YESTERDAY & TODAY

No. 31
July 2024

YESTERDAY & TODAY

Yesterday & Today is a scholarly, peer-reviewed and educationally focused history education journal. It is indexed by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training. The journal is currently published in conjunction with The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) under the patronage of the Department of Humanities Education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. Open access to the journal is available on the SASHT, the SciELO, the University of Pretoria's UPJournals platform, and the Boloka websites. The Website addresses to find previous and current issues of the *Yesterday & Today* journal are:

- http://www.sashtw.org.za
- http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo
- https://upjournals.up.ac.za/index.php/yesterday_and_today

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- History research that relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in History curricula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

Hands-on articles in the following field of research are published:

- 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.

The editorial board accommodate peer reviewed articles and practical hands-on articles. However, it's only the peer- reviewed articles that are acknowledged by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training for being accredited and valid for subsidy purposes. Please note that authors are expected to provide written proof that the language and style of both the abstract and the manuscript were professionally edited before submitting the manuscript to *Yesterday & Today* for consideration. For more information, see the "Template guidelines for writing an article" and "The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines" on the last pages of the journal. Also refer to the last pages of this publication and the most recent issue of the journal available on the SASHT's website: http//www.sashtw.org.za for more information. The use of the correct citation methods and the acknowledgement of all consulted sources is a prerequisite.

e-ISSN 2309-9003

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
Submissions accepted electronically via the UPJournals site -
https://upjournals.up.ac.za/index.php/yesterday_and_today/about/submissions
ISSN 2223-0386 (Print version) | ISSN 2309-9003 (Online version)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a1

History Education greetings,

Welcome to the July 2024 edition, volume 31, of *Yesterday & Today*. This edition appears against the backdrop of the ever-growing threats and opportunities posed by Artificial Intelligence (AI) to journals. In response, ASSAf and SciELO created Draft Guidelines for using Artificial Intelligence (AI) Tools and Resources in Research Communication, which *Yesterday & Today* must adhere to. The purpose of these guidelines is to guide a journal like ours on the use of content generated by AI applications. This also means that we need to adjust our editorial policy accordingly. In this editorial, I will quote extensively from these guidelines (which is a continuous work in progress). The purpose is to alert all authors and reviewers about their responsibility regarding AI and large language model (LLM)-based tools.

ASSAf and SciELO Draft Guidelines for the Use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) Tools and Resources in Research Communication (still to be approved by the ASSAf Council)

Recommendation for authors

'Authors are solely responsible for ensuring the authenticity, validity, and integrity of the content in their manuscripts. Because it is not the work of the authors, any use of content generated by an AI application must be appropriately referenced. To do otherwise is the equivalent of plagiarism. Authors are called upon to avoid including misinformation generated by an AI application, as this could have adverse consequences for them personally, and impact the quality of future research and global knowledge.

Authors may use tools and resources that aid in the preparation, methodology, data analysis, writing support, review, and translation of their articles, book chapters, or books. AI applications offer many of these tools and resources, for example, grammatical and punctuation error detection tools are permissible as long as they follow attribution rules and maintain ethical and scientific integrity.

However, it is important to note that only humans can be considered authors, adhering to the following rules and practices:

- The sources of materials used in research and manuscript writing are referenced. Any use or content generated by an AI application should be mentioned in the abstract, methods section, or equivalent.
- All cited material should be properly attributed, including full citations, and the cited sources need to support the claims made by the AI application, as it is not uncommon for AI to generate references to non-existent works—that is, all citations need to be checked.
- Commonly used AI tools such as spelling and grammar checks do not need to be disclosed.
- The authors must assume public responsibility for their work as authors.

Concealing the use of AI tools is unethical and violates the principles of transparency and honesty in research.'

How to cite AI Content

'Content generated by AI tools should be cited and referenced as an unrecoverable source, similar to personal communication. This should follow the guidelines for citing this type of resource in the chosen reference style of the relevant journal. The journal needs to provide an example in its *Guidelines to Authors* section. Just as personal communications are cited to provide attribution and context, citing AI-generated content ensures transparency and accountability in scholarly discourse.

Any use or content generated by an AI application must be mentioned in the abstract and in the methods section or equivalent. The declaration of such use should include the name, version, and manufacturer of the tool used and the date on which it was accessed, for example:

(Chat GTP 3.5, Version 28 August 2023, Open AI, accessed 16 September 2023)

The '**prompt**' or plain-language instruction entered in the tool should also be provided, either in the methods section of the manuscript or as supplementary material to the manuscript.

Where AI tools or LLMs have been used, for example, in the conception and design of a study, editing of non-data images, editing, or revising the writing, such contributions do not meet the criteria of authorship.

Where AI tools, specifically for spelling and grammar checks, similarity checking, and reference management are used, these do not need to be disclosed.'

This edition contains five academic articles:

- In her article, Pranitha Bharath unravelled second-order historical thinking concepts in South African history textbooks.
- This is followed by the contribution of Paul Maluleke and Sarah Godsell. Again, the focus was on textbooks. In their article, they ask probing questions about the absence of the LGBTIQA+ Community in School History Textbooks in Post-Apartheid South Africa.
- In his article, Paul Hendricks examines the transformative praxis of a dissident teachers' organisation, the Teachers' League of South Africa.
- In their contribution, Walter Sengai and NL Ntlama engage with teacher perceptions on the possibility of integrating History and Citizenship into the Lesotho Curriculum.
- The final contribution is from Francois Cleophas and focuses on Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney: A Multi-Faceted School Teacher's Biography.

In addition, this edition includes the usual book review section. I want to thank Bafana Mpanza for the exceptional work he is doing in this regard. The teachers' voice section in this edition, edited by Denise Bentrovato, gives voice to international collaboration exercises between the Universities of Pretoria and Leipzig.

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

e-ISSN 2309-9003

Unravelling Second-Order Concepts in South African History Textbooks

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a2

Pranitha Bharath
Faculty of Education, Department of Humanities Education
University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6175-7109
pranitha.bharath@up.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a2

Abstract

This paper explores the progression of second-order concepts in seven purposively sampled South African CAPS-compliant history textbooks. History knowledge encompasses both the substantive and procedural knowledge types, with second-order concepts forming an integral component of the latter. Textbook writers and educators use this knowledge in their domains without a predetermined trajectory. These concepts are not mere skills but fundamental notions guiding historical practice. Their meaningful integration into learning materials forms a necessary toolkit for historical inquiry. Drawing from a broader PhD study,[1] a Bernsteinian (1990) framework and the 'big six' concepts articulated by Seixas and Peck (2004) are used to analyse the content of seven chapters, one per book, telling the story of the history of South Africa across grades three to nine in the foundation, intermediate, and senior phases of the South African school curriculum. A continuum was populated, articulating the strengths of the second-order concepts ranging from a powerful presence to those weakly incorporated. The findings indicate a sporadic presence of the six concepts—historical significance, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, and the moral dimension across the textbooks. There is a more inclusive focus in the senior grades and less so in lower grades. The concepts also lack continuous and cumulative development. If these 'structural' historical concepts provide the basis for historical thinking, it is unclear how they advance through the grades with increasing levels of complexity. The methodology of history is thus not a universal or one-

1 Findings extracted from the researcher's broader study, P. Bharath, "An investigation of progression in historical thinking in South African history textbooks" (PhD., UKZN, 2015).

size-fits-all endeavour but an iterative process inculcating concepts that are nuanced and inherently abstract.

Keywords: Content analysis; Textbooks; Procedural knowledge; Substantive knowledge, Second-order concepts; Progression

Introduction

History knowledge is composed of both first-order or substantive (know-that) knowledge and second-order or procedural (know-how) knowledge (Lee 1983). These two strands function in unison, complement each other, and give history its distinctive structure. The substantive dimension makes up the knowledge of the past: people, events, ideas, cultures, societies, and organisations (Fordham 2017, cited in Oppong, Adjepong and Boadu 2022: 144). Counsell (2018a) refers to the curricular definition of substantive knowledge as the content teachers teach as fact. Procedural knowledge refers to the skills and methods historians use to carry out their tasks. These methods involve interpreting evidence, analysing sources, and presenting historical information as narratives. They are the 'ideas that provide our understanding of history as a discipline or form of knowledge' (Lee and Ashby 2000: 199) and characterise history as an active construction of knowledge (Vygotsky 1978 cited in Oppong, Adjepong and Boadu 2022: 145). Procedural knowledge or knowledge-in-use includes concepts like cause and effect, change, continuity, evidence, and historical significance. Historical knowledge's content and process dimensions provide a conceptual frame for this study.

There are always questions on the construction and expansion of historical knowledge. 'Progression' in historical knowledge is not a movement on a linear scale of reasoning from content to process knowledge, but a simultaneous advancement *within each* domain of knowledge (Lévesque 2008). The procedural concepts are not overtly observable in use and are not overt in historians' investigations or the teaching of history at schools (Lévesque 2008). They are also highly nuanced and detailed. The second-order concepts are multi-faceted and complex and may involve subjective interpretations. Therefore, how they progress in any sense may be difficult to articulate precisely. While Bharath (2023) finds a clear progression in substantive knowledge as it shifts from a rudimentary and contextualized nature to a more abstract and dense form, the present study seeks to understand its affiliated structure of knowledge. It does so by investigating how the second-order concepts are assimilated into history knowledge in textbooks. While textbooks present historical information, they do not specify pre-determined proportions of knowledge. In other words, textbooks 'encode' knowledge through various modalities, including textual, image, and map presentations. There is significant justification for analysing their contents to determine the nature of the codes.

Given that both the substantive and procedural knowledge types are encoded in textbooks, there are questions about the balance of each and about the relative significance

of each in garnering a greater grasp of historical knowledge. Perkins (1992) contends that history teaching focussed on substantive content can result in fragile history knowledge and learners' understanding of history can be rigid and limited (cited in Oppong et al. 2022). Bertram (2009: 45) asserts that while curriculum reformers have embraced the procedural dimension of studying history, there is a concern of an overemphasis on procedural knowledge over the substantive. History teaching before the 1970s had a notable emphasis on substantive knowledge and rote learning. The subject was viewed as 'fact' loaded and boring. This traditional, idealised 'objective' model transitioned in the late twentieth century to more innovative 'relativist' approaches in history where fact and 'objectivity' were challenged and attention was given to a skills-based framework. Both England and the United States adopted this notion in their history curricula. Australia, France, and Germany have developed history programmes along similar lines. In Malaysia, these skills are limited to five concepts: historical inquiry, historical information gathering, historical thinking skills (HTS), historical explanation, understanding history and empathy (Talin 2015: 43). The Malaysian education system upgraded the subject of history from an elective in 1989 to a core, compulsory subject to be passed in form five. One of the goals was to equip students with knowledge of the historical events in the country and to instil national pride. There is a growing unification around these ideas in global history.

Following world trends and a changing political landscape, South Africa has also experienced the impact of educational and curriculum changes. The shape and features of the discipline of history have altered in line with policy evolution. Post-apartheid changes brought significant curriculum revision with the removal of racial and biased content. The general aims of the South African curriculum state that 'it promotes knowledge in local contexts while being sensitive to global imperatives' (Department of Education 2011c: 4). It also foregrounds the principle of 'an active and critical approach to learning rather than rote and uncritical learning of given truths' (Department of Education 2011c: 4). Consequently, textbooks were also revised to embrace the transition to a skills-based framework (Beets and le Grange 2008: 69). The historical discipline associated with modes of investigation commenced as early as 1988 when the *'History Alive'* textbook series covering Standard 2 (grade 4) to Standard 10 (grade 12) presented opportunities for interpretation and skills development (Kallaway, 1995: 13). Kallaway (1995) argues that these textbooks were organised in an interrogative manner rather than the conventional direct narrative, presenting an explanatory approach with opportunities for interpretation and translation.

The purpose of this paper is to transcend the polarizing discourse of substantive over

procedural knowledge and focus instead on how current South African textbooks integrate second-order concepts within the content of textbooks, thus embracing the new skills-based approach articulated in the curriculum. Textbooks serve as practical representations of the curriculum, frequently employed in the absence of alternate teaching and learning materials. Considering the impact of these concepts in fostering the scholarly dimensions of historical inquiry, it is important to explore their graded integration within the South African school history curriculum.

Key research questions

My research focuses on two integral questions: 'What are the second-order concepts in history?' and 'How are these concepts incorporated in textbook content of advancing grades?' The research will view existing literature on second-order concepts to understand their role in history knowledge and then use them as a framework to examine how textbooks incorporate them into the content. To understand the present shape of knowledge and more specifically the second-order concepts in South African textbooks, it is necessary to understand the timeline of change as the country transitioned through a series of curriculum shifts after 1990.

Background and contextualisation

General educational changes in South Africa

South Africa's post-apartheid elections led to three national curriculum reforms. The first attempt was to purge the apartheid curriculum (school syllabuses) of 'racially offensive and outdated content' (Jansen 1997). In 1997 an outcomes-based education, called Curriculum 2005 (shortened to C2005), was introduced to overcome the curricular divisions of the past by foregrounding outcomes and allowing teachers to select their content. Implementation was unsuccessful and varied, prompting a curriculum review in 2000. This led to the first curriculum revision: the *Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R–9* and then the *National Curriculum Statement Grades 10–12* (Department of Education 2002). This curriculum provided more structure and proposed content for teachers.

Ongoing implementation challenges resulted in another review in 2009 and the *National Curriculum Statement Grades 10–12* was revised to produce the CAPS (Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement) document in 2011. Since 2012, the two

National Curriculum Statements for Grades R–9 and Grades 10–12 respectively have been combined in a single document and are simply known as the *National Curriculum Statement Grades R–12* (NCS). The *National Curriculum Statement Grades R–12* builds on the previous curriculum but also updates it and aims to provide clearer specifications of what is to be learned and taught on a term-by-term basis (Department of Basic Education 2011a:3).

The significance of textbooks in South Africa

The *National Curriculum Statement Grades R–12* represents a policy statement for all approved subjects, including social sciences. The CAPS social science document (Department of Education 2011c: 8) stipulates that 'Every learner should have a quality textbook', and that the textbooks 'should provide accurate content that is aimed at the development of the appropriate skill, concepts and values'. The general aims of the CAPS are stipulated as 'high knowledge and high skills' with the content and context of each grade showing the progression from simple to complex (DoE 2011c: 4).

In South Africa, textbooks serve as purveyors of curriculum-aligned content alongside associated assessments, homework activities, creative projects, and tasks for learners. Adherence to the prescribed standards is reinforced by the Department of Education through its catalogue of textbooks. This comprehensive catalogue lists extensive approved textbooks and publishers from which schools are authorised to make their selections. Either in digital or hard copy format, it becomes imperative to scrutinise textbook contents to determine the nature of the content, its accuracy, and its alignment with international and innovative trends in history methodology.

Concepts in History

According to the social sciences CAPS document (Department of Education 2011c: 11) for the subject of history, the concepts in history are historical sources and evidence; the multi-perspective approach; cause and effect; change and continuity; and time and chronology. The document excludes the moral dimension, even though its significance and inclusion are noted in the network of concepts described by Seixas (2006) and Martin (2012) and deemed mandatory as part of history inquiry. This study investigates how second-order concepts are integrated into textbook portrayals of time, events, individuals, and diverse contexts. By focusing on seven textbooks from grades 3 to 9 across the

foundation, intermediate, and senior phases of the school history curriculum, the research fills a gap that exists in understanding the complexity of these second-order concepts. It seeks to determine if these concepts can be described and if they can, by what constructs. If the concepts advance, how can they be measured? The study then offers a perspective on the status of these concepts in a skills-based curriculum as they are presented in the different textbooks.

Literature Review

The discipline of history

According to Counsell (2011: 202), the most systematic and far-reaching effort in history to 'implement a pedagogy based on the "structure of the discipline" (Schwab 1978) was the 1972 Schools Council History Project (SCHP) (Shemilt 1980)'. She argues that bringing an epistemic tradition to a pedagogic site so pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims can be made is never easy because a historian's processes cannot be replicated by a learner in a classroom. While the evidence is very important in history, the second-order concepts are those intellectual categories essential to the practice of history that shape the questions historians ask of the past, being the most efficient device for defining the structure of the discipline in curricular terms (Counsell 2011: 206–207). The subject of history is designed to empower learners' thinking. Like science, history uses 'evidence' which links to 'degrees of certainty' ensuring rigor in inquiry. It is worth reflecting, therefore, on the role of such concepts in making everything else in the history curriculum work (Counsell 2011: 217). These concepts have an integrative curricular function that turns content into problems. The concept becomes an inquiry process that challenges learners. Learners will realise that 'all historical knowledge, especially that which ends up in curricula or textbooks, "is always produced by someone and … owned, controlled and subject to change"' (Edwards 2008: 45 cited in Counsell 2011: 218).

Recently, historical thinking has become an explicit outcome in history curricula emanating from a paradigm shift in the 1970s. Historical thinking is the creative process that historians go through to interpret the evidence of the past and generate the stories of history (Seixas 2006). As part of the inquiry, historians seek not to violate the norms of evidence, but to adequately argue the claims of significance and to provide causal explanations amid relevant conditions (Seixas 1993). Moving away from the regurgitating of facts, history is no longer about memorisation but rather the development of heuristic and

epistemological skills (Wineburg 2001). Opportunities should be provided for learners to 'do' history, emphasising the disciplinary nature of history. Additionally, Wineburg (2001) emphasised a document's subtext, using sourcing, corroboration, and contextualisation. As an alternative to historical thinking educationalists used the term 'historical literacy' (Taylor and Young 2003) and 'historical reasoning' (Leinhardt, Beck and Stainton 1994), giving importance to what Lee and Ashby (2000) referred to as second-order concepts. Lee and Ashby (2000: 199) argue that these ideas provide an understanding of history as a discipline or form of knowledge. Thus, historical thinking embraces the notion of 'doing history', co-existing with 'historical understanding', 'historical reasoning', and 'historical literacy' (Parkes and Donelly 2014).

The 'big six' structural benchmarks (Seixas, 2006)

Seixas (2006) developed a model for historical thinking called *Benchmarks of historical thinking: A framework for assessment in Canada*. He unpacks progression in 'historical thinking' with six structural benchmarks which are: to establish historical significance, use primary source evidence, identify continuity and change, analyse cause and consequence, take historical perspectives, and understand the moral dimension of historical interpretations. A review of literature by Nye, Hughes-Warrington, Roe, Russel, Peel, Deacon, Laugeson, Kiem (2009) on the concept of historical thinking produced insights from Wineburg's (2009) discussion on engagement with sources, Seixas' (2006) description of engagement and practice of historical study, Ashby and Lee's (2001) work on empathy, and Levstick's view (2001) that historical thinking is a social act rather than an individual one. They concluded that evidence-based inquiry is crucial for the development of historical thinking. Where sources are found, interpreted, critiqued, and contextualised and where in turn the students' empathy is developed, they learn to engage in a disciplinary conversation.

In a study by Nye et al. (2009) sixty-five percent of participating students referenced historical thinking as a process, sometimes agentic and sometimes routine and mechanical. They used terms such as analyse, evaluate, investigate, re-enact, compare and contrast, and reflect. They also used points of reference such as subjectivity, context, bias, structure, memory, and empathy. It is argued that historical thinking represents the second-order concepts that advance as a learner moves into higher grades (Bharath 2015:12). According to Seixas and Peck (2004: 109) school history should provide learners with the ability to approach historical narratives critically. Questions should be about who constructed the

account and why, what sources they use, what other accounts are there of the same event or lives, how and why they differ, and which we should believe. The purpose of history education is to work with these fragments of thinking and develop them so that learners can have a better understanding.

If these complex but mandatory ways in which learners process information in history, how would the level of engagement at grade 3 level differ from the same process at the grade 9 level? Ken Osborne notes that '… it is not clear whether or to what extent history courses at different grade levels are designed to build on each other in any cumulative way' (cited in Seixas, 2006:1). Osbourne has shown that there are debates about historical thinking and its progression in the history curriculum. The Benchmarks project, with six distinct but closely interrelated historical thinking concepts, ties 'historical thinking' to competencies in 'historical literacy'. Lee and Ashby (2000), Lévesque (2008), Seixas (2006), and Shemilt (1980) were useful in providing the key descriptions of historical concepts. The elements of historical thinking have critical questions and descriptions that historians engage with (Seixas and Peck, 2004: 111).

The questions and descriptions (presented below) will be used as a framework to analyse the content of each textbook to assess how the second-order concept manifests.

The elements of historical thinking and essential questions

1. **Historical significance: Historians establish historical significance** by asking the following question: How do we decide what is important to learn about the past?

Everything in the past cannot be taught nor can a historian write every detail. What is designated for study is what researchers have recognised as historically significant and not trivial. Those events have had the greatest impact on people and environments (World War 1; The French Revolution; the great political, economic, and military leaders; women's history; labour history). 'Knowing a lot of historical facts is useless without knowing how they fit together" (Seixas and Peck 2004: 111). It develops with systematic teaching and this is where the role of teachers and their training is important.

2. **Epistemology and evidence** (Seixas and Peck 2004: 111). **Historians use primary source evidence** to answer the question: How do we know what we know about the past?

We rely selectively on the knowledge of experts, which is why the curriculum is represented in textbooks, written by experts or historians, understanding how to express the significant facts in the desired methodology of history.

3. **Continuity and change** (Seixas and Peck 2004: 112). **Historians examine change and continuity to** answer the question: How do we make sense of the complex flows of history?

The historian will set out to explain why events happen and what their impacts are. Understanding change over time is central to historical thinking. This is influenced by age and location. What a person believes to be true and real is influenced by their own beliefs and their individual perception of the environment and events. People have different backgrounds and experiences which affect how nuanced their ideas of what has changed.

4. **Progress and decline** (Seixas and Peck 2004: 113) **Historians analyse what has progressed and continue** to answer the question: Why do events happen and what are their impacts?

Here there is an evaluative element to the issue of continuity and change. Have things changed, has it improved? Or has it gotten worse? It depends. Progress can relate to technological, economic (in terms of standards of living), political (in terms of democratic participation and representation), moral (in terms of protection of human rights), environmental, scientific, spiritual aspects, and more.

Most history textbooks (as well as the work of academic historians, until very recently) assume an underlying framework of historical progress (Seixas and Peck 2004: 112). In South Africa, we may categorise this in terms of its political progress before apartheid and after its demise. The curriculum process and evolution itself are the agents of change. It is a complex moment in historical time as people argue about what has changed, if it has changed, whether there is progress, and to whom that progress applies. The orientation to historical knowledge is complex and what do we do with our progress-based history textbooks?

5. **Empathy** (historical perspective-taking) **and moral judgement** (Seixas and Peck 2004: 113). Given a set of circumstances, why did people act in a certain way? Contextualise the lived experience of a historical figure and comment as an observer of the past.
6. **Historians take historical perspectives. Historians attempt to understand the ethical dimension** of history to answer the question: How do we better understand the people of the past?

Both concepts 5 and 6 are used to consider people in the past who experienced the world through different belief systems. People who experienced apartheid are different from the 'born-frees' who have not experienced the world and country like their fathers and grandfathers. The error of 'presentism' is a failure to realise how much they do not know

about the past. Empathy or taking a historical perspective is an effective process.

The 'big six' concepts, comprising historical thinking, are to be viewed as 'competencies' or second-order skills integrated into all aspects of teaching from formulating objectives, to selection of resources and teaching strategies, to assessment of learners' performance (Seixas and Morton 2013). These concepts provide us with a vocabulary framework to use. An academic historian undergoes specialised training to assemble history using these concepts and writes what constitutes a valid historical argument in history textbooks and other materials. This is typically what inquiry is about. Inquiry engages students in thought-provoking questions that prompt an active engagement with the past. The application of second-order concepts guides this process. Inquiry thus demands more than memorising pieces of information but rather working with evidence, weighing choices, and making interpretations.

Researchers have highlighted 'progression models' to explain the incremental growth of the second-order concepts. Lee and Shemilt (2003) argue that conceptual crudity in the form of generic and imprecise language, like 'simple', 'begin to', and 'show some independence', be avoided as a substitute for identification of important shifts in understanding. They also assert that evidence points to the fact that students' ideas are 'decoupled', that, for example, a student's ideas about 'evidence' can remain the same. In contrast, his ideas about 'accounts' change quite rapidly. They also caution about quantifying the gaps between categories and assuming that the gaps in one concept are equivalent to those in another. However, they argue that these models are hierarchical, as students work from less to more powerful ideas. The levels in the progression models, however, are not a sequence of ladder-like steps that every student must climb. The models can be said to be both hierarchical and, at the same time, not a ladder-like sequence. This apparent contradiction can be explained by the movement of ideas within each key concept at various degrees. It is almost certain that each key concept advances as learners' ideas about each one gain a stronger understanding as they mature. However, it is not guaranteed that they advance in the same amounts or degrees at the same time in the curriculum. This means that while the growth in ideas is expected, it is not a calculated, measurable quantification at any particular stage. It is, for this reason, that Lee and Shemilt (2003) recommend different models of progression for each key concept, so that the movement of students' ideas from less powerful to more powerful within each key concept, like 'evidence' and 'change', is represented separately.

The second-order concepts in such models possibly set out ideas that groups of children of certain ages can exhibit, showing patterns of development. A progression model can also

help predict the range of ideas that are likely to be encountered at a certain developmental stage. Research has shown that in history (as in science), there is a seven-year gap. For example, the ideas seven-year-olds have about 'cause' may be the same for most fourteen-year-olds, and some fourteen-year-olds will be working with the same ideas that seven-year-olds employ (Lee and Shemilt 2003). The models are based on prediction, showing us how most students of a given age are likely to think. They do not tell us what students must necessarily *do*. A model's shelf-life or its reconfiguration over time is not guaranteed. It is not comprehensive and difficult to measure powerful ideas.

While research about progression outside the United Kingdom (UK) is still scarce, it looks as if the models developed in the UK can successfully predict the range of ideas with which students operate, even if the age distribution in other cultures is different (Lee and Shemilt 2003). These models are not rigid, all-embracing models of progression, but they have built up empirical data over the years and offer ways to analyse pupil progression (Lee and Shemilt 2004). Lee and Shemilt (2004) present a research-based progression model that suggests that students' preconceptions about history, or what they initially understand, are important to how and what they will learn. Lee and Shemilt (2009: 43) later offer a six-levelled model of second-order concepts that deal with students' conceptual understandings. They argue that conceptual apparatus must be mastered at common sense or first level before a student can write explanatory narratives.

Lee and Ashby (2000, cited in Maggioni, Alexander and VanSledright 2004: 176) found that students developed at different times in conceptual areas, showing an understanding of historical evidence while failing to show any progression in dealing with causality. Individual variability seemed greater than a 'stage-like' pathway. Similarly, in the United States, a study by Bruce VanSledright (2004) with fifth graders drew attention to the role of instructing learners in the heuristics of historical investigation. The focus is shifted to the value of teaching learners the tools of historical inquiry, with guidance and scaffolded instruction (cited in Magionni et al. 2004). Magionni et al. (2004:191) place teachers at the core of developing historical thinking as they too have to be familiar with the tenets of the discipline to teach it. They argue that 'no curricula can substitute the daily, living relationships between students and their teacher, especially when the target is some form of higher-level thinking' (Reference needed).

Blow (2011) contends that children's mastery of these second-order concepts is fundamental to their meaning-making of stories in history. Understanding these concepts helps them make sense of the past and its relationship to the present. Later work by Blow, Lee and Shemilt (2012) advanced that students experience difficulty not only in chronological

conventions but that conceptual mastery was also problematic. They argue that learning to think historically involves learning to think about concepts like time, duration, sequence, and concurrence as well as the relationships between them. This would allow learners to gain an understanding of both historical and present contexts.

A considerable body of constructivist research conducted in the UK led to the Historica Foundation and the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness in Canada which are collaborating with educators to help teach and assess historical thinking. Lévesque (2008: 7) cites Veronica Boix-Mansilla and Howard Gardner's definition, that 'Disciplinary thinking constitutes the most advanced way of approaching and investigating issues within various domains of knowledge'. Lévesque (2008) contends that disciplines such as history have their own modes of inquiry, networks of concepts and principles, theoretical frameworks, symbolic systems, and vocabularies, offering formidable 'ways of knowing' about the past or current issues of significance. Lévesque (2008) argues that while children seem to easily acquire theories and explanatory frameworks supplied by memory history, disciplinary thinking proves to be more challenging. People need to acquire established knowledge within their disciplines (e.g., facts and accounts), but this must be acquired through disciplinary method procedures. Cognitive psychologist Sam Wineburg (2001) asserts that achieving mature historical thinking is 'far from a natural act'. Dewey (cited in Lévesque, 2008: 27) summed it up by concluding that 'the value of knowledge is subordinate to its use in thinking'.

Ford (2014: 1) suggests a model of progression in the United Kingdom that moves away from a linear way of thinking about it and uses an approach of nonlinear conceptual mastery, again focusing on the second-order concepts of causation, continuity, and change, taking a historical perspective, cause and consequence, and developing a moral outlook. Learners gain powerful ideas which are in no precise order. Lévesque (2008) argues that the lack of clarity regarding the sequence of gaining mastery over these concepts presents a problem in history education. History educators may fail to understand where to begin with historical thinking. They may introduce learners to disciplinary concepts and procedures, thereby creating the possibility for progression in historical thinking, but it is not known at which point in the history curriculum these second-order concepts should be introduced and taught. Booth (1992) argued that *deductive and inductive* reasoning was used by scientists to develop theories and laws to explain the world, whereas historians differed, as they reached understandings through *abductive reasoning* by asking questions of the past and arriving at reasoned explanations after consulting with different facts and views. Booth's research laid the foundations for discipline-based curriculum development

and teaching, emphasising the special nature of historical thinking and reasoning, and offering sound empirical evidence on how adolescents learn to reason historically.

Theoretical framework

I adhere to the critical, realist, ontological perspective which views a phenomenon through the lens of subjective perceptions. Thus, our perspectives and experiences with structures present in a social world result in a possible explanation of that which is 'observable'. This stance rejects positivism and 'objectivity' and recognises that an interpretation is never free of presuppositions and is subject to revision (Neumann 2010: 491).

The overarching theoretical frame of this study is provided by Bernstein's field of recontextualization and rules, which describes the regulation of selection, sequence, pacing, and evaluation of knowledge within the textbooks (Bernstein 1990: 185). The field is the content of the textbook and the writers or designers of the texts are the key recontextualising agents making choices about how historical knowledge is presented. Bernstein (1975) defines the curriculum as the valid knowledge to be acquired, pedagogy as the vehicle for its transmission, and evaluation as the learner's realisation of this knowledge.

Bernstein's pedagogic device (1990: 200) constitutes the message relay or principles by which knowledge (everyday, professional, disciplinary) is 'recontextualised' into educational knowledge. Knowledge production, recontextualization, and reproduction are the three fields that make up this pedagogic device. Bernstein (1990) adds that these fields are operated by a set of rules governing what knowledge becomes privileged and what affects this knowledge, how it gets recontextualized into the curriculum, and finally, how pedagogy and assessment are transmitted. When textbook writers present history knowledge (site of production), the content is codified in textbooks, and the knowledge is recontextualized when learners use it or when it is conveyed by the teacher.

Conceptual framework

Procedural knowledge is not explicitly articulated but it rather manifests functionally within the textual framework. To understand how textbooks encode second-order concepts in their content, the study uses an analytic framework rooted in Seixas and Peck's (2004) delineation of conceptual elements. The intent is to systematically analyse the content of the textbooks to understand the integration of second-order concepts. The understanding

of these concepts is presented in the literature describing what the types of knowledge are and how each of them plays an integral role in historical knowledge.

Methodology

The study is located within the interpretive paradigm, utilising the methodology of content analysis. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007: 197) define content analysis as a 'multi-purpose research method developed specifically for investigating a broad spectrum of problems in which the content of communication serves as a basis of inference, from counts to categorization'. The 'big six' structural benchmarks (Seixas and Peck, 2004:111) are used as an analytic framework over the content of seven textbooks. The purpose is to locate second-order concepts on a graded continuum from their robust presence to that which may be subtle or weak. In the pursuit of methodological rigor, I devised a three-step tool, carefully described below so the research methodology can be emulated:

- *Step One:* A deep reading of each chapter is captured in a journal describing key observations and inferences of all content. The essential question for each concept (Seixas and Peck 2004: 111) is applied and results are recorded.
- *Step Two:* The strengths of the judgments are coded and tabularised as strong, weak, or absent (for each book and chapter separately). Reasons are added for why the judgments were made. I use examples from the textbooks to explain the coding.
- *Step Three:* Finally, the data from all the textbooks (gleaned from Steps One and Two), are integrated and summarised into a single consolidated table showing the results of seven textbooks.

These steps allow me to get a sense of how each textbook configures the second-order concepts across the grades. The qualitative analysis would produce nuanced descriptions of patterns and trends showing overall engagement with the broader second-order concepts. The tabularised results signal the patterns of the second-order concepts of history and allow for interpretations.

To demonstrate how coding took place for each of the textbooks, the grade 3 textbook results are presented below in Table 1.

Table 1: Procedural or Second-Order Concept Prompts for Grade 3

Procedural Concepts	**Evidence in Text**		
	Weak Evidence	Strong Evidence	No Evidence
Establish historical significance	✓		
Use primary source evidence	✓		
Identify continuity and change		✓	
Analyse cause and consequence		✓	
Take historical perspective			✓
Understand moral dimension of historical Interpretation			✓

The sample

Seven CAPS-compliant textbooks covering three different phases (Foundation, Intermediate, and Senior) in the school history curriculum were purposively sampled from provincial Department of Education catalogues for Learner and Teacher Support Material. To illustrate the advancing grade continuum, Grades 3 to Grade 9 were purposively selected. The Grade 3 textbook is from the learning area called life skills, as there is no social science or history subject in the Foundation Phase. However, the key introductory ideas to history are represented in the curriculum for Grade 3 in their life skills textbooks. The Grades 4–7 textbooks were easily available, popular choices in various schools, and bought in bulk for use at the researcher's school. The remaining two textbooks for Grades 8–9 were chosen from the local and distant secondary schools where they are considered popular choices. Although publishers present both the learner's book and the teacher's guide, the analysis here concerns only the learner's book.

The fundamental idea was to capture how the knowledge and skills are directed and leveled at its basic entry point in foundational history and how it develops in the senior grades. Table 2 below shows how the seven chapters also purposively selected for analysis unfolded in the story 'About Me' and 'The History of South Africa from its early inhabitants to Democracy'. The table also indicates how the textbooks are named in the study. I refer to chapters as Grade 3, Grade 4, Grade 5, Grade 6, Grade 7, Grade 8, and Grade 9. The references for each textbook are provided in the reference section.

Table 2: Topics chosen per grade of textbook

Topic	Grade
1. About me (Unit 1) and how people lived long ago (Unit 12)	3
2. Local history	4
3. Hunter-gatherers and herders in South Africa	5
4. An African Kingdom long ago in southern Africa's Mapungubwe	6
5. The colonisation of the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries	7
6. The Mineral Revolution in South Africa	8
7. Turning points in South African history: 1960, 1976, 1994	9

Ethical considerations

The textbooks are freely available in the public domain and there are minimal ethical considerations if specific content is not criticised or used in an unfair or biased manner. The intention is not to harm the image of any publisher or writer but to bring light to the theoretical shape of history knowledge and how textbooks embrace it, specific to the sample selected for analysis. The selection of the seven texts, each one from a grade from Grades 3–9, as well as the selection of a chapter per text, constitute acts of aggregation which Weber (1990), in Cohen et al (2007), identifies as a compromise in reliability. While whole text analyses are desirable, they are time-consuming, as copious amounts of data are coded and generated. This study already engages three phases in the school curriculum, and any additional chapters would have lengthened the study and made the kind of analysis engaged with here rather complex.

The only way the choice of instruments used here can be compromised is if the classification of the text is inconsistent, either because of human error, coder variability (within coders and between coders), or ambiguity in coding rules. Words are innately ambiguous and the danger of different coders 'reading' different meanings into them can arise. The researcher's 'language of description' is made explicit in each step of analysis assisting in guarding against potential misreading. Researcher coding and placement have to be meticulous and scrupulous and the data have to be checked so that errors do not arise. A second coder in the data collection process could have enhanced inter-rater reliability.

Findings

The findings confirm a sporadic presence of all six concepts—historical significance, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, primary source evidence and the moral dimension across the seven textbooks. However, they are incorporated in a nonlinear manner, lacking continuous and cumulative development. This is consistent with ASCL's (2015: 4) contention that progress is neither linear nor easily explicable. It is not a process of mastering steps to success in history as learners may achieve some quite complex conceptual thought but still lack basic tenets of historical understanding, for example, chronology. There is a very specific nonlinear progression in the introduction and engagement of various concepts at different points in the graded continuum. It is also certain that they operate at different degrees throughout the texts. One cannot attain precision in the degrees at which they operate because they are represented in the depths of language which is essentially an abstract phenomenon.

Table 3 below summarises how all the textbooks in the sample dealt with procedural concepts.

Table 3: Procedural concept prompts across all seven textbooks

	Evidence in Text						
Procedural Concepts	**Gr 3**	**Gr 4**	**Gr 5**	**Gr 6**	**Gr 7**	**Gr 8**	**Gr 9**
1. Establish historical significance	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Use primary source evidence	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Identify continuity and change	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4. Analyse the cause and consequence	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
5. Take historical perspectives					✓	✓	✓
6. Understand moral dimensions					✓	✓	✓

Establish historical significance

At the Grade 3 level, there is an immediate introduction to historical significance and appreciation for objects from the past and an inherent motivation for the preservation of objects in Grade 4 and Grade 5. There is strong evidence of historical significance in the Grade 3 chapter 'About Me' as it focuses on a learner's personal history, fostering the idea

of a timeline of experiences in childhood. In Grade 4, there is no specific event under study. Instead, learners are required to understand their local environment, with the concept of historical significance weakly coded. By Grade 5, there is strong evidence of historical significance as learners study rock paintings and other historical artifacts to understand the past. In Grade 6 where the curriculum covers various events leading to the development of African societies, historical significance is strongly present. It is also observed in Grade 7 where the arrival of settlers in South Africa and their impact on indigenous people is strongly coded. The social, economic, and political significance of the Mineral Revolution was a strongly coded topic in Grade 8. Finally, in Grade 9, several significant events like the Sharpeville massacre, the liberation struggle, and the release of Nelson Mandela provide strong evidence of the second-order concept of historical significance. In higher grades, there are specific questions that raise awareness of what is significant about the events. While there appears to be a staggered start to the implementation of the second-order concepts, there is an ongoing development and growth of these concepts in the higher-graded textbooks.

Use primary source evidence

There are weak instances of primary source analysis in Grade 3 as the history is centered around a learner's personal and family history. It helps in fostering the understanding of chronology through personal experiences. In Grade 4, there is strong evidence of primary sources which requires learners to locate objects in their local environment to construct stories. By Grade 5, there is robust evidence of how primary sources like the paintings and other artifacts of the San can be used to construct their history. In Grade 6, there is a strong presence of both generic and primary sources which allow for the construction of historical narratives. Grade 7 history also features a strong presence of generic and primary source material focusing on slavery and 17th-century history. However, the sources are not properly contextualized which obscures a clear understanding of the context and creation of the sources. In Grade 8, there is strong evidence of primary sources, reinforced in Grade 9 where numerous primary sources incorporate photos, eyewitness accounts, maps, and posters which foster debate and critical analysis.

Identify continuity and change

Grade 3 shows strong evidence of growth and changes in the learner's life albeit in his

personal history. This benchmark was indicated even though it is in a smaller space and context. Learners are nevertheless acquiring knowledge about what constitutes change and what remains the same. In Grade 4 there is also strong evidence of this second-order concept as learners tabulate changes in their school, transport over time, and the games that were played. In Grade 5, there is sufficient detail to show how hunter-gatherers lived and how their stories can be constructed from the archaeological excavations. This trend continues in Grade 6 where various maps and other primary sources show how Mapungubwe functioned, from early societies to trade across the Indian Ocean. The strong presence is sustained in Grade 7 with images of the early and later developed Cape scaffolding the development of change. Grade 8 also shows up strongly with many maps and other sources building ideas of development and expansionism. Grade 9 was strongly coded as there were large time events about the liberation struggle under study, demonstrating the idea of change.

Analyse cause and consequence

From the timeline and the information that is presented in Grade 3 history, there is strong evidence of how changes can bring about consequences in the short period of a learner's life: a new home, a crèche, how a fall broke his arm, his birthday, and his place of birth. This understanding is very much on a simpler understanding to scaffold the idea of cause and consequence for the learner in the foundation phase. It is the entry point where simple definitions and understandings are built. In Grades 4 and 5, there was no evidence of an event to code. In Grade 6 there is a strong indication of cause-and-consequence as many historical events are presented over different periods. Grade 7 shows strong evidence of coding as the content engages with the original inhabitants of the Cape and their interaction with settlers over land ownership, disputes, and migration. Likewise in Grade 8, several events covered in the history of the Mineral Revolution involved other inter-related events and experiences. Multiple causes and consequences in this grade are strongly coded. In Grade 9 learners engage with specific headings like 'short-term consequences' and 'longer-term consequences' which make a strong instance for affirmative coding.

Take a historical perspective

The Grade 3 learners are not required to take any particular perspective but rather engage with information in simple ways. In Grade 4 there is strong evidence of taking perspectives

as learners are tasked with understanding why Enoch Santonga is remembered in the construction of the National Anthem. Grade 5 and 6 learners are not required to take any perspective while the Grade 7 text shows strong coding as learners deal effects of the arrival of settlers in South Africa. In Grade 8, this second-order concept is strongly coded as learners are required to formulate their perspectives about mining companies, labour, and the living conditions of the miners. There are also more events under study and more information to consider. Grade 9 had the strongest coding as learners are frequently required to offer a perspective on the Sharpeville massacre and other events. A lot of previous history knowledge is required at this level to formulate a refined perspective.

Understand the moral dimension of historical interpretation

In Grade 3, 4, 5, and 6 textbook chapters, there is no indication of activities that require moral insight. This is probably because the age and stage of the learner do not require this higher level or second-order skill. It is also not a criterion in the CAPS depiction of second-order concepts. However, in Grade 7 there is a strong development of moral insights as learners reflect on Van Riebeeck's journal entry. In the journal, Van Riebeeck is recorded telling Khoi-Khoi leaders that they had lost their land in a war and could not get it back. Learners are questioned about the morality of this issue. Likewise in Grade 8, learners are drawn into a discussion on the lives of miners who left their families to live in a compound. The answers cannot be approached anachronistically but require learners to be thoroughly engaged with the lives of the people to comment. The Grade 9 text is also strongly coded because learners are drawn into almost every activity, to offer moral insights. In one instance, they are invited to comment on whether the ANC was justified in forming the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) changing their former peaceful stance.

Discussion

This paper offers a tentative view of the nature of second-order concepts in history textbooks. It theorizes the role and integration of second-order concepts, arguing that they do not progress cumulatively through the ascending grades. There is a lack of clarity on the sequence and depth of each concept and on how mastery over them can occur. Textbooks may present history content chronologically but do not rank events by their order of significance. It is argued that second-order concepts blunt the epistemic import, confusing those history teachers who struggle to understand the role of concepts in

planning (Counsell 2011: 219). History educators may fail to understand where to begin and how to include them. Winch (2013) purports that 'a curriculum must enact processes of "epistemic ascent" by which concepts already understood by students are brought into new relations of abstraction and generality, giving the student yet more power to challenge, rethink, and create. The challenge for textbook authors, publishers, and teachers is to recognise theories replete with descriptions but to note their journey in the content and to fill in the gaps where the narrative runs sporadically. Counsell (2018b: 1) argues that a good narrative may have many events but its meaning-making structure is not episodic but continuous, keeping the multiple strands all spinning at once.

The findings of this study also show limited incorporation of the moral dimension within the lower grades of the sampled textbooks. Despite its global recognition and inclusion in diverse historical study models, its exclusion from the South African curriculum documents is conspicuous. The focus of history is to enhance learners' understanding of the people of the past and past events, fostering an awareness of historical contexts different from their own. Moral implications are inherent in historical narratives and therefore an early engagement with this dimension is pivotal. Early and sustained exposure to ethical considerations in historical studies leads to the cultivation of moral agency among learners. Given that South Africa's historical past is marked by apartheid and conflict, an earlier understanding of historical rivalry, resolution, and reconciliation is deemed essential for learners.

Challenges and recommendations

The progressive advancement of second-order skills is a necessary criterion for historical thinking. If textbooks do not consistently present second-order concepts, learners may not have sufficient opportunities to develop critical thinking skills. A surface-level understanding of history could hinder deep engagement and critical analysis. Varying and lesser predominance of certain concepts may indicate misalignment with curriculum goals. Learners using certain textbooks may not receive the same educational opportunities afforded by other books which encourage more nuanced views of history. This challenge may require educators to bridge the gap and seek out alternate textbooks. There is a need for a regular and comprehensive review of textbooks to ensure that they prioritise necessary tools for historical analysis and interpretation. Improved textbook content as well as the professional development of educators can promote a rigorous and inclusive approach in fostering critical thinking.

Conclusion

There is a need for research on skills in history to establish how the critical and analytic thought processes in learners at different grade levels are being developed. A basic repertoire of historical skills must be developed in the early stages so that deeper associations at a higher level can then be obtained. Learning resources, inclusive of in-depth activities in textbooks, represent scaffolding for learners to progress to the complex levels. If learning is to occur in a linear process, where knowledge is built up piece by piece, with each piece offering a meaning, then it is not that clear with the second-order concepts. The sporadic presence and lack of cumulative progression in the second-order concepts reveal a need for a more coherent approach to teaching. For South African textbooks, it means a reassessment of how the fundamental concepts are embedded in content knowledge and how improvements can foster historical inquiry, better preparing learners for historical thinking.

References

ACSL Association of School and College leaders. 2015. Progression and assessment in History. Guidance Paper. Available at: https://historyattallis.weebly.com/uploads/4/5/7/9/4579542/ascl_history_assessment_guidance.pdf. (Accessed on 5 December 2023).

Beets A. D. and le Grange L. 2008. Has geography curriculum reform in post-apartheid South Africa strengthened continuity and progression? *South African Geographical Journal*, 90(2): 68–79.

Bernstein, B. 1990. *The structuring of pedagogic discourse: Vol. IV. Class, codes and contro*l. London: Routledge.

Bernstein, B. 1975. *Towards a theory of educational transmissions. Class codes and control. Vol. 3*. London and Boston: Routledge.

Bertram, C. 2009. Procedural and substantive knowledge: Some implications of an outcomes-based history curriculum in South Africa. *Southern African Review of Education*, 15(1): 45–62.

Bharath, P. 2015. *An investigation of progression in historical thinking in South African history textbooks*. Ph.D. thesis. Department of Education, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

Bharath, P. 2023. Tracing the substantive structure of historical knowledge in South African school textbooks. *Yesterday & Today,* 30: 36–65.

Blow, F. 2011. 'Everything flows and nothing stays': How students make sense of the historical concepts of change, continuity, and development. *Teaching History*, 145: 47–55.

Blow, F., Lee, P.J. and Shemilt, D. 2012. Time and chronology: Conjoined twins or distant cousins? *Teaching History*, 147: 26–35.

Booth, M. 1992. Students' historical thinking and the history national curriculum in England. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 21(2): 105–127.

Boucher, S., Brown, J., Hortop, S., Kelly, S., Mcaba, S., McLernan, S., Moodley, R. and Mostert, J. 2011. *Top class: Life skills for grade three*, Learner's Resource Book. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K. 2007. *Research methods in education*. (6th ed.) Abingdon: Routledge.

Counsell, C. 2018a. Taking curriculum seriously. *Perspective Article*. September 12. Impact Articles. Available at https://my.chartered.college/impact_article/taking-curriculum-

seriously/ . (Accessed on 10 June 2023)

Counsell, C. 2018b. Senior curriculum leadership 1: The indirect manifestation of knowledge: (B) final performance as deceiver and guide. *The dignity of the thing. Christine Counsell's blog*. Available at https://thedignityofthethingblog.wordpress.com/author/christinecounsell/. (Accessed on 19 December 2023)

Counsell, C.E. 2011. Disciplinary knowledge for all, the secondary history curriculum, and history teachers' achievement. *The Curriculum Journal*, 22(2): 201–225.

Department of Education. 2002. C2005, *Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R–9 (Schools) Policy. Social Sciences*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Basic Education. 2011a. *National Curriculum Statement Grades 4–6 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. Home Languages*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Basic Education. 2011b. *National Curriculum Statement Grades 4–6 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. Social Sciences.* Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Basic Education. 2011c. *National Curriculum Statement Grades 7–9 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. Social Sciences*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Ford, A. 2014. *Progression in historical thinking. An overview of key aspects of the mastery of historical thinking and practice*. Available at http://scholar?hl=en&q=Progression+in+historical+thinkingandallthat.co.uk. (Accessed on 21 February 2015)

Friedman, M., Ranby, P. and Varga, E. 2013a. *Solutions for all social sciences.* Grade 8. Gauteng: Macmillan.

Friedman, M., Ranby, P. and Varga, E. 2013b. *Solutions for all social sciences*. Grade 9. Gauteng: Macmillan.

Hoadley, U. and Jansen, J. 2009. Curriculum: Ongoing knowledge for the classroom. 2nd Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press & SAIDE.

Jansen, J.D. 1997. *Why OBE will fail*. Paper presented at a National Conference on an outcomes-based education. University of Durban Westville. March 1997.

Kallaway, P. 1995. History education in a democratic South Africa. *Teaching history*, 78: 11–16. Available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/43258180. (Accessed on 5 December 2023)

Kwazulu-Natal Department of Education. 2009. *Learning and teaching support material. Textbooks catalogue for 2009 academic year*. General education and Training (GET):

Grades 4–7.

Lee, P.J. 1983. History teaching and philosophy of history. *History and Theory*, 22(4): 19–49.

Lee, P. and Ashby, R. 2000. Progression is historical understanding 7–14. In: *Teaching, Knowing and Learning History*, Edited by P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg. New York, New York University Press.

Lee, P. and Shemilt, D. 2003. A scaffold, not a cage: Progression and progression models in history. *Teaching History*, 113: 13–23.

Lee, P. and Shemilt, D. 2004. 'I just wish we could go back in the past and find out what really happened': Progression in understanding about historical accounts. *Teaching History*, 117: 25–31.

Leinhardt, G., Beck, I.L. and Stainton, C. 1994. T*eaching and learning in history*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Lévesque, S. 2008. *Thinking historically: Educating students for the twenty-first century.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated.

Maggioni, L., Alexander, P. and VanSledright, B. 2004. At the crossroads: The development of epistemological beliefs and historical thinking. *European Journal of School Psychology*, 2(1–2): 169–197.

Martin, G. 2012. *Thinking about historical thinking in the Australian curriculum: History*. Victoria: University of Melbourne.

Neumann, D.C. 2010. What is the text doing? Preparing pre-service teachers to teach primary sources effectively, Society of History Education. *The History Teacher*, 4: 489–311.

Nye, A., Hughes-Warrington, M., Roe, J., Russel, P., Peel, M., Deacon, D., Laugeson, A. and Kiem, P. 2009, *Historical thinking in higher education: Staff and student perceptions of the nature of historical thinking*. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/9652241/Historical_thinking_in_Higher_Education_Staff_and_student_perceptions_of_the_nature_of_historical_thinking?email_work_card=view-paper. (Accessed on 3 September 2023)

Oppong, C., Adepong, A. and Boadu, G. 2022. Practical history lessons as a tool for generating procedural knowledge in history teaching. *Yesterday & Today*, 27:143–161.

Parkes, R. and Donnelly, D. 2014, *Changing conceptions of historical thinking in history education: An Australian case study*. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/7913750/Changing_conceptions_of_historical_thinking_in_History_education_an_Australian_case_study. (Accessed on 3 September 2023)

Ranby, P. and Varga, E. 2013. *Solutions for all social sciences. Grade 7*. Macmillan: Gauteng: Macmillan.

Ranby, P. and Zimmerman, A. 2012a. *Solutions for all social sciences. Grade 4*. Gauteng: Macmillan.

Ranby, P. and Zimmerman, A. 2012b. *Solutions for all social sciences. Grade 5*. Gauteng: Macmillan.

Ranby, P. and Zimmerman, A. 2012c. *Solutions for all social sciences. Grade 6*. Gauteng: Macmillan.

Shemilt, D. 1980. *History 13–16 evaluation study*. Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall.

Siebörger, R 2005. The dynamics of history textbook production during South Africa's educational transformation. In: *What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks*, edited by K. Crawford and S. Foster. Greenwich: Information Age Publishing.

Seixas, P. 1993. The community of inquiry as a basis for knowledge and learning. The case of history. *American Educational Research Journal*, 30(2) :305–24.

Seixas, P. 2006. *Benchmarks of historical thinking: A framework for assessment in Canada. Centre for the study of historical consciousness*. UBC. 18 August 2006.

Seixas, P. and Morton, T. 2013. *The big six historical thinking concepts*. Toronto: Nelson Education.

Seixas, P. and Peck, C. 2004. Teaching historical thinking. In *Challenges and prospects for Canadian social studies*, edited by A. Sears and I. Wright. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press. pp. 109–117.

Talin, R. 2015. Historical thinking skills – the forgotten skills? *International Journal of Learning and Teaching*, 7(1): 43–51.

Taylor, T. and Young, C. 2003. *Making history. A guide for the teaching and learning history in Australian schools*. Department of Education, Science and Training: Australian Government.

VanSledright, B.A. 2004. What does it mean to think historically and how do you teach it? *Social Education*, 68(3): 230–233.

Winch, C. 2013. Curriculum Design and Epistemic Ascent. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 47(1): 128–146.

Wineburg, S. 2001. *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: Charting the future of teaching the past*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wineburg, S. 2009. Unnatural and essential: The nature of historical thinking. *Teaching History*, 129: 6–12.

The Continued Absence of the LGBTIQA+ Community in School History Textbooks in Post-Apartheid South Africa

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a3

Paul Maluleka
College of Education, University of South Africa
Pretoria, South Africa
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3168-150X
malulp@unisa.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a3

Sarah Godsell
School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg, South Africa
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3431-2868
Sarah.godsell@wits.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a3

Abstract

School history textbooks in South Africa are essential teaching and learning materials for most history teachers and learners, because they are often the only materials used to engage with the past. These textbooks are also considered to contribute to the construction of an ideal citizenry, as well as fostering national identity, unity, and reconciliation (Bertram and Wassermann 2015; Bam, Ntsebeza and Zinn 2018). However, our concern is that while textbooks appear to be used to construct an ideal citizenry who is supposed to have reconciled and united into one national identity, there also appears to be a concerted effort to exclude, within both the written and visual texts of the textbooks, those South Africans who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, Asexual, and many other identities (LGBTIQA+). Through abyssal and post-abyssal epistemology as our theoretical frameworks, and critical discourse analysis as our tool of analysis we were able to investigate how four history textbooks across four grades within the Senior and Further Education and Training phase that we purposively and conveniently sampled

continue to exclude LGBTIQA+ contributions and experiences within the knowledge base of the school history curriculum, despite the pivotal role some played during the struggle against apartheid. We have since concluded that the erasure of the LGBTIQA+ community amounts to another dehumanising act against this group of people that is epistemic, existential, and ontological in nature. We also argue that this act denies all history teachers and learners, irrespective of their sexual orientations, the opportunity to engage with diverse historical contributions and experiences of all South Africans.

Keywords: Abyssal Epistemology; History textbooks; HMTT; LGBTIQA+; South Africa; School history.

Introduction

School history textbooks serve as critical teaching and learning material for learning about the past in most parts of the world. In the case of South Africa, textbooks are used as a primary educational resource because many do not afford to have other educational aids to work with given the country's history which is characterised by historical inequalities that continue to find expression in the contemporary era. Hence, in 2000 the History/Archaeology Panel tasked with investigating the teaching of history in schools highlighted the importance of history textbooks in its report to the then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal. It argued that history textbooks 'remain at the centre of the history learning encounter' and this makes them 'central to the cause of an improved history education' (DBE 2000: np). The current Minister responsible for Basic Education, Mrs Angelina Motshekga, has maintained the panel's view that textbooks are the most 'effective tool to ensure consistency, coverage, appropriate pacing and better quality in terms of instruction and content' (DBE 2009: n.p.). More recently, Section 29(1)(a) of the Constitution, Basic Education Rights Handbook (2017: 266–272), has since pronounced the importance of textbooks in contributing to a meaningful teaching and learning experience. Section 5a of the same handbook tasks the Minister responsible for Basic Education to prescribe and enact norms and standards related to the conceptualisation, procurement, and provision of educational resources, especially textbooks (Bharath 2023).

Consequently, textbooks in South Africa are also one of the most valued educational resources because they play an important role in imparting what is considered legitimate historical knowledge (Chisholm 2015). Within school history, this knowledge is divided into 'substantive' and 'procedural' knowledge (Counsell 2018). The former is considered to be the legitimate content knowledge that both history teachers and learners ought to know and engage with, whilst the latter is more concerned with the legitimated historical skills that history teachers and learners need to acquire and master to engage, understand, and critique the former knowledge (Dean 2004; Bharath 2023). Therefore, in this study, we were particularly interested in investigating how the substantive knowledge contained in textbooks that we reviewed continues to be a site where Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, Asexual, and many other identities (LGBTIQA+), contributions, experiences, and histories continue to be marginalised, especially since the like of LGBTIQA+ figures such as Simon Tseko Nkoli, Beverly Palesa Ditsie, and many others have also contributed to the struggle for basic human rights for all, the fight against apartheid, and access to antiretroviral medicines during the height of the

human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) pandemic (Bhardwaj 2023). However, we continued with our investigation focused on the substantive knowledge, aware that both knowledge forms are of importance especially if we are serious about initiating history learners into the discipline (Bertram 2008).

Against this background, this study sought to investigate the continued absence of LGBTIQA+ contributions, experiences, and histories in the knowledge base (i.e., substantive knowledge) in four history textbooks across four grades within the Senior and Further Education and Training (FET) phase. This was partly informed by the fact that the current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) school history curricula pronounced on the importance of 'reflecting the perspectives of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented' (DBE 2011: 8). This assertion is also emphasised by the History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT) Report that advocates for a more gendered lens in the study of the past (DBE 2018). The study also sought to explore how the continued erasure of the LGBTIQA+ within the school history textbooks could be reversed or transcended to reflect the diverse contributions and experiences of all South Africans.

This article is presented in the following manner. First, we explore what it means to be LGBTIQA+ in the world. Second, a literature review on the struggle for basic human rights and visibility by the LGBTIQA+ community is carried out. Third, we carry out another literature review to make sense of the politics that underpin school history textbooks in (South) Africa and elsewhere. Fourth, we articulate our preferred theoretical orientations which are informed by abyssal and post-abyssal epistemology. Fifth, we outline our preferred research methodology underpinned by critical discourse analysis. Both our theoretical grounding and the research methodology informed our engagement with the four textbooks that we reviewed which were purposively and conveniently sampled, as well as the literature reviewed. In the sixth place, we present our data and findings. Last, we make a case for school history textbooks in South Africa that are post-abyssally informed.

It is also worth mentioning from the onset that we understand and use the phrase LGBTIQA+ as references to persons that identify outside cisgender identities which denote gender identities that correspond with one's sex that was assigned to and registered for them at birth (Pakade 2024). In consequence, we are of the view that people's lived experiences should not nor ought to be reduced to mere concepts to be studied. However, if such a reductionist approach to our lived experiences was to prevail, our understanding and appreciation of the complexities, nuances, and authenticities that characterise our experiences as humans would be completely lost to us all. And it is from such situations that

the dehumanisation of one by the other finds most expression. Lastly, we use the phrase LGBTIQA+ to speak about a group of South Africans whose contributions, experiences, and histories persist in being excluded in both the written and visual texts (i.e., substantive knowledge) of school history textbooks. We also use the phrase cisgender to denote South Africans whose contributions, experiences, and histories persist in being included in both the written and visual texts (i.e., substantive knowledge) of the very same school history textbooks that we engage.

Literature review: Of queer, Africa, and othering

Being LGBTIQA+ in (South) Africa and the world

'African' and 'queer' are two categories of analysis and thought that are often constructed as being antagonistically opposed (Otu and van Klinken 2022). This is because, through abyssal thinking, being queer is often considered by some (South) Africans and other people of the world as being anti-Christian, a foreign construction or import, and thus 'un-African' (Msibi 2011). This framing of queerness in Africa is based on the belief that the mere existence of LGBTIQA+ on the continent is as 'destructive to African culture as colonialism itself' (Hartline 2013: 7). In fact, the othering and persecution of LGBTIQA+ people is deeply entrenched in colonialism itself. Throughout Africa, much of the continued criminalisation of homosexuality relies on colonial laws (Soweminmo 2019). For instance, in apartheid South Africa several laws were adopted and enacted such as the inclusion of sodomy in schedules to the Criminal Procedure Act 52 of 1977, the Security Officers Act 92 of 1987, and sections of the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 195 (Reddy 2006; Botes 2023). These laws, amongst others, were characterised by profound discrimination, fear, isolation, and othering. For the African LGBTIQA+ community, these laws were further worsened by the oppressive racial segregation, and systemic and institutional injustices that they had to endure (Wells and Polders 2006; Mchunu 2023). This double othering continues to keep LGBTIQA+ communities out of the epistemes that inform textbook knowledge selection.

In 1996, democratic South Africa adopted a new constitution that guaranteed LGBTIQA+ legal protection against any form of discrimination and violence. However, this has proven not to be enough because the LGBTIQA+ community in South Africa is still subjected to different forms of violence and discrimination in schools and the general public. This violence and discrimination against the South African LGBTIQA+ community, especially LGBTIQA+ learners, has been observed in a study conducted by

Msibi in a township school in the Province of KwaZulu Natal where one lesbian learner bemoaned how some of her teachers were homophobic. She described the victimization she suffered at the hands of one of her homophobic teachers in this manner:

> *… called me to the staffroom. She started shouting at me and was telling me to stop acting like a boy. She said I need to stop this lesbian thing because I will start making other learners like me. (Msibi 2012: 524).*

In a similar study conducted by Francis, another lesbian learner recalled how one teacher:

> *She tried to chase me from the class because she didn't want to teach an istabane* (Francis 2017: 6).

These learners' experiences and others yet to be told paint a picture of a democratic society yet to come to terms with the fact that LGBTIQA+ persons exist, and they too deserve to be rehumanised by being treated with kindness, love, and respect. They deserve to see themselves as part of the history of the country in which they reside.

In other parts of the African continent, LGBTIQA+ persons continue to be exposed to violence by their governments. For example, recently we came to witness Uganda's President, Yoweri Museveni, and his government adopting a repressive anti-LGBTIQA+ bill into Law. This bill criminalises the '"promotion' of homosexuality, as well as relationships between consenting adults outside cisheteropatriarchal norms with the possibility of the death penalty for those convicted of 'aggravated homosexuality'.[1] Other instances of anti-LGBTIQA+ rhetoric and initiatives have been observed in other African countries such as Ghana—where an anti-LGBTIQA+ bill officially known as the Promotion of Proper Human Sexual Rights and Ghanaian Family Values Bill (2021) is currently before the Ghanaian parliament (Dankwa 2021; Otu 2021, 2022). The Kenyan parliament is also considering an anti-LGBTIQA+ bill before it that would see consenting LGBTIQA+ adults being jailed for up to 50 years for simply being themselves (BBC Africa, 2023). Many other African countries have since adopted this anti-LGBTIQA+ stance (De Araújo 2021a and b; Gaudio 2009; Hendriks 2018, 2021, 2022; Munro 2012, 2015, 2016; Onanuga, 2021; Rodriguez 2019; Rao 2020).

Globally, the LGBTIQA+ community also finds itself in a precarious state as a result of anti-LGBTIQA+ violence. For instance, the States of Georgia and Florida in the United States of America (USA) have recently adopted an anti-LGBTIQA+ bill, noticeably 'Don't

1 Parliament of the Republic of Uganda (30 May 2023). *President assents to Anti-Homosexuality Act*. Available at https://www.parliament.go.ug/news/6737/president-assents-anti-homosexuality-act

Say Gay' bill, that is meant to restrict classroom discussions of and about LGBTIQA+ experiences, and thus 'deter developmentally inappropriate classroom discussion of gender identity and sexual orientation', especially for primary school learners (Migdon 2022: n.p.). Opponents of the bill have since argued that beyond what is taught in the classroom, the bill also limits LGBTIQA+ learners and persons in general from accessing gender-affirming care (Williams 2023). Furthermore, findings from the 2019 Gay Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN)[2] National School Climate Survey Report revealed how LGBTIQA+ learners were not safe in USA schools, especially in the State of Georgia (GLSEN 2019). The same report also highlights how LGBTIQA+ learners in Georgian schools 'did not have access to important school resources, such as Gender and Sexuality Alliances/Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) or similar student clubs and were not protected by supportive and inclusive school policies' (GLSEN 2019: 1). Similar trends of the continued marginalisation of LGBTIQA+ persons also find expression across Europe, the Middle East, as well as Asia.[3] This results in a global climate where being LGBTIQA+ is equated with deviancy and furthers the oppression of LGBTIQA+ people, furthering marginalising, and othering them.

The struggle for basic human rights and visibility led by the LGBTIQA+ community

Throughout human history, people with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities have existed in all parts of the world. However, due to discrimination, stigma, and violence, the LGBTIQA+ community in particular has been dehumanised in many ways (Motimele and Hlasane 2024). That is why during the twentieth century we witnessed a growing number of global LGBTIQA+ rights movements that sought to challenge the violence and injustices that they faced by advocating for their humanity to be acknowledged and affirmed through equality, acceptance, and legal protections.

2 GLSEN is an American education organisation that aims to contribute towards the end of discrimination, harassment, and bullying based on sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression and to promote LGBTIQA+ cultural inclusion and awareness in schools.

3 See: The Danish Institute for Human Rights Report (no date). *Study on Homophobia, Transphobia and Discrimination on Grounds of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Sociological Report: Russian Federation*. Available at https://www.coe.int/t/Commissioner/Source/LGBT/RussiaSociological_E.pdf; United Nations Development Programme Report 2016. *Being LGBTI in China – A National Survey on Social Attitudes towards Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Gender Expression*. Available at https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/migration/cn/UNDP-CH-PEG-Being-LGBT-in-China_EN.pdf

In South Africa, these movements include the Gay Association of South Africa (GASA) of 1980, the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW) of 1988, and many others (Bilchitz 2015). Simon Tseko Nkoli (1957-1998) and his longtime friend and confidante Beverly Palesa Ditsie (1971) were the co-founders and leaders of the GLOW after Simon left GASA due to its refusal to support him in his legal battles as a result of his participation in struggle activities against the apartheid regime. GASA was a predominantly white, middle-class, lesbian and gay movement which constantly refused to recognise and engage in an intersectional struggle that acknowledged that the LGBTIQA+ struggle was part of a broader struggle for basic human rights for all and against the apartheid regime (Pakade 2024). However, unlike GASA, GLOW deployed an intersectional approach to the liberation struggle, which saw it not only fight for LGBTIQA+ rehumanisation, visibility, and basic human rights, but also wedged a war against the apartheid regime, other forms of oppression that affected South Africans in general, and Africans in particular (Bhardwaj 2023; Pakade 2024).

Given Simon and Beverly's struggle credentials, we wonder as to why then their contributions to the broader liberation struggle for human rights, against apartheid and other forms of oppression and violence, do not form part of the post-apartheid school history textbooks much the same way as those of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Oliver Reginald Kaizana Tambo, and others? Is it because their inclusion into these school history textbooks as part of the LGBTIQA+ community would be disruptive to the dominant heteronormative narratives that continue to safeguard such spaces for those who identify within cisgender identities, and thus in the process continue to marginalise those who identify outside those cisgender identities? We ask these difficult questions because Simon himself started his activism within the youth movement of the African National Congress, which was the first sole governing party of democratic South Africa for the past thirty years. We equally ask these pertinent questions because post-apartheid South Africa adopted a new constitution on 8 May 1996, which contains the Bill of Rights that prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexual difference or orientation. However, despite this, LGBTIQA+ persons in South Africa continue to be subjected to different forms of violence (Muholi 2004; Martin et al. 2009; Sopitshi 2016), and in the context of this study, this violence is both epistemic and ontological.

Other global LGBTIQA+ rights movements included the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) which was formed in Europe and had different LGBTIQA+ rights movements from across the world as members (Rydstrom 2005). It deployed inter– and transnational approach to advancing the struggle of LGBTIQA+ persons around the world.

That is why, when GASA refused to link its struggle in apartheid South Africa to the broader struggle against apartheid itself and the rehumanisation of the oppressed majority in the country, the ILGA leadership decided to remove GASA as a member of the association leading to its dissolution in 1987 (Rydstrom 2005).

In other parts of the African continent, we have witnessed many organisations and movements being formed in recent years to contribute to the fight against the dehumanisation, discrimination, stigmatisation, and marginalisation of LGBTIQA+ persons across the continent. For instance, in 2006, Acção Humana (Human Action), a nongovernmental organisation, was established in Angola to assist in developing an educational programme meant to educate the LGBTIQA+ community in the country about sexual transmittable diseases and how those could be prevented, as well as combating discrimination against LGBTIQA+ persons by advocating for LGBTIQA+ basic human rights (Dionne, Dulani and Chunga 2014). In 2010, LGBTIQA+ activists from across the African continent and the diaspora gathered in Nairobi, Kenya, and declared, 'As long as African LGBTIQA+ people are oppressed, the whole of Africa is oppressed.'[4] The *African Queer Manifesto/Declaration* which emerged from that gathering was explicit in how the oppressive powers continue to imagine LGBTIQA+ lives through and within neo-colonial categories of identity and power. This imagination has continued to frame the LGBTIQA+ as people without agency, courage, creativity, cultural, socioeconomic, and political authority. Thus, the gathering also concluded that there was a need to work towards reimagining and reframing LGBTIQA+ lives outside these violent categories.

The politics of school history textbooks

In order to appreciate how LGBTIQA+ figures continue to be excluded in post-apartheid school history textbooks, and how this situation could be addressed, it is important that we first understand the nature of these textbooks and the politics that underpin them (Maluleka 2018). This is because school history textbooks tend to be nuanced and complex as they are underpinned by many conflicting and contradictory pressures in the process of their conceptualisation, production, reproduction, and use (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991; Foster and Crawford 2006; Chiponda 2014). This process is often an epistemically, educationally, ideologically, ontologically, and politically contentious activity (Crawford

4 Queer African Manifesto/Declaration: *Nairobi, Kenya, April 8, 2010. Black Camera 13*(1), 263-264. https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/839627

2004; Bertram and Wassermann 2015). Some scholars of school history textbooks have since raised numerous issues about them (Seroto 2015), especially since they carry with them 'immutable authority' (Morgan 2010: 301). This 'immutable authority' is in turn used to impart dominant cultural, epistemic, ideological, and political views in society aimed at socialising the youth (Chiponda and Wassermann 2011a and b). Some of these issues include, among others, (mis)interpretations and (mis)representations of the past, (de)legitimisation of historical experiences and knowers, epistemic deafness and erasure, political biases, and lack of sourcing (Apple 2001; Afflerbach and Van Sledright 2001; Alridge 2006).

To make the connection with the erasure of LGBTIQA+ people in textbooks, we turn to another sphere of exclusion of an 'other': women. Recently, 'much has been written over the past several decades about the visual portrayal of women in textbooks in general and in history textbooks specifically' (Chiponda and Wassermann 2011b: 210). Part of the reason behind this has been the pushback from feminist scholars challenging the continued underrepresentation of women histories and experiences in school history curriculum and its textbooks, and thus calling for the re-interpretation, re-inclusion, re-theorisation, re-centering, and re-presentation of women histories and experiences in school history curricula and their textbooks (Wills 2016). Similarly, significant progress has been made around the re-theorisations of LGBTIQA+ experiences, past and present, especially in a South African context (Bhana 2012, 2014a and b, 2022; Francis 2019; Francis and Reygan 2016; Msibi 2012, 2014).

However, little progress, if any, has been made where the re-theorisation of LGBTIQA+ histories and experiences are then included, centred, and represented in the curriculum knowledge that underpins post-apartheid school history and its textbooks. In the light of the HMTT Report (DBE 2018), some scholars have since called for gender history to be proposed in the new school history curriculum for South Africa, and to be broadened to include historical experiences of LGBTIQA+ communities, among other histories (Maluleka 2021; Maluleka and Ramoupi 2022; Maluleka and Ledwaba 2023). If this is to be realised, then LGBTIQA+ figures will be re-included, re-centered, and represented in the post-apartheid school history textbooks.

Theoretical influences: Abyssal and post-abyssal epistemology

In this article we use a tension-based theory, drawing on both abyssal and post-abyssal

epistemology. Abyssal epistemology refers to Euro-western knowledge hegemony (Santos 2007). Santos argues that

> *Modern [Euro-western] thinking is abyssal thinking. It consists of visible and invisible distinctions, the invisible ones being the foundation of the visible ones. The invisible distinctions are established through radical lines that divide social reality into two realms, the realm of 'this side of the line' [Euro-western epistemology] and the realm of 'the other side of the line' [Othered epistemology]. The division is such that 'the other side of the line' vanishes as reality becomes non-existent. Non-existent means not existing in any comprehensible way of being. Whatever is produced as non-existent is radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what the accepted conception of inclusion considers to be its other.* (Santos 2014: 1)

Santos argues that the continued legitimisation of abyssal epistemology can be attributed to its ability to construct other knowledge forms as invisible. This invisibility then results in the epistemological marginalisation of othered knowledges and experiences, especially in formalised spaces such as the school, history curriculum, and textbooks (Maluleka 2023). This was the case during colonial and apartheid South Africa where the LGBTIQA+ community and their histories were discursively marginalised and erased in scholarly historical debates underpinning the school history textbooks of those periods. This continues to be the case with post-apartheid school history textbooks, where epistemologies are not sufficiently divorced from abyssal thinking, where the 'other' are not only racialised beings, but beings coded as other through different social norms. Hence, LGBTIQA+ community continues to suffer from cognitive, existential, ontological, and social harm. Thus, we use abyssal epistemology as one aspect of our theoretical framing in order to explore how LGBTIQA+ figures continue to be othered and invisibilised in post-apartheid school history textbooks despite the HMTT Report (DBE, 2018) calling for the CAPS school history curriculum to be decolonised and strengthened in order to recentre othered knowledges, histories, and experiences. Even in this call for decolonisation, LGBTIQA+ people are invisible—thus abyssal thinking gives us a rationale for understanding the depth of the erasure.

We also make use of post-abyssal epistemology, in order to draw on the tension between the two (Santos 2007). Post-abyssal epistemology is, as may be assumed, the opposite of abyssal epistemology. It is to re-centre from the abyss, to undo the othering. This is an epistemological approach that seeks to establish spaces for the pluralisation, critical recentring, and inclusion of othered knowledges and experiences such as those of the LGBTIQA+ community (Fataar and Subreenduth 2015). This is similar to Connell's

concept of 'mosaic epistemology', that is, 'separate knowledge systems sit beside each other like tiles in a mosaic, each based on a specific culture or historical experience' (Connell 2018: 404). Therefore, post-abyssal epistemology, like mosaic epistemology, offers 'a clear alternative to northern hegemony and global inequality, replacing the priority of one knowledge system with respectful relations among many' (Connell 2018: 404). This is done with the view of challenging, dismantling, and transcending cognitive, epistemic, existential, ontological, and social ills reproduced by abyssal epistemology. It can be argued that post-abyssal epistemology is underpinned by an all-inclusive ecologies of knowledge approach, based on a trans-modern pluriversal view (Maluleka and Mathebula 2022). We use post-abyssal epistemology to justify the need to recentre and include LGBTIQA+ figures and their histories in school history textbooks of post-apartheid South Africa, where they have previously been relegated into a zone of non-existence and non-humanity.

Research methodology

In this research, we drew on four post-apartheid (currently used) textbooks and used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse specific content sections for the inclusion, or absence of, LGBTIQA+ people. We chose topics where queer people would have been relevant to include but had not been included. We used purposive sampling in our selection of four post-apartheid school history textbooks because of their relevance and availability for this study. These are DBE-approved textbooks used across four grades, which are grades 9, 10, 11, and 12,[5] in the Senior and Further Education and Training Phase, both of which are the final compulsory basic schooling phases, in post-apartheid South Africa. Beyond the purposive sampling, we also selected these textbooks because they cover a range of specific topics concerning South African struggle history that we believe could be broadened in the future to include histories and experiences of LGBTIQA+ communities. The textbooks, as our unit of analysis, are:

5 It is noteworthy that textbooks can be DBE approved and still be exclusionary because the curriculum itself is approved and still exclusionary: this, framed by our abyssal and post-abyssal approach, shows the power relations contained in abyssal epistemology, and their continued reach into our education systems.

Book 1: Ranby, P. and Johannesson, B. 2013. *Platinum Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*. Johannesburg: Maskew Miller Longman.
Book 2: Stephenson, C., Sikhakhane, L., Frank, F., Hlongwane, J., Subramony, R., Virasamy, C., Collier, C., Govender, K. and Mbansini, T. 2012. *New Generation History. Grade 10 Learner's Book*. Durban: New Generation Publishers.
Book 3: Fernandez, M., Friedman, M., Jacobs, M., Johannesson, B. and Wesson, J. 2012. *Focus: History. Grade 11 Learner's Book*. Johannesburg: Maskew Miller Longman.
Book 4: Angier, K.L., Hobbs, J.T., Horner, E.A., Maraschin, J.L. and Mowatt, R.L. 2012. *Viva History Grade 12 Learner's Book*. Johannesburg: Via Afrika Publishers

The data for our study was both generated and collected. It was generated by the publishers who produced the textbooks, following the CAPS school history curriculum and with a range of history education officials, and collected by us the researchers who borrowed the textbooks from our University Library. In agreeing with Nicholls (2003) and Chiponda and Wassermann (2011b), we wish to also confirm that any research undertaken concerning textbooks is not easy because methodologies for analysis are not always well articulated.

We opted to employ CDA to investigate the representation, or the absence thereof, of LGBTIQA+ figures in the post-apartheid South Africa's school history textbooks. We did this because any absence, hard to read with CDA, would underscore our theoretical framework (i.e., abyssal and post-abyssal framing) that we have articulated above. We used CDA to analyse the said textbooks in order to ascertain whether LGBTIQA+ figures, histories, and experiences are represented or not in post-apartheid South Africa's school history textbooks in both written and visual texts. This reading means CDA was used in a particular way: CDA is usually the precise analysis of text, to read the varied and layered meanings contained therein (Anthonissen 2006). However, our reading involved reading for absence: looking for what is not there, and, to an extent, imagining what could be there. This enabled us to better understand ways in which exclusionary hegemonic historical narratives and representations are situated, maintained, reproduced, and transmitted in school textbooks. All of this was possible to achieve because CDA is 'fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Martin and Wodak 2003: 6).

CDA is in line with our theoretical framing because it is also concerned with relations between hegemonic discourses, power, dominance that in turn re-construct and re-

produce cognitive, epistemic, ontological, political, and social inequalities or harm (for an elucidation of this see Gramsci 1971). CDA also proved useful to this study because of its three processes of analysis, that is, (1) the object of analysis (verbal, visual, or verbal and visual texts); (2) the process by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects; and (3) the socio-cultural conditions which govern these processes (see Fairclough 1989). These processes are not only interrelated but are dialectical and intersectional too; they also are governed by different types of analysis which are: text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation) (see Fairclough 1989).

The four textbooks were read, and the following topics were identified as possible topics most appropriate to also cover histories and experiences of LGBTIQA+ communities in the South African context:

- **Book 1:** (i) Turning points in South African history 1948 and 1950s; (ii) Turning points in South African history 1960, 1976 and 1994;
- **Book 2:** (iii) The South African War and Union;
- **Book 3:** (iv) Apartheid in South Africa 1940s to 1960s;
- **Book 4:** (v) Civil resistance 1970s to 1980s in South Africa; (vi) The coming of democracy in South Africa and coming to terms with the past.

This is not to say that other historical periods covered in the CAPS school history curriculum do not include experiences and histories of LGBTIQA+ communities. We specifically chose to focus on these topics because they cover a long history of South Africa across different historical moments that are taught in different grades, which we believe could be a site where LGBTIQA+ histories and experiences could be productively and meaningfully re-interpreted, re-theorised, re-centred, and re-presented within the knowledge base of the post-apartheid school history curriculum and its textbooks.

Data presentation and findings

In the four reviewed school history textbooks, not a single one of them re-interprets, re-theorises, re-centres, and re-presents LGBTIQA+ figures, their histories, and experiences in both written or visual texts. Firstly, this, we believe, has to do with a post-apartheid school history curriculum that continues to be underpinned and characterised by abyssal epistemologies, that, in turn, occlude, ignore, marginalise, deny, and erase histories and experiences of the LGBTIQA+ communities from its knowledge base and textbooks.

It also has to do with the favouring of 'big men' histories in our school history

curriculum and its textbooks over other histories (see Naidoo 2014), which has led, for instance, to mere mentioning of women histories and experiences. Hence, Wills has since argued that mere mentioning of women in the official curriculum '… is not a radical enough move towards conceptualising 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). This shows the intersectionality of oppressions that continue to exist in school history textbooks. While curricula have been changed in post-apartheid South Africa to address immediate racial disparities, and there have been moves to address gender disparities, abyssal thinking which encompasses oppressions of being beyond these spheres persists. The absence of queer histories demonstrates this.

This means the teaching of *dishonest history*[6] officialised by the national curriculum, continues uninterrupted unless both history teachers and learners during their lessons are able to interrupt these dishonest histories. However, if these histories continue to be taught, that is, they are not interrupted in one way or the other, it means LGBTIQA+ history teachers and learners will continue not to *see themselves and feel themselves* more in the work they do in the classroom (Godsell 2019). Because of this, we are convinced that this symbolises and constitutes yet another colonising act of the LGBTIQA+ group of people that is epistemic, existential, and ontological in nature. Moreover, this may contribute to a situation whereby cisgender heterosexual history educators and learners are denied the opportunity to engage with and learn from alternative historical narratives that challenge the portrayal of LGBTIQA+ people as historically unimportant, incapable, and contributing little to society. It can also contribute to re-enforcing a false image of a "cis-world", with anyone else as an outsider, leading to the deepening of homophobic, transphobic, and queerphobic acts of violence against LGBTIQA+ people (Ubisi 2021).

Another reason why abyssal epistemologies are still prevalent in the post-apartheid school history curriculum and its textbooks is because the democratic state underestimated the amount of work needed to dismantle colonial and apartheid legacies that characterise the education system and rebuild something new (Maluleka and Ramoupi 2022). This is not to

6 Drawing from Godsell's (2019: 2) conceptualisation of 'honest histories', we use the phrase 'dishonest histories' to denote the opposite of what Godsell meant about 'honest histories'. This makes 'dishonest histories', histories that do not attempt to represent the past to its fullest. In other words, these are histories that deliberately exclude our experiences often for political expediency and other nativist agendas.

say that there has not been attempts on the part of the democratic state to Ukuhlambulula[7] or cleanse the school history curriculum and its textbooks from their colonial and apartheid past that is informed by abyssal epistemologies. There have been numerous attempts, the latest being the appointment of the HMTT in 2015 (DBE 2015), which has since released its Report in 2018 (DBE 2018). The HMTT Report calls for a school history curriculum and textbooks that are 'cleansed' from their abyssal epistemologies and are decolonised, in that they are for a pluralised re-interpretation, re-theorisation, and re-presentation of the past (see Maluleka 2021; Maluleka and Ledwaba 2023). The report does not, in any way, mention the need to re-interpret, re-theorise, re-centre, and re-present LGBTIQA+ histories and experiences in its proposed school history curriculum and textbooks that would replace the CAPS school history curriculum and its textbooks that are currently in use. For Maluleka and Ledwaba, whom we agree with, this symbolises a missed 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 [sic], 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.* (Maluleka and Ledwaba 2023: 93)

From this, it is clear that there is a need to advocate for a school history curriculum and its textbooks that resemble a mosaic when it comes to re-interpretation, re-theorisation, and re-presenting of the past. We make the case for this in the next section.

Towards school history textbooks that are mosaic-like in the representations of the past

Textbooks play a central role in constituting the bases of specialised school knowledge and making sure that meaningful teaching and learning occur in most history classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa, especially since many history teachers and their learners do

7 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)' (Tisani2018: 18).

not have access to other teaching and learning materials. It has become vital to make sure that school history textbooks are reflective of the diverse past that characterises this 'nation' we call South Africa.

We are for school history textbooks that are underpinned by post-abyssal epistemologies and are mosaic-like in their re-interpretation, re-theorisation, and representations of the past. In the case of LGBTIQA+ persons, this means the re-interpretation, re-theorisation, re-centring and representations of their histories and experiences in school history textbooks too—so that they can also form part of the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991), and 'ideal' citizen as envisioned by the democratic constitution of 1996. This would render school history textbooks as sites where 'honest histories about the past and present realities' are taught and learnt in ways that enable LGBTIQA+ history teachers and learners to also feel like they belong. It would also foster historical consciousness in both history teachers and their learners, which entails 'individuals and collectives, more or less conscious, [experiencing] mental connection between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and expectations of the future' (Anderson 1991: 38). 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; Maluleka 2023).

History textbooks must also be spaces of humanisation: of attempting to push back against the exclusivity with which coloniality created the category of the human (Wynter 2003). History is fundamentally about exploring our humanity: in the past, the present, and the future. Textbooks, as the materials through which history is taught in the majority of South African classrooms, have a responsibility to further this humanisation which pushes back against the coloniality of being (Mignolo, 2009). The responsibility cannot lie with history teachers to affirm the humanity of the LGBTIQA+ in our history lessons: the materials with which they are supplied need to address the full humanity and full histories—pushing against local and global erasures of the queer communities.

Conclusions

In this article, we have investigated and examined, through abyssal and post-abyssal epistemology as our theoretical lens and CDA as our method of analysis, how LGBTIQA+ figures and their histories and experiences continue to be marginalised and excluded in both written and visual texts that make up the post-apartheid school history curriculum and its textbooks. This absence was a result of the legacies of colonialism and apartheid

underpinned by abyssal epistemologies. Because of this, we have also concluded that the continued peripheralisation of LGBTIQA+ histories and experiences from the post-apartheid school history curriculum and its textbooks can contribute to the continued marginalisation of LGBTIQA+ people, including queerphobic acts of violence that are already unprecedented, as well as bolster the false image of a 'cis-world' that already exists, with anyone else as a foreigner. We argue that this is both a social justice and historical accuracy issue: it is against the exclusion of LGBTIQA+ persons and toward a history made of up a more accurate array of stories of those who fought against apartheid and have existed and resisted in the apartheid world. While we have presented particular people as examples here, we encourage this thread to be taken up to include recovering LGBTIQA+ histories from different South African historical periods, towards filling in these erased histories.

We also employed post-abyssal epistemology as another aspect of our theoretical framing to make a case for the re-interpretation, re-theorisation, and re-presentation of LGBTIQA+ persons and their histories and experiences with the view of contributing to creating school history textbooks that are sites where a pluralised past is embraced for LGBTIQA+ history educators and learners to also have a sense of belonging, and where cisgender heterosexual history educators and learners are afforded the opportunity to engage with and learn from alternative historical narratives that challenge the portrayal of LGBTIQA+ people as historically unimportant, incapable, and contributing little to society.

References

Afflerbach, P. and Van Sledright, B. 2001. Hath! Doth! What? Middle Graders Reading Innovating History Textbooks. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 44(4): 696–707.

Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso Books.

Alridge, D.P. 2006. The Limits of Master Narratives in History Textbooks: An Analysis of Representations for Martin Luther King, Jr. *Teachers College Record,* 108(4): 662–686.

Apple, M.W. 2001. *Educating the 'Right' Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*. New York: Routledge Falmer.

Apple, M.W. and Christian-Smith, L.K. 1991. The politics of the textbook. In M.W. Apple and L.K. Christian-Smith. (eds). *The politics of the textbook* (pp. 1–21). New York: Routledge.

Bam, J., Ntsebeza, L. and Zinn, A. 2018. *Whose history counts: Decolonising African precolonial historiography, re-thinking African History*. Bloemfontein: African Sun Media.

Bertram, C. 2008. 'Doing History?' Assessment in history classrooms at a time of curriculum reform. *Journal of Education*, 45: 155–177.

Bertram, C. and Wassermann, J. 2015. South African history textbook research - A review of the scholarly literature. *Yesterday and Today*, (14): 151–174.

Bhana, D. 2012. Understanding and addressing homophobia in schools: A view from teachers. *South African Journal of Education*, 32: 307–318.

Bhana, D. 2014a. 'Managing' the rights of gays and lesbians: Reflections from some South African secondary schools. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 9(1): 1–14.

Bhana, D. 2014b. Understanding and addressing homophobia in schools: A view from teachers. *South African Journal of Education*, 32: 307–318.

Bhana, D. 2022. Primary school teachers misrecognizing trans identities? Religious, cultural, and decolonial assemblages. *Teachers College Record*, 124(8): 98–120. DOI: 10.1177/01614681221121530.

Bhardwaj, M. 2023. Queertopia's new world order: Simon Nkoli's legacy in queer Black nightlife spaces in Johannesburg. *Gender Questions*, 11(1): 1–17.

Bharath, P. 2023. Tracing the substantive structure of historical knowledge in South African school textbooks. *Yesterday and Today*, 30(1): 36–65.

Bilchitz, D. 2015. *Constitutional change and participation of LGBTI groups: A case study of South Africa*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

Botes, J. 2023. 'We are claiming space, we are visible!': The gay and lesbian organisation of

the Witwatersrand as a space of solidarity, 1980s–1990s. *Gender Questions*, 11(1): 1–17.

British Broadcasting Corporation Africa. 2023. LGBT rights in Africa: Will Kenya be the latest to pass anti-gay law? Available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-66079603. (Accessed on 6 September 2023)

Charland, J.P. 2003. History and citizenship: Survey of students in the Montreal and Toronto areas. Quebec: PUL.

Chisholm, L. 2015. Comparing history textbooks in apartheid South Africa and the German Democratic Republic, 1950–1990. *Southern African Review of Education*, 21(1): 80–93.

Chiponda, A. 2014. *An analysis of the portrayal of women in junior secondary school history textbooks in Malawi*. Doctoral thesis. Howard: University of KwaZulu Natal. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/10413/12658 (Accessed on 23 September 2023)

Chiponda, A. and Wassermann, J. 2011a. Women in history textbooks - What message does this send to the youth? *Yesterday and Today*, (6): 208–237.

Chiponda, A. and Wassermann, J. 2011b. An analysis of the visual portrayal of women in junior secondary Malawian school history textbooks. *Yesterday and Today*, (14): 13–25.

Connell, R. 2018. Decolonizing sociology. *Contemporary Sociology*, 47(4): 399–407.

Crawford, K. 2004. *Inter-cultural education: The role of school textbooks analysis in shaping a critical discourse on nation and society.* Paper presented at the Pacific Circle Consortium 27th Annual Conference, 21–23 April, 2004, Hong Kong Institute of Education.

Counsell, C. 2018. Taking curriculum seriously. Perspective article. September 12. Impact Articles. https://my.chartered.college/impact_article/taking-curriculum-seriously/. (Accessed on 11 June 2024)

Dankwa, S. 2021. *Knowing Women: Same-Sex Intimacy, Gender, and Identity in Postcolonial Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dean, J. 2004. Doing history: Theory, practice and pedagogy. In: Jeppie, S., ed. *Toward new histories for South Africa: On the place of the past in our present*, edited by S. Jeppie. Cape Town: Juta Gariep. pp. 99–116.

De Araújo, C.S. 2021a. 'Queering the City': The politics of intimacy, sex and liberation in Lourenço Marques (Mozambique): 1961–1982. *Review of Contemporary History of Africa*, 2: 130–50.

De Araújo, C.S. 2021b. *Outros Corpos Nosso/Other Bodies of Ours*. Johannesburg: MaThoko Books.

Department of Basic Education (DBE), RSA. 2000. Report of the history/archaeology panel to the Minister of Education. Available at https://www.gov.za/documents/report-historyarchaeology-panel-minister-education (Accessed on 6 September 2023)

Department of Basic Education (DBE), RSA. 2009. A. Motshekga, Statement to National Assembly on Curriculum Review Process. Available at https://www.gov.za/statement-minister-basic-education-angie-motshekga-curriculum-review-process-national-assembly (Accessed on 6 September 2023)

Department of Basic Education (DBE), RSA. 2011. Curriculum and assessment policy statement, grades 10–12: History. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Basic Education (DBE), RSA. 2015. National Education Policy Act (Act no 27 of 1996), Establishment of the History Ministerial Task Team. Government Gazette (GG), Notice no 926, 9 October 2015. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Basic Education (DBE), RSA 2018. Executive summary of the History Ministerial Task Team. Available at https://www.education.gov.za/Resources/Reports.aspx (Accessed on 6 September 2023)

Dionne, K.Y., Dulani, B. and Chunga, J. 2014. Research note: Attitudes toward homosexuality in sub-Saharan Africa, 1982–2012. Unpublished manuscript.

Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Fataar, A. and Subreenduth, S. 2015. The search for ecologies of knowledge in the encounter with African epistemicide in South African education. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 29(2): 106–121.

Foster, S. and Crawford, K. 2006. The critical importance of history textbook research. In *What shall we tell the children?: International perspectives on school history textbooks*, edited by S. Foster and K. Crawford (pp. 1–23). USA: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Francis, D.A. 2017. Homophobia and sexuality diversity in South African schools: A review. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, 0(0): 1–21.

Francis, D.A. 2019. What does the teaching and learning of sexuality education in South African schools reveal about counter-normative sexualities? *Sex Education*, 19(4): 406–421.

Francis, D.A. and Reygan, F. 2016. "Let's see if it won't go away by itself." LGBT microaggressions among teachers in South Africa. *Education as Change,* 20(3): 180–201.

Gaudio, R.P. 2009. *Allah made us: Sexual outlaws in an Islamic African city*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Godsell, S. 2019. Poetry as method in the history classroom: Decolonising possibilities. *Yesterday and Today,* 21:1–28.

Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.

Hartline, F.R. 2013. *The emergence of male homosexuality and homophobia in modern-day Maseru, Lesotho*. Cape Town: University of South Africa.

Hendriks, T. 2018. Érotiques cannibales: A queer ontological take on desire from urban Congo. *Sexualities*, 21(5–6): 853–67.

Hendriks, T. 2021. 'Making men fall': Queer power beyond anti-normativity. *Africa*, 91(3): 398–417.

Hendriks, T. 2022. *Rainforest capitalism: Power and masculinity in a Congolese timber concession*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Jeppe, Shamil, 2004. *Toward new histories for South Africa: On the place of the past in our present*. Cape Town: Juta Gariep. pp. 99–116

Maluleka, P. 2018. The construction, interpretation, and presentation of King Shaka: A case study of four in-service history educators in four Gauteng schools. Master's thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand. Available at https://hdl.handle.net/10539/26947 (Accessed on 23 September 2023)

Maluleka, P. 2021. Fallism as decoloniality: Towards a decolonised school history curriculum in post-colonial-apartheid South Africa. *Yesterday and Today*, (26): 68–91.

Maluleka, P. and Mathebula, T. 2022. Trends in African philosophy and their implications for the Africanisation of the South Africa history caps curriculum: A case study of Odera Oruka philosophy. *Yesterday and Today*, (27): 65-89.

Maluleka, P. and Ramoupi, N.L.L. 2022. Towards a decolonized school history curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa through enacting legitimation code theory. In: *Decolonising knowledge and knowers: Struggles for university transformation in South Africa*, edited by M.N. Hlatshwayo, H. Adendorff, M.A.L. Blackie, A. Fataar, and P. Maluleka. London: Routledge.

Maluleka, P. 2023. In press. The continued erasing of LGBTIQA+ histories in post-apartheid School History Curricula. *Perspectives in Education*.

Maluleka, P. 2023. Teaching and learning sensitive and controversial topics in history through and with decolonial love. *Yesterday and Today,* (29): 30-51.

Maluleka, P. and Ledwaba, L.T. 2023. Attempts to (re)capture the school history curriculum? Reflections on the history ministerial task team's report. *Yesterday and Today*, (29): 72–99.

Martin, A., Kelly, A., Turquet, L., and Ross, S. 2009. *Hate crimes: The rise of 'corrective' rape in South Africa*. Human Rights, 18.

Martin, J.R. and Wodak, R. 2003. *Re/reading the past: Critical and functional perspectives on time and value*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Mchunu, K. 2023. The queer activism of Simon Nkoli's clothed and styled body. *Gender Questions*, 11(1): 1–23.

Migdon, B. 2022. 'Don't Say Gay' bill is introduced in Georgia. Available at https://thehill.com/changing-america/respect/equality/597533-dont-say-gay-bill-is-introduced-in-georgia/ (Accessed on 23 September 2023)

Mignolo, W.D. 2009. Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 26(7-8):159–181.

Morgan, K. 2010. Scholarly and values-driven objectives in two South African school history textbooks: An analysis of topics of race and racism. *Historical Social Research*, 35:3: 299–322.

Motimele, M. and Hlasane, R. 2024. *Wondering hand(s) and spirited ink: Snapshots into the Black public humanities*. Johannesburg: Keleketla.

Msibi, T. 2011. The lies we have been told: On (homo)sexuality in Africa. *Africa Today*, 58(1): 55–77.

Msibi, T. 2012. 'I'm used to it now': Experiences of homophobia among queer youth in South African schools. *Gender and Education*, 24(5): 515–533.

Msibi, T. 2014. Is current theorising on same-sex sexuality relevant to the African context? The need for more African voices on same-sex desire in Africa. Pambazuka News, Issue 667.

Muholi, Z. 2004. Thinking through lesbian rape. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 950(61): 116–125.

Munro, B. 2012. *South Africa and the dream of love to come: Queer sexuality and the struggle for freedom*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Munro, B. 2015. Queer self-fashioning in South Africa. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 21(1): 168–71.

Munro, B. 2016. Locating 'Queer' in contemporary writing of love and war in Nigeria. *Research in African Literatures*, 47(2): 121–138.

Naidoo, A. 2014. An analysis of the depiction of 'big men' in apartheid and post-apartheid school history textbooks. Master's thesis. Howard: University of KwaZulu Natal. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/10413/12634 (Accessed on 23 September 2023)

Nicholls, J. 2003. Methods in school textbook research. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3(2): 1–17.

Onanuga, P. 2021. Coming out and reaching out: Linguistic advocacy on queer Nigerian twitter. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 33(4): 489–504.

Otu, K.E. 2021. 'Heteroerotic Failure and "Afro-queer Futurity" in Mohamed Camara's

Dakan.' *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 33(1): 10–25.

Otu, K.E. 2022. *Amphibious subjects: Sasso and the contested politics of queer self-making in neoliberal Ghana*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Otu, K.E. and van Klinken, A. 2022. African Studies Keywords: Queer. *African Studies Review*, 66(2):509–530.

Pakade, N. 2024. Simo Nkoli's practices of freedom. In *Wondering hand(s) and spirited ink: Snapshots into the Black public humanities*, edited by M. Motimele and R. Hlasane. Johannesburg: Keleketla: 67–100.

Rao, R. 2020. *Out of time: The queer politics of postcoloniality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reddy, V. 2006. Decriminalisation of homosexuality in post-apartheid South Africa: A brief legal case history review from sodomy to marriage. Agenda: *Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 67(2)3: 146–157.

Rodriguez, S.M. 2019. *The economies of queer inclusion: Transnational organizing for LGBTI rights in Uganda*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Rüsen, J. 2004. Historical consciousness: Narrative structure, moral function, and ontogenetic development. In: *Theorizing historical consciousness*, edited by P. Seixas. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 63- 85

Rydstrom, J. 2005. Solidarity—with whom? The international lesbian and gay rights movement and apartheid. In *Sex and politics in South Africa*, edited by N. Hoad, K. Martin and G. Reid. Cape Town: Double Storey Books.

Santos, B. 2007. *Beyond abyssal thinking*. Available at http://www.eurozone.com (Accessed on 23 September 2023

Santos, B. 2014. *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Seroto, J. 2015. An analysis of the depiction of indigenous people during the early colonial conquest in South African history textbooks. *Indilinga – African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 14(2): 169–184.

Sopitshi, A. 2016. Attitudes, knowledge, and beliefs around homosexuality: Exploring the views of 5th year medical students. Master's dissertation. Cape Town: University of Cape Town. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/11427/22930 (Accessed on 23 September 2023)

Sowemimo, A. 2019. How Britian's exported homophobia continues to drive health inequalities amongst lgbtqi communities. https://gal-dem.com/how-britains-exported-homophobia-continues-to-drive-health-inequalities-amongst-lgbtqi-communities/

(Accessed on 8 June 2024)

Ubisi, L. 2021. *Addressing LGBT+ issues in comprehensive sexuality education for learners with visual impairment: Guidance from disability professionals*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Wells, H. and Polders, L. 2006. Anti-gay hate crimes in South Africa: Prevalence, reporting practices, and experiences of the police. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity,* 67(2)3: 20–28.

Williams, M 2023. State lawmakers renew debate over Georgia version of 'Don't Say Gay law' at Capitol. Available at https://georgiarecorder.com/2023/08/23/state-lawmakers-renew-debate-over-georgia-version-of-dont-say-gay-law-at-capitol/ (Accessed on 23 September 2023)

Wills, L. 2016. The South African high school history curriculum and the politics of gendering decolonisation and decolonising gender. *Yesterday and Today,* 16: 22–39.

Wynter, S. 2003. Unsettling the coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the human, after man, its overrepresentation – an argument. *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 3(3): 257–337.

Reflecting on a Decolonial educational praxis in South African public schools

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a4

Paul Hendricks
School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg, South Africa
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0009-0002-5723-0491
paul.hendricks@wits.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a4

Abstract

The continuing educational crises and the recurrent discourse on educational reform in South Africa foreground critical questions on what constitutes a viable philosophical and pedagogical strategy for the country. This article examines the transformative praxis of a dissident teachers' organisation, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA or the League), and how the development of its distinctive non-racist and non-collaborationist worldview provide meaningful possibilities for present-day educationists seeking a progressive educational alternative. The article draws on decolonial and critical education theories to engage the views of TLSA teachers and non-League education activists. Documentary material on the TLSA and its umbrella body, the Unity Movement, provide key primary sources for the article. In addition, secondary information linked to the broader liberation movement offers valuable insights and perspectives on what could be defined as an alternative educational praxis. Overall, the article examines whether the coexistence of the TLSA's holistic educational outlook and 'egalitarian oriented' counter-consciousness, offers tangible possibilities for exploring an emancipatory decolonial education.

Keywords: Alternative education; Critical pedagogy; Decolonial education; Teacher politics

Introduction

This article focuses on the philosophical and historical outlook of a prominent and intellectually engaging teachers' organisation, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA, League or Teachers' League) and its contribution to the anti-colonial educational, political, and socio-cultural struggles before and after 1994. The TLSA's philosophy unfolded over more than nine decades as part of its commitment to education as a vehicle for fundamental social change in South Africa (SA). Whether the organisation's emancipatory theory and practice has relevance for the current period in which a decolonial discourse has become increasingly manifest, is central to this paper. Foregrounded, at the outset, are a few salient concepts underpinning the TLSA's perspective on education. These concepts form the cornerstone of the organisation's initial policies, which it continued to propagate during the 1990s after re-emerging as a public teachers' organisation. From 1963 until 1992, the League operated underground and in relative secrecy. Its re-emergence in the early 1990s and endeavours to organise as it had previously done during the 1940s to early 1960s, was accompanied by wide-ranging governmental reforms. These reforms encompassed extensive changes in educational legislation, particularly regarding policy and curriculum. A key aspect of these reforms was that they were located within the political economy of the new SA and infused by the neo-liberal ideology of the market with its growing and pervasive narrative of privatisation and cuts in public spending (Bond 2000; Marais 2001; Harvey 2007).

The demise of several curricular initiatives from 1995 to 2010, particularly Outcomes Based Education (OBE), centred not only on implementation but the educational philosophy underpinning these curriculum endeavours. The outcomes-based approach, for instance, was premised on a constructivist philosophy that placed primacy on the notion of extrinsic 'outcomes', emphasising demonstrative job-oriented skills that were mainly economic, and business-driven. The League would fully engage with these developments (*The Educational Journal [EJ]* 1994a: 11; 1994b: 4; Abrahams 1994: 11), particularly since its teachers had witnessed key values that had been considered central to education effectively neglected, if not abandoned, in particular the 'holistic development' of the child (Abrahams 1994: 11). The latter pedagogical perspective embraced values, culture, intellectual, and academic advancement or more broadly speaking, the rational and imaginative virtues of education (Waghid 2001: 128).

The TLSA's alternative educational philosophy was consciously developed within its ranks during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. This political and pedagogical undertaking

took effect when the League became an affiliate of the federated Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM or Unity Movement), established in December 1943. The central argument underpinning this article is that while the League developed its philosophy within a context significantly different to the existing one, its early educational and pedagogical discussions and formulations continue to remain highly relevant for educationists in the present period. Remnants of these ideas can be found in oral recordings and transcripts of interviews with TLSA members who were active from the 1940s well into the 1990s and in certain cases beyond this period. These original voices are significant, for as Boadu (2022: 649) notes, 'there are many African histories that are still unwritten, making oral histories an indispensable feature of African historiography'. He further makes the compelling argument that history 'should be determined by the people around whom the story revolves' (Boadu 2022: 649).

Additional primary sources central to constructing this article include texts from the Teacher's League's monthly and bi-monthly publication, *The Educational Journal,* organisational pamphlets, as well as literature of the Unity Movement, published during its early formative years and which continued until the 1990s and into the new millennium. The widespread distribution of this body of literature and the discussions that flowed from it during the early years (1943 to the early 1960s), what Soudien (2019: 164) refers to as a 'knowledge-producing impetus', was dubbed, 'the most sustained, intense and widespread political education of the oppressed people ever conducted in South Africa, and on the available evidence, in Africa' (Jaffe 1994: 166). With these factors in mind and cognisant of the shifting political and social identities of teachers and policy development in education, the crucial question this article educes and intends to clarify is: 'To what degree does the TLSA's philosophy, pedagogy, and epistemic strategies offer educationists possibilities for advancing an alternative educational praxis for the current period?'

Historical background to the TLSA's philosophy

The Teachers' League was a product of its time, shaped by circumstances peculiar to South Africa. A mix of political and socio-economic factors that were uniquely South African would thus impact the organisation at different times in its historical development. International forces, too, proved critical to the formation of the TLSA's ideas and practices, which ultimately shaped its identity. The organisation for that reason cannot be properly understood without considering its early history and how the emerging societal forces came to bear on it before and after it embarked on the 'new road' of anti-segregation and

non-collaboration from 1945 when it joined the NEUM.

The 'new road'

Born within the political milieu of the early twentieth century, the TLSA was a child of the African Political Organisation (APO), founded in 1902. The APO's leadership, schooled in nineteenth-century English Cape liberalism, largely accepted the socio-economic inequalities and Western standards of 'civilisation' that offered the limited space of a qualified non-racial franchise, based on property, wages, and literacy (Bickford-Smith 1995: 67, 68; Roux 1978: 53, 64). The APO leadership, in many respects, bore the hallmarks of the time, principally as pragmatists who accepted the 'reality of the period', of white supremacy and with it an imposed 'coloured' identity. A central concern of the APO was to uplift the 'coloured' community, particularly the skilled strata and emergent petty-bourgeois elite. This it sought to attain by working within the system, using passive methods of non-cooperation such as dialogue, petitions, and deputations.

The TLSA was established on 23 June 1913 under the leadership of Harold Cressy, the principal of Trafalgar High School in District Six (Adhikari 1993: 24, 25; Lewis 1987: 75). As an ostensibly non-political professional teachers' organisation, the League represented and was exclusively composed of colonially oriented and self-defined 'coloured' teachers. The TLSA's central aim was to address the professional frustrations and injustices 'coloured' teachers experienced and to advance the educational development of this community and their integration into the politically and economically 'white' dominated society. This it sought to achieve in an incremental way through discrete negotiations and consultation with the Cape Education Department. For the next three decades, the organisation employed a cautious and diplomatic approach in a bid to win piecemeal reforms, aiming to find accommodation within the existing system on terms that allowed 'coloured' teachers relative privilege.

In an endeavour to reinforce professional solidarity amongst its teachers, facilitate communication between the membership and the executive, and promote the organisation in areas outside the Western Cape, the League published its official organ, *The Educational Journal*, from May 1915 onwards. To further entrench its identity, in 1918 the organisation adopted the adage 'Let Us Live for Our Children', a motto that remained inscribed on the cover of its journal to encapsulate the vision and philosophy of the TLSA at different periods in its history. This distinctive inscription, as with the organisation's journal, would remain a distinguishing feature of the Teachers' League.

In the 1930s, the League faced its most challenging period when the great depression struck the black community in the Cape particularly hard, resulting in severe job losses and unemployment (Lewis 1987: 180). Adding to these difficulties, the 1930s also saw the power of the 'coloured' vote rapidly declining, while the 'white' vote effectively doubled in the Cape (Goldin 1987: 165). Age and pigmentation, for men as well as women, would become the sole qualifications for full citizenship. In the harsh socio-economic climate of the early 1930s, disenchanted, skilled, and semi-skilled 'coloureds' within society rejected the APO's moderate tactics of cooperating with 'white' political parties (Hendricks 2018: 118).

In education, too, the League's emphasis on professionalism rather than engaging in more direct political action contributed to its failure to advance its members' interests and the community it claimed to represent. These economic and political developments had significant repercussions for the Teachers' League, resulting in signs of rising disagreement within its Western Cape branches by the mid-1930s (Hendricks 2018: 118).

Starting in 1937, the TLSA witnessed a growing presence within its ranks of radical socialist factions from the New Era Fellowship (NEF), a leftwing discussion group, and the Workers' Party of South Africa (WPSA) who were sympathetic to the Russian revolutionary, Leon Trotsky. As World War II began, these individuals started exerting a strong influence on the organisation's membership (Mokone 1991: 21; Adhikari 1993: 70).

In 1943, differences came to a head between the moderate and radical factions of the League when five members of its executive accepted positions on the Coloured Advisory Council (CAC) (Mokone 1991: 23; Adhikari 1993: 71). The radicals perceived this move as a renewed attack on the limited political rights of the 'coloured' population to establish a separate voters' roll for them. Furthermore, this development seemed to signal that General Smuts, the leader of the governing United Party, had reneged on his earlier war promise to end segregation (Dudley 2005; Rassool 1997: 1).

An intense and protracted battle for control of the League ensued between the radicals and moderates, with the former seizing control of the organisation by 1944, resulting in the walkout of a large section of its conservative membership (Hendricks 2018: 119). The latter group formed the Teachers' Educational Professional Association, with the mission to work from within the Education Department as a recognised teacher organisation. This fundamental shift would propel the TLSA to join the newly formed anti-segregation, Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD). In 1945 with a national membership of 2 000, the TLSA united with a wider grouping of organisations that constituted the NEUM, notably, the All-African Convention, located in Bloemfontein, and the Durban-

based Anti-Segregation Committee. The League's professional and political outlook, henceforth, would be inextricably tied to that of the Unity Movement and its Ten Point Programme (TPP) of full democratic citizenship rights for all South Africans and the policy of non-collaboration (Hendricks 2018: 119–121). The TPP included: the right to the franchise, education (which encompassed free and compulsory schooling for all), property and privacy, freedom of speech, movement and occupation, social equality (of 'race', class, and gender), revisions of land law, civil and criminal codes, taxation, and labour legislation in keeping with the initial six points (Tabata 1974: 59–61; Mokone 1991: 34). Non-collaboration, in short, meant not consenting to operate the instruments of one's own oppression. This foundational policy will be elaborated on at specific times in the article.

The educational values of the Teachers' League of South Africa

From here on, the key aspects of the TLSA's ideological thought will be examined. These ideas are to be tracked, as the League moved through the extremely repressive and challenging years of the pre-apartheid, apartheid, and post-apartheid periods while pursuing its well-established role of informing the oppressed populace of what the organisation saw as imminent dangers emerging in education. The merging of this custodianship with a distinct brand of politics and philosophy of education would become the hallmark of the League from the time it joined the NEUM. It ought to be noted further that this articulation or dialectical link between context, political theory, and practice would profoundly shape the League's philosophical outlook. This philosophy, it is argued, was neither mystical nor abstract, hovering above society, but a philosophy deeply rooted in, and informed by, changing political and socio-economic realities within the country and globally that the League was alert to and in which it located itself and its ideological point of view. This worldview, to a greater or lesser degree, may be considered a materialist philosophy in the Marxist sense, that was continually unfolding and incomplete, which the League itself would declare in its 50th Anniversary publication of *The Educational Journal* of 1962 (*EJ*, 1962:34).

To make the League's philosophical outlook explicit, four of the organisation's theoretical and political concepts are the focus:

- the role of League teachers'
- nation building: non-collaboration and non-racism
- internationalism

- the politics of transition (to a post-apartheid state)

The role of League teachers

The ideological role of the teacher in the liberation movement or the anti-apartheid resistance struggle was deemed unequivocal for the NEUM, notwithstanding their newly acquired social status and thus the contradictory class and race position teachers occupied (Maurice 1952: 12–14; Soudien, 2019: 172, 173). In this emancipatory equation, teachers were at the vanguard of the liberation struggle and, as it were, the carriers, the 'vectors', of progressive anti-segregation ideas that were informed by political theory (Hendricks 2010:43). The centrality of political theory to the NEUM cannot be overstated. Kies, a League teacher at Trafalgar High School, and one of its leading theoreticians, was emphatic about this critical dimension in his 1945 address to the NEUM:

> *Theory is important. Your political theory means the way you sum up things, where you consider the interests of the oppressed to lie. This determines your direction; it determines the type of demand you make and the type of organisation you admire or follow or join; it determines your political activity* (Kies 1945: 23).

Beyond this insistence, Kies (1943:23) also noted that 'The ignorant can never lead.' With this mindset, League teachers were expected to educate and inform the oppressed and others of their views on politics and education. These ideas were rooted in the Gramscian counter-hegemonic strategy of what a leading Teachers' League spokesperson, Edgar Maurice (1952:8), termed, '"education for social change'. Political education was viewed as indispensable 'practical work' and integral to transforming people's consciousness. Maurice's (1952:5–15) assertion shows that change and emancipation needed to be upheld as real possibilities for the teachers of the emergent federated united front.

For the NEUM, the professional teacher layer had a vital contribution to make. They had to reject 'collaborationist professionalism', eradicate prejudice and racialism amongst themselves and the oppressed, and undertake to raise the people's political consciousness through 'building the people's movement for emancipation' (*EJ* 1953: 6). Tasks of this nature, the League declared, were 'not only political work' but 'educational work of the highest magnitude and in the noblest tradition of the struggle for liberation' (*EJ* 1953: 6 [emphasis in original]).

Within the united front of the AAC, ASC, and Anti-CAD, the NEUM advocated as a central strategy the teacher-worker alliance. *The Torch*, the ideological organ of the Unity Movement, would state:

> *Now, more than at any time, the oppressed people need the teachers. Freedom will never be ours unless our teachers can give us generation upon generation of young men and women, fired with a passionate desire to dedicate their lives and talents to the cause of our emancipation. And freedom will never be ours until the teacher stands shoulder to shoulder with his fellow-worker in the field and factory, with no false barriers of pride and superiority to keep them apart* (*The Torch* 1946: 4).

With this pedagogical outlook of their relation to other social layers in society which includes in this case 'the relationship between power and knowledge' (Soudien 2019: 164–165; 2022: 193), League teachers, as emancipatory 'vectors', embarked upon educating and informing the oppressed and others of their views on politics and education (Hendricks 2010:43). This impulse inspired them to 'educate the nation' through a process of eliminating 'blinkers and prejudice' that falsely divided the population, 'teaching that all people belong to one human family and are of the same quality' (*EJ* 1962: 34).

In practice this new outlook translated into League teachers being encouraged to go beyond set syllabi, and develop in their students a sense of self-confidence, academic excellence, and a strong social and political awareness. This 'greater purpose', as it were, meant transcending the classroom by working in civil society and building community structures at different levels of the public sphere. The most prominent of these, and in which TLSA teachers were pivotal, were the Parent-Teacher Associations, later the Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTAs and PTSAs), the non-racial schools' sports movement (Hendricks 2021), the trade union movement, the education fellowships, and cultural organisations such as the Wilvan School of Ballet (later Wilvan School of Dance). The central intent was clear: to subvert the isolationist strategy of the apartheid regime and to inspire the resistance movement through sustaining and spreading, as elaborated on earlier, the core ideas or the emancipatory philosophy of the Unity Movement. This intent was encapsulated concisely in the latter movement's 'nation-building' slogan, 'We Build The Nation'.

Nation building: Non-racialism and non-collaboration

In political and theoretical terms, the concept of nation-building formed the foundation of the NEUM and TLSA's thinking and was supported by the twin pillars of non-racialism and non-collaboration. The former's injunction called for the rejection of categorising people according to 'race' types, whilst the other, originating from the Workers Party of South Africa (WPSA), meant the refusal by the oppressed to work the instruments of their

own oppression, that is, segregated and inferior political institutions (Drew 1996: 16, 17). Through this strategy, it was envisaged that the oppressed would assert their humanity and thus break the 'slave mentality' that kept them in perpetual subjugation (Kayser 1997: 36). The concept of class struggle was furthermore introduced as an integral part of non-collaboration, to expose the oppositional nature of the oppressed's interests relative to that of the ruling class. It also served to thwart class collaboration within national liberation organisations and alliances, demonstrating the importance of autonomy of thought and action in forging working-class independence (Alexander 2006; Drew 1991: 326).

An outflow of non-collaboration was the political tactic of the 'boycott'. The boycott was deployed strategically to expose perceived collaborators, and to make 'inferior' or 'bogus' bodies and institutions amongst other 'ruling class schemes' unworkable (New Unity Movement 1994: 14, 27). Whereas non-collaboration was a permanent political attitude, the boycott was practical—a specific application of non-collaboration employed 'at specific times' and 'on specific issues'—to undermine the ruling class policy that attempted to divide the oppressed according to class and colour. It also, for the Unity Movement, fulfilled the vital connecting function of developing the unity and the independence of the oppressed as foremost tenets of nation-building (Tabata 1952: 27). Although non-collaboration and the boycott were berated for separating the NEUM from the heat of political struggle' (Soudien 2019: 172; Alexander 1989: 188; Alexander 2006), Tabata would concretise the boycott in his ground-breaking text, *The Boycott as Weapon of Struggle,* an innovative tactic emanating from within the liberation movement. Here, he cogently argued that children had to be educated 'in the cause of liberation itself; [because] they must acquire the intellectual equipment even though only segregated schools [were] open to them' (Tabata 1952: 19).

These points of departure—non-racism, non-collaboration, and the boycott—spurred the League along with its sister teacher organisation in the AAC, the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA), to wed politics and education in an endeavour to 'impede, obstruct and undermine' the apartheid government's divisive 'race'-based policies (*EJ* 1955: 12).[1] This distinct humanistic perspective and strategy formed the central plank of the TLSA's philosophy from 1944, as its principal thesis was that all people were of one human race and innately equal, and that they should be treated as such (*EJ* 1993b: 9). This

1 *The Educational Journal* of June 1955 was banned by the educational authorities owing to the TLSA President, Willem Van Schoor, having been accused of making anti-white 'herrenvolk' statements in his presidential address. Kies, who was the editor of the journal, was implicated for publishing the address. Kies and van Schoor received notices terminating their services and were thereby dismissed from the teaching profession (Registrar of the Supreme Court of South Africa 1956–1958).

outlook, premised as it was on opposing racism and class-based prejudice, articulated with Freire's 'incomplete' and 'unfinished' notion of humanisation (Freire 1993), and formed the basis of the League's broad world view—of 'internationalism' or 'universalism' (*EJ* 1993b: 6; Soudien 2011: 52). Within decolonial Marxist circles, a similar worldview holds currency—an internationalist perspective that considers 'planetary visions of liberation' as critical to countering 'conflicts, poverty and inequality' generated on a world scale (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2021: 62, 63; Kvangraven, Styve and Kufakurinani 2021: 3).

Internationalism

The League's internationalist and anti-colonial viewpoint shaped its understanding of what constituted relevant and worthwhile knowledge and knowledge production. To demonstrate this standpoint, its foremost cadres who were leading members in the Unity Movement, contributed substantively to *The Educational Journal* and produced a series of seminal texts that would reinterpret SA's past and impact teacher activists and academic scholarly writings (Saunders 1986: 79–81; Bam 1993: 50, 54–60). The works of Mnguni, *Three Hundred Years* (1952), Nosipho Majeke, *The Rôle of the Missionaries in Conquest* (1952), Willem van Schoor, T*he Origin and Development of Segregation in South Africa* (1950), Isaac Bangani Tabata, *Boycott as Weapon of Struggle* (1952), *The Awakening Of A People* (1950), *Education For Barbarism* (1959), Ben Kies, *The Contribution of the Non-European Peoples to World Civilisation* (1953), and Edgar Maurice, *The Colour Bar In Education* (1956), to mention the most prominent texts, stood out as penetrating contributions at a time when a stream of repressive apartheid legislation was being imposed on the oppressed populace (Hendricks 2010: 58). Noteworthy are articles that appeared regularly under the auspices of the education fellowships. These fellowships or political fora were local discussion groups affiliated with the NEUM and constituted the New Era Fellowship (NEF), South Peninsula Education Fellowship (SPEF), and the Cape Flats Education Fellowship (CAFEF), amongst a host of others located within disenfranchised communities nationally (Hendricks, 2010: 58, 59).

These new emergent literary works, while local in focus, endeavoured to break ideologically with the insular and inward-looking 'racial-cultural' tendencies fostered by apartheid and sought to position South Africa within the framework of broader anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and thus international, discourses and struggles. The Kies treatise, for instance, aimed at debunking the 'racial' myth of the superiority of a 'Western', 'European' or 'Christian' civilisation, arguing instead that 'the colonial and semi-colonial

world' made proportionately a far more significant contribution to world-civilisation and the advancement of humankind (Kies 1953: 39, 40). Moreover, and which has been more recently foregrounded within debates on decoloniality, is that the notion of a pure 'West' and what is called 'civilization' is in effect the 'contribution of people across the world' (Soudien 2022: 197; Platzky Miller 2023: 8, 20). Kies (1953: 23, 24) pointed instructively to the indebtedness of Greece to Africa and Asia and argued against conventional scholarly views by locating Egypt epistemologically and geographically firmly within Africa. He furthermore stressed that Africa south of the Sahara, was 'further on the road to civilization' than most parts of Europe, especially 'after the decline of Greece and Rome and the ascendancy of Christianity' (Kies 1953: 34; Soudien 2022: 202).

Kies, a teacher who was a central figure within the League, had by the early 1950s presented a persuasive alternative to the 'History of Western Philosophy' narratives. His contention painted the 'history of philosophy as *globally "mixed"* or *entangled.*' (Platzky Miller 2023: 3 emphases in original). Kies's thesis would coincide with other anti-colonial texts in the Cold War period, specifically Basil Davidson's *Lost Cities of Africa* (1959) and later Walter Rodney's decolonial Marxist text *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972). Maurice, similarly, linking the global and local, tracked the changing history of colour prejudice and the colour bar in South African education (Hommel 1989: 82, 83, 86). Staying within the framework of previous NEUM writers, he identified the colour bar as an outgrowth of international capitalism, which in the colonial context unequivocally benefitted the hegemonic/dominant 'white' group. His analysis concluded, much like Rodney's 1972 seminal thesis, that only political victory over the *herrenvolk* would bring the 'abrogation of the colour bar in education' (Hommel 1989:96). The Mnguni and Majeke publications were also viewed by certain university historians to be for their time perceptively 'pioneering', 'radical' within the 'Marxist tradition', and 'Africanist' (Saunders 1986: 79–81).

Premised on the above universalistic perspective and its implications for schooling and the broader education landscape, the League vehemently opposed notions of 'differentiation' that placed knowledge of the modern world out of reach of the nation's children, arguing that this policy stunted their (children's) intellectual development. The emerging knowledge-based world economy, the NEUM contended, rendered 'our children' unable to access universal knowledge as equals (Tabata 1959: 40–47; *The Torch* 1953: 8), thus blocking them from becoming fully-fledged members of society with access to full citizenship rights (Tabata 1959: 3, 4, 7–11). The Movement's argument foreshadowed by a few decades Muller and Young's (2019: 198) contention that underscored the

transformative potential of 'powerful knowledge', which the latter characterised as disciplinary, specialised knowledge with the critical capacity to be transferable from one context to another and thus conceptually integral to social justice. Much like Tabata, *The Torch*, and the Teachers' League, Muller and Young (2019: 198, 201) reveal how those in power have historically restricted the circulation of specific types of knowledge, specifically powerful knowledge, as a key strategy to advantage certain sections of society. Based on a comparable perspective, the League opposed what is termed in Afrikaans *andersoortigheid* (one's 'differentness' from others), which placed the emphasis on 'race', 'ethnicity', 'nation', culture, language, education (schools and universities), inter alia. For the NEUM affiliate, differentiation was undeniably sinister, a deceptive scheme to divide the oppressed and maintain white supremacy (*EJ* 1993a: 4).

The politics of transition (to a post-apartheid state)

In the post-apartheid period, the League would continue to hold to its modernist outlook of an emancipatory critique and contended that 'our children' deserve nothing less than the best education, and who, the TLSA emphasised, had to be adequately equipped for life beyond school (Abrahams 1997: 17). Operating within the earlier mentioned humanistic, decolonial, and oppositional framework, in a vein much like the decolonial educational theorist Zemblyas (2018), the organisation spoke out against teacher politics and educational reforms that prejudiced the child, 'our children', in any way that denied them equal opportunities. Freire (1993: 16), writing in the early 1990s, voiced a similar pedagogical and humanistic concern by expressing his support for 'competent teaching' that delivered 'quality education.' For him, 'poor children… are the ones who suffer the most from the inequality of education' (Freire 1993: 16). The League held to a similar pedagogical disposition concerning 'competent' and 'quality' teaching. These and related concepts will be elaborated on in relation to teacher unionism and the emerging new curriculum, as SA transitioned into a post-apartheid state.

Teacher Unionism

The emergence of teacher unionism in SA from the mid-1980s into the 1990s, culminating in the formation of the mass-based South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), and soon afterwards the politically moderate National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), was a disconcerting development for the TLSA. Although

it had sought affiliation with the union movement in 1946 (*EJ* 1946a: 11; *EJ* 1946b: 12), the TLSA was extremely critical of teacher unionism. One of the issues was the quality or inexperience of the union leadership. Anothe, issue was their political and ideological agenda given their predilection, the League claimed, to place party politics above the interests of children. After all, as the Teachers' League well knew, SADTU was an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which was in a tripartite alliance with the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress. This alliance, in partnership with the ruling National Party, were at the forefront of political negotiations during the early 1990s, and for the League susceptible to strategic compromises at the bargaining table. This troubled the teachers' organisation, as it fundamentally opposed negotiations with the ruling party, branding the alliance and others from the liberation movement who participated in these talks as nothing but collaborationists. Given this uncompromising stance, the TLSA sought to vindicate its politics by exposing and lambasting politically perceived manoeuvrings behind the scenes or the wily politics hidden by the glare of the media (Hendricks 2010: 135).

The League's most concerning issue when engaging teacher trade unionism, was the question of teacher strike action, which it saw as counter-productive in the terrain of schooling. The upshot of this pedagogical position was that while the TLSA wedded the political and educational, SADTU sought to merge the political and economic ends of the struggle, consistent with its trade union focus, which prioritised workers' interests. Negotiations and strike action to ensure teachers' demands were met were thus central to improving the quality of teaching and learning, SADTU maintained. Alexander (2001) explains:

> *it [education] gets sold ... The fact that the state pays for it does not mean it's not a commodity … that education has a sort of dual aspect to it, is of course true, but you cannot highlight the one [professionalism] as though the other didn't exist … and therefore if the conditions of education are such that the children and the teachers ... cannot carry out their tasks properly, [and] a strike seems to be the correct type of action to take - it has to be taken.*

The League's point of departure on this matter was unequivocal. For it, teachers were the custodians of the community, and it contended that the classroom was the starting point for countering the ideological effects of the system. As such, schools were sites to nurture, care for, and protect children while parents worked to make ends meet (*EJ* 1993c: 9). In keeping with this educational viewpoint, the League posited that 'when teachers are on strike', 'children are placed at risk' (*EJ* 1993c: 9). League teachers, by implication,

saw themselves as fulfilling the pedagogical role of *in loco parentis* and thus were duty-bound to the children entrusted to them. For the TLSA, the altruistic and transformative role assigned to the teacher was far more important and inseparable from the liberation struggle. Adriaans (2000) was curt on this point:

> *Teachers in the Teachers' League never fought for teachers' rights in retrospect. ... They never fought for promotions, they never fought for increases of salaries, they would never have dreamt of going on strike for higher salaries, because they saw their role as being the educator force of the liberatory movement, not to see to their own personal benefits. ... there were so many people poorly paid, I mean what right did you have to make demands for your own personal improvement economically?*

Statements and related attitudes like these distinguished League teachers from their union counterparts, as it exemplified the way they sought to construct an identity for themselves as progressive educators and intellectuals representing 'their' community, the community of the oppressed. It was here, as Tabata (1952: 184) would have it, that teachers or intellectuals had a choice; they could either 'place themselves at the head of their people and launch a struggle against the government or side with the rulers against their own people'. This Gramscian conception of the teacher as the 'organic intellectual', (Vacca 1982: 63–65) or Giroux's (1989: 152) equally engaging 'transformative intellectual', exemplified the principled role League teachers assumed for themselves in the 1990s. This role cast League teachers as custodians of the oppressed, whose mission, amongst others, embodied the responsibility of 'empowering individuals and groups within oppositional public domains' (Giroux 1989: 153).

Notwithstanding their harsh attitude towards teacher unionism and their brusque view of strike action, the League did not oppose confrontational forms of working-class actions in principle. In fact, the organisation viewed these interventions as legitimate responses by workers and teachers in their quest 'to redress social evils and secure just demands' (*EJ* 1993d: 3). What came to the fore in the latter part of the 1990s for the TLSA was the reinterpretation of strike action in schooling. A more imaginative and proactive interpretation of strike action would emerge within the NUPSAW education sector, the descendent of the TLSA from 1999, when the League was compelled by labour legislation to join the independent union movement (Hendricks 2018: 134–136). Instead of teachers vacating their classrooms or abandoning the site of teaching and learning, they were encouraged by the new teacher-based union to engage students through alternative lessons and programmes as part of conscientising them. This alternative approach, the education sector averred, would help students develop a critical understanding of the social system

and therewith their role and responsibility in transforming the world, a world where all must be afforded equal opportunities (Hendricks 2010: 310).

The mentioned counter-hegemonic strategy of embracing 'study and struggle' was not new in the SA educational domain, and in fact, finds its antecedents in the alternative educational movements of the 1970s and 1980s. The difference, however, was that in the realm of teacher unionism it was novel. Up to that point, teacher unions mimicked trade union industrial actions, resulting in teachers leaving their classrooms and schools or the site of work (work site). For the League schools did not produce commodities, nor did it service clients. Rather, schools were central to enriching young minds and bodies. Here, for the NUPSAW education sector, no 'assembly line' or 'conveyor belt' in an industrial sense, existed. The League evidently did not subscribe to the inevitability of what Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Althusser (1972), through their 'correspondence' and 'reproduction' theories, purported capitalist schooling propagated. Instead, the TLSA viewed schools as sites of struggle, or in decolonial terms, sites of epistemological defiance and '"disobedience' (Mignolo 2009).

The League, in principle, was not anti-trade union but rather emphasised the merging of the political, class, and educational struggles. Within this matrix, the pivotal role of organisational leadership in ensuring independent and unwavering allegiance to the workers they represented was critical. The crux of the matter, for the NUPSAW education sector, was that teacher unions had to remain vigilant and not collude or collaborate with the education authorities at the expense of children, teachers, and workers (Hendricks 2018: 137–139). These tangible and cognitive political, educational, and organisational concerns were interrelated and central to the union question and that of non-collaboration for the Teachers' League and its union successor.

Curriculum reform

The evolving curriculum reform in the post-apartheid era motivated the TLSA to pursue its core political role of working within a critical and oppositional framework. It spoke out against the narrow market-driven skills or 'instrumentalist' approach to education that emerged with the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) in 1991, the National Qualifications Framework of 1996, and later OBE and Curriculum 2005 (Hendricks 2010: 144, 214, 218–220). These were educational reforms the apartheid and post-apartheid governments sought to implement in a political economy of widening inequalities (Marais 2001: 153). The ripple effect of this deep-seated disparity impacted massively on education, and in the

hazy context of a great deal of media hype surrounding the new curriculum's break with the previous apartheid one, which was announced in 1997 and implemented a year later, the League had to find its way independently. In this period, the Marxist class perspective that was integral to the TLSA's non-collaboration policy stood out as a distinct feature of its analysis, which, in turn, had decisive implications for its practice.

Regarding OBE, the organisation's initial stance was that the curriculum would work in well-resourced, former 'whites-only', Model C schools, given that they were achieving and setting the standard (*EJ* 1997: 10). Furthermore, regarding the pricklier foundational thinking anchoring OBE, the League was loath to declare: 'There might be little wrong with the philosophy underpinning the concept', and more plausibly, 'we believe that the OBE approach is the way forward' (*EJ* 1997: 3, 5). Given these early pronouncements on the new curriculum, the organisation found itself not directly opposing OBE, which others such as Jansen (1997) had clearly articulated at the time. In addition, it could no longer sustain its initial opposition to Model C schools, stating by the late 1990s that all children should have access to resourced schools as a democratic right. The League, for a brief period, seemingly maintained an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the unfolding reforms in education, particularly regarding the new curriculum.

The shift to oppose the philosophical underpinnings of OBE would only occur once the TLSA formed the NUPSAW education sector in 1999. In this new phase of the organisation's life, the debilitating effects of the outcomes-based curriculum on learning and teaching have become evident and educationally pronounced. Up to that point, it was the emphasis of OBE on skills 'training' and vocational education that concerned the TLSA (*EJ* 1997: 10). This concern was informed by the international developments where policymakers were pushing to link education and work in an education-economy bind. This global backdrop presupposed that as in human capital theory, education would yield returns for the individual and society, and thus ostensibly greater productivity for the nation (Christie 1996: 412–413; Klees 2014: viii; Vally and Motala 2014: 23, 29, 43). The League was left far from convinced by these pronouncements. While the organisation at no point spoke of modernisation or human capital, these concepts were implicit in its response to events happening in education. For example, the TLSA was exceedingly aware of the deleterious effect the new resource-dependent OBE would have on working-class schools (*EJ*, 1997:10), whereas, conversely, for well-equipped Model C schools it held benefits. Conscious of these stark differences, the League spoke out against the narrow skills-based approach of vocational-oriented education, which it indicated OBE espoused. The organisation, instead, advocated a broad philosophical outlook where:

> *education should aim at developing the whole person ... and oppose curriculum and syllabus programmes that attempt to move away from sound academic development towards the overly practical. ... The function of schools at all levels is to develop a well-rounded young person who will be employable and can also relate to and enjoy all the enriching aspects of life.* (Abrahams 1997: 14, 15).

However, since the majority of schools were found in under-resourced communities, and OBE was unavoidable, the TLSA encouraged teachers in these schools, where a far greater demand was being placed on their ingenuity, energy, and time, to set the 'highest possible standards' and to work towards delivering a 'good general education' (*EJ* 1997: 11).

As a result of its broad view on education, which concomitantly emphasised 'academic excellence', the Teachers' League in the post-1994 period, faced heavy criticism from educational quarters within the liberation movement. These voices declared the organisation's outlook elitist for advancing an 'Oxbridge' approach to education that was too far removed for most people (Liebenberg 2005). This elitism, for certain educators, demonstrated insensitivity to the fact that most township children failed to reach Grade 12 (Christie 1996: 408), owing to the schooling system's emphasis on academia. Liebenberg (2005), a longstanding community activist and teacher within the Black Consciousness Movement tradition, elaborated:

> *If you are an elitist in terms of vocational training, you want this person to become a heart surgeon or whatever… but when you are in the township when it's a matter of bread and butter [it's different] … for me, the elitist is the crème de la crème, the cream de grandeur right at the top. I'm not focused on that I'm focused on the people on the ground right at the bottom.*

Options were essential to avoid demoralising people and stymieing their development, these educators insisted (Wieder 2003:57). Steadfast in its educational mission, the TLSA contended that it simply expected its teachers to teach according to standards the racialised and class-biased education system was denying the oppressed or black working-class children, whom, it emphasised, had to be adequately equipped for life beyond school. For teachers in the League, teaching involved holding 'each other and themselves to demanding standards' (Soudien 2011:50). Hanmer, a prominent member of the Teachers' League from the 1940s, was unequivocal on this matter, stating that for the organisation, teaching embodied:

> *dedication to education, an education as part of a social process, which also sees a democratic situation, a democratic society. It's a clear dedication to children and what*

> *is important in order to give children the very best opportunity to live widely, generously in society and not focus their minds on a very narrow end, but to broaden their minds, to make them critical, to assist them to access information, to access quality. It's quality, quality, quality all the time ...*(Hanmer 2005).

It was this emphasis on 'quality teaching with a social justice orientation' and which was 'geared towards the creation of a radically new society' (Omar 2017), that appeared to set these TLSA teachers apart from those who did not subscribe to their views. The League, in other words, did not consider the notion of education 'of an "educated" person' to be elitist (Abrahams 1997:17). Alexander, a radical educationist and activist, stated incisively: 'I don't think it was merely elitism, I think behind it there was a very strong sense of egalitarianism, a very strong sense that through social revolution we would bring about an egalitarian society in which everybody would have access to exactly that high status knowledge' (Alexander 2002). The TLSA's bottom line, it appeared, was that all students should be afforded the opportunity to learn and achieve their fullest potential.

It was the coexistence of the TLSA's holistic approach to education and its 'egalitarian-oriented' counter-consciousness that gave the organisation its distinctive character and set it apart from other teacher organisations from the 1940s onward. This dualism, it could be contended, makes viable the organisation's educational philosophy, a view that placed an emphasis on the school curriculum, the centrality of the teacher and student in the learning process, and crucially, an understanding of the politics of education and its role in transforming society and the nation. It could be further deduced that it was the originality and integrated nature of the TLSA, and later the NUPSAW education sector's perspective on education, which provides new possibilities for addressing the deep crisis in which South African education and teaching finds itself at present.

Conclusion

It could be argued that the Teachers' League produced a distinctive philosophical perspective on education that remained relatively consistent after it had broken from the moderate politics of the APO by the mid-1940s. Constrained by a challenging political and socio-economic environment, the TLSA's philosophy pivoted around the immanent notion of 'education for liberation' as the key to eventually achieve social transformation. The adherence to non-racialism and non-collaboration, in tandem with its emphasis on internationalism, formed the foundation of its praxis or the theoretical and practical approach to education.

Once it had aligned with the Unity Movement, the TLSA emphasised the crucial role of teachers as central to the struggle for emancipation, viewing them as the carriers of progressive and transformative ideas. Through fusing the political and educational struggles, the League sought to counter the divisive policies of colonialism and apartheid. It promoted unity and independence of thought and practice as foundational to the underclass or subaltern sections of society.

Internationalism was integral to the TLSA's worldview, and its analysis aimed to locate South Africa within the broader global discourses and struggles against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism. The League strove to break with insular trends and rejected, through its own form of epistemic disobedience, categorising people according to 'race', "ethnicity', or 'culture'. Its leading theorists dissected and discredited notions of a pristine 'Western' philosophy and 'civilisation', and through a 'de-centred' decolonial perspective promoted the alternative idea of an 'entangled' universalism that embraced the notion of 'one human race', stressing equality and the right for all to access universal 'powerful' knowledge.

In the immediate post-apartheid years of the 'rainbow' nation, the TLSA maintained its emancipatory critique and continued to oppose educational reforms that marginalised and obstructed the right to education for all children. It spoke out against the neo-liberal, market-driven educational policies that neglected the holistic development of 'our children', and which disadvantaged under-resourced schools, the very same schools that had been disadvantaged under apartheid. Emphasising academic excellence in addition to an education offering a broad curriculum, the TLSA faced criticism for being elitist. Notwithstanding this reproach, the organisation's teachers remained resolute in their mission to prepare students for life beyond school.

The legacy of the Teachers' League's educational values and philosophy transcends its historical lifespan, and its holistic and integrated outlook provides valuable insights for addressing the current crisis in South African education and, particularly, schooling. By drawing on its enduring principles of non-racialism, non-collaboration (independent thoughts and actions), and internationalism, educators, curriculum developers, and policymakers may well find possibilities for advancing a more equitable, innovative, and transformative educational praxis.

References

Abrahams, I. 1994. South Africa: Socio-economic patterns of the future? *Presidential Address*. Cape Town: Teachers' League of South Africa.

Abrahams, I. 1997. New education initiatives: Progress or retardation? *Presidential Address*. Cape Town: Teachers' League of South Africa.

Adhikari, M. 1993. *The Teachers' League of South Africa 1913–1940*. Cape Town: Buchu Books.

Adriaans, M. (Personal interview), 13 April 2000.

Alexander, N. 1989. Non-collaboration in the Western Cape, 1943–63. In: *The Angry Divide*, edited by W. James and M. Simons. Cape Town: David Philip.

Alexander, N. (Personal interview), 17 December 2001.

Alexander, N. (Personal interview), 1 December 2006.

Alexander, N. *Education: The ongoing crisis or 'A tale of three cities'*. A discussion with Crain Soudien, Neville Alexander, and Ciraj Rassool [Audio recording]. *Prime Talk*. Radio 786, 30 October 2002.

Althusser, L. 1972. Ideological state apparatuses. In: *Education structure and society*, edited by B. R. Cosin. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bam, J. 1993. The development of a new history curriculum for the secondary level in South Africa: Considerations related to the possible inclusion of themes drawn from Unity Movement history. M.Ed. thesis, Cape Town: UCT.

Bickford-Smith, V. 1995. South African urban history, racial segregation and the unique case of Cape Town? *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(1): 63–78.

Boadu, G. 2022. Historical significance and the challenges of African historiography: Analysis of teacher perspectives. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 30(5): 639–657.

Bond, P. 2000. *Elite Transition: From apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press.

Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. 1976. *Schooling in capitalist America*. London: Routledge.

Christie, P. 1996. Globalisation and the curriculum. Proposals for the integration of education and training in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 16(4): 407–416.

Davidson, B. 1959. *Lost cities of Africa*. Boston: Little, Brown Abd Company.

Drew, A. 1991. Social mobilization and racial capitalism in South Africa, 1928-1960. Ph.D. thesis. University of California, Los Angeles.

Drew, A. 1996. *South Africa's Radical Tradition: A Documentary History*. Volume 2: 1943–

1964. Cape Town: Buchu Books.

Dudley, R. O. (Personal interview), 11 August 2005.

Freire, P. 1993. *Pedagogy of the City*. New York: Continuum Publishing Company.

Giroux, H. 1989. Schooling as a form of cultural politics. Toward a pedagogy of and for difference. In, *Critical Pedagogy*, edited by H. Giroux and P. McLaren. New York: State University.

Goldin, I. 1987. The reconstruction of coloured identity in the Western Cape. In, *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, edited by S. Marks and S. Trapido. London: Longman Group.

Hanmer, T. (Personal interview), 31 August 2005.

Harvey, D. 2007. Neoliberalism as creative destruction. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610(1): 22–44.

Hendricks, P. 2010. *A Principled Engagement? Non-Collaboration and the Teachers' League of South Africa in the Western Cape*, 1990–2003. Ph.D. thesis, Cape Town: UCT.

Hendricks, P. 2018. The history and politics of the Teachers' League of South Africa's transformative praxis. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 51(1): 111–139.

Hendricks. P. 2021. The Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) and the non-racial schools' sports movement in the Western Cape, 1956-1994. In, *Critical reflections on the edges of empire*, edited by F J Cleophas. Stellenbosch: Africa Sun.

Jaffe, H. 1994. *European Colonial Despotism: A History of Oppression and Resistance in South Africa*. London: Karnak House.

Jansen, J. 1997. Can policy learn? Reflections on why OBE will fail. *Southern African Review of Education with Education with Production*, 3(1): 5–9.

Kayser, R. 1997. *The Struggle for Land and Liberty in South Africa: The Revolutionary Path of the Non-European Unity Movement/Unity Movement of South Africa*, 1933–1970. Honours thesis, Cape Town: UCT.

Kies, B. 1943. *The Background of Segregation.* Natal: APDUSA.

Kies, B. 1953. *The Contribution of the Non European Peoples to World Civilisation*. Cape Town: Teachers' League of South Africa.

Kies, B. 1953. *The Contribution of the Non-European Peoples to World Civilisation*. Cape Town: Teachers' League of South Africa.

Klees, S.J. 2014. Foreword. In, *Education, Economy and Society*, edited by S. Vally and E. Motala. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Kvangraven, I.H., Styve M.D. and Kufakurinani, U. 2021. Samir Amin and beyond: the enduring relevance of Amin's approach to political economy. *Review of African Political*

Economy, 48(167): 1–7, https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2021.1896262

Lewis, G. 1987. *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Liebenberg, A. (Personal interview), 17 December 2005.

Marais, H. 2001. *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition*. Zed Books: London.

Maurice, E.L. 1952. The role of the Non-European teacher in the liberatory movement. Discussion, *A Forum Club Publication*, 1(5).

Maurice, E.L. 1989. The colour bar in education. In: C*ontributions of Non-European Peoples to World Civilization*, edited by M. Hommel. Braamfontein: Skotaville.

Majeke, N. 1986 [1952]. *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest*. Cumberwood: APDUSA.

Mignolo, W. 2009. Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26(7–8): 159–181.

Mokone, S. 1991. *Majority Rule*. 2nd edition. Cape Town: The Educational Journal.

Mnguni, 1988 [1952]. *Three Hundred Years*. Cumberwood: APDUSA.

Muller, J. and Young M. 2019. Knowledge, and powerful re-visited. *The Curriculum Journal*, 30(2): 196–214.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2021. Revisiting Marxism and decolonisation through the legacy of Samir Amin. *Review of African Political Economy*, 48(167): 50–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2021.1881887

New Unity Movement. 1994. *Anniversary Bulletin, 1943-1993: Unity Movement 50th Year of Struggle-and the Struggle Continues*. Wynberg: NUM publication.

Omar, Y. 2017. Born into revolution: Reflections on a radical teacher's life. *The Conversation*, March 27, 2017.

Platzky Miller, J. 2023. From the 'History of Western Philosophy' to entangled histories of philosophy: The contribution of Ben Kies. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 31(6): 1234–1259. https://doi.org/10.1080/09608788.2023.2188898

Rassool, J. 1997. *Notes on the history of the Non-European Unity Movement in South Africa, and the role of Hosea Jaffe*. Available at http://www.compulink.co.uk/~jplant/revhist/supplem/rassool.htm. Accessed on 5 November 2023.

Registrar of the Supreme Court of South Africa. 1956. *The matter between Benjamin Mason Kies (Plaintiff) and Jacobus Gerhard Meiring, Superintendent General of Education of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, First Defendant and Phillipus Jacobus Olivier, Administrator of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, Second Defendant. In The Supreme Court of South Africa, Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division.*

Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle L' Ouverture Publications Ltd.

Roux, E. 1978. *Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Saunders, C. 1986. 'Mnguni' and 'Three Hundred Years Revisited'. *Kronos*, 11: 74–81.

Soudien, C. 2011. The contribution of radical Western Cape intellectuals to an indigenous knowledge project in South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 76: 44–66.

Soudien, C. 2019. *The Cape Radicals: Intellectual and Political Thought of the New Era Fellowship*, 1930s-1960s. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Soudien, C. 2022. A rereading of Ben Kies's 'The Contribution of the Non Europeans to World Civilization', *Social Dynamics*, 48(2): 191–206.

Tabata, I.B. 1952. *The Boycott as Weapon of Struggle*. Cape Town: Mimeo.

Tabata, I.B. 1974 [1950]. *The Awakening of a People*. Nottingham: Spokesman Books.

Tabata, I.B. 1959. *Education for Barbarism*. Durban: Prometheus.

The Educational Journal. 1946a. Second language. (July), 20(11): 11.

The Educational Journal. 1946b. The action committee…. (July), 20(11): 12.

The Educational Journal. 1953. T.L.S.A. Presidential address. (July–August), 25(1): 1–-8.

The Educational Journal. 1954a. Eiselen/De Vos Malan schooling as a social instrument. (May–June), 25(8): 7.

The Educational Journal. 1954b. The things they say. (May–June), 25(8): 13.

The Educational Journal. 1954c. The role of the teacher in education for citizenship. (July–August), 26(1): 20–21.

The Educational Journal. 1956. Colouredisation - or citizenship. (August), 28(2): 21.

The Educational Journal. 1962. Friday, 29 June. (July–August). 34(1): 34.

The Educational Journal. 1993a. Multi-cultural education - some aspects. (March), 63(20): 4–5.

The Educational Journal. 1993b. Education in transition. (April–May), 63(3): 4–9.

The Educational Journal. 1993c. To strike or not to strike: TLSA discussion statement. (July–August), 63(5): 7–9.

The Educational Journal. 1993d. The teachers' strike. (September), 63(6): 3.

The Educational Journal. 1994a. National Training Strategy Initiative (II): Framework for the future? (July–August), 64(5): 5, 6, 11.

The Educational Journal. 1994b. Society and curricula of study: Curriculum and syllabus development. (September–October), 64(6): 3–4.

The Educational Journal. 1997. What are teachers to do? (November–December): 10–11.

The Torch. 1946. Introducing 'The Torch', 11 March: 4.

The Torch. 1953. African education, 18 August: 8.

Vacca, G. 1982. Intellectuals and the Marxist Theory of the State. In, *Approaches to Gramsci*, edited by A.S. Sassoon. England: Writers and Readers.

Vally, S. and Motala, E. 2014. Education and economy: demystifying the skills discourse. In, *Education, Economy and Society*, edited by S. Vally and E. Motala. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Van Schoor, W.P. 1986 [1950]. *The Origin and Development of Segregation in South Africa*. Cumberwood: APDUSA.

Waghid, Y. 2001. Decolonial pedagogy: A reconceptualization of historical pedagogy. *South African Journal of Education*, 30(4): 547–559.

Wieder, A. 2003. *Voices from Cape Town Classrooms: Oral Histories of Teachers who Fought Apartheid*. Cape Town: UWC.

Zemblyas, M. 2018. Decolonial possibilities in South African higher education: Reconfiguring humanising pedagogies as/with decolonising pedagogies. *South African Journal of Education*, 38(4): 1–11.

Teacher Perceptions on the Possibility of Integrating History and Citizenship in the Lesotho Curriculum: A Case of Three Secondary Schools

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a5

Walter Sengai
National University of Lesotho, Roma, Lesotho
and
Research Fellow: University of the Free State, Bloemfontein,South Africa
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4817-5649
waltersengai@gmail.com
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a5

NL Ntlama
National University of Lesotho
Roma, Lesotho
nthatintlama@gmail.com
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a5

Abstract

One of the key contemporary needs in education is to promote nationalism and national cohesion. Challenges confronting most developing countries include political instability, violence, voter apathy, and youth disintegration. Many regard the teaching of citizenship as a possible panacea to remedy these problems. Scholars have applauded the role of citizenship education in inculcating crucial values such as active citizenship, tolerance, and social cohesion. The Lesotho curriculum uses social science subjects, especially history, to address these challenges. Pursuant to repeated calls for the integration of history with citizenship in Lesotho schools in order to enhance history's thrust in achieving the task, this qualitative study adopted the case study design to purposively sample six history teachers, two from each of three secondary schools in the Maseru district. Semi-structured interviews and document analysis of the Education Sector Plan 2005-2015 and Education Sector Strategic Plan 2016-2026, Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAP) 2009, Lesotho

General Certificate of Secondary Education (LGCSE), and the Grade 8 Social Science Syllabus were relied upon for the collection of data. Our findings from this study show that teachers believe that the integration of history and citizenship can instil values of active citizenship, patriotism, political stability, and economic development to mention but a few. We therefore concluded that there are possibilities of integrating history with citizenship instead of leaving them as subjects independent from each other. We recommend that the Ministry of Education and Training (MoET) should consider the integration of history and citizenship into the curriculum.

Keywords: integration; history; citizenship; curriculum; syllabus.

Introduction and background

Citizenship education is under scrutiny in most countries in the world due to the perceived value given to the subject in inculcating the values of active citizenship, patriotism, democracy, political stability, human rights, *Ubuntu*, and others. Many developed countries such as Canada and the United Kingdom introduced citizenship as a stand-alone subject in their school curricula, whilst in other countries like Botswana and Lesotho, citizenship is taught through a cross-curricula approach where it is infused in other subjects such as history. In Zimbabwe, it is taught as heritage studies which is a subject on its own at secondary school while in some tertiary institutions, it is offered as national and strategic studies (NSS) (Marovah 2019). All these efforts are meant to bring citizenship education to learners. Themes that are part of citizenship include, for instance, patriotism, democracy, nationalism, constitutionalism, globalisation, and gender equality. In some countries, citizenship education has now been turned into a statutory component of the secondary school curriculum while history is one of the key subjects through which citizenship is taught (Arthur et al. 2003). In Lesotho, citizenship is taught through social science subjects, especially history (Liphoto, 2018). Even though numerous national policy documents make specific references to citizenship and public participation to be taught as the cornerstone of promoting Lesotho's democracy, a coherent national programme on civic education does not exist in the country (Reitmaier, 2011). Therefore, this reveals the apparent need to teach citizenship in Lesotho schools. Citizenship education has gained momentum in several countries around the world as it appears to be the panacea for the challenges of the twenty-first century.

There has been a recent trend marking an apparent lack of interest by citizens in participation in political and other civic issues across a range of established democracies which has been a cause for concern for scholars and politicians alike (Kisby and Sloam 2014). In Britain, the levels of electoral engagement by the youths tend to be lower than those of the general population, and indeed of previous young generations (Henn and Foard 2012). However, young people appear to be still attracted to, and often actively participate in informal and alternative modes of political life. For instance, youths may participate in informal activities such as activism and political consumerism, and this depicts an apparent need for political socialisation. Political socialisation encompasses five key agents namely mass media, the family, peers, voluntary associations, and schools (Anna 2012; Quintelier 2013). Of these, school experience has been found to exercise a particular influence on the development of young people's knowledge for their participation in democratic life

(Andersson 2019). Further still, research reveals that the best available predictor of adult voting and democratic engagement is participation in formal courses in civics or citizenship (Anna 2012). Studies further portray that the effects of citizenship are long-term, and also that the civic skill and political values acquired in schools are retained into adulthood. This therefore shows that every nation must educate its young people to become active and participating citizens in the future. As a societal institution, the school is the most appropriately positioned vehicle for the provision of credible information about civic processes and training in citizenship issues. The school is an effective conduit for imparting society's knowledge, skills, values, and beliefs as it reaches most children and many adults at a given time, it possesses a well-established infrastructure, and it allows students to test values, and beliefs from within the barriers of a physically and emotionally safe environment (Thompson and Wheeler 2010). These foregoing claims show that the school proves to be a reliable and secure place in a society where individuals can attain knowledge on how to become effective members of the community. This contrasts with what is taking place in Lesotho where Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) employees who are trained for only three days are left to offer the critical aspects of citizenship education to voters before every general election (Ngozwana 2014). Efforts by such bodies should reinforce and complement what would have been learned at school, thereby facilitating collaboration between actors rather than being the only source of citizen awareness of such issues.

Statement of the problem

History as a subject in Lesotho is entrusted with the cultivation of citizenship values in secondary school learners but the nature of the syllabus and the traditional methods of teaching used in the country hamper its effectiveness (CAP 2009). Even though numerous national policy documents make specific references to citizenship and public participation to be taught as the cornerstone for promoting Lesotho's democracy, a coherent national programme on civic education does not exist in the country (Reitmaier 2011). Therefore, this glaring oversight shows the apparent need for teaching citizenship in Lesotho schools.

Some key official documents such as the Education Sector Plan 2005-2015, Education Sector Strategic Plan 2016-2026, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Framework 2009, Lesotho General Certificate of Secondary Education syllabus and the Integrated Social Science Grade 8 syllabus have emphasised the imperative need of introducing citizenship as a crucial approach in the consolidation of democracy in Lesotho. Tsikoane (2007) supports this notion by arguing that without the effective participation of all citizens in

politically related issues and activities, a meaningfully stable democracy could be difficult to attain in the country. According to Kisby and Sloam (2014), it requires politically informed citizens to actively take part in political decisions and processes beyond the ballot box. Citizenship is therefore a vital tool in making all citizens feel empowered to call for accountability from the government on democratic values. There is sufficient consensus among scholars that since its first democratic elections in 1965, Lesotho has never experienced a stable democracy (Akokpari 1998; Makoa 2004; Mokotso 2019; Monyane 2009; Motsamai 2015; Vhumbunu 2015). The extremely feeble democracy has been characterised by continuous post-election conflicts with a series of army coups (Mokotso, 2019). A study by Ngozwana (2014) concluded that Basotho lacks democratic knowledge and identified the reason behind this as limited voter education that is given to Basotho before elections. Vhumbunu (2015: 4) concurs that Lesotho endures a continuous history of political instability characterised by factionalism, tensions, and violent conflicts. There was a short-lived intermediary stability from 1966 to 1970 as well as from 1993 to 2003 (Makoa 2004). Of late, Lesotho has also witnessed a flare-up of gangsterism, alcoholism, corruption, and violent crimes (Lekhooa 2021). This shows that citizenship may be the panacea for political and social stability in Lesotho. A number of studies on citizenship have been carried out in the country including one by Mokotso (2019) which proposed the integration of citizenship with Religious Studies. The current study is very close to that of Liphoto (2018) which analysed the extent to which the Lesotho General Certificate of Secondary Education (LGSCE) history syllabus fostered citizenship values and the study on the history and citizenship conundrum by Fru and Liphoto (2020). Still, none of the prior studies proposed the integration of history with citizenship in the country, a gap which the present study seeks to address.

The purpose of this qualitative research study was to explore teachers' perceptions on the possibility of integrating history and citizenship education in the Lesotho curriculum using a case study of three secondary schools in Maseru. The research questions sought to establish history teachers' views towards the integration of history and citizenship education and the possibility of such an integration.

Review of related literature

This section is divided into two parts which discuss scholarly views on the possibilities of integration as well as the perceptions of teachers towards the integration of history and citizenship education.

Possibilities of integration

In England, the teaching of history availed the possibility of building bridges with citizenship education (Harris, 2017). Citizenship was therefore brought aboard as an important element of the History Association's 2002–2012 vision tabled during the 2002 Past Forward Conference. Long before the Crick Report (1998), remarkable history educators acknowledged the values that history could bring to the teaching of citizenship, which therefore proves that the integration of history teaching with citizenship education was deemed possible. This would have no negative implications on the teaching of history since the skills and content to be acquired by the learners would be positively affected because the subject would be enriched and made more contemporary (Harris 2017). A series of studies have highlighted the aptitude of history in enlightening key citizenship values such as identity, patriotism, diversity of human experiences, social and cultural diversity, global citizenship, moral thinking, conflict resolution, and development of democracy (Harris 2017; Kankam 2016; Keirn 2016; Liphoto 2018; Stearns 2012). The relationship between history and citizenship is natural since citizenship is understood as the main purpose of history (Keirn, 2016). This implies that history and citizenship are intertwined, as they are both concerned with equipping learners with the necessary knowledge, understanding, skills, attitudes, values, and experiences for life in modern society (Arthur et al. 2001). The knowledge that could be promoted through History is essential for citizenship. This suggests that history is explicitly intended to promote citizenship through providing opportunities for learners to discuss the nature and the diversity of societies around them. Universal history has more to offer to the education of citizenry so history must let citizens access the historical context of the globalised society in which they live today (Stearns 2012). Citizenship deals with a range of controversial issues that affect many people around the world and most of these issues are related to the demand for democracy, inequality, injustice, conflicts, social, and economic segregation (Harris 2017). All these issues necessitate historical perspectives of relating the past to the present and analysing future prospects. This implies that without the historical component today's world cannot be fully understood since, for instance, it may be difficult to understand how interrelations between and among regions have been shaped. The foregoing views from different scholars therefore depict that there exists a mutual relationship between history and citizenship education.

Although historical significance has not been adequately acknowledged in the teaching of history, it provides opportunities to raise citizenship awareness of issues such as globalisation, commemoration, and racism. Hunt (2000:52) supports this view by stating:

> *History teaching is enlivened when pupils feel that they can engage with issues that they see still relevant to their lives today. It is also enlivened when pupils either individually or in groups, are asked to make decisions. The consideration of significance promotes not only the ability to explain and support the case but also encourages pupils to consider where they stand on some of the significant and enduring issues that arise from the study of people in the past.*

The debate about the integration of history and citizenship has taken historical interpretations as a starting point since the potential payoffs in demonstrating the contemporary relevance of both are substantial. It also helps students to discern facts from fallacy. It is clear that historical concepts such as historical significance and interpretation can be useful conduits to impart citizenship values, which therefore implies that there is a harmonious relationship between history and citizenship which makes their integration conceivable.

History presents a relevant context for the teaching of citizenship due to the familiarity of history teachers with its learning objectives such as participation, inquiry, action, and communication. Historical interpretation, analysis, explanations, and appreciation of different perspectives have long been established as compulsory elements in most history curricula (Vella 2017). In her case study of learners whose ages ranged from twelve up to fourteen, Vella (2005) used historical thinking skills such as empathy, interpretation, change and continuity, time, and writing skills to facilitate citizenship thinking. After using history as a platform, Vella (2005) then moved to consider other citizenship concepts such as human rights and democratic processes. Her study revealed that to specifically link some history and citizenship skills, teachers' support is crucial, since the connection between historical and modern situations is not so apparent in learners' minds (Vella 2017). This, therefore, illuminates the coincidence of content between history and citizenship, thereby making this integration plausible. Furthermore, the current transition of moving from a subject-oriented curriculum to an integrated curriculum in Lesotho acts as a good breeding ground for this proposed integration. In Canada, this type of integration has already been implemented and the results are positive (Avramidis and Norwich 2002).

Perceptions of teachers towards integration

Various studies have been carried out worldwide concerning the perceptions of teachers towards integrating history with citizenship education (Kankam 2012; Loredano 2014; Pedzisai and Simbarashe 2013). For instance, Loredano (2014) studied the perceptions

of teachers on curriculum integration in both the urban and rural primary schools in Arges. Data was gathered using self-assessment sheets from the Ministry of Education and items found on the sheets were centred on the teacher. A Likert scale was used to measure opinions of the teachers towards integration where 1 represented most important and 10 less important. The findings reflect that teachers believe that integrated activities in their teaching increase learners' interest by 12 per cent; socialise students and favour getting peers to know each other in the classroom by 12 per cent; develop students' responsibility by 9 per cent; eliminate teaching routine by 8 per cent; favour creativity by 8 per cent; and, develop the spirit of competence and positive learning environment 9 per cent on the scale (Loredano 2014). Another item of the questionnaire required teachers to state obstacles in using integrated activities. The assessment scale from 1 to 10 indicated that integrated activities are hard to adjust to concrete class activities as demonstrated by the following factors: inadequate to teaching some matters from different curriculum: 18 per cent; alteration of teaching course comparison to the designed one: 15 per cent; frustrates more timid students:14 per cent; difficulties in achieving the objectives of the syllabus: 9 per cent; difficulties in evaluation: 8 per cent; difficulty in achieving teaching means: 8 per cent; and difficulty in the restructuring and accessibility in the teaching content: 6 per cent (Loredano 2014). The results of this study depict that there were positive attitudes of teachers towards curriculum integration though they experienced difficulties in carrying out integrated activities which might also apply in Lesotho concerning the current study.

A study carried out in Ghana on teachers' perceptions of the importance of teaching citizenship in Ghana revealed that 93.3 per cent mentioned that citizenship implied the provision of knowledge of the country's constitution, its principles, values, history, and contemporary application while 6.7 per cent think otherwise (Kankam 2012). The other findings showed a mean deviation standard of 1.57 which indicated that respondents had a positive perception of attributes such as the rule of law, showing loyalty towards the president, voting in national elections, making wise decisions, and fulfilling family responsibility among others.

In Zimbabwe, Pedzisai and Simbarashe (2013) carried out a related case study on how in-service teachers perceive the teaching and learning of citizenship in tertiary institutions. The sample was made up of 60 participants using purposive sampling. The study used both questionnaires and guided interviews to collect data. From the findings, 60 per cent of the participants were shown to attach value to the studying of citizenship while 15 per cent had a negative perception of the subject, and when probed they asserted that they had been influenced by previous experience during their National and Strategic Studies

(NSS) course that was presented in a partisan manner and the political harassment that they had endured (Pedzisai and Simbarashe 2013). Close to 50 of the participants (46.7 per cent) looked forward to obtaining knowledge to use productively in contributing to the Zimbabwean society in terms of national development, while 8.3 per cent did not attach any value to the citizenship course (Pedzisai and Simbarashe 2013). Regarding teaching methods, 40 per cent of the participants complained about a lack of guest lecturers. They strongly considered their engagement with senior citizens in their area of expertise as adding value to their understanding of concepts. Among the participants, 8.3 per cent called for the citizenship course to be mandatory for entry students at university. The findings revealed in this study therefore imply that the majority of in-service teachers were aware of the importance of citizenship education whilst the minority did not see its value. Therefore, there were positive attitudes by teachers towards citizenship in Zimbabwe.

Liphoto (2018) also carried out a study in Lesotho and revealed that not all history teachers in the country are familiar with the concept of citizenship. The study also established that not all history teachers can teach citizenship values infused in the Lesotho history syllabus. It was also revealed that the large amount of content and limited time allocated to the timetable prohibit teachers from putting more focus on the citizenship values. This therefore shows that history alone cannot effectively explore citizenship values hence the proposed integration.

Revelations from the literature reviewed above show that there is consensus among scholars over the feasibility and necessity of integrating history with citizenship since this is likely to contribute positively to the promotion of key values in different societies. The literature also showed that the continued teaching of citizenship values within history falls short of their effective coverage due to different reasons as alluded to by different scholars. The teaching of history influences how pupils understand citizenship by encouraging them to fully engage with citizenship education in a way that reinvigorates history, thereby contributing to the strengthening of its place in the curriculum (Arthur et al. 2003).

Conceptual Framework

This study is informed by Lee and Shemilt's (2007) three potential relational models which appear to make a compelling case for a more systematic relationship between history and citizenship. They, however, note that this relationship is problematic when extrinsic objects override disciplinary principles. The first model is the cornucopia model where history's intrinsic contribution to citizenship needs no further elaboration. This model calls for

minimum engagement of history teachers with citizenship because of the involvement of history with a plethora of human experiences including citizenship issues (Lee and Shemilt 2007). Currently, in most curricula, citizenship puts more emphasis on knowledge of political and legal systems which makes its relationship with history easy to understand due to the overlapping of concepts.

The second model is the carrier model where history content is chosen for its potential to meet the needs of citizenship (Lee and Shemilt 2007). The model explicitly embraces citizenship and uses history to address specific aspects of citizenship. In this model, history serves the needs of citizenship potentially leading to a 'presentist' approach to the past, only considering relevant topics to be those dealing directly with the present issues, thereby leading to a distortion of the historical 'message' in order to align it with the prevailing views in modern society.

Lastly, the complementary model assumes that citizenship is underpinned by ideals and ethos that permeate the school, and promote rational inquiry and debate. Such a context presents history as providing pupils with the opportunity to develop a historical consciousness and gain an awareness of how democratic institutions and ideas have developed, including their values and potential weaknesses (Lee and Shemilt 2007). They further showed that in this model, history is considered as providing a seedbed for the flourishing of citizenship and there is likely to be a strong emphasis of values in this model and in the career model too. However, in Lesotho's context, it seems like the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAP) 2009 adopted the first model, whereby teachers are expected to do little in teaching citizenship since they usually pay lip service to the citizenship values incorporated in history teaching (Raselimo and Mahao 2015). The model also informed our data generation process since the interview questions were framed with the intention to establish history teachers' views and suggestions on integrating history and citizenship education as well as what they consider to be the benefits of integration.

Methodology

The study used a qualitative research approach. Maxwell (2012) explains that qualitative research attempts to describe and interpret human behaviour based primarily on the words of selected individuals or participants. Qualitative research proved suitable in this study as it facilitated the interpretation of participants' behaviour towards the integration of history and citizenship education. This, therefore, depicts that qualitative research centres on understanding processes, experiences, and meanings people assign to things, and so

this approach was used in the current study as it helped to best illustrate the relationship between history and citizenship as well as to generate deep and detailed data for a profound analysis, credible findings, and germane recommendations (Creswell and Poch 2018).

This qualitative study adopted the case study design whereby six history teachers from three secondary schools in the Maseru district participated. The six were purposively sampled, two from each school due to their role in teaching the subject. Of the three schools, one was a private school, the other a public school, and the third one was church-run. The choice of schools was made with the intention to facilitate a representation of the different categories of secondary schools in Lesotho. Semi-structured interviews were used to generate data. According to Thomas (2021), a case study is designed as an in-depth analysis of a bounded system of a single or multiple cases, during a period and place. This study employed purposive sampling for the selection of identified information-rich cases for the most effective use. This was the ideal method for this research as it helped the researchers to identify and select individuals who were well-informed about the issue. Purposive sampling was perfect for this research as it also saved time and resources by selecting people who were knowledgeable and informed about the phenomenon of interest.

Purposive sampling also enabled the researchers to get in-depth information. In this study, the researchers used face-to-face interviews which enabled the observation of the emotions, expressions, and attitudes of teachers when they provided information (Creswell and Poch 2018). Interviews proved to be the appropriate method of generating data in this research as they are suitable to use for the generation of detailed information regarding people's opinions, experiences, thoughts, and feelings. For this research, interviews were preferred as they allowed the researchers to probe for more information as the population sample was small.

The study also employed document review as another method of generating data for triangulation purposes. The purpose of triangulation is to provide a convergence of evidence that breeds credibility (Bowen 2009). The Education Sector Plan 2005-2015 and Education Sector Strategic Plan 2016-2026, CAP, and LGCSE history syllabus were gleaned for data.

Thematic data analysis was employed in the identification of patterns and categories of the main themes that emerged from the semi-structured interviews (Braun and Clarke 2019). Thematic data analysis allowed narrative reporting of the views of the History teachers on the integration of history and citizenship education.

Audio data from the interviews were transcribed and coded into textual data then the transcripts were read several times to identify the units of meaning to establish the deeper

meaning of the narratives of the participants.

Open coding was employed to establish categories which were then reviewed and clustered into relevant themes before being thematically analysed (Braun and Clarke 2019). The themes were developed according to the interview questions, which were in turn guided by the research questions and were used to guide the presentation of the findings.

Findings and discussion

The findings of the study were classified into two sections—namely, the analysis of the Ministry of Education and Training (MoET) policy documents, the Lesotho General Certificate of Secondary Education (LGCSE) syllabus, and the Integrated Social Science Grade 8 syllabus, followed by data from the semi-structured interviews with the participants. The MoET's official position towards citizenship education in Lesotho will be unpacked through an analysis of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Framework (2009), the Education Sector Plan 2005-2015, the Education Sector Strategic Plan 2016-2026, the Lesotho General Certificate of Secondary Education (LGCSE) syllabus, and the integrated social science Grade 8 syllabus.

Education Sector Plan 2005-2015 and Education Sector Strategic Plan 2016-2026

When looking at the education sector plan through its objectives and goals, the teaching of citizenship is not included—the Ministry seems to be mainly concerned with inclusive education, the improvement of Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD), and the improvement of Technical Vocational Training (TVTs). The current sector plan also focuses on the same areas as its predecessor and has little if any reference to the teaching of citizenship in schools. Reitmaier (2011) observes that numerous national policy documents make specific references for citizenship and public participation to be taught in Lesotho as the cornerstone of promoting democracy in the country. The formal civic education provided to citizens at school appears to be very limited (Ministry of Education and Training 2005), which is also not included in the Lesotho Education Strategic Plan of 2005-2015.

Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAP), 2009

Several statements in the CAP (2009) document implicate citizenship education through its objectives, aims, and pedagogy since the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are referred to could be attained through the integration of history and citizenship (Fru and Liphoto 2020).

Some of the statements in CAP (2009) reflect the aspects of citizenship. Aim 6 appears to be compatible with the integration of history and citizenship as it states that 'at the end of secondary education students should be able to apply knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for effective participation in democratic and socio-economic activities' (CAP 2009: 13). This shows that this integration is possible as it fits within the standards of CAP (2009). Furthermore, still under the Curriculum Aims of Secondary Education, Aim 7 appears to be directly aligned with the integration of history and citizenship. It states:

> *Secondary education aims at providing opportunities for learners to participate in activities promoting democratic principles, human rights and emerging issues in the society* (CAP 2009: 13).

This aim could be achieved through integration because the history content in most cases focuses on the past and compels students to analyse it to understand the present. In many cases this becomes unattainable due to inappropriate teaching methods and hiring of non-specialist history teachers in some cases (Fru 2015; Liphoto 2018). Moreover, the CAP 2009 does not boldly ascertain the specific subject to encompass citizenship since it is just categorized under the learning area '*Personal, Spiritual* and *Social*' which is met by social science subjects, which may imply that citizenship should be taught through social science subjects. The challenge is that these social sciences are still taught separately in schools (Raselimo and Mahao 2015). Therefore, teachers from different social science disciplines in the school may choose to ignore some citizenship values hoping that another teacher from another subject may teach them. Again, it becomes a problem as each school manipulates and squeezes this citizenship content where it feels suitable because it lacks an assessment tool (Fru and Liphoto 2020). Citizenship in Lesotho is taught as a cross-curricula subject though it is mainly infused in history. The only problem with this infusion is that citizenship content is used to enrich history, thereby making it more contemporary and relevant (Atwa and Gouda 2014). This is why this study proposes the integration of history and citizenship since MoET will be compelled to devise an assessment tool for citizenship and the name may also change meaning that it may no longer be called history for a new name may be adopted to signal the integration of the two subjects (Atwa and

Gouda 2014). The integration of history and citizenship can work when they are taught together since the past events are blended into the present.

Lastly, when looking under the sub-heading 'pedagogy' in CAP (2009: 22), one of the statements reads:

> *The current feature in Lesotho policies is the emerging issues as reflected in, among others, the Millennium Declaration adopted by Lesotho in 2000 reinforcing development goals in the global agenda. …. For instance, …. democracy, human rights, gender and others have called for a more interdisciplinary and integrated approach to curriculum design and teaching. The project work should not be confined to schools but involve the communities as well to enhance action competence among others.*

The above quotation from CAP (2009) contains two important points which make the integration of history and citizenship more viable. First, contemporary issues such as peace, environmental development, and HIV and AIDS can be summarised as the twenty-first century challenges. Therefore, the panacea for twenty-first century challenges could be citizenship education among other options that may be considered (Kisby 2007). Similarly, the ills of contemporary societies can be curbed through the teaching of citizenship (Fru and Liphoto 2020). Second, MoET declared that the twenty-first century challenges mentioned earlier call for more interdisciplinary teaching, and this is the stage where similar themes from different subjects are drawn together to create a more substantial mechanism to impart knowledge and skills. Therefore, the integration of history and citizenship can be an effective tool to rescue the government of Lesotho from these twenty-first century challenges. The project work referred to above should not end in school but should extend to the communities. History alone seems ineffective (Liphoto 2018) although CAP (2009) empowers the subject to impart citizenship values and skills to Basotho learners, thereby making the integration potentially plausible. History lacks the practical part as it is taught as an academic subject in Lesotho so it can be effective and have more substance if it is integrated with citizenship which also gives it some contemporary flair.

Lesotho General Certificate of Secondary Education (LGCSE) history syllabus

Looking at the LGCSE history syllabus aims, it can be noted that most of them imply the role of citizenship education. These aims were picked based of the compartments of citizenship. Aim 1.1 declares that the aim of the syllabus is to stimulate interest and enthusiasm for the study of the past to instill and develop a sense of patriotism and

nationalism. Aim 1.4 maintains that the syllabus aims to inculcate ideas of tolerance as a pre-condition for attaining peace, stability, national unity, and development. Aim 1.3 states that the syllabus aims to help learners appreciate and understand the uniqueness of Basotho's divergent social and cultural values. Apart from that, the syllabus aims to help develop a clear understanding of various systems of governance and their bearing on nation-building. Furthermore, 1.9 states that the syllabus aims to help learners acquire an understanding of global events and their impact on Lesotho and the international community. Aim 1.11 also claims that the syllabus aims to critically analyse the role played by different classes, age groups, and gender and ethnic groups in the socio-economic and political development of Lesotho. Last, 1.13 states that the syllabus aims to develop an awareness and the management of emerging issues. Furthermore, the LGSCE syllabus shows that citizenship is enshrined in history topics thereby showing that it is implied. The syllabus' aims and content are inclined towards citizenship through the acknowledgement that the primary aim is to stimulate interest and enthusiasm for the study of the past to instil and develop a sense of nationalism and patriotism. Aim 1.8 is also relevant and develops a clear understanding of various forms and systems of governance bearing on nation building, and lastly, to critically analyse the role played by different classes, age groups, gender, and ethnic groups in socio-economic and political developments in Lesotho. This as a result reveals how citizenship values are addressed through history topics.

Most of the content of the syllabus covers citizenship. For instance, when looking at the topics, most of them address the issue of nationalism and patriotism. Specifically looking at it from the local context, the topic 'Aspects of History of Lesotho from 1820 to 2008' is about citizenship values. This topic is the cornerstone of Basotho citizenship and covers the tactics that Moshoeshoe 1 used to instil citizenship values into the Sotho nation. The topic also highlights the issues of democracy, the government, and social institutions that existed since the formation of the Sotho nation. With the evidence from the syllabus, one would agree that citizenship in Lesotho is mostly infused in history. As Liphoto (2018) maintained, citizen values in Lesotho are taught through history. Another topic that is aligned with citizenship in this syllabus is the achievement of majority rule in South Africa. The topic illustrates how Africans were united to fight apartheid in South Africa and shows the formation of trade unions and political parties such as African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC), the importance of the Sharpeville massacre, Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement, and the Soweto uprising. Another topic is World War 1 since through its causes, one learns that nationalism was one of the causes of World War1 thereby showing how some people could go to war to defend

their national interests. As mentioned earlier, it may be anticipated that citizenship is foregrounded in history in the Lesotho context although the syllabus is silent on those aspects.

The infusion of citizenship values becomes very problematic to history teachers, as there is no clear indication when to cultivate a certain value or how to do it (Atwa and Gouda 2014). This makes it hard for some history teachers to determine which citizenship values to harness or link to present phenomena. In the LGSCE syllabus, the chances of teachers overlooking these values are very high as the syllabus is examination oriented (Liphoto 2018). Meanwhile, Elton (1991) argues that the primary concern of historians is the experiences, thoughts, and actions of the people of the past and not with the people of the present, so history teachers should concentrate on substantive knowledge and not touch other values. Fru (2015) claims that traditional methods of teaching used in history, especially in the context of Lesotho, allow teachers to pay lip service to the values infused in History especially because these values are not assessed in the examination. Furthermore, teachers' ignorance of how to effectively cultivate citizenship values proves to be a huge challenge since some are not even aware of these values (OFSTED 2005). Mutebi (2019) carried out a study on the preparedness of the school management teams (SMTs) in Lesotho to implement the CAP (2009). The study took place in one district and the findings revealed that the SMTs were not ready to implement CAP (2009) due to a lack of resources and training. This may therefore imply that all the stakeholders, including teachers, might have minimal training on to implement CAP (2009) which may allow individuals to interpret it differently. This is not good for the teaching of citizenship values which are enshrined in the CAP (2009) document.

Grade 8 social science syllabus

The syllabus seems well organised as it stipulates the values and skills to be emphasised under each topic. Teaching methods are also suggested which helps in guiding teachers on how to tackle certain topics as well as how to assess them. The syllabus also seems to contain a lot of content from the history discipline. The only problem which hinders the effectiveness of this syllabus is that it is very wide since it involves far too many subjects which makes it difficult for teachers to plan. It allows teachers to be biased and concentrate on their areas of specialisation more than on other areas. Apart from that, in some schools the syllabus is not holistically taught as teachers decide to leave out certain content. Therefore, the only way out could be to integrate history with citizenship so that none of the subjects will be more important than the other and none will be the responsibility of

the other. The name could even change to history and citizenship. This ensures that there will be a clear assessment tool and even teachers will be aware that they are not teaching history only but citizenship too.

The four official documents reviewed above demonstrate some convergence on the need for the infusion of citizenship values in the school curriculum due to their priceless contribution to nurturing patriotism in learners. This appears to add weight to the plausibility of integrating history and citizenship as one subject.

Perceptions of teachers towards integration of history and citizenship

Participants were asked to express their opinions towards the integration of history and citizenship. The specific question which they were asked was: To what extent do you think that the integration of history and citizenship could work? The intention was to find out if teachers could have positive or negative attitudes towards the integration of history and citizenship. They all showed a positive attitude towards this integration since they believe it could be successful.

Teacher1 said:

I think it could be successful to a greater extent, although I do not have the reasons but I think it could be a success.

Teacher 1 seemed to be always brief or reserved, possibly due to the little knowledge she seemed to have on citizenship or she was just mindful of her time.

Teacher 2 was more elaborate and said:

Yes, it could be successful to a greater extent because it will remind learners of who they are since being a citizen is to live according to what is expected in a community. I think this integration will make History to be lived not taught.

This shows that the participant is aware of the ability of history to make learners conscious of their societal expectations (Hunt 2000). This also agrees with Iyer's (2018) claim that integration facilitates the development of learners who can actively participate in achieving the goals of a democratic African society.

Teacher 4 observed:

Teachers often confine History to the classroom and do not do a follow up to see whether the learners practice what they learn. Integration with Citizenship education could change this.

This could be interpreted in many ways. First, it could be because teachers seem to

pay lip service to the citizenship values in history, or because history as a subject lacks a practical part (Liphoto 2018; Fru 2015). The rest of the teachers concurred since they also believe that integration is plausible and could make learners conscious of who they are and understand where they want their country to be, and more importantly, to love their country. This is confirmed by Fru (2015) who highlights the nationalistic value in the list of values identified as being propagated by history. This also confirms the complimentary model where history is considered as providing a seedbed for the flourishing of citizenship.

Teacher 3 said:

> *Of course, this integration is plausible because Citizenship has values, so whenever you deal with a historical topic there is always a notion of citizenship. You allow your learners to explore how that topic can help to promote citizenship values. For instance, you can ask questions such as what can you say about Hitler's actions regarding his country?*

This shows that participants appreciated the patriotism value espoused in history (Fru 2015) as highlighted earlier. Apart from that, teacher 5 claimed that this integration could awaken a sense of patriotism in Basotho learners which could make Lesotho develop economically. The positivity demonstrated by the participants also appears to confirm the findings of Loredano (2014) where teachers exhibited positive attitudes towards curriculum integration. He said:

> *I think it will be successful to a greater extent. We are actually behind time because countries which capitalized on teaching their citizens to love their country have progressed well. For example, the Americans whose patriotism is way beyond human capacity. I therefore believe that if we can integrate History with Citizenship education, this country can go far.*

Patriotism is among the key aims of the LGCSE syllabus. This confirms the views of Philips (2003) who included patriotism among several values spread by history learning. It is also aligned with the cornucopia model where history's intrinsic contribution to citizenship education needs no further elaboration because of its involvement with a plethora of human experiences, including citizenship issues (Lee and Shemilt 2007). Though teacher 6 agreed with all the other teachers, she had a slightly different opinion on integration:

> *I think this integration is plausible. However, I think Citizenship should be a subject on its own maybe from as early as Grade 9 so that together with History they can help espouse the citizenship values to learners.*

All the respondents said that they believe the integration of history and citizenship

is viable, though they had different opinions on why they thought so. Their line of thinking was mostly positive and revealed that more values can be gained from history and citizenship (Vella 2017). The participants highlighted citizenship values such as nationalism, patriotism, democracy, constitutionalism, *Ubuntu*, and honesty. This appears to confirm Iyer's (2018) contention that integration is the fundamental structural basis of social sciences which, most importantly, can achieve complementary thinking among learners.

The preparedness of history teachers to carry out this integration

Teachers were further asked if they thought history teachers could be able to carry out this integration. The intention was still to find out if this integration is viable and whether it would not lead to more expenses through MoET hiring more teachers. Most participants believe that they can carry out this integration with proper training and materials. Teacher 1 said:

> *I do not foresee any challenges at all since most content is already being taught in History.*

Only one teacher did not believe that history teachers are adequately equipped to carry out this integration.

Teacher 2 thought otherwise:

> *We stand to face serious tissue rejection if the integration of History and Citizenship is just rushed without due consideration of laying the necessary ground work and ensuring adequate preparations.*

This participant was cautious and wanted the necessary preparations such as staff development of teachers through in-service programmes to be done prior to the integration. Most participants agreed that teachers are ready and that they would not have any problem carrying out this integration since they are already teaching integrated social sciences in Grade 8, so they believe that teachers are ready. However, some participants claimed that history teachers can carry out this integration only if they are given proper training and materials.

Teacher 3 stated that:

> *Since we have already started teaching the integrated syllabus, I think even Citizenship education will not be difficult for teachers to integrate. But proper preparations should be made like provision of materials and giving training to teachers.*

Workshops and outreach programmes can be used to administer such training to staff, developing the history teachers on the processes around the integration.

Teacher 1 did not believe that history teachers are ready to carry out this integration and said the following:

> *I do not think History teachers are ready; it should start at the institutions of higher learning such as Lesotho College of Education and National University of Lesotho. Student teachers should be taught how to teach Citizenship education.*

Before launching interventions, teachers should be afforded adequate in-service training as supported by Mokhele's (2011) study on the essence of continuing professional development (CPD) for Science teachers in Mpumalanga in South Africa. In another study, Sengai and Mokhele (2020) identified a lack of in-service training for history teachers as one of the causes of the failure of the 2166 history syllabus reform in Zimbabwe. The Lesotho context appears to be different since findings from the current study show that most of the participants believe teachers can carry out the integration even without in-service training while only one thinks otherwise. The only challenge that can be anticipated from this integration is that historical knowledge may be watered down by the inclusion of too much contemporary concepts to the extent that it sounds more like current studies. However, history teaching remains at the vanguard of citizenship education and the past should remain the springboard from which citizens learn to think and act (Arthur et al. 2003).

Conclusions

This study found that there are prospects of integrating history with citizenship education. This possibility stems from history's symbiotic relationship with citizenship education which was found to be in the values that they both promote such as active citizenship, patriotism, democracy, political stability, nationalism, tolerance, unity, peace, human rights, and *Ubuntu* among others. The relationship was further established from the similarity in the themes that they share as confirmed by the LGCSE History and Grade 8 social science syllabuses. Citizenship was found to be infused in other social science subjects such as geography, religious education, and mainly history. Themes such as peace, stability, democracy, human rights, and emerging issues as mentioned in CAP (2009) can be taught through both history and citizenship. It could therefore be concluded that the integration of history and citizenship education is plausible, and there are enough grounds to suggest so.

References

Akokpari, J. 1998. Democratic stability in Lesotho, Lesotho *Social Science Review*, 4(2): 65–82.

Andersson, E. 2019. The school as a public space for democratic experiences: Formal student participation and its political characteristics. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 14(2): 149–164.

Anna, E. 2012. How is civic engagement developed over time? Emerging answers from multi-disciplinary field. *Journal of Adolescence* (35), 611–627.

Arthur, J., Davies, I., Kerr, D. and Wrenn, A. 2003. *Citizenship through secondary history.* London: Routledge.

Atwa, H.S. and Gouda, E.M. 2014. Curriculum integration in medical education: A theoretical review. *Intel Prop Rights*, 2: 113.

Avramidis, E. and Norwich, B. 2002. Teachers' attitudes towards integration/inclusion: A review of the literature. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 17(2): 129–147.

Bowen, G.A. 2009. Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2): 27–40.

Crick, B. 1998. Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools. Final report, 22 September 1998.

Curriculum and Assessment Policy. 2009. *Education for Individual and Social Development*. Maseru: Ministry of Education and Training.

Creswell, J.W. and Poth, C.N. 2018. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. 4th ed. International student edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Fru, R.N. 2015. History education at the crossroads: Challenges and prospects in a Lesotho context. *Yesterday and Today*, (13): 67–82.

Fru, R.N. and Liphoto, M. 2020. History education and citizenship conundrum: Experiences and perspectives of Lesotho General Certificate of Secondary Education history teachers in Lesotho. *TD: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, 17(1): 1–6.

Harris, R. 2017. British values, citizenship and the teaching of history. In *Debates in History Teaching, Second Edition*. Routledge: London. pp. 180–190.

Henn, M. and Foard, N. 2012. Young people & political (in) activism: Why don't young people vote 34? *Policy and Politics*: 517–534.

Hunt, M. 2000. Teaching historical significance. *Issues in history teaching*. London:

Routledge. pp. 39–53.

Iyer, L.M. 2018. South African Social Sciences teachers' views on the integration of History and Geography in the General Education and Training phase. *TD: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, 14(2): 1–7.

Jeder, D. 2013. Teachers' ethical responsibilities in the practice of education and training. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 92: 432–436.

Kankam, B. 2016. Citizenship education in Ghana: A traditional and modern perspective in development. *International Journal of Information Research and Review*, 3(4): 2102–2108.

Keirn, T. 2016. History curriculum. A transatlantic analysis. *The SAGE handbook of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment*, pp. 408–423.

Kisby, M. and Sloam, J. 2014. *Promoting youth participation in democracy: The role of higher education in young people and politics.* London. Political Studies Association.

Lee, P. and Shemilt, D. 2007. New alchemy or fatal attraction? History and citizenship. *Teaching History*, 129: 14.

Lekhooa, M. 2021. *The Livelihood Strategies of Widows Associated with Famo Music Gang, Conflicts in the Mafeteng District*, Ph.D. Thesis, National University of Lesotho, Maseru.

Liphoto, M. 2018. *An Analysis of the Role of LGCSE History Education in Fostering Citizenship values in Lesotho*. Master's Dissertation, Department of Languages and Social Education National University of Lesotho, Maseru.

Makoa, F.S. 2004. Electoral reform and political stability in Lesotho, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 4(2): 79–96.

Marovah, T. 2019. Citizenship formation through curriculum and pedagogical practices: Evidence from two Zimbabwean teachers' colleges. *South African Journal of Education.*

Maxwell, J.A. 2012. *Qualitative Research Design: an Interactive Approach* 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Ministry of Education and Training. 2005–2015. Education Sector Plan, Maseru.

Ministry of Education and Training. 2016–2026. Education Sector Strategic Plan, Maseru.

Ministry of Education and Training, 2009. *Curriculum and Assessment Policy: Education for Individual and Social Development*. Maseru: MoET

Mokhele, M.L. 2011. *Teachers' perspectives on continuing professional development: A Case Study of the Mpumalanga Secondary Science Initiative* (MSSI) project. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

Mokotso, R.I. 2019. Integration of citizenship education with religious education in Lesotho secondary schools. *In die Skriflig*, 53(1): 1–9.

Monyane, C. 2009. The Kingdom of Lesotho: An Assessment of Problems in Democratic Consolidation. Ph.D. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.

Motsamai, D. 2015. Elections in a time of instability: Challenges for Lesotho beyond the 2015 poll. *Southern Africa Report*, 3: 1–16

Mutebi, R. 2019. *The Readiness of Lesotho High Schools' Management Teams to Implement the Curriculum and Assessment Policy of 2009* Ph.D. thesis, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein.

Ngozwana, N. 2014. *Understandings of Democracy and Citizenship in Lesotho: Implications for Civic Education* Ph.D. thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

Simbarashe, M. and Constantino, P. 2015. Perceptions of in-service teachers on learning/teaching of citizenship education: A case study of Chinhoyi University of Technology, Mashonaland West Province, Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Humanities and Social*, 3(14): 121, 129.

Quintelier, E. 2013. Engaging adolescents in politics: The longitudinal effect of political socialisation. *Youth and Society*, (47)1: 51–69.

Ralebese, L.M. 2018. *Integrated Curriculum in Lesotho: Exploring Primary School Teachers' Instructional and Assessment Practices* Ph.D. thesis, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein.

Raselimo, M. and Mahao, M. 2015. The Lesotho curriculum and assessment policy: Opportunities and threats. *South African Journal of Education*, 2(1): 1–12.

Reitmaier, A., 2011. *The African Peer Review Mechanism at country level: Views from Kenya*, South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). South Africa.

Sengai, W. and Mokhele, M.L. 2020. Teachers' perceptions on the development and implementation of history 2166 syllabus reform in Zimbabwe. *e-Bangi*, 17(6):133-148.

Stearns, P.N. 2012. *Human Rights in World History*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, G. 2021. *How to do your case study*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Thompson, N.E. and Wheeler, J.P. 2010. Learning environment: Creating and implementing a safe, supportive learning environment. *National Standards for Teachers of Family and Consumer Sciences,* 235.

Tsikoane, T., Mothibe, T. & Ntho, M., 2007. *Consolidating Democratic Governance in Southern Africa: Lesotho*, Maseru: Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA).

Vella, Y. 2005. *The Inquisitors' Palace: A Teachers' Resource Book*. Malta: Maltase Commission for UNESCO

Vhumbunu, C.H. 2015. Appraising the efficacy of SADC in resolving the 2014 Lesotho

conflict: Progress and prospects, in *Conflict trends*, vol. 3. Umhlanga Rocks: The African centre for the constructive resolution of disputes (ACCORD).

Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney: A Multi-Faceted School Teacher's Biography

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a6

Francois Cleophas
Department of Exercise, Sport, and Lifestyle Medicine (Division of Sport Science)
University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, South Africa
Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1492-3792
fcleophas@sun.ac.za
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a6

Abstract

Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney was born in 1888 as part of the indentured labour community. His parents ensured that he received an education and this helped him climb the social ladder in local communities in Durban and Transvaal. Consequently, his name became linked to the scout, sport, social, religious, and political movements of the day. He died in 1963 leaving behind a footprint that calls for recognition. This article placed Sigamoney, a South African politically active schoolteacher, under scholarly analysis. His circumstances of being subjected to institutional racism and forced removals make a coherent narrative an impossible task for a historian. Therefore, a disjointed but important narrative from the scraps left behind in newspaper accounts, internet searchers, and general history sources was constructed. These accounts revealed how he contributed to South African political liberation on a national and local community level. The political networks he created also present readers with a window into twentieth century resistance movements in local communities. His voice was also present in the early socialist and later anti-apartheid sports movements. He used his position as a schoolteacher to launch actions that challenged the segregation and apartheid regime of the day.

Introduction

Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney's name appears in an increasing number of historical accounts dealing with South African black sports history in the twentieth century.[1] Sigamoney was part of a community that was regarded as 'aliens' in apartheid South Africa.[2] Sigamoney is a unique figure in many ways. He was, unlike his South African Indian compatriots, a Christian. Most were either Hindu or Muslim. Then, he was a school teacher, unlike most other community activists from his geographical region who were business people. Lastly, he moved from a nationalist political outlook to a more syndicalist approach in his work. He likely portrayed this outlook when he was the presiding officer at the meeting which formed the South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) in 1947.[3]

The first encounter that I had with Sigamoney was reading about the success he and a certain Gopie Munsook had in persuading the Cape administrative officials in 1953 to allow an Indian cricket team from Southern Rhodesia to enter South Africa after initially being refused.[4] I subsequently learnt about his involvement in sports unity talks during the apartheid period, his chairmanship of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), his career as a school teacher and much more. He also helped to form more than ten trade unions during his life.[5] According to one newspaper, he was 'one of South Africa's best-known sportsmen and administrators in his day'.[6] His name also appeared in indigenous-language newspapers.[7] One month before his death, a newspaper reader mentioned that he was starting a Transvaal Political United Front among the Indian community.[8]

1 P Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, politics and society in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2004), p. 108; M Allie, *More than a game. History of the Western Province Cricket Board 1959 – 1991* (Cape Town, Western Province Cricket Association, 2000), p.13; A Odendaal, *The story of an African game. Black cricketers and the unmasking of one of South Africa's greatest myths, 1850-2003* (Cape Town, David Phillip Publishers, 2003), pp. 97, 107, 109, 165; A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites: A century of cricket struggles in KwaZulu-Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2002).

2 A Odendaal, K Reddy & A Samson, T*he blue book. A history of Western Province cricket, 1890 – 2011* (Fanele, Jacana, 2012), p.145.

3 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites. A century of cricket struggles in KwaZulu-Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2002), p.206.

4 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…* , pp.117-118.

5 *Elethu Mirror*, 13 April 1963, p.2.

6 *The Views and News*, 15 April 1963, p.3.

7 *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 14 November 1936, p.12.

8 *The Views and News*, 15 March 1963, p.10.

As a physical education schoolteacher myself, I realise that South African sports biography is closely connected to education. This is so because teaching was one of the few professional fields open to aspiring middle classes under segregation and apartheid. However, formal studies that sketch the history of education in South African Indian communities have ignored Sigamoney's role. This article charts Sigamoney's public political life. I could find no evidence to show that Sigamoney's socialist political life overlapped with the more popular Mahatma Gandhi's nationalist outlook. Archive records revealed an interaction between the two at a South African Indian Congress (SAIC) meeting in 1933.[9] He was also present at other executive meetings of the SAIC where he debated with Gandi.[10] However, these debates could not be traced and their nature remains unknown. The subdivisions of Sigamoney's life are so broad that conclusions become arbitrary and cannot lay claim to any final scientific truth. This is also true of this article. Before I proceed with a biography of Sigamoney, however, a few words on theory will be apt.

Social historians are receptive to autobiographies and biographies, such as those of Sigamoney, because they are 'valuable sources of emotions, ideals, interests, sensations, impressions, private opinions, attitudes, drives and motives of individuals'.[11] It is from scraps of information and other works that it is possible to recreate these sources so that they draw attention to those forces and processes which shaped them.[12] However, Sigamoney lived a life in a society where there were institutional contradictions between white and black people. Thus, while not trying to fill or close every gap, it is possible to create coherent stories with all the details in explanatory order and with everything accounted for and in its proper sequence.[13] This article relies on available sources and admits that there may be gaps in telling Sigamoney's narrative. It is possible to detect your subject's weak points from scraps of information, and Sigamoney is no exception here. For example, in 1933 an *Indian Opinion* reader accused Sigamoney of ignoring rural boys for selection in a touring soccer team.[14]

From early on in his career, Sigamoney displayed traits of Muscular Christianity by involving himself in sports and physical cultural activities. Muscular Christians, such as

9 *Indian Opinion*, 25 August 1933, p.268 -269.
10 A Cheddie, "The colonial-born settlers' Indian association and Natal Indian politics 1933 –1939" (M.A., University of Natal, 1992), pp. 31, 37.
11 D Booth, *The field. Truth and fiction in sport history* (London, Routledge, 2005), p.76.
12 N Penn, *Rogues, rebels and runaways. Eighteenth century Cape characters* (Cape Town, David Phillip Publishers, 1999), p.2.
13 D Booth, *The field. Truth and fiction in sport history* (London, Routledge, 2005), p.77.
14 *Indian Opinion*, 4 August 1933, p.252.

Sigamoney, believed that sport should be a space where fair play had to be allowed, no matter what injustices exist outside the world of sport. Other Muscular Christians, such as Karma Reddi, used expressions in public such as '… play the game …[and] behave like a sportsman.'[15] Srinivasa Sastri therefore reportedly stated in 1929 that 'if the Indians played the game, the Europeans would play the game'.[16] Sigamoney supported Reddi and responded by referring to how 'sport brings people together'.[17] He was referring to an Indian golfer from Natal who was sent to the Empire championship in England in 1929.[18]

However, Sigamoney has still not reached the level of visibility that other anti-apartheid activist Christian clerics such as Trevor Huddleston, Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naude, and Allan Boesak have reached.[19] Yet, Sigamoney's life was filled with anti-segregation politics and he even participated in activities hosted by the Black Sash and sent support for the Cottesloe decisions in 1961.[20] I could, however, not locate any biography of a South African school sports teacher from the black community to model a narrative of Sigamoney. There are, however, a significant number of published biographies on schoolteachers in black communities in South Africa. The two foremost include those of Richard Dudley and Allie Fataar from the Western Cape, South Africa.[21] There is also a published work that covers teacher biographies from the same geographical area as Dudley and Fataar.[22] These works were all shaped in the reconstructionist mode of history writing. An objective of reconstructionism is the discovery of the unique past as it was. This is in opposition to constructionism that interprets the how and why of patterns and trends. Reconstructionism

15 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1929, p.4.
16 *Rand Daily Mail,* 31 December 1930, p.10.
17 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1929, p.4.
18 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1929, p.4.
19 Only once was the work of Sigamoney compared to the work done by Huddlestone. This comparison was made by a Mr. Bulman who wrote a letter of support for Huddlestone who was appealing for money towards the construction of a swimming pool for Johannesburg's black community, *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1953, p.11.
20 *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 March 1961, p.15; *Rand Daily Mail,* 14 May 1962, p.12. The Cottesloe statements condemned major aspects of South Africa's race policies. It was issued after a seven-day conference in Johannesburg in 1961 which was attended by 80 top ranking churchmen from eight Protestant churches affiliated to the World Council of Churches, *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1961, p.2.
21 A Wieder, *Teacher and comrade. Richard Dudley and the fight for democracy in South Africa* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 2008:75); A Wieder, *Voices from Cape Town classrooms: Oral histories of teachers who fought Apartheid* (New York, Peter Lang, 2003); Y Omar, " 'In my stride': A life history of Allie Fataar, teacher" (Ph.D., UCT, 2015).
22 E D Damon (compiler), *Lifelong learning. South African teaching stories* (Stellenbosch, ED Damon, 2022). Page number?

is also in opposition to deconstructionism which reflects on a fragmented past.[23] All this implies that a reconstructive narrative is a story that originates from the historian and not the studied subject's complicated interest. I will use this method in reconstructing a historical-political life of the schoolteacher, Bernard Sigamoney.

Bernard Sigamoney—An Overview

Sigamoney was born in Durban in 1888 and attended school in Durban during the first decade of the twentieth century.[24] His parents were Anokum (Emmanuel) Sigamoney (father) and Naikum Doorgoo (mother).[25] According to a Facebook page, Sigamoney's grandparents were indentured labourers who arrived in South Africa in 1877. His grandfather, Frances Sigamoney, was a constable at the magistrate's court and his father, Emanuel, a waiter. It was a family that achieved some prominence in colonial South African Indian society. For example, it was reported that his sister, Cecila Moodley, was the first Indian school teacher in Natal.[26] According to historian Lucien van der Walt, he was a member of the educated elite and politically broke with Indian nationalism, siding with the syndicalist movement.[27]

According to his obituary, he founded some of the first black trade unions, was chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), and started working as a teacher at St. Aiden's School in Durban in 1907. He began studying theology at age 35 in London and served there in a diocese but returned to South Africa in 1927, 'inspired by the English education system … which he consider[ed] to be the best in the world'.[28] He was an important figure and when he was assaulted in 1944, it was reported in detail in the media.[29] The following year, he was called upon to lead the Transvaal Indian community in thanksgiving prayer for victory in the war.[30] By 1946 he was also serving on political

23 D Booth, "Evidence revisited: Interpreting historical materials in sport history", *Rethinking History,* 9(4), 2005, p. 462.
24 *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 November 1947, p. 8; *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 November 1955, p.6; *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 April 1963, p.2.
25 Reverend Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney (1888–1963) – Genealogy (geni.com). Date accessed: 12 April 2024
26 *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 April 1963, p.3.
27 LJW van der Walt, "Anarchism and syndicalism in South Africa, 1904-1921: Rethinking the history of labour and the left" (Ph.D., University of Witwatersrand, 2007), p.410.
28 *Black Sash News*, "The education of Johannesburg's children". A multi–racial forum, 6 (2), 1962, p.13.
29 *Rand Daily Mail,* 27 March 1944, p.3.
30 *Rand Daily Mail,* 8 May 1945, p.6.

committees with the well-known Dr Yusuf Dadoo of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC).[31] The same year he was selected by the SAIC—along with Sorabjee Rustomjee, A.S. Kajee, M.D. Naidoo, Albert Christopher, S.R. Naidoo, A.A. Mirza and S.M. Desai—to be part of a delegation that would embark on an overseas visit.[32]

The following year he participated in activities of the South African Institute of Race Relations.[33] Throughout his public life, he was present at many socially visible Indian events, often making speeches.[34] Sigamoney was politically open to all persuasions but in 1934 he appealed to all Indians to speak with one voice.[35] It was also not unusual that newspapers that targeted communities beyond Sigamoney's racial designation as Indian also reported on him.[36]

Most of his life was spent working with people living in the slums of Vrededorp, Doornfontein, and Fordsburg in Johannesburg.[37] It was here where he was dubbed 'the humanist of the poor'.[38] Sigamoney was also a church minister and one of the congregants from his parish in Vrededorp, Anthony Francis, became the first Indian school inspector.[39] At the age of twenty, Sigamoney married Georgina Elizabeth, who was born in the Orange Free State. She was the daughter of a Cape Malay priest who converted to Christianity in Paarl. Very little documentary evidence remains of her existence. Sigamoney left six children and about thirty grandchildren behind when he died.[40] One son, Bernard, was a school vice-principal, a soccer captain for the South African Indian XI, a regular member of the Transvaal Indian XI in the Sam China soccer tournaments in the 1940s, captain of the Witwatersrand Indian soccer XI, and in 1936 vice-captain of the Fort Hare University touring soccer team.[41]

On 4 April 1963, Sigamoney passed away from a heart attack at 75 years of age, while

31 *Indian Opinion*, 5 January 1940, 17.
32 A Desai & G Vahed, *Monty Naicker: Between reason and treason* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter, 2010), p. 162.
33 *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 October 1947, p.6.
34 *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1933, p.13.
35 *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September 1934, p.6.
36 Cape Standard, 3 October 1939, p.16; *The Bantu World*, 18 October 1941, p.4; *Umteteli we Bantu*, 8 August 1953, p.1.
37 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1963, p.3.
38 *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 April 1963, p.14.
39 *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 December 1965, p.3.
40 *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1958, p.3; *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1961, p.9
41 *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 August 1967, p.32; *The Bantu World*, 13 June 1936, p.19; *The Bantu World*, 12 October 1935, p.14.

writing a message of support for a Natal soccer team.[42] R.G. Pillay, Chief Indian Scouts Commissioner, paid the following tribute to Sigamoney:

> *The sudden death of the Reverend B.L.E. Sigamoney removes from the South African scene a great leader of youth, a versatile sportsman and above all, a doughty fighter for the rights and privileges of the underdog. As a diplomat, an organiser, [a teacher] and leader of men, the Reverend stands supreme among his contemporary leaders and our world is poorer by his passing.*[43]

What follows is a historical description of his life in Natal and Transvaal so that future historians might have a springboard from which to work.

Sigamoney in Natal

To date, little evidence has been found of Sigamoney's life and career in Natal. According to a Facebook account, from 1899 onwards Sigamoney was an active sports administrator and later became a prominent boxing promoter in Durban. An early encounter with him placed him in the Durban United cricket team in 1901 and later he played for a team called, Schools.[44] The first decade of the 20th century was characterised by strong opposition from white government officials to Indian immigration, settlement and progress. In that context, Indian education was thus still hampered by a lack of competent and reliable teachers.[45] Under these circumstances, he started a teaching career in 1903.[46] In 1907, Sigamoney was appointed assistant teacher at St. Aiden's Boys School for Indian children in Natal. He later became headmaster at Escourt, Isipingo, Mount Edgecombe, and Sydenham Boys' School. Eventually, he was appointed vice-principal of St Aiden's Provincial Training College.[47] The College was established in 1904 with lecturers from India and had a very low student output.[48]

In 1910, Sigamoney was elected vice-president of the Durban and District Indian Cricket Union (DDICU) and represented Natal in 1913.[49] In October 1914 Sigamoney

42 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1963, p.3; *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 April 1963, p.2.
43 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites*… . p.61.
44 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites*… . p.59.
45 C Kuppusami, "A short history of Indian education", South African history online (available at https://www.sahistory.org.za., as accessed on 29 August 2023), pp. 8-9.
46 *Black Sash News*, "The education" … , p. 13.
47 *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 January 1949, p.9.
48 C Kuppusami, "A short history of Indian education"… , p.8.
49 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites*… , p.59.

proposed at a DDICU meeting that Malays be allowed to participate in one Union match per year.[50] From early on he spread ideas of political unity amongst South Africans. In January 1916, Sigamoney was part of a black Durban teachers' cricket team that toured Pietermaritzburg where they played against Indian and coloured teams.[51] Later in the year, he called for a 'cricket match between a European eleven and Indian eleven and the proceeds devoted to War Funds … [because] Europeans and Indians were fighting together'.[52] We further find Sigamoney as an early cricketer who stored mats at his house until 1915 when he moved to a smaller home.[53] He was one of those early post-World War I teachers who urged other teachers in 1918 to play sports, particularly cricket and football.[54]

In 1913, legislation was passed by the government which prevented all Indian males from entering the Union of South Africa. This was the Immigrants Regulations Act No. 22 of 1913 that declared immigrant Indians as aliens in South Africa and prohibited them from moving freely between the provinces inside the Union.[55] This protected white tailors from their nearest rivals, who happened to be labelled Indian. In response, from 1915 onwards, according to a postgraduate thesis, Sigamony and Gordon Lee started organising Indian and African workers under a small but militant Marxist group—the International Socialist League (ISL)—an influential revolutionary syndicalist group.[56] This group opposed the war since they believed it was a conflict between European imperialists and capitalists in which the working class did the dying. According to the labour studies scholar, Lucien van der Walt, the ISL championed the rights of workers of colour and wanted workers' control of production through the unions.[57] The Natal Indian Teachers' Society claims that Sigamoney, Albert Christopher, A.I. Kajee, P.R. Pather, S.L. Singh, and J.C. Bolton were instrumental in forming trade unions in Natal during the second decade of the twentieth century. The International Workers' Union (IWU) was established in 1915 with G. Lee (chairman), M.K. Moodley (organiser), and B.L.E. Sigamoney (secretary). Sigamoney

50 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites …*, p.70.
51 C Merret, *Sport, space and segregation. Politics and society in Pietermaritzburg* (Scotsville, Pietermaritzburg, 2009), p.25
52 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…*, p.49
53. A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites …*, p.51.
54 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites …*, p.38.
55 Immigrants Regulations Act No. 22 of 1913, pp. 216 – 217.
56 B Madri, "A historical investigation into the garment industry in Natal with specific reference to the Garment Workers Industrial Union [Natal]" (unpublished Honours' thesis, Durban, University of Durban-Westville, 1986), p.15.
57 L van der Walt, "Bernard Sigamoney, Durban Indian revolutionary syndicalist" (available athttps://zabalaza.net/2014/11/26/bernard-sigamoney-durban-indian-revolutionary-syndicalist/., as accessed on 29 August 2023.

held street corner meetings from where he exhorted workers to form trade unions and join the IWU. He was the major driving force behind the IWU and when he left for England, the organisation ceased to exist.[58]

In March 1917 the ISL formed a syndicalist Indian Workers' Industrial Union (IWIU) in Durban with members working on the docks, in the garment, laundry, industry, painting, hotel, catering, and tobacco industries.[59] Sigamoney and a Mr Sukedo were elected secretaries, with Gordon Lee as chairman.[60] In 1917 the price of rice escalated and there were threats of starvation amongst the Indian population. Sigamoney attended a meeting, addressed by Reverend Koilpillai, along with other leftwing politicians C.V. Pillay and Gordon Lee to show solidarity with the poor, suffering class.[61] He also chaired a major leftist congress in September 1917 and addressed the 1918 ISL conference. Sigamoney, the ISL and the IWIU supported waiters on strike in 1919. He was investigated by police for instigating the 1918 strikes by African dockworkers but was cleared.[62] It was a time however when anti-Indianism was at its peak amongst white South Africans. Indian workers in hotels, restaurants and tearooms, under the influence and guidance of Sigamoney, responded in July 1919 by forming a trade union.[63] The following year, Sigamoney supported a strike by the independent Tobacco Workers' Union, and in 1921 he supported a strike by the Indian furniture workers. Later he returned to his family church, where he became a radical Anglican minister and associated himself with the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU).[64]

Sigamoney in England

In January 1923, Sigamoney left for England on the RMS Saxon to study a four-year theology

58 Natal Indian Teachers' Society. Centenary lectures. "The story of Indian people in South Africa, 1860 – 1960" (unpublished brochure, 1960), p.11.

59 L van der Walt," Bernard Sigamoney, Durban Indian revolutionary syndicalist", 26 November 2014 (available at https://zabalaza.net/2014/11/26/bernard-sigamoney-durban-indian-revolutionary-syndicalist/., as accessed on 29 August 2023).

60 G Vahed, "'Give till it hurts': Durban's Indians and the First World War", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 19 (2001), p. 57.

61 L van der Walt, "Bernard Sigamoney, Durban Indian revolutionary syndicalist" (available at https://zabalaza.net/2014/11/26/bernard-sigamoney-durban-indian-revolutionary-syndicalist/).

62 G Vahed, "'Give till it hurts' …", p. 54.

63 G Vahed, "'Give till it hurts' …", p. 58.

64 L van der Walt, "Bernard Sigamoney, Durban Indian revolutionary syndicalist" (available at https://zabalaza.net/2014/11/26/bernard-sigamoney-durban-indian-revolutionary-syndicalist/.,as accessed on 29 August 2023).

course at St. Paul's College, Burgh, Lincolnshire.[65] There he represented Lincolnshire County at cricket.[66] While in England, he also associated himself with the Boy Scout movement.[67] It was during his stay in England, according to Desai et. al., that he learnt, what he called, 'to be obedient, to love and respect one another and [be] discipline[d]'.[68] However, the same authors report, perhaps mistakenly, that he played for Old Collegians in Natal before 15 January 1927.[69] On his return to South Africa in March 1927, according to Desai et al., he was welcomed by a wide range of local people, including many members of the Natal Indian Congress.

Sigamoney in Transvaal

Sigamoney arrived in Johannesburg in July 1927 as a reverend who was '… educated at Burgh Theosophical College in Lincolnshire … coming to work for the Church of England amongst the local Indians … to start a church, a high school for girls and to institute medical work amongst women under a lady doctor'.[70] His public life was characterised by his interactions with like-minded officials in terms of showing compassion to outcasts in society. Not surprisingly, therefore, he engaged personally with prominent individuals like Stakesby-Lewis.[71] His life in the Transvaal was dedicated to widely advocating for Indian political rights there and in South Africa.[72]

Church and Education

By December 1927, Sigamoney had established an Indian Christian church, the St Anthony's Indian Mission.[73] He initially gained popularity in the news media as a church minister. His arrival in Johannesburg coincided with a donation of 80 pounds to build a church in Pageville for Indian Christian congregants in Johannesburg. Because most

65 The Cape Indian, January 1923, p.8. Elsewhere it is stated he left for England in 1922, *Black Sash News*, "The education …", p.13 and LJW van der Walt, "Anarchism …", pp. 592-593.
66 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…*, pp.60-61
67 RG Pillay, "Historical survey of Indian scouting in South Africa", *Fiat Lux* 10 (2), March 1975, p.24.
68 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…* , pp.60-61.
69 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…* , p.171.
70 *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 July 1927, 9; *Rand Daily Mail,* 15 June 1939, p.15.
71 *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 March 1942, p.5.
72 *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 May 1929, p.15; *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 May 1929, p.12.
73 *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 December 1927, p.4; LJW van der Walt, 'Anarchism …', p. 527.

Indians were either Hindu or Muslim, Sigamoney had to rely on white support.[74]

In Transvaal, he was a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and his debates there and at the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) centred on education and politics.[75] In 1930 he started a Doornfontein Indian and Coloured school, which became Gold Street School in 1941.[76] It was here at this school, in 1938, that Sigamoney advocated separate Indian and coloured schools because, according to him, 'Indians and coloureds differed in culture and civilization'.[77] During the 1930s, Indian people in Transvaal numbered about 18 000, of which only one quarter was at school.[78] In a quote which was extremely reconciliatory in tone towards the education authorities of the day, he claimed that the education department's lack of provision for higher education for Indian children was 'strange … [but] … understandable given their low numbers in the prevailing economic climate of the time … [however] Indians could not complain … as far as education is concerned … since they are on an equal footing with whites'.[79] His voice was notorious around political decisions in education.[80] This was because Sigamoney was a school principal, a very prestigious occupation during his time, and a member and later president of the Transvaal Indian Teachers' Association (TITA).[81] He was outspoken against racism and publicly supported Mr Zwarenstein, the principal of the Johannesburg Indian School, who spoke out, perhaps contradicting himself with the words he spoke later in 1938, against drawing a racial dividing line between children in the Transvaal.[82] His testimony to the Transvaal Education Commission in 1937, along with that of a colleague, K.L. Desai, provides much insight into the conditions of schooling received by their community in the Transvaal between the two world wars. Their recommendations included: a separate teacher training school for Indian teachers; Indian student teachers to write the same examination for the official Transvaal Teachers' diploma; entry into teachers training courses should be grade 12 for all; Indian teachers to be appointed permanently into Indian schools; introduction of compulsory education for Indian children up to grade eight or under seventeen years of age; all school buildings should be government sponsored;

74 *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 March 1948, p.5.
75 *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 May 1933, p.10; *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September 1946, p.5.
76 *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 January 1949, p.9.
77 *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 June 1938, p.8.
78 *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 June 1937, p.8.
79 *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 December 1931, p.13.
80 *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 February 1934, p.13.
81 *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 June 1937, p.8; *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 December 1945, p.4; *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 June 1948, p.10.
82 *Indian Opinion*, 17 November 1933, p.360.

separate schools for Indian and coloured children; an independent secondary school for Indians to be established, separate from a primary school; and all Indian teacher trainer students must have matric to enter college.[83] This provides much insight into the poor conditions in which children in the Transvaal, classified as Indian, received their education. He retired from teaching in 1949.[84]

Scouts and guides

According to Desai *et.al.*, Sigamoney is regarded as being the founder of South Africa's first Indian Boy Scout troop.[85] In the 1920s Advocate Valangaiman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, the first official Indian diplomat to be appointed by the Indian government in South Africa, advised Sigamoney to introduce scouts to Natal first. This he did and took a Transvaal troop of the scout movement from the local community to Natal in 1928 and 1929. In this way the scout movement in the Indian community was started, without official recognition.[86] This was a time when the official scout movement labelled African boys as Pathfinders.[87] African boys were thus not regarded as scouts—Sigamoney criticised the movement since 'the chief scout, the grand old man [Baden Powell] … never intended there to be a colour bar'.[88] Sigamoney stated how he '… looked forward to the day that youths of all colours will stand together in loyalty to their God, their King and their country'.[89] The visit to Natal became an annual event, and in 1931 the Indian Opinion described a typical two-week scout expedition to Natal. According to the newspaper, boys marched from the station with the Union Jack, the Union flag (which was presented by General Hertzog), and the Indian national flag.[90] In 1936, the Bantu World reported how these Transvaal scouts had been visiting Natal since 1927 where they would set up camp at the Durban Indian Sportsground. That year, 1936, about 80 boys from Johannesburg, Doornfontein, Vrededorp, and Ferreiratown left Johannesburg station under the charge of Sigamoney with five other males.[91] The following year, Sigamoney welcomed 184 boy

83 *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 June 1937, p.8.
84 *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 January 1949, p.9. Elsewhere, it is recorded that he retired in 1948, *Black Sash News*, "The education …", p.13.
85 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…* , p.61.
86 RG Pillay, "Historical survey …", p.24.
87 *The Bantu World*, 13 August 1932, p.9.
88 *The Bantu World*, 23 September 1933, p.2.
89 *Indian Opinion*, 6 October 1933, p.311.
90 *Indian Opinion*, 10 July 1931, p.231.
91 *The Bantu World*, 20 June 1936, p.20.

scouts and girl guides from Natal representing 23 different troops.[92] Sigamoney however criticised segregation in the scout movement.[93] Nevertheless, in 1934 the girl guides from Boroda, India visited his school in Doornfontein.[94]

Sport and recreation

Sigamoney interacted with a number of sportspersons across the colour line, and in 1929 he shared a platform with Lady Dalrymple, wife of Sir William Dalrymple.[95] The latter had donated a floating trophy for athletics competition in 1921, which became known as the Dalrymple Cup, at the first intervarsity on 1 October.[96] Eight years later, Sigamoney and Dalrymple again shared a platform. Here, Dalrymple opened the first Christian Indian church in the Transvaal, St. Anthony Indian Church, Johannesburg, with well wishes from General Jan Smuts, Patrick Duncan, Jan Hofmeyer, Colonel C.P. Stallard, and the Johannesburg mayor, M. Freeman.[97] Sigamoney wrote in 1929 that, '[Although] there are many cases of injustice perpetrated against the non-European … for the sake of sport, let that be free from all unfairness … [since] the Englishman is fair in his dealings.'[98] At the same time, he also advocated fairness and equality for Transvaal Indians.[99] Also in 1929, he was associated with the Vrededorp Indian Girls' Club and was president of the South African Indian Football Association.[100]

From early in his public life in the Transvaal, Sigamoney held office as a sports official. In 1930 he convened a meeting that led to the formation of the Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union (WICU), with three affiliated clubs: Moonlighters, Hindus, and the Vredons.[101] The same year he appeared as a cricket bowler for a Transvaal team playing against a Natal Indian teachers' side.[102] At the time there were a number of Indians who were playing in a coloured union. Over time, the City of Johannesburg provided the WICU with two pitches.

92 *The Bantu World*, 2 January 1937, p.18.
93 *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 September 1933, p.12.
94 *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 August 1934, p.13.
95 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1929, p.4.
96 A Joubert, *The history of inter–varsity sport in South Africa* (Natal, Natal Witness, 1985), p.7.
97 *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 April 1935, p.10; *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 April 1935, p.13.
98 *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 June 1929, p.10.
99 *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 May 1929, p.12.
100 *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 June 1929, p.8; *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 June 1929, p.10.
101 Sigamoney was a member of the Vredons Soccer Club. *e-Goli*, 31 August 1952, p.9. There was also a Moonlighters Soccer Club, *e-Goli*, 6 July 1952, p.15.
102 *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 December 1930, p.15.

At the AGM at the Gandhi Hall in 1945, thirteen clubs applied for membership, some being formed only that year. With only two pitches available, six clubs had to be refused.[103]

In 1932, he was also vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Football Association (TIFA), a position he still held by 1940.[104] By 1932 he was also part of an Indian Soccer Team from Transvaal which played against Natal Indian Schools.[105] The following year, he was the manager of the Transvaal Schools' soccer team that visited the Durban Indian Schools' Football Association.[106] Sigamoney had established relations with influential people across the artificial racial divide by then. This came in useful when the TIFA could not complete their soccer fixtures on their home ground. Sigamoney then successfully approached Solomon Senaoane, secretary of the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association (JBFA), to use their facilities at the Wemmer Sports Ground. [107]

In 1934 a report appeared which indicated that Sigamoney was president of the Johannesburg Indian Sports Association.[108] In this position he received a floating trophy on behalf of the WICU, when he officially opened the new Indian sports ground in Johannesburg, alongside the mayor.[109] This was the same year that the government awarded Indian people in Transvaal a sports stadium.[110] From 1929 onwards there was a movement to get Indian soccer and cricket teams to visit South Africa.[111] This did materialise and in 1934 a soccer team from India visited South Africa where Sigamoney gave the toast at the reception in Johannesburg.[112] It was also the same year that media reports indicated that he was the referee for the All India versus the South African Indians soccer match at the Natalspruit ground in Johannesburg.[113]

It was through sport that Sigamoney met with leading personalities of his time. Here reference can be made to Jan Hofmeyer whom Sigamoney met in 1936 at the Inchape Hall, Johannesburg. This was at a celebration event of a cricket tournament in the Transvaal where cricket teams competed for the Sigamoney trophy.[114] Hofmeyer was also the patron of the

103 *Cape Standard*, 30 October 1945, p.10.
104 *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March 1932, p.16; *Indian Opinion*, 5 April 1940, p.123.
105 *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1932, p.15.
106 *Indian Opinion*, 21 July 1933, p.233.
107 *The Bantu World*, 21 October 1933, p.18.
108 *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1934, p.7.
109 *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1934, p.15.
110 *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1934, p.7.
111 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1929, p.4.
112 *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 June 1934, p.15.
113 *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 June 1934, p.17.
114 *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August 1936, p.12.

newly established Inter-Race Cricket Board. While Sigamoney was president of the Board that year, he donated a trophy for competition purposes. The tournament that was held and drew participation from the Transvaal Coloured Cricket Union, Transvaal Bantu Cricket Union, City and Suburban Coloured Cricket Union, Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union and the North-Eastern (European) League. The City and Suburban Coloured Cricket Union won the Sigamoney trophy for the first three years.[115] This was a cricket institution that promoted non-racialism in sport.[116] The Inter-Race Cricket Board (IRCB) drew crowds from all sectors of society to its games during the Second World War when Sigamoney was still president.[117] When Sigamoney, on behalf of the IRCB, welcomed Dr Ernest Godfrey back to South Africa in 1937, there were representatives from sports organisations across the South African racial divide.[118]

In 1938 Sigamony was re-elected president of the IRCB.[119] The following year, he was president of the TIFA.[120] In 1940, Sigamoney was still part of the TIFA and he served with Dr William Godfrey, who was the patron of the association.[121] Godfrey and Sigamoney had previously attended political and sports meetings together.[122] The previous year, Godfrey and Sigamoney, along with the president of the South African Indian Lawn Tennis Association (SAILTA) and other notables in black society, were joint guests at an entertainment party in Johannesburg for a visiting Indian tennis team.[123] Sigamoney and Godfrey also worked together in a soccer organisation called the Dr William Godfrey South African Cup Board of Control. This was a national soccer organisation started in 1934 that elected Godfrey as patron and Sigamoney as auditor in 1937. Also on the executive was Solomon Senaoane who served as secretary and who was regarded by some black football historians as 'a strong and successful leader of men'.[124] Senaoane himself deserves further attention since he was also president of the Transvaal Bantu Cricket Union, treasurer of the South African Inter-

115 *The Bantu World*, 5 March 1938, p.19.
116 *The Bantu World*, 8 February 1936, p.17.
117 *The Bantu World,* 15 January 1944, p.10.
118 *Cape Standard*, 26 July 1937, p.5. Ernest Godfrey promoted soccer in black communities and donated a trophy for a competition in the Transvaal Bantu Football Association, Anon. "Introduction", GAL Thabe (ed.), *It's a goal! 50 years of sweat, tears and drama in Black soccer* (Johannesburg, Skotaville Publishers, 1983), pp.8, 11.
119 *Cape Standard,* 1 March 1938, p.12; *The Bantu World*, 5 March 1938, p.19.
120 *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 September 1939, p.15.
121 *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 March 1940, p.15.
122 *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 August 1933, p.9.
123 *Cape Standard*, 10 January 1939, p.9.
124 *The Bantu World*, 10 July 1937, p.19; Anon. "Profile: Senaoane", GAL Thabe (ed.), *It's a goal! 50 years of sweat, tears and drama in Black soccer* (Johannesburg, Skotaville Publishers, 1983), p.3.

Race Cricket Board, and secretary of the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association.[125] The following year it was reported that Sigamoney had donated a trophy to the Inter-Race Cricket Tournament that had as its aim, 'Unity amongst Europeans, coloureds and Bantus'.[126]He also played goalkeeper for the TIFA against a Johannesburg Football Association team in 1938 and he was involved with the national Inter-Race Football Board, a soccer body that tried to unite people beyond segregationist practices.[127]

In 1940, Sigamoney was elected president of the Witwatersrand section of the Transvaal Indian Cricket Union.[128] It was also a time when he called upon the white society to recognise the sacrifices 'non-Europeans are making towards democracy … and … to agitate public opinion for the removal of all legislative restrictions … [against them]'.[129] At age 52, he still played cricket for the Witwatersrand Indian Union against the Transvaal Bantu Union.[130] It was also the year that Sigmaoney, along with M.S. Badat, S.L. Singh, [131] .I. Haffejee, and Sookdeo (all from Natal), and Willie Ernest and Bob Pavadai (from Transvaal) established the South African Indian Cricket Union (SAICU). Sigamoney was elected vice president. Despite being in his fifties, he represented Transvaal and in the first tournament in 1947, he was appointed honorary life-president.[132]

He was elected president of the SAICU in 1942–1943 and was manager of the South African Indian cricket team in 1945 and 1951.[133] In 1946 he met J.B. Eksteen, chairman of the Western Province Coloured Amateur Athletic and Cycling Association (WPCAA&CA), to establish a national athletic organisation.[134] This was the same year that the South African Indian Congress made Sigamoney, along with A.I. Kajee, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, A.M. Moola, and P.R. Pather delegates to England and America to seek political sympathisers in England and

125 *The Bantu World*, 8 October 1938, p.16; *The Bantu World*, 5 March 1938, p.19; *The Bantu World*, 21 October 1933, p.18.

126 *The Bantu World*, 8 October 1938, p.16.

127 *The Bantu World*, 10 September 1938, p.17; *The Bantu World*, 12 March 1938, p.18.

128 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…*, p.110.

129 *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 October 1941, p.2.

130 *Umteteli wa Bantu*, 9 March 1940, p.13.

131 In 1946 Singh donated a trophy for the launch of the Natal Inter-Race Soccer Board, EG Rooks, "Inter-race in Natal", GAL Thabe (ed.), *It's a goal! 50 years of sweat, tears and drama in Black soccer* (Johannesburg, Skotaville Publishers, 1983), p.64. Many of these individuals were founder members of the SAICU in 1940 – Badat (secretary), Singh (secretary), Sigamoney (vice-president) and Haffejee (vice-president). See A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…*, p.111.

132 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…*, pp.111, 113-114.

133 *Cape Standard*, 20 March 1945, p.4; A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…*, pp.61, 207.

134 *Cape Standard*, 5 February 1946, p.1; Western Province (C) Amateur Athletic and Cycling Association, *Rules and Constitution*, 1945, p.1.

America.[135] Six years later, in 1952, Sigamoney was elected vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Tennis Association (TITA).[136] The same year, he accompanied S.L. Singh, who was by then the president of the South African Soccer Federation (SASF), along with Sol Ernest and D. Pavadai, to interview the Indian High Commission with the intent to get an Indian soccer team to visit South Africa again.[137] He also donated a trophy towards a visiting Lourenço Marques (present-day Maputo) coloured soccer team that defeated Motherwell Football Club that year.[138] It was also a year that Stan Seymour, Newcastle United manager, visited Johannesburg, and Sigamoney 'garlanded him at the Indian sportsground'. [139]

He was also introduced to a FIFA delegation who visited South Africa in 1956.[140] In 1963 Sigamoney was elected vice president of SANROC.[141] He was also, along with Rashaad Varachia, on the executive of the South African Cricket Federation.[142] Previously, between 1947 and 1951, Varachia and Sigamoney were delegated by cricket organisations that formed SACBOC.[143] It was in the capacity of being a SACBOC executive member that he accused Vivan Granger, the National Football League chairman, of racism.[144] Sir Stanley Roux, the FIFA president, visited South Africa in 1963 and met with all South African soccer federations.[145] Sigamoney was part of the SASF delegation. Here too, Sigamoney criticised the arrangement of a barbeque held in honour of Roux, claiming that it was held to impress upon Roux that racial discrimination in South African sport did not exist.[146] When Roux returned the following year, a letter from the deceased Sigamoney was presented to him.[147] One month before his death, the *Spark* newspaper reported that Sigamoney had also sent a letter to the United States of America's ambassador to South Africa wherein he complained about an intended boxing tour to America.[148] This was after David Levin, a

135 South African Indian Congress. Resolutions passed at the 17th session held at the mayor's hall, Cape Town on 8th till 13th February 1946, p.4.
136 *e-Goli*, 21 September 1952, p.9.
137 *Indian and e-Goli Coloured Supplement*, 17 August 1952, p.9.
138 *Indian and e-Goli Coloured Supplement,* 24 August 1952, p.5.
139 *Indian and e-Goli Coloured Supplement*, 20 July 1952, p.18. Garland is an Indian tradition where flowers are placed on the head or over the neck of a significant person.
140 *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 January 1956, p.9.
141 *Spark*, 24 January 1963, p.16; V Chetty & R Naidoo, *Master of turbulence. Morgan Naidoo and the struggle for non-racial sport* (Durban, Rebel Rabble, 2023), p.74.
142 *Elethu Mirror,* 25 August 1962, p.15.
143 A Odendaal, *The story of an African game ...*, p.107.
144 *Rand Daily Mail,* 5 November 1962, p.5.
145 *Rand Daily Mail,* 11 January 1963, p.1.
146 *Rand Daily Mail,* 16 January 1963, p.3.
147 *Elethu Mirror*, 12 January 1964, p.3.
148 *Spark*, 14 February 1963, p.16.

boxing promoter, travelled to America to sign up three American professional boxers for fights in South Africa.[149] Sigamoney was however in some ways different to other more renowned Muscular Christians in that he largely worked amongst people classified as Indian in the Transvaal.[150]

Local Political Struggles

In 1929 Sigamoney was the secretary of the Transvaal Employees Union and an official of the colonial-born Indian Association.[151] Sigamoney was also secretary of the Indo-European Joint Council.[152] The Indo-European Joint Councils were formed in Johannesburg and Durban during 1928–1929.[153] This was an attempt by a few liberal whites to create space for South Africans across the colour bar, to meet one another, and share concerns in their communities. Several such councils were established throughout South Africa. Sigamoney engaged individuals associated with these councils. He critically engaged with Dr A.B. Xuma, the African National Congress (ANC) president who joined the Johannesburg Joint Council in 1928, at a Children Aid's Society function, as well as with J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, a white senior official and co-founder of the Indo-European Joint Council, in August 1932.[154] Rheinallt-Jones had acquired a reputation for working with all South African communities in physical education-related activities. He also played a leading role in the administration of the African Scout Movement and held the rank of Chief Pathfinder since its inception in 1918. There is also evidence that he worked with many members of the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) on the Joint Council Movement.[155] In 1932 he was also a guest speaker at a welcoming function for Kunwar Maharaj Singh, the new Indian Agent-General present in South Africa.[156] Three years later, in 1935, he called for a leading Indian to visit South Africa to speak against the government which was '[discriminating against] Indians

149 *Rand Daily Mail,* 1 January 1963, p.13.
150 *Rand Daily Mail,* 7 November 1955, p.6.
151 *Rand Daily Mail,* 7 February 1929, p.6; *Rand Daily Mail,* 11 March 1929, p.9.
152 *Rand Daily Mail,* 4 April 1929, p.4.
153 RJ Haines, "The politics of philanthropy and race relations: The joint councils of South Africa c. 1920 – 1955" (Phd., University of London, 1991), p.114.
154 *Rand Daily Mail,* 5 August 1932, p.10; *The Bantu World,* 13 August 1932, p.9; RJ Haines, "The politics …", p. 170.
155 R Archer & A Bouillon, *The South African game. Sport and racism* (London, Zed Press, 1982), 123; FJ Cleophas, "Physical education and physical culture in the coloured community of the Western Cape" (Ph.D., Stellenbosch University, 2009), p.135.
156 *Rand Daily Mail,* 27 August 1932, p.11.

and segregating them in locations'.[157] In 1936, A. Gnana Prakasam, the Ceylon government commissioner at the Empire Exhibition, was Sigamoney's guest at the 13th anniversary ball of the St Joseph's Home in Johannesburg.[158]

Sastri started this Council and Professor J.M. Watt was president.[159] In 1930, as a Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) member, Sigamoney was present at the Johannesburg train station to bid Dr Karney, the bishop of Johannesburg, farewell.[160] Three years later, at an emergency meeting of the SAIC, Sigamoney made a severe attack on government officials who tried to repatriate South African-born Indian people, to India.[161] The same year, he also criticised the government for providing hospitals of poor condition to Indian and coloured people in the Transvaal.[162] At some time, he visited the Indian Public School in Newtown, Johannesburg. Afterwards, he successfully persuaded the education department to change the medium of instruction from Gujerati to English. He also pointed out that there were too few coloured and Indian teachers being trained. The department responded by opening a teachers' training college. He also actively agitated for an increase in teachers' salaries. Other educational rights that concerned him were compulsory education for all children, irrespective of race.[163]

In 1936, he successfully persuaded the Anglican synod to 'draw the attention of the Johannesburg City Council to the pressing need for improving the housing conditions under which the poorer section of the Indian community lived'.[164] A repeat of this call was made ten years later.[165] Occasionally, individual criticism would appear against his actions in the press.[166] On most occasions though, he would be appreciated by fellow black readers.[167]

In 1943, Sigamoney was supportively outspoken on behalf of the Transvaal Tamil Benefit Society in favour of a new housing scheme in Coronationville by the Johannesburg City Council.[168] He was a member of this society as early as 1939.[169] Also in 1943,

157 *Rand Daily Mail,* 17 October 1935, p.16.
158 *Rand Daily Mail,* 9 September 1936, p.9.
159 *Rand Daily Mail,* 4 April 1929, p.4.
160 *Rand Daily Mail,* 13 February 1930, p.10.
161 *Rand Daily Mail,* 21 August 1933, p.9.
162 *Rand Daily Mail,* 17 October 1933, p.3.
163 *Black Sash News,* "The education …", p.13.
164 *Rand Daily Mail,* 15 October 1936, p.16.
165 *Rand Daily Mail,* 10 October 1946, p.9.
166 *Rand Daily Mail,* 27 March 1947, p.8.
167 *Rand Daily Mail,* 5 May 1952, p.8.
168 *Rand Daily Mail,* 25 November 1943, p.3.
169 *Rand Daily Mail,* 15 June 1939, p.15.

Sigamoney was instructed to leave his home in Doornfontein, with nowhere to go, since a nearby biscuit factory wanted to enlarge their property.[170] Exactly ten years later he stated that '… no one gives a thought to Coloured and Native housing'.[171] By 1954, he was chairman of the Coloured and Indian Tenants Protection Society in the Transvaal.[172] That year he supported the idea of an Indian housing development in Germiston.[173] Sigamoney's personal circumstances deteriorated by 1955 and he was threatened with eviction again as his room at St Anthony's Mission in Sherwell Street, Doornfontein was needed for a factory building.[174] Despite this, he still found time to help a destitute Ms Maud Edwards, 'an expectant 26-year-old mother who had to sleep on the hard ground with her six-year-old son and four-year-old daughter for two months on an open lot in Ferreira Town in the city'.[175] He eventually resided at 15 Krause Street, Pageview.[176] On at least one occasion he criticised his community by lashing out against 'Indian capitalists who were exploiting the less fortunate of their own race'.[177] After his formal retirement, he campaigned for the evicted.[178]

Sigamoney was equally prominent and visible in the field of public health.[179] Thus, during the Second World War, he convinced the synod of the Anglican Church in Johannesburg to highlight the inadequacies of non-European soldiers' pay.[180] By 1961 Sigamoney was rallying against landlords who accepted rent of R10 but only gave a receipt of R2 'to evade the Rent Act'.[181] He also called on the council to withdraw permits for rebuilding houses in Vrededorp, Johannesburg, 'until new homes are built for Coloureds

170 *Rand Daily Mail,* 14 October 1943, p.3.
171 *Rand Daily Mail,* 27 November 1953, p.9.
172 *Rand Daily Mail,* 22 September 1954, p.9.
173 *Rand Daily Mail,* 24 November 1954, p.16.
174 *Rand Daily Mail,* 7 November 1955, p.6; *Rand Daily Mail,* 1 April 1955, p.1; *Rand Daily Mail,* 6 April 1955, p.6.
175 *Rand Daily Mail,* 9 February 1955, p.11; *Rand Daily Mail,* 17 February 1955, p.9.
176 *Rand Daily Mail,* 20 July 1961, p.11.
177 *Rand Daily Mail,* 17 August 1939, p.13.
178 *Rand Daily Mail,* 25 April 1951, p.10; *Rand Daily Mail,* 12 March 1951, p.7; *Rand Daily Mail,* 20 March 1951, p.7; *Rand Daily Mail,* 29 April 1952, p.9; *Rand Daily Mail,* 1 May 1952, p.7; *Rand Daily Mail,* 9 May 1952, p.13; *Rand Daily Mail,* 16 May 1952, p.9; *Rand Daily Mail,* 6 June 1952, p.12; *Rand Daily Mail,* 14 May 1952, p.9; *Rand Daily Mail,* 20 May 1952, p.7; *Rand Daily Mail,* 21 May 1952, p.9; *Rand Daily Mail,* 22 May 1952, p.5; *Rand Daily Mail,* 22 May 1953, p.9; *Rand Daily Mail,* 24 May 1952, p.9; *Rand Daily Mail,* 1 December 1953, p.10; *Rand Daily Mail,* 7 December 1953, p.5.
179 *Rand Daily Mail,* 20 March 1942, p.5.
180 *Rand Daily Mail,* 21 October 1942, p.7.
181 *Rand Daily Mail,* 29 April 1961, p.3.

and Indians'.[182]

Public meetings

Sigamoney was indeed visible at many social and political events as a speaker at public meetings.[183] These public meetings were important for politicians during Sigamoney's time because that was where the president of the South African Soccer Board, Stevan Baker, stated in 1938: ' … Blacks come into closer contact with their European friends'.[184] The following year, H. Ernest, a speaker at a tennis gathering where Sigamoney was present, stated: 'We are hoping to have the Europeans participating in the not-too-distant future'.[185]

From his early days in the Transvaal, Sigamoney interacted with local politicians across the 'racial' divide and met Lady Dalrymple in 1929.[186] That year, Sigamoney spoke at the welcoming of Sir Kurma Reddi, the Agent General for the government of India.[187] The Sigamoneys also hosted, amongst others, the future Kenyan governor, Sir Evelyn Baring and his mother, Lady Cromer.[188] Sigamoney had certainly gained popularity in local communities and was amongst the guests at the reception dinner of Valangaiman Sastri.[189] Sigamoney was also invited to speak at the Indian Girl's Club Bazaar.[190]

Sigamoney was often called upon to deliver talks on areas that was outside the range of his expertise, such as literature.[191] He also shared a platform with William Tsotsi, who was later the president of the All-African Convention (AAC).[192] In 1938 Sigamoney spoke at the Non-European Librarian Conference held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg—alongside Miss G. Opperheim of Bloemfontein, H.E.I. Diomo, Dr Ray Phillips, Dr D.M. Esselen, and B.W. Vilikazi.[193] Other notable public figures with whom

182 *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 July 1961, p.4.
183 *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 August 1932, p.10.
184 *Cape Standard*, 31 May 1938, p.10.
185 *Cape Standard*, 26 July 1937, p.5.
186 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1929, p.4.
187 *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 May 1930, p.14.
188 *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1961, p.9.
189 *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 January 1929, p.12. Sastri started an Indo-European Council, of which Sigamoney was Secretary and Professor JM Watt was president, *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April 1929, p.4.
190 *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 June 1930, p.13.
191 *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September 1934, p.6.
192 *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 June 1938, p.4; *The Torch*, 8 January 1952, p.2. The AAC was established in 1935, largely under the influence of Davidson Jabavu, with the purpose of formulating a response to the government's Native Bills.
193 *The Bantu World*, 5 February 1938, p.4.

he shared social spaces included Margeret Ballinger (first president of the South African Liberal Party), John David Rheinallt-Jones (founder and director of the South African Institute for Race Relations), A.I. Minty, Alfred Xuma (president of the African National Congress), Uys Krige (Afrikaans poet), and Jan Smuts (South African premier).[194] In 1953, Sigamoney seconded the toast to Sir Syed Raza Ali, the Indian Counsel-General.[195] He was thus positioning himself, until his death, around influential individuals whom he could count on for support against white oppression. He therefore 'praised J. Modlin of the City Health Department for finding homes [for evicted blacks in Newton, Johannesburg]'.[196] The 1950s was however a time in South Africa's history when forced removals of people were beginning to cause the disintegration of communities. Sigamony was not left untouched by this, and stated: 'There is nowhere for some of [us] to go. [We] cannot afford to buy in Lenasia and there are no houses for rent there.'[197] According to an archaeological assessment report, Lenasia is located on an area of about 35 km from Johannesburg. The surrounding property was owned by a German national named Lenz. He acquired the property but had settled there much earlier. Eventually, he sold it to the government for housing development. Mahommed Jajbhay, Bernard Sigamoney, Mahommed Abed, Ebrahim Dadabhai, and Advocate Minty formed the Transvaal Indian Organisation, which was tasked to persuade Indians to move to the area named Lenz.[198]

General

Bernard Sigamoney involved himself and others in a wide range of organisations and issues. He challenged the right of commercial elites to be the only voice of local communities.[199] Local people approached Sigamoney for intervention when the authorities attacked their personal dignity. In 1945 for example, a group of local vendors approached him to speak on their behalf when the Johannesburg municipality confiscated their wares.[200] He worked amongst ordinary people and he sold white bread from his house in Sherwell Street,

194 *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 June 1936, p.16; *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September 1946, p.4; *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September 1946, p.5; *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 July 1948, p.5.
195 *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 December 1953, p.14.
196 *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 August 1961, p.9.
197 *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1956, p.11; *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 August 1957, p.4.
198 Heritage Contracts and Archaeological Counselling, 2015, Archeological impact assessment for the proposed Anchorville Extension 12 township in Lenasia, Gauteng Province, Version 1, 14-15.
199 G. Vahed, "'Give till it hurts' …", p.60.
200 *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 December 1945, p.7.

Johannesburg.[201] In 1959 Sigamoney commented to the newspapers about an unsafe quarry at Lenasia where a 17-year-old boy, Nadraj Thumby, was killed.[202] He also sent newspaper articles and letters to the Johannesburg municipality, all about everyday crises, that affected the lives of ordinary citizens in the relatively minute Indian community of Transvaal.[203]

On other occasions, as mentioned earlier, he was in the company of high public officials and personalities.[204] These included Jan Hofmeyer (minister of finance), H.G. Lawrence (minister of welfare and demobilisation), J.G.N. Strauss (Minister of Agriculture), Sir Shafa' at Ahmed (Aga) Khan (Indian high commissioner), A.I. Kajee (Indian businessman), J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, Alan Paton (author and politician), Dr Yusuf Dadoo (politician), Dr I.D. du Plessis (Afrikaans poet and novelist), and Dr Karl Bremmer (government minister).[205] It is clear that Sigamoney knew how to transverse racial and class divides in his political life.

Conclusion

This article traced the history of Bernard Sigamoney, a man who was an early anti-apartheid sports resister, someone who strove for good South African–Indian sports relations, a school teacher, a Christian cleric, and much more. He was a family man with many children but never owned fixed property. Combined with this he was a community activist which resulted in him being ostracised by the state. His public political biography does not differ much from other black sportspersons during the era of segregation and Apartheid.[206] When, during the 1930s, there was a surge in ethnic nationalism in South Africa, Sigamoney was referred to as a political friend by Solomon Senaoane, the Native Sports Organiser of the Johannesburg Football Association.[207] Sigamoney knew 'no colour or creed or race or class … only man and woman … speaking the language they spoke centuries ago'.[208] Sigamoney helped to conscientise the working class to become more politically orientated and active

201 *Umteteli we Bantu*, 8 August 1953, p.1.
202 *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 December 1959, p.3.
203 *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 September 1939, p.13; *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 April 1951, p.7.
204 *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 December 1945, p.4.
205 *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 August 1945, p.6; *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 January 1945, p.4; *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 February 1949, p.2; *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 February 1950, p.7; *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 May 1952, p.9; P Alegi, *Laduma! …*, p.108.
206 B Willan, "Isaiah Bud-M'Belle: Sportsman, interpreter, spokesman", V Bickford-Smith & B Nasson, *Illuminating lives. Biographies of fascinating people from South African history* (London, Penguin, 2018), pp. 49–66.
207 *The Bantu World*, 8 October 1938, p.16; P Alegi, *Laduma! …*, p.108.
208 P Abrahams, *The path of thunder* (Cape Town, David Philip Publishers, 1948), p. 143.

in their opposition.[209]

Sigamoney, however, remains a relatively lesser-known public figure in South African education and broader public life history than, for example, Dennis Brutus or other prominent activists who combined community activism with sports, and political and religious engagement. This was all during a period, the first half of the twentieth century, when a South African government stayed loyal to Britain and was obsessed by entrenching white political power and racial segregation.[210] During the second half of the century, white power and segregation were repeated by an Afrikaner-nationalist government. Sigamoney thus, according to the evidence presented in this article, could not escape being 'born in an optimistic 19th century but dying in a pessimistic 20th. . .'.[211] He maintained a Muscular Christian-like temperament throughout his public life and he condemned a 'liquor bill' passed in 1961, two years before his passing, which gave black youths access to the consumption of liquor.[212] He also did not hesitate to reprimand the Indian merchant class in Transvaal. Other times, he was present at events such as the welcoming of Sir Reddi who attended a function of the Sarcarnet Tennis Club at the Carlton Hotel in 1929. This was an event organised by Indian silk merchants.[213]

Bernard Sigamoney was a complex figure, as this article shows. A decade before his death, for example, he advocated large-scale white immigration: 'The European and non-European must become friends … White people of South Africa are great and only fear overshadows their greatness.[214] Sadly, shortly before he passed away, 'there were [still] no playgrounds, no sports facilities, no libraries, no accessible clinics as provided for white children, available for the Indian school children in the Transvaal.'[215]

Future work could hone in on a more focused strategy by determining the political methods he employed at specific moments in history. He was after all a teacher with a multi-faceted life in which the following facets intersected: being a religious worker, trade unionist, scoutmaster, and also a boxing promoter of a champion fighter, Jimmy Dixon in

209 LJW van der Walt, "Anarchism …", p.464.
210 S Terblanche, *A history of inequality in South Africa, 1652 -2002* (Scottsville, University of Natal Press, 2002), p.247.
211 F Fukuyama, *The end of history and the last man* (New York, The Free Press, 2020), p.4.
212 *Rand Daily Mail,* 13 June 1961, p.3.
213 *Rand Daily Mail,* 4 April 1929, p.4.
214 *Rand Daily Mail,* 1 January 1952, p.5.
215 *Black Sash News,* "The education …", p.13.

1941.[216] What a narrative from Sigamoney's life teaches us is that sports and education are not separated from life.[217] There were still some public traces of him after he passed away in 1963. The South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) introduced the Sigamoney Trophy for their inter-union matches in 1965.[218] The following year, an Indian awards and festival committee awarded Sigamoney a medal for his 'contribution towards non-white sport'.[219] In 1980, there existed a Sigamoney Road in Clairewood, Johannesburg.[220] Indeed, by reconstructing a political biography of Bernard Lazarus Emanuel Sigamoney, the sports historian realises that the personal is political, and therefore the life and times of teachers are much more complex, with different facets intersecting and colouring one another.

216 A Desai, V Padayachee, K Reddy & G Vahed, *Blacks in Whites…*, p.60; FJ Cleophas, "A historical overview of the African People's Organisation's contribution to sport: January– June 1920. Part IV", *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 19 (1), 2013, pp.196-197.

217 N Coleman and N Hornby, "Introduction", N Coleman and N Hornby (eds.), *The picador book of sports writing* (London, Picador, 1996), p.4; H Snyders, "Jimmy Dixon. A forgotten South African boxing career, *Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, 77 (1), 2023, p.29.

218 *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 December 1965, p.7.

219 *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 February 1966, p.27.

220 *Ilanga Lase Natal,* 11 – 13 December 1980, p.7.

BOOK REVIEWS

'Germinating a seed and cultivating the dream' *A Seed of a Dream: Morris Isaacson High School and the struggle for education in Soweto, 1956–2012*

Author: Clive Glaser
Publisher: Jacana Media
Place: Auckland Park
Year: 2024
ISBN 978-1-4314-3450-3

Reviewed by
Edwin T. Smith
Department of Historical and Heritage Studies
University of Pretoria, Pretoria

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a9

One of my favourite American poets, Langston Hughes (1907–1967), is often referenced on matters pertaining to Black South Africa's struggles during apartheid. One of his lesser-referenced poems, 'Dreams' reads 'Hold fast to dreams / For if dreams die / Life is a broken-winged bird / That cannot fly. / Hold fast to dreams / For when dreams go / Life is a barren field / Frozen with snow'.[1] As a significant member of the Harlem Renaissance,[2] Hughes continuously reflected on the condition of Black America and celebrated the struggles and achievements of Black people in the United States of America. Hughes's social commentary resonated remarkably well with the experience of Black South Africans during apartheid

1 L. Hughes, 'Dreams', *The dream keeper and other poems (Illustrated by Brian Pinkney)*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007, p. 4.

2 According to the Library of Congress "Research Guides", the "Harlem Renaissance was a period in American history from the 1920s and 1930s. During this time, many African-Americans migrated from the South to Northern cities, seeking economic and creative opportunities. Within their communities creative expression became an outlet for writers, musicians, artists, and photographers, with a particular concentration in Harlem, New York". https://guides.loc.gov/harlem-renaissance Accessed: 2 July 2024.

and, some would contend, in the post-apartheid, free, and democratic dispensation as well.[3] Notwithstanding the remarkable positive changes ushered in by the abolishment of apartheid and the opening up of opportunities for all in our country, many historically disadvantaged communities—a proxy for formerly Black communities—still linger in a disadvantage due to the legacy of apartheid, among other things. Contemporary reflections on the state of free and democratic South Africa continuously wrestle with this peculiar inheritance, its role in the present, as well as its implications for the future.

Consequently, as a result of the need to grapple with this legacy, contemporary South African history is swarming with biographies of individuals, institutions, communities, neighbourhoods, cities, and regions often intersecting with significant historical events and moments. Top-of-mind examples are places akin to Sharpeville and the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville massacre, and the 16 June 1976 Soweto student uprisings. Some of these spectacular moments in history have enjoyed significant attention through formal study and other treatments that foreground their significance locally and internationally.[4] Analogously, much ink has been spent on Soweto and the iconic 16 June student uprising.[5] Furthermore, in the post-apartheid context, 16 June has also been immortalised through the national public holiday, Youth Day. Similarly, the infamous Bantu Education system, implicated in the contestations leading to the student uprising, has also enjoyed its fair share of attention from scholars of education, education history, and politics, to name some of the obvious disciplines wrestling with this historical phenomenon. The amount of attention and effort expended on Soweto and 16 June 1976 could reasonably lead one to wonder why anyone would still attempt a further elucidation of this well-trodden subject.

The story of Morris Isaacson High School in Jabavu, Soweto, the school that took the

3 Siphiwo Mahala's 2021 play, "Bloke and his American Bantu" celebrates South African writer Bloke Modisane and Langston Hughes "simple friendship that led to international solidarity and cultural exchange between South Africa and Black America" in the 1960s. https://arts.uj.ac.za/whats-on/bloke-and-his-american-bantu/ Accessed: 3 July 2024.

4 Select examples of these are: M. Sparg, *Guilty and Proud: An MK Soldier's Memoir of Exile, Prison and Freedom*, Jacana Media, 2024; N. Nieftagodien, *The Soweto uprising: A Jacana pocket history*, Jacana Media, 2014; T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: an apartheid massacre and its consequences*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2011; S. Ndlovu, *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter Memories of June 16,* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1998. P. Magubane and C. Smith, *Soweto: The fruits of fear,* Cape Town: Struik Publishers, 2002. J. Brown, *The Road to Soweto: Resistance and the Uprising on 16 June 1976*, Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2004; P.L. Bonner and L. Segal, *Soweto: A History,* Johannesburg: Maskew Miller Longman, Pty, Ltd. 1998.

5 N. Nieftagodien, *The Soweto uprising: A Jacana pocket history*, Jacana Media, 2014; S. Ndlovu, *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter Memories of June 16*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1998. P. Magubane and C. Smith, *Soweto: Fruits of Fear*, Pretoria, Struik Publishers, 2002. J. Brown, *The Road to Soweto: Resistance and the Uprising on 16 June 1976*, Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2004; P.L. Bonner and L. Segal, *Soweto: A History*, Johannesburg: Maskew Miller Longman, Pty, Ltd. 1998.

lead in the protest that commenced in Soweto on that fateful winter's day in June 1976 and soon spread throughout the country, eventually leading to the post-1994 dispensation, has not necessarily enjoyed the telling Wits University History Professor Clive Glaser's new biography of the township school brings to light in *A seed of a dream: Morris Isaacson High School and the struggle for education in Soweto, 1956-2012*. Glaser's most recent monograph was launched through his essay published in the *Sunday Times* on Sunday, 16 June 2024 as part of what would be the 48th annual commemoration of the student uprisings.[6] In many ways, the book, which comes almost half a century after this historic moment, is a synthesis of the life history of this township school in Soweto from its inception in the 1950s up to 2012 and its location in the struggle against apartheid and Bantu Education. Furthermore, and in the best tradition of historical biography, *A seed of a dream* is simultaneously the story of a school, its community, its struggle with the deleterious machinations of Bantu Education, and the challenges of the promise of education in a liberated nation post-1994. It also tells how learners, their teachers, and the community managed to carve out a viable, meaningful, and creative space within a system designed to stifle their dreams and ambitions despite the further threat of derailment of their life trajectories presented by the allure of gangsterism and crime in their community. This they achieved by not turning their back on the proverbial 'half loaf' offered them by Bantu Education at the time, but instead focusing their energies, efforts, and resources on building an institution focused on academic success with great import and significance for its learners, ostensibly subverting the intentions of the architects of apartheid and their designs for black education in Soweto and the entire country.

As an institutional history of a township school in particular, *A seed of a dream* chronicles the history of Morris Isaacson High School, which commenced its existence from its humble roots in a small Salvation Army-run, missionary school called Fred Clarke in the 1950s in Klipspruit. Following the imposition of Bantu Education in 1953, the school was renamed Klipspruit Secondary School in the mid-1950s and relocated to Jabavu in 1957 as a Bantu Education controlled secondary school called Mohloding Secondary School. Given the lacklustre roll-out of secondary schools in townships under

6 C. Glaser, "What happened to the school at the centre of the June 16 uprising? While the 1976 uprising cemented Morris Isaacson High School's place in history, Prof Clive Glaser tackles two central questions: how did this school in Soweto flourish under Bantu Education, and why did it not reach its full potential in the democratic era?, *Sunday Times*, 16 June 2004. https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/opinion-and-analysis/insight/2024-06-16-what-happened-to-the-school-at-the-centre-of-the-june-16-uprising/ Accessed: 2 July 2024.

Bantu Education, with the support of the Morris Isaacson Education Fund, Mohloding was upgraded to a fully-fledged senior secondary school in 1960 bearing the name of its benefactor, Morris Isaacson. *A seed of a dream* also critically engages these developments and maps the contours of the struggle against apartheid and Bantu Education led by the learners at the school in the centre of Soweto that spilled over to all corners of South Africa and the globe, which resulted in the ultimate demise of the apartheid regime commencing with the announcement on 6 July 1976 of its unceremonious withdrawal of its plans to impose Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in African schools to this racist, minority regime ultimately being replaced by a democratically elected government in 1994. More significantly, *A seed of a dream* also encapsulates the hopes and aspirations of generations of South Africans in the contemporary context of a post-apartheid dispensation with its new opportunities and challenges, failures, and broken dreams through the experience of this iconic education institution in the heart of Soweto, which has not flourished in the new dispensation as it ought to have or could have been expected to fare.

However, by asking the critical question of how we get to the current context through casting back a glance at the road Morris Isaacson High School traversed to the here and now, *A seed of a dream* registers the aspirations of a people through recognising their agency in the journey travelled to the current context and reflects some of the shortcomings and missteps in how we have engaged with transformation during the struggle against apartheid as well as in the post-liberation context. The critical observation from this exercise reveals that the government, regardless of whether it is driven by draconian or revolutionary fervour, is not going to save our schools and communities on its own. The apartheid government failed to successfully implement its policy of a diminished education experience for Black learners at Morris Isaacson High School while the new democratic government is failing to capitalise on the providence of history to raise Morris Isaacson High School as a stellar example of what can be achieved in township schools in a post-apartheid context. In the end, the story *A seed of a dream* tells indicates that the communities our schools are located in are critical, if not indispensable, to the success or failure of educational institutions and the experiences of learners in these schools. Consequently, the agency of the stakeholders in the education ecosystem in our communities is crucial, if not fundamental, to the success of our schools, and by extension, our communities and nation in general.

While material and financial resources, as well as cultural capital, play a significant role in the success of schools in any community, *A seed of a dream* foregrounds the agency of the community, the learners, teachers, and the school leadership through deliberate and continued efforts to build a culture of disciplined, directed and significant learning. At

Morris Isaacson High School, this proved to be an asset beyond the material resources supporting learning and education. Often it is not simply or merely a matter of the physical circumstances alone that makes for a successful education enterprise. Albeit an important part, such as building a fence around the school to protect both learners and assets or building a first-class science or computer laboratory, a school is more than the material manifestation of an institution. If there is anything to learn from chronicling the history of the schools in our communities, it is that often the right attitude, disposition, and commitment in and around the school are far more consequential than perfect conditions and circumstances in charting successful life trajectories for learners and their institutions.

Framed around eight chapters bounded by an introduction and conclusion, *A seed of a dream* covers the initial years of establishing Morris Isaacson and its growth due to urbanisation's increased demand for such institutions for the burgeoning Black population in tandem with the implementation of the legal gyrations of apartheid around urban areas. Due to the destruction of records as a result of two 'substantial fires' at Morris Isaacson in 1977 and 1991, *A seed of a dream* also celebrates the utility and indispensability of oral history as a source to fill the gaps resulting from a lack of documentary evidence on which to construct the history of the school, while taking demonstrable care to ensure rigour through cross-referencing and the triangulation of oral evidence.[7] Notwithstanding these remarkable achievements, *A seed of a dream* is hampered by heavily relying on writing conventions such as acronyms to substitute MIHS for Morris Isaacson High School. While this is usually a useful convention in formal writing, in this instance it hampers reading as the reader spells out the full name when reading. Also, abbreviating Bantu Education to BE is not only unfamiliar, it is also disorienting, with the reader having to reconnect in their mind the uncommon and strange acronym. As used in the text, these conventions do not assist the otherwise good readable story *A seed of a dream* narrates. There is also the simple misnaming of 16 June as 'Freedom Day' on page 183 in the book.

However, as a quintessentially South African township school story, Morris Isaacson High School is indeed the seed of a dream of a community's aspirations for a better future for its children. In the democratic context that allows South Africans previously trapped in the geographies of apartheid to live, work, and learn in better-resourced communities and establishments, the story of Morris Isaacson High School reflects the experiences of many township schools now left to fend for themselves in a context stripped of its usual

7 In an Appendix, the book lists 82 interviews from 1991 to 2020 with Morris Isaacson High School alumni for the study.

resources. In this regard, it is also a dream that can no longer be deferred for want of a perfect set of conditions and circumstances. It demands, now more than ever, that we reassert and foreground the agency of communities to cultivate the promise of such dreams with whatever resources at their disposal. While Morris Isaacson was catapulted into the centre of the historical moment of the 1976 student uprising like few other schools across the country, *A seed of a dream* demonstrates that 16 June did not make the school and nor can or must it be its sole *raison d'être*. The truth is that schools in our communities are where society cultivates its future. While *A seed of a dream* is a cautionary tale of what not tending to the seed can produce, it also chronicles the virtues of an asset-based approach to education as the history of Morris Isaacson High School unveils. Finally, *A seed of a dream* is a pathbreaking contribution to South African school historiography and the history of education institutions in general as it sets a noteworthy and significant standard for critical institutional histories that enable us to learn from our past more than simply remembering it with nostalgia.

De Aar: Lines of Architecture in the Making of a South African Town (1902–1977)

Editor: Giorgio Miescher
Publisher: Emerging Scholars Initiative (ESI Press)
Place: Pretoria
Year: 2023
ISBN: 9780639788425
ISBN Number (E-Book): 9780639788432

Reviewed by
Robyn Schnell
Department of Historical and Heritage Studies
University of Pretoria

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a10

Miescher is one of ESI Press's latest publications. Based on Miescher's study of a series of plans kept in archives across South Africa, he examines the former railway town's 'lines of architecture', infrastructure, and urban history from the turn of the twentieth century until the town's official 75th anniversary. In South African urban historiography, the urban histories of small towns have been largely overlooked in favour of the urban histories of larger, more imposing metropolitan cities (Maylam 1995: 21). Miescher's analysis of the history of a small town situated in the province of the Northern Cape is thus rather unique.

De Aar is not the first study that has been published on the history of this former railway town. Two previous official histories of De Aar were published by the town's municipality in 1952 and 1977 (p. vi). What differentiates Miescher's history of De Aar from these two is that he adopts an 'inclusive perspective' by outlining the 'complex history' of the black-owned properties in De Aar (p. vi). In stark contrast to the two 'official' histories completed in the apartheid era which focused on the history of De Aar's white community and white neighbourhoods he 'considers the former black neighbourhoods' and black-owned properties of the town (p. vi). The specific period that Miescher has chosen to explore, 1902–1977, coincides with two significant events in De Aar's urban history: in 1902, the De Aar farm was purchased by brothers Wulf and Isaac Friedlander who hired a surveyor

to delineate plots for a future town" (p. 14); and 1977 which marked De Aar's 'official 75th birthday' (p. vi). Miescher briefly mentions that the formation of De Aar was a result of 'British railway imperialism in the late nineteenth century and the South African War of 1899–1902', and provides a brief explanation of the genesis of De Aar's urban and spatial history, which 'emerged from the abandoned military camp at De Aar railway station after the South African War' (p. 8).

In his seminal article titled 'Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography', historian Paul Maylam defines the difference between what he terms, 'history-in-the-city' and 'history-of-the-city' (Maylam 1995: 20). By using the term, 'history-in-the-city', Maylam is referring to the 'social movements and popular struggles around community issues' in a particular urban environment (Maylam 1995: 20). Whereas, 'history-of-the-city' refers to the spatial history of the urban area's built environment and focuses primarily on a 'more specific urban experience' (Maylam 1995: 21). Maylam asserts that urban historians have been preoccupied with the former, whilst overlooking the latter (Maylam 1995: 20). In his contribution to Maylam's argument, historian Vivian Bickford-Smith also defines the 'history-of-the-city' approach, by maintaining that this approach must combine the dominating themes of urban histories (Bickford-Smith 1995: 64). Such themes include the analysis of a city's purpose and function, the consideration of themes such as the economic, spatial, social, and governmental aspects of a study's chosen city and by doing so within the 'grand processes' of industrialisation and urbanisation (Bickford-Smith 1995: 64). Furthermore, Bickford-Smith argues that the 'history-of-the-city' approach must compare a study's subject city with others in the same category (Bickford-Smith 1995: 64). While Miescher addresses some of these criteria in *De Aar*, he does not include a comparative component.

What is of note is that in line with the inclusivity of all of De Aar's community members is the fact that the book is a bilingual publication which includes the text in English on the lefthand pages of the book, and the Afrikaans translation on the righthand side. In the Preface, Miescher explains that the inclusion of both languages is because Afrikaans is the primary language that is spoken in De Aar by the majority of its residents, both in the past and present (p. viii). Additionally, Miescher affirms that the bilingualism of *De Aar* pays homage to the multilingualism of South Africa as a whole (p. viii). Miescher's inclusionary approach is reinforced by the addition of a list of De Aar's former Black property owners in the book's appendix (p. 12). This list is a transcription of the entire list of 'landowners and their property in Greenpoint and the Malay Camp in 1925' (p. 66), which were other 'Black residential areas' within the town (p. 40). In addition to the names of the property

owners, this list also includes the 'estimated value' of the properties and the plot numbers (p. 102).

Since the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the railway camp in De Aar 'formed the physical barrier between' the two distinctly racially segregated halves of the town (p. 40). The 'White township' (p. 14), otherwise known as 'New Township Friedlander Bro.' (p. 16), was located West of the railway camp, whereas the 'Black township' or the 'the Bloemfontein Erven and the "Beckwith Block" (p. 34) was situated 'East of the railway camp' (p. 16). The municipality remains separated by the railway camp to the present day (p. 16). Like many towns and cities across South Africa, the Group Areas Act of 1950 altered the 'urban landscape' of the Black neighbourhoods and resulted in the 'forced removals of thousands of residents' (p. 16). However, in the case of De Aar, as highlighted by Miescher, a major obstacle to the implementation of the Group Areas Act, was 'Black freehold land' and 'Black owner's insistence on their rights' (p. 118) which challenged the white municipality's plans to segregate and reconstruct De Aar.

As is evident by the book's title, railway lines play a significant function in both *De Aar* and Miecher's study of the town. Miescher highlights how at De Aar, the 'four main lines came together and made the town one of the most important railway junctions of the entire network' (p. 2). Furthermore, Miescher specifies how 'lines and delineation constituted the physical and representational *dispositif*' in which the town's built environment and architecture emerged (p. 2). Additionally, De Aar is one of the earliest instances of a town in South Africa in which the town's development occurred adjacent to 'the lines of strict racial segregation between Black and White residents' at the turn of the 20th century (p. 8).

As Maylam notes, 'The terrain of South African urban history has become highly interdisciplinary' (Maylam 1995: 20). *De Aar* is no exception. The book is the integration of a variety of disciplines, including history, architecture, archival science, as well as spatial and urban planning. In particular, the use of archival material found in archives across South Africa laid the foundation for Miescher's urban history. Miescher asserts that archival materials helped to 'reconstruct the planning, development, and infrastructural furnishing of the different neighbourhoods' (p. vi). Furthermore, Miescher's analysis of three essential blueprints and other records found in South African archives form the foundation of the book (p. 116). This again reinforces the significance of 'lines' in Miescher's study, as Miescher has employed the lines and contours from these blueprints to shed light on De Aar's history as a town.

Within the genre of urban history, both the built environment and infrastructure play a central role. As historian Bill Freund asserted, '…one needs to stress the need to prioritise

the study of economic structures and trajectories in other periods as well to grasp how urban growth, which inevitably involves assimilating earlier layers of both activity and of the built environment' (Freund 2005: 27). Miescher achieves this in *De Aar* as he indicates the economic prospects which essentially contributed towards the development of the town's built environment, infrastructure and urban growth. For example, Miescher outlines how the 'construction of the railway line' at the end of the eighteenth century became associated with 'entrepreneurial possibilities' and opportunities (p. 20). To capitalise on this, the Friedlander brothers 'secured exclusive trading rights from the owner' of the farm, De Aar (p. 20). As a result, business activities such as trade became 'completely banned in De Aar East and [were] limited in De Aar West' (p. 16). Additionally, Miescher notes that in the 1940s the 'alleged Coloured support for racial segregation' may have been 'affected by economic aspirations and housing' (p. 84). The outcome of racial segregation had a profound impact on the development of infrastructure and the built environment, particularly in the Black township. In *De Aar*, Miescher explains how such policies of racial segregation that impacted urban planning, such as 'financial investments, property rights, legal statutes, and housing structures' formed the built environment and infrastructure in De Aar East (p. 46). These two examples from *De Aar* depict how Miescher has highlighted the way economic structures impacted urban growth in both halves of De Aar, and how such economic aspects become intertwined with layers of urban growth and the built environment.

De Aar presents an impressive study of the built environment and urban history of the former railway town. It can be argued that Miescher's study employs De Aar as a lens through which urban histories of small towns in South Africa can be viewed. *De Aar* does not claim to be a complete history of the town from its earliest conception before the South African War up until the present day. However, it remains an important contribution towards De Aar's urban history – and urban histories of small towns in South Africa in general – due to its inclusion of the previously excluded and overlooked histories of the town's black residents and neighbourhoods. The inclusivity of the history of De Aar and the bilingual element are key traits of Miescher's study that are both innovative and commendable.

References

Bickford-Smith, V. 1995. South African Urban History, Racial Segregation and the Unique Case of Cape Town?. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(1): 63–78. Special Issue:

Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa.

Maylam, P. 1995. Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(1): 19–38. Special Issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa.

Miescher, G. 2023. *De Aar: Lines of Architecture in the Making of a South African Town (1902-1977)*. Pretoria: ESI Press.

Freund, B. 2005. Urban History in *South Africa. South African Historical Journal*, 52(2005): 19–31

Why History Education?

Editors: Nadine Fink, Markus Furrer, Peter Gautschi
Publisher: Wochenschau wissenschaft verlag
Place: Frankfurt
Year: 2023
ISBN: 978-3-7344-1598-2
ISBN Number (E-Book): 978-3-7566-1598-8
Website: www.wochenschau-verlag.de

Reviewed by
Zama Nkabinde
College of Humanities, School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a11

Introduction

The book presents an anthology of competing perspectives on the values of history as an academic discipline and its place in formal education across the global landscape. Pivotal to the current intellectual discourses is the relevance of history as a school subject in modern society. Some of the most fundamental questions are: What kind of history curriculum would be ideal for all nations of the world? Does history have a place in the employment sector other than school teaching? What role does it play in community development? To what extent does it contribute to the economic growth and development of countries? How does it shape one's identity? These are some of the questions that triggered debates around the proposal by South Africa's ministry of education to make history compulsory for high school learners. The book navigates the complexities around history education and suggested solutions. The coverage of discourses by various scholars is quite extensive. Only a few have been selected for critical analysis in this review.

Structure

The book does not have chapters as part of the conventional structures in books. The layout has been uniquely presented. Its sub-division is largely informed by the perspectives of various scholars within the discipline of history education on an international scale. The literary style enables the reader to follow the arguments advanced in the book, and the competing perspectives. However, chapters would have been welcome as an acceptable and user-friendly, conventional literary style. The title is thought-provoking and inviting to a reader. It captures the essence of what the book seeks to explore. The table of contents has been well presented, clearly outlining where the reader can locate the discussions and arguments by various scholars within the book and the themes they deal with. Including the scholars' photographs helps the readers put a face to the ideas, debates, and arguments captured in the book. The editors are commended for putting together detailed and incisive accounts on the role of history education and the challenges it faces in modern society. The book covers a wide range of critical issues around history education and how scholars navigate them. The book demonstrates extensive scholarship in history education.

Context

It is interesting how scholars provide contexts in their critical engagement with the topic in this book. The readers have been provided a platform to tap into the essential realities of teaching history amid challenges of diverse magnitudes across global contexts. One can learn much from the experiences of other countries. Some scholars conducted empirical research on history education and shared the outcomes thereof, while others wrote conceptual papers. This provides a balanced version of problems encountered during the research process and suggested solutions. In the case of South Africa, the issue at hand was the proposal by the ministry of education to make history compulsory for all high school learners. Johan Wassermann, Leevina Iyer, and Zoleka Mkhabela examined the views of South African teachers on making history a compulsory subject. It stands to reason that the crisis history education finds itself in across the globe, calls for responsive leadership in educational circles. The interrogation of this crisis by the book is commendable. The trade of ideas by various scholars in response to the challenges facing the teaching and learning of history in schools could produce long-term solutions to the problems at hand. The heart of the contention is that history teaching is in a crisis almost everywhere.

Alain Lamassoure, a French European politician argues that history education is taught

differently from country to country in Europe. The author therefore sees the creation of the 'Observatory on History Teaching in Europe' under the auspices of the Council of Europe as a way to advance history teaching in Europe. The aim is to initiate a debate on the content and methods of history teaching on the basis of surveys to promote it throughout Europe. He observed that on the one hand, historians face the challenge of determining what should be taught and what should be researched. On the other hand, history teachers face the problem of how history lessons should be designed and structured to make sure that national histories are correctly captured. However, national histories have since become controversial. When measured according to our current ethical standards, we no longer have great men or great seminal events. He further argues that we limit ourselves to an overarching, detached history, composed of important economic, social, and cultural phenomena. Young people are not given a solid foundation to develop some kind of social identity.

Conclusion

The book has managed to capture the essence of the debates and discourses around the challenges faced by history education across the global landscape. The editors provided detailed accounts of theoretical reflections and models between national identities and the role of history. Authors of academic papers and articles on history education from all over the world shared insights on how to deal with issues relating to the teaching of history as a daily teaching practice, as well as educational media, everyday teaching, museums, curricula, exhibitions, and social media platforms. The new findings of this ground-breaking research have been widely shared in the book. Finally, the series has provided strategies on how history should be taught and advocated for a more competent approach to history teaching and learning.

Universities, Apartheid, and Decolonisation
Uprooting university apartheid in South Africa: From Liberalism to Decolonisation

Author: Teresa Barnes
Publisher: Routledge
Place: London and New York
Year: 2019
ISBN: 9780815351016
ISBN (Paperback): 9780367786984

Reviewed by
Bronwyn Strydom
University of Pretoria

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a12

Keywords: South Africa; universities, apartheid, decolonisation, higher education

At first glance, *Uprooting university apartheid in South Africa* by Teresa Barnes may appear to be a treatise on contemporary higher education policy in South Africa. In actuality, Barnes's book is more a work on university history, investigating the case of a professor in Political Philosophy who taught at the University of Cape Town (UCT) between 1937 and 1970. Using this biographical point of departure, Barnes lays bare the complexities and contradictions at the heart of both liberal thinking and seemingly liberal institutions operating during the apartheid era in South Africa. Barnes's research is not just an uprooting but also an uncovering of the problematic role of universities and academics, demonstrating powerfully the value of university histories as ways to unpack and explore colonial and discriminatory legacies. In the contemporary South African higher education landscape, in which decolonisation and transformation are key questions, a study such as this demonstrates the critical need to examine the histories of universities to understand and shed light on their colonial, racial, and gendered roots.

Prof. A.H. Murray is an interesting case, examined very successfully by Barnes, that highlights many of the contradictions and layers of liberal thinking under apartheid. Most

of his career was at the English medium UCT which positioned itself as liberal and critical towards the apartheid regime and was sometimes popularly referred to as 'Moscow on the hill' for the apparent communist sympathies of some of its staff and students. Murray, however, while on the staff of UCT, became a regular witness on behalf of the state in cases against anti-apartheid activists, most famously in the Treason Trials of 1956-60. As an apparent expert on communism, he was called on to prove that those prosecuted supported communism and thus also the violent overthrow of the state.

For the concise length of the book, it is a remarkably rich and contextualised study based on thorough research, whose contribution stretches much wider than just Murray and UCT. Barnes has drawn on a variety of archival and primary sources, as well as conducted a range of interviews, joining many threads together in the construction of Murray's story. The references in the book are themselves a rich and interesting resource. A striking feature of the narrative is the tracing of networks and connections between intellectuals, public figures, and their families as part of the history of Murray and UCT.

Barnes introduces the book describing her interest in the subject and her personal experiences at southern African universities. Chapter one explores Murray's background, education, and early career, a striking feature of which is the seemingly contradictory influences of Murray's youth, including relations with the Joint Council Movement and Labour Party, and also involvement in the Bantu Education Commission. These experiences are shown to underpin Murray's particular brand of liberalism. Chapter two examines frameworks of South African liberalism, distinguishing between the perspectives of temporal and spatial liberalism. Barnes categorises Murray as a spatial liberal which showed in his support for separate development and his ideas regarding pluralism. The discussion also highlights the diversity of liberal thinking during apartheid as the phenomenon of so-called liberals who supported apartheid is explored.

Chapter three considers ideas of complicity and how these relate to an institution. UCT as a university, while involved in acts of private and public resistance, also was 'an institution significantly entwined with apartheid'(49). Barnes highlights the presence of both temporal and spatial liberalism in an examination of cases of discrimination at UCT, highlighting the strength of Eurocentric and white supremacist ideologies. The focus returns to Murray in chapter four and the history of Murray's involvement in various trials as part of the prosecution on behalf of the apartheid government is presented. Despite the fact that the strategy of proving that opposers of apartheid were communists was not very successful in many of the court cases in which Murray was involved, the state continued to call on Murray to testify during a period of two decades. In chapter five Barnes considers

the presence of espionage at South African universities during apartheid. Although not verifiable in any of the available evidence, Barnes speculates in an informed manner about Murray's involvement in espionage and also considers his contribution to censorship under apartheid. This chapter further explores the role of academics as informers or consultants in the Cold War struggles of communism and anti-communism. These are certainly aspects of universities and their relationship with the state which deserve further attention.

The final chapter functions as an epilogue, exposing aspects of universities and their legacies present in the post-apartheid era. Barnes's focus remains on UCT in this discussion as a product of both the colonial and apartheid states. This chapter introduces many topics for debate in the quest for a decolonised university while drawing on ideas of knowledge and power, intersectionality, and feminist scholarship. Topics such as campus spaces and architecture and the #Rhodesmustfall movement are used here to highlight in a variety of manners the colonial and problematic racial roots and legacies of universities and raise questions for further research and debate.

e-ISSN 2309-9003

TEACHERS VOICE / HANDS-ON ARTICLES

Controversial Issues in History Education: Takeaways from an International Collaboration between the University of Pretoria (South Africa) and Leipzig University (Germany)

In this edition of *Yesterday & Today*, the "Teachers Voice" section focuses on international collaboration between History Education students of the Universities of Pretoria and Leipzig. Often, international collaborations are at the level of academic staff, especially undergraduate students, who do not have an opportunity to engage with each other. This initiative attempted to challenge the existing status quo. In so doing, the academic staff members introduced the pre-service history students to each other. They had to set the agenda then and initiate courageous conversations on teaching controversial issues in their respective countries. Below is a report from the perspectives of the academics and pre-service history students involved in the initiative. Hopefully, this can stimulate other institutions to share similar conversations between students from the Global North and Global South.

The views of the academic staff involved

Pranitha Bharath
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa
Email: pranitha.bharath@up.ac.za
Orcid: 0000-0002-6175-7109

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a14

The purpose of the South African and German student collaboration was to understand how preservice teachers teach a controversial past in the subject of history. The online

student exchange program, initiated in November 2023 between the University of Pretoria (South Africa) and the University of Leipzig (Germany), produced valuable lessons for students to understand their complex pasts, rethinking the approach to teaching history in different contexts. Fifty university students from both countries convened on digital platforms, forming groups to discuss topics ranging from colonial legacies to the Holocaust to refine their pedagogical practices.

The complex histories of South Africa and Germany have been marked by periods of contention and conflict. Germany's pivotal role in the events of the First and Second World Wars has left an enduring global footprint. The events will continue to be historically significant for future generations. These events have imparted distinct lessons as crucial reminders for potential conflicts. Likewise, South Africa's tumultuous past is characterised by its struggle against apartheid and colonisation. South Africa's internal conflicts, racial disharmony, and sanctions from other countries resulted in the 1994 democratic elections. Within the new democratic framework, many new challenges arose and continue to exist. Unresolved conflicts persist in history classrooms, especially when historical memories are revisited when we teach about the past. The Pretoria-Leipzig exchange offered us ways to learn from each other by sharing our experiences in different contexts.

These two nations, akin to others, grapple with framing, comprehending, and teaching their pasts. Historical narratives within educational curricula are subject to a constant battle between educational objectives, societal perspectives, and historical scholarship. Consequently, the narratives presented in the curricula reflect not only historical content but also the prevailing socio-political interests. Given this scenario, those who teach history are exposed to differences of opinion and controversy, which spill over into classrooms of a heterogeneous learner population. Our collaboration offered preservice teachers ways to discuss, learn, communicate, and share. Our students' reflections from this process also provide insight into what they took away from this process.

From the dialogue, students understood the need to acknowledge historical injustices, embrace multiple perspectives on issues, and create inclusive classrooms that encourage critical thinking and empathy. We train preservice teachers about the nature of history teaching and how historical sources play a significant role in constructing narratives. The constructed nature of history shifts away from the former content-heavy understanding of history. While there are still relevant facts in history, how these facts are constructed from evidence forms a crucial part of the methodology of history. An evidence-based method or inquiry offers significant benefits as knowledge derived from various sources, including oral testimonies, written documents, and archival material, are pitched against each other. This

may become contentious, where established narratives become tentative and questionable. Multiple narratives exist around the same event or issue, and how the teacher manages them is a skill included in teacher training programs. In the process of evaluating evidence, material can be contentious and unreliable. Material is available in textbooks and source-packs and can be internet-derived. Textbook content can be approved but other materials can enter the classroom. That is where the history teacher establishes a framework for soliciting valuable evidence and where respectful dialogue can occur from corroborating evidence into reasoned interpretations.

At university, we train preservice teachers on how to use and understand curriculum documents and how to approach controversial topics. We also understand that individual teacher philosophies govern teaching practices and learning outcomes. These may vary significantly from one practice to the next, overtly or covertly shaping the approach to teaching these controversial issues. By enhancing preservice teacher awareness, we transmit the necessity of being open to debates and deliberation, thus equipping them with skills to approach history classes tactfully and diplomatically. At the University of Pretoria, we incorporate the possibility of teaching these controversial issues with confidence in the training of our students within the PGCE and B.Ed history methodology programs. We teach them to approach and address issues of controversy with respect and integrity. The learners benefit from their educators, and society is generally impacted as they transition. The collaboration was thus an investment as we target the education of society through our preservice teachers and the learners they will teach.

Exploring controversial issues through international collaboration

Kathrin Klausmeier
History Didactics and Historical Culture
University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany
Email: kathrin.klausmeier@uni-leipzig.de
Orcid: 0000-0002-6375-047X

Sophie Lehmann
History Didactics and Historical Culture
University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany
Email: sl16june@studserv.uni-leipzig.de
Orcid: 0009-0001-0778-1351

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a15

Controversial topics are pivotal in the daily operations of educational institutions. However, their management often involves uncertainty and avoidance, especially in the context of formal education in schools. Research indicates that educators exhibit a degree of reluctance to engage with controversy, possibly arising from challenges in facilitating such discussions and meeting students' expectations regarding historical truths in discussions in the classroom. Nevertheless, adopting an adept approach towards controversy is essential, as emphasised by the Beutelsbach Consensus. Negotiating controversies embody a fundamental democratic principle and constitute an integral facet of democratic pedagogy. Furthermore, controversial debates serve as a barometer and a requirement for stable democracy, necessitating their incorporation within educational settings. Therefore, it becomes clear that it is necessary to look beyond national borders to understand the influence of social and historical-political factors. The exchange responds to empirical findings that point out that the controversy is not sufficiently realised in history lessons. It has been observed repeatedly that teachers generalise or omit controversial content or problems under the pretext of limited time to avoid controversy. This often occurs because of uncertainty. Therefore, the seminar and exchange aim to empower prospective teachers to deal with the controversy in history lessons.

After conducting a practice-oriented formulation of the problem, theoretical

approaches were undertaken to explore controversiality in contrast to multi-perspectivity and plurality based on empirical classroom findings. The seminar was organised between prospective history teachers from the University of Pretoria in South Africa to sensitise the students to the context-dependency of controversy. In preparation for the exchange, students from Leipzig analysed parts of the history of South Africa and created timelines of the most significant events to familiarise themselves with the country's past and present. This task sparked controversial discussions among the students during the seminars. They also analysed South African history curricula and found that the topics covered are highly controversial from a German perspective, such as the question of what makes a good leader. This shows how different cultural backgrounds can lead to different perspectives on controversy. During the seminar, the Leipzig students were allowed to prioritise their group work with South African students form the University of Pretoria based on criteria they devised collectively, such as analysing internship reports from South Africa and Germany about controversy in history lessons or investigating how controversy can be created through teaching methods. Students needed to engage in self-directed dialogue with each other before discussing the issues in a larger group.

Sensitising students to conditional factors that inhibit controversial discussions and providing opportunities for action are crucial to enable them to deal appropriately with controversy in everyday school life. In general, the professionalisation of teachers and the internationalisation of the teacher profession are of central importance in preparing future teachers appropriately to negotiate controversy in the classroom. This includes both support within the training programme and the promotion of solid partnerships and contacts outside the university, which could be provided through the Pretoria-Leipzig exchange in the later everyday life of teachers. Through a holistic approach, teachers can be empowered to accept controversy and actively utilize it to convey democratic values and educate students to become responsible, reflective citizens.

Preservice teachers' voices from the University of Pretoria in South Africa

Reflection: My personal experience with international collaboration between German and South African preservice history teachers

Chandani Maharaj
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a16

The international collaboration between the future teachers from Germany and South Africa occurred on 14 November 2024 about teaching controversial issues. This collaboration was a rewarding, enriching, enlightening, and educational experience. As one of the South African student coordinators, this collaboration offered me a unique opportunity to engage and discuss with other teachers from a different cultural and educational background whilst delving into the complexity of teaching controversial issues in the history classroom. In this reflective piece, I will explore my initial impressions, the journey of development, takeaways from the collaboration and conclusions.

My initial impression upon hearing from Dr Bharath about the possible educational collaboration with future teachers from the University of Leipzig in Germany was a combination of curiosity, excitement, and worry. I was thrilled to learn from the next generation of teachers in a foreign country and participate in this worldwide partnership. I have always felt that teachers are lifelong students willing and motivated to learn from others. My curious side was fascinated in determining what differences there were, if any, in the methodology of approaching controversial issues within the classroom. I was also curious about how histories and experiences could be similar despite the geographical locations of the history classrooms. Past events in the history of South Africa and Germany are different yet controversial, motivating me to investigate their approaches and learn from them.

Whilst excitement increased by the day, worry also manifested. I was afraid that perhaps meaningful and insightful discussions could be challenged by the language of

communication – our English and their German. I was concerned that the language barrier would triumph and lead to a less intelligent and less successful collaboration because good communication and collaboration go hand in hand. Consequently, I cast aside my initial concern and realized the potential long-term benefits this international collaboration could have for me and my professional development. I was determined that this collaboration would be successful for not only myself but also for everyone involved.

The journey in setting up this international collaboration between Leipzig and the University of Pretoria initially brought a few challenges that tested our ability to adapt, communicate, and understand the bigger picture that this collaboration was trying to paint. However, thanks to personal motivation and a determined effort from everyone, we connected and learned. At first, Dr Bharath and I were tasked with getting all the teachers onto the WhatsApp platform. This was easily achieved because of Prof Klausmeier's hard work and dedication. Based on individual choices, the collaboration's participants were split into different groups, each focusing on questions related to teaching controversial issues that they had personally picked. The questions covered a wide spectrum, including how much institutional culture influences contentious issues, comparing thorough accounts of potentially contentious school-related practical experiences, and how educators handle contentious subjects when teaching them. After everyone was on the WhatsApp platform, everything started to fall into place.

For my contribution, I selected the question of how institutional culture influences controversial issues. Our group of 8 (4 from each country) had insightful discussions on platforms like WhatsApp and Google Meets. Despite our physical distance, our virtual meetings became a space for exploring and exchanging educational ideas. As we talked, it became clear that we needed to consciously work beyond our differences to ensure that both German and South African students participated equally.

In our group discussion, we delved into the topic by sharing our diverse perspectives, initially shaped by personal introductions among members who included from the Leipzig side Leonie Goßler, Gabe Decina, Celine Hanekom, Vincent Ansgar Frisch, Robert Henze, and Elias Hofmann. This rich mix of backgrounds sets the stage for a nuanced exploration of the question. The conversation began with insights from the South African context, highlighting how the unified structure of schools up to the 12th grade, coupled with the government's basic education requirement up to grade 9, influences the emergence and handling of controversial issues within educational institutions. As I explained, this setup creates a broad, somewhat homogenized framework for addressing controversies, which contrasts with the German approach discussed later in the meeting. The dialogue was

marked by a fluid exchange of ideas, where each participant, following my lead, contributed their views and interrogated the implications of different educational structures on institutional cultures and their capacity to foster or mitigate controversies.

As the discussion shifted to the German perspective, Robert's introduction of the distinction between high and secondary schools in Germany opened a new dimension to our analysis. This differentiation in educational pathways led to a deeper understanding of how institutional structures can shape the discourse around controversial issues. The German teachers, including Elias, who initially broadened the conversation, shared how these divergent educational tracks influence students' exposure and responses to controversies, suggesting a more segmented approach to institutional culture than the South African model. Throughout our exchange, we learned from each other, uncovering the intricate ways institutional cultures, shaped by national educational systems, contribute to framing and engaging with controversial issues. This cross-cultural insight was enlightening and underscored the complexity of our central question as we discovered the varied approaches and outcomes shaped by our respective backgrounds. The German students' revelations about their educational system, juxtaposed with the South African experience, enriched our understanding and highlighted the significance of context in addressing and understanding controversial issues within institutions.

The most important turning point arose during our first virtual meeting when we realized the importance of visual aids for our German counterparts. After recognizing and understanding this, I took it upon myself to compile an understandable document summarising our discussions, ensuring clarity and accessibility for everyone. During our next discussions on Google Meets, we started using the chat function (a lot more) which allowed for better and clearer communication of thoughts and questions, especially inquiries directed towards our German counterparts.

As our discussions increased, we not only discussed the question at hand but also had a deeper understanding of each other's countries and educational systems. We overcame the language barrier by speaking slowly and using digital tools like Google Translate and the chat function on Google Meets. We were able to overcome the barrier and invest in meaningful discussions. Throughout our journey, I uncovered surprising similarities in teaching methods whilst understanding the difference in emphasis of field trips between Germany and South Africa. Classroom discussions and debates are strikingly similar in Germany and South Africa, as both education systems also prioritize enriching experiences through valuable field trips in their curriculums. These insights enriched our collaborative sessions, highlighting the value of cultural exchange and common perspectives in addressing

historical educational challenges.

During our enlightening final meeting with the German student teachers, I discovered their profound passion and dedication towards teaching their country's complex history, despite its association with controversial issues. Their approach revealed an unexpected level of self-awareness and conscientiousness in addressing sensitive topics, a surprising and admirable trait. The exchange of stories and teaching perspectives was highly informative, highlighting the similarities and differences between our curriculums. It was particularly intriguing to learn from them how our discussions helped unveil new insights into the multifaceted nature of apartheid. They shared how these conversations illuminated the significant role that school culture and atmosphere play in teaching history, especially in approaching, sharing, and sometimes choosing to move past controversial issues. This exchange of knowledge enriched our understanding of each other's educational challenges and strategies and fostered a deeper appreciation of the complexities involved in teaching controversial historical topics.

This international collaboration allowed me to reflect on my pedagogical approaches critically. After hearing from my German counterparts about the value of teaching controversial issues through guided debates and inclusive methods, I have thought of taking on more learner-centred methods. In addition, I have seen directly how crucial communication and cultural sensitivity are when discussing important topics in history education.

Overall, the international collaboration between South African and German student teachers was fruitful in several ways. It promoted cross-cultural learning and gave participants new perspectives on other educational frameworks, pedagogies, and classroom dynamics. This international collaboration shared creative teaching approaches, and student teachers benefited from each other's insights and viewpoints. This valuable collaboration broadened my perceptions globally as it promoted a deeper comprehension of a different context and created friendships and relationships across borders.

In conclusion, the international collaboration between German and South African future teachers on teaching controversial issues was extremely enriching and educational. International collaboration is crucial because it combines a variety of viewpoints, abilities, and resources to accomplish shared objectives more successfully than solo endeavours. Together, people and groups can overcome challenging issues by utilising their skills, exchanging knowledge, and creating creative solutions. Working together increases productivity, encourages communication, develops trust, and stimulates creativity. It also promotes team members' growth, learning, and support of one another. In the end,

teamwork produces superior results, higher productivity, and a feeling of mutual success. Moving forward, I am inspired to incorporate the valuable insights from the various discussions and collaborations into my future practices. I am inspired to create an inclusive environment fostering respect and critical thinking on controversial issues.

e-ISSN 2309-9003

Reflection: Exploring Teaching Controversial Topics in History between pre-service teachers from the University of Pretoria and the University of Leipzig

Kgothatso Ngobeni
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a17

My collaboration with students from the University of Pretoria in South Africa and Leipzig University in Germany has been a truly enriching experience. Our group focused on exploring how to teach about the Holocaust and Apartheid in history classrooms, tackling the challenges of addressing sensitive and controversial topics.

The German students approached the Holocaust with a deep sense of responsibility, emphasising the importance of contextualizing the historical events within the country's complex political and social landscape. They discussed the need to address the ongoing legacies of the Holocaust and promote critical thinking about racism and discrimination. In contrast, the South African students brought a unique perspective on teaching Apartheid, highlighting the importance of decolonizing the curriculum and centring marginalised voices.

Through our discussions, I have learned about the specific challenges that teachers face in both countries when teaching controversial issues. The German students shared their experiences with confronting denialism and neo-Nazism, while the South African students discussed the ongoing struggles for justice and equality. I was struck by similarities in how both groups approached the topics, emphasising the importance of empathy, critical thinking and inclusivity.

One specific issue that stood out was the use of primary sources in teaching the Holocaust. The German students introduced me to the concept of 'authentic historical sites', which involves using original artefacts and documents to humanize the victims and convey the magnitude of the tragedy. In contrast, the South African students emphasized the importance of oral histories and personal narratives in teaching about apartheid.

It is safe to conclude my reflection by indicating that I have learned that effective teaching requires creating safe and inclusive learning environment, using diverse sources and perspectives and encouraging critical thinking and empathy. It requires understanding

of the complexities of teaching controversial issues and the importance of cultural sensitivity and inclusivity.

e-ISSN 2309-9003

Reflection on teaching controversial issues in Germany and South Africa

Sello Cassius Mojela
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a18

My name is Sello Cassius Mojela, and I am a student at the University of Pretoria, pursuing a Postgraduate Certificate in Education, majoring in History. I was one of the students who participated in the University of Pretoria and the University of Leipzig collaboration discussions focusing on teaching controversial issues in the classroom. This reflection aims to abridge my experience as a postgraduate team member in an international collaboration. I am very interested in how history is taught and how its very nature is contested and controversial.

My motivation to join the international collaboration session emanates, first and foremost, from my love and appreciation of history as a subject riddled with controversies that modern societies still grapple with. To me, Germany is a very interesting country in my study of modern history. I have always been interested in how the German curriculum is structured and, more importantly, how controversial issues in German history are taught. With the benefit of hindsight, my participation in the session was worth it.

Based on the collaboration, I understood that in Germany, the history curriculum is not characterized by super patriotism but rather extreme caution in avoiding controversial issues that mark German history. The curriculum seems to be characterized by an almost pacificist and deliberately unpatriotic undertone. It reflects principles formulated by international organizations such as UNESCO or the Council of Europe, thus oriented towards human rights, democracy, and peace. Therefore, German textbooks usually downplay national pride and ambitions and aim to develop an understanding of citizenship centred on democracy, progress, human rights, peace and Europeanness.[1]

In my view, this over-emphasis on Europeanness and a lack of national pride shuns, to an extent, a miscellaneous collection of controversial issues and, therefore, contributes to

1 S Lassig & K H Pohl, *History Textbooks and Historical Scholarship in Germany*, History Workshop Journal, 67, 2009, p. 128-129.

an erasure of topics and issues that affect Germany's national history and colonial history.

During our discussions, a consensus emerged that, especially in Germany, there is a feeling of guilt and fear of dealing with controversial issues in history education. It emerged that in Germany, the education system shuns controversy in teaching history in a context marked by Eurocentricity, lack of patriotism, guilt and shame, and the apparent dangers of ultra-patriotism. To me, this means that German society has yet to liberate itself from its dark history in Germany and its former colonies. It enforces liberal values and norms to such an extent that it becomes difficult to question and interrogate history dispassionately, and showing excessive patriotism may be misconstrued. To this end, the question of how Germany was able to recover from the Great Depression under the notorious leadership of Adolf Hitler and the massive industrialization that followed is a question that is outrightly dismissed. The rationale is that the Nazi regime cannot be accorded any positive affirmation in German society.

While collaborating with the German students, I posed three fundamental questions that cut deep within the fabric of German society and history. The first question had to do with the possibility of considering multi perspectivity when looking at the administration of Hitler, and the answer was a definite no; that is, Nazi Germany never contributed anything positive in all spheres of German society. The second question had to do with Germany's colonial history in Namibia. I asked about to what extent to which Germany's colonial history, in particular the Herero-Nama Genocide, features in the classroom. The answer was that it is minimal to non-existent because of the topic's controversial nature.

The third question was about the fact that Adolf Hitler is historically considered the most brutal dictator and despot for his abhorrible deeds against Jews. I noted the case of King Leopold of Belgium and his misdeeds in the Congo. My question was, who is the most brutal, and why is it not Leopold? The answer to me squarely centred around a Eurocentric education that often disregards 'other' people's lived experiences, particularly Africans. This highlights a disproportionate differentiation of victims and the hierarchy thereof. This means, in my view, that in the hierarchy of mass killings involving people of the world, Africans are ranked last and such that their lived experiences that deserve the same attention as others are often overlooked.

International collaborations focusing on controversial issues in history education are crucial, especially for young and upcoming history teachers and aspiring historians. There is a scholarly consensus that History is a field riddled with controversy, and controversial figures are the core focus of history. Therefore, teachers and students must learn to reflect upon the epistemological status of sources as well as the concepts of authenticity,

originality, and truth, as well as with those used in memory debates like victim and sacrifice, the differentiation between different types of memorials (hero–, victim– and so on), the political concepts which draw on historical interpretations (like hierarchy of victims vs. equalization of victims) and so on.[2] All considered this was a worthwhile experience, and we, as pre-service history teachers, grappled with the plurality and multiplicity of handlings of the past and orientations drawn from history.

2 A Korber, *German History Didactics*, German History Didactics, 2007, p. 162.

Preservice teachers' voices from the University of Leipzig in Germany

Charlotte Paula Rex and Franziska Eckart
History Didactics and Historical Culture
University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a19

The opportunity for communicative exchange with students from South Africa regarding the theme of controversy in history education was highly valuable. Particularly noteworthy was that the South African students were in their examination phase leading up to our joint Zoom meeting. We appreciate that, despite this, they took the time to engage in this conversation, mutually exploring controversial topics within the context of education. While preparation for the meeting and initial communication via WhatsApp varied in intensity and therefore led to some uncertainties regarding the extent of prearranged content, we finally engaged in lively and profound exchanges during the main Zoom meeting that brought us together.

Within smaller groups, we discussed a specific question provided beforehand and argued about differences and similarities concerning teacher education, school systems, and political issues. Building on our prior knowledge of South African history, we received intriguing questions that, although deviating slightly from the primary task, were important to discuss. Indeed, the meeting offered a great opportunity to gain insights into the realities of a country's controversial topics within schools.

Simultaneously, it became evident that the time allocated was insufficient to delve deeply into all possible topics. Thus, it would have been preferable to expand the project to allow for more frequent and/or longer exchanges, facilitating comprehensive understanding and exploration. In our small group, we witnessed a willingness to ask questions and observed a growing number of engaging inquiries. Major themes included historical-political topics such as the apartheid system and the Nazi regime, as issues that have left indelible marks on both countries and remain primary subjects in history education.

Despite differing national histories, we identified similar critical perceptions regarding controversial themes in schools and observed comparable influences. The danger of neglecting important and intricate historical issues was apparent to us on various levels.

It was heartening to recognize that both German and South African students attributed significant importance to historical inquiry and saw clear motivational connections within their studies. In so doing, we established an awareness of historical repetition and engaging with specific topics, even if they may lead to discomfort in educational settings, which emerged as crucial objectives for all participants.

Following the group discussion, it was extremely enlightening to learn about the insights from other groups, revealing overlaps and introducing new perspectives. These diverse and stimulating insights would undoubtedly have led to further intriguing questions and discussions in a larger setting if we were given more processing time. Overall, the project proved enriching on both personal and academic levels, demonstrating significant potential for informative and engaging exchanges, particularly concerning educational controversies.

It was heartening to observe that despite our diverse nationalities, there were similarities in motivation and interest among us students, aiming to engage more intensively with controversies in education and not shying away from addressing and processing important topics. A more intensive collaborative engagement through multiple meetings aimed at deepening knowledge and reducing inhibitions would undoubtedly benefit all involved parties.

Sonja Surup
History Didactics and Historical Culture
University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a20

The role of teachers in handling controversial topics in the classroom and the challenges they entail are crucial for the education and development of students. Classrooms, whether German or South African, particularly history classrooms, are not isolated spaces but sites where teachers and students inevitably confront uncomfortable and conflicting "truths" about contentious societal issues. Teachers are responsible for creating a familiar and dynamic learning environment that encourages students to actively learn, think critically, and engage in deeper discussions on (historical) topics. In November 2023, a virtual exchange between pre-service history teachers from the universities of Leipzig and Pretoria facilitated discussions among students about their respective history education, focusing on dealing with controversy in teaching. During these meetings, whether in international small groups or a virtual seminar, we as students were able to discuss our experiences regarding institutional and individual approaches to handling controversy from an international perspective.

A historical fact should always be presented from multiple perspectives in history classes, as only then can the different views and positions become visible to students. These differing views and positions provide the breeding ground for controversy in history classes. In particular, Klaus Bergmann has influenced German history didactics by emphasizing the intertwining of controversy within a conceptual framework of multiperspectivity and plurality, significantly contributing to making this framework a fundamental core of normative principles for historical learning in schools. Terminologically, Bergmann distinguishes these three concepts as follows: Multiperspectivity in history is evident both at the level of historical sources, which were involved in a historical event thinking, acting, and suffering, and at the level of historians' representations of these sources. The differing representations of a historical event lead to controversy in historical scholarship. Plurality is constituted in the views and judgments about a historical event formed through students' engagement with multiperspectival testimonies and controversial representations (Bergmann, 2004: 66). From this, it can be deduced: To challenge, promote, and test thinking, familiar boundaries should be transcended, and things should be continually viewed from different perspectives. Through this departure from familiar positions and

thought routines, in the back and forth of searching and testing, comparing and evaluating, we are called upon to unlock reality and orient ourselves in the world intellectually.

In the exchange with fellow students from South Africa, it quickly became evident that the principle of controversy is attributed a similar significance in its definition. Furthermore, across countries, we shared many experiences in dealing with controversy in history teaching and the questions and challenges associated with addressing controversial topics. What makes a topic controversial? How can we appropriately consider the diversity of perspectives involved? How should we navigate between the claim of neutrality conveyed by an instructor and personal viewpoints? And especially: How do we deal with the influence of "emotion" on handling controversial topics, as teachers often struggle to moderate controversy when emotions are strong and vehement? We could not provide answers or problem-solving strategies. Still, we could identify some of the causes: lack of resources, inadequate training, time constraints, and uncertainty on the part of teachers proved to be common obstacles. As often is the case, this is a (seemingly international) structural problem. These hurdles can lead to a certain degree of avoidance tendencies for teachers. Overall, there is a certain discrepancy between the theories studied at university and teaching in the real world for both German and South African students. This is a concerning conclusion, in my opinion.

In both Germany and South Africa, the likelihood of controversies and tensions significantly increases when a series of prescribed topics are addressed. In the Saxon curriculum used in schools in Leipzig, these include the period of National Socialism and the Holocaust, as well as German division and reunification. Especially the latter two topics may have a different potential for controversy, particularly in the "new federal states", as these topics are often closely linked to personal family histories or experiences from the immediate environment and thus exert a certain (often emotionalizing) influence on the identity constructions of adolescents. In South Africa, controversial topics include race theories in the 19th and 20th centuries; apartheid and African nationalism and the National Party's assumption of power in 1948; civil society protests in the 1960s-1980s and the introduction of democracy in South Africa and the country's efforts to grapple with its violent past. Among the topics mentioned here, all in one way or another, deal with race (Wassermann & Bentrovato, 2018: 85). The South African educational landscape includes both private and government schools, as well as both former black and former white schools, the latter encompassing both all-white and mixed-race Afrikaans classes and mixed-race English classes. Although none of these student groups directly experienced apartheid, the vastly different experiences of their families are deeply rooted in this past,

which still casts a long shadow in contemporary history classes and is an integral part of the historical consciousness of these younger generations. Therefore, teachers must teach a diverse class of learners, including the descendants of those who either suffered under apartheid or benefited from it. Often, as our South African classmates shared with us and as emerges from Wassermann and Bentrovato's research (2018), (prospective) teachers feel unequipped to handle these tensions, fearing possible racial blame, so several prospective teachers perceive the diversity that characterizes many of their classes as a particular obstacle to meaningful teaching regarding historical thinking. Such avoidance strategies manifest a black-and-white binary in South African history teaching, which continues to influence how institutions, prospective teachers, mentor teachers, and learners relate to history and to each other (Wassermann & Bentrovato, 2018).

Therefore, the manifestation of controversy as a teaching principle for history education appears all the more urgent. To successfully initiate discursivity and multiperspectivity, to break entrenched thought patterns, to independently assess historical facts, and to embark on a willingness to change in a (democratic) society, engagement with a topic, even if it seems tense, must be initiated as genuine engagement. One final thought should be mentioned in conclusion: Adopting multiple perspectives fosters an awareness of possibilities. The world in the mind should be able to be thought of as one of several possibilities. Reinhart Koselleck and Jürgen Kocka spoke in this context about the development of an awareness of possibilities in historical thinking. This does not mean, of course, simply "ignoring" historical events and their societal impacts over time, but rather forming a basis for belief in the changeability and shapeability of the world and, thus, educationally speaking, for participation in society as a goal of schooling. In the end, for me, the support and preparation of prospective teachers for conflicts are necessary to meet the challenges of teaching in a complex, heterogeneous society.

References

Bergmann, K 2004. Multiperspektivität. In: U Mayer, H Pandel & Gerhard Schneider (eds.). *Handbuch Methoden im Geschichtsunterricht. Klaus Bergmann zum Gedächtnis*. Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau, 65–77.

Wassermann, J & Bentrovato, D 2018. Confronting controversial issues in history classrooms: An analysis of preservice high school teachers' experiences in post-apartheid South Africa. *Yesterday&Today*, 20: 71-90.

Friederike Urban
History Didactics and Historical Culture
University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2024/n31a21

In my previous university teaching degree program, I had already become acquainted with the historical didactic principle of controversy in a previous module. However, this was only superficially addressed, as there was no time for in-depth exploration. Therefore, Professor Dr. Klausmeier's seminar offered a suitable opportunity to delve deeper into what had already been learned.

As my previous history studies and my schooling were very Eurocentric, we first had to engage with the history of South Africa in the seminar. Some key points such as colonialism, apartheid, or the figure of Nelson Mandela were already familiar, but I only knew other historical events such as the Boer Wars by hearsay. Therefore, this part of our preparation was very beneficial for me. Additionally, we extensively examined the South African curriculum for the subject of history. This was already highly interesting to me, as I had only been familiar with German history curricula, especially the Saxon curriculum for high schools. It was very intriguing for me to see that the South African curriculum better addresses topics and events on different continents. At this point, I felt that the Saxon curriculum could improve in this regard. While discussing the definition of controversy in German-speaking history didactics by Klaus Bergmann and our personal experiences in dealing with controversy in history teaching, it was also very helpful to read Johan Wassermann and Denise Bentrovato's essay on controversy in South African history teaching and the experiences of South African history students. I noticed that controversial topics in German history teaching often arose in the treatment of World War II, the Holocaust, and German division and reunification, while in South African history teaching, this often occurred in the treatment of apartheid. In both countries, it is important to note that these topics are also reflected in students' own family histories, and students may already have strong opinions on a particular issue from home. Wassermann and Bentrovato's essay highlighted how this affects interactions with teacher trainees during internships. At that time, I had not yet completed my teaching internship for history. However, my dedicated mentor encouraged me to address controversial topics in class. On the other hand, some fellow students reported being discouraged from addressing certain topics or that little room was left for controversy in the history classes they observed. Another important

aspect for us German students is the so-called Beutelsbacher consensus, which outlines the opportunities for teachers to express their political views.

To prepare for the exchange with South African students, we were divided into small groups, each tasked with preparing and discussing a different topic. Collaborating with the assigned South African students went smoothly through the formation of a WhatsApp group. Unfortunately, two South African group members did not participate in the group work. However, this was not dramatic as the six of us worked productively together. We had a video conference to prepare for the major meeting on November 14, which greatly facilitated preparation. I found it very enriching to exchange views with the two South African students, Zoe and La-Tavia. Our topic was how the subject knowledge of the teacher - or lack thereof - influences the ability to present controversial topics in history class. We concluded that the subject knowledge of the teacher is crucial for being able to present controversy in the classroom. It is not only necessary to provide a multiperspective approach to certain topics but also to be able to factually address and, if necessary, contradict controversial statements made by students. Subject knowledge is important for understanding different perspectives on a topic and being able to teach it in a balanced manner in class. It is also important for presenting controversial topics sensitively and empathetically, especially when these topics are highly emotionally charged. This also applies to teachers' ability to analyze a topic and their own biases critically. This is important for teaching students these skills as well.

The exchange in our group was very enriching for me. Through our productive preparation, we also had the opportunity to discuss other topics with each other. While we discovered some differences in the organization of teacher education in our countries, we also found many commonalities. We were able to identify many similarities in our daily lives at university - whether in Leipzig or Pretoria. We also learned about each other's national characteristics.

The big presentation on November 14 went very well for our group. However, I had some difficulties following the conversation in the subsequent presentation as some participants spoke English very quickly. The language barrier likely also caused some of my classmates to hesitate in participating in the discussion. Nevertheless, it was very interesting to see the results that the other groups had achieved. The subsequent exchange with Johan Wassermann and Denise Bentrovato was also very interesting, as it gave me a deeper insight into the South African school system. Overall, the seminar and the opportunity to interact with South African students have greatly helped me in my personal development. It was a good opportunity to use my English again, as my second subject is German, which has

not been the case in university so far. Additionally, the seminar with Prof. Dr. Klausmeier helped me become more aware of controversial topics in history education. It also gave me confidence for my upcoming internship during the semester break. I believe this experience has encouraged me to address controversial topics in class and discuss them with students. Overall, the seminar not only deepened my knowledge of historical didactic concepts but also allowed me to gain new intercultural experiences.

Calls for Papers: 2025 Special Issue, Yesterday & Today Journal

10 years into the #MustFall Moment: Where are we in terms of responding to the Fallists' demands within History (of) Education? What are the challenges and successes? Where are we headed and who is taking us there? (Working title)

Special Issue editors

Associate Professor Paul Maluleka (UNISA), Dr Sarah Godsell (WITS), Dr Paul Hendricks (WITS), and Mr Soldaat Mohau (UL)

Overview

The year 2025 marks the 10th anniversary of the Fallist Movement, a Black student-led movement, in our public universities in post-apartheid South Africa. This movement called for the decolonisation, and by extension, the Africanisation of the university, its curriculum (i.e. content knowledge or subject matter), the pedagogical orientations used to teach, as well as the assessment strategies often employed to assess the knowledge or content taught. Other demands made by the movement include, but are not limited to, the call to fight subtle and overt racism, harassment, discrimination, white privilege, cognitive, epistemic, existential, and ontological violence, the alienating and marginalising institutional culture, and others. Although the core focus of the movement was higher education, scholars such as Maluleka (2021) have since argued that those demands were also extended to basic education as a whole, and the need to encompass school history in particular, even though the movement did not make this explicit in their protests.

The unfolding of these demands has taken place alongside the work of the History Ministerial Task Team, appointed in 2015. Their Report of 2018 suggests the development of a more African centred curriculum, which holds exciting possibilities for school history. However most history teachers and history education scholars have not been part of this process. There are complex power dynamics at play. What does this mean for a history influenced by the student #MustFall movements?

Therefore, this Special Issue seeks to present a critical examination of our responses,

that is, those of us involved in History (of) Education, in relation to the demands made by the protesting students in 2015 – 2016; the demands that they as different cohorts of students move through the academy, continue to make to the present.

Potential themes

In should be noted from the onset that the themes below are only intended to spark or stimulate thinking and rethinking from contributors. They are not meant to exhaust the scope potential contributions, perspectives/orientations, and approaches of contributors.

- Decolonising and Africanising curriculum knowledge.
- Decolonial and Africanised pedagogies.
- Decolonial and Africanised assessment strategies.
- Race, class, gender, intersectionality in the history curriculum and in the classroom.
- The History Ministerial Task Team's ongoing work: process, participation and produc.t
- Towards the centring of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, Asexual, and many other terms (LGBTIQA+) histories in the school history curriculum.
- The role of environmental history in a decolonised and Africanised school history curriculum.
- Indigenous Knowledges and conceptions of history, and the potential of these in the classroom.
- The chronologies of history in the curriculum: is colonisation still defining our thinking?
- The intersection between content and pedagogy as a decolonial nexus .
- Decolonising and Africanising in the face of a resource crisis: what is possible in our schools .
- Doing history, Oral History Research project as a tool To Africanise or decolonise history content.
- Using traditional games to teach History themes.
- Using poetic inquiry as a method of doing the Oral History Project.
- Interdisciplinary approaches that draw insights from fields such as education, history, sociology, visual and performing arts, among others.

- Internationalization and decolonization that explores the intersections and tensions between internationalization and decolonization in basic education and higher education.
- Comparative analyses that compare the decolonization efforts in South Africa with similar movements or initiatives in other parts of the globe.

Submitting to this Special Issue

- Call to submit abstracts – 1st of August 2024
- Editors' response to abstracts submitted – 31st of October 2024
- Submission of full manuscripts – 3rd of February 2025
- Reviewing process – 3rd of February to 30th of April 2025
- Corrections by contributors (peer review) – 1st of May to 31st of July 2025
- Editors' response to the contributors' corrections – 1st of from August to 30th of September 2025
- Contributors' response to our editors' comments 1st to 31st of October 2025
- Language editing by the Journal – 1st to 30th of November 2025
- Publication - December 2025

Please submit your abstracts and then your full manuscripts to: malulp@unisa.ac.za and cc sarah.godsell@wits.ac.za, paul.hendricks@wits.ac.za, mohau.soldaat@ul.ac.za.

Template guidelines for writing an article for Yesterday & Today

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
    - Orcid number

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 NOT "J.C. Nkuna said".
12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:
    Example: p. space 23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.
13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.
14. **Quotes from sources in the body text** must be used sparingly. If longer that 5 lines, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and NOT in italics. Example: An owner close to the town stated that: "the pollution history of the river is a muddy business".
15. Quotes **(as part of the body text)** must be in double inverted commas: "… and she" and *NOT* '… and she'.
16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures:** Submit all

picturesfor an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.

Example: **Image 1: 'Image title'** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.

Sources of all images should also be included after the 'Image title'.

Example: **Source: 'The source'** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.

Important note: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).

17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text. Example: the end.1 **NOT** …the end1.
18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.
19. **Dates:** All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December 2010; NOT** 23/12/2010 [**For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines**].
20. 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)'.

About the Journal

Yesterday & Today is a national accredited and open–access journal for research in especially the fields of History Education, History in Education, and the History of Education and where research related findings are applied to improve the scholarly knowledge in these fields. With the University of Pretoria as custodian, this Journal is edited and published under the auspices of the Department of Humanities Education, the Faculty of Education, the University of Pretoria in South Africa in conjunction with The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT).

The objective of the journal is to publish research in the fields of History Education, History in Education, and the History of Education and where research related findings are applied to improve scholarly knowledge in these fields.

The primary area of interest is History Education, History in Education, and the History of Education in a South African and African context. However, research regarding international trends from outside Africa are also accommodated.

The journal was started to encourage the development of history as a school subject

and aims to involve historians, methodologists, educationists, history teachers and learners. The title was originally *Historia Junior (South Africa)* (1956–1980). As from 1981, the journal was known as *Gister en Vandag: Tydskrif vir Geskiedenisonderrig*. In 2006 the journal changed its name to *Yesterday & Today*. Articles are published in English.

The journal is published biannually in July and December.

The abbreviated key title is *Yesterday & Today.*

The websites of the Journal are: (http://www.sashtw.org.za follow the "publications link"), http://www.scielo.org.za/yesterday&today and http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/handle/10394/5126) and the https://upjournals.up.ac.za/index.php/yesterday_and_today website.

Selected References

Maluleka, Paul. (2021). Fallism as Decoloniality: Towards a Decolonised School History Curriculum in Post-colonial-apartheid South Africa. *Yesterday and Today*, (26), 68-91.

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.
13. The length of articles, all included, should preferably not exceed 8 000 words.
14. Authors must sign the author declaration document when submitting their articles for consideration.
15. For scientific research articles, page fees of R400:00 per page will be charged from the

South African author's university. It remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

16. The journal utilizes the Portico digital preservation system in order to create permanent archives of the journal for purpose of preservation and restoration.
17. *Yesterday & Today* is an Open Access journal which means that all content is freely available without charge to the user or his/her institution. Users are allowed to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of the articles, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without asking prior permission from the publisher or the author. This is in accordance with the Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) definition of Open Access.
18. The journal has a registered deposit policy with SHERPA RoMEO. This policy indicates to institutions whether they are allowed to upload a duplicate copy of an article by an author affiliated with the home institution, into their institutional repository (Green Open Access). The following link to SHERPA RoMEO can be followed: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/issn/0038-2353/.
19. Copyright and License terms remains with the authors/s of the article/s. All articles published *Yesterday & Today* can be re-used under the following CC licence: CC BY-SA Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

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.**

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.

Yesterday & Today Template guidelines for writing an article

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
   - Orcid number

   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

NOT "J.C. Nkuna said".

12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:
    Example: p. space 23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.
13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.
14. **Quotes from sources in the body text** must be used sparingly. If longer that 5 lines, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and **NOT** in italics.
    Example: An owner close to the town stated that: "the pollution history of the river is a muddy business".
15. Quotes **(as part of the body text)** must be in double inverted commas: "… and she" and *NOT* '… and she'
16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures:** Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.
    Example: **Image 1: 'Image title'** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.Sources of all images should also be included after the 'Image title'.
    Example: **Source: 'The source'** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.
    Important note: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).
17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text.
    Example: the end.1 **NOT** …the end1.
18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.
19. **Dates:** All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December**
20. **2010; NOT** 23/12/2010 [**For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines**].
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)'.