

Chapter 2

Does Food in History Matter? Food in the South African History Curriculum

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Introduction

When one thinks of food, one customarily focusses on its taste, how filling it is and sometimes even considers the effects it has on our bodies. This is because the significance of food in society is normally generalised to its consumption and nutritional value (Kittler, Sucher and Nelms 2012). However, research on foodscapes and foodways has shown that its significance goes beyond its consumption and nutritional value. Foodways offer a lens through which one can understand how human identity is constructed (Janowski 2012). This coincides with Kittler et al. (2012: 4) who perceive food consumption as a 'reaffirmation of cultural identity'. Asi and Teri (2016) add that food can preserve the essence of culture across generations; and Almerico (2014) views food as a definition of a person's cultural identity. Strongly evident in all foodscapes are the politics, economy, sociology and ecology that surround food items, food production and eating (Dolphijn and Amilien 2020). According to Twilley, Graber and Gastropod (2016), food is an engine of empires and revolutions. This is because foodscapes can either unite, divide or transform societies (Smithfield 2017; Twilley et al. 2016). For example, the establishment of the refreshment station in 1652 in Southern Africa led to colonisation which not only stripped the "natives" of their land and freedom, but also undermined and disregarded their consent in their own land. This had ripple effects on the country that have lasted till today, and it changed South Africa forever in terms of what it was to its people and the rest of the world. This shows how food, through foodscapes, allows one to understand how humanity is continuously changing (Dolphijn and Amilien 2020), and the very specific local, national and global histories contributing to these changes.

Regardless of its centrality in society, there is a dearth of literature on food from the humanities perspective and specifically, that of history education. The South African History curriculum (Department of Basic Education 2011), both at school and at teacher education levels, is silent

on food as a first-order concept. This is because scholarship on food tends to be limited to its consumption and nutritional value (Kittler et al. 2012). Food studies in universities are predominantly found in the natural sciences (Alimi 2016; Ranadheera, Baines and Adams 2010) where food is only viewed as a nutrient people need to survive (Ranadheera et al. 2010). When viewed in line with the historical significance of conceptual framework, food cuts through all its criteria as it is important to humanity (importance), affects many people (quantity and profundity), has a continuous impact on society (durable) and helps understand past and present society (relevance and contemporality). According to Levesque (2005), Partington (1980) and Seixas (2006), these are what determine a phenomenon's historical significance and it therefore, makes sense why food should be considered when studying history.

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Furthermore, despite the abundance of emerging scholarship on the need to decolonise the curriculum in post-independence African society (Lebeloane 2017), the South African school curriculum still requires more work for this to be achieved. According to Fataar (2018), during colonisation in Africa, the educational curriculum at secondary and tertiary levels paid little attention to indigenous knowledge since it was regarded as primitive, hence, irrelevant. Indigenous knowledge was not featured in the curriculum: it was 'regarded as weak and untrustworthy, both in terms of theory and of methodology' (Mahabeer 2020: 98). Decades into democracy, the South African education curriculum has been criticised for still being Eurocentric, as was the case during colonialism (Mbembe 2015). This Eurocentrism is inextricably connected to the devaluation of indigenous knowledge. In many ways, knowledge of food is remarkably like indigenous knowledge, since it is often commonsensical and based on every day and lived experiences, it is learnt and knowledge about it is transmitted (for example, in families, through adverts or through parents and caregivers) and it is linked to the senses, especially pleasure and a sense of belonging and communal identity. Thus, from learning about food in history, its meaning and its significance in passing down generational teachings, learners will grasp an understanding of how indigenous knowledge has been maintained and sustained over the years.

Mahabeer (2020) argues that it is pointless to advocate for the decolonisation of the curriculum in higher education if less effort is put into the school curriculum. For Fataar (2018), decolonising the education curriculum involves selecting humanity's knowledge to be incorporated into the university and school curriculum. In the case of the school curriculum, the calls for decolonisation of South African education culminated in the Department of Basic Education proposing that

history be made compulsory by 2023 (Davids 2016; Ndlanzi 2018; Pather 2018). This followed the demands made by the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) whose members view history as key to the propagation of knowledge aimed at producing patriotic South African youth (Davids 2016). This suggests that there is a need for the history curriculum content to be thoroughly revised. Since decolonising the curriculum involves incorporating humanity's knowledge (Fataar 2018), food as a commodity and form of material culture that cuts through all societal spheres is relevant to experiential, grounded and cross-cutting understandings of one's place in the world. Focussing critically on food means critically confronting everything that surrounds food.

One way to promote a 'more-than-food' (Goodman 2016: 1) perspective on food and its centrality in society when integrating it into the school history curriculum, is by looking at its contributions to meaning-making and wide-ranging socio-political and economic processes. Because the school history curriculum aims at covering key areas, including politics, the economy, social relations and cultural dynamics, food can serve as an ideal lens.

Acknowledging the role that food has played in peoples' lived experiences and identity constructions over time, the study discussed in this chapter aimed to understand student teachers' views on the space for "food talk" in the South African history curriculum. The study addressed the research question: Is food significant in the South African history curriculum? The narratives of student teacher interviewees/participants contribute to a better understanding of the precise significance of food discourses in educational matters related to humanities, which is where individuals can develop their critical literacy and ability to participate in building democratic public spheres.

The historical significance of food

The narratives of the above study revealed food to be an ageless substance whose role in society is permanent. This is because of the commodity's ability to influence various interrelated spheres that assign meaning to society. Among the areas and topics often referred to in narratives were political economy, migration, social cohesion, identity construction and food as fundamental human rights. Although discussed in separate themes in this chapter, these aspects overlap, as it is often difficult to understand one without touching on the others. What appeared to be a consistent thread in the narratives, was how food was acknowledged as being both timeliness and universal, as well as being constantly given meaning and cultural or economic significance *under certain circumstances* and *at*

specific moments. While the study looked at food in a historical context, its narratives extended its significance to present and future societies as well. This correlates with Seixas (2006), who views the past, present and future as a connected whole.

The political economy of food

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Starting with food in politics, due to its uncontested value and significance resulting from its centrality to humanity, food has influenced superpower countries to assume control over other countries (Smithfield 2017; Twilley et al. 2016). This explains why food, as a valuable resource, is counted as a primary motivator of conflicts associated with colonialism. It is interesting to reflect on how student teachers connected their historical knowledge to both their own understandings of food and to their sense of what school learners could find interesting or engaging. For example, some participants stressed that it was after realising the agricultural potential of southern Africa that Europeans constantly alienated the indigenous people's land. The dire need for food, amongst other resources, made several countries fight over owning a portion of "African soil", knowing the wealth it would generate for them; hence, the Europeans resorted to colonising the continent. In southern Africa, conflicts relating to the ownership of fertile land have continued to the present day. This makes food economically significant in history for its continued (durable) impact on society. Further, learning about this could offer an important and engaging way for learners to concretise the logic of colonialism. Even when it comes to preventing conflicts, the resource as a bargaining commodity had a tremendous impact, since it was utilised to negotiate relations between opponents. Research participants in the above study referred to examples of King Shaka and King Moshoeshe of southern Africa, who established "alliances and support" using cattle during the *Mfecane*, the great Nguni wars of the 1700s. This example seems especially significant, since it encourages students to understand how "ethnic conflicts", often seen as being innate and driven by irrational feelings, were connected to economically rational conflicts and forms of negotiation. Since some ethnic battles did not involve formal land ownership or money (as features of a colonial political economy), it is through thinking about food as a resource that one can make economic sense of the battles. Generally, these narratives provide "relevant" understanding since they explain how food acted as a driving force behind political phenomena in the past, thus affirming its historical significance. This resonates with Partington (1980), who historically signifies a phenomenon based on its provision of relevant information for understanding the past.

Another thread that surfaced in the narratives was the complex economy of food, namely, the production, supply, and the consumption of goods and services by society (Kenton 2019). The narratives of the study show that the area inhabited by hunter-gatherers was determined by food availability. When the environment failed to produce food, inhabitants were forced to move to maintain its supply. With the introduction of farming by the Bantu speakers in southern Africa, they were no longer dependent on food gathering, since they could now produce a surplus. This shows how their intrinsic desire to maintain food security controlled the peoples' lives. Because food provides "relevant" insights into how the pre-colonial society of southern Africa functioned, it was deemed historically significant.

Participants also examined how food has shaped "modernity". Food had a significant impact on the development of several modern technologies, all aimed at increasing and maintaining its production and availability to society. This was noted in Mhlanga (2022: 51), who points out that 'the Industrial Revolution is evidence of that fact ... the introduction of new technologies for agriculture and farming ... all due to food production demand'. Technologies such as the threshing machinery and seed drill invented during the Agricultural Revolution in Britain between the mid-seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, are all examples of technologies whose invention was motivated by the need to increase and maintain food production (Ang, Banerjee and Madsen 2010). This addresses a gap in existing histories for reconsidering historical and technological developments in other contexts, especially southern Africa. According to Mellet (2020), in *The Lie of 1652*, southern Africa witnessed many technological innovations before the 1600s connected to indigenous people's efforts to produce, process, cook and preserve food. This evidence counters the tendency to celebrate only movements such as the French Revolution or the Industrial Revolution as markers of modernity, a concept that looks at 'conditions of social existence that is significantly different to all forms of human experience' (Shilliam 2010: 1). Such evidence can, therefore, play a key role in encouraging teachers, with their students, to play an active role in directly decolonising history curricula.

The participants of this study reflected on how, at some point, European countries used food to increase their profits and dominance over the world by manipulating other countries into valuing products controlled by Europe. For instance, the example of the role of sugar in slavery and European monopolies over markets is crucial and has the potential to activate the interests of students in studying the past. Participants recognised how strong a role sugar has played in making many countries economically dependent on the exports of countries in the global north.

They noted how many countries like China, were manipulated into making sugar an important part of their diet, they were, therefore, trapped into buying sugar from European countries, the main producers of sugar. This allowed European countries to maintain their dominance and influence and increase their profits all at once. Recognising the role sugar played in promoting slavery and driving slave plantations globally, the participants noted how in order 'to increase the global supply of sugar, there was the establishment of plantations, particularly in the Caribbean and Brazil' and they brought Africans over to be enslaved workers in the plantations (Mhlanga 2022: 54-55). This proves food to be historically significant for its long-lasting effects (durability) on society, as in modern times, tea and many other diets are still served with sugar in many parts of the world. What is evident is that the participants used food to explain historical political economy dynamics, using what they are familiar with to understand the broad content of global politics and economy. This shows how through food, history can be made more relatable and simpler to understand as students will be utilising familiar content on food to understand and make sense of bigger and broader topics covered in the history curriculum.

34 Also worth noting is that food production is not only limited to agricultural activities or large factories. After the harvesting, processing and packaging of agricultural products in big factories, they undergo other processes, including preparation for consumption as a meal. In many societies, people who are mostly involved in this part of food production and processing, are women (Ma 2015). This has a lot to do with societal views and culture (more to be discussed later), however, it also impacts the production sphere of the economy. Therefore, by including roles played by food in shaping history, learners' attention will also be drawn to gender issues that have a significant impact on society.

Food and migration

In conventional school history curricula, the topic of migration is often approached in disembodied, abstract ways; ways that easily make school learners disinterested. The dynamic and exciting processes of the movement of human beings resulting from slavery, colonial conflicts, forced labour processes, migrant labour as well as subordinate groups' resistance to oppression, can frequently seem abstract and remote. Learners, who have an everyday understanding of the value and meanings of food, could therefore, acquire deep understandings of the complexities of migration if it were examined through the lens of food. As the study participants indicated, this

is especially important in the context of southern Africa, where humans were forcibly moved, or moved themselves in relation to various groups' efforts to build up food surpluses or basic food resources.

It is significant that seeing the movement of humans in relation to food struggles, can encourage insight into historical processes in the past, as well as into social history in the present. For example, school learners could quickly learn how to analyse the experiences of the many African migrants who currently live and work in South Africa and send money to families in counties such as Malawi and Zimbabwe.

As the narratives made clear, these current processes are linked to past ones. Student teachers reflected on how food influenced hunter-gatherer societies to migrate regularly. The area where they initially migrated to and how long they stayed depended on the availability of food in those areas. Even after the introduction of farming, droughts forced inhabitants to migrate so they could grow crops. The participants pointed out that 'African people who relied on farming and hunting as a source of food were forced to move to another place which has fertile soil to plant crops', suggesting food was the cause of migration (Mhlanga 2022: 57). This is affirmed by Hamilton et al. (2016), who argue that the migration of the Bantu was based on food availability. If food had not been as *important*, they would not have been compelled to migrate, thus, showing that food was historically significant due to the profound impact it had on their lives. Taking a glance into modern southern Africa, the reason for the first major migration of large numbers of Indians into the region was for agricultural purposes, with this largely determining why the largest population of persons of Indian descent living outside of India, is in South Africa. The fact that this migration changed the demographic profile of southern Africa, historically signifies the importance of food, firstly, because its impact was significant, and, secondly, as it produced long-lasting results. This also shows that the commodity was historically significant, for as Levesque (2005) and Partington (1980) contend, historically significant phenomena are based on their "importance" to those who experienced them.

For migrants in contemporary society, eating and drinking plays a specific role of their identity. In a foreign land, migrants 'fossilize' their foodways to maintain their identity (Dolphijn and Amilien 2020: 10). However, foodways do not only keep migrants tied to their native identity, they also allow for cultural transition into the foreign society, hence, altering the initial cultural identity of

migrants as they adapt to the new society. Therefore, even though they are a marker of identity, foodways are not static, but are continuously changing (Janowski 2012). What is central to African culture today, was once foreign. For this reason, food helps identify the change in societal culture and identity, as through migration and foodways, identity is continuously modified.

Food in identity construction and social cohesion

Narratives acknowledged how food maintains unity amongst people regardless of their different backgrounds and that this has not only been the case with past societies, but throughout generations. When preparing cuisines for ceremonial events, people contribute based on their gender and age. Food preparation then creates an atmosphere during which teaching and learning of generational values about womanhood and manhood are passed on to the younger generation. According to one participant, in the past, during food preparation, 'men and women knew their role as they were taught what should be done and how it should be done. Knowing the way things are done became a way of defining or providing your manhood or womanhood' (Mhlanga 2022: 59). Hence, food can unite individuals with common values and ways of life, as it maintains generational values (Le 2017). On closer inspection, however, one finds that the very same values sustain gender and age stereotypes in one way or another (Kittler et al. 2010; Ma 2015). For example, since ancient times, women have been given "feminine" responsibilities, such as cooking and serving food, while men are responsible for tasks considered "masculine", such as slaughtering cattle and making a fire to cook. Even when it comes to serving food, there is a belief in "serving the best for man" whereby larger portions of food are served to men rather than to females. Hence, while food maintains unity, it eventually provides an opportunity to sustain gender stereotypes. Nonetheless, food has served as a tool for the continuous (durable) transmission of values and social expectations, thus reassuring its historical significance.

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The role of food work in maintaining gendered systems has been mentioned previously, and the importance of this subject for learners is clear. Narratives seemed to indicate how certain neglected areas in the curriculum, namely gender and the social cohesion of groups warrant careful analysis of their complex and ambiguous meanings. The curriculum usually presents social processes as though they were stable, and their meanings were clearcut. Through attending to the role of food in society, students could be made aware of how ambiguous and multi-layered historical processes are. In other words, "history" cannot consist of fixed narratives told from one perspective;

“history”, as decolonial scholars insist, always consists of partial knowledge and particular groups’ interpretations.

The narratives revealed that foodscapes and foodways play a significant role in the construction of identity. Foodways connect people to their culture and religion. According to the study participants, this is because ‘food is also tied to religion and ritual’, and therefore, it ‘plays a big role in helping us identify the different cultures and heritages that exist in the modern society’ (Mhlanga 2022: 62). It serves as symbolism (Asi and Teri 2016), since certain food commodities symbolise taboos and totems in some cultures, therefore, people refrain from eating those foods (Asi and Teri 2016). As a result, people’s food preferences mostly have to do with their culture (Almerico 2014), since food is a reaffirmation of the culture to which one belongs (Asi and Teri 2016; Boutaud, Becuț and Marinescu 2016). Hence, paying attention to the individual’s foodways helps to understand their cultural identity. This then signifies food based on its association with culture and religion in the current society.

Moreover, it was found that foodways are significant in identifying the societal financial hierarchy to which one belongs, be it the lower-, middle- or upper class. This resonates with Miller et al. (2016) who look at how food choices are highly influenced by affordability rather than preference. For example, during the 1780s in France, people in the lower class only ate “dark” (brown) bread, because that was what they could afford, while white bread was a luxury only afforded by those in the middle- and upper class (Almerico 2014). This remains the case as even participants point out that ‘in the 21st century food defines our class and identity especially now that the food prices have increased rapidly, people buy what they can afford’ (Mhlanga 2022: 60-61). As such, analysing the monetary value of food an individual eats, can inform one of the financial class to which the individual belongs. This is because foodways are an excellent indicator of the different classes that form society (Toivonen 1997), which signifies food on the bases that it presents a lens that offers an understanding of people’s socio-economies.

Foodscapes illuminate the food practices that determine the inclusion and exclusion of people in public spaces based on class (Dolphijn and Amillien 2020). This inclusion and exclusion between the socio-economic classes is transparent, especially in foodscapes such as grocery stores. As per narratives in Mhlanga (2022: 61), ‘income do influence people’s choices of food because ... those who are rich will eat food that is more expensive while those who are in need [poor] will eat normal

[basic] food'. Different shops cater for different socio-economic classes (Kar et al. 2021). While those in the middle- and upper class can afford the expensive healthy food offered in high-status stores, the indigent and thrifty purchase most of their food in one-dollar stores that, unfortunately, sell mostly highly processed and unhealthy food (Kar et al. 2021). This means that grocery shops as foodscapes also play a role in maintaining and making the socio-economic divisions that exist in society, transparent. Contemporality in historical significance is evident in this narrative as it mainly highlights the role of identifying the division that exists in foodscapes in the present society.

Food as a basic human right

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Found to cut through all insights about food was its indubitable significance in maintaining life. Again, it is worth noting how learners can be taught about human rights or democracy as though these were abstract. Yet, the narratives of education students as teachers in the making, revealed how much students could understand true democracies, and develop insights into critiquing undemocratic practices, if they attended to food: what it consists of; who controls it; how it becomes a resource as a commodity and—in the present day—how it is bought and by whom. This is because food provides the body with nutrients that are compulsory for keeping it functioning well (Butler 2024). Whether one is young or old, male or female, it is mandatory that one consumes a certain amount of nutrients daily. No wonder food is counted among the most important resources (together with water and air) required for human survival. One participant stated that it '*helps us to stay alive*'. This is why food security can be considered a basic human right. Food security is not simply having something to consume to fill one's stomach; instead, it can only be attained when 'all people, at all times, have physical and economic sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life' (Porter et al. 2014: 490). Unfortunately, this human right to food security is sometimes hindered by phenomena, such as wars, droughts and natural disasters. An example of such a phenomenon is the scorched-earth policy during the South African War in 1899. Here food was historically signified, firstly because of its "importance" for maintaining life, and, secondly, because of its unending (durable) impact (profundity) on everyone's (quantity) lives, as all people must eat.

Conclusion

The narratives analysed in this chapter allow one to see concretely that food is indeed historically significant. The views of participants, who are already familiar with the existing history curriculum, who have deep interests in making history relevant and concrete to their young learners and who were eager to reflect on the teaching and learning possibilities of a neglected concept, can give one a grounded and general sense of the role of food.

The crucial step towards reserving space for food as a first order concept in the South African history curriculum requires an end to conceptualising food's significance in a shallow manner that only focusses on its consumption. The resource (which also, as explained, has tremendous cultural meanings) should be conceptualised as an agent in shaping the political, economic and social complexities of the past. The narratives discussed in this chapter clearly make a call—from a young generation of aspiring teachers—for the revision of the South African history curriculum, since it ignores the significant role played by food. It often refers to food incidentally and as a tangential element. History, however, does not address food as a factor that either drove or is at the centre of massive processes, such as migration. To correct this, equal room should be made for economic, social and political societal affairs, rather than only prioritising politics over other spheres, as is the case with the current South African school history curriculum. Content to be included should be decided upon using the six criteria of historical significance to avoid meaningless integration of facts, as warned by Peck (2009).

Since food is closely linked to culture, integrating it into the South African history curriculum will allow for the teaching of social norms and their implications in society. Moreover, this could be done in ways where students have a very clear, direct and lived experience of how food has affected their own sense of self—for example, in classed, gendered, racialised or ethnic ways. This aligns with the writing of Fathi Vajargah (2009) and Maleki (2008), who support teaching and learning about social values and culture in curriculum content. Since food cuts through all societal spheres, especially culture, integrating it into the school history curriculum will result in having learners that are well-informed in terms of South African diversity. This way, the history curriculum will not only equip learners with historical content, it will also prove to equip students to play active and productive roles as critical citizens with the potential to build truly democratic public cultures. While many might debate whether this necessarily means working with the state, it can contribute to society in meaningful ways that are not narrowly economic and political.

At this point, it is clear that food is historically significant and it should have a place in the South African history curriculum. However, considering that a curriculum is a planned policy, there are still aspects that must be noted when integrating content on food into the curriculum. For example, from which context should this content be featured? Various, yet similar narratives emanated from this study in response to these thoughts.

Looking at the prioritisation of content, on one hand, the narratives stated that food should be infused with themes that already form part of the South African history curriculum. This is because food does not exist in isolation; many of the phenomena covered in the South African history curriculum were influenced by food in one way or another. Literature reviewed in the present study showed that food has indeed contributed to several topics covered in the South African history curriculum (see Brinkman and Hendrix 2011; Ebrahim, Jardine and Haw 2018; Eldredge 1992; Johanneson et al. 2014). This means that infusing food into the curriculum will elucidate understanding of these phenomena and their impact on society. Therefore, featuring food as a separate theme will not be an informed choice.

40 On the other hand, a minority of the study's participants opposed the integration of food into existing themes. These participants believed that food should be featured as a separate theme '*so it is emphasised, and learners realise its importance*' in shaping the past. The view is self-contradictory as the participants acknowledged the fact that food inevitably touches topics that already form part of the South African history curriculum. According to participants, although covered separately, it would 'automatically ... attract some other sections such as slave trade, migration of Bantu people, the arrival of the white at the Cape, etcetera' (Mhlanga 2022: 68). Since the aim would be to emphasise its significance, a solution to this problem would be to structure the curriculum based on first-order concepts, rather than event-based content. The conceptual difference here is that the former focusses on foodways and foodscapes, and the latter looks at only historical events. Hence, structuring the curriculum based on first-order concepts rather than event-based points to create equal space for economic, social and political spheres, rather than only prioritising politics.

As part of understanding how food should be integrated into the South African history curriculum, contextualisation was also considered. The reason for enquiring on the context from which food should be featured, was to address the ongoing issue of decolonising the South African school curriculum, as was stated in the introduction. Most of the participants called for the integration of

the international content of food in history, because history is not an island. The commodity 'has built relationships with other countries and has rotated for years from country to country therefore focusing on one country would make no sense' (Mhlanga 2022: 68). Similar sentiments are shared by Karon (2018); Kehinde (2013); Oktay and Sadikoglu (2018) and Schmalz et al. (2019). Also, what happens in one country sometimes affects other countries, hence, justifying covering food from an international perspective. Although in support of this narrative, some advised that South African history be prioritised before other countries. In contrast to these two narratives, a minority advised that food should only be covered in cases where it contributed to shaping South African history to decolonise the South African history curriculum by exposing learners to their own history before the history of other countries. Here it was argued that 'S.A ... history should be a priority because we should learn about us, our history, our identity first before exploring others' (Mhlanga 2022: 71). This clearly called for a curriculum that is written from a South African perspective for South Africans. As was stated, the call for decolonising the curriculum is not new, as Heleta (2016) and Mbembe (2015) have stated that the current South African education curriculum is still very much Eurocentric, even after years into democracy. Therefore, to correct this, the integration of food in the South African school history curriculum should be done with the decoloniality in mind.

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It has been shown that a curriculum is a policy designed not only to equip learners with subject-specific knowledge, but to also promote the country's constitutional ideals largely informed by the country's past (Dlamini 2019). In South Africa, given its experience under colonialism and apartheid, the curriculum aspires to uphold ideologies associated with equality, democracy and diversity. Therefore, food qualifies as a first-order concept in the South African history curriculum, since it is a commodity that does not isolate, but rather cuts through all races, genders and ages, thus, aspiring to the country's ideologies. Sadly, since the curriculum is a policy designed by the government and by those in power, the decision to reserve space for food in the South African history curriculum remains a political one.

If food contributed to several events covered in the history curriculum, why exclude it? Why sideline its contributions when counting the causes of successes or failures of these events? This might be because there is no clear strategy for integrating it into the curriculum; meaning, since the historical significance of food has been proven, future research should take a step towards exploring means of systematic procedures of infusing it seamlessly into the curriculum in consideration of already existing themes and governmental aspirations.

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