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Editorial

History Education greetings,

Welcome to the July 2019 edition of *Yesterday & Today*. Allow me to firstly thank my predecessor as editor-in-chief, Dr. Pieter Warnich and his team. Pieter, a big thank you to you and all of those who have worked with you for the yeomanry work done in producing the *Yesterday & Today* twice a year for many years. Under your editorship the journal has grown and maintained its place on the Scielo platform.

At the same time, I would also like to welcome the new editorial team that will support me as editor-in-chief: Dr. Kate Angier of UCT, Dr. Marshall Maposa of UKZN, and Dr. Claudia Gouws of NWU. As book review editor Mr. Bafana Mpanza of UKZN, has taken over from Dr. Marshall Maposa. Collectively we will strive to continue with the service provided by the previous editor and editorial board. The composition of the editorial board will be discussed at the SASHT Conference to be held at the University of Pretoria from 26-27 September 2019.

This edition of *Yesterday & Today* is also a nostalgic one, as it is the final print version of the journal. Financial realities and the changing world of journal publications means that from the December 2019 edition onwards, *Yesterday & Today* will be an open-access electronic journal only. Since *Yesterday & Today* has been challenged to be more internationally relevant, being an open-access e-journal would hopefully help to attract more quality articles from across the History Education, History in Education and History for Education worlds.

Finally, in this the last print edition of *Yesterday & Today* we are carrying four academic and one teacher's voice article. Additionally, two book reviews will also be published. In terms of the academic articles:

- Sarah Godsell, in her contribution, interrogated the declonising abilities of using poetry in History classrooms.
- Noor Davids, in his article, reported on learners' imagination on democratic citizenship and critical literacy in a History classroom.
- Brenda Gouws, in her article, engaged with the personal professional story of a history teacher teaching the Holocaust.
- Clement Sefa-Nyarko and Alexander Afram investigated gender in the historical narratives of Social Science textbooks in Ghana and

look at gender presentations in Ghanaian textbooks.

- Zoleka Mkhabela, in the teacher's voice article, grappled with the personal and professional conflict when engaging with official and unofficial history narratives.

Happy reading!

Poetry as method in the History classroom: Decolonising possibilities

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Abstract

Poetry can present historical material in a non-academic format. This format may be particularly important for students who are excluded from epistemic access (Morrow, 2007). This exclusion stems from many things, but ways of writing, ways of framing history, and whose voices and stories are heard are part of this exclusion. This article explores using poetry as a method of decolonising history teaching, primarily in teacher training classroom contexts. Poetry provides a unique combination of orality, personal perspective, artistic license, and historical storytelling. The form can also draw students into a lesson. As a device somewhat removed from students' ideas about what history is, poetry is an alternative way of investigating ideas of "truth", evidence, narrative, and perspective. It provides an entry point to historical topics, that can be supplemented through other texts and forms of evidence. Poetry also provides a voicing for sensitive topics, acknowledges and embraces complexity and pain. It could also remove the teacher as mediator, even if only for a moment. Additionally, it can open space for marginalised voices and stories. By drawing from local poems, especially by black women poets, race and gender are centred in the conversation in a visceral way. International poets open conversations about globally linked histories. Poets from different generations raise questions of continuity and change. All poems are open to examination through historical thinking skills. This article explores the tensions in decolonising the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) history Further Education and Training (FET)(Senior High School) curriculum and in using a creative medium such as poetry to do so.

Keywords: Decolonisation; History; Teacher education; South Africa; Curriculum; Poetry; Pedagogy; Historical thinking.

Introduction

In my experience as a lecturer teaching pre-service history teachers in South Africa, there is one question that I have never been able to answer satisfactorily: "History hurts. How can we teach it without causing (or feeling) pain?" This question has been asked of me in multiple ways:

how not to upset students in the classroom; how not to cause hate; how not let the students leave a classroom feeling unsettled; how not to let the teacher's own feelings dominate or be triggered. This same question, "History hurts", has been dealt with in different ways in literature on history education: some advocate an honesty about present day dynamics (Teeger, 2015) or triangulation of evidence, to try to shift students from their current positions and positionalities to experience and understand different world views (Wineburg, 2001); others advocate historical perspectives specifically to be aware of historical wrongs that have been covered up by distorted or false historical narratives (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2015; Ortiz, 2018; Zinn, 2005). The latter is arguably most imperative for decolonisation (when this involves shifting from a colonial lens and unwriting colonial narratives). This is also most painful, most uncomfortable, and most taxing. Telling honest histories[1] about the past and present realities of settler-colonial imperialism is painful. How do we teach these histories? How do we equip pre-service teachers to teach history that hurts? How do we do this within a programme of decolonising history content and pedagogy to better teach our students and reflect who they are? This paper explores poetry as a method to decolonise history teaching. I discuss theoretical aspects of using poetry in the classroom, and then illustrate these with examples of poems.[2] I will first outline the understanding of decolonisation underpinning this paper and then explore the use of poems in the history classroom.

History is an emotionally and politically charged subject, as it is taught and as it is thought about. Education is a similarly charged subject. When we focus on history in schools, we need to be aware of the multiple emotive, pedagogical, and political aspects of history education. By using this as a nexus of how we can explore decolonising and Africanising curricula, we can deal with the legacy of colonial education, how history is being thought of as a possible compulsory subject,[3] and the implications this would have for history teaching.

1 I am using the phrase "honest histories" here, which is also a contestable phrase. What I mean by this is histories that are evidence based, that are decolonised in that the people writing them are continuously working to undo the colonial lens, who are actively part of re-visioning and uncovering marginalised narratives (that were marginalised because previous histories served specific interests). I use honest rather than as an attempt towards a descriptor that is more specific than decolonised, and not as constrained as ideas such as "triangulated". Rather, as Freire suggests, an "honest" history as one that keeps objectivity and subjectivity in constant dialectical conversation.

2 The poems used in this article are available on www.poetry4historyeducation.com.

3 There is currently a Ministerial Task Team examining the CAPS curriculum, and the possibility that history may be made into a compulsory subject.

Poetry can be used to bolster the skills that are outlined at the beginning of the CAPS history documents (DoBE, 2011; DoBE, 2011a, 2011b). These skills are not referred to in many of the specific content topics. Poetry can bridge between skills and content, engaging learners into critical thought, writing and historical thinking skills.[4] This will be examined further below.

This paper engages with some of these questions, utilising specific points on the decolonisation of the curriculum, to help think through various materials we use to teach historical thinking. I also examine the knowledge position they create and then explore the idea of using poetry to counter some of the positionality that western literature on "what is history" or "historical thinking" ends up engendering. I explore what this means for students in a Bachelor of Education course who will be at the coal face of history teaching in the school classroom.

A note on positionality in a paper engaging the concept of decolonisation: I am negotiating my space as a white woman lecturer in an academy that is pushing for transformation. I negotiate this positionality in lecture prep, in classes, in thinking around the discussions we have, and in trying to hold space. White people doing work on decolonisation is complex, and perhaps unavoidably problematic. It is an issue I need to consistently grapple with in this research project. My approach is to make the classroom a negotiated space, with as much discussion lead by the students as possible. I also use my positionality and students' reaction to it to introduce how their own positionalities will impact the classroom. It is an interesting discussion on power dynamics – the various negotiations we have had to allow comfort for discussions about race in class; how that comfort does not translate into a comfort with discussions of gender, class or sexuality; which issues get subsumed into which. These are questions for the larger research project. For this paper, I want to note that my positionality as a white South African woman will have an impact on all I do in class, and what I can do in this paper. I take this into consideration to the best of my ability.

Methodological overview: A high education classroom case study using participant ethnography

I conducted this study, approved by the Wits Ethics Committee (protocol number H18/10/10), in my Social Science Senior Primary Method 1 and in Third Year Methodology classes in 2018. Full informed consent was given

4 The CAPS document will be addressed more thoroughly below. However, an in-depth exploration of the potential of poetry use in a CAPS lesson is beyond the scope of this paper, and part of forthcoming research.

to use class discussion and assignments anonymously, unless the student specifically requested their name to be used. The students named in this paper have requested acknowledgment for their poems or ideas. This is according to my ethical clearance. Most work was done in the Third Year Class. There were 47 students in this class, all pre-service teachers in their third or fourth year of study. These students had chosen history as either their major or sub-major, so were committed to thinking through issues around how history should be taught, and were interested in, and conflicted by, ideas around decolonisation.[5] I did not conduct any interviews, and drew all data referring to this class from our classes in 2018. We used poetry and discussed decolonisation in this class. This case study is used to support some of the arguments made. I also engage literature on decolonisation, history teaching, and poetry as pedagogy. Methodology is interwoven in all the sections below. The above has given a brief description for clarity purposes.

Decolonisation: On coloniality and/in history, poetry and/in history

Decolonisation, an exciting impetus for praxis in South African Universities in 2015,[6] has now been used so broadly that it needs a careful definition for it to do any work. I draw from Lugones' thinking on coloniality as the gendered construct of human vs non-human, being versus non-being (Lugones, 2010).[7] In this paper, I use it to think towards the constitution of the bodies of knowledge we use in relation to the bodies that inhabit our classrooms, pushing into a changing of intellectual canon; the relationship of students, learners, lecturers and authors to knowledge; attitudes towards construction of space-times, as Lewis Gordon proposes "shifting the geography of reason" (Gordon, 2011). In history, it raises the recurring questions "whose histories, whose voices, whose writing, whose knowledge" (Bam et al., 2018, Introduction). Bam references Cabral's call for a "return to the source of indigenous cultural resistance in examining the question of educational transformation" (Bam et al., 2018:17).

Poetry has always been part of this resistance, captured in text from early 20th century by Nontsizi Mgqwetho and SEK Mqhayi (among others) to present day poetry representing issues of racialised, gendered, and sexual

5 While student perceptions of decolonisation are discussed in this paper, these perceptions are explored more fully in a forthcoming paper.

6 I am referring here to the #FeesMustFall student movement, a movement for free quality decolonised education and insourcing of workers. For more on this see: (Booysen, 2016; Ngcaweni & Ngcaweni, 2018).

7 It is beyond the scope of this paper to fully explore Lugones' movement towards a decolonial feminism, but I will draw on this thinking in different ways in the paper.

orientation based oppression (Dominguez, 2012; Mgqwetho, 2007; Mqhayi, 2017). Scholarly work on decolonisation of history, aspects of which are addressed in the recently released book by Bam et al., *Whose History Counts*, has developed a substantial but fragmented body of work. Bam et al. focus on exploding the idea of "pre-colonial", as well as addressing gaps in the current historiography, through both language and indigenous knowledge systems. The chapters by Mkhize and Tisani are most relevant for this article: Mkhize looks both at African(s) self-framing in historiography and the missing, scattered narratives of black writers. Reframing and defragmenting African history by African writers, whether by retrieving these writings from archives or by applying frameworks of indigenous knowledge practices are discussed by both Mkhize and Tisani as healing.[8] In this article I will focus on the concept of epistemological healing, directly addressing narratives of historical wounds. This is relevant for poetry in the classroom, as a current means of reclaiming and presenting knowledge, while re-imagining frameworks.[9]

Looking particularly at the South African academy, the word "decolonisation", if defined, remains useful, as does the literature from which it emerges, even as it is appropriated by a variety of sectors. I approach the idea of decolonisation from a broad dual position of Africanisation and feminist decoloniality. Drawing from decolonial history scholars' NLL Ramoupi and RN Ntongwe's perspective on Africanising the curriculum (using South Africa and Cameroonian education systems as case studies), and the role of decolonisation,[10] they contend that what is overlooked in:

> *... pre-colonial African education systems is educational relevance: its close link with social life, both in a material and spiritual sense; its many sided-nesses: and its progressive development in conforming to the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of children. In other words, education in African societies had been socially, economically and politically relevant to the society* (Ramoupi & Ntongwe, 2017: 195).

8 Healing is only one aspect of what these chapters raise, and speak to epistemological healing as part of decolonial history.

9 While this book is engaged in this paper, it is beyond the scope of this paper to fully appreciate what it means for pedagogical praxis in history classrooms. I engage the arguments in this book on both writings and values drawn from this book, to strengthen my argument for poetry as historical pedagogy, but a critical aspect of it is decolonising historical timeframes currently used in historiography and in CAPS. To explore using poetry in this is another paper.

10 The work of and impetus for is also laid out in the report of the Ministerial Task Team that investigated making history into a compulsory subject (Ndlovu et al., 2018). I would argue more strongly for the decolonisation of the CAPS curriculum, which would entail, but I believe be broader than, its Africanisation.

It is especially this "many-sidedness" to education, that is concerned with emotional, spiritual as well as mental development, that I argue towards in this article. History must locate itself emotionally, with students and learners, as well as mentally, and cognitively. That is to say, with Lugones, that history must resist coloniality, and its thoughts and dichotomies of being and non-being (Lugones, 2010). However, the history curriculum in South Africa is global, I argue for connections with decolonisation and the Global South- aspects of which could fall within a broad diasporic use of Africanisation. The crucial elements for me about decolonisation are examining what historical gaze we are working with, what this does to knowledge production, where and how the students/learners locate themselves in that, and then, particularly, the feelings that this historical gaze and knowledge production evoke in the students/learners, taking into account the positionality of the learners.

Ramoupiand Ntongwe further call for a"re-appropriationoftheproduction and dissemination of knowledge in universities in Africa. Detached from the present coloniality geo-political configuration of the world" (Ramoupi & Ntongwe, 2017:196). In this, I see a reconfiguration of power structures as we think about knowledge production, theories of historical thinking, and methods used in history classrooms. In this paper I draw on an understanding of Africanisation of the syllabus as shifting the point of knowledge production, the knowledge lens, and power centre, rather than knowledge specifically coming from the spatial unit of "Africa". Another aspect of decolonial theory I use in this paper, I draw from Nkenkana's framework, decolonising gender. She explains that:

> *... decolonizing gender places the scholar in the midst of people in a historical, peopled, subjective/intersubjective understanding of the oppressing-resisting relation at the intersection of complex systems of oppression. To a significant extent, it has to be in accord with the subjectivities and intersubjectivities that construct and in part are constructed by the situation* (Nkenkana, 2015:41).

For Nkenkana, decolonising gender is a way to access a nexus of power-relations as they play out within the person, within the text, within the history. Babalwa Magowana pushes this further, engaging moving beyond the gendered and binary nature of institutions of learning, working to remove the patriarchal bias (Bam et al., 2018:77). This applies to every level at which I think through a decolonisation process of knowledge and pedagogy: in the teacher education space, in the curriculum, and in the

school classroom. It allows for multiple processes of examining knowledge production and co-production, as well as examining interactions with knowledge produced. Nkenkana urges that the "women's liberation struggle should not be reduced to efforts of incorporation of women within the patriarchal, colonial and imperial modern system/s women seek to reject" (Nkenkana, 2015:41). She makes the point that decolonising gender produces a different kind of knowledge, and as she is used by Wills (2016) when specifically considering the South African history curriculum) that decolonisation of history without a gender-lens will produce a history that excludes the type of knowledge, resistances, and realities, produced and used by women. Decolonisation, both of content and pedagogy, must produce a different kind of knowledge: knowledge with a different centre, with different gravitational pulls. I argue that poetry is a useful tool towards this goal.

Using poetry can enable a historical pedagogy that takes into consideration the relational and shifting positionalities of the students, that disrupt ideas of historical objectivity trapped in Enlightenment logic (Olaowula, 2016). Poetry, seen as a creative medium rather than an "objective" source, allows students toquestionthegaze we useinhistoryinteachereducation, inhistory in the high school classroom, and in the CAPS history curricula, poetry provides different lenses onto gender, race, queerness and marginalised voices. I argue for the potential of poetry use in history classrooms as a decolonising pedagogy, as a writing/thinking/recording mechanism that can be used as a resistance to coloniality in whose voices and subjectivities it lives in, and how it is brought into the classroom. "They chart new ways in which meaning might be further harnessed by placing the creative and the explicitly critical alongside one another" (Gqola, 2011:1).

I also argue for poetry as a method for facilitating humanising pedagogy, (Freire, 1996), both in whose voices it accesses, and how it can function with voice(s) in class. Mkhize, in Bam et al., argues that South African history is an archive of white voices writing about Africans, and what is missing is the voices of Africans speaking in their own idiom, in their own framing, writing their own present and history. This presents scope for further study, for example examining the poetry of Mgqwetho and Mqhayi, among others. History is also accessed in and through poetry, as poetry is written in a historical moment, viewed in a historical moment, and accesses historical moments. Gqola writes, "History is referenced, questioned, revisited and its archives are read for their granularity" (Gqola,

2011:1). Therefore, poetry is voice, poetry is historical evidence, poetry is historical archive, poetry is an opening into different paradigms, and framings, in which Africans are not belittled, but are writing, framing, and nuancing their own stories.

Decolonisation in context: Thoughts with and through a History Methodology classroom

What does decolonisation mean, in the context of history and history teaching? What histories do we teach? "Whose history counts?" (Bam et al., 2018). This goes beyond whose voice is heard. It is about whose framing, whose narrative, whose language, whose terminology, whose world view and definitions of reality and humanity are used in the curriculum and in the classroom. These vectors are slippery to pin down. I asked the Third Year History Methodology class for their definitions of decolonisation.[11] Their answers ranged from moving away from a European enlightenment model of humanism, to a co-creation of knowledge (between learner, teachers, and historians), to Africa centred knowledge, to knowledge that centred around untold and marginalised stories. The interpretation of decolonisation that held the most purchase with the students and around which we had the most robust discussions, came from a student Moosa Khumalo, who expressed his vision of decolonised history as "a history in which I can see myself, and I am not belittled".[12] Khumalo explained how so much of what he sees being referred to as decolonised history focuses on injustices committed to indigenous, marginalised, or brown people.[13] He envisioned a decolonised history that goes beyond this. Which again broadened the way in which we were able to conceptualise decolonising the curriculum: including historical narratives which shift ideas of "civilisation", "development" or "progress" away from the Global North. These aspects are in the curriculum (the Ancient African civilisations of Mali, Ghana and Songhai for example) but much more can be done to develop them (Bam et al., 2018; Ndlovu et al., 2018). The starting point of "a history in which I am not belittled" is a complex, phenomenological and nuanced understanding of I, and an understanding of how the "I's" relate

11 This is part of a larger research project on the decolonisation of history teaching at Wits School of Education. Ethical clearance has been obtained for this research. While the standard procedure is to retain confidentiality and not reveal students' names or identities, as some students are either poets or want to pursue careers in academia, they have requested that they be named in their article, and so associated with the ideas they came up with. This is in accordance with my ethical clearance.

12 Cited with permission, as part of a project on Decolonising History, reviewed by Wits Ethics protocol number H18/10/10.

13 By "brown" Khumalo is referring generally to people of colour.

into different, fluid and shifting "we's", that interact with knowledge and power, past and present, in different ways.[14]

The idea of "a history in which I am not belittled" at a seminar presentation of an early version of this paper, elicited the question "is it possible to decolonise history? Is it possible to decolonise a history of colonialism, for example? Is that project not antithetical?"[15]

Often, historical narratives are about powers enforcing themselves on others, of marginalisation, of dispossession, and even these tell stories that map the power narratives of the present world (Trouillot, 1997). However, Rebecca Solnit argues in *Against the Dark*, histories of hope, resistance, and victories exist, but need to be unearthed and collected (Solnit, 2005). Solnit writes of histories of resistance and victory in political terms, mainly about the United States. But those histories exist in an Africanised history as well. So, histories of pain need to share historical space with histories of power, beyond the current narrative of victory against apartheid. To expand Khumalo's premise, a decolonised history would also be history which does not impose specific knowledge boundaries or values on types of text, on written or spoken word, and which can allow the necessary analytic critical thinking skills to flow from and through different kinds of writing. This allows for histories told through different lenses, rather than a western-centre perspective, even if it is focusing on the atrocities committed against, as Khumalo phrases it "Brown people". Nelson Maldonado-Torres speaks to this in his article *ten theses on decoloniality*, and also used poetry in an implicit response to student "breathlessness",[16] in a long trajectory of merging poetry and academia, to express what is beyond the bounds of academic writing (Maldonado-Torres, 2016).

How can poetry enhance skills laid out for history learners in the CAPS curriculum?

Poetry can be used to bolster the skills that are outlined at the beginning of the CAPS document. Poetry can bridge between skills and content, engaging learners into critical thought, writing and historical thinking

14 These ideas, of how we think of African history, especially precolonial history, are explored in depth in the publication "Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography"(Bam et al., 2018). As this paper focuses on method, in the teacher education classroom, it is important for me to centre students' thinking around the subject.

15 This was asked at a presentation at the Centre for Humanities Research, at the University of the Western Cape, where a version of this paper was presented on the 8th of May 2018.

16 Maldonado Torres explores this breathlessness as a type of voicelessness, tied to the classist and racialised way in which students are unvoiced in liberal university spaces.

skills. Poetry used as a tool is better suited to enhance some skills than others. Here I will examine what poetry can do in relation to the skills set out in CAPS. The CAPS document begins by outlining that "history is a process of enquiry" (DoBE, 2011:10). Poetry is one of many of pieces of evidence that can be used to answer and evaluate the enquiry. Poetry does have unique attributes that make it useful.

Lindsay Wills has written convincingly about decolonising the CAPS curriculum in terms of gender (Wills, 2016). She stresses that decolonisation needs to entail shifting the gaze, rather than "adding in women". In *Tongues of Our Mothers* Xaba successfully shifts the gaze, and in one poem, provides a trajectory of gendered history for students to explore and unpack (Xaba, 2008). It is again the way this information is presented (Shalem et al., 2013) that brings students into proximity with the knowing in an accessible way, opening room for historical thinking and analyses.

Poetry becomes particularly useful for two skills described in CAPS as being able to: "recognise that there is often more than one historical perspective" and "explain why there are different historical interpretations" (DoBE, 2011:10).

As unapologetically artistic expression from one person, poetry presents a unique perspective, yet it can be engaged and unpacked through historical thinking skills. Poetry can also present a non-dominant narrative which is important for understanding multiple narratives. In my teaching, I have also used music videos for these purposes, particularly Simphiwe Dana (Bantu Biko Street), Beyonce (Formation), and Jay-Z (story of OJ) as well as music like Thandiswa Mazwai (Nizalwa Ngobani) and Akala (Maangamizi), and other kinds of performance art like S'thembile Msezane's work. The performance art of S'thembile Msezane, particularly the work she performed while the statue of Cecil John Rhodes was being removed, encouraged the students to "participate in constructive and focused debate through the careful evaluation of historical evidence" (DoBE, 2011:10), as we supported and corroborated with other types of historical evidence. There is need for further research here about what kinds of art forms resonate with students, and how they can be used as tools of engagement as well as forms of evidence in history lessons, although this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Wills explored the potential, and limits, of the current history curriculum (Wills, 2016:22). She argues that the curriculum poses absolute limits for

"gendering decolonisation". While her argument is specific to gender, I use "gendering decolonisation" as a heuristic device to question other power structures in history that open potential for, or pose limits to, decolonisation. Wills argues that "Decolonising gender in the history curriculum, therefore, means no longer accepting that accounts of the past which either gloss over or obscure women's experiences – especially Black women's experiences – are "true" "objective" and "universal" (Wills, 2016:24). She argues, using scholars ranging from Nkenkana (2015) to Spelman (1989), Spivak (1988), and hooks (1981), the need to decentre the (white) male as the normative gaze through which history is seen. This is a continuous project in the exploration of history. However, Wills uses this moment to offer decolonisation as a lens through which to examine which gazes are implicit in the CAPS history curriculum. This is the lens which I want to use to push the thought further into the tertiary teacher education space, with intention to enable students to decolonise in South African school classrooms.

There is also an urgency to decolonise theories of historical thinking and history pedagogy. These have often emerged from western orientations, and so positions of privilege. While we work with these theories to empower our students, the potential of the history classroom is often left open to the individual history teacher – it can come alive only in sepia tones, populated by distant figures, timelines, names, and birth and death dates. Or it can come alive in colour, connected to each individual and collective in the class, where every historical breath is connected to the breath we take in each class. Wills argues that:

> *... the theoretical challenges posed by women's and gender history to the discipline's very foundations involves, in no small way, getting to grips with the politics of the production of knowledge. History curricula are particularly potent sites for the construction and diffusion of knowledge and interpretations of how the past relates to the present. As such, national history curricula can be seen as extensions and vehicles of wider ideological and socio-cultural (in) balances of power and thus often sites of political socialisation* (Wills, 2016:23).

Putting the poetry into history teaching as decolonial praxis

This is the history we didn't learn:

> *From 1952 to1960, the people of Kenya mounted a fierce guerrilla struggle, the Mau Mau uprising, to reclaim their land and freedom from the British. The British incarcerated, tortured,*

> *and murdered approximately 25,000 Kenyans. Men, women, and children. More than a million Kenyans were detained for over eight years in concentration camps- barbed wire villages where forced labour, starvation, and death were routine.*

This is the history we read in school.

President Jomo Kenyatta's speech, tenmonthsafter Kenya's independence:

> *Let this be the day on which all of us commit ourselves to erase from our minds all thehatredsandthedifficulties of those years which now belong to history. Let us agree that we shall never refer to the past. Let us instead unite, in all our utterances and activities, in concernfor the reconstruction of our country and the vitality of Kenya's future* (Excerpt from the poem "History Lesson" Patel, 2010).

Poetry has gained much popularity in South Africa over the last few years. *Collective Amnesia*, a ground breaking debut poetry collection by Koleka Putuma, is going into its 8th print run, previously unheard of in South Africa (Putuma, 2017). Her work has been added to curricula in South Africa and abroad, indicating an academic, as well as popular, recognition of the work's importance. And this is not an isolated incident. Putuma has broken many glass ceilings and a space is opening for young poets to have conversations about themselves and the world they find themselves in. These new poets deal with a multiplicity of themes. Some, as the title of Putuma's collection *Collective Amnesia* suggests, deal explicitly with the histories of South Africa and Africa, particularly those silenced histories that are so manifestly visible in our present socio-political climate. Others deal with history and present of spirit, genealogies of daughter, mother, grandmother, histories of language, realities of a multiplicity of everyday lived experiences. Poetry has also expanded in academic spaces: the ZAPP (South African Poetry Project), led by Professor Denise Newfield, looks specifically at poetry in school classrooms, as well as understanding poetry as Indigenous Knowledge Systems. What does this mean for history teaching? And decolonisation?

The challenges referred to above by Wills are visible and tangible in Patel's poem *History Lesson*. The righteous indignation of the 9- year-olds, scribbling "Purkiss' pigface" in their books powerfully countermanded by the emptiness implied by Kenyatta's invocation of forgetting, and the political purpose of those two positions shown by the "history we weren't taught". However, Patel's poem is not just applicable to gendered decolonisation processes. It is important to go back to the potentiality

of decolonisation and invoke the scope of feminist interrogation of foundations of knowledge production and power.

One of the theories that I bring to my classes during the process of thinking through decolonisation is Crenshaw's Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1990). While there are debates around this concept, and its deployment especially when focused solely around identity rather than vectors of power and oppression, the theory proves very useful in class in introducing students to the multiple and intersecting sites of power and oppression that class, race, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and other embodiments bring about. This allows them to situate themselves in the present and in the histories, we are encountering, in sites and intersections of privilege or oppression. Drawing out Wills' argument pushes the intersection between race and gender. This could further be expanded to include intersections of class, of political ideology, and multiple other power assemblages which people battle or inhabit at different points in time.

Wills argues that "radical re-imagining is required to account for multiple standpoints and perspectives, without which one hegemonic version of events is simply replaced by another" (Wills, 2016:23). I argue that this radical imagining needs to be pushed in pedagogy as well as in content, as this radical re-imagining must be expanded into politically gendered, raced, classed, queered, structures. Poetry is always a visioning and re-imagining. Carefully chosen poems (see below) can bridge this re-imagining into the history classroom, as a bridge over which students are able to walk.

I use the term radical in its invocation of return to roots, thinking through Freirean pedagogy (as used and interpreted by hooks), as well as examining more contemporary explorations into decolonisation, Africanisation, or other unpackings and re-orientations of historical thinking and teaching. This idea can also be linked back to the urgency of decolonising theories of historical thinking to allow student teachers, and history students, to make sense of and hold the complexity of emotions that emerge in history classes of the Global South.

Another definition I work with in this paper is a decolonised history as history where the knowledge (and knowledge production) is not removed from those studying it. This references a Freirean, but also radical feminist approach, where knowledge is understood as praxis (knowledge and reflection on the knowledges impact on one's own life) (Freire, 1996; hooks, 1994). The knowledge in the CAPS curriculum remains Eurocentric,

or at least lacks a serious focus on African history, as the Ministerial Task Team investigating the implementation of history as a compulsory subject noted (Ndlovu et al., 2018). Howard Zinn suggests actively remediating historical narratives that have normalised colonialism (Zinn, 2005). This needs to be done in many spaces, on many levels: through curriculum and pedagogical reform, through academic and popular historical writing, through what kind of sources are used and heard in classrooms. It needs to become part of how we educate students learning how to teach history. I show below how poetry offers a productive way of positioning knowledge in relationship to students.

How poetry can be used to decolonise history lessons

Poetry creates a world and invites people to find themselves in that world. That world is layered and carefully constructed. Layers of history and lived reality and layers of careful image and symbolism can be linked by carefully constructed thought. But, when posed as an exam question, students argued that poetry cannot be used in history because it is "too emotional".[17] This presents the idea that history is factual, evidenced, rational, and not emotional. Of course, history needs to be factually argued, with evidence. However, students (as well as teachers, and even, the Ministerial Task Team suggest, the CAPS curriculum) tends to steer away from "history that hurts", or history that provokes emotion in class (Ndlovu et al., 2018).

It is precisely this rationalised, fact-based, unilinear history from which students seem to feel removed. Olaowula argues that this kind of history, tied to ideas of rationality embedded in Enlightenment ideals, strips history of its emotion and so removes an active element of history. (Olaowula, 2016) When this history is taught well, it offers multi-perspectivity and insights on historical narrative. But when taught as "knowing history" as opposed to "doing history" (Tambyah, 2017) it offers little entry point for students to find and position themselves, so little possibility for decolonisation. Bell Hooks argues for a vulnerability in classes, of both the teachers and the students (Hooks, 1994). This kind of vulnerability requires a rigour of reading as well as a rigour of understanding historical narrative and positionality. It requires both students' and teachers' voices and critical understanding.[18] This also speaks to Nomathamsanqa Tisani's

17 Student responses in a history methodology exam, Educ2206, June 2018, Wits School of Education.

18 Voice is a contested concept. Gennrich and Dison work with the "use of the metaphor of 'voice' for enabling agency and asserting identity" and I work with this definition (Gennrich & Dison, 2018:2).

work, in (Bam et al., 2018:15-31) that works towards debunking current historical periodisation, but more crucially, drawing on the process of *ukuhlambulula,* to cleanse and heal bodies of knowledge and knowledge creation from the colonial malady. Poetry is one entry point into this, with its historical base in oral tradition in many African societies, and its current use as a space of expression and healing (Gqola, 2011; Hlalethwa, n.d.; Kim, 2013; "Koleka Putuma," 2017). Tisani makes the call for a re-imagining, a need to create new frames and narratives for understanding. The same can be said of the CAPS history curriculum, as highlighted by the MTT (Ndlovu et al., 2018). Poetry is in part an exposition and simultaneously an answer to this. Gqola writes: "few sites demonstrate the inadequacy of existing critical vocabulary as spectacularly as contemporary women's poetry" (Gqola, 2011:5). So how can poetry specifically be used in the history classroom, both in Teacher Education and in High School?

Poetry is not in itself either decolonial or historical or new. Poetry has been used to challenge colonisation, in printed form, for at least a century (Mgqwetho, 2007; Mqhayi, 2017).[19] The current wave of popularity of poetry can be useful in Teacher Education programmes, as well as in school classrooms, if combined with rigorous historical critical enquiry. Poetry provides a semiotics that is not necessarily academic or historical, but that can be accessible and is currently popular. It deals with both history and present, emotion and thought. I show, using excerpts from several poems, that well-chosen poetry can support the CAPS curriculum in both content, and skills development. I will expand on this with some specific examples of both content and skills.

There are several ways that poetry can be used to teach history, each of these ways involving different skill sets. Poetry can be used to get students to do their own writing and engage with their own history. This happened in my First- Year methodology class, where I opened with a poem, *I expect more from you* by Vangile Gantsho.

> *Because my father fought*
> *for you*
> *Instead of spending time with us*
> *he lay on cement floors*
> *behind bars*

19 The poetry of Mqhayi and Mgqwetho is an important example of poetry as anti-colonial form. See Mqhayi's poem *On the Sinking of the SS Mendi* as an example. Poetry, in different forms, has long been a form of anti-colonial resistance, but the in-depth exploration of such is beyond the scope of this paper. The specific potential of poetry as a decolonial pedagogical tool in terms of language and evidence is explored in a forthcoming publication.

behind dustbins
under beds
in wardrobes
for you
He forced my mother up and down
from prisons to hospitals to prisons
baby on back
searching for him
because of you
(Gantsho, 2016:47)

In this poem the poet engages with the realities of her family growing up as part of the ANC's struggle against apartheid, and her pain and anger at what she perceives as an ANC failure in post-apartheid South Africa. It is a deeply personal poem. It also engages gender in the liberation struggle, the states of emergency in the 1980s, ANC in exile, and ex MK veterans in post-apartheid South Africa. It contains a historical argument: that the ANC has betrayed the everyday people who worked and sacrificed for it.

I used the poem to introduce the "Big Six" historical thinking concepts, as originally outlined by Peter Seixas: cause and consequence, continuity and change, working with evidence, historical perspectives, ethical thinking, and historical significance (Morton & Seixas, 2012). Now, contestability has been added (Tambyah, 2017). The students initially engaged with and were moved by the poem. But they saw it as a text, a piece of emotion that had been voiced. In examining it through historical thinking skills, the poem came alive in other ways, and became a space of co-creation of knowledge.

In the poem *History Lesson* by Shailja Patel, Patel actively brings marginalised voices into the power structure of the history lesson (Patel, 2010). The poem interweaves the moral lessons taught in history classes to children of 9 years old, with history that was actively silenced, the numbers of Kenyans who died before liberation, and the horrifically brutal treatment of women in camps. She brings in Kenyatta's speech, that she took decades to learn by heart, but was never taught in class. Interestingly, for use in teacher-education classrooms, the reference to the peaceful multi-racial nation gives the poem a particular resonance in South Africa. Patel's poem is raising powerful questions of decolonisation in three ways: first – she deals with African history. Secondly, she explicitly makes the poem about what was taught (and learnt), and what was not. This frames the power that this history classroom, and the history narrative chosen for that classroom,

have. Thirdly, she presents historical facts starkly, as if she were teaching them. There is no poetic language, there are no poetic devices used in the last stanza of the poem. She presents a historical narrative that is not silencing colonial murder, rape, and theft.[20] This poem contains a historical argument about what history is silenced and also engages ethical thinking and multi-perspectivity.

In another lecture, I brought both poem and poet into the class. Mjele Msimang performed *As Long As* in the Third Year Methodology class. This poem also takes an explicitly historical approach but unfolds history in a different way. Msimang uses poetic devices more explicitly – making the images both more and less visceral than Patel. He invokes history-in-present, using the concept of a "born free"[21] while gesturing to the global history-in-present structures that maintain global (and local) inequality. He speaks on an economic, political and spiritual level – mentioning both the United Nations Security Council and the unnamed bones of the South African colonial era:

> *... as long as the mass graves scatter along the hills,*
> *under city walks, bones unable to decompose*
> *for they have not been named –*
> *i was never born free*

In this he shows how an idea of a decolonised history, maintaining an African perspective, can be global. He raises students' awareness of their place in space and time, and power structures and injustices, without specifically referring to history. The emotions of the poem take intellectual input, and political and historical awareness and knowledge – and thus could provide interesting frameworks for several historical content lessons.

Having the poet in the class brought an immediacy of the voice and the history into a space where the students could see and touch the source of the poem, and the source of the information. As Msimang is a young black South African, students can see aspects of themselves in him, which bring them closer to the knowledge and the history, even though the history Msimang invokes is broad and global, tying in with themes of emancipatory internationalism perhaps not immediately familiar to the students.

20 As this is introduced in class, I am careful to use trigger warnings, and to discuss the limitations of such warnings. I am aware of myself as white teacher, myself as a woman, myself as person deciding which histories are in this classroom and which are not. I am aware of the openings made by the poem, and the way it draws one line through the single history presented and maps out a complicated maze with the "histories we didn't learn". These are the kind of complexities I hope to engender in my students.

21 Someone in South Africa who was born after the first democratic elections in 1994, and so post-apartheid.

Poetry from the classroom: My history, my identity, my point of view, my voice

Writing as a methodology to enhance critical thinking is widely lauded (Bean, 2011; Elbow, 2000; Gennrich & Dison, 2018). I suggest that creative writing and poetry can offer a space for students to explore their own position in the world, their thoughts and opinions on this position, as well as the complexities of historical cause and effect, continuity and change, and ethical thinking. Kelly argues that poetics (although in their case using hip-hop) can help reduce alienation of students from the texts they are learning (Kelly, 2013). I argue that beyond this, poetry can bridge political and social space-time, towards integrating the students into their own historical narratives and voice. I offer two examples:

After introducing particular historical concepts in class, I asked the students to write their thoughts after the lesson, without specifying the form in which they should write. In the next class one student brought a poem he called *The Reckoning* urging Muslim South Africans to engage with their positionality and be honest about their position in society in post-apartheid South Africa. This poem contains a historical argument and historical evidence (the student used specific statistics, indicating economic status of different racial groups). This is a complex linking of positionality, ethical perspectives, cause and effect, continuity and change, and historical perspectives.

Another poem was written by a fourth- year student Dipela Jackie Mondi, who is a published poet. She was not versed in poetry as history-teaching method, but her experience in poetry allowed her to integrate her poetry into our conversations on historical thinking concepts. Her poem is called *We Need New Plumbers* and is dedicated to Michael Komape and Lumka Mthethwa – both five-year-old children who drowned in pit latrines in their schools, in 2014 and 2018 respectively. In class we had spoken about legacies of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa: Mondi brought up was Bantustans, and poor infrastructure in rural areas in designated Bantustans. As a future teacher, she is emotionally invested in school infrastructure, which brought her to these tragic deaths in under-resourced schools. Her poem starts:

We need new plumbers
In place of current plunderers
Whose stomachs are bottomless pits
That left us with pit latrines

Speaking about her poem, Mondi explicitly connected past with present: the apartheid regime created the pit latrines, the lack of change has left us with them. When a poem written by a student is used in class it opens historical thought and discussion. With this particular poem, because of the political nature of its content, it opened space for debate. Because content is student generated it also disrupts the power hierarchy in a Freirean/ Hooksian way. This can, in turn, be used in the high school classrooms in which the students will teach.

These poems arose spontaneously. I did not prompt or ask for poetry, because there are complications around this as a task: it is not a form with which all students are comfortable. While I think it can open more opportunities than it closes (it can facilitate students doing historical writing and thinking in their mother-tongue, for example) more research is needed before introducing writing poetry as a method.[22] However, the fact that these poems (and others not discussed in this article) arose spontaneously suggests a positive reaction to poetry as method and poetry as conversation.

I have discussed two ways poetry can be used in the classroom: poems already written can be used to convey argument and content, different historical perspectives, and often to highlight marginalised historical voices and narratives, or poems can be used as writing exercises to understand voice and agency, as well as evidence, in creating historical argument.

In the first scenario the poems need to be used as resources along with other materials and teaching strategies. All historical thinking skills need to be utilised in analysing a poem: contextualisation, corroboration, close reading, sourcing. Doing these things with poetry may provide the added benefit of getting students to question artistic pieces as they do academic pieces, to apply the same rigour of critical thinking to YouTube videos, as they do (or should) with articles found online.

In the second scenario, students are required to be vulnerable about themselves and their lives or open their perspectives on the world. In both scenarios they are required to engage with historical themes in their own lives, linking to history, to current affairs, or elements discussed in the classroom. This enhances writing skills, historical thinking skills, and, if the poem is examined in class, skills such as corroboration and contextualisation. This shifts the historical framing to the students

22 This forms part of a larger interdisciplinary research project around decolonisation.

themselves, and then, as a class, we can look at that framing and make sense of it.

Towards a framework for using poetry in history lessons

Not all poems will work effectively to decolonise or teach history. In this section I set out some criteria for a poem to be useful in a history lesson, before engaging the ways in which poetry can provide entry points into history, hooks into narratives, and spaces for students to explore their own historical voices, their own histories. This is summarised in Table 1.

Poetry can be examined like any other piece of evidence, using the historical skills of close-reading, sourcing, and corroboration, to understand the complexity and the histories in the argument. While the poems serve this objective historical function, they also serve to connect the present with the past and connect the students with the histories they are studying. Teeger has argued for the necessity of this in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as the difficulty of achieving this in history classrooms in High Schools (Teeger, 2015).

The poems I have discussed make use of historical arguments, collected through the poets' own research and historical evidence (Bam et al., 2018; Monte-Sano, 2012; Morton & Seixas, 2012; Wineburg, 2001). This is crucial for a poem to function in a history lesson, especially in the CAPS curriculum where teachers are fighting against time to cover the required content knowledge.

The poem must engage at least one historical thinking concept. This is not a difficult requirement to fulfil, as, if nothing else, the poem engages a perspective. However, this perspective needs to engage historical content, or present content that the teacher or the students connect to historical content. The poem must be compelling. It must present information in a way that opens new dimensions to learners or allow them to see something in a different way. This is particularly why I argue for poetry to teach history right now, where poetry is increasingly a popular youth activity, spoken word often vying with popular music to convey societal messages.

Tabel 1: Guidelines for using poetry in History classrooms

Criteria	How to identify	Linking to CAPS content & skills
Connect with historical arguments	The poet implicitly or explicitly makes reference to historical events, or current events with historical tracing. The poem in itself is historical (not written in the last decade) and so needs to be read, as in language class, within its historical context.	Either the content or the concept of the poem link to CAPS content e.g. – turning points in apartheid, the exile struggle in the 1980s, slavery in South Africa, Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Further than this poems engage or exemplify different historical arguments on the topic.
Engage historical thinking	Each poem chosen offers a particular perspective: this engages historical perspectives, and in some poems presented as examples in this article, multiple perspectives are shown. It is likely that other key historical thinking skills such as continuity and change, cause and effect, and ethical thinking will be engaged. Each poem is also, in itself, a piece of evidence, linking to working with evidence.	The CAPS document calls for the following skills: Engaging multiple perspectives. Drawing information from multiple sources. Recognising that there are multiple perspectives in history and recognising why there are these multiple perspectives. Engaging the representations of past in the present.
Be compelling	This is subjective and depends on the teacher and the class. It needs to be compelling to the class, so one method could be to ask students for favourite poems or themes. If the teacher finds it compelling and the class does not, this in itself could be a discussion on historical perspective and generation.	Learners must understand why there are different perspectives, and be able to have focused and constructive debate about the issues that emerge in the poems, substantiated by other historical evidence. If the poems are not compelling students will not be motivated to debate.
Connect with relevant items for students	Linked to the above, this speaks to who and where your students are. The poem should both speak to them, and open up worlds for them to find themselves in.	This speaks to an interest in and enjoyment of the study of the past. This is easier if the sources used are relevant.

Writer positionality	In terms of decolonisation, and shifting the gaze, poems that perpetuate a Eurocentric view, where students cannot find themselves or find themselves belittled, are not helpful. This is why the explosion of particularly black women writers in South Africa makes poetry an interesting methodology to explore right now.	Rather than a CAPS concept, this speaks to a CAPS aim. Developing an interest in and enjoyment of the study of the past is one of the key aims of history. This is more easily realised if students see themselves represented in some sources, or some teaching aids brought into the classroom. Poetry provides potential for centring previously marginalised voices and narratives.
Connect with content from CAPS	For poems to be effective the teacher and students must be able to link them to the content and skills in the CAPS curriculum, as laid out in column three.	This addresses historical knowledge called for in CAPS as well as historical thinking skills.

Decolonising the history curriculum: Poetry in pedagogy as process of decolonisation

"We can't just wait for Black historians to rewrite these histories": a snippet, overheard in passing a group of students in a hall. I experienced a twinge: pain, guilt, surprise. This was perhaps because of the erasing the statement did – of the black historical canons, global, regional, national, to the current authors challenging the South African historiographical landscape. (I am thinking particularly of Professor Nomalanga Mkhize's #BundyMustFall presentation at the South African Historical Society (SAHS) conference in Stellenbosch a few years ago, drawn from her thesis (Mkhize, 2012).

But the point remained. The students do not see themselves in the historical literature we, as history education lecturers, are providing. In this section, I argue for poetry as a useful tool in decolonising historical thinking, historical theory, and historical pedagogy. I suggest poetry not as an intellectual replacement for the work of black historians as content engagement, but as a decolonising pedagogy towards the students seeing themselves, feeling themselves, more in the work we do in class. Below, I examine four poems that I have used in history methodology classes, and what potential historical content and thinking skills they open space for.

Koleka Putuma's *Water* – an award winning poem, now being taught in several English (but to my knowledge no history) courses at a tertiary level,

speaks to the global condition of being black, but also to being women and being queer (Putuma, 2017). She, like Msimang, invokes history-in-present, in different ways:

> *But I would rather exist in that god-less holy book than in the history books*
> *that did not tell truth*
> *About us for us*
> *On behalf of us*
> *If you really had to write our stories*
> *Then you ought to have done it in our mother's tongues The ones you cut*
> *off when you fed them a new language*
>
> *We never consent*
> *Yet we are asked to dine with the oppressors and serve them forgiveness*
> *How, when the only ingredients I have are grief and rage*
>
> *Another one (who looks like me) died today*
> *Another one (who looks like me) was murdered today*

Putuma deals directly with the urgency that I feel pushes the need for decolonised theories of teaching history, and of historical thinking, when she writes "the only ingredients I have are grief and rage". When student teachers are only pushed to experience themselves as pedagogues and not as people the range of historical feeling is shut down, and ways that to unpack these feelings, and use them in historical teaching, on both skills, subject, and content, are shut down also. Putuma's emotion offered hand in hand with her history-in-present moment offers a powerful example of lived history as it is understood, felt, mourned, and raged against by the "I" of the poem.

I expect more from you by Vangile Gantsho presents a family's struggle history, primarily told through the women's experiences:

> *For you*
> *my mother nursed, sold, sewed worked hard*
> *when he couldn't work for us because he worked for you*

As Lugones suggests, rather than adding an analytic category of gender into the implicit race, class and ideology in the poem, the gendering brings a lens of intensely experienced humanness. This introduction of subjective voice (layered with historical knowledge) in itself is a resistance to the coloniality of knowledge that classifies Black women as non-being (Lugones, 2010). It brings in a deep, personal, historically and subjectively informed rage and pain at the present political moment with the constant,

building, refrain: "I expect more from you" (Gantsho, 2014:47).

In terms of historical content, this poem does the work of looking at women's struggle histories, at different instantiations of the ANC in exile, at the transition moment or, moving to where we are now, either in the moment of 2014 when the poem was written, or in the current moment. It speaks to a range of CAPS curriculum subjects. It also allows for the feeling of the history-in- present that these lessons can also induce. Having the lesson framed around them facilitates a legitimacy of feeling, and so a legitimacy, or position of power, for the "I" in the poem.

Bringing these poems into class opens up avenues to discuss historical thinking, historical method, historical knowledge production, and historical narratives. It foregrounds emotions raised as these histories are taught. These poems present a worldview, links into historical content, the positionality, the immediacy, the history. They provide access points that are linked to different students through different modalities.

Conclusion: Towards "a history in which I can see myself, in which I am not belittled"[23]

There is much to be done towards decolonising the teaching of history in South Africa. The work is in the curriculum and in the classrooms, in the universities and in the minds of pre-service teachers, as well as the minds of the academics that teach them.

I have discussed poetry – not a new medium in teaching history, although usually either used as historical evidence or to teach empathy or cultural sensitivity (Furman, 2005; McCall, 2004) – as a tool that allows for a range of presence of subjectivities and thinking skills, including emotion, as well as more traditionally advocated historical thinking skills.

I have discussed the theories of historical thinking currently used in teaching history methodology, questioning how to decolonise this historical theory itself. Poetry is a method that works with perspective, voice, argument and evidence. Some students connect with poetry, and it can bring the historical narratives and complexities to life, as compelling creative work can do. Some students will hate poetry, and not connect with it, as with any specific teaching material. The argument I have made proposes poetry as one way towards a history and pedagogy that is more decolonised. Further research needs to do be done on how to decolonise

23 Moosa Khumalo, 4th year Bachelor of Education student. Comment made in class and cited with permission.

the CAPS curriculum, in content and praxis, examining other media and methods, as well as how our current curriculum is applied in all the diverse areas of our country. We need to pay attention to who is doing the research: what collection of students, teachers, and academics can best be brought together to draw on sufficient theoretical, experiential, and practical knowledge in an assemblage that takes on decolonisation. This research needs to be both long term and far reaching, to discover the potential, as well as where shifts have been, and are being, made.

In this paper I have taken guidance both from my students and from Wills' exploration of feminist decolonisation of the curriculum. This expands into decolonial thought on ways of resistance and being broader and how this can best be explored in history classrooms. The core of this ongoing project is guided by students I teach, decolonial, feminist and historical theory as well as education theory. It is guided by hope that decolonising the history classroom is possible and that this enables a more empowered and empowering history, in the history classroom in tertiary teacher education spaces as well as school classrooms.

Historical thinking presented as a skill set without considering the positionality and relationality of the student, and the knowledge interacted with, is dangerous. Teaching at the University of Johannesburg in 2016, I felt the strength of the emotions of a first-year class, as they argued that history is too painful, that all it does is encumber them with feelings they are not equipped to hold. In my work at Wits School of Education we have explored these feelings through poetry, as well as the fear these pre-service history teachers have about engaging or opening these feelings in learners. A project towards decolonising history needs to take these emotions into account. It needs to consider lived experiences, present day realities, and the shortcomings as well as successes while South Africa(ns) try to come to terms with history and present. Both local and global. We leave this incredibly challenging work to history teachers, sometimes without fully exploring the emotional challenges they face in classes. I propose poetry as one method to address this. Thus, true to the paper, I will end with a quote (that I use in all my classes, for when the teaching work gets hard for the students) from a poem by an American poet, Danez Smith:

> *Hope is hard, but I have it.*
> *I look at my students' hands*
> *Imagine all that they will mother*
> (Smith, 2016)

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Learners' imagination of democratic citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa: Exploring critical literary pedagogy in History teaching

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Abstract

Post-apartheid South Africa struggles to develop a sense of social cohesion and nationhood, which remain largely unfulfilled constitutional imperatives. The pre-amble of the post-apartheid constitution (1996) recognises amongst other things, the "injustices of our past, … that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and (to) lay the foundations for a democratic and open society". The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) creates space in the history curriculum to address democratic citizenship and social cohesion. Due to a racially fragmented history, South African nationhood is still a future-oriented project for the attention of the state, and in the context of this study, the education sector. This article reports on an exploratory history lesson, teaching democratic citizenship for social development and nation-building. The lesson was presented to grade 10 learners at a township high school in Pretoria-North. A "critical literary pedagogy" (CLP) approach was employed as a pathway to teaching social cohesion and nationhood, through historical reflection and imagination. A CLP approach has a commitment to change and employs literary texts as learning material. The article responds to the research question: What is the potential role of CLP as an approach to the teaching of democratic citizenship in a post-apartheid classroom? As conceptual framework "cosmubuntuism", a combination of cosmopolitan and Ubuntu values provides a theoretical lens to understand learners' imaginations of democratic citizenship. Five dominant themes emerged from the data, confirming the potential of CLP, but alerting to contradictory and critical outcomes of the lesson. Recommendations are suggested, inter alia, for teacher education institutions to use the CLP approach to address the didactical needs of history teachers to cultivate social cohesion and nationhood in the post-apartheid South African history classroom.

Keywords: Apartheid; Cosmopolitan; Cosmubuntuism; Critical literary pedagogy; Forced Removals; Social cohesion; Ubuntu

Introduction

This article explores school history's potential to teach social cohesion and citizenship education, through employing a "critical literary pedagogical" (CLP) approach to advance a sense of nationhood which is sorely lacking in the fledging South African democracy. A CLP approach has a commitment to change and it employs literary texts as learning material. According to the Curriculum and Assessment Statement Policy (CAPS), history teaching in South Africa includes the teaching of civic duties and the preparation of young people for local, national and global responsibility (Department of Basic Education, DoBE, 2011). The history curriculum also views historical evidence as tangible and intangible sources such as literature, suitable to be employed in the classroom to answer questions of the past (DoBE, 2011). For practical reasons, this article uses a small selection of the apartheid and forced removals literature as historical sources to teach democratic citizenship to grade 10 learners at a township school in Pretoria-North, Gauteng Province.

Although apartheid legally came to an end in 1994, its *de facto* realities are still manifested in a spatial-material and socio-psychological racial legacy, in need of transformation. Teacher education institutions have a responsibility to train prospective educators to engage various pedagogies that will contribute towards nation-building and democratic citizenship. This article reports on an exploratory history lesson in which a CLP approach was adopted, using literary texts in a grade 10 history classroom with learners at a township high school in Pretoria-North. The article responds to the research question: What is the potential role of CLP as an approach to the teaching of democratic citizenship in a post-apartheid classroom? As conceptual and analytical framework "cosmubuntuism" (Davids, 2018) which is a combination of cosmopolitan (Appiah, 1997) and Ubuntu (Tutu, 1999) values, is employed to interpret learners' understanding of democratic citizenship.

Using literature in the teaching of history is not an uncommon pedagogical approach. Brock and Brock (2009) have demonstrated how to teach the holocaust as a historical event with contemporary relevance. Other researchers argue that the last two decades have seen a revived interest in high-quality literature as pedagogical strategy to strengthen students' understanding of history in elementary and middle school classrooms (Crawford & Zygouris-Coe, 2008). The use of protest songs as a form

of literature to illustrate a creative way of engaging learners in a history classroom, was reported by Msila (2013) who argues that music, as a literary and historical device has great pedagogical potential. Considering the nation-building challenges facing the teaching of history, Nussey (2018) contends that in the South African context, research should be undertaken in "reconciliation pedagogy" that is informed by a notion of Ubuntu, given the need to develop social cohesion.

The rationale for this article is thus to contribute towards the need for reconciliatory pedagogy given the background of colonialism and apartheid, while the purpose of the article is to explore the use of a small selection of apartheid and forced removals literature to teach history, using the CLP approach. According to Borsheim-Black et al., (2014), a CLP approach offers ideas to make history teaching more engaging and relevant, given that the task of the history teacher includes nation-building and democratic citizenship.

Background to the study

In contradiction to apartheid's racialized conception of citizenship, the post-apartheid constitution enshrined values of a non-racial democratic citizenship, in which the government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law (SA Constitution, 1996:1). The pre-amble of the new constitution (SA Constitution, 1996:1) recognises amongst other things, that the "injustices of our past, ... that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and (to) lay the foundations for a democratic and open society". Non-racial citizenship is understood to mean that "race" will not play any role in defining the rights of a citizen. The concept "race" is used as a social construction. Race is an idea that has been shown not to be true, but it is seen by many as an almost indispensable part of their identity and frameworks to describe people's everyday worlds (Soudien, 2012). The notion of a "non-racial" society can be regarded as an imagination of a future ideal to work for and it can be understood as a negation of race as a defining category of people's rights (Anciano, 2016).

Considering the fundamental values of multiculturalism, non-racialism does not deny the diversity of people's cultural backgrounds. As this article will clarify later in its selection of literary learning material, it is crucial to note that a critical review of South African society shows that non-racialism existed in many vibrant communities before the National Party (exclusively "white") came to power in 1948. Those communities,

which form the basis of this article's imagination of a future non-racial society, were destroyed by the Group Areas Act (1950) because they stood as empirical evidence against the official segregationist ideology of apartheid. Long before apartheid was enforced by the National party, cosmopolitan residential spaces abounded across the South African urban landscape. For instance, Brickford-Smith (2001) describes District Six at the turn of the 19th century as an example of a cosmopolitan community, arguably one of the most cosmopolitan in sub-Saharan Africa. Equally famous cosmopolitan communities destroyed by apartheid are Sophia town and Fietas in Johannesburg, South End in Port Elizabeth and Lady Selborne in Pretoria to mention a few. The cosmopolitanism of the past is well recorded and often hidden in the literature on apartheid and forced removals, as this study demonstrates.

After twenty-five years of democracy, the lack of a common sense of citizenship amongst South Africans flows largely from the unresolved national question. Benedict Anderson's theorisation of a nation may be apposite for the South African context when he asserts that a nation is "an imagined political community" (Gumede, 2015). Nationhood in a post-apartheid South African context is better understood as a community that shares common interests and respects its repulsive political history, through systematic restitutionary, reconciliatory and equitable sharing of resources (Gumede, 2015). South African nation-building is a delicate work-in-progress that should be a common responsibility of all its citizens. Although social cohesion is essential to the nation-building project, its uncritical acceptance as a prior condition should not ignore its potential downside. Palmary (2015) argues that negative social cohesion explains the occurrence of xenophobia and racism due to inherent elements of "them", and "us" when individuals and groups express their self-constructed identity. South Africans arguably lack a common core identity frame that transcends their troubled past and glues them as a citizenry in a country "that belongs to all who live in it" (The Freedom Charter, 1955).

This article explores the experiences of learners when they engaged the contradictions in the literature of an apartheid past and the ideal of a democracy enshrined in the new post-apartheid constitution of 1996. These aspects of history teaching may appear ordinary but are quite intriguing from a pedagogical perspective. While the purpose of history teaching includes the teaching of patriotism and citizenship (Barton & Levstik, 2008), these aspects of the curriculum are often neglected. In response to

the need for creativity in reconciliatory pedagogy, CLP was explored as a viable history method to teach democratic citizenship.

CLP grew out of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970) which focuses on raising awareness of inequalities, social justice and power relations (de Klonia, 2015). Critical pedagogy involves storytelling that is critical and hopeful with stories that tell of grief and oppression (Guilherme & Phipps, 2004). CLP "consumes, produces and distributes" ideas taken from literature to deal with historical narratives and aims to facilitate opportunities to discuss nation-building and democratic citizenship (Borsheim-Black et. al., 2014). CLP focuses on the meaning of language in the texts from which the teacher highlights hidden ideas and practices for deeper discussion and reflection (Skolverket, 2014).

To achieve the outcomes of the CAPS history objectives (DoBE, 2011) it is required for teaching to be sensitive to learners' socialisation and cultural background. The South African classroom is not immune to the presence of "difficult knowledge" (Levy & Sheppard, 2018) as apartheid's impact on both blacks and whites cannot be underestimated. It is challenging to engage school going children with "difficult histories" through commonly used pedagogies and existing history curriculum frameworks (Metzger, 2018). The traumatic and difficult histories concealed in the curriculum require intelligent decoding without losing the learner who is a future citizen. The emotional burden of history is however not restricted to the learner. More important is the teacher who must implement a curriculum riven with emotions and trauma. In this regard, Zembylas (2014) warns against a purely rational approach to historical critique when approaching the past through critical pedagogy.

Having argued that history teaching should contribute to social cohesion and citizenship, this study explores CLP as a viable pedagogy. Following the preceding introduction and background to this study, the rest of this article unfolds under the following sub-headings. Firstly, as conceptual framework the concept "cosmubuntism", will be explained as analytical lens to interpret learners' responses to the lesson content. Secondly, a methodological note explains what CLP is, the context of data collection and how data were analysed.[1] Thirdly, the findings and discussion are presented, followed by a conclusion that reviews the research question and summarises the article, providing some implications of the study for

1 A synopsis of the lesson material is presented as Appendix A.

history teaching.

Conceptual framework: Ubuntu, Cosmopolitanism and "Cosmubuntism"

The notion of a South African sense of nationhood is arguably a futuristic project. Fortuitously, the new state adopted as coat of arms, the source of African humanist philosophy, the Khoi-san expression "!*ke e: /xarra // ke",* meaning "diverse people unite". Along-side this expression is the Zulu phrase: "umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu" – meaning, a person (human) is a person through other people (humans), or "I am what I am because of who we all are" (Kabantu, 1999). These expressions convey a unitary concept of humanity that is diverse in its cultural multitudes. Archbishop Desmond Tutu uses the concept "Ubuntu" as meaning "generous, hospitable, friendly, caring and compassionate", and explains that people belong to one another. To underscore the centrality of humanity instead of individuality, Tutu further explains that it is not "I think therefore I am", as expounded by philosopher Descartes, but rather, "I am human because I belong" (Tutu, 1999).

In support of the argument that African society had its own indigenous notion of being human which contains cosmopolitan and humanitarian values, Murithi (2009) referred to early African societies as "Ubuntu societies". According to Murithi (2009) "Ubuntu societies" existed before colonialism and provided the initial "social capital" that made human interaction amongst culturally diverse people possible. The concept social capital is apposite to use here with reference to aspects of a social structure which facilitates norms and governs behaviour of individuals in their relationships with members of a society (Coleman, 1990). The presence of Ubuntu became discernable in later evolution of cosmopolitan communities such as District Six, Sophiatown, South End, etc. that were destroyed during apartheid. These communities had their origins in prototype Ubuntu communities and became multi-cultural in composition, an expression of the fact that people from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds can peacefully co-exist as one community.

Cosmopolitanism has its origin in ancient Greek philosophy that describes the ideal citizen as "a citizen of the world" or global citizen (Ribeiro, 2005: 19). Appiah (1997) regards heterogeneity and difference as enabling spaces of cosmopolitanism. He argues that culture and difference should not impede consensus reaching, but rather promote it (Appiah, 1997). According to Nussbaum (1996), the cosmopolitan is "the person whose

allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings, of diverse ethnic extractions, beliefs and political persuasions that stand "in relation rather than in opposition*"* (Eze, 2017). In South Africa xenophobia and racism are signs that cosmopolitanism still has a long way to go. Theoretically, the concept of cosmopolitanism is both fixed and utopian and not flexible to accommodate the dynamic and ever-changing nature of society. To allow for a decolonized, inclusive, African notion of citizenship with space for evolution towards global citizenship, cosmubuntism is suggested (Davids, 2018).

Cosmubuntism is derived from the concepts cosmopolitan and Ubuntu. Cosmubuntism embraces respect for human dignity (Appiah, 1997), reciprocal generosity and hospitality based on a common humanity (Tutu, 1999). Cosmubuntu communities display characteristics of both cosmopolitanism and ubuntuism. Traditional Ubuntu communities were less multicultural than Cosmubuntu communities. Based on the combined characteristics of cosmopolitanism and Ubuntuism, cosmubuntu communities have the following characteristics: heterogeneous in terms of their population; display cultural diversity; operate on the basis of respect, human dignity, and tolerance; show generosity, caring, and compassion; foster a sense of belonging; and are in a state of ever-changing and becoming as contained in the Khoi moto and instruction: "diverse people unite" (Davids, 2018). Cosmubuntism will be employed as analytical and conceptual lens to interpret grade 10 learners' conceptions of nation-building and democratic citizenship. What follows now is a methodological note that informs the context of data collection and analysis that led to the construction of emerging themes formulated as findings of the study.

Methodology and CLP texts

This is a small-scale qualitative study that explores how forty (40) grade 10 learners responded to a lesson on apartheid and forced removals literature, using the CLP approach. The value of CLP lies in its method of using literary material in a critical way that highlights the hidden aim and meaning of a text (Skolverket, 2014). CLP has no clear-cut method or ready-made plan (Skolverket, 2014). In this lesson, CLP guidelines offered by Borsheim-Black, et.al. (2014) were adopted. For the purpose of this study a classroom activity sheet consisting of literary texts (Appendix A) was presented to the learners.

The study was conducted at a township high school where access to the learners was facilitated by the coordinator of a community engagement project of a South African University in Gauteng Province. Ethical clearance to conduct the study was obtained prior to the project as part of the community engagement research. Arrangements were made for a grade 10 class to be taught a lesson on an aspect of the history curriculum: democratic citizenship and nation-building. Lesson material consisted of a synopsis of texts from three literary figures' selected works: Ingrid Jonker (Fischer, 2018), Alex La Guma (Yousaf, 2001) and Richard Rive (Daymond, 1986). Learners participated in the lesson and completed a post-lesson qualitative question sheet, which became the primary source of data.

In addition to the biographical and content questions, learners were specifically requested to respond to two open-ended questions: learners' reflections on apartheid and forced removals, and their relevance in developing a democratic society and nation-building. The questions were subjected to close thematic analysis (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014), using colour-coding to identify a common use of words, phrases and expressions. These were used to construct coherent categories and themes which are presented below as findings of the study.

Findings and discussion

The objective of this study was to explore the potential of a CLP approach as a feasible reconciliatory pedagogy (Nussey, 2018) to teach democratic citizenship and nation-building. Based on an application of the analytical conceptual lens explained above, the emergent themes from the learners' responses can be regarded as positive, negative and ambiguous. In this section, the positive findings will first be presented, followed by negative and ambiguous. Each finding is supported by quotations from learners and a discussion on its significance and relevance to the research question.

Imagining Ubuntu and equality

Out of a possible forty (40) learners, forty percent used the word Ubuntu when describing their aspirations for social cohesion. These learners emphasised that Ubuntu is relevant and applicable to all South Africans, irrespective of "race". Learners tend to use terms such as "love", "respect", "equality" and "Ubuntu" in association with each other. Ubuntu is often mentioned together with the desire that "all should love each other"

(learner). Very closely related to Ubuntu was the expression of "respect" which is fundamental in a relationship of mutual recognition. "Equality" appeared in expressions such as "all must be treated equally", "white must treat blacks equally", "live equally" and "respect and live equally".

Learners are inclined towards Ubuntu as part of their sense of being. They engaged various texts in the lesson that alerted to the oppressive nature of apartheid and responded with the ideals of "love, respect and equality". They saw the need for a changed attitude towards the historical oppressor, but they also identified hope for the future which is inspired by the values expressed in the new constitution.

As is evident in the data cited above, learners were confronted by the contradictions in the text between oppression and hatred and the idealism such as non-racism, non-sexism and equality, enshrined in the new constitution (1996). For example, learners were sensitised to the grief in the poem *The Child* (Jonker's text, Appendix A) and the multi-culturalism in the text on District Six, where black and white were living together (Rive's text, Appendix A). The history of forced removal communities such as District Six, were arguably practical expressions of historical cosmopolitanism to which school going youth were be exposed. The dominant theme of Ubuntu and equality that emerged from learners' expressions can be explained as an outflow from their social environment and education that frames non-racism as an ideal for the future (Anciano, 2016). A forty percent positive identification of Ubuntu as a dominant theme, may be regarded as hope for future social cohesion, given the negativity of apartheid's historical literary texts to which they were exposed. As builders of a future nation, these learners show signs that they want to belong to an imagined future community (Gumede, 2015).

Using CLP in the history classroom played a progressive role in exposing black learners to apartheid forced removals as demonstrated in the literature of Rive and La Guma. These authors were uncompromising in their critique of apartheid yet, learners accommodated the ideals of Ubuntu and equality as essential for developing a democratic nation. As examples of 'difficult knowledge' (Levy & Sheppard, 2018), forced removals and apartheid were taught to learners. When engaging difficult knowledge, traumatic experiences emerged from the texts, e.g. in Jonker's *The Child*, where an innocent child was shot dead elicited emotions of anger and hatred (Zembylas, 2014). The CLP method includes "consumption" of text when

a teacher engages learners and learners were involved in reading, listening and reflection. Learners were involved in "production" and "distribution" when they responded to the questions on the task sheet and formulated their responses based on their learning. The CLP approach allowed engagement with difficult apartheid historical knowledge, which made it meaningful as critical thinking and reflection were initiated as processes that will hopefully continue during the learners' future schooling.

Imagining togetherness and mixing of black and white citizens

Learners used the term "togetherness" with the same frequency that they used Ubuntu. Forty percent of learners used "togetherness" alongside "mixing of black and white" as a positive expression of their imagination of a multicultural nation. They used mixing together with "mixing schooling", "mixed country" and "mixing black and white together". The notion of togetherness emerged strongly with "be together as one", "stay together as one", "stand together as one nation", "live together" and "together build a future". "Togetherness" emerged from the data which is indicative of a positive futuristic imagination of a non-racial South African society. Based on the analysis of a question probing the experiences of friendship beyond the group that the learners belonged, the overwhelming majority indicated that their relationships with friends other than African is minimal. For example, 45 percent has only African friends and only 20 percent has "coloured" friends, etc. Table 1 provides an analysis of the responses of learners to the question below:

Table 1: Learner responses to question: Do you have friends from other groups, e.g. whites, coloureds or indians?

No Friends other than African	"White" Friends	"Coloured" Friends	"Indian" Friends	No response	
18	9	8	3	2	40
45%	22%	20%	7%	5%	100

The small sample of learners may not have any generalizable value beyond this study, but it provides a glimpse into the number of multicultural relationships of a group of grade 10 learners at a township school. Given the limited exposure of township learners to multicultural living, their inclination to have an imagination of "togetherness" and "mixing", may be ascribed to their exposure to the constitutional discourses and public

utterances of democratic values. Imagining the ideal of citizenship and living together in a free society are necessary steps towards transformation and social justice as expounded by Freire (1970). Learners' critical textual engagement with historical events such as apartheid legislation (Group Areas Act, 1950) and political oppression (Sharpeville killings, 1960) through the literature of Jonker, Rive and La Guma, contributed towards their historical consciousness but simultaneously nurtured a positive disposition towards democratic values.

As an approach to history teaching, CLP has a commitment to social change which is positively expressed in the constitutional ideals which are offered as a solution and common purpose for future citizenry. CLP differs from traditional transmission teaching pedagogy's reproduction and regurgitation of existing knowledge as it compels learners to engage critically with the past, present and future (Borsheim et al., 2014).

Imagining democracy as future hope

The third dominant theme that emerged from the data is learners' use of "democracy". Learners expressed themselves using the following phrases: "Democracy will be the one thing that we will stand for"; "… apartheid must not come back in South Africa because we will work hard to build democracy"; "... In a democracy, everyone should live a better life" (Learners extracts). While learners seem to respond positively towards the notion of embracing the values of Ubuntu, togetherness and democracy, they express these views with some apprehension of the harm that apartheid caused especially to blacks.

Notwithstanding the legal status of South Africa as a constitutional democracy, transformation of the colonial-apartheid social structure in line with the post-apartheid constitution, remains a project in progress. Given the background of past discrimination and unfair practices, democracy is touted as a socially just solution for learners to live meaningful lives. Learners are exposed to democratic practices such as national elections, parliamentary representation and access to educational institutions of their choice, which strengthen their resolve in democracy as the pathway for future success. Their imaginations of a democracy are positively embraced as it promises a "better life" for all citizens.

While a CLP approach may promote critical thinking, learners felt the burden of challenging their social status as members from a historically

disadvantaged section of the population. Critical pedagogy places the responsibility of the future on the individual learner who must manage the pain, anger and trauma of the past to work towards success (Metzer, 2018). The use of CLP as approach to citizenship education is an ongoing process that requires consistency and support from the teacher and society. In this study, the approach showed potential in the teaching of democratic citizenship, but it does not eliminate the burden of having to engage the negative emotions and knowledge inherent in the critical method. The following two themes provide some indication of the emotional and ethical dilemmas that both teacher and learner faced when CLP was employed as a progressive teaching pedagogy.

Learn from history: Enduring historical pain

Although the learners in this study were born after the abolition of apartheid, negative memories of the past seem to have the potential to stifle social cohesion. This notwithstanding, the data below show that learners expressed a desire to live in a better country with all its diverse communities. A learner asserted that (we should) "Live together, not like the past and become stronger as one nation". Another learner stated that "… white people should make peace with Africans and don't live in the past but not to forget the past". But not all learners were so critical of the past, some expressing a view that the past should be placed behind us and the future should be the focus. "... leave the past and focus on the future" and "... forget about racism ... ". "Forget the past and grow South Africa". Learners were often confronted with the contradiction to "forget" the past or "not to forget" (but to remember) which causes ambiguity and trepidation about the future. There is however a concern that some learners were stuck in a negative understanding of the past, especially their views on forced removals as a brutal and unjust apartheid practice, which cannot be ignored in history teaching.

The use of textual material that reflects apartheid history, brings the learner and teacher closer to events of the past, creating opportunities for open discussion. During the lesson presentation, learners were referred to cosmopolitan values in the texts. They received information which led to new moments of learning. In Jonker's poem, they learnt about apartheid brutality and oppression but through the use of metaphor, they also learnt that the future belongs to *The Child* who symbolises a universal struggle for a better world (Viljoen, 2014). *The Child* is part of a cosmopolitan,

global community that rejects the oppressive control of state authority. In *Buckingham Palace*, Rive's cosmopolitan District Six demonstrates how multiculturalism survived despite the official segregation policies of the white minority rulers (Daymond, 1986). Perhaps an apposite point to highlight in La Guma's text was how the author predicted the squalor of apartheid in *A walk in the night* and the optimism that he sees in a "new dawn" that will be brought by the beginning of a new day which symbolises the end of apartheid and hope for a better future (Yousaf, 2001).

The CLP approach brought together in one teaching moment the endurance of historical pain alongside the hope to aspire for a better future. Because some learners were caught between the tension to "forget" or/and to "remember" the awkwardness of the past, is indicative of the learning process of knowing and having to face the inevitability of living with it. As young learners, they will hopefully grow into mature adults, with an appreciation for the complexities of human history.

Living with forced removal memory

A learner expressed the view that "... forced removals was very painful because our grandparents were comfortable where they were ... but they were forced to follow the rules (meaning they had to move)". Another learner noted that "... forced removals removed blacks and apartheid was abusive " Learners expressed a view that apartheid was still alive in the following statements: "... Stop practicing apartheid, ", "Apartheid must stop", "Treat all with respect and not base treatment on skin colour". Some learners expressed antagonism towards whites which requires serious attention beyond the classroom. "... Whites want to take the world and enslave blacks". "White people like to fight with blacks ". "Arrest those responsible for apartheid". "Accept each other despite difference" and "... we are the same inside".

Forced removals and the Pass Laws are some of the most recent memories that older and young generations of black South Africans have of apartheid. Forced removals were vigorously implemented by the National Party after the Group Areas Act (1950) but has its roots in the colonial policy of segregation dating back to the occupation of indigenous land and more recently the 1913 Land Act that created black reservations and homelands. Learners recalled the humiliating "dompas" which many apartheid adult generation urban blacks experienced. The apartheid government made use of the Pass Laws that required all urban Africans to carry a "dompas", to

allow them to work in a city (Welsh, 2009). It seems that Ubuntu values and acceptance of cosmopolitanism in a future democracy offer some countenance to the negative memories of forced removals and Pass Laws with which learners and teachers must live.

Radical views amongst learners in a South African classroom should not be unexpected. South Africans are a diverse population and their experiences of the past are also diverse. While the findings in this study portray mixed perspectives of the past, hope for a democratic nation featured prominently in the imagination of the learners. Because a CLP approach intends to promote critical thinking, it assists in challenging teachers and learners not to view the historical past in a biased and one-sided way.

Conclusion

Given the need to explore creative reconciliatory history pedagogies to teach democratic citizenship education and nation-building, this article responded to the research question: How relevant is a CLP approach in the teaching of democratic citizenship in a post-apartheid classroom? This paper explored the usefulness of a CLP approach (Borsheim-Black, et.al., 2014) through literary texts of Jonker, Rive and La Guma, dealing with apartheid and forced removals as part of the history curriculum (DoBE, 2011). Given the challenges of social cohesion and democratic citizenship, the history teacher is expected to make a positive contribution through constructive teaching. This study has shown that a CLP approach in the history classroom has the potential to engage learners critically on sensitive issues by using literature as learning material. Learners were involved in processes of "consumption, production and distribution" when they engaged the texts, responded to questions and tasks and shared their ideas in class and amongst themselves (Borsheim-Black et al., 2014).

The five dominant themes that emerged from the analysis of learners' responses are indicative of their willingness to engage the difficult knowledge of the past. These themes are of a mixed kind, showing elements of cosmubuntism (Appiah, 1997; Tutu, 1999; Davids, 2018), in their understanding of democratic citizenship and nation-building. However, these themes are not overwhelmingly positive but rather confirm the potential of an emerging nation with democracy as an ideal. It is interesting to note that the two themes relating to their learning from historical knowledge about apartheid and forced removals underscores the need for an exploration with more reconciliatory pedagogies (Nussey, 2018).

Although this study was conducted with black learners, it may be prudent to apply the same approach in multicultural classrooms. While this study has a narrow secondary school (grade 9 to 11) curriculum focus, the pedagogical approach would be relevant at university level. For CLP to be successful, the importance of a well-trained history teacher is reemphasised. Zymbalas' (2014) advice on "difficult knowledge" and that CLP should be mindful of the "emotional burden" of historical knowledge, should inform teacher education programmes.

With the fortuitous announcement that history is destined to become a compulsory subject until grade 12 (Ministerial Task Team Report, DoBE, 2018), it is also recommended that teacher education institutions approach the subject enthusiastically and innovatively to increase learners' prospects of believing in non-racialism. It may be recommended, for example, to accelerate the imagination of togetherness and mixing of learners from different cultural backgrounds, that schools should exchange programmes and participate in intra – and extra curricula events on a regular basis. This study supports learners' optimism for a socially cohesive society but cautions that an appropriate classroom pedagogy to engage negative memories of the past should not be underestimated.[2]

Appendix A

Historical literature in the classroom

A small selection of the work of Ingrid Jonker, Richard Rive and Alex La Guma were chosen for the lesson. The selection of these authors was based on their association with District Six as a forced removals and apartheid case study (La Guma, Rive and Jonker). History teachers who may want to replicate the format of this lesson are free to select the literature which is familiar to them. For ease of presentation, the main literary content of the three authors are presented in table-form.

Ingrid Jonker (1933-1965) *"The Child is Not Dead"*	**Richard Rive (1931 - 1989)** *"Buckingham Palace-District Six*	**Alex La Guma (1925-1986)** *"A walk in the night"*

2 I would like to acknowledge the National Research Fund (NRF) of South Africa for funding the research. The article is part of a broader study on a project on *District Six* and *Forced Removals.*

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Emotions in Holocaust education – the narrative of a history teacher

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Abstract

Emotion is an integral part of Holocaust education and inculcating empathy in learners is a well-used pedagogical tool to encourage learners to connect with the victims. This is necessary because of the vast number of victims who died at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators – six million Jews and five million non-Jews. These numbers are generally difficult to comprehend and there can be a tendency to crush thoughts of all the victims together into a single unit, say, the six million, rather than embrace the thought of six million individuals. To help learners relate better to the Jewish victims and survivors, the personal stories of individuals are often told to personalise the Holocaust. This is a tool used in both schools and museums by history teachers and museum educators.

Teaching the Holocaust is not a dispassionate, disconnected experience for history teachers. They are often personally affected whether to a greater or lesser degree, and both their teaching and understanding of the Holocaust are often linked to their personal stories. This article is based on the story of one history teacher, whose personal story shaped her Holocaust pedagogy and philosophy when she taught about the Holocaust. The Holocaust is included in the national history curriculum for Grade 9 and 11 learners in the South African school curriculum. Within a qualitative, narrative inquiry framework, the article discusses the personal story of Florence, a Coloured South African history teacher. Along with her family, she did not personally experience apartheid trauma, as many other current South African history teachers did, nor did her family have any personal connections to World War II Europe. Florence simply drew on her personal experiences as a young girl growing up in a lower middle-class family to formulate her own pedagogy with which to teach the Holocaust and engender empathy in her learners. She did this by including techniques such as visualisations to create a certain mood in the classroom before embarking on teaching what, to her, was a horrific, evil event, and to ensure that the learners did not take what they were going to hear lightly. Her methodology was devised to inculcate empathy and enhance depth of understanding.

Keywords: Empathy; Holocaust Education; History Teachers; Narrative Inquiry; Personal Stories; South Africa.

Introduction

Teaching the Holocaust is a complex matter. The topic is fraught with controversy and challenges, be they personal or professional, social or historical, emotional, psychological, philosophical or educational. It can generate heated debate, stir up emotion and even leave teachers perplexed, so it offers a challenge even for "gifted and experienced teachers" (Waterson, 2009:1). Teaching the Holocaust in South Africa means that apart from teaching historical content, educators are thrust into a minefield of discussions about difficult and emotionally-laden issues like genocide, torture, political killings, propaganda, racism, antisemitism, Israel, and apartheid in a country where the recent past casts a long, dark shadow over the present. Less problematic subjects also exist, but sometimes these pose questions that are almost as complex, so, unavoidably, engagement with the Holocaust means dealing with the emotions of both teachers and learners.

This article explores how one Coloured[1] history teacher's personal story that was rooted in South Africa's discriminatory past shaped her history[2] education pedagogy and Holocaust education philosophy. It is the story of someone teaching the Holocaust, not an in-depth study of Holocaust education in a context where the Holocaust is deeply embedded in the national consciousness as it is in Europe.

As a child, Florence[3] grew up in apartheid South Africa where race was a feature of the socio-political landscape, as it was in Nazi Germany. She later experienced South Africa's historic transition from apartheid to democracy and now teaches history in a local government high school. In telling her story, Florence drew both knowingly and unknowingly, not only on her pedagogical historical knowledge, but also on her life experiences, her feelings, memories and her personal philosophy that people should treat others well (Gouws, 2018a). For Florence, the Holocaust was a history to which she had no direct personal connection, nor was the topic any more

1 Race is an imposed social construct that arose in the late 19th and early 20th centuries out of a false application of Darwinian theories of natural selection. From colonial times, Coloureds were believed to be the descendants of slaves and the result of mixed-race unions. Under apartheid they were ascribed minimally greater status than Blacks but were nonetheless oppressed and marginalised. During her interview, Florence referred to herself as Coloured and was comfortable with the term. Therefore, for practical purposes, this article will continue to use the term Coloured to reflect her lived experience.

2 In this article I make a distinction between history and History, history being everything that happened in the past and History being the academic field of study that teaches about the past and legacies of the past in the present (Corfield, 2008, p. 1)

3 The name Florence is a pseudonym, used to protect the participant's identity, "privacy and dignity" (Josselson, 2007, p. 537) as ethically required in qualitative research.

important to her than any other topic that she was required to teach as part of the national history curriculum. Making sense of it in the context of her reality meant finding points of connection with her personal story in order to teach it to the best of her ability.

The concept of race in Nazi Germany and South Africa

The concept of a racial hierarchy both in apartheid South Africa and in Nazi Germany was one of the pillars on which the two regimes were built. Both implemented dehumanisation strategies based on the notion of a lesser "other", thereby targeting them for discrimination, stereotyping, terror, violence, torture and ultimately murder. In Nazi Germany, the Jews were considered sub-human, and were placed on the lowest rung of the "race ladder." Such dehumanisation is, in fact, one of the interrelated processes deemed necessary for the loosening of moral restraints that leads to the perpetration of sanctioned violence against those considered to be lesser human beings, and which exists within policies of sanctioned genocide (Kelman, 1973:48). Under Nazi domination, the Jews were not the only group to be considered racially inferior. Other victim groups included the Roma and Sinti, black Germans, and Eastern Europeans, who were designated "untermenschen".[4] Germans who resulted from unions between Africans and Germans were labelled "Rhineland Bastards" and persecuted, while millions of Russians, Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners and even the German disabled were interned in concentration camps or other facilities and eventually murdered, starved or worked to death.

The National Party government came to power in South Africa in 1948, after which racial profiling was instituted. The concept of different races was a creation of apartheid ideology under which South Africans were categorised, based on their skin colour, as Coloured, White, Indian, or Black. Apartheid legislation called for separate development of the different race groups, which resulted in segregation of people and implementation of economic policies that aimed to enrich one group, Whites, while disadvantaging the rest. For Coloureds, this meant that they were forced to use separate amenities, attend Coloured schools and live in Coloured areas, close to the factories where they were expected to work. Yet, despite our knowledge that race is a pseudoscientific social construct, the use of racial categorisation persists and the outdated colonial structure is still considered to be "the natural order of things" by some (Debut, 2019:np;

4 "Untermenschen" or "under-people" were considered racially or socially inferior.

Pillay, 2019:4), even though there is no scientific or biological basis for racial categorisation and scientific research has long since discredited and invalidated the concept of race. As a result, the legacy of apartheid racism lingers in the feelings of many in the Coloured community and Florence, who was classified at birth as Coloured, continues to be classified as such today.

The Holocaust in the History curriculum

It has been proposed that there are two aims of teaching history, intrinsic and extrinsic (Slater, 1995). The former is inherent in the subject discipline, where the primary rationale for teaching history, including the Holocaust, is to inculcate historical knowledge in the learners. To achieve this objective, history teachers conduct their research using primary and secondary sources, following the guidelines of the History curriculum. The extrinsic aim of teaching history has a social function, that is, to bring about societal change (McCully, 2012).

These two aims of history are integrated into History education in South Africa, which is based on the Constitution of South Africa. The extrinsic aim is written into one of the objectives of the Preamble is to "heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights" (Department of Basic Education (DoBE), 2011b:3) and is echoed in the latest national History curriculum document, the Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS). The CAPS curriculum encourages history teachers to educate about democracy, support citizenship in a democracy by explaining and encouraging the values of the South African Constitution, promote human rights, and challenge prejudice by discussing issues of race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia (DoBE, 2011b). The history teachers strive to bring about this social transformation by embracing the qualities of "compassion, critical thinking, ubuntu and personal integrity" (Cushman, 2016: 100). One of the tools they use is endorsed by the Department of Basic Education, namely empathy, which is defined as "the ability to understand another person's actions, ideas or feelings" (DoBE, 2017; Department of Education, 2002:106). A deeply emotive dimension is therefore woven into this human rights-based curriculum while a golden thread of agency runs through the fabric of history education in South Africa.

There have been many incarnations of the national History curriculum in South Africa's recent past, each with its own focus. The first post-apartheid curriculum was the National Curriculum Statement (NCS), which embraced a constructivist, outcomes-based approach. Learners were encouraged to make sound judgements not only based on the historical past, but also on the present and for the future; empathy and questions of choice and identity were part of this discourse.

The topic of the Holocaust was introduced into this ambitious NCS in support of its aims in 2007 because of its synergy with the aims and purpose of the then new History curriculum. The study of the Holocaust has long been regarded as a "moral instrument" with which "to heal the injustices and divisions of the past" (Morgan, 2015:370) and the apartheid laws introduced into South Africa in 1948, echoed Nazi Germany's racist policies of 1933. This meant that many parallels could be drawn between the enactment of the ideologically similar laws of these two countries in order to inform the present.[5] It was also believed by the proponents of Holocaust education, Gail Weldon of the Western Cape Education Department and Marlene Silbert of the Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre, that education about other difficult histories, that is the Holocaust, could ease the path to difficult discussions about apartheid. In South Africa, the Holocaust is taught to all Grade 9 learners as well as to Grade 11 learners who choose History as a matriculation elective.

In contrast to the constructivist outcomes-based NCS-History curriculum of 2002, the latest CAPS-History curriculum is objectivist and content-focused (DoBE, 2011b). However, despite the linear, fact-based orientation of this curriculum, teaching the Holocaust still means teaching the emotive topics of genocide, racism and violations of human rights, as these are integral to Holocaust education. The focus of the CAPS document might be less socially driven than that of the NCS, but emotion remains an element of both.

5 The parallel nature of apartheid South Africa and Nazi Germany exists only between 1933 and 1938. During that time, people in both countries were racially identified and marked. In Nazi Germany, Jews were forced to wear yellow stars and in South Africa, Blacks were required to carry passbooks. In both countries too, it was legislated by the State that people were to live in separate, allocated spaces (ghettos or homelands). Jobs were reserved for the elite groups and legal restrictions were placed on marriage. Separate amenities were enforced as were separate schools. In both instances, the State Police were used as instruments of fear relying on detentions, violence, and torture to instil terror. These racist governments intended to dehumanise, separate, sow suspicion and increase hostilities amongst people. However, after 1938 the parallels are no longer applicable, as the Nazis began to engage in state-sponsored murder, an act that was never sanctioned by the South African government.

But curriculum changes are once again afoot and a Ministerial Task Team (MTT) was recently appointed to assess the place of history in the curriculum. In their report they concluded that the History curriculum should develop a "sympathetic understanding for humanity and the human condition – including the promotion of human solidarity irrespective of gender, race, ethnicity, colour or creed" (DoBE, 2018:43), once again emphasising the social function of history. They noted that historical skills marked for inclusion were the ability to show empathy by "walking in someone else's shoes" (DoBE, 2011a:9) and to be able to view historical events from more than one perspective (DoBE, 2018). Thus, the History curriculum is once again earmarked as a vehicle for social transformation and is yet again reliant on the agency of history teachers. Whether this social focus will remain as part of the aims of the new History curriculum or are included in the topics as it was in the NCS is yet to be discovered.

Who the history teachers are, and what they think and feel is therefore clearly important. To be able to perform these tasks, history teachers need to possess diverse skills. They need to be subject specialists as well as being able to cope with controversial issues that arise, and to manage their own as well as their learners' emotions. In addition, teaching the Holocaust "involves unique demands, pressures, and potential pitfalls" (Lindquist, 2007:21-22). This is an added complexity for South African history teachers due to the parallel nature of the two histories of apartheid South Africa and Nazi Germany during the period 1933 to 1938.

Emotion in Holocaust education

According to Hargreaves (1998:835), emotions lie "at the heart of teaching," and are fundamental to teaching and learning (Becker, Goetz, Morger, & Ranellucci, 2014: 16; Hargreaves, 1998:835). An understanding of the nature of emotions within the school context is therefore essential (Gaines et al., 2019). This is especially true in divided societies where "history is closely tied to the emotions associated with national identity and collective belonging" (McCully, 2012:148) and where complex topics, like racism, apartheid, colonialism, human rights and equality are embedded in the History curriculum (Wassermann & Bentrovato, 2018). As a result, when teaching the Holocaust, history teachers are challenged to confront not only the emotive nature of these topics but also to explore their own beliefs and attitudes (Freedman, 2015). Complicating matters further, this emotive component of history education is contested, with

some researchers arguing that history is a cognitive process about historical inquiry and not an emotive one, and as such, feelings and imagination should not be a part of history teaching (Slater, 1995). Teaching history in a divided society also creates special challenges. Here, the shadow of apartheid always looms, and this is certainly true when teaching about the Holocaust, particularly as both topics are taught in the Grade 9 year (DoBE, 2011b).

Having only recently emerged from our recent past of mass conflict, colonialism and apartheid, many South Africans continue to suffer these effects personally and the emotional impact is undeniable. History teachers who experienced violence and trauma still hurt, and many educators have not yet had an opportunity to deal with their own suffering (Nates, 2010). Complicating matters, the current political climate in South Africa is tension-filled as, despite the adoption of an all-inclusive democracy that embraces ubuntu, people remain suspicious of each other and old hatreds persist. Within this framework, history teachers find themselves addressing issues of stereotyping, xenophobia, racism and prejudice as part of the CAPS curriculum and topics of exclusion, marginalisation of minor groupings and polarisation creep into classroom discourse.

In addition to the current socio-political climate, history teachers' personal feelings and attitudes to World War II (WWII) differ vastly. At the time of WWII and up to the present, the role played by South Africa was deeply divisive. Afrikaners at that time, for instance, could not fathom how South Africa could join the Allies, while many South Africans, including Jews, fought against Germany, both at the Front and behind the scenes. Even today, there are vastly differing views on WWII depending on the lens through which it was viewed and echoes of who believed what lingers. Ultimately, in the classroom each history teacher brings her personal views on this history to her teaching of the Holocaust. For some, the geographical, social and political distance from Europe of the 1930s and 1940s, means that they have little physical, emotional or geographical connection to WWII Europe. For these history teachers, there might be a limited interest in, apathy about, or even an aversion to European history. In addition, because many are still trying to make sense of their own contested past, the study of the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust could seem irrelevant (Avraham, 2010). In contrast, for others there is a very deep connection to WWII, be it through family or circumstance. As a result, the teaching of WWII and the Holocaust is greeted with mixed feelings. However,

whatever their feelings on the role of South Africa and the political ramifications of WWII history on South Africa, the history teachers have differing responses to the teaching of it. Florence, for instance, enjoyed teaching world history, which she believed was a change from teaching about South Africa. According to her, teaching about South Africa and apartheid had become "boring" because it was taught so often across the different grades (Gouws, 2018a).

Teaching the Holocaust as a component of WWII history brings its own challenges, one of which is that teaching the Holocaust is emotional (Moisan, Hirsch, & Audet, 2015). It is seldom undertaken in a dispassionate, clinical manner as both history teachers and learners are bombarded with powerful, complex responses to the issues that arise. For some teachers teaching the Holocaust is viewed enthusiastically and they describe it as "thought-provoking", "interesting", "moving on a humanitarian level" or as an opportunity to "enlighten and support the learners". For others, however, teaching the Holocaust is "difficult" and "emotional" (Weldon, 2005:6). History teachers have described the Holocaust as "baffling", "disturbing", "horrible", "painful", and even as "a torment" (Gouws, 2018b:301). Such feelings are not unique to South African history teachers because in other countries too, such as Canada and the United Kingdom, teachers also find teaching the Holocaust daunting (Moisan et al., 2015; Pettigrew et al., 2009).

There are various reasons for these feelings. In South Africa, the difficulties of teaching the Holocaust are compounded when the lessons are peppered with apartheid discourse, even as they try to avoid "ripping open the wounds of racism" (Chikoko, Gilmour, Harber, & Serf, 2011:13-14). As mentioned earlier, some history teachers continue to carry the baggage of their apartheid pasts (Tibbitts, 2006; Weldon, 2005; 2008) and find themselves unable to divorce their own history from what they are teaching (Nates, 2011). But, in our fractured society, issues of racism and apartheid are unavoidable. As a result, teaching the Holocaust means being confronted not only with the traumatic nature of the Holocaust, but also with familiar overlapping themes that prod distressing personal memories (Tibbitts, 2006) and force the history teachers to confront those pasts as either as victims or perpetrators (Wassermann, 2011). Faced with uncomfortable, overwhelming feelings sometimes history teachers simply avoid them and do not teach the offending topics (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Chikoko et al., 2011; Van Driel, 2003). In fact, on occasion History

is dropped, as in the case of a school where one year the learners decided that History should not be in the curriculum, so in that year History was not taught and they studied accounting instead (Gouws, 2018a).

With these myriad emotions crowding an emotional educational space, empathy is regarded as a sought-after skill, because it enables history teachers and learners to explore the past with compassion. By developing empathy, learners are encouraged to understand the situation of people in the past: their state of mind, the significance of the situations in which they found themselves, their values and beliefs, and the feelings that they must have experienced. This is achieved by drawing on their imaginations, and making inferences about how others might feel given certain facts that are not necessarily based on fact or knowledge but on "personal experiences, social relations, and everyday life" (Harris, Foreman-Peck, & Northants, 2004:99; Morgan, 2015:374). Many history teachers use this technique to negotiate a path through the emotional minefield of the Holocaust, to gain insight into the thoughts and feelings of victims, perpetrators, bystanders and rescuers, and to better understand how and why the Holocaust happened. Methodologically, this is sometimes done through role-play or visualisations. However, the idea of asking learners to draw connections between their experiences in the present and events in the past has been questioned by Avraham (2010) and is frowned upon by those who believe that the use of imagination has little value in the history classroom (Davis, Yeager, & Foster, 2001). More significantly, they argue that as teenagers, learners have limited life experience and will therefore struggle to understand the complexity of contrived scenarios, while some researchers contend that it is almost impossible for learners to fully identify with victims of the extreme trauma of the Holocaust (Short & Reed, 2004). It has therefore been recommended that role-play in Holocaust education should be avoided (Short & Reed, 2004; Silbert & Wray, 2004; Totten & Riley, 2005). Moreover, there is a question as to whether empathy can really play the powerful role that Holocaust education has assigned to it and whether encouraging empathy in learners will result in their showing greater compassion and understanding for all racial, religious or other groups beyond the classroom. Can they, for instance, empathise with social or cultural groups that are very different from their own (Fay, 1996) or embrace values other than those with which they were raised (Du Preez & Roux, 2010)? Taking these difficulties into account, Harris et al., (2004) caution that empathy should not be overplayed.

Methodology and methods

Florence's personal story was originally told as part of a larger research project, the framework of which was an interpretive paradigm that fell within the ontological and epistemological boundaries of narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry proposes that through story, human beings come to understand and therefore give meaning to their lives, that is, we use storytelling to construct and define our reality (Lai, 2010). As Polkinghorne (1988:107) explained, "people conceive of themselves in terms of stories" and these stories are structured to reflect the way their life has proceeded, thereby creating a coherent and basic theme that continues as they live out their lives. Personal stories are the foundation of our understanding of the world, providing the means to convert our knowing and experience into telling and in turn, telling gives meaning and substance to them (Kramp, 2004). Through our personal stories, we make sense of and explain the events of our lives, our feelings and thoughts, both to ourselves and to others. In the process of constructing a personal story, the storyteller draws not only the usual elements of plot, characters and a climactic ending, but also on his or her emotional knowledge. Emotions are written into the story. Thus, personal stories inevitably have an emotional dimension and the central themes of teaching are often moral and philosophical, having more to do with feelings, aims, aspirations, and personal meaning than with teaching methods or curriculum structures that exist outside of history teachers' personal experiences or biographies (Carter, 1993).

The narrative inquiry methodology used to analyse Florence's story was based on Riessman's five levels of representation for a narrative analysis (Riessman, 2000, 2005) – attending, telling, transcribing, analysing and reading. The research began with attending to the framing of the inquiry by developing the conceptual framework, defining the sampling and interviewing methods and identifying the participants. Narrative one-on-one interviews were the basis of the data collection. The telling of the story followed when I interviewed Florence. Using narrative interview methodology (Wengraf, 2001), I posed a single question, then allowed her to respond for as long as she wished. As the narrative inquirer, my role was to attend to the content of her story, but also to why and how she told it as she did. I paid close attention to her descriptions of her personal experiences teaching the Holocaust with the aim of discovering if and how her personal story shaped her Holocaust pedagogy and philosophy (Clandinin, 2006; Riessman & Speedy, 2007).

Analysis was the next step with the first level of the narrative analysis being the transcription of the interview, followed by the second, the restorying of Florence's personal story in the style of a blog. Blogs are most commonly informal, relatively short pieces of writing, written in a conversational style that prompts responses from readers. This suited my perspective of Florence whose persona was chatty but also somewhat intense and this was able to be portrayed in a free-form blog. Topics covered included Florence's love of people and humanity, as well as explorations of various educational and emotive concepts as she navigated Holocaust themes. By treating Florence as a blogger, I was able to showcase these different topics thematically. A shortened, more conventional narrative version of Florence's personal story, with a beginning, middle and end, with a climax and portraying various characters is told below. The third level of the analysis was a thematic analysis of Florence's restoried story. With the analysis complete and the findings and conclusions drawn, the narrative inquiry was passed on to the reader for the final level of representation, reading.

Florence's personal story

Florence was a young Coloured South African woman who grew up in a lower middle-class suburb in Durban, South Africa and went on to become a history teacher, not only in the same suburb in which she grew up but in the very same school. As a child, she experienced a happy, stable home environment, living with her parents and six siblings in a house across the road from the school she attended. After she matriculated, she attended a local university, graduating as a history teacher and then returning to teach at her alma mater.

Despite the seeming simplicity of Florence's story, which was not filled with dramatic tales of intimidation, flight, or fear, as some history teachers' stories are, being racially classified as Coloured imposed its own burdens, as discussed earlier. Being racially classified forced people into little boxes, and Florence and her family were sandwiched between the polarising opposites of Black and White with little option but to forge their own identity. Florence and her family chose not to become activists or enter the contested political arena, but to build the best life they could under the circumstances while remaining within the confines of the socio-political restrictions imposed on them.

At the time of South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, Florence was six years old and, post-apartheid, she and her family continued to do what they had always done; fly under the radar. They were, overall, apolitical and the closest Florence's father came to political involvement, was his membership of the African National Congress (ANC), even though he was sceptical of their motives, being convinced that the ANC wanted to relocate all Coloureds to the Western Cape, a move he vehemently opposed. Mostly though, he was a patriot who revelled in his love of everything South African.

For Coloured people, education was one way to beat the system, to succeed and to mask the existential pain they experienced as victims of apartheid. Florence's father placed great emphasis on education as a means for Coloureds to better themselves and he urged all his children to get an education, telling them, "They can't take it away from you!" Her father's positivity and political and educational choices impacted on her outlook on life, and she too dodged politics, even as she lived through it. Furthermore, her thoughts and feelings reflected her place in what she described as a large, happy, diverse family. Her brother had married an Indian woman and she taught mainly Black learners, without exhibiting signs of inferiority or superiority. While Florence might have remained "stuck" in the classification imposed on her by feeling racially prejudiced or stereotyped, as others have done (Debut, 2019:np; Harvey, 2016:np), she did not portray evidence of discrimination.

With education being a means to transcend apartheid and, being a product of her education-driven family, Florence also valued education highly, so forged her identity as a history teacher. The school at which she taught was comprised of predominantly Black and Coloured learners but for Florence, even that classification of people was anathema; besides, she felt that she had other differences with which to contend, such as language and cultural barriers. She wanted people, including her learners, to get beyond racial categories and prejudice and recognise each other's humanity. To this end, she called her learners "Smurfs," as they all wore blue uniforms, a moniker that they embraced wholeheartedly. She would also tell them, "Even though I'm Coloured and you're Black, when we talk to each other we are all people. First we are people before we are put into any categories".

Emotion, empathy, identity and Holocaust education

Being a history teacher, Florence was required to teach the Holocaust as it appeared in the CAPS-History curriculum. As the literature has shown, the Holocaust is an emotive topic, and Holocaust education can generate various and sometimes unexpected, controversial and emotive issues. It also raises issues of identity and history teachers and learners are often prompted to examine who they are as South Africans, as members of a particular racial group, and as people. Memory and identity therefore play significant roles for history teachers, who were, and still are, products of apartheid.

Emotion and visualisation

In terms of her personality, Florence self-identified as a highly emotional person. In particular, when teaching, she felt deeply about the pain inflicted and experienced with regard to genocide, including the Holocaust. As a result, her first encounter with teaching it was anything but neutral or positive. Her own intense feelings were reflected in her methodology.

> *Certainly, the first time I taught* [the Holocaust] *to Grade 9s, I thought I needed to show them exactly what happened, and this was the way to do it! I showed them horrendous graphic images of emaciated people, piles of dead bodies, and bodies being loaded into crematoria and I said, "Well this is what happened, and you need to know it!" The children were shocked. Then I told them the most gruesome details of things like medical experiments and to be frank, I wanted to make it the scariest thing in the world for them* (Gouws, 2018a: 170).

Florence was shocked, and she wanted her learners to feel the same. Being inexperienced and not giving too much thought at the time to the distress she might cause, she used shock and horror tactics (Gouws, 2018a), brutally exposing them to disturbing Holocaust images and narratives of torture. However, she soon realised that traumatising her learners was unproductive and educationally unsound, and she began exploring innovative methods to teach the historical events without distressing them, but simultaneously sensitising them to the suffering of other people.

Part of Florence's Holocaust teaching strategy arose out of her awareness that after a lunch break the learners were hot, energised, or laughing from a shared joke. She felt that this situation was not conducive to the gravity of the topic. Furthermore, she wanted to mitigate some of the responses of Grade 9 learners, like, "Yoh Miss! For real? It happened?" or displays

of inappropriate laughter. She therefore wanted to sensitise the learners' emotions before they confronted the Holocaust. As she explained:

> *They must be able to think about those people and feel something. I don't like it when children laugh about something like the Holocaust … You've got to get them to a point of empathy before you teach* [it] (Gouws, 2018a:163).

In order to manage both her and the learners' historical understanding and emotions, Florence developed a unique methodology, based on her educational philosophy that empathy plus facts equals human knowledge (Gouws, 2018a) and grounded in her life experiences.

Having good insight into the context in which she taught, Florence's teaching of the Holocaust usually began with the use of images. She began at Grade 9 level showing a map of Germany, as she was aware that many of the learners were ignorant of simple facts such as the geographical location of Germany. Learning from her initial experience of teaching the Holocaust, the next step was the use of photographs; not the gruesome kind that she had used previously, but more oblique images like a pile of shoes. While she did not use role-play, she nonetheless drew on the learners' imaginations to envision situations that she believed had a degree of familiarity. Her words, intonation and inflection reflected her innate empathy for people. Using visualisation techniques, she instructed the learners to close their eyes before drawing a mental picture for them and thereby changing the atmosphere in the classroom. In constructing this visualisation, Florence followed the structure of stories generally, that is, with a beginning, middle and end, and with a climax that led to a moral conclusion. She pitched it within the range of 16-year-old learners' understanding and life experience by describing a young person their own age sitting alone on a floor in a room full of strangers. The situation then evolved into a mystery tale. She described one visualisation as follows (Gouws, 2018a:170):

> *I speak in a very quiet voice, almost like a meditation, and say:*
>
> *Picture yourself ... inside a room ... stacked with many, many people. You are seated in a little corner. Your knees are against your chest. And all you're doing is wondering, when is it your turn? But your turn for what, because you don't know what you're doing there.*
>
> *And then suddenly ... the door opens ... They call your number ... you look down on your arm and you see it's your number. And then you've got to pick yourself up. You don't know where you're going. Maybe you were promised that you're going to get something good and then you take a step forward,*

but you see everybody around you looks frightened. They look scared. But you're not scared because your number is called.

And you start walking ... and as you walk toward the doorway and you see the light, you go into that light. You continue walking. Everything around you is quiet. You're by yourself all of a sudden. And then suddenly, just when you think you're about to be happy, you see the bad guys. And they start to beat you. They start to curse you. They say bad words to you. And push you around. You fall. And at that moment ...

Open your eyes.

While this meditation/visualisation might be construed by some as manipulative, or even in some way, dangerous, Florence's telling of the mini story is as it is. This is the technique she adopted to alter the atmosphere in the classroom and tap into her learners' feelings. There was no attempt by any of the other history teachers in the study to even try to make their learners more receptive to what they were about to be taught.

Florence's meditation was clearly a construction and not historically convincing. Almost naïvely, she spoke about the protagonist of her visualisation feeling "happy", going "into the light" and possibly achieving a "good" outcome" at a time when good outcomes were few and far between and generally unlikely. Nor was the mini story based on documented Jewish experience. In this respect, it might have misled the learners to believe that this was how things happened, but as with the use of visualisation in all educational situations, Florence's mini story could be interpreted in various ways. Her use of imagination was, therefore, not without flaw, but her intention was not to replicate authentic fact. It was an attempt to tap into her learners' feelings, quieten their emotions and pique their curiosity enough to enable the class to be led through a thoughtful, respectful discussion about what occurred during the Holocaust. Certainly, some of the learners might have found this activity uncomfortable or stressful if it triggered personal suffering, but it should be borne in mind that the purpose of the meditation was not historical, but emotional and she sought to place the learners in an emotional state to enable them to empathise with the victims. The visualisation was predicated on both an intellectual and emotional level, prodding the learners to go beyond cold rationalisation to a point of feeling and empathy. She used this technique because in her experience, she had not found that showing the learners sad photographs or telling them the facts of the history were enough to trigger enough deep emotion and thus empathy. Using meditations or

visualisations might not be pedagogically sound in terms of Holocaust education, but for Florence it achieved the desired effect.

The impact of personal stories on emotion

Florence's pedagogy arose out of her observations and insight into both her own experiences and those of other teachers, reflecting narrative inquiry epistemology. For instance, when observing a colleague ridicule a stereotyped image of a Jewish man's nose in a cartoon, she realised that while his method had led to raucous laughter, the topic had lost its gravity and the picture had lost its meaning (Gouws, 2018a). She had also concluded that dryly relating facts and figures left the learners emotionless, both in and beyond the classroom, and believed that this lack of emotion would be reflected in their thinking and writing, leaving them unable to empathise with Holocaust victims.

By ascribing meaning and structure to her personal experiences (Josselson, 2007), she drew both historical and emotional connections to the Holocaust, thereby demonstrating the efficacy of history teachers' stories, personal experiences and emotions to make sense of baffling, challenging or difficult material. In this respect, teachers' personal stories shape and inform their practice (Bell, 2002) and what they teach is framed within the context of their life histories.

As Florence grew both personally and professionally, she gained greater insight into the impact of emotion on her Holocaust education pedagogy. She herself shifted from being over-emotional and reactive, to embracing a gentler, more considered approach. She also became aware of the transference of feelings. Florence discovered early in her teaching career, by chance, that she could transmit her feelings to her learners who, in turn, felt the same as she did about various things (Härtel & Page, 2009). She commented on the first time she experienced this phenomenon:

> *When I first taught about the genocide in Rwanda and* [atrocities in] *Burundi during my fourth year at university, I was doing a presentation and I cried in front of the class. I felt so silly but became aware that the rest of the class was also starting to feel what I was feeling. And the same thing happens with the Holocaust* (Gouws, 2018a:162).

Teachers' and students' emotions are closely related, and teaching is more than simply instructional, with teachers also having the power to influence their learners' emotions (Becker et al., 2014). Research has shown that emotions can be transmitted directly or indirectly from

the emotions of one person to another, or to a group of people (Härtel & Page, 2009). With this in mind and being aware of the impact of the material on her learners' emotions, Florence was careful not to allow the learners' emotions to veer to extremes, insisting that she did not want her learners "sobbing and crying" in the classroom when they learnt about the Holocaust (Gouws, 2018a:172). For this reason, Florence tried to carefully manage her learners' emotions and to use "soft" materials when teaching the Holocaust, rather than confronting, shocking images, explanations, photographs or documentaries.

For Florence, the teacher-learner relationship was one of the keys to effectiveteachingandlearningaboutthe Holocaust, andthecross-pollination of teacher-learner emotions was reflected in the excellent relationship that existed between her and her learners. In this context, transference of emotion played an important role in her Holocaust teaching. It was important to Florence who believed that if learners liked their teachers, they were likely to be more fully engaged in the lesson. To enhance this relationship and to connect with the learners on an emotional level, she chose to expose her feelings, being unafraid to reveal her vulnerability, thereby creating a space for learners to understand and accept their own feelings. She ensured that her learners knew where she stood on any given topic, be it controversial or not, and then used her emotions to nudge her learners to feel the same.

Personalisation in Holocaust education

To negotiate a path though the emotional minefield of the Holocaust, many history teachers teaching the Holocaust employ empathy to encourage learners to consider the thoughts and feelings of victims, perpetrators and bystanders and to better understand how and why the Holocaust happened. This is done with the use of photographs, personal stories of survivors, books like *The Diary of Anne Frank* and films such as *Schindler's List*. Using these media, learners are encouraged to draw inferences about how others might feel given certain information, even though this information is not necessarily based on fact or knowledge but on their own "personal experiences, social relations, and everyday life" (Morgan, 2015:374). Empathy therefore shifts the learners' focus from themselves to others. However, this assessment is based not only on a direct comparison with their own feelings, but also with imagined feelings, which are generated by assessing others' cognitive and affective states (Harris et al., 2004). In this

respect, empathy draws on personal stories. Florence embraced empathy as the key to unlocking the learners' understanding of the Holocaust by grounding her Holocaust education understanding on her own lived experiences and placing people, and not names and dates, at the core of her educational philosophy and methodology. But there is a question in the literature whether empathy can really play the powerful role in Holocaust education that has been assigned to it. Questions arise whether inculcating empathy in learners will result in them showing greater compassion and understanding for all racial, religious or other groups?

One way for history teachers to deal with these questions is to shift the attention from the big story of the Holocaust to the small stories of individuals through personalisation. Personalisation shines a spotlight on the complexity of a single person or a small group of people's lived experiences and in doing so, detracts from the difficulty of imagining a devastatingly large number of victims. Coming to grips with six million individuals can be overwhelming. One attempt to capture the enormity of the death of six million Jews was initiated in a project in which learners collected one paper clip for each Jewish victim; a project that ultimately resulted in the creation of a children's memorial (Schroeder & Schroeder-Hildebrand, 2014). It should be borne in mind, however, that whilst employing the concept of a paper clip to represent a person might be a creative attempt to overcome the difficulty of conceptualising six million dead people, pedagogically it is problematic. Using inanimate objects to personalize people's lives, omits to address the complexity and divergence of their experiences. Ultimately, paper clips cannot document the thoughts and feelings of people. In contrast, books such as Elie Wiesel's *Night* can provide precise details of what a person experienced during the Holocaust, thereby providing greater insight into and understanding of the complexity of uncommon, traumatic and dehumanising events of the Holocaust (Wiesel, 2008).

Recognising the effectiveness of personalisation, schools and Holocaust museums around the world use Holocaust survivors themselves, where possible, to tell their stories to learners, as their testimony is powerful and educational. In South Africa, however, Holocaust survivors seldom visit schools and the number of survivors is ever dwindling, due to their advancing years. Holocaust museums also generally educate visitors using video material of the first-hand testimony of Holocaust survivors (Pettigrew et al., 2009; Smith, 2019). In the classroom, without access to the

physical presence of survivors, bystanders, rescuers and even perpetrators, to tell their stories, personalisation is achieved through the medium of films, books, or videos and in the future, possibly even holograms (Reynolds, 2019). Films like *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* are often used to initiate emotional connections between learners and the Holocaust narrative through empathy for the characters. However, this film is a very controversial choice for Holocaust educators as it has been criticised for being a work of fiction that uses sentimentality to evoke empathy (Gilbert, 2010) as well as containing historical and geographical inaccuracies. *Schindler's List* is another oft-used film about Jewish experience during the Holocaust and has sometimes even been used to take the place of Holocaust lessons (Gouws, 2018a). But caution has been advised in the use of media where there is any suggestion of emotional exploitation.

Hearing the personal stories of those who lived through the Holocaust is a powerful, emotional, empathy-generating experience with their stories of survival, escape, brutality, fear and violence connecting them emotionally to those who hear them. Work is therefore being undertaken to preserve Holocaust memory through a ground-breaking technological project at the University of South California under the direction of its Executive Director, Stephen D. Smith. Called *Dimensions in Technology*, interactive biographies are being constructed using 3D holograms and artificial intelligence that will enable people to interact and converse with pre-recorded video images of Holocaust survivors and other witnesses to genocide (USC Shoah Foundation, 2019). As Stephen D. Smith explained, "Everyone thinks the Shoah Foundation is about archiving the past but it's about understanding empathy and using testimony to shine a light." (Popescu, 2018:np). Regrettably, artificial intelligence will most likely not be usable in South African classrooms for quite some time, particularly in rural schools where today even the internet is a luxury. Instead, transference of knowledge about the Holocaust generally takes place through the history teacher, who is present with her learners. Currently, there might be a computer, linked to the internet, a chalk board, smart board in exceptional circumstances, and a textbook. Furthermore, in the South African context, education about the Holocaust is fact-based under the CAPS guidelines – it is not about memorial, Jewish memory or even Holocaust memory, but about the events that occurred between 1933 and 1945 under Nazi Germany. Besides the difficulty of using first-hand survivor testimony, the focus in the CAPS curriculum is, in fact, more content driven, rather than

being social-based and there is no inclusion of Jewish memorials or the fate of survivors.

Beyond the personal stories of those who lived during the Holocaust, other personal stories also filter into the classroom, namely, the personal stories of the history teachers who teach it. History teachers cannot be separated from their personal stories and they integrate these stories into their content knowledge, mixing them with the parallel narrative of the Holocaust. For instance, one history teacher in a rural high school explained that he needed to draw on his knowledge of apartheid, which what was known to him, to explain the unknown, which was the Holocaust (Gouws, 2018a). For almost all South African history teachers, the Holocaust is not a part of their family stories, cultures, or history, as it is for many history teachers in Europe. By drawing parallels with their own stories, personalisation can be achieved by the history teachers by using concrete examples of similar or parallel, personal events instead of using abstractions and generalizations which have little bearing on learners' lives. This adds to the authenticity of the learners' understanding. The history teachers share their experiences through the device of storytelling, thereby building bridges of understanding between themselves and the learners (Abrahamson, 2011; Maguire, 1998). However, unlike Florence who told her personal story with few filters, other history teachers do not necessarily tell their stories overtly. In fact, some history teachers' personal stories are hidden, suppressed, or simply veiled, although the story itself still informs what is taught (Gouws, 2018a).

Despite the positive aspects of the use of empathy in Holocaust teaching and learning, there are nevertheless also barriers and exceptions. Apathy or indifference on the part of history teachers might stand in the way of successfully teaching the Holocaust, or as discussed earlier, history teachers might be contending with their own traumatic histories and feel less than motivated to deal with a traumatic history like the Holocaust. For others, getting learners with little contextual understanding to understand complex dilemmas, fears or pain, might be challenging and learners' understanding of the past might, in fact, be very different from their experience of the present (Harris et al., 2004). South African learners live in a present that has little or no reference to the terror and trauma of WWII. They are millennials, who are deeply entrenched in a digital world dominated by social media. This is an internet-based world that is far removed from communication methods during WWII such as newspapers,

radio, telegraph, analogue telephones, and "snail mail". In this digitised space, it might be difficult for learners to truly understand the impact in the 1930s and 1940s of the absence of cell phones, internet, instant messaging, and the ability to instantly record and disseminate information, either verbally or photographically. Also, due to the shortage of time or the lack of interest or knowledge by the history teacher, this relevant contextual knowledge might be missing (Harris et al., 2004).

Approaches to and implications for teaching the Holocaust

Despite the emotional impact of teaching the Holocaust, in general, history teachers search for ways to help their learners gain insight into the complexities of the Holocaust – what it is and how and why it happened. At one end of the spectrum, some adopt a cool, professional, objective approach and just teach "the facts" while at the opposite end, a more lessons-infused, socially focused Holocaust history is taught, with the history teachers focusing on how the past can inform and transform the present. These dichotomous views are certainly not mutually exclusive, and most history teachers find themselves vacillating between the two. Furthermore, threading its way through both approaches, are the personal stories that the history teachers tell to inject emotion and connection into their Holocaust lessons. These stories reflect the identity of the history teachers.

Barriers to empathy

It is tempting to believe that all people will empathise with the struggles or suffering of others. But this is not so. Despite the widespread praise and use of empathy in Holocaust education, the identity of the history teachers or their learners, can provide a barrier to empathy. Due to family or social backgrounds, negative attitudes might filter into Holocaust lessons. For instance, learners who arrive in class with pre-formed ideas of identity in which their historical perspective is one of Us vs. Them (Cikara, Bruneau, & Saxe, 2011) might find it difficult to empathise with a Them group. In one study, for example, it was found that amongst the explanations for current antisemitism among Muslims and Arabs, empathy for Holocaust victims was viewed as "a source of frustration" and "a concession to 'the Jews'" (Jikeli, 2013:6). In terms of the South African context, examples of both antisemitism and Islamophobia can be found, lending credence to the idea of learners arriving with pre-conceived ideas of the "other".

With contested dichotomies of Black vs. White, Jews vs. Nazis, powerful vs. disempowered being littered across the Holocaust education landscape, learners might well bring pre-conceived ideas about various groups to lessons about the Holocaust. For example, if learners' moral obligations are divided from the outset and the image of "the other" is objectified, then they might indeed have low levels of empathy for the "out" group (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002:23). In this case, asking learners to choose the right thing to do, such as standing up for justice or human rights, might have a different meaning from that intended by the history teacher. Other obstructions to empathy might lie in the Holocaust being viewed through the lens of colonialism (Freedman, 2010), which is derided in South African consciousness (Le Grange, 2016). Yet another is asking learners to come to grips with the vast number of Jewish victims. The sheer magnitude of the Holocaust and the vast number of victims could also overwhelm learners, so that instead of contemplating the fate of a few individuals, they must grapple with the vastness of six million individuals. This could be alienating for both teachers and learners, who could start to conceptualise the Holocaust in terms of unitary concepts, speaking of the six million, rather than six million individuals, thereby depersonalising them. In fact, the use of empathy troubles the notion that as human beings, we will easily identify with the suffering of others and empathise with them, as this is not necessarily so.

As we have seen, emotion in the classroom when the Holocaust is being taught is unavoidable, but employing it as part of a methodology, as Florence did when generating empathy in her learners, can be a double-edged sword. History teachers do not intentionally set out to upset their learners and Florence was no exception, but their chosen methodology might do just that when they use emotion as a didactic avenue. It is therefore necessary to strike a balance between empathy and pathos, which can be a delicate task, and while an empathic response to the Holocaust might be the goal of history teachers, achieving empathy might not always be achievable.

Identity and Colouredness

Teachers' identities are integrated into their practice (Jansen, 2008; Seetal, 2006). This includes their personal knowledge, who they are, where they came from, the context in which they grew up (Clandinin, 1985) and their practical knowledge, which is informed by their personal experiences,

backgrounds and personal characteristics (Clandinin & Connelly, 1988; Watson, 2006). This means that they shape their lessons according to how they position themselves (Geschier, 2010).

Generally, history teachers are committed to their professionalism (Rizvi & Elliot, 2005; Swann, McIntyre, Pell, Hargreaves, & Cunningham, 2010) and almost all of the history teachers in my PhD study taught the Holocaust to the best of their ability irrespective of their personal backgrounds. However, the Holocaust stirred up deep emotion and many felt overwhelmed by sadness but tried not to let these feelings overwhelm them. They looked both inwards, trying to identify their vulnerable spots, and outwards, to their families and communities, or sometimes searching for political or educational answers.

For Florence, teaching the Holocaust meant being sad. Despite recognising that she was an emotional person who cried easily (Gouws, 2018a), this did not take away the sadness that descended on her when she taught the Holocaust. Other history teachers have different emotional responses. To understand why the Holocaust affected the history teachers so deeply meant digging into the most hidden parts of their personal stories and exposing their identities. For Florence, this was her "Colouredness," through which she brought intrinsic knowledge to her Holocaust teaching. Beneath her determination to succeed lay the hurts and indignities of apartheid, hidden and waiting to find expression, and those feelings emerged when she was confronted with the horrors of the Holocaust, genocide, and, crucially, "the horrific way in which people treat others when they think that they are different from them" (Gouws, 2018). This was significant because Florence knew what it was like to be considered "different" – being neither white nor black in a polarised country. What many Coloured people did, and still do, was to mask their pain, feeling that they were too Black before 1994 and too White thereafter (Debut, 2019:np).

To say that all Coloured history teachers react in the same way to teaching the Holocaust would be patently wrong, because Coloured identity is very complex and contested in South Africa, where certain attitudes and behaviours have been retained for reasons of redress, such as clinging to racial inequalities. But their personal stories expose how they teach the Holocaust. This diversity of experience within each group occurs because South Africans have no national identity and until government decrees otherwise, post-apartheid categorisation remains. Within this system,

individuals need to self-identify and self-actualise. In the case of Florence, she self-identified in her personal story as Coloured, as discussed in the footnote on page one. As part of a marginalised community Florence's family had endured trials and tribulations but had chosen to rise above them. Her parents taught their children how to behave, how to move beyond the past, and to focus on education. Being supported by a loving family, Florence submerged her troubled feelings beneath a veneer of professionalism, enthusiasm, and stoicism, adopting the same choices that had been made by the family to survive the system. Instead of protest, they had negotiated their lives as best they could and navigated the system. Florence was able to continue this practice, until the cracks appeared in the smooth façade that she presented to the world when she came face to face with how badly Jews in the Holocaust were treated under racial laws that mirrored her own experience. When she began researching the Holocaust, she discovered that it reflected deep elements of her own past. She was challenged to examine her Coloured identity and reflect on how she too had become a marginalised person in her own country. In the textbook she was confronted with images and narratives of gross human rights abuses that shocked her, yet these were images with which she could empathise and to which she could relate, as she understood them on a profoundly personal level. Her classroom persona, of dedicated history teacher, girlfriend, daughter, and enthusiastic liver of life, was prised open leaving her with sadness. The tethering of Florence's past to her present and the teaching of the Holocaust is well-documented in post-apartheid South African research. It has been found that history teachers cannot separate themselves from their apartheid baggage when they teach about the Holocaust (Nates, 2011; Tibbitts, 2006; Weldon, 2005; 2008). This was reflected whenever Florence taught pseudo-scientific racism, which, she said, always sparked "an emotional moment" (Gouws, 2018a:165), as it was a response to the violation of the human rights of her Coloured community under apartheid. It was therefore evident, that while coping with the emotional complexity of the Holocaust, history teachers overlaid the issues at hand with layers of their own painful experiences, memories and emotions.

Conclusion

In the history classroom in South Africa, memory of apartheid and memory of the Holocaust have an innate political agenda, driven by government educational policy and supported by Holocaust centres. For instance, the Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre, provides workshops for schools in support of the curriculum and has as its agenda, "highlighting the consequences and dangers of indifference, apathy and silence [and] strives towards improving the quality of human life in our society" (Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre, 2019). However, the curriculum is once again in flux and the presence of the Holocaust in the curriculum is once again being debated with a shift in focus to Africanisation of the curriculum and a move away from the current European dominance of school history.

Holocaust education in South Africa today focuses on South African history by highlighting our recent past with its human rights abuses, and develops values and agency to create an integrated, cohesive society. Ultimately, the stories of the history teachers are stories of South African history, South African educational history and South Africans' personal stories. Florence therefore taught the Holocaust as it was intended, as a parallel to apartheid history and a segment of WWII history. Her teaching of the Holocaust was far from perfect, but she was teaching an unfamiliar history to the best of her ability, with a focus on the development and well-being of her learners. She used visualisations to sensitise her learners and help them grasp the enormity of the genocide of six million Jews and at the same time taught them to empathise with the lived experiences of Holocaust victims. She did this by revealing her identity and telling her story.

Teachers are their stories (Bruner, 1987; Schama, 2013) and they are also products of their societies (Slater, 1995). Hence, teaching and learning about the Holocaust is shaped by the history teachers' relationships, family, and community. In South Africa, racial discrimination and apartheid dominate the discourse around teaching trauma histories such as the Holocaust and because history teachers cannot separate themselves from what they teach (Nates, 2011), their personal stories become integrated into it, be it consciously or subconsciously. In addition, history teachers experience an emotional connection when teaching about the Holocaust. Those who experience the pain, trauma and humiliation of apartheid draw parallels between their personal experiences and those of Holocaust victims. Some conflate their stories, histories and memories of apartheid, providing

emotional accounts of their or their family's experiences, while others avoid emotion as much as possible, giving a cool, linear account of what happened during the Holocaust in support of the CAPS-History curriculum agenda. Yet others relate their personal stories to what happened to their families in WWII or simply respond emotionally to teaching about the horrors of the Holocaust, using their personal stories to highlight human rights abuses and encouraging their learners to be active in the fight against prejudice and further genocides.

In Holocaust education, familial stories of parallel occurrences link past and present, but emotion in those stories is the glue that binds the history teachers' personal stories to the Holocaust narrative. However, it should be remembered that personal stories are not always positive or simple. They are convoluted, complex and are filled with both positive and negative emotions. Moreover, whilst being cognisant of the fact that one personal story cannot be generalised to all teachers who teach the Holocaust, a narrative inquiry into Florence's personal story was a means of discovering the place of the personal story in Holocaust education and revealed how she taught the Holocaust. Her pedagogy was underpinned by the dictates of the CAPS-History curriculum, but she developed her own methods as part of her life philosophy, which was exemplified by her oft-used mantra, "Listen, can we be people? Why must we be anything but people?" This led her to develop an empathy-based methodology. But, perhaps more than any other factor, Florence's identity as a Coloured South African shaped her teaching of the Holocaust.

What Florence taught and how she taught it might seem questionable to some, but she was not teaching the Holocaust in the rarefied atmosphere of a Holocaust museum, nor for the purposes of pure Holocaust education, but in a school environment as part of her everyday teaching, teaching the topic as best she could in a limited time frame. Her story reveals how the Holocaust is taught in schools where the history teacher is not a Holocaust specialist and is unaware of the hype surrounding Holocaust education at an international level. She is simply trying to make the topic usable for learners who live in a world far removed from the 1930s technological world of trains and European antisemitism and where they might not be able to comprehend that a man such as Hitler or a group like the Nazis even existed. This was evident when a group of learners visited the Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre recently, and then posed outside the centre doing the Nazi salute and grinning widely, completely unaware of the

inappropriateness of their actions. This is the legacy of using the Holocaust for nation-building, human rights and other purposes. In a nutshell, this is how the Holocaust is being taught in schools today. Seventy years on and in a new context, this is essentially the new frontier of Holocaust education, where the history is removed from pure Holocaust history, but needs to be made useful in a new context to people who are most likely completely unaware of it. For many people around the world, the death of six million Jews is shocking but does not touch their lives. Yet in a South African classroom, the story of the Holocaust touched a young Coloured history teacher because it touched her personal story.

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Gender in national history narratives in social studies textbooks for Ghana

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Abstract

The Ghanaian society is highly patriarchal and one of the immediate outcomes is that assignment of roles and responsibilities are typically based on gender lines. This paper is about gender representation in social studies textbooks in Ghana for Junior High School (JHS) students. In this article we argue that this inherent division of responsibilities based on gender navigates into history textbook narratives and influences the roles that are assigned to male and female characters. We further argue that male characters are assigned more superior roles than female characters in Ghanaian history textbooks, albeit subtly. The article uses the Ghanaian social studies textbook for JHS which documents historical accounts of Ghanaian men and women in precolonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. Both content and thematic analyses were used to present evidence for the findings. The contents of the selected textbooks sections were organised into two types of narratives to establish how gender is represented and whether one gender is systematically undermined in the texts. This helped to summarise the content into themes. Firstly, we assessed the representation of male and female characters in the texts to ascertain the extent to which females and males are represented in the narratives. Secondly, we assessed the language used in the textbooks to show if the language and specific key words used favoured particular gender groups. In this article we conclude that linking men to more prestigious occupations and heroic undertakings of the past and silencing of women in such positions, is subtle but predominant in the treatment of history in Ghanaian JHS social studies textbooks. Consequently, we recommend the development of a gender-sensitive policy to mainstream gender neutrality in curriculum development and textbooks contents.

Keywords: Gender; History; Social studies; Ghana, Textbook.

Introduction

Gender is a social construction of roles and relationships for members of different sexes (male, female or other)[1] in such a way that they are categorized into dichotomies of boys and girls, men and women, with specific roles and models of interacting with each other. Gendered roles and behaviours are conspicuous in Ghana (Anyidoho, Tagoe, Adjei, Appiah, Yeboah-Banin, Crentsil, Oduro-Frimpong, Owusu & Torvikey, 2016; Acheampong, 2000; Clark, 2000; Duncan & Brants, 2004; Overa, 2007), Africa (Grosz-Ngate, 1997) and the world over (McDowell, 1997). This has found its way into the construction of history and representations in school curricula and textbooks. Gender representation in education is exhibited at various levels of curricula and extra curricula activities, and from one educational system to another (Blumberg, 2007). This paper analyses gender biases in the narratives of history in Junior High School (JHS) social studies textbooks in Ghana, from the 1980s to the present. Ghana is one of the countries where work and other human activities are clearly delineated along gender lines, from precolonial, colonial and present times. Again, in Ghanaian culture, feminine names are often used to refer to tenderness, caring, reproduction and love among others, while masculine names are often used to refer to physical activity, leadership, brevity and the like (Cole, 2007). This phenomenon of using gender to represent different character roles has found its way into textbooks. The paper thus attempts to examine how this view of society finds its way into one of the main textbooks (social studies) for lower secondary school students which first introduces young learners to the way of life of Ghanaian society.

According to the UN (2011), Gender Parity Index (GPI) at primary school has stagnated at 0.96 since 2007, and that for Junior High School it is even lower, at 0.92. This "poses a challenge to women participation in decision-making at higher levels and their access to wage employment and higher-level occupations" in Ghana (UN 2011:para 4). Among other things, norms and societal attitudes tend to discourage women from engaging in wage employment and some occupations such as commercial driving, welding, and auto-mechanics account for this (UN 2011). Other factors include culturally instigated domestic workload for girls, and unfriendly

1 Admittedly, sex as a biological outcome is not simply a categorical phenomenon of male and female, but a continuum of many categories that lie between male and female, including hermaphrodites. For clarity of expression, however, the dualism of male and female shall be used throughout the discourse.

classrooms and shortage or lack of toilet facilities in public schools.

Many scholars believe that formal education has often reinforced gender biases through school curricula, syllabuses, textbooks, the school setting and teachers' classroom practices (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010; Thompson, 2003; Miller, 1993; Riddell, 1992). Teachers can be unaware of this because they are simply teaching how they were taught (Chapman n.d.:para 18). Consequently, "subtle inequalities found in history curricula and textbooks are either overlooked" (Chapman, n.d.:para 18) or unnoticed by teachers. In effect, even though boys and girls study in the same classrooms, use the same textbooks and may be taught by the same teacher, they may end up receiving different messages (Sadker & Sadker, 1994), which affect the psychological wellbeing, expectations and growth of learners (Lesikin, 2001). This has implications for gendered relationships, socialization and development of self-esteem. Curriculum, textbooks and what teachers teach therefore require close scrutiny, especially the construction and representation of gender in a people's history.

The next section presents a background to the gender question in Ghana and elsewhere, including a theoretical framework. Following that is a literature review, methodology, presentation and discussion of findings and conclusions.

Background to the gender question in Ghana

In Ghana and many African countries, females are largely credited with home management, domestic tasks such as cooking, washing, cleaning, sweeping, fetching water, childcare among others and cleaning activities in school that arguably involve less physical strength. Males, on the other hand, assume leadership roles at homes and are expected to take roles that demand physical strength including weeding, pounding and lifting of loads. Yet, it is difficult to point out homogenous standards of gender roles and relationships among the over 100 ethnic groups in Ghana. Many gender roles and relationships are not complementary. Some scholars have argued that uncomplementary gender roles and relationships are the result of colonial interventions that eliminated complementary gender arrangements and provided equal opportunities for both males and females at homes, on the farms, in the economy and in entrepreneurship (Aidoo, 1985; Arhin, 1983; Sudurkasa, 1986). Others have argued that colonial rule in Africa only reinforced existing gender norms that were repressive of females (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003).

Currently, gender roles and relationships are changing for both males and females in an increasingly liberal society (Wrigley-Asante, 2011), due to acculturation in an ever-deepening global world (Fening, 2015) although this view is not shared by all scholars on gender. After extensive study of the Asante culture for instance, Clark (2000) admitted that there is constant negotiation and "renegotiation" of gendered roles and relationships but was not convinced that these are overhauling the gendered systems in place. This "constant renegotiation" does not indicate "their weakness or imminent disappearance" but indicates that "they remain valuable sociocultural assets that give powerful leverage" to those who wield power in society (Clark, 2000:727). Anyidoho et al., (2016) found that female role models and attainment of higher education for both male and females can bring about change.

Women are expected to dominate in the marketplace and other informal employment settings (Clark, 2000; Overa, 2007; Acheampong, 2000). For instance, whilst the proportion of women in the economic sector in Ghana increased from 39 percent in 1960 to 51 percent in 1984 (Baden et al., 1994:6), the proportion of those involved in skilled production remained at 8.8 percent by 1988 (GSS, 1988). According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, 69 percent of males and 65 percent of females are engaged in different kinds of economic activities; however, of those in the public and private formal sector, the proportion of males is twice that of females. Women's workload in domestic chores is approximately 25 percent greater than that of men (World Bank, 2002). Whilst women spend about two and half hours a day on unpaid chores at home, men spend about 40 minutes a day (GSS, 2009). The gravity of this statistic is compounded by the phenomenon of the glass ceiling (Tsikata, 2007), which is the prevalence of systemic impediments that prevent many competent women from rising to the highest ranks in the public sector.

Overa (2007) particularly referred to retail market activities as female occupation in urban centres until the 1980s, when it became attractive to males after the Structural Adjustment Programme led to massive job losses for males. Overa referred to certain stereotypes about male and female behaviours in public. In the business of retailing, "unfeminine" behaviours like using "physical strength", "talking loudly", displaying "self-acquired wealth" or "exercise of power" were "morally" justified for women due to the nature of their job (Overa, 2007:540). Two conclusions could be drawn. Firstly, males are not expected to engage in retailing and petty

trading, except under very harsh economic conditions (Overa 2007), for which they are expected to adopt certain face-saving strategies. Secondly, only males are expected to display physical strength and opulence.

In farming communities, gendered division of labour is also still present. Women do the "planting, weeding, watering, harvesting, the transportation of farm produce, agro-processing and the marketing of small amounts of farm produce" (Duncan & Brants, 2004:3). Men, on the other hand, clear wild bushes for initial cultivation, till the soil, and are more concerned with cash crop cultivation than food crop cultivation (Duncan & Brants, 2004; Benneh, Kasanga & Amoyaw, 1995). According to Benneh et al., (1995), food crop production is not capital and labour intensive, and could be cultivated on less fertile lands, compared to cash crops. Men, therefore, prefer to leave these to the care of women, who usually do not own the land. Married women are also expected to assist their husbands on their farms, even where they also have their own farms to attend to (Duncan & Brants, 2004).

Childcare is also a women's job (Clark, 2000), often associated with the reproductive role of females. The female is expected to be the daughter, wife, mother and grandmother; even though she is also expected to stand up to financial challenges of childcare and to provide all the needs of her children (Clark, 2000; Manuh, 1997; Overa, 2007), often referred to as the productive role in the household. Both male and female are expected to participate in the productive activities to ensure economic sustainability of the household (Duncan & Brants, 2004). If a male is employed and has a regular source of income, he is expected to be the breadwinner, support the female and take care of the children. If, on the other hand, the male is unable to be the breadwinner, or decided voluntarily not to do so, he does not have to bear any responsibility. "Women do not have that choice" (Overa, 2007:556). They remain constant in the social calculus of childcare, from birth through breastfeeding to all other issues of upbringing. Among the Ashanti of Ghana, for example, despite the centrality of the woman in childcare, "a woman who overemphasizes income-generating work is seen as neglecting her husband, not her children" (Clark, 2000:717). This underscores the woman's domestic role, making her principally a mother and wife, together with being a daughter and grandmother.

Women are expected to be subordinates, whilst men are expected to lead (Wrigley-Asante, 2011). The traditional role of men is to be heads

of households and decision makers, and for women to be under men's leadership. A man is expected to lead due to "his economic advantage and his control over productive resources" in many traditional societies (Wrigley-Asante, 2011:61). The female (the wife) is expected to be "subordinate and submissive owing principally to her lower socio-economic status" (Wrigley-Asante, 2011:61). Green (1997:23) asserts that even in pre-colonial Africa, where some historians claim that women also held leadership positions in religious, political, economic and social institutions, "their roles and activities did not have the same prestige as those of men". Women's political authority was subordinated to that of men (Green, 1977); and only very few women held prestigious religious leadership positions (Guy, 1990; Musisi, 1996). This situation was accentuated by colonial patriarchal cultures and has persisted to date and continues to affect the power relations between male and female members of society (Wrigley-Asante, 2011; Duncan & Brants, 2004). Nevertheless, Wrigley-Asante (2011:81) observed that "the increasing economic position of women in the home is changing the traditional status of women", which has challenged the dominant leadership role of men.

Gender equality dynamics in Ghanaian schools

Since the 1980s, education has been acknowledged as a strategic tool for achieving gender parity in Ghana. Prior to this era, and up to the early 1990s, school dropout rate was 46 percent for girls and 36 percent for boys. It was generally held, especially in rural areas, that "the private costs of educating girls are … higher than for boys" (Baden, Green, Otoo-Oyortey & Peasgood 1994:iv), making many parents prefer to invest more in the education of boys. This has, among others, entrenched roles and norms that feed on gender stereotypes, limited women's access to job opportunities and reduced their confidence to insist on their social and civic rights (Gender Policy of the YMCA, 2011). The educational reform of 1987 was the first milestone in tackling the gender question in Ghana. It eliminated gender streaming in subjects in elementary schools and made gender equity a national agenda. Ten years later, the Ministry of Education introduced the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), which further heightened the urgency for gender mainstreaming. It eliminated costs associated with basic education and prioritized girl-child education. Numerous policies like school feeding programmes, Capitation Grant and free school uniforms for basic schools were expected to shore up enrolment in primary school and increase gender

parity in basic schools (See GES 2001). This higher premium placed on girl-child education was directly influenced by the 1995 Beijing Conference on women, which heightened the urgency for both boys and girls to have equal access to education.

Despite these, the Ghana Education Service (GES) acknowledged that the school environment and learning materials put girls at a disadvantage in its 2004 presentation at the United Nations (UN) conference on education in Geneva. Educational policies and reviews have attempted at addressing this challenge. Gender inequity gaps have been targeted through two curriculum development options: (1) syllabus development and (2) textbooks development (GES 2004:8).

The Curriculum Research and Development Division (CRDD) of the Ghana Education Service, which is the unit responsible for curriculum development in basic schools, has received a series of capacity building initiatives on gender mainstreaming and gender capacity analysis (Camfed, 2012; MacKinnon, 2002). These are intended to eliminate gender biases in content and teaching-learning activities and to ensure that learning outcomes accrue equally to all learners irrespective of gender. Whilst Mackinnon (2002), as reported by Camfed (2012) found no evidence of the impact of the trainings on girls' educational outcomes, it found evidence of enhanced ability and skills of teachers and CRDD staff to analyse, review and develop gender sensitive curricula (See Camfed, 2012). These notwithstanding, there is still evidence of gender biases, albeit subtle, that needs to be re-examined to bridge the systemic gap in the education environment.

Representation of gender in textbooks

Textbook presentations of gender, and specifically the role of women in economic and political history, reflect their authors' perception of women in society. Curricula are generally represented in various forms for learners' consumption, including through textbooks as core reference material for teaching and learning. Textbooks "interpret curriculum policies in a way that reflects the views of authors, publishers and reviewers" (Pinto, 2007:99). Textbooks for learners convey "knowledge and skills [that] students ought to achieve" (Ato, 2009:28). It is estimated that learners spend about 80 percent to 95 percent of their classroom time using textbooks while teachers make most of their instructional decisions based on textbooks (Blumberg, 2007; Sadker & Zittleman, 2007; Baldwin & Baldwin, 1992).

In textbooks, the issue of gender and equality are at play in two major ways – verbal text and image representations. Research on gender representation in textbooks in sub-Saharan Africa (Fardon & Schoeman 2010; Mkuchu 2004; Schoeman, 2009) and North Africa, Asia and the Middle East (Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010; Bahman & Rahimi, 2010; Kallab, 1981; Alrabaa, 1985; Shtaiwi, 1999; Jassey, 1998), have all confirmed the gendered roles and representations in textbooks that undermine female aspirations for careers in engineering, medicine and other outdoor occupations. Many other studies have also confirmed these gendered perspectives in textbooks (See Miller, 1993; Blumberg, 2007; Weitzman et al., 1972; Sadker & Sadker, 1980; Sadker & Zittleman, 2007; Botkin 2007). A comparative study by Jassey (1988:88) made this profound statement:

> *Virtually all the studies concluded that textbooks have not adequately reflected the range of women's roles and occupations in the real world. In general, it seems gender biased images remain strongly present in school textbooks throughout the world.*

In a cross-country analysis of gender biases in textbooks, Blumberg (2007:5) found that almost all content analyses were telling essentially the same story, with minor variations. Except for Fould (2013) who did not find any significant biases in Kenyan textbooks, almost all the studies on gendered representations in textbooks found some significant differences. Blumberg (2014:1) sums these up as: less representation of females than males; attribution of stereotyped gender roles where females are associated with motherhood, tenderness, sacrifice, household, domestic chores and unskilled labour (See also Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010; Staiwi, 1999), and males are given prestigious occupations and characterised by courage, autonomy, leadership and creativity. Even in countries where some improvement in these biases are found over time, these changes are "more often slow (even glacial) than rapid" (Blumberg, 2014:1).

Bahman and Rahimi (2010) have found that despite cultural variations across different Anglophone regions, the English language that is used for textbooks is biased against females in five main ways.[2] This resonates with what other scholars have agreed upon, that language and text can be manipulated to serve ideological, political (Sefa-Nyarko, 2016) and socio-cultural purposes (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2006; Mills, 1995; Lee, 1992). The five ways identified by Bahman and Rahimi (2010) are the

2 English is the official language used in Ghanaian textbooks, and so understanding the gender biases inherent in its conversational form is important.

preference for "male-biased terms" like bachelor and master over feminine terms like spinster and mistress; use of "male-generics" to refer to both male and female like man and mankind;[3] biases in the allocation of titles – Mr. for both married and unmarried men and Mrs and Miss for married and unmarried women respectively[4] - the male primacy in the order of presentation of male and female like "he or she" and "Adam and Eve" (See also Goddard & Patterson, 2000:57); and the preference for males as protagonists in stories and naming (See also Weatherall, 2006; Poynton, 1989). In this gendered naming, women protagonists, few as they may be, like Cinderella and Snow White, are presented as objects for the attention of a hero who is usually a male; or as villainous old women.

Representation of gender in History textbooks

In a global review of literature, Chiponda and Wassermann (2011) found three main themes in the representation of females in history textbooks, which also resonate with findings from other scholars (Fardon & Schoeman, 2010; Osler, 1994; Muravyeva, 2006; Chick, 2006).

Firstly, in terms of roles and activities, women in history textbooks are "portrayed in stereotypically traditional feminine roles in a domestic environment" (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011:15). Both males and females are presented to reinforce existing norms, customs and traditions, where males are rulers, soldiers, and engineers; and females are wives, mothers, dancers and generally subordinated to men (See also Fardon & Schoeman, 2010; Osler, 1994). In Russian textbooks, women political leaders were presented as villains associated with revenge and failure in war (Muravyeva, 2006). In South Africa, males are presented as active, assertive and curious, whilst females are dependable, conforming and obedient (Fardon & Schoeman, 2010). Male-oriented activities in South African societies were mentioned 64 times in those history textbooks whilst no mention of female-oriented occupations was mentioned (Fardon & Schoeman, 2010).

Secondly, women are under-represented in history textbooks, and the difference has been found to be statistically significant by numerous studies (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Cornish, Carinci & Noel, 2012; Chick, 2006; O'Kelly, 1983; Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Reese, 1994). O' Kelly

3 This overshadows females and could have an overpowering effect on their self-esteem (Sadka and Sadka 1995).

4 Although "Ms" is becoming a popular hybrid for women of all categories, Bauer et al. (2006:164) believe that it is often interpreted to be a "title for divorced, separated or widowed women".

(1983) found, for instance, that women and men were featured 30 percent and 70 percent respectively in art works in history textbooks. Blumberg (2007), citing Alrabaa (1985) reported 463 occupations for males and females in their analysis of Syrian textbooks. However, 84 percent (391) of the occupations were filled by males and 16 percent (72) by females. In a review of a history textbook in the United States, Sadker and Sadker (1994) reported that the book dedicated only 3 percent of the content to women; and only 8 women had a paragraph dedicated to them. Anyidoho et al., (2016) admitted that history production in Ghana has neglected to acknowledge the significant role of women in nation building.

Thirdly, although sexist language that directly undermined, demeaned or excluded both females and males is generally avoided, texts, content and images are presented from a male perspective (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011). Male characters are used often, and there is a general preference and primacy for the male, whilst female characters are associated with beauty and complementarity (Fardon & Schoeman, 2010).

Theoretical framework

We proceed on the assumption that gender representation and narratives in textbook contents are directly shaped or informed by existing policy guidance on curriculum and content development. Thus, in societies where gender-sensitivity specific policies on curriculum and content development are absent, such as Ghana, authors of textbooks are at liberty to represent narrations in textbooks by gender characters based on their conception of gendered roles in their immediate social environment. The outcome of this gender-blind policy environment could either produce gender neutral contents or gender-biased contents, based on existing sociocultural beliefs and practices on gender roles. In the case of Ghana where the society is patriarchal, this is likely to favour male characters more than female characters.

This assumption is influenced by the social relations framework, proposed by Kabeer (1994)[5] which has been used widely to analyse the gender relations in the distribution of resources, responsibilities and power, and how these are shaped through institutions and policies. It assumes that poverty or inequality is borne out of unequal social relations. Gender relations is one such example, where roles and responsibilities

5 N Kabeer, *Reversed realities: Gender hierarchies in development* (Verso 1994).

are shaped along resource allocation.[6] Females, especially those in poor and disadvantaged societies, are often excluded and must rely on relations of dependency and patronage for access to resources and survival. These relations are however not finite and can be changed through human agency

at the macro level. Institutions produce, reproduce and reinforce social relations, including differences in assigning roles and inequality. Gender inequality, and by extension biases in representation, are thus reproduced not just at the household or communal level, but through institutions and policies at the state, community and local levels. Gender analyses must peruse how institutions and gender specific policies on curriculum, or the lack of them affect gender representation or narratives in school textbooks.

Methodology

Three main editions of the social studies textbooks have been published since Ghana's most comprehensive educational reforms in 1987. Social studies textbooks are the main source of history teaching and learning materials for all learners in Junior High School in Ghana. These were published in 1988, 2005 and 2008. The 1988 textbooks were authored and published by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOE) while the 2005 and 2008 versions were written by Quansah and Otu, 2005; and Amoah, Baabereyir, Cobbinah, Dake, and Ngaaso (2008), with approval from the Ministry of Education. Prior to the educational reforms of 2001, the Ministry of Education published, printed, and distributed all pre-university textbooks. After the 2001 Educational Reforms, the publication and printing were privatised to allow private stakeholders to participate in the process. This explains why the 1988 textbook was authored and published by the MoE and the later versions by private publishers. The MoE and the Ghana Education Service reserved the right to approve and authorise distribution of approved textbooks for use in schools. New social studies textbooks have been published since 2008 but these have not been included in our analysis since they do not deviate significantly from the 2005 and 2008 editions. This study analyses historical narratives of gender biases from the editions of the JHS social studies textbooks described above.

Sections from all three textbook versions dealing with environmental, cultural, socioeconomic and political history of Ghana were analysed in this paper. We focused on these sections because of our interest in the

6 International Labour Organisation (1998). Online gender learning and information module; a conceptual framework for gender analysis and planning.

presentation of history in the textbooks. See table 1 for complete details of the books used and the specific chapters or sections analysed.

Tabel 1: The list of Social Studies textbooks reviewed

Book title/s	Year Published & Publisher	Authors	Sections Analysed
Social Studies for Junior Secondary Schools, Book 1	1988 Curriculum Research and Development Division, Accra	Ghana Education Service	Pages 4-112
Social Studies for Junior High Schools 1, Revised edition	2008 Adwinsa Publications, Accra.	E Amoah, A Baabereyir, J Cobbinah, G Dake, and C Ngaaso	Pages 47-88
BECE Social Studies for JSS, pupil's Book 1	2005 Sedco Publishing Limited, Accra	KB Quansah, & CE Otu	Pages 2-59
BECE Social Studies for JSS, pupil's Book 3	2005 Sedco Publishing Limited, Accra	KB Quansah, & CE Otu	Pages 35-49

The Quansah and Otu (2005) edition analysed for this paper comes in three sets (books one, two and three). Book one was produced to meet the needs of the first year Junior High School (JHS 1) syllabus and treats issues like migration of ethnic groups in Ghana, arrival of Europeans in the Gold Coast, cultural expressions, natural resources and production. Book two deals with JHS 2 syllabus and introduces learners to the geography of Ghana, environmental protection, state and private enterprises, the constitution of Ghana and governance processes and international co-operations. In book three, which is for JHS 3, learners are exposed to the issues of nationalism and the struggle for independence, political stability, and general problems of development in Ghana and rural-urban migration. For the purpose of this paper, only book one and book three were used-because book two contains no historical accounts to be included in the analysis.

The 1988 edition published and circulated by the Ghana Education Service also had books one, two and three, however, only book one was

used in the review and analysis, since it is the only edition that treated historical narratives of Ghana. This book is divided into three parts: part one treats the general geography of Ghana and the local environment, part two considers the socio-cultural structure and organisation of Ghanaian society and part three is devoted to the treatment of history of migration and political struggle for independence in Ghana.

The books were selected purposively to meet the objective of the paper, that is, to analyse the representation of gender in junior high school textbooks in Ghana. Since social studies is the only subject that treats history, culture, socioeconomic and everyday life matters at the junior high school level of education in Ghana, the various editions provided content to adequately support the purpose of this paper.

Both content and thematic analyses were used to present evidence for the paper. The content of the selected textbooks sections was organised into two types of narratives to establish how gender is represented and whether one gender is systematically undermined in the texts. This helped to summarise the contents into main themes that have been presented in the subsequent sections. Firstly, we assessed the representation of male and female characters in the content of the texts to ascertain whether one gender is projected in the narratives. Secondly, we assessed the language used in drafting those sections of the textbooks to show if the language and specific key words used favoured one gender more than the other. The outcomes from these two levels of content analysis were organised into themes as follows 1) use of male and female attributes, 2) political history narrative of pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial times in Ghana, 3) social and economic development history narrative and 4) cultural history narrative. Thereafter, thematic analysis of gender representation and narratives was used based on the themes outlined above.

Presentation and discussion of the findings

The following sections discuss findings from the review of the historical narratives in the social studies textbooks.

Political history of pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial times in Ghana

The presentation of historical narratives of pre-independence political persuasions in JHS1 to JHS3 textbooks is very silent on the active role of

women in that entire political period and in leadership processes.

Also, from page two to page 17 of Quansah and Otu (2005a) that talks about ancient Ghana history, covering politics, chieftaincy, trade and culture, no female character was mentioned even though 26 male names (mainly chiefs) were mentioned, giving the impression that only men engaged in the socio-political activities at the time. For example:

> *In the year 1203, Sumanguru and his army from Susu, a state within the Ghana Empire, also conquered Ghana* (Quansah & Out, 2005a: 2).

Even though women (queen mothers) played critical roles in the traditional political (chieftaincy) administration by influencing key decisions, acted as kingmakers, trade facilitation, etc. such roles are often overlooked, or at best understated in textbook historical presentations of pre-colonial political and governance processes (Botkin, 2007; Bradford, 1996). This does not only relate to textbooks, but in general construction of history. Bradford (1996), for instance noted, "Women are not merely neglected; their existence is often conceptually denied" (Bradford 1997:352). Similarly, Anyidoho et al., (2016) admitted that history production in Ghana has failed to acknowledge the significant role of women in nation building. This is perhaps an offshoot of the patriarchal structure of the Ghanaian traditional society which primarily subordinates women's roles to those of men. It could also be a pure institutional problem where lack of gender sensitive policies guiding the production of textbook contents has further entrenched the male-dominant narratives. This thinking is supported by Kabeer's (1994) social relations framework discussed earlier in this paper. Few attempts are made in some sections to balance generic use of gender, albeit still projecting male characters as the most dominant. Consider the extract below:

> *The chief is thought of as being above everybody. He is therefore highly respected. He makes laws for the people and judges cases. But he does not do all the things alone. He is helped by a council of elders. Some of the members of council are the queen mother, the family heads and the linguist* (GES, 1988: 109).

Aside from the superior role of male characters in the historical presentations, we see attempts to balance the representation of male and female characters in some versions of the textbooks, which is good. For instance, the use of dialogue, featuring a male and a female in a conversation is used widely to represent gender in some versions of textbooks, mainly the versions published prior to the year 2000. For example, in the JHS 1

social studies book published in 1988, 14 out of 18 chapters used dialogue of equal male and female representation (GES, 1988:1-84). Here are some extracts modelled as conversation in class:

> *Kofi*[7]*: Please, Sir, you gave an example of a representative fraction of 1:1000. Would you explain what it means?*
>
> *Ama:*[8] *Sir, I've noticed that in writing the representative fraction both the numerator and the denominator must be in the same unit.* (GES 1988: 6).
>
> *What Ama said made Kofi remember what he had heard some time ago. He had heard his elder brother and one of his friends talking about how to make a map* (GES, 1988: 7).

This is a conscious attempt to represent both male and female voices in some of the textbooks. However, the style of representation has changed in the books published from 2000. They no longer use dialogue and the texts are largely gender neutral, except where history, sociocultural practices and independence political discourses are discussed. These topics have overwhelming male dominance in their presentations. The attempt to summarise some of the narratives in the latter versions have left it with narratives that reinforce existing gender socialisation.

Moreover, there are inbuilt biases that present males as the dominant actors or role models in historical presentation of political activities before, during and after independence. For instance, in JHS 3 textbooks, the writings on colonialism and independence struggles mentioned no female in both economic and political activities, whether in an active or supporting role. Even though names of foreign nationalists such as Mahatma Ghandi, Jomo Kenyatta and Namdi Azikiwe[9] found their way into the JHS 3 social studies textbook when treating nationalist activities that led to independence in Ghana; no female (local or foreign) or feminine influence was mentioned, except Yaa Asantewaa, who is mentioned in passing despite her significance in national history. Yaa Asantewaa was cited as the leader of the Asante Kingdom and its army as follows:

> *The Asante army was led by Yaa Asantewaa who the queen-mother of Ejisu was. Though the Asante fought hard, they were completely defeated* (GES, 1988: 6).

Yaa Asantewaa is a prominent figure in the colonial history of the Gold Coast and the interaction of the colonial administration with the Asanti

7 Kofi is a male and a Friday born

8 Ama is a female name meaning a Saturday born

9 Namdi was the first president of Nigeria after gaining independence in 1963. His rule ended in 1966.

Kingdom. She was the Queen Mother of Ejisu, who lived from 1840 to 1921 (Adu-Boahene & Akyeampong, 2003). Extra-curricular narratives by Adu-Boahene and Akyeampong explain that during the Asante-British war of 1900/1901, she demonstrated bravery against the British colonial troops that were at war with the Asante Kingdom. They provide edifying accounts of her successful leadership of the Ashanti Kingdom after the arrest of her brother and chief of Edweso, Afrane Kumaa in 1896. She became the queen and king of the state, and subsequently acted with bravery and excellence. In giving account of her role in the Ashanti army during the era of the British conquests in the Gold Coast during the 1900s she is described as follows:

> *Yaa Asantewaa ... instigated and precipitated the uprising. Lt. Col. Montanaro, one of the leading British officers, called Yaa Asantewa ... one of the prime movers in the rebellion. The Basel Missionary Obrecht, based in Abetifi, in his letter of 30 July 1900 called her the soul and head of the whole rebellion. Armitage and Montanaro also described her as the old queen-mother of Ejisu, whose name has figured so largely in the rebellion ...* (Adu-Boahene & Akyeampong, 2003: 120).

It must be mentioned that, not even the extra-curricular sources have much documentary evidence of involvement of other women in political activities in Ghana. This tells a lot about the gender dynamics at the pre-independence, independence and post-independence era in Ghana.

Social and economic development history

Socioeconomic history in the JHS textbooks also has more roles and records of men than of women. In the area of education, Ghanaian nationals like John Mensah Sarbah, Casely Hayford and Attoh Ahuma, are repeatedly cited as key contributors (Quansah & Otu, 2005a:32). There is no female cited as having contributed to educational development in the Gold Coast. One may be tempted to argue that no female played an active role during the colonial and precolonial eras; but that is not an accurate assumption. In fact, the narratives as presented are indicative of the social structure that existed in that era. Again, this goes to confirm the underrepresentation of females in history textbooks as alluded to by many authors (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Anyidoho et al., 2016; Botkin, 2007; Bradford, 1996). For example, during the signing of economic treaties, some local chiefs were mentioned but no queen mother was referenced. The extract below speaks to this fact:

> *The chiefs who signed the declaration were Nana Kwadwo Tibu VI, Chief of Denkyira; Nana Kwasi Otu, Chief of Abora; Nana Tibu Kuma, Chief of Assin; Nana Gyebra, another Chief of Assin; Nana Kwasi Anka, Chief of Dominansi; Nana Awisu, another Chief of Dominasi; Nana Amoono, Chief of Anomabo and Nana Joseph Aggrey, Chief of Cape Coast* (Quansah & Out, 2005a: 34).

These were the chiefs who reportedly signed the Bond of 1844-a treaty[10] between the British and local chiefs. A possible explanation for no female representation may be for the simple reason that females/queen mothers were not called to represent hence no records for them were documented. This position has been challenged by Anyidoho et al. (2016) and is discussed in detail ahead in this section.

Some statements from the textbooks give empirical support to the dominant role of males (chiefs, native doctors etc.) in historical writings on socioeconomic persuasions:

> *In the reign of Nana Akumfi Ameyaw I, from 1328 to 1363, Bono expanded its kingdom through conquests, and increased its richness through the gold trade. Akumfi Ameyaw introduced the use of gold dust as currency. He also introduced gold weights as measures of value and established the position of "sanaahene" or minister of finance* (Quansah & Otu, 2005a: 8).

> *Sanaa Hene [finance male chief] was responsible for commercial matters as well as setting the price of commodities* (Quansah & Otu, 2005a: 8).

Here, there is emphasis on the king as taking all important economic and political decisions and influencing change, although female political leaders (queen mothers) have traditionally and historically played an active role in the structure and organization of trade and other forms of commercial activities (Mensah et al., 2014). Although the dominant role of women in socioeconomic activities (trade) throughout history cannot be overlooked, there is no indication in the history narratives in the textbooks to emphasise this. This supports the claim of Bradford (1996) that women's existence in history is often conceptually denied by historians and authors. Anidoho et al., (2016) have alluded to the displeasure of scholars to this silencing of women as follows:

> *And although women have been made largely invisible in the narratives of nation-building in Ghana – a fact to which female scholars drew attention during the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence in 2007 – women have made great contribution to the development of the Ghanaian state and economy* (Anyidoho et al., 2016: 6).

10 A peace agreement signed between the British government and some sudden chiefs in Ghana. The agreement allowed the British government and its military to usurp powers of African courts. It intended to allow the British government or military to offer protection to the southern states from Asante invasion.

No account of a woman is given in the textbooks as having contributed to the development of education or any other social service in the country.

References to actors in socioeconomic processes did not give any recognition to females. Male names such as Tetteh Quarshie, FC Grant, Thomas Hughes, JE Ellis, JP Brown and JE Biney are mentioned in the narratives without reference to any female character engaged in business or contributing to economic activities. Masculine words like "businessmen" and "middlemen" are used to refer to people who were involved in trade and other socioeconomic ventures during the colonial era, as if to suggest that women played no role in commercial activities at the time (Quansah & Out, 2005a:8, 36-58; GES, 1988:91-104; Quansah & Out, 2005:36).

The incidence of male-dominated historical narratives in instructional textbooks is not only in Ghana or in Africa, but a near global phenomenon (Fardon & Schoeman, 2010; Mkuchu, 2004; Schoeman, 2009; Alayan & Al-Khalidi, 2010; Bahman & Rahimi, 2010; Kallab, 1981; Alrabaa, 1985; Shtaiwi, 1999; Jassey, 1998; Miller, 1993; Blumberg, 2007; Weitzman et al., 1972; Sadker & Sadker, 1980; Sadker & Zittleman, 2007; Botkin, 2007). This is evidenced by the overrepresentation of males in the accounts of colonial and postcolonial economic engagements, negotiations and treaties.

Some scholars insist that in spite of systematic relegation of women to domestic spaces (Tsikata & Darkwah, 2013; Allman, 1996; Anhyidoho et al., 2016), they made substantial contribution to the social and economic constructs of Ghana (Anyidoho, et al., 2016); which ought not to be overlooked in history.

Despite these constraints, women carved out spaces for themselves in the informal economy mainly as food crop farmers and traders. By the late 1970s and 1980s, female traders had gained great income and power from their work and had leveraged that power (consolidated through associations) to become a powerful economic and social force (Anyidoho et al., 2016:5). Some of the military interventions of the 1970s and 1980s may have thrown the economic gains of both men and women into disarray; and Manuah (1993) believes that these restored the influence of men in socio-economic spaces.

Cultural history

The historical presentations on culture try to balance the power and representation of masculine and feminine elements. For example, in most cases, whenever a generic masculine term like "grandfather" or "chief" is used to illustrate a point, a feminine term like "grandmother" or "queen mother" is also used:

> *The chief is thought of as being above everybody. He is therefore highly respected. He makes laws for the people and judges cases. But he does not do all the things alone. He is helped by a council of elders. Some of the members of council are the queen mother, the family heads and the linguist* (GES, 1988: 109).

Cultural history is an important aspect of the JHS social studies curriculum in Ghana. The narratives of how ancestors of different traditional societies organized their lives politically, socially and economically through indigenous institutions such as chieftaincy, clans and ethnic groups tell a gender story. Some historians argue that pre-colonial Ghanaian societies had complementary gender relations, independence of both male and female, and equal rights to properties, economic enterprise and social protection (Anyidoho et al., 2016; Aidoo, 1985; Arhin, 1983). Others like Bakare-Yusuf (2003) argue instead, that colonial rule merely reinforced existing gender inequalities in African societies generally.

Although culture is displayed to provide equal space for both males and females, the position of the chief, household head and family heads are mostly reserved for males. This is prevalent in the treatment of such issues as festivals, family, environment and religion. However, in presenting culture in the textbooks, there is specific reference to "queen mothers" as models for women, spelling out the active role of women in traditional politics of ancient Ghana. This section also makes direct reference to queen mothers as the ones historically responsible for the search and selection of kings and chiefs:

> *When a stool in the family becomes vacant, a new chief is elected. The selection is done by a group of people known as the kingmakers. These include the queen mother, the head of the family and some elders of the villages and towns* (GES, 1998:108).

This is an attempt to say that females have a voice in the traditional kingmaking process; although females themselves are not eligible to be selected as chiefs or kings in the Ghanaian traditional context. Therefore,

on one breath, the representation of character roles in the textbooks maybe a true reflection of what actually existed based on how the Ghanaian society was structured in terms of roles for males and females.

Conclusion

The construction of gender identities, linking men to more prestigious occupations and heroic undertakings of the past and silencing of women in such positions, is subtle but predominant in the treatment of history in Ghanaian JHS social studies textbooks. This is consistent with the gender-specific pathways of gender-sensitive policies proposed by Kabeer (1994). Gender biases play a subtle but influential role in the organisation of society regarding the assignment of domestic and professional roles. Some of these delineations are intrinsic in the socio-cultural values and orientations of societies, hence very difficult to eliminate from socioeconomic and political construction of society, even when efforts are made. This underpins identity creation of all societies. Whilst attempts have been made by the Ministry of Education through the Ghana Education Service to mainstream gender in curriculum development, there remains more to be done. Curiously, no female author was found among the authors of the social studies textbooks reviewed. Both male and female role models in history ought to be explicitly presented for learners to effect change in attitudes and practices about gender from the early years.

While existing policies on curriculum appear to be gender-neutral, the sociocultural underpinnings of Ghanaian society inherentlyassign dominant roles to males rather than females. It is therefore necessary to have specific guidance for authors to present gender roles in school textbooks equally. For example, males are represented as armies and combative forces – a symbol of leadership, brevity and control. Women are hardly mentioned in ancient Ghana in wars, armies and other forms of activities that involved risk taking and physical confrontations in the textbooks. Names such as Sumanguru, Opoku Ware I, Akumfi Ameyaw I, Frempong Manso, Obiri Yeboah, Kwame Nkrumah, Osei Tutu and Komfo Anokye;[11] and terms like “kingdom”, “middlemen”, and “institution of kingship” dominate the narratives of pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial political, social and economic organization. The words “kingdom” and “kingship” are masculine words that seem to suggest that the entire geopolitical enclave is

11 These are males who are widely associated with the Ashanti Kingdom and other Akan ethnic groupings that contributed to pre-colonial and colonial socio-political arrangements.

under the male king. This projects male rulers in history as superior to their female counterparts. Botkin (2007) calls this male dominance in narratives as sexism. According to him, sexism is a "system of advantages that serves to privilege men, subordinate women, denigrate women-identified values and practices, enforce male dominance and control, and reinforce forms of masculinity that are dehumanizing and damaging to women" (Botkin, 2007:174).

Again, the originally male dominant characters with prestigious roles in textbooks could be for the fact that existing policies guiding their development were gender-blind and often favoured males rather than females due to socially constructed roles for males and females. This is likely to maintain the status quo – males will continue to dominate character representations in textbooks. However, policies could also be gender-sensitive, and gender-sensitive policies may produce three outcomes. Firstly, such policies could be gender-neutral which tends to leave the distribution of resources, roles and responsibilities intact for generations. Secondly, policies could be gender specific. Gender-specific policies tend to meet or protect targeted needs of one gender within resource distribution and assignment of responsibilities in content development. This may also either maintain or even widen existing biases. Finally, policies could be gender redistributive. Here, interventions are focused on transforming existing distributions regarding resources, roles and responsibilities towards a more egalitarian end. We recommend that government policies on education and curriculum reforms should pursue the latter to guarantee equal representation of both genders in textbook narratives in the future.

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Hands-on Article

Navigating the tension between official and unofficial History – a teacher's view

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Abstract

Growing up in the post-apartheid era in a township on the outskirts of Durban, and schooling in Durban North, I always wondered why the houses in KwaMashu township were small, clustered and all looked similar compared to the houses where I schooled. Although I grew up questioning this, I would never discuss such topics with my parents. So, when the topic of apartheid was taught in school "it all made sense" until I did an oral history project on my grandmother, Sibukeli Angelina Mbokazi, who was a domestic worker during the apartheid regime. My grandmother felt differently from what I thought she would, which severely challenged me. This was especially the case because my grandmother and my mother were victims of the apartheid era land dispossession laws. This article articulates the internal challenges I have faced in the history classroom when the unofficial history of my family, as articulated by my grandmother, conflicted with the official curricula and textbooks.

Keywords: Competing discourses; Apartheid; Group Areas Act; Land Act; History; Teaching; Learning.

Introduction and background

At the outset let me confess – I am confused, torn and conflicted among the complexity of my family's history (what would be called unofficial history) as it relates to land dispossession during apartheid and the official history related to such events learnt as part of National Curriculum Statement (NCS) and the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) or what would be called official history (sanctioned by the state via the curriculum and the programmatic curriculum or textbooks). Let me explain: I am aware and versed in the historical thinking skill of multi-perspectivity. This I came to understand very well when doing my MEd in History Education, on *Teachers' views on making history compulsory* (Mkhabela,

2018), at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, under the supervision of Prof Johan Wassermann and Ms Leevina Iyer. I also know that globally, in diverse classrooms, where multiple backgrounds and beliefs meet, history teachers are confronted with overlapping perspectives. In such classroom's beliefs, values, attitudes, words, acts, and social identities are placed, shared and contested. Since each individual history teacher holds his/her own perspectives, thoughts and belief systems, it is inescapable that teachers will enter the classroom and never teach a perspective within the curriculum that could or could not contradict their own. In this regard, Ball (1994) and Taylor (1997), argue that the intended curriculum can create further contradictions since competing perspectives, agendas and ideologies operate to shape what is taught. In short, the history classroom contexts in which a multitude of perspectives overlap can cause conflict, leaving teachers like me feeling powerless to structure learning around controversial issues (Delpit, 2001).

Considering the above, as a history learner and later a teacher, I have at times felt severely challenged when teaching the official history on apartheid, especially as it relates to land dispossession, when it contradicted the unofficial history of my family as relayed by my grandmother, Sibukeli Angelina Mbokazi. This is where the conflict in me lies – on the one hand official history has been accepted as authentic and reliable but unofficial history has not been recognized as such. Now what is the fear around unofficial history? Kaye (1996), explains that unofficial history is normally feared because of its otherness in terms of ideological and cultural significance. Occasionally, I have found myself having to silence my voice (actually my grandmother's) and only draw on the CAPS-History curriculum and the textbooks while ignoring my grandmother's politically problematic account. In the process I felt torn between the competing official and unofficial history narratives, between my grandmother's oral accounts and the scholarship I have studied and to which I subscribe. Consequently, this reflective teacher's voice articulates the personal challenges that I have faced in the history classroom when confronted with the official history of apartheid, especially as it relates to land dispossession. However, before I tell the story of my conflict, I firstly must place my family and its apartheid era history in the bigger historical picture.

A brief history of land ownership and dispossession in South Africa

Ownership of the land has been in the political foreground in South

Africa of late. In the process current land ownership patterns are presented as a major cause of inequality, insecurity, landlessness, homelessness and poverty (Dlamini, 2016). Land ownership in South Africa has deep historical roots, predating the European settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, and stretching into the present. Key historical time markers in this regard include, but are not restricted to, the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company, the upheavals of the Mfecane and the Great Trek, the creation of the Union of South Africa, and the National Party taking power in 1948 and the implementing of apartheid. Specific legislation related to land ownership includes: The Native Land Act, Act 27 of 1913 (RSA, 1913), the Native Trust and Land Act, Act 18 of 1936 (RSA, 1936), and the Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950 (RSA, 1950) which designated just 13,7 percent of the South Africa to be set aside for Africans (Waldo, 1991). The outlined laws, alongside others, served to dispossess most of the Africans' land and excluded them from access to it (Hanekom, 1998).

Especially pertinent to the conflict I am experiencing between official and unofficial relates to Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950 (RSA, 1950). Urban areas, according to this Act, were to be divided into different racially segregated zones. This meant that members of one race had to live and work in an area particularly allocated to them by the apartheid government (Thompson, 1990). These areas were therefore created for the "exclusive ownership and occupation of a designated group" (Christopher, 1994:105). The Act set a clear tone for separate development. After the enactment of this Act, it then became a criminal offence, for which one could be prosecuted, if found to be living or owning land, without permission, in an area designated for another race other than one's own (Dyzenhaus, 1991).

After the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the release of Nelson Mandela, the National Party (NP) under President FW De Klerk, had the task to put measures in place to remove the racially based laws which characterised the apartheid regime. Many of these laws facilitated land allocation, occupation and user rights. The laws which had to be repealed were outlined earlier (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014). In March 1991, a White Paper on Land Reform was published, which facilitated the repeal of both the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts together with the Group Areas Act. From here onwards, the National Party enacted the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act of 1991. This Act was promulgated to:

> *Repeal or amend certain laws so as to abolish certain restrictions based on race or membership of a specific population group on the acquisition of land and utilization of rights to land; to provide for the rationalization of phasing out of certain racially based institutions and statutory and regulatory systems repealed the majority of discriminatory land laws.*

Subsequent to the above, and the ANC coming to power in 1994, land reform as a policy, in South Africa, had three pillars: land restitution; land redistribution and tenure reform (Dlamini, 2016). Broadly speaking, this policy, intended to "redress the injustices of apartheid; to foster reconciliation and stability; to underpin economic growth; and to improve household welfare and alleviate poverty" (Department of Land Affairs, 1991:i). The continuing distribution of land ownership along racial lines is a well-known phenomenon in South Africa. As a result, land reform in South Africa has been the centre of much debate over the past two decades and many policies have been enacted. However, recently the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), have expressed unapologetically the idea of the expropriation of land without compensation from White owners which they consider will redress the inequalities of the past. To those who share this sentiment the reform of land ownership is one of the ways to redress the land ownership inequalities brought about by the colonial and apartheid eras. In his study Cousins (2016:11) argued that in resolving the land question, policies must aim at redressing "... the long-term legacies of large scale land dispossession that took place both prior to and after the 1913 Natives Land Act, that includes a divided and often dysfunctional space- economy, deep-seated rural poverty and lop-sided power relations in the countryside".

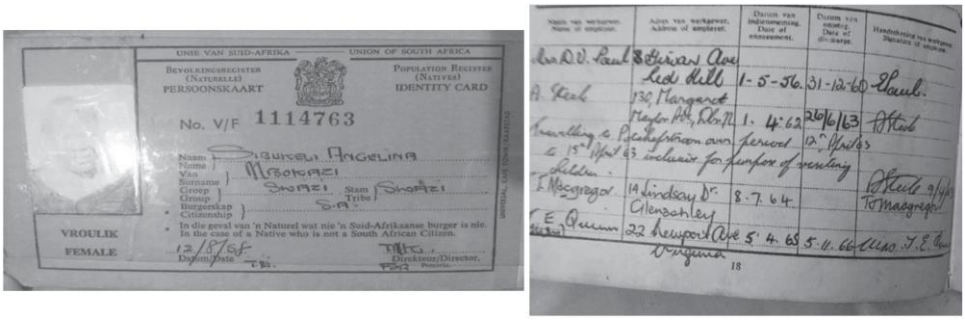
My grandmother and her family's story related to land dispossession

Now how does my grandmother's story relate to the big picture as outlined above? My maternal grandmother's family originally moved from Pongola in the northern parts of Natal (since 1994 known as KwaZulu-Natal), to Durban. More specifically they moved to eMkhumbane (Cato Manor) hoping for better living conditions and employment. eMkhumbane, just to the north of the Berea Ridge, was in close proximity to Durban which made for easy access to the city.

My grandmother secured a job, as a domestic worker, one of the few that was available to Africans at the time. My grandmother was 28 years old and she settled into the life of a domestic worker, a job she did until

she was 60 years old. Being a domestic worker during the apartheid era my grandmother worked for six different families, from the period of 1956-1992, in the Durban areas of Redhill, Durban North; Glen Ashley and La Lucia. In the process she had to carry her "dompas" (see Image 1) to do so. Working for these families, my grandmother "lived in" and would go home only during weekends to visit her two daughters one of which is my mother. Alternatively, they would visit her. My mother left her two daughters in the care of their grandmother (my grandmother) in eMkhumbane.

Image 1: My grandmother's reference book (dompas) showing the year when she started working as a domestic worker and a page some of the families that she worked for signed



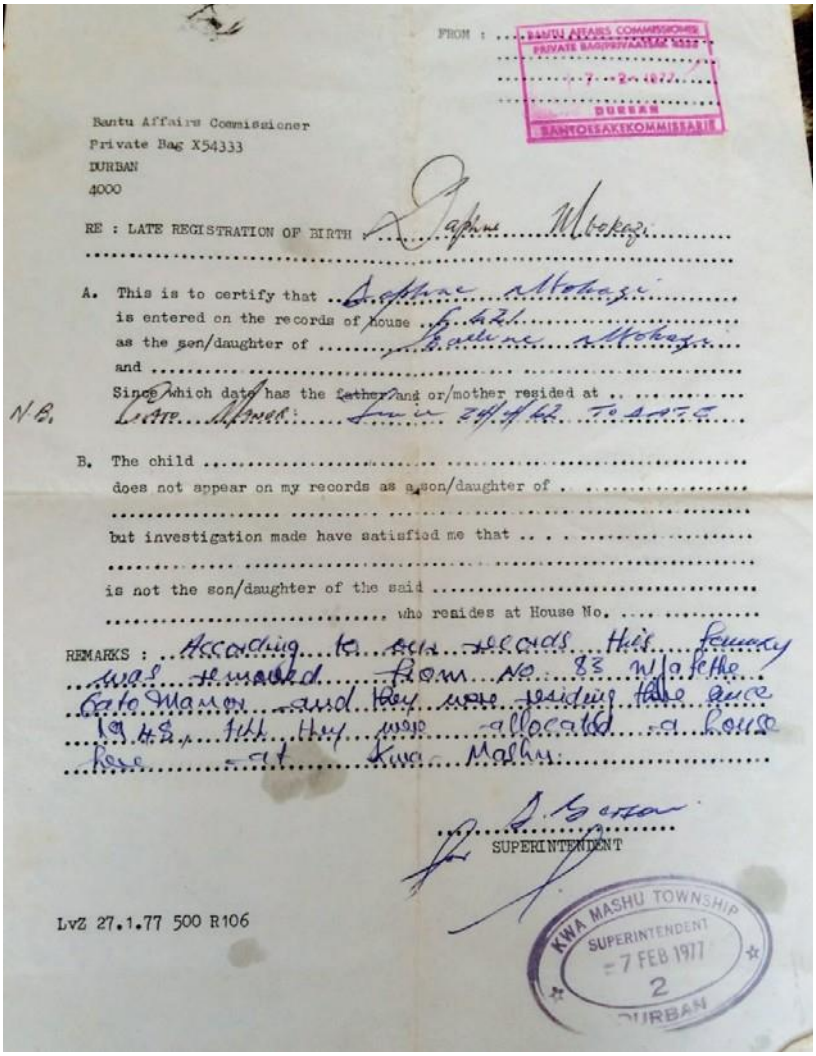
Source: Author's personal collection.

My grandmother and her family lived in eMkhumbane for more than 15 years, when the Group Areas Act of 1950 was enforced (see Image 2). Subsequently, my grandmother and her family were removed and placed in a newly constituted township far outside of Durban, named after Marshall Campbell, called KwaMashu. When people were removed to KwaMashu, there were two household types they could be allocated: a two-room or a four-room house. This all depended on family type. If a person was single, he/she was assigned a two-room house and if a person was married, he/she was placed in a four-room house. My grandmother was not married, although, she had two daughters. However, within the law, she qualified for a two-room house, a tiny house that had one room for the bedroom and the second room could be for the kitchen, lounge, dining room or a toilet- an inhumane housing environment that would not be suitable for three or more people.

In the context of the above my grandmother explained that "working in",

was better than going home every day as this would allow her to assist her daughter's needs more readily as she saved on transport and other costs. Image 2 shows the letter that states that my grandmother and her daughter (Daphne Mbokazi, my mother) were removed from Cato Manor and placed in KwaMashu. Being placed in KwaMashu and allocated firstly a two-room and later a four-room house (more about how that happened will be explained lower down), ameliorated life for my grandmother's family.

Image 2: Letter from Bantu Affairs Commissions to my grandmother on their removal from eMkhumbane to KwaMashu



FROM : BANTU AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER PRIVATE BAG/PRIVAATSAK X54333 7-2-1977 DURBAN BANTOESAKEKOMMISSARIS

Bantu Affairs Commissioner
Private Bag X54333
DURBAN
4000

RE : LATE REGISTRATION OF BIRTH Daphne Mbokazi

A. This is to certify that Daphne Mbokazi
is entered on the records of house [illegible]
as the son/daughter of [illegible] Mbokazi
and
Since which date has the father and or/mother resided at
N.B. Cato Manor from 24/4/62 To [illegible]

B. The child
does not appear on my records as a son/daughter of
but investigation made have satisfied me that
is not the son/daughter of the said
who resides at House No.

REMARKS : According to our records this family was removed from No. 83 [illegible] Cato Manor and they were residing there since 1948, till they were allocated a house here at Kwa Mashu.

SUPERINTENDENT

LvZ 27.1.77 500 R106

KWA MASHU TOWNSHIP SUPERINTENDENT 7 FEB 1977 2 DURBAN

Source: Author's personal collection.

When apartheid ended and the land reform process started, my grandmother submitted the supported documents (see Image 2) to lodge a land claim. My grandmother lodged a claim in 1995 (four years after I was born) at the land claims court, with the hope of getting "their land back". However, nothing transpired that met her needs. The state thought it would meet her needs, because my grandmother was offered R6000 or a piece of land on the outskirts of Dundee, by the Department of Land Affairs. My grandmother refused both offers, because to her, she was removed to Durban, and wanted a piece of land in Durban and not in Northern Natal. So, my grandmother waited, waited until the year she passed away in 2011 with her land claim being unresolved. When my grandmother passed away, my mother took over, and to this day, my mother has been waiting for land restoration, as stated in the three pillars of land reform.

Although land reform policies have been put in place to redress the inequalities of the past, this policy has failed my grandmother as her land claim has not been resolved. When the policy was put in place the government underestimated the process of land reform (Hall, 2004a). The policy was good on paper but hard to implement which makes me wonder, how many land claims have been resolved. I believe the ongoing call for land expropriation would not be happening if claims had been resolved and people who were dispossessed had received "some piece of land back".

My oral history project

Growing up in the township of KwaMashu to where my mother and grandmother were removed and being schooled at Northlands Girls High in a former White suburb, made me wonder why my neighbourhood was not like the one in which I was schooled. I always questioned why the houses in KwaMashu were small, clustered, looked the same and had facilities such as the bathroom and toilets outside which were so different from the houses where I schooled. However, whenever I would raise such questions my parents were always reluctant to give me answers. This is because topics such as apartheid, the laws and legislation of apartheid were never discussed in my household. It was not explained that the present-day effects of apartheid laws and legislation are still visible in the racial territorial divisions within South Africa. Therefore, the historical legacy of land dispossessions and relocations that resulted in most Africans becoming landless and poor were not spoken about (Harley & Fotheringham, 1999;

Department of Land Affairs, 1996).

At school, despite me having a wonderful history teacher, learning about the laws and legislation of apartheid made me feel resentful. I hated every bit of the section on apartheid, because I would always imagine myself in that situation, relating to growing up under apartheid and trying to make a living. I hated it when my teacher showed us videos, reading us sources and giving us work related to apartheid. So, when we had to do an oral history project on apartheid, I dreaded the whole assignment. Then, I did not know that my grandmother's story would not fit neatly into what I was taught in my history classroom. My grandmother's story left me torn, conflicted and confused, and I still am all of these.

When the interview started, I was angry, resentful and even hated everything that every Black African person had to endure under apartheid. That is how I felt based on what I was taught in my history lessons. As a Grade 12 learner to me all White people were bad, and all Black people endured pain and suffering. This is what I hoped my grandmother would echo, but she did not have one bad thing to say about her life under apartheid. However, I was left in amazement: "How could you not be angry, I am sure you must feel some umbrage towards everything you went through?", I asked her. My grandmother throughout the interview, had no bad thing to say about any families that she worked for. I found it strange that she did not feel any resentment or anger, and was able to clarify why she did not feel any anger. In her words, "*Mtanami*, the apartheid system was that a system, the families I worked for were people, people that considered my feelings, and made sure that my children were well looked after. How could I hate people that assisted me?"

There was one family in particular that held a special place in my grandmother's heart, the family she worked for, during the period of 1967-1976, in La Lucia (see Image 3). During the oral history interview, this was the family she referred to the most, the family that she regarded as family.

Image 3: My grandmother, Sibukeli Angelina Mbokazi, and her employer on the left and a friend on the right

Source: Author's personal collection.

Now why would my grandmother say this? Possibly the reason could be found in her relationship with her employer from La Lucia who she regarded as "family". With the assistance of my grandmother's employee (Image 3), a four-room house, which offered much better living conditions, was secured. The four-room houses consisted of two bedrooms, a kitchen and a lounge. However, the housing situation was not the only assistance that my grandmother received from her employer. Since my grandmother "lived in" and only returned home during weekends, she would take home all kinds of books for my mother and aunt to read. My mother always states that this is how she learnt to read and write. This support contributed to my mother finishing matric in 1975 and going on to study Social Work at the University of Zululand, where she obtained her Honours Degree in Social Work. Because of my grandmother's employer and the constant giving of books, my mother, Daphne Mbokazi, adopted a love for reading and learning and wanting to change her situation. She had an urge to become better and move-up in life. Hence, whenever my mother looks at the photo (Image 3) she is always filled with gratitude for my grandmother's employer. Additionally, my grandmother's employer allowed her to sell "homemade beer" from their home, to the other domestic workers and

gardeners who lived or worked in the area. Although this was not allowed by law, my grandmother's employer allowed her to do so anyway.

This interview, happened more than ten years ago but I still remember her voice, her words and her calmness. I suppose, if all you have known was the apartheid system, some people choose not to fight it and choose to settle and make the most of the life given to them. However, what really irked me was that my grandmother, and she referred to it throughout the interview, as a failed system, was the failed attempts post-1994 to get her dispossessed land returned.

Thinking about and living with my grandmother's story

As a learner being taught the official narrative of apartheid, left me confused as different perspectives of apartheid, which excluded the unofficial views that depict some of the positives that my grandmother had informed me about, were not presented. Consequently, what was revealed to me during the interview left me confused, in disbelief and although it might sound strange, grateful. During the interview my grandmother proclaimed that apartheid was "not as bad as they made it to be". Whenever I thought of these words, I have to wonder … how could she say "not as bad as what I was taught within the classroom" by my very competent history teacher? Who was she referring to when she said "they"? For a good ten years after the interview with my grandmother, when people spoke about how bad apartheid was, I usually did not comment, nor did I want to voice what was told to me by her. I feared that if I did, people would think I was in favour of apartheid. So, where did I stand? This contradiction between official and unofficial history created much confusion and conflict within me as my grandmother's "historical truth" did not make sense to me and definitely did not match the official truth I learnt about in history and what I saw while living in Kwa-Mashu. I had after all explained to her that I was waiting for a perspective that would support what was taught within the history classroom. When this did not happen, I was initially critical of what I was taught within the history classroom, and I had questions about historical voices that were muted. This is because the perspectives I were taught had omitted my grandmother's voice. I questioned what ideologies the textbook as the programmatic curriculum was promoting which made me speculate where the unofficial narratives were within the curriculum. It made me question where my grandmother's voice was. However, despite my scepticism I decided to become a history teacher.

In reflecting on my grandmother's story over time I realized that it is difficult to unlearn what I was taught within my history classroom, and its it is equally difficult to ignore that Black Africans endured tremendous pain and suffering during the apartheid regime. However, my grandmother's story made me hate the apartheid past less, I no longer feel the bitterness or resentment that I used to feel. I am even grateful for the assistance my grandmother received from the people she has worked for and also take cognisance of my grandmother's words that "it was a system and we had to live in it, a system that can never be erased or forgotten." These words are especially sobering to me as they provided me with historical distance to reflect on the troubled past that I must teach. However, I will never quite be able to eradicate my grandmother's story as it is, despite her not wanting to say so, part of the apartheid era history of forced removals and having to carry a dompas and being patronised by her well- meaning White employers. Seeing the bigger picture has partially silenced my grandmother's story but it remains in my head as someone who now has to teach the official history as found in the curriculum and textbooks and my grandmother's voice constantly reminds me that there is more than one perspective and that unofficial history is important. Hence, I find solace in Lieberman (2006,) who reasons that to understand the paradox of competing histories (conflicting perspectives), it is useful to look closely at national narratives and then to analyse the role of national narratives in generating conflict and disharmony among people.

In conclusion, I was grateful, by means of this article, to reflect, recall, ponder and evaluate my experiences as they relate to unofficial and official history as they relate to apartheid and forced removals (Freese, 2010). As argued by Zwozdiak-Myers (2012), teachers who are keen to expand their professional practice are persistently asking questions which motivates commitment to unceasingly learn and create or find new ideas. Hopefully I will keep on doing so.

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Book Reviews

The struggle for #FeesMustFall: We are no longer at ease

(Jacana Media, 2019, 201 pp. ISBN 978-1-4314-2678-2)

Wandile Ngcaweni & Busani Ngcaweni

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Picture a room filled with young voices lamenting, unabated and with no apology, concerns that many listeners and observers seem to have not begun to understand. This is what reading this book feels like. Edited by Wandile Ngcaweni and Busani Ngcaweni, the book encapsulates the writers' exhalations right from the foreword which cites Fanon's rationalisation of confrontation: "we revolt simply because, for many reasons, we can no longer breathe" (p. xi). Contextualising the #FeesMustFall Movement within global and historical dynamics, the foreword of this book espouses the notion that each generation at its youth has a purpose to serve for the greater good by contending that, "Young people have always been at the forefront of recent struggle" (p. xi). The struggle identified in the book relates to issues that entangle the notion of South Africa as a Rainbow Nation, such as the postcolonial condition of South Africa, the state of democracy and inequalities grounded in racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia, amongst others.

Structurally, the book is a four-part collection of poems and essays that comprehensively catalogue perspectives on the dynamics of the #FeesMustFall Movement. Part One entails the theorisation of the movement. The writings in this section boldly challenge what many have failed to challenge: a response to a privilege. Tlhabane Dan Motaung's essay locates the movement as non-partisan, expressing loss of faith in politicians as the drivers of the now imagined revolution. Adam Buch adds significantly to the discourse, writing as an insider on the topic of "white privilege" tackling uncomfortable truths regarding how, because of their privilege, many white people struggle to positively participate in the discourses of decolonialism in the dynamic South African space. Motaung performs the daunting task of untangling the misconceptions

on the #FeesMustFall Movement through an engagement with different theories relevant to understanding the movement.

Furthermore, Part One reveals the different faces of frustrations and challenges that the South African youth met throughout the #FeesMustFall protests. Without mincing words, Qhama Bona shows the inextricable link between the frustrations stemming from the failed promises of 1994 – such as the crisis of unemployment – and the challenges being confronted by the #FeesMustFall Movement. Qhama Bona lays the blame squarely on "1994 government and the white monopoly capital that still controls most of the country's economy" (p.48). Bona further warns that the condition of the black South African youth is a brooding cloud which he foresees as a perfect recipe for social upheaval if the elite continue to ignore it. This helps to position the #FeesMustFall movement within a broader, national #MustFallMovement, thus showing how this movement will leave an indelible mark on South African history. Therefore, the book firmly establishes that the movement was not a mindless upheaval of reckless students.

Part Two engages with some of the limitations of the movement. One such limitation is the social marginalisation that was manifested throughout the student-led protests. For example, the patriarchy that transcended the microcosm of the protests in South African universities is well captured by the different voices from women's and the LGBTQA+ community. The book also explains intersectionality as a branch of feminism in the space of politics and how it applies to leadership even in the space of student politics. Kneo Mokgopa shows how universities are a microcosm of the society, and how involving the different communities such as the Feminist and LGBTQA+ can dilute hypermasculinity.

Conceptualising the movement as "Fallist," Part Three and Part Four come full circle to what the movement means and the discourses which it continues to propel from the points of view of both individuals and the South African institutions of higher learning. Overall, the section offers sincere insights through the lenses of those who have basked in their thoughts and considered the ideas on the Fallist movement.

While this book serves as a valuable and relevant collection for a rational perspective on the birth of the Fallist movement, an opportunity was missed. The Black Consciousness philosophy is not adequately used as a theoretical framework for the writings, yet the Black Consciousness

Movement continues to hugely inform the struggle of the post-apartheid South African.

Nevertheless, the book is a commendable read for the youth who wish to contribute meaningfully to their generational call. It is also for those who have longed to understand the fuss behind the Fallist movement. It challenges those who have doubted the intellectual ability of post-apartheid South African youth to contribute to the philosophical space.

Poverty, politics & policy in South Africa. Why has poverty persisted after apartheid?

(Jacana Media, Division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, South Africa: University of Cape Town, 2016., 333 pp. ISBN 978-1-4314-2426-9)

Jeremy Seekings & Nicoli Nattrass

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The basis of this book by Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Nattrass is to unravel why poverty has persisted in South Africa ever since the advent of democracy in 1994. The authors provide a class analysis in identifying who has and has not remained poor, how public policies reproduced poverty and why these policies were adopted. They conclude that the discourses of the South African welfare state, labour market policies and the growth path challenges of South African economy can be attributed to neo-liberalism.

This book has eleven chapters. However, my review stresses the chapters that are most important for proper conceptualisation of the persistence of poverty in South Africa. At the outset, the authors engage the concepts of neo-liberalism and social democracy and map out why they should be considered as the reason for the prevalence of poverty. Neo-liberal ideology is argued to be rested on the power of international and, to a lesser extent, domestic capital.

The illustration of the effects of neo-liberal ideology is revealed through the side-lining of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic strategy in 1996. Seekings and Nattrass view GEAR to be a neo-colonial project that sought to replace white capital with black

capital, using revolutionary sounding phrases as a way of soliciting sympathy from the working class, while usurping the power of the working class for the benefit of white capital. The book criticises the South African political milieu for having an economy that was growing at 3%, yet, instead of ensuring greater participation in the mainstream economy through genuine ownership and redistribution, they introduced Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and their blackness as a tool to shame white people into giving them shares.

The authors further argue that social democracy is a highly heterogeneous concept. At its loosest, it embraces any positions that advocate interventions in the market economy to reduce inequality and promote social justice whilst working through the institutions of representative democracy and rejecting revolutionary strategies. Simply put, in theory South Africa's social democracy appeared progressive, yet it was indebted to the discourses of liberalism. The critique is extended to political parties around the world that claim to be socialist democratic on this basis, and affiliate to the socialist international, but they cannot show evidence of real commitment to social justice.

This book offers an insight into poverty amidst affluence by illustrating how poverty persisted despite steady economic growth and growing affluence of a few. It shows how, in 1994, poverty rates were higher in South Africa than almost any other middle -income country, with only Brazil having a similar poverty rate. The authors do not limit the explanation of poverty to present-day government policies. They also provide historical explanations, based on three historical facts. Firstly, they argue that Africans were dispossessed of their land through Apartheid. As a result, the last vestiges of an independent African peasantry had been destroyed, both on white owned farms and in Bantustans. Secondly, they contend that working-age adults were unemployed for both personal and economy-wide reasons: they probably lacked the skills, credentials or connections required to get work in an economy with shrinking opportunities for less-skilled workers. Thirdly, the authors explain that African households had no claims on the state, in that none of their members were eligible for government grants. The main argument is therefore that both poverty and affluence were, in large part, the consequence of the Apartheid distributional regime-that is, of the combination of growth path and public policies.

The book further shows that with the historical imbalances in place, there was no political will to eradicate poverty except revolutionary sounding phrases with no implementation. Some of the implementations they suggest are that welfare states support citizens' income through distinct mechanisms such as social insurance, which entails state-run contributory schemes that pool risk within groups of working people, providing some combination of pension in old age and grants in the event of sickness, disability or unemployment.

The last significant chapter is titled, "The welfare state, public service and social wage". The book shows how, through the neo-liberal path taken by both central and local government, houses were built by private developers, municipal services outsourced to contractors, while municipal government emphasised cost delivery. It also shows how the better public schools charged substantial fees, and the private health care sector absorbed a small minority of the population.

Having read the book, the reader gets a good picture of the reasons for the persistence of poverty in South Africa. The authors' combination of the retrogressive historical factors and the present-day government policy and implementation provides a balanced explanation for poverty. However, as much as the post-apartheid government should be criticised, it should be noted that countries that have strong social policies have high levels of savings. For example, China has up to 50% of savings of their GDP. Yet the new post-1994 government was bankrupt and had to service the massive debt it inherited from the Apartheid government. Such a situation should, therefore, be considered as one of the significant historical factors that made the establishment of a social democracy almost impracticable.

The book by Seekings and Nattrass deals with a critical issue in contemporary South Africa. It relates to how the colonial division of South African society into citizens (whites) and subjects (blacks) persists in the post-apartheid era because of the failure of the decolonisation process (Mamdani, 1996). This book is a worthwhile read in providing an overview of South Africa's welfare since the advent of democracy and anyone who wishes to understand post-apartheid South Africa from a historical perspective should consider reading it. It is a useful resource in understanding how historical change tends to be always associated with some form of continuity.

The Department of Humanities Education, Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria is proud to host the 33rd SASHT & the 3rd AHE-AFRIKA conference

Thursday 26 and Friday 27 September 2019

HISTORY EDUCATION AND THE STATE

AHE-AFRIKA
African Association for History Education

SASHT
South African Society for History Teaching

The 33rd South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) and the 3rd African Association for History Education (AHE-Afrika) 2019 joint conference will be held on Thursday 26th and Friday 27th September 2019 at the Department of Humanities Education, Groenkloof Campus, University of Pretoria

The **African Association for History Education (AHE-Afrika**) and the **South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)**, in partnership with the **Department of Humanities Education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria**, are pleased to announce a two-day international conference titled **'HISTORY EDUCATION AND THE STATE'**. The occurrence will be the second of two consecutive and closely intertwined events: it will follow a one-day international research seminar jointly organised by AHE-Afrika and the International Research Association for History and Social Sciences Education (IRAHSSE), which will take place at the University of Pretoria on 25 September 2019.

HISTORY EDUCATION AND THE STATE

It is no secret that the state plays a dominant role in what is taught to a country's future citizens on account of the power of education to shape views and identities. This is particularly true for History, a school subject whose content and pedagogy many governments around the world wish to define and control. Historically, curriculum development and implementation, and textbooks as the programmatic curriculum, have been preferred areas of state involvement in History Education.

The content, aims, pedagogies and assessments characterising a History curriculum are often the choice of those in power and cannot be understood in isolation from the political context. Selecting curricular content to include or exclude, and to foreground or background, is a filtering process that largely amounts to a political act often driven by vested interests and ideologies. It involves, among other things, questions of historical significance and objectivity, and contestations revolving around which historical narrative will serve the purpose put forward by the state.

Extant research has pointed to cases where state intervention in History Education has involved the crafting and uncritical transmission of dogmatic grand-narratives that celebrate and legitimise those in power by selectively and, at times, maliciously drawing on the past at the expense of internal or external 'enemies', thereby fuelling or deepening intra- or inter-state tensions. It has however also pointed to cases, notably in post-conflict societies, where School History has been rewritten to reckon with a violent past and thus signal a break with a curriculum that may have played a role in perpetuating conflict, with a view to ultimately promoting reconciliation and social cohesion. Regardless of intentions, the act of selecting 'significant' events raises issues of subjectivity: addressing previously forgotten or silenced histories may lead to newly defined 'insignificant' histories to becoming new silent voices.

In some contexts, notably in South Africa, content knowledge reform has been accompanied by a move away from a type of History assessment heavily relying on the memorisation of facts and dates and that is tantamount to indoctrination, to practices that aim to favour historical thinking skills. Such moves away from History Education as a 'memory- discipline' towards a more progressive conceptualisation as 'disciplinary-discipline' have however often remained elusive, partly as the result of an evident state preoccupation with perpetuating its power and influence on young citizens' minds.

We call for a closer examination of the role and implications of states' political agenda and ideologies in the development and implementation of History curricula in Africa and in comparison with countries around the world. The conference aims to cover a variety of topics exploring the links between History Education and the state, and their multifarious manifestations in curricula, textbooks, pedagogy and classroom practices, teacher education at primary, secondary and tertiary level, assessment as well as history education in informal settings. We welcome historical, theoretical and empirical studies, and individual cases and comparative analyses that draw upon different contexts, theories and methods to shed new light on questions that relate to the general conference theme.

NB. Although the focus of the conference will be on **HISTORY EDUCATION AND THE STATE**, all papers related to History Education will be welcomed.

CONFERENCE PARTICULARS

VENUE: Aldoel Building, Department of Humanities Education, Faculty of Education, Groenkloof Campus, Leyds Street, Pretoria, South Africa

THEME: History Education and the State

DATE: Thursday 26 and Friday 27 September 2019 – 9:00-17:00 on each day

CONFERENCE COCKTAIL DINNER: Thursday 26 September 2019

CLOSING SUBMISSION DATE: 1 August 2019. We do, however, encourage applicants to submit their abstracts as soon as possible. Applications will be reviewed on a rolling basis and notifications of their acceptance or rejection will be sent within 3 working days.

WORKING LANGUAGE: English

REGISTRATION FEES
The following fees apply:

- South African and International Academics – R1500.00
- Teachers – R1200.00
- Postgraduate students (proof needs to be provided) – R1200.00
- All other attendees – R1500.00

The fees will cover lunch on Thursday and Friday, morning and afternoon tea, and one dinner cocktail on Thursday evening. All travel expenses, accommodation and additional meals are to be covered by the attendees. For an additional fee of 50 US$/R750, participants will be able to also register for the one-day pre-conference research seminar 'Towards decolonising teaching and research: Perspectives and experiences in history and social sciences education' that will take place at the same venue on 25 September 2019 (see the accompanying AHE-AFRIKA/IRAHSSE CFPs).

Please note: Even if accepted, no abstract will be included in the final programme if full payment of the registration fees has not been received by 23 August 2019.

BANK DETAILS
ABSA Bank, Centurion Branch, Branch Code 630445, Account Name, SASHT, Account Number 678209406, Swift Code ABSAZAJJ. Reference: Your surname 2019.

Proof of payment must be emailed to: denise.bentrovato@up.ac.za and u13066120@up.ac.za

HOW TO SUBMIT A PROPOSAL

Prospective presenters should submit abstracts of no more than 250 words, with 3 keywords, together with a brief biography of no more than 100 words. Applications should be sent as a single Word document (file name: last name, first name) with the subject line 'History Education Conference 2019' to denise.bentrovato@up.ac.za and u13066120@up.ac.za. Please, use MS-Word, Arial 12pt font, 1.5 spacing, and indicate clearly the type of presentation proposed:

1. **Individual paper** — 20 minutes, plus 10-minute question and discussion time
2. **Panel** — 45-60 minutes
3. **Workshop** — 45-60 minutes
4. **Poster** — Posters will be displayed in a public area and time programmed for a 5-10 minute discussion during a gallery walk-about

PLANNED PUBLICATION

We strongly encourage participants to prepare their papers with a view to possible publication in the SASHT accredited journal, *Yesterday & Today* (See examples of *Yesterday & Today* articles at http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/handle/10394/5126).

ENQUIRIES

For any enquiries, please contact Dr Denise Bentrovato denise.bentrovato@up.ac.za

Prof Johan Wassermann and Dr Denise Bentrovato (conference organisers)

Occasionally the SASHT Executive requests that the SASHT constitution is displayed in an Yesterday&Today edition to inform and/or update their members. Members are invited to request a review of any section of the SASHT constitution at an SASHT General Meeting. Prior consent of a section review must be received in written form by the Secretariat of the SASHT or the Chairperson/vice Chairperson of the SASHT (see communication details in the SASHT AGM-minute)

SASHT Constitution

The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)

(An Association of History Educators, Organisations, Publishers and People interested in History Teaching as well as the educational dissemination of historical research and knowledge)

1. CONSTITUTION

1.1 There shall be constituted a body known as the SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING (SASHT). The provisions herein contained shall be known as the Constitution of the Society, which provisions may be altered by a majority of those members present at a general meeting of members, considering that:

1.1.1 the precise terms of any proposed alteration shall be set out in a notice prior to convening the meeting and/or Circulated to members via electronic medium at least a month before the meeting;

1.1.22 the purpose and objects of the Society shall not be altered without the consent of 66% of the members (via electronic medium and formally communicated/confirmed at the AGM that follows the approved/disapproved alteration.

2. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Society (since date of founding in 1986) shall be to assist its members in every possible way and in particular:

2.1 To improve the contact between educators of History training at tertiary level and teachers in the broad educational field.

2.2 To renew a training in the didactics of History education.

2.3 To utilise the expertise of educators teaching History to assist with the training of future History teachers.

2.4 To continuously debate the content of basic and advanced educational programmes in the training of History educators with the intention to continue to improve quality.

2.5 To make history educators and student teachers aware of the relationship between History as an academic discipline and the didactics and teaching of History at school level in order to keep abreast with educational development and academic debates.

2.6. To encourage educators of History to strive towards achieving and sustaining high academic standards in the teaching methodology and in the general knowledge of History as a discipline.

2.7 To make educators of History and student teachers in History aware of the relevance or "value" of History for communities and the nation at large.

2.8 To explore, if the SASHT grows in membership, the idea of identifying and organising committees that can explore and develop certain fields in History to benefit all the educators of History in South Africa.

3. MEMBERSHIP

3.1 Membership shall consist of three types:

3.1.1 Individual membership (History educators or other academically-focused members from institutions) who are fully paid up members of the Society (Annual fees will be determined by the Executive each year and communicated timeously to members and potential members). The individual members representing an educational, institution will be eligible to vote or serve on the SASHT Executive and any committees/portfolios, and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the peer reviewed and DHET-indexed reviewed SASHT- connected Journal, *Yesterday&Today*.

3.1.2 Group membership (schools, academic institutions, private organisations & publishers): Will pay an annual membership fee determined by the Executive Committee on a yearly basis which will include a membership provision of more than one individual. These members will be eligible to vote but not all be eligible to serve on the committees. Electronic correspondence will be received as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected *Yesterday&Today* Journal obtained.

3.1.3 Individual membership outside the borders of South Africa: Will pay the annual fee as determined by the Executive Committee in Rand or in another currency as indicated on the SASHT membership form.

The individual members outside the borders of South Africa will be eligible to vote but not serve on the Executive Committee (these members could serve on other commit-

tees as occasionally identified, as well as on the *Yesterday&Today* editorial board) and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected Journal, *Yesterday&Today*.

3.2 The following persons are eligible as members of the Society:

3.2.1 any History educator/organisation/publisher who subscribes to the objectives of the Society; and

3.2.2 is approved by the Executive Committee as a member.

3.3 Any member may resign by notice to the chairperson, the vice chairperson or the secretariat/treasurer.

3.4 Membership will be held confidential, and it is up to individual members to disclose his or her membership to the general public.

4. MANAGEMENT

4.1 The interests of the Society shall be managed by at least a ten-member Executive Committee consisting of a chairperson, a vice chairperson (when required), a secretariat and a treasurer (this position can also be combined into a secretary-treasurer position) and six to seven additional members as portfolio members and/or regional representatives. These members in the leading position of the SASHT shall hold the respective positions for a maximum of three years, after which they may be re-elected at an annual general meeting (usually to be held in September-October). Two additional members (the guest hosting a conference during the following year and a History educator abroad) may be nominated.

The temporary Executive member hosting the next conference may be nominated fully on the Executive as well, but if not he/she only has a temporary executive position to smooth the conference organization process with efficient communication.

4.2 An election of new Executive Committee members for the SASHT Executive during every third Annual General SASHT meeting should be conducted by one of the SASHT members or an executive member who has been nominated to undertake the task (and not the current chairperson or vice chairperson).

4.3 A process of nomination and election becomes necessary if Executive Committee members have served a three-year term. Both new nominees and retiring committee members are eligible for re-nominating in a re-election. Electing the new SASHT Executive of 10 members through Internet will be conducted at least two weeks prior to an annual SASHT conference. The secretariat manages the term of office of the SASHT Executive, sends out notifications to retiring/re-election status members and invites new nominations, to be done formally and on a standard SASHT nomination form.

4.4 Only fully paid-up members of the SASHT (and preferably only one member per institution in the Society having served in the Society for at least one year) are eligible for election as Executive Committee members. A nominator of a nominee and the seconder (inclusive of the nominee) must all be paid-up members of the SASHT.

The newly elected SASHT Executive from the nominations received will be formally revealed during an annual AGM meeting of the SASHT.

From the ten nominees, fully elected by secret vote and accepted, the positions of chairperson and vice chairperson should be voted for by the newly elected SASHT Executive Committee. This voting process will normally be done after the AGM meeting in the year of election.

4.5 The SASHT Executive Committee may co-opt a member to the Committee in the event of a vacancy occurring for the remaining period of the term of office of the person who vacated the position OR the opening of a vacancy due to any other reason and with the consent of the rest of the SASHT Executive.

4.6 The Executive Committee of the Society may appoint sub-committees as it deems fit.

4.7 Each sub-committee or portfolio of the Executive Committee shall be chaired by a committee member and may consist of so many members as the committee may decide from time to time.

4.8 A sub-committee may co-opt any SASHT member to such sub-committee or portfolio.

5. MEETINGS

5.1 Executive Committee Meetings

5.1.1 Committee meetings shall be convened by the secretariat/secretary-treasurer on the instructions of the chairperson or vice-chairperson or when four committee members jointly and in writing apply for such a meeting to be convened. Three committee members shall form a quorum. Most of the correspondence will be done via e-mail.

5.1.2 SASHT Executive Committee meetings will take place BEFORE an annual SASHT conference and AFTER the conference.

5.1.3 Committee decisions shall take place by voting. In the event of the voting being equal, the chairperson shall have a casting vote.

5.1.4 Should a committee member absent himself from two successive committee meetings without valid reason and/or not replying twice on e-mail requests in decision making, he/she shall forfeit his/her committee membership.

5.2 General Meetings

5.2.1 The Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Society shall take place during the annual SASHT Conference.

5.2.2 A special general meeting may be convened by the Executive Committee upon the receipt of a signed, written request of at least ten registered members of the Society which request must be accompanied by a full motivation for requesting such a meeting.

5.3 The Executive Committee may call a general meeting as it deems fit.

5.4 The following procedures shall apply to all general meetings:

5.4.1 A minimum of ten members will form a quorum. In the absence of such a quorum, the members present may adjourn the meeting for a period of seven days where the members present at the adjourned date will automatically constitute a quorum.

5.4.2 Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

5.5 Finances

5.5.1 All the income of the Society shall be deposited in an account at a bank and/or other approved financial institution. One to two members, consisting of either the chairperson and/or the vice-chairperson and/or the secretary-treasurer if so arranged, shall be empowered to withdraw and deposit funds for the use of/on behalf of the Society.

5.5.2 Any amount that must be withdrawn, and exceeds the amount of R3 000 should beforehand be properly communicated among the two to three empowered Executive members (namely the chairperson, the vice chairperson and, if a position of treasurer exists, the treasurer). All these aforesaid empowered executive members should be able to exercise their signing right (to withdraw and deposit funds) on behalf of the SASHT in the absence of a/the treasurer, but with the consent and approval of the core SASHT Executive.

5.5.3 Proper accounts shall be kept of all finances of the Society as set out in the regulations published in terms of the Fundraising Act, 1978.

5.5.4 A financial report shall be produced by the Executive or Secretary-treasurer (the latter if appointed as such) at the annual general meeting or upon request from the SASHT Executive Committee. Otherwise a full general account at least should be provided in the Chairperson's report.

5.5.5 Financial contributions will be collected from all persons and/or organisations, worldwide, which support the objectives of the Society.

5.5.6 Guest SASHT conference organiser(s)/Society member involved, shall be accountable for transferring the remaining income obtained from organising an annual conference into the SASHT bank account, as part of the effort to strengthen the SASHT's financial capacity. Any contributions, towards the covering of conference expenses by the Society are on a strictly voluntary basis.

6. RIGHT TO VOTE

Each individual subscribed member (and one member of a subscribed institution) has one vote at any meeting.

7. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Any amendment to this Constitution shall only be effected by a two-thirds majority decision at a general meeting or via proper E-mail communication prior to a general meeting; or a special general meeting, and further provided that seven days' prior notice was given of the proposed amendment.

Notice is to be given in the same manner as a notice for a general meeting.

8. DISSOLUTION

8.1 The Society may dissolve, or merge, with any other association with a similar purpose and objectives in each case only:

8.1.1 On a resolution passed by the majority of members present at a duly constituted general or special general meeting of members; or

8.1.2 On an application to a court of law by any member on the ground that the Society has become dormant or is unable to fulfil its purpose and objectives,

8.1.3 On a merger, the assets of the Society shall accrue to the Society/Association with which the merger is affected.

8.1.4 On dissolution, the assets of the Society shall be realised by a liquidator appointed by the general meeting or the court, as the case may be, and the proceeds shall be distributed equally amongst such Societies/Associations with similar objectives as may be nominated by the last Executive Committee of the Society.

9. MISCELLANEOUS

9.1 Every Executive member/ordinary member of the Society shall be entitled at all reasonable times to inspect all books of account and other documents of the Society which the custodian thereof shall accordingly be obliged to produce.

The Yesterday & Today (Y&T) Journal for History Teaching in South Africa and abroad

Editorial policy

1. Y&T is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal (accredited since the beginning of 2012).

2. The Y&T journal is a journal for research in especially the fields of History teaching and History discipline research to improve not only the teaching, but also the knowledge dissemination of History, History of Education and History in Education. The Journal is currently editorially managed by the University of Pretoria and published under the auspices of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT).

3. Contributions may be either in the humanities (historically based theoretical discourses), or from education (best practice workshops, or focused content research with a fundamental theoretical basis reflecting History or other histories). Articles, in which interdisciplinary collaborations between the humanities and education are explored, are also welcome.

4. Regional content mostly considers quantitative and qualitative research in Southern Africa, but international contributions, that apply to History teaching and research in general, are equally welcome.

5. Authors may submit individual contributions or contributions created in teams.

6. All manuscripts are subjected to a double-blinded review process.

7. The language of the journal is English. However, abstracts may be in any of the 11 official languages of South Africa.

8. Contributions must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words.

9. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 20 words.

10. The names of authors and their full institutional affiliations/addresses must accompany all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their telephone and E-mail and postal addresses and orchid numbers.

11. The Harvard or the Footnote methods of reference may be used (see the last pages of the journal for the reference guidelines for more detail on the Harvard and Footnote reference methods). 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 Y&T guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed. The guidelines for referencing according to the Harvard method are provided on the

last pages of the journal. The most recent Yesterday&Today journal articles could also serve as guideline.

12. 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.

13. Articles should be submitted to the editor (Professor Johan Wassermann) electronically at: Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za Notification of the receipt of the documents will be done within 72 hours.

14. The text format must be in 12pt font, Times New Roman and in 1.5 spacing. The text should be in Microsoft Word format.

15. The length of articles should preferably not exceed 8 000 words.

16. Articles which have been published previously, or which are under consideration for publication elsewhere, may not be submitted to the Yesterday&Today journal. Copies of the Journal is also electronically available on the SASHT website at www.sashtw.org.za and on the Scielo platform at www.scielo.org.za

17. For scientific research articles, page fees of R220.00 per page (for 10 pages R2 200) will be charged from the South African author's university. However, in the end it remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

18. The journal utilizes the Portico digital preservation system in order to create permanent archives of the journal for purpose of preservation and restoration.

19. 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.

20. 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/.

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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: ONLY provide the following:** Title, Campus & University full address, e-mail address, orchid number.

   Title: 10pt, regular font; Campus & University: 10pt, italics; and E-mail address: 10pt, regular font. (Consult previous articles published in the Y&T journal as an example or as a practical guideline).

   Example: Pieter van Rensburg, *Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University*, p.vanrensburg@gmail.com.
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 abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.

   The heading of the ***Abstract***: Bold, italics, 12pt.
5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract.

   The word **'Keywords':**10pt, bold, underline.

   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. **Heading of 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: "HL le Roux said" and NOT "H.L. le Roux said".

12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:

    Example: p.space23 – 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 used, 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 end[1].

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)'.

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 Pepler (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/E van Eeden (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 DEd 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, K Kombuis (Journalist-singer)/S van der Merwe (Researcher), 2 October 2010.

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