past. Their approach, we believe, goes against the continued "… privilege 'masculinist' interpretations of the past, which contribute not only to the general marginalization of women [minority groups and indigenous peoples' experiences] as subjects of history but more importantly reinforces or ignores oppressive gendered [and othering] ideas" that is still embedded in the CAPS school history curriculum as argued by Wills (2016: 24). This emphasis on Gender History by the HMTT could be read to mean moving away from mere women mentioning in the official curriculum, since that "… is not a radical enough move towards conceptualizing women and representing gendered historical concepts in ways which do not re-inscribe a practice of epistemic erasure or the textual inscription of damaging stereotypes and ideologies" (Wills, 2016: 24-25).

Moreover, we believe that the Gender History proposed is also an opportunity to broaden and include, in our official school history curriculum, other histories of marginalised groups beyond women, such as the LGBTIQA+ communities. This would further strengthen the intersectionality approach we mentioned above, which we so desperately need in our official school history curriculum. Here we are thinking about the meaningful inclusion of histories of people such as Nkoli Tseko Simon (1957-1998), the founder of South Africa's African gay movement who embodied its link with the anti-apartheid struggle (Pettis, 2015). This way, history educators and learners will be engaged in the study of the past that is not devoid of the *gender-and-other* lens or gazes (Wills, 2016), and those educators and learners who identify as LGBTIQA+ would begin to *see themselves, feel themselves, more in the work they do in class* (Godsell, 2019).

Finally, we believe that certain histories are not part of the HMTT suggestions and should be considered for inclusion. These are histories that even some, if not all, of the prominent critics of the HMTT do not mention. We raise this because we view the HMTT and its work as an opportunity to transform the school history curriculum for the benefit of everyone. Some of these histories include environmental history, which could be used to conscientise educators, learners, and their communities about human activities in history

and their impact on the environment, and how that has led to the climate emergency crisis confronting the world today. Phrased differently, "history can play a greater role towards societies' understanding of the evolution of environments, including the topical subject of climate change emergency. Historians and history teachers are better positioned to play an even more significant role in generating and disseminating knowledge on the nexus between societies and the environments though, for instance, teaching about human activities on the environment, and how these have shaped local, regional, and global environments –– in the process conscientizing learners and societies about stewardship of the earth's natural resources".[12]

Closing remarks

In *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*, hooks argued that:

> *The classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy. For years it has been a place where education is being undermined by teachers and students alike who seek to use it as a platform for opportunistic concerns rather than as a place to learn* (hooks, 1994: 12).

With this in mind, we believe that the school history curriculum, as proposed by the HMTT and further strengthened by those who love this discipline, can become a radical space of possibility in South Africa's education system. We need, as a collective, to "renew" and "rejuvenate" this discipline for the benefit of everyone, especially the colonised and marginalised (hooks, 1994: 12). Therefore, in this paper, we support the (re)capturing of school history on the basis that it is against a nationalistic approach to *doing* history and is geared towards *ukuhlambulula*. Thus, the approach we favour is intersectional, inclusive, and decolonial.

12 This idea of including environmental history into the formal history curriculum is derived from an unpublished paper presentation by Dr Noel Ndumeya (Wits University, 2022), entitled: *Greening History Teaching': Some thoughts on historians' greater contribution towards a more environmentally conscious society*, during the 34th South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) hosted at Genadendal Museum, Western Cape, South Africa, 29 – 30 September 2022.

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Teaching democratic values through history in South African primary schools

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Sipho Mkhomi
University of Fort Hare, East London Campus, South Africa
Orcid: 0000-0003-3314-031X
smkhomi@ufh.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/ 2223-0386/2023/n29a6

Abstract

South African schools are governed by the South African Constitution of 1996 which prescribes the promotion of democratic values. This prescription cascades down to inform the Curriculum and Policy Statement (CAPS) that provides a curriculum policy framework for implementation. Schools are not only centring of learning that provide the rudiments and foundations of future learning, but indispensable centres for socialisation and transmission of social norms, values, and appropriate social behaviours. South African teachers have the mammoth task of being both the transmitters, role models, and teachers of democratic values as enshrined in the South African Constitution. The main question this study seeks to answer is: how can primary school history lessons be utilised to inculcate democratic values? Teaching democratic values through history lessons in primary schools remains a paradox, in the sense that, as a teacher you have to teach what is in the textbook, without being bias even though as a teacher you might you might have a different opinion on. Moreover, the inconsistencies in the era of fake news, conspiracy theories within the South African context, as well as challenges of racial polarisation, economic deprivation, unemployment, and heightened social inequality have exacerbated the inconsistencies in history teaching. Thus, teaching democratic values in South African primary schools has become more important than ever before to mitigate the plethora of these challenges. The present study engages the Qualitative Content Analysis method to analyse qualitative data from documented information in texts, media, and academic articles. It is underpinned by the Ubuntu African Philosophy and it concludes that there is an alignment between the democratic values and the CAPS Policy document. Findings also point to the critical role of history teachers to inculcate democratic values, and use appropriate knowledge that

must be based on facts and evidence.

Keywords: Democratic values; Equality; Human Rights; Freedoms; History teaching

Introduction

The South African Constitution of 1996 (hereafter referred to as the Constitution), is globally hailed as the most ground-breaking from Africa (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa [The Constitution], 1996). The document's preamble sets the legislative framework and guiding principles for South Africa as a democratic state and acknowledges past injustices, however, more importantly, it is the supreme law of the country, with specific responsibilities to:

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights; and
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person (The Constitution, 1996: p. 2).

Democratic values such as human dignity, equality, and freedom of choice and association are enshrined as the cornerstone and pillars of a democratic state. Section 9(1) of the Constitution states that everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. Section 9(2) states that equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. Based on these constitutional premises, this study seeks to investigate the teaching of democratic values through history in South African primary schools as a way of promoting democratic values as well as transforming society. In terms of Section 1 (a-d) of the Constitution, South Africa's democratic values are:

- Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms;
- Non-racialism and non-sexism;
- Supremacy of the constitution and the rule of law; and
- Universal adult suffrage, a national common voter roll, regular elections, and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness, and openness.

In terms of Article 1 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

This implies that human rights are universal since all human beings are holders of human rights and need to be protected from vulnerability and humiliation (Kirchschlaeger,

2020). This means that, regardless of one's social standing, all human beings need, and must be treated with respect while being protected from degradation and humiliation. Section 1(b) of the Constitution talks about non-racialism and non-sexism. This is supported by the Freedom Charter of 1955, which states that, South Africa belongs to all who live in it, either black or white. Thus, both section 1(b) and the Freedom Charter set the tone of an envisaged non-racial South Africa, a society that has more than one race. Anciano (2016) argues that the concept of non-racialism has no fixed meaning and can be defined within the South African context aimed at accepting and embracing multiple identities. The non-sexism provision protects citizens from discrimination based on sexual orientation and affords equal treatment regardless of gender and sexual orientation. Section 1(c) of the Constitution declares the supremacy of the constitution and the rule of law. It also reaffirms the supremacy of the constitution over the state of any law or conduct inconsistent with it, AS invalid (The Constitution, 1996). According to Stevick (2019), the rule of law has a set of underlying norms, such as fairness, transparency, responsibility, democracy, and accountability.

According to Valck (2012), the rule of law has three meanings. Firstly, the rule of law is regarded as the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power. The second meaning of the rule of law, suggests the principle of equality before the law in the sense that everyone, regardless of rank or condition, is subject to the ordinary law. Lastly, the rule of law means that the laws of the constitution are results of the rights of individuals. Valck (2012) argues that, the rule of law is the supreme authority of the law over governmental action and individual behaviour and therefore, human rights are inseparable from the rule of law. Cordenillo and Sample (2014) view the rule of law as fundamental for any functioning democracy and includes adherence and accountability of governments and citizens equality under the law.

Section 1(d) of the Constitution focuses on the universal adult suffrage, a national common voter roll, regular elections, and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness, and openness.

What is primary school history?

While it is important to understand the role of teaching history, it is equally important to conceptualise history. History is the study of social changes and developments over time (DBE, 2011). Nuttal (2021) states that history illuminates and adds meaning to concepts such as democracy for learners' better understanding of their immediate environment.

Barton and Levstik (2004) contend that history prepares learners for a pluralist democracy and provides them with skills for active citizenship in a democratic society. Berg (2019) is of the view that the study of history does not only act as a change agent in learners' lives, it also encourages active citizenship and in learning about their past. In the South African school curriculum within the CAPS Policy document, history is a component of Social Sciences for Grades 4–6. For example, in Grade 4, learners are taught life stories of great leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi who both displayed selflessness and a quest for a democratic South Africa free from race, class, and gender discrimination. The attributes and contributions of these icons in the fight against apartheid lay a foundation for democratic values which learners will encounter in Grade 6, where they learn about the birth of a democratic South Africa after the years of struggle against apartheid.

Teaching and learning focus on the meaning of democracy, good citizenship, formation of a democratic government and the purpose of the constitution with all its democratic values. Primary school history teaches democratic values underpinned by principles of social transformation, redressing educational imbalances of the past, providing equal educational opportunities for all citizens in the country, including social justice based on human rights. Teaching democratic values through history in primary schools is critical as it sets a solid foundation for learners to understand not only the painful apartheid history of South Africa, but also to inculcate democratic values as a means of social transformation. This will promote patriotism, social cohesion, and racial tolerance.

Literature review

This study focuses on the key concepts that define not only the democracy as a phenomenon, but also South Africa as a democratic state. In this section, the theoretical frame that anchored the study is discussed. Thereafter, a review of related literature is given starting with the conceptualisation of democracy, democratic values, democracy and its relationship to education, history teaching approaches, and the role of the history teacher in teaching democratic values.

Theoretical framework

Teaching democratic values in primary schools must be informed by, and aligned to contextual theoretical framework. Post-apartheid South Africa is on a journey to redress past social injustices that continue to breed socio-economic inequality, poverty, and

racism. It is for these reasons that Ubuntu African Philosophy is considered appropriate for the purposes of this study. Ubuntu African Philosophy is a subset of African Philosophy. Mathebula (2019) regards African philosophy as written texts of African philosophers' experiences. African philosophy might be understood essentially as a social practice (Horsthemke, 2017). This means that African societies, like their Western counterparts, engaged in questioning their being and their world view. Waghid (2013) argues that African philosophy is communitarian and culture-dependent underpinned by Ubuntu. In pre-democratic era, Young (1990) argued that Ubuntu values espouse social justices, promote diversity amongst races, and that Ubuntu is a weapon used by schools or society to challenge inequality and injustices. Practising the Ubuntu philosophy unlocks the capacity of an African culture in which individuals' express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, humanity, and mutuality in the interests of building and maintaining communities with justice and communalities (Poovan, Du Toit & Engelbrecht, 2006).

The global icon, cleric and Noble peace Laureate, Desmond Tutu, defines Ubuntu as:

> *A person is a person through other persons. None of us comes into the world fully formed. We would not know how to think, or walk, or speak, or behave as human beings unless we learned it from other human beings. We need other human beings in order to be human* (Tutu, 2004: 25).

Letseka (2012) defines Ubuntu as a form of human engagement that allows for critical thinking, non-domination, and the optimal development of human relationships. Ubuntu means that everyone's humanity is ideally expressed in relationships with others. Ubuntu also means being aware of one's own being, but also of one's obligations to one's neighbour. Ubuntu, in South African, is a culture that expresses compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony, and humanity in the interests of building and maintaining a community with justice and mutual caring (Lefa, 2015). These Ubuntu values, are aligned to the constitutional democratic values provided in section 1 (a) and (b) of the Constitution, since they are focused on the respect of individual rights and dignity and emphasises inter-dependability for harmonious co-existence. According to Lefa (2015), Ubuntu lies at the heart of the African way of life and impacts on every aspect of people's well-being. Ubuntu is regarded as the soul force that drives almost every facet of societal life in African societies and builds and maintains relationships within an African community. Similarly, Koster, (1996) and Nussbaum (2003) view Ubuntu as the basis of African communal cultural life that expresses the interconnectedness, common humanity, and the responsibility of individuals to each other. The Ubuntu African Philosophy believes in group solidarity, which is central to the survival of African communities. Broodryk (2006) states that

Ubuntu is about the communities that fully embrace and value humanism, treating each other with fairness.

Democracy conceptualised

The term democracy derives from two Greek words *demo* meaning the people and *kratos* meaning power. The literal meaning of democracy is power of the people and a government by many (eGyanKosh, 2017). Democracy is a form of governance and a mode of coexistence in which the public participates in decision making, distributing resources, resolving conflicts, and planning (Sezer & Can, 2018). In most countries, like South Africa, democracy upholds and protects the human rights of its citizens. Stevick (2019) describes democracy as a system of self-government in which all persons, including the government, are accountable under the law; a system based on fair, publicised, broadly understood, and stable laws; a fair, robust, and accessible legal process in which rights and responsibilities based on law are evenly enforced. As a form of government in South Africa, it is important that the foundations and values of the country's system of government are taught to the learners at an early stage.

Democracy and its relationship to education

Democracy is a society's means to engage critically with itself. Education is indispensable in equipping citizens with the abilities and skills to engage critically and act responsibly (Department of Higher Education, 2001). Democracy is practiced in various places, at homes, schools, and various institutions. For democracy and democratic values to thrive, education is indispensable. The school as a social institution and extension of the state, should promote and reinforce the democratic way of life and democratic values (Sezer & Can, 2018). The relationship between democracy and education is imperative, since the principles of democracy, such as liberty, equality, fraternity, dignity of the individual, co-operation, and sharing responsibility are the dimensions which deeply influence education (EGyanKosh, 2017). Sezer and Can (2018) argue that each individual in a democratic state must have some specific knowledge, skills, and values that will allow them to participate to the best of their ability in the activities of the state; these skills and values are transmitted through education. Primary school History teachers have a mammoth task in not only in teaching these democratic values, but in modelling and inculcating such values to the learners.

Education empowers citizens to exercise their democratic rights and shape their destiny by giving citizens the tools to participate in public life (Department of Higher Education, 2001). It is evident that there is a correlation between democracy and education; a symbiotic relationship between democracy and education. eGyanKosh (2017) voices, without education, democracy has limited relevance and effectiveness, and without democracy, education loses its meaning. Democracy and education enjoy a reciprocal relationship where one cannot thrive without the other (eGyanKosh, 2017). According to Subba (2014), for democracy to thrive children must be taught to value it as a way of life, since the necessary skills for building democracy do not develop automatically. Hence, teaching democracy means preparing children to become citizens who will preserve and shape democracy in the future (Subba, 2014). Democracy and democratic values are historical themes that find their meaning in historical narratives.

Multi-narrative and multi-perspective history teaching approaches

History teaching has several approaches, such as multi-narrative and multi-perspective. The Department of Education (DBE) (2011) stipulates a multi-perspective approach to history teaching since it focuses on the different points of view of people in the past according to their position in society; ways in which historians have written about them; and the different ways in which people today see the actions and behaviour of people from the past. This approach is underpinned by three principles: cause and effect; change and continuity; and time and chronology (Bertram, 2020). On the other hand, McCully (2012) asserts that multi-narrative and multi-perspective approaches are the most effective approaches in teaching history to promote post-conflict understanding as it is based on interpretive and evidence-based processes of historical enquiry. In teaching democratic values to Grade 6 learners, a multi-perspective approach will engage their personal experiences of a historical event and develop individual opinions on whether an incident violated democratic values or not. Wendell (2018) describes multi-perspectivity as the presence of at least two different interpretations of the same historical event. In the presence of these opposing interpretations, learners engage and challenge the presented historical evidence. Yilmaz (2014) argues that historical knowledge needs to be explained through a multi-perspective approach not as a single approach of the past, since the past is open to multiple interpretations and subjectivity. Wansink, Akkerman, Zuiker, and Wubbels (2018) put the term multi-perspectivity into perspective, which means to view, look through and perceive a historical event in many or multiple views or interpretation. They further argue that a

multi-perspectivity approach is interpretational and subjective, with multiple coexisting narratives about a single historical event. This means that the interpretation of a historical event is dependent on the willingness of the viewer to put themself in someone else's shoes (Wansink, et al., 2018). This willingness reduces the viewer's emotional attachment to the historical event (Goldberg, Schwarz, & Porat, 2011).

Hence, multi-perspectivity gives an extra dimension to historical narratives based on sequence and is followed by a linear sequence of 'meanwhiles' which convey the reactions and subsequent actions of significant others. These sequences produce interlocking narratives which show how the perspectives of the various parties not only changed or crystallised in response to circumstances, but were shaped by lack of information of where the others stood (Stradling, 2003).

The role of the History teacher

Yilmaz (2014) refers to the role of the teacher as a multi-layered and multi-faceted human experience across time and space accounting for past events, experiences, and processes. Suba (2014) holds that teaching History can be a challenging experience due the abstract nature of the subject. The abstractness lies in the fact that events in the past cannot be reproduced. This means that the teacher is expected to be factual, well informed, and unbiased or risk propagating the master narrative. According Carretero (2011), master narrative is a dominant view and may not necessarily be factual and correct. McLean and Syed (2012), on the other hand view master narrative as culturally shared culture that embraces and influence thoughts, beliefs, values and behaviour of a particular group of people. Yilmaz (2014) asserts that Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) can mitigate history-teaching challenges and develop the learners holistically. PCK is the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organised, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners. Bentrovato, Korostelina, and Schulze (2016) believe that certain groups in society can use historical events and history teaching as weapons for their own political gain. History teachers must assume a role of lay historians to mediate between historiographical traditions and public history (Klein, 2013). Yilmaz (2014) and Bilali and Mahmoud (2017) further assert that teachers have the role of combating misinformation surrounding history and should dispel myths about the past that perpetuate violence and community divisions.

Yilmaz (2014) shares the view that. the history teacher must recognise and address learners' misconceptions regarding the subject, the shortcomings in their understanding

of the past, and the concepts that students find difficult to learn. A history teacher must possess three essential characteristics if effective teaching of history is to take place, they are: knowing History; doing History; and scaffold learning as supported by the Zone of Proximal Development by Vygotsky (1978). This means that the teacher must understand the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the subject, the processes of historical reconstruction, as well as projecting the discipline in a context and manner that facilitates subsequent learning. These are at the core of historical pedagogy. Subba (2014) argues that both teachers and schools should play a major role in preparing citizens to play their democratic roles in adult life and that teachers must be transformed from a traditional didactic, authoritarian role to facilitating dialogues and debates regarding historical events. A history teacher needs not only be transformed, but also adopt a constructive perspective. Yilmaz (2014) contends from a constructivist perspective, that learning is an active process of constructing understanding and meaning by linking new information about a topic with pre-knowledge and previously acquired experiences, ––thus allowing learners to construct their own knowledge.

History teachers must have an adequate understanding of the conceptual foundations of the subject they teach or they are likely to misrepresent the content by simplifying it (Wineburg & Wilson, 1991). History teachers must assist learners to overcome negative views of the past and should make learners see the relevance of the past and the present in a pedagogically meaningful manner (Yilmaz, 2014).

A history teacher, in line with the Preamble of the Constitution, must use the classroom and the history lessons to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. The then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, argued that a critical knowledge of history is essential in building the dignity of human values within an informed awareness of the past, preventing amnesia, checking triumphalism, opposing a manipulative or instrumental use of the past (DBE, 2001). Therefore, The National Curriculum Statement Grades R–12 envisages active and critical learners rather than those who engage in rote and uncritical learning of given truths (DBE, 2011). The aim of the National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 is to produce learners that can:

- identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking;
- speculate, to debate, to make connections, to select, to prioritise, and to persist in tackling real issues and important questions (DBE, 2011).

Similarly, Kallaway (2012) postulates that critical understanding and learning in

history is derived from an interrogation of the narrative, the events, or the evidence related to various interpretations of events. The habits of critical thinking come through an understanding of the interaction between that narrative or the understanding of events and the ability to pose the right question when engaging in historical explanation (Kallaway, 2012).

History has both moral and democratic values for learners. By engaging and interrogating oral, written, and historical relics and artefacts, learners can speculate/interpret the impact of evidence in historical events. Such engagement and interrogation of historical evidence develops learners' skills and dispositions that promote critical analysis (McCully, 2012). For example, with the democracy theme in Grade 6 in the South African curriculum, analytical and interpretation skills are essential for learners to compare individual behaviour and actions against the prescripts of the law and make an inference whether or not such behaviour or actions violate the constitution's precepts. The opportunity for learners to engage with evidence to determine contradictions to the laws enshrined in the constitution is the first step in inculcating democratic values from a deductive paradigm and development of moral judgement.

Teaching history can potentially develop open-minded citizens. Open-mindedness is critical in history teaching, as it offers learners an opportunity not to become fixated on one dominant view, but to look, listen, and engage other historical evidence at their disposal. The open-mindedness, according to McCully (2012), allows learners to engage controversial and complex topics. It also assists learners in adjudicating the merit of each historical event they encounter. According to Ulusoy (2017), history teaching provides an opportunity for national awareness. The learners' engagement with democratic values, using the 2021 July riots as an example, will undoubtedly not only provide national awareness, but historical consciousness, a sense of justice, fairness, and equality. Fitzgerald (1983) as cited in Ulusoy (2017), contends that the importance of historical consciousness in learners is to offer opportunities to research current social issues. Historical consciousness is not only important in making learners aware of their past, it will curb teachers from imposing their views and convictions on learners.

Methodology

Almalki (2016) posits that methodology refers to the procedures by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining, and predicting phenomena as well as the standards that will be used to interpret information and draw to conclusions. Hence,

this paper adopted a qualitative phenomenological research methodology. A Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) was used as a tool to analyse various types of documents, such as newspaper articles, academic journal articles, and legal national reports. QCA analyses and interpret data in a systematic and objective manner (Morgan, 2022; Mayring, 2019). The collected data was both inductively and deductively analysed and results were documented (Schreier, 2012). A document refers to several pieces of material, such as visual sources, photographs, video, and film (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). According to Patton (2014) and Flick (2018), documents consisting of texts and visual material can be a source for qualitative analysis.

In analysing the policy documents, this study has found an inextricable alignment between the democratic values as enshrined in the constitution with the CAPS Policy document, as the latter is invalid if it contradicts the former. The core democratic values highlighted in these documents include among others: human dignity; non-racialism; non-sexism; supremacy of the constitution; and rule of law. The CAPS policy document, explicitly highlight the critical role of the history teacher in inculcating democratic values in history lessons through applying both multi-narrative and multi-perspective teaching approaches to engage the learner from their personal experiences of the historical event and enable the learner to willingly to put themself in someone else's shoes. Finally, I would argue that, whilst the CAPS policy document is prescriptive in terms of teacher's appropriate pedagogic content knowledge; I does not safeguard learners from teacher bias. This view is shared by Lee and Shemilt (2007) that history teachers have a multiple and conflicting role based on their own history and experiences, which are likely to influence them in teaching certain historical events with(out) bias.

Conclusion

The democratic values as enshrined in the Constitution of 1996 of the Republic of South Africa should be central in the history curriculum, particularly in primary schools. The crystal-clear alignment of the CAPS Policy document to the prescripts of the Constitution makes it imperative to promote the democratic values and to achieve social cohesion and social transformation. At the primary school level, democratic values should not only be taught to satisfy the curriculum stipulations, however, should be seen as a solid foundation for learners to take their rightful place to promote and sustain democratic values. History teachers are afforded an opportunity to guide and support learners to engage with the content to critically evaluate the historical events and draw their own conclusions.

However, teachers need sufficient PCK based on facts and evidence not influence learners. Whilst democratic values are desirable in primary schools, however, prevalent political dictatorship found in some African countries, may make this goal impossible for future generations.

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TEACHERS VOICE / HANDS-ON ARTICLES

ChatGPT in the history classroom – a position paper of a township school teacher

Clive Mekhoe
Progress Comprehensive High School,
Soweto
South Africa
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This paper focuses on my thoughts on ChatGPT and history teaching at the secondary school level. I am a history teacher in a township school in Pimville, Soweto. The learners in the school come from severely disadvantaged backgrounds, mainly from nearby communities such as Kliptown, Freedom Park, and Eldorado Park. Because of the home language offered in the school where I work, we have learners who travel from as far as Vlakfontein and Lawley, more than 30 kilometres from the school. Most of the places mentioned above are peri-urban areas, and many of the learners are foreign nationals from Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. In light of the above, there are numerous contextual factors, mostly social and economic, that impact on the use of artificial intelligence (AI).

When one looks at the initial stages of the implementation of crude AI, I would argue that the Department of Basic Education did not have history as a subject in mind when they started their initiatives around the digitisation of curriculum content. The focus was primarily on mathematics and physical science because of the high failure rate and shortage of skills in these fields. So, the initial phase of the implementation of an AI policy was focused on applications (apps) that would help through scaffolding, moving from the known into the unknown. Many of those apps contained videos of different topics being explained. As these ideas progressed, the issue of smartboards was introduced to try and ease the teachers' burden. I cannot fault the thinking, but the problem was that many of us saw the smartboard initiative as something that, for a large part, was the shifting of the burden of township teachers "from paper to the screen". This is because, conceptually, the idea of digitising teaching needs to include open-source educational websites and applications where the teacher can set tasks and tests.

The Department of Basic Education argued that their thinking was long-term and that smartboards with just textbooks loaded onto them and video capabilities with no internet connection were enough. Consequently, from the middle of 2017 until now, many schools like mine are still stuck with smartboards that are not being used to their full potential. It is in this context that ChatGPT is entering our township world.

Personally, I think ChatGPT itself is a good idea, but not for my school context. I say this because CAPS history is generally applied verbatim in what I would call overly processed information. Differently put, we spoon feed learners with the Grade 12 examination in mind. We are told to give them specific information for specific questions for them to obtain a minimum pass of 30 per cent. In such a context—but I am unsure about this—ChatGPT can advance education when pre-existing essays are often the norm. Likewise, I wonder about ChatGPT and the research assignments that Grade 12 learners must complete. Currently, the thinking is that we must tell learners to use the internet to access historical evidence for their tasks. History teachers augment this by giving them articles and helping with basic referencing techniques. The result is always the same: copying verbatim from the internet because they are used to being spoon-fed and often lack linguistic and critical thinking skills. In this context, I am wondering if ChatGPT will help or hinder and hamper a broken system even more, should ChatGPT take hold in township schools like mine. This is because of infrastructure and socioeconomic challenges many township schools face. Most township schools have not been upgraded from the apartheid spatial planning situation. These schools are pressured by the continual growth of residential areas. The result is that you have, on average, 65 or more learners in a classroom and most of them sit on twin desks. In short, space and equipment are a challenge to all involved in schools like mine. Accommodating ChatGPT and other forms of AI in such a system, at the bottom end of the digital divide, will be challenging. There would be a need to extend the structure of the classrooms for the school to incorporate AI infrastructure. This will, however, not eradicate the main challenge, which is socioeconomic. Most learners in my school come from very poor backgrounds and rely on a feeding scheme which is administered every day during break, and it does not necessarily reach all.

So what does this all have to do with ChatGPT and AI? Well, everything. How can it be used in schools and communities without the most basic resources and funding? In light of the above history, using ChatGPT and AI to gain a dishonest advantage are the least of my concerns. I think it is a concern for schools in leafy suburbs.

Thinking about ChatGPT and assessment in my history classroom

Mpho Patrick Netshiungani
Steve Bikoville Secondary
Hammanskraal
South Africa
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2023/n29a8

It has been said that modern problems require modern solutions. This does not necessarily convince me. I think ChatGPT can potentially become a "major train smash" in history classrooms. I am adopting this position, because in my experience giving history assessments which learners can do at home has brought numerous challenges to the fore around "whose work it really is". This has been the case, in my experience, before the recent advent of ChatGPT, as I sensed that some were using other freely available AI tools to assist them in their assessments. This could be done easily, resulting in learners doing well in continuous assessment tasks without exerting themselves. The problem came when the learners had to write exams—suddenly their marks dropped remarkably. I fully understand that we cannot change the fact that technology is advancing and challenging "old ways of learning". I also do not want to blame ChatGPT and AI, but I need to develop solutions to incorporate them into our lives and classrooms and learn to live with them. Now how do I live with it in an old-fashioned way? One solution has been to let my history learners conduct the research for their tasks on the school premises under my supervision. They use our school's computer centre to search for information relevant to their research topic. Why do I do this? For the following reasons:

- to counter the negative impact of ChatGPT and other AI tools
- to teach my learners to search for themselves and to develop their writing skills
- to teach the learners to develop their own historical thinking based on their own understanding or their perspectives.

In my context, this is working for me and my history classes. For now.

Teaching and learning of History at a high school level—the reality of AI/ChatGPT and the process of assessing understanding

Gordon Brookbanks
Westerford High School
Cape Town
South Africa
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2023/n29a9

A recent article appeared in *The Conversation*, authored by five academics from South Africa, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, all working in education-related fields. Their article, entitled "ChatGPT is the push higher education needs to rethink assessments", argues that ChatGPT can show learners "the wonder and responsibilities of acquiring and building powerful knowledge". They suggest four potential applications of ChatGPT in this regard. The perspective of these academics is contrary to the argument that universities can no longer confidently assert that tests assessed by academics have been produced by their learners.

While the article addresses the reality and use of ChatGPT in tertiary institutions, and the four potential applications of ChatGPT offered are in a university context, a similar conversation is needed within a high school context like that of Westerford. While high school teachers need to inform themselves as to the impact of ChatGPT on the process of teaching and learning generally, each subject department needs to specifically consider whether assessments which are not undertaken in standardised and controlled circumstances have in fact been produced by their learners.

At the outset, it is important to understand that our conscious and unconscious use of and reliance on artificial intelligence is not new. Reliance on our phones for using Google Maps (GPS) to get from point A to B is a case in point. As a 'Baby Boomer', I acknowledge that I use Google Maps regularly when travelling. I no longer own a 'map book' in the car—the traditional 'A to Z', but I still know how to use a 'map book'. While Generation Z (our high school learners), who are colloquially known as 'zoomers', which number about 32% of the world's population, neither know what a 'map book' is nor have heard of the 'A to Z'—they immediately will access Google Maps if the need arises. Reliance on and familiarity with the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) is a reality in our lives, but the challenge of ChatGPT in

terms of assessing understanding in a high school context relates specifically to 'take home' tasks. It raises similar concerns which we had pre-COVID-19 in determining the extent of plagiarism, or what we categorised as 'intellectual theft', in a student's submission. While it is not possible to accurately quantify the extent of the problem we were confronted with, we would periodically address the tendency in a whole school assembly. In the interest of uniformity of approach, we decided the whole school would only use the Harvard system of referencing, and for two years we followed the example of the University of Cape Town and used Turnitin for research submissions. The cost of using Turnitin for a high school was prohibitive, so it was not renewed after two years.

How did we engage with ChatGPT in history at Westerford High? Based on a SWOT analysis, a starting point was to identify to what extent AI/ChatGPT impacts forms of prescribed assessments within a subject department as part of the required School Based Assessments (SBA). It is worth bearing in mind that the objective of an assessment is to determine a student's understanding of the learning and teaching process. In history, we determine understanding of a topic which has been taught, including the application of specific history skills, in either a source-based or an essay question.

Each history teacher in our department is a Grade Coordinator of a specific Grade. As such, each Grade Coordinator was to undertake a SWOT analysis of the impact of AI/ChatGPT on assessments in their Grade. The tasks, with explicit timeframes, were as follows:

> *1) All History teachers are requested to read the article below. While authored by academics in the education sphere of tertiary institutions, it offers a perspective that could be applied to assessing the 'learning and teaching' of history at a high school level.*
> *2) With each history teacher being a Grade Coordinator for a specific grade, they are required to do a SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) for the learning and teaching of history in your grade, as such relates to the reality of AI/ChatGPT and the assessment of understanding in your grade.*
> *2.1) In our assessing of understanding in history, and with the exception of 'take home tasks' such as research projects (Gr 10, 11, 12) and oral history tasks (Gr 9), all assessments are undertaken as controlled assessments in the classroom where learners have to use pen and paper with no access to electronic devices. Similarly, examinations are undertaken in controlled circumstances. It is therefore the former, research tasks and the oral history tasks, which may be a subject of assessment addressed in your SWOT analysis in this respect.*
> *3) Based on your grade-specific SWOT analysis and informed by your understanding of*

the CAPS curriculum AND related assessment requirements, each Grade Coordinator is then required to develop suggested forms of explicit assessment, using the reality of AI/ChatGPT for implementation in either the 2nd and/or 3rd term (due date: 15 April 2023).

4) It is suggested we pilot the suggestions in the 2nd and/or 3rd term 2023 per grade to determine whether it adds value to the 'learning and teaching' of our subject.

5) It would be useful if a tertiary institution monitored the initiative independently to determine as to whether it adds value to the 'learning and teaching' of history at a high school.

Based on the above, we were tiptoeing into the intentional use of AI/ChatGPT in the teaching and learning the grade 12 history curriculum, essay-based assessment. While all history teachers were compiling their grade-specific SWOT analysis, it was decided to ask ChatGPT the question which was to be provided to grade 12 history learners on the completion of their P2Q4 topic (SA in the 1970s)—the form of assessment for P2Q4 is an essay. In addition to providing the question, ChatGPT was instructed to produce a history essay at the level of high school in a maximum of 1,500 words. The essays were marked according to the DBE Essay Marking Matrix.

Using the marking guide and the matrix, the essay produced by ChatGPT was then marked and moderated by history teachers. The history learners then wrote the essay assessment under standardised and controlled circumstances in the classroom, where they had to use paper and pen with no access to electronic devices or notes, and their teacher invigilated the assessment. When the marked scripts were returned to them, we intended to explain to the learners why we arrived at the levels we gave to the essay produced by ChatGPT (L4/L5 – 33). It is important to emphasise that the ChatGPT essay responded to the same question the learners had just responded to in the assessment and was marked using the same marking guide and essay marking matrix.

The objective of providing this explanation to the learners was to remind them of the marking matrix descriptors and caution them on the limitations of AI/ChatGPT (if they elect to use it) in preparing for an essay assessment. At the start of the 2023 academic year, all history learners were given a hardcopy of the essay marking matrix, and the same matrix had been uploaded onto their shared Google Classroom. But it is our experience that the essay marking matrix is seldom referred to by learners when they receive their marked scripts back. They tend to only focus on the actual mark allocated to the essay.

We intended to explain to learners that in terms of content ChatGPT omitted evidence that we have taught in class, included some incorrect facts and terms, and included

irrelevant information, some of which related to events outside of the period in the question. Therefore, it was allocated a L4 for content.

In terms of presentation (argument), it will be explained to the learners that ChatGPT did respond to the explicit question posed in its introductory statement, it maintained a line of argument in the body of the essay, but there were problems in its concluding statement. The concluding statement correctly sustained the introductory argument, but it then repeated information from the body of the essay and included irrelevant information. Furthermore, ChatGPT included sub-headings in the essay which are not acceptable for a history essay. Therefore, it was allocated a L5 for presentation/argument.

Learners are encouraged and able to access previous grade 12 question papers (limited largely to 2021 and 2022, as some topics changed from previous years), to take note of the essay question posed in previous papers. They can then enter the question into AI/ChatGPT to see how the essay introduction is constructed in response to the explicit question in that paper and how the line of argument is maintained through the body of the essay. However, learners must be warned that they are required in an essay-based assessment to respond to the explicit and unique question in front of them. So, in our view, they cannot 'learn' an introduction, line of argument, and conclusion through AI/ChatGPT.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mensches in the trenches: Jewish foot soldiers in the anti-apartheid struggle

Author: Jonathan Ancer
Publisher: Batya Bricker, Johannesburg
ISBN 978-0-620-94694-0

Reviewed by
Paballo Moerane
moeranep@ukzn.ac.za
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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The book details the specifics of apartheid and the triumph of democracy in South Africa. It is a collective effort of the oppressed masses. However, not all the people who played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle feature prominently in the mainstream accounts of Apartheid and its policies. These people are no more than forgotten icons of the liberation struggle, unlike the ones whose political activism stood out. The names of the latter have enriched the pages of history, achieving enduring fame and recognition. There are, however, liberation fighters who operated outside of the country. There is little information on their roles and responsibilities. One therefore expects this book to tap into the uncovered stories of South Africa's struggle for liberation. *Mensches in the Trenches* seeks to tap into and cover stories of the Jewish activists who contributed to South Africa's struggle for justice and liberation.

Title

The title of the book is quite intriguing and has the potential to lead the readers on. The mention of Jewish soldiers would attract readership, as most people do not associate Jews with South Africa's struggle for liberation. It would be interesting to learn about the Jewish

involvement in our struggle. The choice of the title is brilliant in this regard. As the title *Mensches in the Trenches* suggests, the book tells the stories of those "mensches": a Yiddish-derived expression indicating someone who is decent, principled, and strives to do the right thing, who were at the coalface of South Africa's transition from racist minority rule to multiracial democracy.

Preface

The preface is unique. It details the lived experiences of Mohale Trevor Selebi under the apartheid regime. The physical and emotional strain he suffered, motivated him to become politically involved. He was part of the civic activities that took place in most townships from the late 1970s onwards. He was in and out of prison a few times for his involvement in political activities. The support he received from the South African Council of Churches enabled him to access higher education. He enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand where he collaborated with White, Indian, and Coloured political activists. They all sought to orchestrate the demise of the Apartheid regime and usher in democracy. However, there was a polarization of student organizations amid a shared dream of a united, non-racial South Africa. Resistance to the apartheid regime gained momentum during the second half of the 1980s. The ban on the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, South African Communist Party, and others compelled the activists to operate underground. It is interesting to note that white comrades supported the course of the liberation struggle. Black political activists would be on the run from the police, evade arrest, and go into exile. In such instances, with rare exceptions, activists would receive the support of some White and Jewish families. Selebi's activism went beyond the liberation struggle. He worked within the Jewish community through the social outreach organization called Tikkun (now Afrika Tikkun). He spent some time participating in the Heatid Training Programme. The idea of writing a book about the Jewish people who fought the system in practical ways outside the public eye, whose names and deeds were largely unrecorded, was born out of his constant interaction with Heatid's founder and director Wendy Kahn. Selebi laid the groundwork for Jonathan Ancer to write this book.

Foreword

The choice of former President Thabo Mbeki as author of this section renders weight to the narrative. He contends that the struggle for liberation has produced many icons. However,

they are those whose names and deeds are known from the mainstream accounts. This book has done the South Africans a great favour, lest we forget. It is true that the majority of White people did not participate in the struggle to end Apartheid. The same goes for the Jewish component of our population. Those who contributed to the liberation of the country are highly commended. Part of the conundrum of the Jewish community is that they have been victims for so long in so many ways. They are afraid to stick their necks out. They believe that by putting up with injustice, one becomes a victim or a part of the problem. One needs to choose to be part of the solution. In the United States, the Jewish community played a pivotal role in support of the African Americans during the civil rights struggle.

Chapters

The chapters detail the personal accounts of the Jewish people. Their lived experiences in the struggle for liberation feature prominently in 31 chapters of the book. Chapter 1 (Two of a Kind) covers the lives of identical twins Norman and Leon Levy. They began their political activities during their school days and campaigned for freedom and equality all their lives. They stood in the dock with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Helen Joseph, and 150 other leaders of the liberation movement in South Africa. They were all subjected to the Treason Trial (1956-1961). The Levy brothers endured a life of protest, picket lines, interrogation, torture, solitary confinement, jail exile, and eventually democracy. However, they are part of the unsung heroes of South Africa's liberation struggle.

Chapter 10 (Denis Kuny: An Advocate for Human Rights) details the role of advocate Denis Kuny who was involved in many momentous political trials. However, he also took on all sorts of cases that no one had heard of, such as defending untold ordinary people charged with a range of offences from pass-law breaches to high treason. He did these without any publicity, so modest was he. Denis Kuny was in the trenches from the beginning of the struggle up to the dawn of democracy. He had the support of other Jewish lawyers who were challenging the discriminatory laws, protecting the vulnerable, exposing human rights violations, attempting to hold the government to account; this was an impossible task. The Jewish lawyers received equal representation in South Africa's human rights cases. Courageous attorneys and advocates such as Sydney Kentridge and his wife Felicia, Joel Joffe, Jules Browde, Ruth Hayman, Geoff Budlender, Gilbert Marcus, Isie Maisels, Shulamith Muller, George Lowen, Harold Hanson, Nat Levy, Harry Schwarz, Raymond Tucker, and Arthur Chaskalson were involved in high-profile political trials. However, if

you asked any of these legal titans to single out one lawyer who personified the pursuit of justice, they would say Denis Kuny. 'He never got the credit for the contribution he made,' says Judge Dennis Davis.

Chapter 30 discusses the role of Arona Dison. She was born in Cape Town in 1966. Her father was an advocate and her mother a Hebrew teacher. Her father had done a lot of work on anti-apartheid cases such as the bus boycotts and the potato workers' strike. The sense of injustice and the need to overcome it were absorbed from him. He took on diverse cases. He worked for the government of Ciskei. The homelands' governments were extremely oppressive. He argued that as an advocate he was obliged to work for any client who appointed him. Arona experienced contradictions at home: on the one hand there was political consciousness about the evils of the government, but on the other hand they had a 'maid' who lived in a small outside room and worked from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. They had apartheid right in their home. In standard eight (grade ten) Arona got the opportunity to attend the Festival of Culture and Resistance in Gaborone, Botswana. It was organised by the ANC in exile to look at the role of 'cultural workers' in the struggle. The festival included musicals, drama performances, art exhibitions, talks, and discussions. She experienced the joy of musicians like Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, and Abdullah Ibrahim jamming together. They spent hours meeting people and talking to teachers, activists, and artists.

Upon her return, it became clear that Arona had undergone some transformation. In August 1983, she attended the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in a community hall in Mitchells Plain. She became involved in the UDF Claremont area committee. She also participated in the UDF's Million Signature Campaign. Activists from various area committees went door-to-door in suburbs and townships talking to people about the mission and vision of the UDF. They requested them to sign the Million Signature Campaign to show their opposition to the Tricameral Parliament which was being introduced by the government to give the various race groups representation in different parliaments, while keeping the power of the white Parliament intact. When she enrolled at the University of Cape Town, she joined the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). She also joined the NUSAS subcommittee that dealt with labour issues. In 1986, she set out with John Zachariades, a lefty from the area, to hand out flyers against the state of emergency for which they faced imprisonment. She was detained in the white women's section of Pollsmoor prison, a space reserved for white political detainees. In 1987, when she came out of prison, she continued to work in the wages committee. She had a breakdown. She found factional politics difficult. It crushed her and affected her academic work. She became more depressed. Arona was unrelenting as an activist. She

got involved with the South African Domestic Workers' Union, playing a supportive role. Finally, Arona has always tried to see life through a critical lens and to be aware of many injustices that exist. She is grateful for the difference she has made to the environments in which she lived and worked. She aspires to contribute to enabling environments and to productive and joyful collective processes through which people can flourish.

Conclusion

This book is of great service to South African society. According to Mbeki, "apart from telling riveting stories, the book brings into sharp relief the critical importance of leading lives informed by a humanist value system. The Jewish people did not act as they did, both in South Africa and in the United States, out of a condescending sense of pity. They were moved by the understanding that as human beings, we must act together regardless of colour, race or gender, in order to shape a common destiny". The book has succeeded to illustrate the role of the Jewish community in South Africa's struggle for liberation.

Too White to be Coloured too Coloured to be Black: On the search for home and meaning

Author: Ismail Lagardien
Publisher: Melinda Ferguson Books, Cape Town
ISBN: 978-990973-42-0

Reviewed by
Sinenhlanhla Ndaba
snehlanda@gmail.com
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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Introduction

Too white to be Coloured, Too Coloured to be Black is a dazzling hybrid of memoir, commentary, first–hand observation, and analysis, encapsulating defining moments of contemporary South African history and society. As a photographer, journalist, academic, and columnist, the author forces a conversation between the present and the past. He illustrates the extent to which the past has influenced the present. Such a conversation is important for a country riddled with injustices. The coloured question has received little attention from South African historiography. It is a continuation of racial discrimination beyond liberation. In exposing the details of his life, Lagardien provides a taunt indictment of South Africa's politics of race and discrimination. Throughout the book, he often pauses to reflect on his own failures and shortcomings in search of freedom. He has always been trying to fill the emptiness of displacement and meaninglessness. Tortured by psychological and physical violence and struggles with his coloured white skin and green eyes, he drifts away from the ties that bind one to family, faith, identity, and community toward displacement. Eventually, Lagardien accepted his own helplessness and lack of purpose without surrendering responsibility for his personal choices.

Chapters

In chapter 1, the author tries to make sense of memoir writing. He was labouring under the impression that writing a memoir was simply a case of 'you have nothing worthy to talk about, so talk about yourself.' Lagardien thought his sentiments would find better expression in a memoir, without blowing his own trumpet. Memoirs of Eric Hobsbawm, Mohamad Mahathir, and autobiographies of Jean-Paul Sartre and Arthur Koestler *Arrow in the Blue and the Invisible Writing* served as a source of inspiration. The author takes the reader through his preferred approach to memoir writing. He contends that he may not be an interesting person, but he had lived in interesting times. He expressed misgivings about the passage by Tolstoy in *The Cossacks*: "And he went on talking about himself, not realising that this was not as interesting to others as it was to him".

This more or less sums up Lagardien's approach. This book is a memoir, it is not entirely about him, it is about the times he lived in, as well as his relationship with these times. It draws on the past to understand the present and determine future possibilities. In some ways the author feels that he lives in a country that seems alien to him after being away for 14 years. He spent most of these years at the London School of Economics, the World Bank, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, and the Universities in the Carolinas in the USA. Upon his return to South Africa, Lagardien faced challenges of diverse magnitudes. He navigated the injustices of the apartheid regime. He also dealt with the devastating effects of the Covid-19 pandemic that compelled him to halt his book project. He contends that the year 2021 marked the crossing of the moral threshold: an event from which there is no return, no redemption, and even less forgiveness. Guilt and innocence, accountability, and the vague sense of humility have traded places with avarice, greed, senses of exceptionalism and purity, and threats against non-Africans. The author expresses his intention to provide an objective account of his lived experiences.

In chapter 9, the author details his experiences with photography. In July 2021, as Lagardien was sitting in his car outside La Penitence market in Georgetown, Washington, a steaming hot, tropical city with runnels of effluent between buildings, along streets, and across public spaces. The place was filthy. It resembled a gem-infested swamp where its inhabitants aspired to leave someday. Most buildings were dilapidated and abandoned. There is a street in Georgetown named after Nelson Mandela. A roadside vendor described it as a rubbish dump called Mandela. One of the scenes captured by the author was a cow, a dog, a long-legged bird, and a man foraging for food side by side on the same mound of smouldering garbage. That speaks to the deplorable socioeconomic conditions under

which people live in Georgetown. Photography in some instances was not a pleasant experience for Lagardien. Taking pictures of poor people makes no difference to their lives. The photograph of Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave on his knees and burning to death after being beaten and stabbed in 2015 did not prevent recurrent xenophobic attacks and other related intolerances in South Africa. Photographs of the horrors of the First World War ("the war to end all wars") failed to prevent the return to slaughter in the Second World War. Photographs of severed limbs and spilled guts, cracked craniums with brain matter seeping from them, failed to prevent US-led wars against the people of Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan, between Iraq and Iran, as well as among the people of Sudan. The author continues to argue that photographs of the horrors of war failed to stop the dismemberment and bombing of former Yugoslavia and genocide in Rwanda. However, photographs form an integral part of capturing moments in history.

Chapter 15 details how he experienced political violence in South Africa. Toward the end of 1987, the country was on the verge of a civil war. The economy was plummeting. Sporadic violence was spreading across the country. Lagardien was friends with Chris Hani. They shared the same date of birth and would regularly meet up for lunch. Hani described the political tension in the country as a "low-intensity warfare" waged against the forces of democracy. Inkatha received support from the National Party Government. The Inkathagate scandal of 1991 concluded that the National Party Government funded Inkatha rallies. In April 1993, Chris Hani was shot and killed. To this day, the motive behind his assassination remains a mystery. Covering stories of political violence in the country was a traumatic experience for Lagardien. Conflict between Inkatha and the ANC was brutal. David Ottaway, a friend and colleague of the author, described it as a "slaughter". The writer could not stop the horrors and nightmares of what he had witnessed during the 1980s. He had images of people engulfed in flames. Among the photographs he managed to rescue and digitise, was one from somewhere in the north of the country where a woman had been burnt to death by a mob, dancing and singing liberation songs. In the last chapter, the author shares his perspectives about the future of South Africa. He does not believe that progressive change is possible. He thinks the current leadership of the ruling party will move on or die someday. The author decided to leave the predictions of South Africa's future to economists, big-tent pastors and fortune tellers. On the contrary, the author made a few bold statements about the future of this country.

Conclusion

The author wrote the book with brutal honesty and humility through the lens of a green-eyed coloured in a country where he never belonged. The book succeeds in giving us a powerful and searing portrait of the annihilating consequences of race and identity politics. Interestingly enough, the book courses through the apartheid era and the moral decay of racial essentialism in present-day South Africa.

Gandhi's Legacy: The Natal Indian Congress 1894-1994

Author: Surendra Bhana
Publisher: University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg
ISBN: 0869809318

Reviewed by
Zuzile Ngcobo
217030394@stu.ukzn.ac.za
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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Introduction

The book details the factors leading to the formation of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC). How the congress has contributed to South Africa's liberation struggle, features prominently in the narrative. The year 1894 was a turning point in the political history of the country. It marked the formation of the Natal Indian Congress. It served as a forum for the protection of Indians' rights as subjects of Britain. Natal was on the verge of becoming a subject of white supremacy. Mahātmā Gandhi observed this trend. He had completed his mission to South Africa and about to return to India when he saw a notice of a bill before the Natal colonial legislature that sought to deprive Indians of their right to vote. He was determined to challenge this move. He approached the leading Indian merchants for support. They met on 22 August 1894 at the residence of Dada Abdulla and formed the NIC. It broadened its vision to accommodate black political activists. They challenged the entire system of racial discrimination.

The road travelled by the NIC was long and difficult. There have been lows and highs marked by moments of acrimony and doubts. The book title *Gandhi's Legacy: The Natal Indian Congress 1894-1994* speaks to the profound influence of Gandhi that repeatedly plays out in the entire narrative. Gandhi fought against racial injustices of the Apartheid system resolutely. The book also provides some background of the arrival of Indians in South Africa.

Two classes of immigrants came from India. The first comprised indentured labourers who came to Natal to work on the sugar plantations. Natal joined the British colonies that were already making use of this labour supply. The first group of Indians arrived in 1860. Other groups continued to arrive until 1911. The indentured Indians worked in the agricultural sector, although some worked in industries. These migrant workers had the option to either renew their contracts or return to India after their contracts expired. Those who chose to serve two five-year contracts received land as a reward until 1891. Many chose to remain in Natal, while others migrated to other parts of South Africa in search of better opportunities. The second class consisted of individuals from western parts of India who paid their own passage fares. "Passenger Indians", as they were called, saw an opportunity to trade in Indian goods. They continued to arrive in the country until the 1870s. The largest numbers of independent immigrants arrived in the 1890s. They did not have capital resources and engaged in various forms of petty trade. When the NIC was established, there were over 42,000 Indians in Natal, almost equal to the number of Whites. The struggle between these two immigrant groups took place in the midst of numerous African populations, including the Zulu people whose powerful kingdom came under siege in the two decades following the British invasion of Zululand in 1879. The Whites in Natal were in the process of subjugating African people. The presence of Asians complicated matters for them. The White settlers recognized the value of indentured labour in Natal's economy. However, they were unhappy that many indentured Indians stayed behind to offer their labour in all sectors or otherwise engage in independent economic activities such as petty trade and market gardening. The "Introduction" is rich in background information. It captures the fundamental aspects of what the book seeks to cover. The reader can tap into the key issues that the author is interrogating.

Chapters

In the second chapter of the book, the author deals with the impact of British colonialism on South Africa. It would be interesting to learn how political activism mitigated colonial subjugation of non-whites in the country. The chapter title 'The Search for Imperial Brotherhood (1894-1914)' provides a clear idea on what the author would cover in the chapter. The years mentioned in the sub-title help the reader locate the narrative within the timelines in history and come to terms with the political climate and mood during the period in question. Gandhi stated categorically that all they wanted in South Africa was not a White man's land, not even a White brotherhood, but an Imperial brotherhood (October

1901). On the contrary, Jan Smuts argued: "… This country is the kaffirs. We Whites are a handful. We do not want Asians to come in" (April 1911). Part of the mission of NIC was to educate White colonialists about the position of Indians in Natal. Some White people perceived it as a secret organisation with sinister motives. It was also the responsibility of NIC to keep India posted on the developments in the country. There was a library for Natal Indians to keep track of socioeconomic and political affairs of India. There was also a desire to maintain Indian heritage. The attempt to open NIC membership to White settlers did not yield fruitful results. Historical records suggest that no white person ever served on the NIC executive committee.

There were issues of segregation and non-representation among Indians. In 1907, a group of Indians represented by V. Lawrence wrote a letter to the *Natal Advertiser* expressing dissatisfaction over the non-representation of colonial Hindus and Christian Indians in the NIC. In 1908, the Natal Indian Patriotic Union came into being as a direct consequence of the NIC's failure to resolve the issue. The NIC was mainly concerned with issues that affected their interests — namely, trade and immigration. There was an overrepresentation of the commercial elite on the NIC's executive committee. This gave the NIC a high profile not only in South Africa, but in England and India as well. However, alternative organisations formed by dissident groups received little attention abroad and did not enjoy much success. The NIC declared interest in the welfare of indentured Indians who had no political organisation of their own. It did little to address their ill-treatment. Eventually it terminated their immigration permits. Meanwhile the White colonialists in Natal began to express fears in the 1890s about the majority of Indian immigrants. The bill to disenfranchise Indians did not succeed, because it made direct reference to Indians that was contrary to the principle of Imperial Equality. In Durban at the time, only 251 Indian people were registered voters. In the capital, Pietermaritzburg, only 31 Indians were registered voters. Indian voters posed a threat to the country's future. The book chapters provide comprehensive accounts of the subject under discussion. The literary style of the book is to point. The language usage enables the reader to capture the essence of the title. The chapter titles provide a brief overview of the key aspects thereof.

Conclusion

The book comes across as a piece of academic writing arrived at through careful and thorough consideration. The author has been able to trace the course of the Natal Indian Congress that features Gandhi's political activism. It portrays the colonial anti-Asiatic

sentiments and the devastating effects of apartheid, right into the surging seas of a new democracy. He also brought a telescope to bear on the officers and crew who charted that course. Undoubtedly, the author's thorough research and solid background reflected in this book, is highly commendable.

Bullet in the Heart: Four brothers ride to war (1899-1902)

Author: Beverley Roos–Muller
Publisher: Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg

Reviewed by
Zama Nkabinde
217021461@stu.ukzn.ac.za
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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Introduction

The title of the book is quite intriguing and thought provoking. The reader is most likely to anticipate emotive accounts of individuals who traversed tumultuous phases in recorded history. When the word "war" springs to mind, one cannot help but think of the traumatic experiences of the victims, loss of human lives, destruction of infrastructure, and so forth. This book is no exception. The introduction provides a comprehensive summary of various episodes of the book. It details how the four Boer brothers navigated the complexities of the war to defend their sovereign country, particularly the Free State, against the British invasion. Three of them kept diaries. The daily entries disclosed their remarkable voices within the context of the circumstances that had overtaken them. The gradual discovery of these fraternal diaries and other war documents helped tap into their warfare experiences. These brothers from the eastern Free State were Michael, Chris, Pieter, and Lodewyk Muller. They all had the zest to capture every moment of the war and their personal experiences. During the Magersfontein battle in December 1899, Chris scrawled notes in the evening after the battle. At Colesberg, the diatribe written by Michael reflected anger, insults, and the ill-treatment he suffered at Surrender Hill. Despite their brave fighting and determination, they could not resist capture as prisoners of war. One of them did not survive.

Chris was a natural soldier, confident and brave. He rose rapidly through the ranks, unlike Michael whose military weaknesses played out during the war. He became the

captain and then commandant of the Ladybrand commando. Pieter did not keep a diary. His brothers wrote about him. According to their recollections, he was a sturdy and reliable man. Lodewyk, who was a cheerful person, rode off to the war in high spirits. He thought this would be a good adventure. He woke up to a sad reality when he lost his horse and was eventually captured. The diaries kept by the Muller brothers provided an unabridged version of their lived experiences. In that sense, they come across as very reliable sources of information. The author argues that diaries differ fundamentally from formal histories. Their authenticity is implicit for they are writing without the benefit of hindsight. There is no foreknowledge of the outcome. All that exists is the present, and that is all they record. When captured in 1900, the Muller brothers continued to diarise their daily encounters. Chris left eight surviving diaries from his experiences of the war until its end in 1902. As he completed each diary, he would send it to his parents for safekeeping. However, one of his diaries written in mid-1900 was lost, perhaps mislaid in the post, although the postal services functioned with impressive efficiency. A memoir of Andries Meyer who was Chris's close friend, helped complete his record. Colleen Muller Loesch, the granddaughter of Chris Muller, inherited all his war material. The boxes of mementos included souvenirs, letters, and photographs from Chris's POW days in Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka). He even kept the bandana flecked with blood that he used to bind up his wounded leg in 1900. The granddaughter allowed the author to use all eight of the diaries, covering the full two-and-half years of his warfare experiences. The famous victory of the Boers at the Battle of Magersfontein in December 1899 also featured prominently in the diaries. The pages of Lodewyk's single diary, a sturdy notebook, were incomplete from the beginning of his involvement in the war in January 1900 until his tragic death in Green Point Camp in mid-1900. During his active service, his writings were legible. However, after his capture his handwriting becomes quite uneven and difficult to read. When the war ended in 1902, Chris's friend Dawid Kriel, who had been with him on commando, wrote down the details of his death and funeral and returned the diary to his parents.

Michael began his diary at the end of July 1900. When he was captured, he kept a complete record of his captivity until he was shipped off as POW to Bermuda nearly a year later from Cape Town. He recorded the date and day of the week, the weather, the view, anything that struck him as important as well as his deepest feelings. It is inconceivable for Michael to have been able to capture so much, for his cloth-covered diary is slim, smaller than his hand. It measured at 13,5x8 cm. It contains more than a hundred pages of writing in his skilled handwriting. Michael began to use a few tiny sheets of almost transparent paper, gleaned from somewhere, after his notebook was full. One needs a magnifying glass

to read it. Some words are so close to the eroded edges of the pages, they can no longer be easily deciphered. Another discovered treasure was a thin journal of Michael's wife, Nelie. She had written it many years after the war. Although much of it is about domestic matters, there are pages about her experiences of the war. It gave her a voice in the war. Here the author illustrates the value and pivotal role of primary sources in the writing of history. Interacting with primary evidence such as letters and diaries enables the writer to produce authentic and original versions of histories.

Reasons for writing the book

The author's reasons for writing this book are two-fold, one quite grand and the other practical. The grander reason came from Archbishop Desmond Tutu's words: "Unless we understand each other's stories, we will never understand each other". His wise words have enabled this book to provide new insights into an old war that has had devastating consequences for many people. One interesting observation shared by the author is that English books written in the decades after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 reflect the Anglophile position, partly because the British Empire eventually won the war. English historians were either unable to read the language of the Boers or were reluctant to access their stories, hence the one-sided view of the Boers. The British did not understand the Boer culture. Their brilliant military tactics were not recognized. The British newspapers spread propaganda that ridiculed the Boer forces.

The second reason was the author's husband, Ampie, Professor Adriaan Diederichs Muller, who is the grandson of Michael Muller. Soon after they met in Cape Town, 1997, he showed the author the diary of his grandfather. Beverley Roos–Muller decided to connect the war stories shared by the Muller brothers to greater histories beyond their individual lived experiences. She came from an Irish family and could hardly speak a word of Afrikaans. The words of an Irish philosopher Richard Kearney, 'hospitality of narratives', implying different and informed perspectives of shared events are apt in this case. Beverley became interested in the Boer culture, language, and lived experiences of the Anglo-Boer war because of her marriage. The diaries of the Muller brothers offer incisive accounts of the Anglo-Boer war and illustrate the peculiarities of their behaviour patterns amid the atrocities they endured. In the middle of the most chaotic and life-threatening moments of their lives, they could keep their heads for long enough to record their daily experiences, thoughts, and emotions. The writer contends that diaries can be both fascinating and boring. Battles are full of excitement and vigour, but war is a long affair. The endless days of

waiting for the next thing to happen on the battlefield, followed by the brothers' drawn-out months as POWs in South Africa and then in exile, were static by definition. Many entries are as dull as "Today is raining" or "Nothing happened". Unpacking them demanded much dexterity to penetrate the core of the brothers' stories, hopes, dreams, loves, challenges, courage, and grief.

Structure

The book is well structured. The opening provides a solid background that gives the reader a proper perspective. The pictures, explanatory note, and the map clearly outline the geographical location of the places mentioned in the book and set the scene for subsequent engagement with various episodes thereof. The titles of each chapter tie in with the theatre of warfare. They speak to the actual course of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. The use of pictures in the chapters help complement the entire narrative, thus making it more fascinating. The writer was able to ascertain the sequence and chronology of events in the book. The kind of stories that the reader navigates in the book evoke emotions. The author succeeded in paying attention to detail in order to ensure a comprehensive coverage of the war. The book exhibits some elements of originality because of its reliance on diaries. In the words of Albert Grundlingh, "the book is an extraordinary tale, elegantly and enthrallingly presented". Contrary to conventional approaches, acknowledgements and the author's note are right at the end of the book.

Conclusion

The book comes across as a precious and rare publication, featuring first-hand accounts of the victims of war. Max Du Preez maintains that it provides valuable insights into tumultuous times that helped shape South Africa. Beverley Roos-Muller's book is a quite interesting read that compensates for the existing gaps in the South African historiography caused by the negation of some crucial historical narratives.

Editorial policy

1. *Yesterday & Today* is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal and is accredited since the beginning of 2012.
2. History Education, History in Education, and the History of Education and where research related submissions are welcomed.
3. Authors may submit individual contributions or contributions created in teams.
4. All manuscripts are subjected to a double-blinded review process.
5. The language of the journal is English. However, abstracts may be in any of the 11 official languages of South Africa.
6. Contributions must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words.
7. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 15 words.
8. The names of authors and their full institutional affiliations/addresses, city and country of the institution must accompany all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their E-mail addresses and orchid numbers.
9. The Harvard or the Footnote methods of reference may be used. The authors' choice of which reference method will be respected by the editorial management. References must be clear, lucid and comprehensible for a general academic audience of readers. Once an author has made a choice of reference method, the *Yesterday & Today* guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed.
10. Editorial material with images (illustrations, photographs, tables and graphs) is permissible. The images should, however, be of a high-density quality (high resolution, minimum of 200dpi). The source references should also be included. Large files should be posted in separate E-mail attachments, and appropriately numbered in sequence.
11. Articles should be submitted online to Professor Johan Wassermann, the editor-in-chief, can be contacted electronically at: Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za Notification of the receipt of the submission will be done within 72 hours.
12. The text format must be in 12pt font, Times New Roman and in 1.5 spacing. The text should be in Microsoft Word format.
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South African author's university. It remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

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THE FOOTNOTE OR HARVARD REFERENCE METHODS – SOME GUIDELINES

Both the footnote reference method and the Harvard reference method are accepted for articles in *Yesterday & Today.* See some guidelines below:

THE FOOTNOTE REFERENCE METHOD

Footnote references should be placed at the bottom of each page. Footnotes should be numbered sequentially throughout the article and starting with 1. Archival sources/ published works/authors referred to in the text should be cited in full in the first footnote of each new reference. Thereafter it can be reduced to a shorter footnote reference. Do not refer to the exact same source and page numbers in footnotes that follow each other.

The use of the Latin word "Ibid" is **not** allowed. Rather refer to the actual reference again (or in its shortened version) on the rest of a page(s) in the footnote section.

The titles of books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and papers/manuscripts should NOT be capitalised at random. Only the names of people and places (and in some instances specific historic events) are capitalised. For example: **P Erasmus, "The 'lost' South African tribe – rebirth of the Koranna in the Free State", *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77;**

NOT

P Erasmus, "The 'Lost' South African Tribe – Rebirth of The Koranna In the Free State", *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

PLEASE NOTE: Referencing journal titles imply that every word of the journal must start with a capital letter, example: Yesterday&Today Journal.

Examples of an article in a journal

R Siebörger, Incorporating human rights into the teaching of History: Teaching materials, *Yesterday&Today*, 2, October 2008, pp. 1-14.

S Marks, "Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries", *Journal of African History*, 3(1), 1972, p. 76.

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

P Erasmus, "The 'lost' South African tribe – rebirth of the Koranna in the Free State", *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

To:

P Erasmus, "The 'lost' South African tribe …", *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

[Please note: ONLY the title of the article is shortened and not the finding place.]

Examples of a reference from a book

WF Lye & C Murray, *Transformations on the Highveld: The Tswana and the Southern Sotho* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 1980), pp. 7, 10.

JJ Buys, *Die oorsprong en migrasiebewegings van die Koranna en hulle rol in die Transgariep tot 1870* (Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, 1989), pp. 33-34.

[**Please note: The reference variety to page numbers used.**]

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

JA Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Washington, Christian University Press, 1981), p. 23.

To:

JA Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement …*, p. 23.

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

S Brown, "Diplomacy by other means: SWAPO's liberation war", C Leys, JS Saul et.al, *Namibia's liberation struggle: The two-edged sword* (London, Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 19-39.

Shortened version:

S Brown, "Diplomacy by other means …", C Leys, JS Saul et.al, *Namibia's liberation struggle …*, pp. 19-39.

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

MJ Dhlamini, "The relationship between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, 1959-1990" (Ph.D., NWU, 2006), pp. 4, 8, 11.

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

P Coetzee, "Voëlvlugblik ATKV 75 op ons blink geskiedenis", *Die Transvaler*, 6 Januarie 2006, p. 8.

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references

Interview(s)

Provide at least key details such as: Name of interviewee and profession; the interviewer and profession and date of interview

Example of interview reference

K Rasool (Personal Collection), interview, K Kotzé (CEO, Goldfields, Johannesburg Head Office)/E Schutte (Researcher, NWU, School of Basic Science), 12 March 2006.

Example of shortened interview reference (after it has been used once in article)

K Rasool (Personal Collection), interview, K. Kotzé/E Schutte, 12 March 2006.

Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

E-mail: W Khumalo (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/Z Dube (Researcher), 22 October 2006.

National archives (or any other archive)

National Archive (NA), Pretoria, Department of Education (DoE), Vol.10, Reference 8/1/3/452: Letter, K Lewis (Director General) / P Dlamini (Teacher, Springs College), 12 June 1960.

[Please note: After the first reference to the National Archives or Source Group for example, it can be abbreviated to e.g. NA or DE.]

A source accessed on the Internet

A Dissel, "Tracking transformation in South African prisons", Track Two, 11(2), April 2002 (available at http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/two/11-2transformation.html, as accessed on 14 Jan. 2003), pp. 1-3.

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

D Dollar, "Asian century or multi-polar century?" (Paper, Global Development Network Annual Conference, Beijing, January 2007), p. 7.

B Sautmann, "The forest for the trees: Trade investment and the China-in-Africa discourse" (Paper, Public Seminar: China in Africa: Race, relations and reflections, Centre for Sociological Research, University of Johannesburg, 28 July 2007), p. 7.

Shortened version:

D Dollar, "Asian century..." (Paper, GDN Conference, 2007), p. 7.

B Sautmann, "The forest for the trees: ..." (Paper, Public Seminar: China in Africa: ..., University of Johannesburg [or UJ]), p. 7.

GENERAL

Illustrations

The appropriate positioning of the image should be indicated in the text. Original copies should be clearly identified on the back. High quality scanned versions are always welcome. **Authors, PLEASE obtain copyright and reproduction rights on photographs and other illustrations.**

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THE HARVARD REFERENCE METHOD

References in the text

References are cited in the text by the author'(s) surname(s) and the year of publication in brackets, separated by a comma: e.g. (Weedon, 1977:13).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication: e.g. (Fardon, 2007a:23).

Page references in the text should follow a colon after the date: e.g. (Bazalgette, 1992:209-214).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work, only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation *et al.*: e.g. (Ottaro *et al.*, 2005:34).

If reference is made to an anonymous item in a newspaper, the name of the newspaper is given in brackets: e.g. (The Citizen, 2010).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication: e.g. (B Brown, pers. comm.).

Ensure that dates, spelling and titles used in the text are accurate and consistent with those listed in the references.

List all references chronologically and then alphabetically: e.g. (Scott 2003; Muller 2006; Meyer 2007).

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References.
Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

References should be presented as indicated in the following examples. See the required punctuation.

Journal articles

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of article, unabbreviated title of journal, volume, issue number in brackets and page numbers: e.g. Shepherd, R 1992. Elementary media education. The perfect curriculum. *English Quarterly*, 25(2):35-38.

Books

Surname(s) and initials of author(s) or editor(s), year of publication, title of book, volume, edition, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Mouton, J 2001. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

Chapters in books

Surname(s) and initials of author(s,) year of publication, title of chapter, editor(s), title of book, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Masterman, L 1992. The case of television studies. In: M Alvarado & O Boyd-Barrett (eds.). *Media education: an introduction*. London: British Film Institute.

Unpublished theses or dissertations

Fardon, JVV 2007. Gender in history teaching resources in South African public school. Unpublished D.Ed. thesis. Pretoria: Unisa.

Anonymous newspaper references

Daily Mail 2006. World Teachers' Day, 24 April.

• Electronic references

Published under author's name:

Marshall, J 2003. Why Johnny can't teach. *Reason*, December. Available at http://www.reason.com/news/show/29399.html. Accessed on 10 August 2010.

Website references: No author:

These references are not archival, and subject to change in any way and at any time If it is essential to present them, they should be included in a numbered endnote and not in the reference list.

Personal communications

Normally personal communications should always be recorded and retrievable. It should be cited as follows:

Personal interview, B Ndlovu (Journalist-singer)/S Ntini (Researcher), 2 October 2010.

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1. **Font type:** Times New Roman.
2. **Font size in body text:** 12pt.
3. **Author's details: Provide the following in 10pt:**
   - Initials and surname
   - Institutional affiliation
   - City and country of institutional affiliation
   - Emails address
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   Example:

   JM Wassermann

   University of Pretoria

   Pretoria, South Africa

   Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za

   0000-0001-9173-0372
4. **Abstract:** The abstract should be placed on the first page (where the title heading and author's particulars appear). The prescribed length is between a half and three quarters of a page.
   - The heading of the Abstract: Bold, italics, 12pt.
   - The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.
5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract. The word '**Keywords':**10pt, bold.
   - Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;). Example: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).
6. **Title of the article:** 14pt, bold.
7. **Main headings in article:** 'Introduction' – 12pt, bold.
8. ***Sub-headings in article: 'History research'*** – 12pt, bold, italics.
9. **Third level sub-headings: 'History research'**: – 11pt, bold, underline.
10. **Footnotes:** 8pt, regular font; BUT note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt. The initials in a person's name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. Example: LC du Plessis and NOT L.C. du Plessis.
11. **Body text:** Names without punctuation in the text. Example: "JC Nkuna said" and

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12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:
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13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.
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21. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa); do this before starting with the word processing of the article.** Go to 'Review', 'Set Language' and select 'English (South Africa)'.