

Investigating Holocaust education
through the personal stories
of history teachers

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Abstract

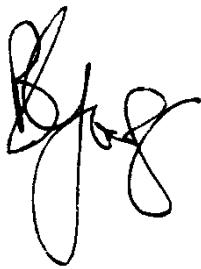
This study is an investigation into Holocaust education through the personal stories of history teachers. It answers two research questions: what are the personal stories of history teachers and how do these stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust? Following narrative inquiry theory and methodology, the study examines the personal stories of seven history teachers in KwaZulu-Natal who teach the Holocaust as part of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement for History in a post-apartheid, post-colonial context. Whilst some history teachers in South Africa have taken part in targeted Holocaust education workshops, the majority have not. This study focuses on those history teachers who teach the Holocaust with only the curriculum, textbook and personal stories at hand. Responding to the first research question, the restoried stories of the seven participants are told. To answer the second research question, I conducted a cross-story thematic analysis of the restoried stories to find common themes and categories and thereby develop a deeper understanding of how the Holocaust is taught in South African schools. The study draws on the theories of Clandinin and Connelly to theorise that history teachers use their personal stories to teach this complex, emotive topic to fourteen- and sixteen-year-old learners, the majority of whom have had little or no contact with Jews. It also seeks to expand the body of methodological knowledge and pushes narrative inquiry boundaries by telling the restoried stories in a manner that narrativises real events and places them in a creative setting. The result is a model for assessing history teachers' personal story usage in Holocaust education. It illustrates that history teachers tell both overt and veiled stories. Overt stories are educative, societal, connective and biographical in nature, while veiled stories are both seen and unseen. There are even irrelevant stories, depending on what transpires in the Holocaust classroom. And finally, there are stories that are not told; submerged stories that lie below the surface but nonetheless shape the teaching of the Holocaust. The study concludes with ways in which the thesis adds new knowledge to the body of work on Holocaust education and history teachers' personal stories.

Key words: history teachers, personal stories, Holocaust education, narrative inquiry, South Africa

Candidate's Declaration

I, Brenda Raie Gouws, declare that:

- 1) The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise stated, is my own original work.
- 2) This thesis has not previously been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- 3) This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
- 4) This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - i) Their words have been re-written, but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;
 - ii) Where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks and referenced.
- 5) This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References section.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'B. Raie Gouws', with a small dot to the right.

Brenda Raie Gouws

25 November 2017

Supervisor's Declaration

As the candidate's supervisor I hereby approve the submission of the thesis for examination.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Johan Wassermann'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent loop at the beginning.

Professor Johan Wassermann

November 2017

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List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BNIM	Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CTHGC	Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre
DHGC	Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre
DoBET	Department of Basic Education and Training
DJC	Durban Jewish Centre
FRA	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
HEDP	Holocaust Education Development Programme
ITF	Task Force for International Education, Remembrance and Research
JHGC	Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
Nazi	National Social German Workers
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PDF	Portable Document Format
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SAHGF	South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation
SQIN	Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative
SS	Schutzstaffel
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
WWII	World War II

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PROLOGUE

Stories, Storytelling and South Africa

“I must say that at first it was very emotional for me to teach [the Holocaust],” John said as he contemplated my question, “because I related it to my life experiences from Zimbabwe, like how things were and how things happened in Nazi Germany, although in Germany it was more harsh and ruthless than it was from where I came.”

I listened more closely.

“What,” I wondered, “were his life experiences? This was a refugee history¹ teacher from Zimbabwe teaching the Holocaust in South Africa and he was comparing his experiences in Zimbabwe to what Jews experienced during the Holocaust. What did he mean?”

He continued, “For example, if you’re teaching about Nazi Germany when they were levelling the homosexuals and also the Jews, the gypsies and so on, sometimes in history, you relate this to the events of what’s happening in your own country. That meant that I had to go back and talk about the xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans. To me, it became emotional and also to the kids, because they tended to say, even to my face, “These foreign guys are here to take our jobs.”

This excerpt of my interview with John was a small snapshot of the range of the personal stories that characterised my research. The history teachers who taught the Holocaust had compelling stories to tell about how their personal stories shaped their teaching of the Holocaust, affected as they were by the context, the time in which the events took place and the people they met. These stories gave me food for thought as I opened the first blank page of my thesis storybook and began the process of writing my thesis. It began with words, which grew into lines; lines grew into paragraphs; paragraphs into chapters; and chapters into this book that tells stories, human stories about history teachers: who they were, where they

¹ Throughout the thesis I have drawn a distinction between history and History. History with a capital letter is used to denote the school subject of History. All other school subjects, such as Geography and Mathematics are also capitalised. The lowercase form of the word is used in all other instances, such as history teacher, the history of the Holocaust, and the history textbook.

came from and where they were headed as they navigated their way through teaching the Holocaust.

Stories are a fundamental element of human experience and our personal stories define the individual events of our lives as we structure them and organise our memories (Riessman, 2008, p. 10).² In essence, we are our stories and inevitably we become the stories that we tell (Bruner, 1987, p. 15; Schama, 2013, part one). By listening to the voices of storytellers, the reader comes to understand the motivations, passions and worldviews of the protagonists. It is therefore instructive to learn about phenomena like Holocaust education through the examination of personal stories.

Stories both big and small comprise the fabric of this research. There are the big stories about the research (the introduction and literature review), stories of the research (the methodology and methods), and the stories generated by the research (the restoried stories, the findings and discussion). There is also the Holocaust story that underpins the research narrative and African stories told by the history teachers who took part in the study. My own story is embedded in the study too, not only because I am the teller of the thesis story, but because stories are a fundamental part of me, providing me with insight and understanding of my lived experiences. One such incident occurred when I was going through a difficult personal patch and relying heavily on the support of my friends and family. I realised as I ordered and then relayed the unfolding events to them that I was mentally pulling the disparate parts of my experience together and then relating them as vignettes; I was translating my life experiences into manageable storied chunks. This is what we as human beings do. We translate our lives and structure our experiences into stories to make sense of and ultimately understand them. The totality of those stories creates our global personal narrative.

In Africa, storytelling is an intrinsic part of the fabric of “our rich legacy of intangible heritage” (Deacon & Stephney, 2005, p. 1). Through the folktales, parables, legends, praise poems, and historical narratives of traditional storytellers (Deacon & Stephney, 2005, p. 3), the oral history of generations has been recorded and passed on. There is also a strong Jewish tradition of storytelling. For thousands of years, Jewish stories have been used to motivate, educate, inspire and to teach “ethical understanding” (Labovitz, 2001, p. 1). For example, the

² The referencing style used throughout this thesis is the American Psychological Association style (APA). According to this style, where two different authors with the same surname being cited and both are primary sources, the initials of the authors are included throughout the thesis, both in-text and in the reference (Krupa, 2014, n.p.). Also, I am using the abbreviation n.p. to denote references where there are no page numbers specified, such as in the case of web pages or other electronic articles.

biblical story of Joseph and his brothers illustrates themes of forgiveness and brotherly love. Also, Holocaust survivors tell their stories not only of pain and loss, but also of survival and resilience and use these to inspire young people to show strength and stand up in the face of social injustice. Indeed, there is a strong synergy between Jewish and African storytelling traditions. Both tell stories about the origins of life, the spiritual world and people's connections to the earth. There are also the social customs and traditions, rites of passage to adulthood, such as initiation ceremonies and bar mitzvahs, and a belief in the afterlife. However, there are more painful associations between Jewish and African experiences too – the Holocaust, slavery, colonialism and apartheid. Although geographically worlds apart, these historical episodes were many-a-time accompanied by violence, trauma, terror and pain but also by acts of bravery and endurance. So, using stories, I set about defining the parameters for my research.

The study takes place in South Africa, which today, twenty-three years after its historic 1994 elections, is still a deeply divided, fractured society, with social issues that persist, despite a relatively peaceful successful transition to democracy. Racism³ continues unabated (Enslin, 2003, p. 73; Msimang, 2013, p. 1) and violent protests punctuate our social and political landscape, such as the recent #feesmustfall civil action that rocked the country's universities and anti-foreigner protests in Pretoria that resulted in xenophobic violence. With the introduction of the Holocaust into the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) for History (Department of Education, 2002a), which I discuss in greater detail later in chapter one, it was hoped that issues such as racism and xenophobia would be aired and the learners made aware of their responsibility to society.

It is against this backdrop that the personal stories of the history teachers who took part in my study are told. Coming from disparate backgrounds and with different racial, political, economic and personal profiles, these are the people who teach the Holocaust in history classrooms across South Africa. Their personal stories lie at the heart of this research.

³ Racism, according to the Oxford Dictionary online (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017), is the belief that a person's physical characteristics, such as skin colour, mental or athletic abilities, behaviour and moral standing that identify a person or part of a group can be used to indicate that they are either inferior or superior to some other group, and it results in prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism. Pseudoscientific theories of racial superiority were espoused by adherents of Social Darwinism in the second half of the Nineteenth Century and resulted in the practice of eugenics, which consists of practices and beliefs that seek to improve the genetic quality of the human race by focusing on "breeding the best with the best" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p. 21). Although racism was the cornerstone of Hitler's policies, Social Darwinism and eugenics were not products of Nazism, having been common practice in countries as diverse as the United Kingdom, Australia, the United States and Canada as well as in many European countries prior to the Holocaust. Moreover, Jews in Nazi Germany were defined not by race, but by their religion.

CHAPTER ONE

Telling the background story

Introduction

As I was contemplating the shape my study would take, I recalled a comment made by one of the lead Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre (DHGC)⁴ educators during an interview that I conducted for my master's degree. She lamented:

... it's such a responsibility for us to get to the educators [history teachers], because you know ... there's so many people who are teaching the Holocaust [that don't] know that it ever existed ... that's why it's so important for us to get to them, to teach them as quickly as possible so that they teach it right. They must teach it right. They can't teach it their way. (Gouws, 2011, p. 96)

The words, “They can’t teach it their way” troubled me but also sparked my curiosity. What did she consider “their way” to be, I wondered? Although over four thousand teachers have attended educational workshops nationally at South African Holocaust centres in the last ten years (South African Holocaust & Genocide Foundation, 2015, p. 17), I wondered about the majority of history teachers who did not, could not, or did not want to visit Holocaust museums. What were their thoughts and feelings about teaching the Holocaust? It was, after all, part of the Grade 9 and Grade 11 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for History, which I unpack later in this chapter. Did the history teachers stick to the prescribed history curriculum or wander beyond it? Did they connect to its original purpose, namely, the need to address questions of human rights, values, citizenship and democracy? Or did they simply teach about the Holocaust as someone else’s (hi)story? Were they conscious of how the Holocaust could be used to teach about South Africa’s own history of discrimination? These questions led me to contemplate the history teachers’ personal stories. Where, I wondered, did their knowledge of the Holocaust come from? Did they draw on their life experiences to shape their understanding of the Holocaust? And what did their personal stories reveal about their Holocaust educational philosophy and pedagogy? Some of these questions were prompted by a comment made by Chloe, a newly appointed educator at the DHGC. She described her edgy feelings and doubts about teaching the Holocaust:

⁴ The Durban Holocaust Centre changed its name to the Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre in February 2018 (Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre, 2018, n.p.)

Do you know what my first internal issues were? Is this [the Holocaust] my story to even tell? Do you know what I mean? Like why am I telling this story? You know, I'm a Black South African. This is so far removed from me. (Gouws, 2011, p. 150)

Although she initially struggled to feel comfortable in her role at the DHGC, Chloe found a way to connect to the Holocaust narrative. As she explored her own history, she discovered that she could empathise with what had happened to the Jews through an examination of her family's apartheid history and she soon became a passionate proponent of Holocaust education. But her single question, "Is this my story to tell?" continued to prick my academic curiosity and initiated a quest to discover if these words resonated with a greater number of South African history teachers. I wanted to know if the teachers in history classrooms who taught the Holocaust had similar experiences or doubts about why they were teaching this topic.

My questions did not stop there. I speculated about the history teachers who had no specialised Holocaust training or knowledge. I wondered about those who taught the Holocaust not ever having met a Jewish person. With the small numbers of Jewish people living in South Africa, many South African teachers were and remain far removed from the social, historical and geographical context of the events of the Holocaust. So, I wondered, how did they make sense of this complex history? Did they, like Chloe, draw on a personal connection to the Holocaust through the parallel events of apartheid, such as forced removals or people being forced to carry identity documents? Did they consider the role of justice or *ubuntu*⁵? And finally, did they have access to relevant resources? From my previous Holocaust education study, I knew that internet resources were plentiful, but also that one needed to know where to look for them, to have internet access and to filter out antisemitic sites. I set out to find answers to these questions, starting by taking stock of the nature of Holocaust education globally and locally. These were questions that motivated this study. To

⁵ Whilst there is not universal agreement on the meaning of *ubuntu*, I am using it here to mean "humanity of fellow feeling; kindness" (Coughlan, 2006, p. 1) and human dignity (South African Holocaust & Genocide Foundation, 2015). It can also be described as "humanity to others" or "I am what I am because of who we all are." This humanist philosophy was defined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999, p. 35), who described it as follows:

A person with *ubuntu* is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, based from a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed.

find answers, I began by delving into the background of Holocaust education – first globally and then locally.

Holocaust education globally and locally

Teaching about the Holocaust is a complex affair. It means dealing with human rights issues like genocide, xenophobia and violence. Education about the Holocaust is not simply about facts and figures. Numbers like six million, graphs and percentages do not begin to capture the horror and human tragedy that unfolded under Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany and leader of the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi) Party during World War II (WWII).

To date globally, almost every nook and cranny of Holocaust history has been and continues to be scrutinised. Exploding numbers of books continue to be written and studies conducted on a wide variety of topics including, historiography of the Holocaust (Stone, 2010, pp. 1-314); studies about the relationship between the Holocaust, Nazism and race (Confino, 2009, pp. 531-559); the Holocaust as one of numerous other genocides (Huttenbach, 1988, pp. 289-303; Pearson, 2013, pp. 1-67); studies of perpetrators (Friedländer, 2007, pp. 1-601); accounts of women in the Holocaust (Cheda, 2000, pp. 117-118; Sinnreich, 2011, pp. 25-38); survivor testimonies and other narrative accounts (L. L. Langer, 1991, pp. 1-235; Waxman, 2006, pp. 1-188; Young, 1990, pp. 15-82); and photographic records (Hellman & Meier, 1981, pp. 1-167; Hirsch, 2001, pp. 5-37; Yad Vashem, 2014, n.p.). Furthermore, the Holocaust is being taught on multiple platforms globally: in museums' educational programmes (South African Holocaust & Genocide Foundation, 2013, n.p.; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013, n.p.), as part of school curricula (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 41; Foster, 2013, p. 133) and online (Facing History and Ourselves, 2014, n.p.). It has even reached the lofty heights of the United Nations, which has created Holocaust Memorial Days, conducted international conferences and published online papers about the Holocaust (UNESCO Regional Consultation in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2012, pp. 1-25) and the role that Holocaust education can play in genocide and anti-racism education. It has been linked to various other kinds of studies too: memory studies (Bourguignon, 2005, pp. 63-88; David, 2017, pp. 51-66; Spiegel, 2002, pp. 149-162), human rights education studies (Bromley & Russell, 2010, pp. 153-173; Petersen, 2010, pp. 27 - 31), and genocide studies (Harff, 2003, pp. 57-73; Kissi, 2013, n.p.), to name a few.

Holocaust education takes place in many countries around the world, including the United States (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, n.p.), Great Britain (Foster, 2013,

pp. 133-148; Salmons, 2003, pp. 139-149), Poland (Gross, 2013, pp. 103-120), France and Germany. It is also taught in Latin America (Chyrikins & Vieyra, 2010, pp. 7-15) and Russia (Altman, 2013, n.p.). Organisations that teach Holocaust education worldwide include Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO) and the Anne Frank Trust. Various journal articles document the work they do globally in countries such as Hungary (Van Iterson & Nenadović, 2013, pp. 93-102), South Africa (Tibbitts, 2006, pp. 295-317; Weldon, 2010, pp. 353-364) and Morocco (Polak, 2010, pp. 51-59).

In many instances, the Holocaust is taught in post-conflict environments (Staub, 2006, p. 881; Weldon, 2009, p. 25) where it provides objective distance and holds up a mirror to the country's own human rights abuses, on which both teachers and learners are encouraged to reflect (Silbert & Petersen, 2008; Weldon, 2008, p. 8). Holocaust education is also used as a means to change the world and to teach people about agency, civil action and values. With its ability to illustrate the dangers and possible genocidal outcome of unbridled racism, stereotyping and discrimination, the Holocaust is regarded as an effective means to teach about racism, discrimination, antisemitism, prejudice, xenophobia and stereotyping (Bikwana, 2011, pp. 63, 68; Pettigrew, 2010, p. 51; Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296) as well as transitions "to stability, security and, sometimes, democracy" in post-conflict environments (K. Murphy, 2010, p. 71).

Through dialogue about the dangers of discrimination, stereotyping and racism and the fragility of democracy, Holocaust education shows that these phenomena can occur in any society, irrespective of one's race (Nates, 2010, p. 19) and can lead to dialogues about the personal and social construction of identity (Petersen, 2015, p. 190). Moreover, with its abundant sources documented primarily by the perpetrators, the Nazis, who were meticulous record-keepers, the perceived value of the Holocaust education lies in the lessons it offers as a case study that illustrates the outcome of the most extreme abuse of human rights (Pettigrew, 2010, p. 50; Silbert, 2007, p. 20).

Motivations for teaching the Holocaust

Globally, the lessons of the Holocaust are combined with the psychological and emotional complexity associated with this systematic murder on an industrial scale to address issues of citizenship (Pettigrew, 2010, p. 50; Short & Reed, 2004, p. 73); create a better society by addressing issues of prejudice and the causes of racial tension (Carrington & Short, 1997, p. 271; Rutland, 2010, p. 75) and teach moral values. The lessons are used to encourage

diversity and tolerant behaviour in society, and combat racism, antisemitism and other forms of hatred using the Holocaust as “a moral touchstone, a paradigm of evil” (Salmons, 2003, p. 147). Universal themes are identified (Fowler, 2004, p. 3) such as discrimination, stereotyping, xenophobia, and racism (Bikwana, 2011, p. 66; Clements, 2006, p. 45; Silbert & Petersen, 2008, n.p.) and these are used as the foundation of discussions about the responsibility of bystanders, the dangers of unbridled racism and to encourage learners to try and understand how others might react in a similar situation (Facing History and Ourselves, 2008, p. 1). Ultimately Holocaust education around the world promotes the idea that learners must be made aware of their role in preparing for the future and preventing future genocides (Clements, 2006, p. 41; Fowler, 2004, p. 3; Inbar, 2009, n.p.; Petersen, 2011, p. 1).

Around the world, the issue of human rights was and still is associated with Holocaust education. The Holocaust is often taught as a case study to illustrate the consequences of the destruction of human rights, with the intention of encouraging learners to stand up and defend the human rights of others whenever they come across injustice. In South Africa, “from 2007 it became compulsory for Grade 9 learners in every school in the country to study the Holocaust and apartheid in their Social Studies History lessons, as case studies of gross human rights abuse” (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 1). It must be said, however, that questions have been raised as to whether Holocaust education can really be used as a tool for human rights education, which has specific requirements: learning must be *for* human rights, *about* human rights and *within a framework* of human rights. To fulfil all three conditions is not always possible given that education about the Holocaust has its own agenda and there is usually limited teaching time available (Eckmann, 2010, p. 7).

Despite its many noble intentions, Holocaust education has not been without its critics. Warnings have been sounded that education about the Holocaust will not necessarily produce citizens who will automatically stand up in the face of injustice (Ehmann, 2001, p. 608), or people might revile the Holocaust and everything it came to represent (Short & Reed, 2004, p. 6). In fact with regard to the question of bystanders, there is a question mark over how long non-Jews will want to be taught that the bystanders, who were by corollary non-Jews, actually share the guilt of the perpetrators (Norden, 1993, p. 32). Nor is there absolute agreement as to whether or not learning about the Holocaust can actually help prevent future genocides (Short, 2005, p. 367). Further opposition comes from Novick, who believes that the event is so far removed from everyday experience that it can have little to teach contemporary learners (Novick, 1999 cited in Short & Reed, 2004, p. 8).

In response to this criticism, Short (2005, p. 368) suggests that maybe teaching about the Holocaust is more about “whether we can learn anything of value from the way in which a relatively normal society was transformed into a highly abnormal one infused with lethal racist ideology.” Furthermore, Clements (2006, p. 39) suggests that the value of Holocaust education really lies in “the dynamics of the relationship” that develops between teachers and learners and the educational opportunity that this history provides to discuss complex emotional issues to which Inbar (2009, n.p.) adds that it is important to encourage teachers to use the lessons of the Holocaust to stimulate critical thinking. Crucially, Salmons (2003) reminds teachers that the Holocaust “should not be made emblematic of all cases of racism and intolerance.” He goes on to suggest that learners’ feelings about their own pasts should be acknowledged before they can begin to interrogate the experiences of Holocaust victims, particularly where prejudice and discrimination are part of their personal backgrounds (Salmons, 2003, p. 147).

Another cautious note is sounded in an op-ed written by Kofi Annan, former General Secretary of the United Nations, who notes that it is difficult to find educational programmes that have successfully linked Holocaust history with the prevention of ethnic conflict and genocide (Annan, 2010, n.p.). This is supported by Kwasniewski (2010, n.p.), Prime Minister of Poland between 1995 and 2005, who noted, “A trip to Auschwitz does not suddenly turn visitors into noble humanitarians. An hour’s lesson on the Holocaust will certainly not prevent the next Rwanda or Darfur.” In fact, Salmons (2010, p. 57) argues that by simply focusing on morality and lessons in relation to the Holocaust and playing on learners’ emotions, risks “serious distortion of the past.” Some critics go even further, regarding Holocaust education as having inappropriate aims that can be regarded as political indoctrination (Dawidowicz, 1992 cited in Short & Reed, 2004, p. 88) and the Holocaust as an industry with political and economic motives that exploit Jewish suffering (Finkelstein, 2003, pp. 1-286). However, people such as Kwasniewski and Annan ultimately conclude that Holocaust education can be effective in sensitizing people and raising awareness of human rights abuses. But this can only be achieved if it focuses on the human story within the Holocaust narrative, emphasises the social processes that underpin genocide (Kwasniewski, 2010, n.p.) and is linked to contemporary issues and appropriate teacher education (Annan, 2010, n.p.).

In many countries, the Holocaust is used to raise the profile of local agendas or to reconcile countries with their own difficult pasts, but there is also sometimes resistance to using the Holocaust to tell the story of other genocides or events such as apartheid. Alba (2005, p. 110), for instance, relates that the Sydney Jewish Museum exhibition,

... does not attempt to recast the Holocaust experience into either a humanist or nationalist mould. In the words of the Sydney Jewish Museum's first curator, Sylvia Rosenbaum, "One cannot use the Holocaust to tell other stories." Rather the display aimed to "tell the story of the Holocaust simply, truthfully and honestly so that it would never happen again."

Others believe that education about the Holocaust is not the magic bullet that will end all discrimination, prejudice and genocide, let alone eliminating bullying in schools, or other lesser human rights violations (Annan, 2010, n.p.; Cowan & Maitles, 2007, p. 116; Norden, 1993, pp. 23-32). If truth be told Ehmann (2001, p. 608) reminds us that no empirical studies to date support the assertion that Holocaust education has a long-term or direct effect on learners' behaviour, nor that it will make them more accepting of others' differences or even become upstanders⁶ in the face of injustice. That said, Petersen claims, at least anecdotally, that learners and teachers have reported a short-term impact on their personal behaviour and attitudes, after attending Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre (CTHGC) educational programmes (Petersen, 2011, p. 2). This could be due to the affective, emotive nature of the programme and only longer-term studies will prove or disprove such claims. Moreover, a sobering note is sounded by Clements (2006, p. 39) who suggests that "grand outcomes" through education about the Holocaust are unlikely. In her view, anti-racism and the prevention of genocide are not likely to be solved through Holocaust education, which should instead be used to enable dialogue between teachers and learners about matters impacting on society and humanity. This, she believes, is what occurs in the classroom context; particularly where the participants share a common language and if emotional barriers are lowered. This belief supports Kinloch's call for "a more realistic acceptance" of what might be achieved in the classroom, because he believes that fundamentally what history teachers can best do, is "help their students become better historians" (Kinloch, 1998, p. 46).

One of the most disquieting aspects of Holocaust education comes in the form of Schweber's assertion that her students became generally desensitized towards violence over time, a challenge, she suggests, that needs to be overcome, when teaching about the Holocaust (Schweber, 2006, p. 50). Just as worrying is her reference to "curricular creep," as the Holocaust is being taught to younger and younger audiences, a situation that inevitably leads to Holocaust fatigue. Another issue that needs investigation is the suggestion that some history teachers are quite happy to avoid the historical details of the Holocaust and simply

⁶ The term upstanders is used to describe a person who stand up and acts in the face of wrongs and injustice.

explain the Holocaust as something that happened because “people made the wrong moral choices” (Salmons, 2003, p. 143).

These are long-term concerns for Holocaust education and highlight issues that still need to be addressed and only time will show whether Holocaust education is effective in the long term. This is research that still needs to be done. Furthermore, just as the introduction of Holocaust education globally was not simply a spontaneous gesture by educational authorities but was driven by a combination of Jewish influence and post-conflict imperatives to confront the past, so it was in South Africa and this is discussed in the next section.

Holocaust education in South Africa

Locally, education about the Holocaust was driven initially by the work undertaken at the CTHGC, which played a seminal role in the development and dissemination of Holocaust education in South Africa. Although the Cape Town Jewish Community had actively promoted Holocaust memorialisation and education programmes prior to the CTHGC coming into existence, by 1985, a decision was made to expand its footprint. The CTHGC was officially established in 1999 in response to the need for a Jewish memorial to victims and survivors of the Holocaust, but with “the overriding goal” being “to promote Holocaust education in schools” (M. Du Preez, 2008, p. 66). For about ten years, it conducted numerous school and civic outreach programmes, to actively promote awareness of human rights and inclusivity. The CTHGC’s educational programmes developed over time with the intention of teaching values and, according to Petersen, were also claimed as a “vehicle of reconciliation” by the new democratic state (Petersen, 2015, p. i).

With the inclusion of the Holocaust in the national history curriculum, the NCS (South African Holocaust & Genocide Foundation, 2011, n.p.), the demand for the CTHGC’s educational programme and resources increased and it was decided by members of the local Jewish communities that further Holocaust centres should be set up in Johannesburg and Durban. The DHGC was therefore established in 2008 (Durban Holocaust Centre, 2009, n.p.) in support of this inclusion and “to teach it right” (Gouws, 2011, p. 96). The CTHGC with its educational experience provided the backbone for the development of the permanent exhibition in Durban, using the CTHGC’s exhibition panels as a prototype. The Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre (JHGC) was established in 2008 but only opened the doors of its purpose-built museum and permanent exhibition in 2016. All three local Holocaust centres

fall under the umbrella organisation, The South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation (SAHGF).

These centres claim to be the leading force in Holocaust education in South Africa (R. Freedman, 2015, p. 5), and they maintain a tight control over their methods and methodologies. But according to Petersen (2015, p. 285) this control stultified the growth of the educational arm of the Holocaust centres and, she claims, “without the critical insight that a framework and base of consultation provided, the CTHGC programmes [have] remained limited in their ability to go beyond repeating the programme that worked best the time before.” Moreover, she asserts since the DHGC does not contribute to international academia through academic journals, presentations of papers or participation in national and international conferences, it has not developed an “international profile” and is therefore not regarded as a regional specialist (p. 293).

Prior to 1994, with political change looming, South Africa was ripe for educational change. After the African National Congress (ANC) won the historic first democratic general election in 1994, the leadership set about creating a new political and educational narrative for the country. They recognised a need for national reconciliation, and both educationalists and the ruling ANC believed that retaining the pre-1994 history curriculum would serve little purpose in re-uniting a divided country, where the lens of history education had been firmly focused on nationalism, colonialism and White supremacy. Therefore, one of their key tasks was to dismantle both the previous 46 years of apartheid education and the nearly 300 years of colonial education. This was recognised as an enormous challenge but one which was “informed and underpinned by the new South African Constitution and Bill of Rights (Act 108 of 1996)” (Nates, 2010, p. 18). The discussion regarding the change of direction for a new history curriculum began with the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (Department of Education, 2001, pp. 1-64) and was based on the cornerstone of human rights in the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights (Keet & Carrim, 2005, pp. 99-110). Hoping to provide education in post-apartheid South Africa that would reflect hope for the future through the development of an all-inclusive anti-racist democracy, the *Manifesto* included “strategies for instilling democratic values in young South Africans in the learning environment” (Department of Education, 2001, p. 3).

From the outset, it was decided that the subject of History would be at the core of this strategy, being regarded as a way to develop skills such as critical inquiry in learners and prevent historical amnesia by examining the past (Department of Education, 2001, p. 4). The

NCS and the later version, CAPS, were therefore regarded as vehicles for teaching about values, citizenship and particularly tolerance; and to understand and evaluate “how past human action has an impact on the present and how it influences the future” (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 9). However, in order to deal adequately with this values-driven curriculum, teachers needed adequate structures to be in place (Weldon, 2008, p. 2) and the history classroom was identified as an ideal place “to grapple with complex and disturbing issues” (Lindquist, 2010, p. 79).

With its vision of a system of all-inclusive education based on values, the newly formed Department of Education sought topics that would reflect this vision. The work being done at the CTHGC on the Holocaust, with its themes of democracy, social justice and non-racism, resonated with post-apartheid values and was closely aligned to the purpose of the NCS, which was “to develop an awareness of how we can influence our future by confronting and challenging economic and social inequality (including racism and sexism) to build a non-racial, democratic present and future” (Department of Education, 2002b, p. 4). Using the Holocaust as a case study, history teachers would be provided with the ability to teach about the dangers of unbridled racism, stereotyping and discrimination and to teach about the way in which post-conflict environments can transition “to stability, security and, sometimes, democracy” (K. Murphy, 2010, p. 71). Also, there was a strong historical link between the racial laws of Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa and the Holocaust was a well-documented example of a gross violation of human rights. Parallels existed between Nazi Germany until 1941 and apartheid South Africa prior to 1994. Ideologically, both were built on the pillars of racism and totalitarianism, where people were stereotyped and divided with one group claiming to be superior to the others. In Nazi Germany this was the Nazis who identified themselves as pure Aryans while Jews were considered to be sub-human and were consequently vilified, expelled, forced into inhuman ghettos and/or concentration camps and ultimately many were sent to death camps where they were murdered using legal means. In apartheid South Africa, laws were enacted to elevate White people and Black people were forcibly removed to “homelands” by the Group Areas Act. In both cases, laws were used to deny people of their fundamental human rights, such as preventing marriage between the groups, providing economic advantages for only one group. Economic laws created cheap labour in both Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa and classification safeguarded German or Afrikaner identity and strove for racial purity.

It should be noted however that these parallels are relevant only when discussing Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1941. Beyond this, there is no link as apartheid, which was an

exploitative economic policy, was not genocide as was the Holocaust (Silbert & Petersen, 2008, n.p.). Thus, the Holocaust was identified as an appropriate vehicle to teach values in post-apartheid South Africa in order to develop a society free of prejudice and one that upheld moral values.

Driven primarily by a collaboration between the CTHGC⁷ and the Western Cape Education Department (M. Du Preez, 2008; Petersen, 2015, p. 66), discussions began regarding the inclusion of the Holocaust. It was later included in the NCS Social Sciences-History of 2002 (Department of Education, 2002b, p. 92), focusing on issues of human rights, identity, why the Holocaust happened and choice (Department of Education, 2002b, p. 61). I note here that education whose rationale is social is referred to as educational socialisation (Egan, 1983, pp. 1-16; Pettigrew, 2017, p. 3) and in terms of educational socialisation, the introduction of Holocaust education in South Africa fell under NCS Social Sciences-History. The topic of the Holocaust was linked to human rights issues and crimes against humanity, including apartheid (Department of Education, 2002b, pp. 61-62). Hence, the lessons and impact of the Holocaust were highlighted in the classroom to create agency in the learners; to encourage them to become upstanders for social justice; and to defend human rights. In other words, the aim of teaching the Holocaust was social. In future I refer to this as the social Holocaust.

The implementation of Holocaust education was fully achieved when the Holocaust began to be taught in Grade 9 and Grade 11 classrooms in 2007, with the simultaneous introduction of Outcomes Based Education, the major post-apartheid curricular reform, “which collapsed the boundaries of knowledge and placed an emphasis on group work, relevance, local curriculum construction and local choice of content” (Bertram, 2012, p. 3). Grade 9 was identified as a key year for the Holocaust to be taught as this was the last year that all learners would be taught history before they chose their specialised matriculation subjects. Moreover, to make the Holocaust relevant to learners, as R. Freedman (2014, p. 135) noted when quoting Freire (1996), “[We] must never provide the people with programmes which have little or nothing to do with their own preoccupations.”

However, teaching this emotional Holocaust curriculum was difficult for history teachers who were struggling with the traumas of their Christian National-based education and were still trying to play catch-up with regard to their teaching skills and knowledge. The history

⁷ For a comprehensive overview of the history of the Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre, see Tracey Petersen’s 2015 PhD thesis, entitled “Teaching humanity: placing the Cape Town Holocaust Centre in a post-apartheid state.” (Petersen, 2015, pp. 1-366)

teachers struggled to implement this progressive outcomes-based curriculum and its lofty aims and ultimately there was recognition by the Department of Basic Education and Training (DoBET) that Outcomes Based Education had failed. It was therefore deemed necessary to once again revise the curriculum to provide clearer, more structured teaching guidelines. This was achieved with the 2011 version of the Grade 9 CAPS-History curriculum, where the emphasis moved away from Holocaust education where there was a social aim to Holocaust education where there was an historical aim and a more structured, linear, less touchy-feely curriculum. This was a move away from a curriculum steeped in social issues and human rights to a more historically fact-based curriculum and more formal historical learning. Issues of identity, choices and how and why the Holocaust happened were removed and although discussions of choices and bystanders, were moved to Grade 11 history, this meant that not all learners would be learning about the Holocaust. I refer to education about the Holocaust where the aim is historical as the historical Holocaust (Gouws, 2011, p. 214; Pettigrew, 2010, p. 50).

Although all incarnations of the national history curriculum support the human rights-based Constitution, under CAPS-History there is no longer a stated aim to create upstanders for social justice, and the term “human rights,” which appears only four times, is found under the General Aims. Instead, CAPS-History for Grade 9 (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 41) foregrounds the historical events: the rise of Nazi Germany, the failure of democracy in the Weimar Republic, the Nuremberg Laws and the implementation of legalised discrimination and ultimately the outbreak of WWII. It is significant to note that the words, “Holocaust” and “Jewish”, which were previously associated with the words “identity, choice and xenophobia” and appeared numerous times, now appears only once in the entire Grade 9 CAPS-History document, while the word “Jews” does not appear at all and Jews are not mentioned as part of the groups of people who were persecuted, like the Roma and Sinti. There is also no mention made of the need for history teachers to stress human rights, except obliquely through the instruction in the Grade 9 Senior Phase CAPS-History outline of what is to be taught that reads, “This content must be integrated with the historical aims and skills and the associated concepts listed in Section 2” (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 41). These aims are listed as:

explaining and encouraging the values of the South African Constitution; encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns; promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia; and preparing young people for local, regional, national,

continental and global responsibility (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 9).

Also, with the removal of the Rwandan Genocide and “Issues of our time”, the section that dealt with issues such as crimes against humanity, apartheid, genocide and xenophobia (Department of Education, 2002b, p. 62), the concepts of Holocaust and genocide almost merged and the terms are almost used synonymously (Petersen, 2015, p. 269). There is also no mention in the Grade 9 CAPS-History curriculum of perpetrators, bystanders, victims and rescuers. This is now only found in the Grade 11 CAPS-History (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p. 21), which is taught solely to those who elect to study history for their matriculation examinations.

Consequently, where there was previously an emphasis on human rights, the new accent in both Grades 9 and 11 has fallen on issues of race and racial ideology. This has been clearly foregrounded and presents a very dominant narrative. For instance, under the topic heading, *Turning Points in Modern South African History since 1948*, the Grade 9 Term 3 CAPS-History curriculum foregrounds evolution, apartheid, the myth of race, racial segregation, and there is even a special note added on “the issue of race” emphasising that this phenomenon still vexes South African society (Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p. 43). At the same time, even though a key goal for CAPS remains “social transformation” (Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p. 4), the most recent history curriculum pushes the lessons of the Holocaust out of the spotlight. Yet, the social Holocaust remains the focus for the Holocaust centres in Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town.

Practically, according to the CAPS-History curriculum for Grade 9, five hours each were allocated for The Rise of Nazi Germany and WWII. The section on WWII dealt with topics ranging from the Nazi concentration camps to The Final Solution. A total of ten hours was therefore available for teaching the Holocaust at Grade 9 level (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 41). At Grade 11 level, the Holocaust was taught as one of two case studies in Term 2 to answer the question, “What were the consequences when pseudo-scientific ideas of race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th centuries?” (Department of Basic Education, 2011a)

In summary, the story of education about the Holocaust has changed since its initial implementation, from a social to a historical focus, with no suggestion that the emphasis will revert to a social focus or once again emphasise values such as human rights or democracy.

Instead, it has become the responsibility of individual history teachers to draw the connection between the aims of the curriculum and the Holocaust content and this instruction is easily ignored. So, even though suggestions regularly appear in the media suggesting that anti-racism needs to be taught and knowing that the Holocaust provides a vehicle to do this, as was initially envisaged, it appears that the Holocaust's social transformation star has been somewhat diminished.

Having discussed the role of the Holocaust in education globally and locally and examined the focus in the national history curriculum, the next section deals with the rationale and motivation for this study.

Rationale and motivation for the study

Multiple reasons drove my interest in and motivation to pursue this study but the four most dominant were the personal, professional, conceptual and methodological reasons. I begin with my personal motivation for the study.

Personal motivation – the Holocaust and teaching are personal

My personal motivation for studying Holocaust education through the personal stories of history teachers began with thoughts of my childhood, which created the lens for my view of the world. I grew up with stories and they have in many ways shaped my worldview and the way that I deal with everyday experiences. Being Jewish, a teacher, a mother, a daughter, and a friend while being generally curious about the world, the Holocaust and Holocaust education provided me with personal reasons to do this research. The Holocaust in particular, connects me through my personal story. Although none of my immediate family were directly affected by it, the Holocaust is nevertheless an integral part of my personal past. My roots trace back to Poland and Russia in Eastern Europe, Palestine (now Israel) and Great Britain. To escape the antisemitism and the pogroms of Eastern Europe my family fled prior to the Holocaust eventually settling in South Africa. But even today, whether studying the Holocaust, reading about it or watching films or documentaries, I am shaken by the thought, "There but for the grace of G-d go I."

When I was growing up, my parents and grandparents maintained our rich Ashkenazi, that is Eastern European, Jewish heritage in our life in South Africa. Friday nights were memorable occasions where family stories were as much part of the scene as candles and knotted bread. My paternal grandparents would regale us with tales of their exploits: my great-grandfather as

a pioneer of Johannesburg in the late 1890s; their life on the diamond diggings of Carlsonia near Lichtenburg where my father was born in 1928; the characters they met along the way; and the stories of their fortune made and later lost because of the 1928 Stock Exchange crash. My father entertained us with boarding school stories and my grandfather with stories about his WWII experiences, particularly playing cricket for the South African Forces in Egypt whilst everyone else was fighting a world war. On my mother's side, we heard about my Russian grandfather, who "woke up from the dead" on a cart carrying typhoid-ridden Russian soldiers on their way to be buried; my maternal grandparents' marriage; and their journey to South Africa, where they set up a small grocery store in Boksburg, to the east of Johannesburg and raised their six children. Our family traditions also included celebrations of the Jewish high holy days – New Year, Day of Atonement and Passover - and these were always accompanied by family stories of renewal, regret, hilarity, achievement, failure or redemption. Family get-togethers were always special, and stories were central to our traditions.

Stories did not end on Friday nights, but were integral to my everyday life. As a child, our home was filled to the brim with books – fiction and non-fiction, adult books and children's books, as well as an often-used set of *World Book* encyclopaedias. As children, our favourite Saturday activity was a trip to the local library with our parents. Stories at bedtime with my mother was my favourite time of the day – either stories read from books or imaginative stories conjured up by her about Jeremy and Susie Fish, into which I discovered only recently, she wove the daily events of my and my sister's lives. Later, as an adult, I collected and stitched antique samplers, which told small personal stories of the children who stitched them. I also had the opportunity to re-ignite my interest in stories and the power of storytelling when I became involved many years later in the *Amazwi Abesifazane - Voices of Women* project. As the archivist, for five years between 2000 and 2004, I meticulously documented the stories of loss of Black African women in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and the Eastern Cape (EC) through their narrative embroideries.

Professional motivation – curiosity about history teachers and their personal stories

The importance of stories continues to impact my life. Later, when I became a volunteer guide at the newly formed Durban Holocaust Centre, later to become the DHGC, the personal stories of Holocaust survivors touched me. I was propelled to teach not only the history to which I felt connected, but also as a qualified teacher, to engage with young people on issues

of moral dilemmas, human rights, racism and diversity. Having pursued a master's degree entitled, *Investigating Holocaust education through the work of the museum educators at the Durban Holocaust Centre: a case study*, I was motivated by the stories that the museum educators told of their lived experiences that became the lens through which they taught the Holocaust, to investigate further. I wondered if the history teachers who taught the Holocaust also used their personal stories to guide them or provide anecdotal evidence when teaching the Holocaust. With limited resources like the textbooks, did the history teachers become mired in discussions about the ethical and moral issues that are often generated by Holocaust education such as race, prejudice, choice and propaganda, or did they avoid such controversial topics, simply teaching the facts as indicated in the CAPS-History curriculum? Given that I had discovered that the guides at the DHGC were often focused on issues that mattered to them as individuals, issues that were driven by their personal experiences and histories, and then added this into the mix of their guiding, I wanted to investigate if history teachers duplicated this methodology. I realised that their personal stories might influence their historical knowledge and pedagogy, and this motivated me to investigate the link between their personal stories and their work in an educational environment that is fraught with political and social tensions, arising out of South Africa's apartheid past.

And at a professional level, I wanted to contribute to the emerging body of knowledge about Holocaust education in South Africa, which has only been in the national history curriculum since 2007.

Conceptual foundation – understanding the role of personal stories

Conceptually, I believe that stories are a fundamental part of human experience. I was therefore motivated to better understand stories and the role they play in our human consciousness and understanding. I wanted to explore the theoretical constructs of stories; where they came from, how they were viewed by other researchers, and if and how history teachers use their personal stories in the classroom to teach the Holocaust. As a pre-service teacher, I had studied theorists such as Jerome Bruner, a psychologist, who had explored cognitive development and learning theory, but I was also aware that he had a deep interest in narrative. The opening line of a book chapter by Bruner reads: "I am fascinated by how narrative, the story form, is able to shape our immediate experience, even to influence deeply our conceptions of what is real, what must be real" (Bruner, 2010, p. 45). These ideas always fascinated me, and I wanted to understand more about the nature of stories and their impact on human thought. Could personal stories shape Holocaust education I wondered? With this in

mind, I set out to investigate if and how history teachers' personal stories impacted their classroom experience, particularly when teaching the Holocaust.

Methodological rationale – narrative inquiry as the spine of the book

While research is not undertaken in a vacuum, with many role players contributing to its construction and development, my place in the research story is essential. I am the narrative inquirer and therefore woven into the fabric of the story (Byrnes, Miclea, & Habeebkutty, 2013, p. 8; Carter, 1993, p. 9). This study was not an autobiography, but “narrative inquiries are always strongly biographical [as] our research comes out of our own narratives of experience and shapes our narrative inquiry plotlines” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 121). Thus, every decision, action, response or reaction took place through my eyes. The literature, participants, topic and methodology were all chosen by me. The way that I interviewed and transcribed meant that I was a major presence in the construction, transcription and analysis of the data. Because of the manner in which I listened and questioned, I critically shaped the stories that the participants chose to tell, as every decision, action, response or reaction took place through my eyes. So, from the very first step of deciding to undertake my study, to the very last full-stop of the thesis, everything was tied to my own endeavours and therefore coloured by my life experiences, my story. It is therefore incumbent on me to declare my biases, shortcomings and theoretical assumptions to enable my readers to better understand how I might shape its collection and interpretation (Merriam, 2009, p. 15). At the same time by revealing who I am in the story, I lay bare my personal biases and the lens through which I view the world.

One of the methodological conditions for the study was the fact that I was both an insider and an outsider. Insider knowledge by being Jewish meant that I empathised easily with the victims of the Holocaust, whereas many of the history teachers who taught about the Holocaust had no knowledge about Jewish people. I was an insider on two counts – being a teacher and a museum educator. These roles both provided me with insider knowledge on how to teach the Holocaust and enabled me to have in-depth discussions with the history teachers about aspects of the Holocaust of which they might not have been aware. I felt comfortable with the terminology but made sure that I did not use my interview as a platform to either teach or change anyone's opinions or attitudes. As an insider, I was also able to identify if the history teachers' Holocaust knowledge was superficial or expert (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). But I was an outsider too. Simply being a PhD researcher meant that I could have been perceived by some of my participants as intimidating. Also, being

White and a woman, made me an insider to some of the participants and an outsider to others. Moreover, as a White woman who grew up during the apartheid era, I was socialised in a way far removed from current political experience. I would love to be able to say that I was active in the anti-apartheid movement but to be honest, I was transitioning from a confused teenager to becoming a young adult and I simply accepted the world of politics as a phenomenon outside of my own narrow life experiences, never questioning what was going on around me. However, having become aware of the racist nature of South Africa's past, the spectre of Blackness and Whiteness hung over any potential dialogue as racial awareness is a constant in South African society. Thus, being both an insider and outsider provided me with a more global understanding of the phenomenon of my study, such as the dynamics of the classroom situation as well as the issues pertaining to Holocaust education.

All these issues meant that I needed to be aware not only of my participants' stories and life experiences, but also my own. So I delved into my own life experiences, examined my own stories, interrogated my motives and beliefs and then endeavoured to keep these in mind when listening to the experiences of others (Byrnes et al., 2013, p. 8; Clandinin, 2013, pp. 36-38). Then, having understood the rationale and motivation for my study, the next step was to state my purpose for doing it and discuss the focus.

Focus and purpose of the study

The spotlight of my study falls on the personal stories of history teachers who teach the Holocaust in post-apartheid South Africa. From my previous knowledge as a qualified DHGC museum educator, I knew that some history teachers attended Holocaust education programmes either by accompanying their learners through the DHGC's exhibitions, or through their teacher education programmes, but as a museum educator myself, I was aware that these programmes bore the mark of the centre's own agenda and educational materials. I therefore decided to exclude those history teachers from my sample. The focus of the study therefore fell on the personal stories of history teachers who had not received any prior Holocaust education or training and therefore relied purely on their pre-service training, the prescribed textbooks; the relevant curriculum; and their own resources, whatever they were. In South Africa, the latter constitutes the majority of the history teachers.

The purpose of the study was to understand how, in the absence of major Holocaust-related external influences, such as teacher education programmes or a defined Holocaust education philosophy and pedagogy, the history teachers turned to what they know best to fill

conceptual gaps - their personal stories. Based on my previous graduate study, I theorised that they turned to their stories for inspiration and explanations, to grapple with and understand the complex motives, dilemmas and actions that took place during the Holocaust. By listening to the history teachers' personal stories, I could discover not only what they taught about the Holocaust, but also how they taught it, what resources they used, how they created personal connections to the Holocaust narrative, and the context within which they taught it.

Against this backdrop, the study took place in the province of KZN with history teachers who taught the Holocaust as part of CAPS-History. Locating the study in KZN provided the context of the study not only geographically, but also in terms of the socio-political background that informed the experiences and events of the participants' lives. Both pre- and post-apartheid KZN have been a hotbed of political contestation. Politically-based murders and violence are regularly reported, with fears currently being expressed of a return to the 1980s' violence between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC, and the political entities, the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Madlala, 2016, p. 1). The history teachers, who were part of my study, lived and worked in KZN, and while some had been directly affected by this conflict, others were obliquely privy to it. All ethnic groups populate KZN. The clear majority are Black Africans who speak isiZulu but there is also a relatively large Indian population. However, the Indian population, although comprising less than 10% of people living in KZN, still constitutes a larger percentage than the White and Coloured populations combined. Many of the Indian population were originally brought to South Africa as indentured labourers and linked to this phenomenon is the residue of a strong colonial undertone that exists amongst many Whites living in the province.

Hence, with this focus and purpose of my study in mind, I embarked on a journey to uncover the personal stories of the history teachers who taught the Holocaust through the lens of narrative inquiry.

Research questions

To implement the focus and purpose of the study, I explored stories, focusing on teachers' stories, using narrative inquiry. Story is regarded as "a fundamental way of human knowing" (Doyle & Carter, 2003, p. 130) and reflecting on human experience, with teachers' stories of their experiences increasingly being seen as "central to the study of teachers' thinking, culture and behaviour" (Cortazzi, 1993, p. 5). Narrative inquiry therefore offered an appropriate methodology for this study, providing as it did a theoretical and methodological foundation

for examining teachers' personal stories and to propose possible answers to the following research questions (see Appendix 1):

- What are the personal stories of history teachers who teach about the Holocaust?
- How do their personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust?

The methodology for the study is outlined next.

Outline of the research methodology

The first step when conducting the narrative inquiry was to conduct a comprehensive review of the available literature and thereby discover if other research had been conducted on the role of history teachers' personal stories in Holocaust education and if so, what had been found. There were other important topics to investigate too - Holocaust education, history teachers' knowledge and both the theoretical and methodological foundations of narrative inquiry. Using an interpretivist, qualitative paradigm, I employed one-on-one unstructured narrative interviews to discover what the stories of the history teachers who taught the Holocaust were. In setting up the narrative inquiry I used Riessman's five levels of representation for the collection and analysis of the data, that is, attending to the interviews (attending), transcribing the interviews (transcribing), telling participants' stories by restorying them (telling), analysing the restoried stories by applying thematic analysis across the seven stories (analysing), and finally passing on the stories to be read by my audience (reading) (Riessman, 1993, pp. 8-16).

The data were generated by interviewing seven purposefully chosen history teachers using the Biographical Narrative Interview Method (BNIM). This was followed by member checking when I sent the transcriptions to the participants for comment. If the participants did not respond, their silence was interpreted as giving consent. I then restoried the transcribed stories, making use of different genres – a blog, a journal, a short story, a television interview, a talk, a memoir and an exchange of letters. This was done using the elements of Clandinin and Connelly's three-dimensional narrative inquiry space containing the three commonplace elements, interaction, temporality and place (Clandinin, 2006, pp. 44-54). Analysis of the restoried stories followed using what Riessman termed Thematic Analysis (Riessman, 2008, pp. 53-76) to discover the common themes and categories yielded by the personal stories. This analysis took place firstly within each personal story and then across all the restoried stories, to discover if and how the history teachers' personal stories shaped their teaching of

the Holocaust. The findings were then presented and a discussion, drawing together the threads of the findings and the literature review followed. What follows is a chapter by chapter route map of the study.

Route map of the thesis

The thesis began with the Prologue, in which I introduced the reader to some of the main concepts, including the Holocaust, stories, and history teachers, and I located it contextually in South Africa. Chapter One provided the background to the research, starting with the questions that led me to undertake the research and then progressing to the place of Holocaust education locally and globally, from its inception to the present. I discussed the development of Holocaust education as a vehicle for teaching about values and human rights; how this led to its introduction in South Africa in the national history curriculum; and the task of history teachers in this regard. This was followed by the rationale and motivation for the study, including what stories have meant to me personally and then by the focus and purpose of the study, its theoretical and methodological underpinnings, and the research questions. A short outline of the methodology reveals how the study was done, and finally the chapter ended with the thesis outline.

The next three chapters, Chapters Two to Four, lay the theoretical and methodological foundations for my study in order for me to develop my conceptual framework.

In Chapter Two, I describe my broad understanding of what a literature review is before delving into the literature. In this theoretical chapter I examine the theory pertaining to history teachers who teach the Holocaust. I identify and examine the work of leading researchers in my field, broaden my understanding of the phenomena under investigation and locate gaps in the current research. The review covers South African history teachers and their experiences teaching the Holocaust through the various curricular changes and includes the way in which emotive and controversial issues add to Holocaust education. It also examines the literature related to the history teachers' professional, historical, Holocaust and pedagogical knowledge. In this chapter, I also engage with the literature on the social issues that dominate Holocaust education in South Africa, the question of race in our society and our classrooms, and other pedagogical considerations.

Chapter Three provides insight into the theoretical foundations of the study, including the epistemological and ontological justifications for the use of narrative inquiry as the theoretical

construct. With stories at the core of my thesis, narrative inquiry provides insight into the lived experiences of history teachers who teach the Holocaust as revealed by their stories. The literature that addresses the nature of stories and how they are constructed is also discussed.

In Chapter Four I present the literature pertaining to research methodology and methods. In the methodology section I examine the nature of research design and how the process of narrative inquiry unfolds as the study moves from thinking to doing. Narrative inquiry methods provide me with an opportunity to explore not only a qualitative method that is suitable for educational research, but also with the means to tap into my creativity and to think outside the box about methods and modes of writing. I then also discuss the research methods, showing how I turned theory into action in a creative way; what transpired practically during the course of my research follows, from sampling and finding participants, to conducting interviews with the history teachers using a narrative method, how I elicited and collected stories, the transcription of those stories, the analysis and restorying phase of the research and finally my methodological reflections. In Chapter Four I also deliberate on the multiple levels of analysis that I used in the research, starting with the field notes and transcription. I discuss the role of analysis in the transcriptions and then how I use thematic analysis to identify the broad themes in a cross-story analysis in order to discover if and how the history teachers' personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust.

In response to the first research question and as the second level of narrative analysis, in Chapter Five I present the restoried personal stories of the seven participants. The stories were created by narrativising real events and placing them in a creative setting. They are told through the eyes of the participants. Each personal story is related by meticulously sticking to the facts as told to me and using the most authentic voice of the history teacher possible. This was achieved by retaining the tone, insights, and events of the participants' lives. A unique genre for each story captures the individuality, uniqueness and essence of the storyteller's experiences; these are a blog, journal, short story, memoir, television interview, presentation given to a parent-teacher body, and an exchange of letters. The restoried stories are structured according to various themes, beginning with the biographies of each of the participants, and then through the stories I identify the ways in which their personal stories influence and shape their teaching of the Holocaust.

In the analysis chapter, Chapter Six, I answer the second research question as I undertake a third level of narrative analysis when I undertake a cross-story thematic analysis of the restoried stories in which the emerging themes and categories are identified. Three major

areas that are discussed are theoretical knowledge, practical knowledge and personal knowledge representing the diversity of the history teachers' Holocaust knowledge. The history teachers' personal professional Holocaust knowledge landscape is also discussed. Salient features that emerge include the social-historical elements of Holocaust knowledge, the history teachers' methodological knowledge, and the impact of emotion and experiential knowledge on the history teachers' Holocaust education practice. This chapter lays the groundwork for the discussion and interpretation of the findings in Chapter Seven.

In Chapter Seven, with the foundations for the study laid, the climax of the thesis story is set to unfold. The meaning behind the collected themes is identified and the gaps in the literature are filled. I also present a model that can be used to identify how history teachers' personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust. This is my unique contribution to the body of knowledge on Holocaust education and history teachers' personal stories.

The epilogue is a short concluding chapter, in which I round off my thoughts with suggestions for possible further research and how I see life unfolding beyond the thesis story, personally, professionally and academically.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided the backdrop to the investigation, beginning with the questions that initiated it. It began with a discussion highlighting the place of the Holocaust in education both in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. This is a global network of countries comprising not only countries that were directly affected by WWII, but also countries that were geographically far removed from it, particularly those that had emerged from post-conflict situations in which case they used their understanding of the issues relating to the Holocaust to address their own difficulties. This was followed by the motivation and rationale for the study comprising the professional, conceptual and methodological components as well as my personal reasons. The focus and purpose followed with a statement of the research questions and an outline of narrative inquiry methodology. The chapter concluded with a presentation of the route map for the study.

The next chapter provides a review of the literature, where the concepts underpinning the study are investigated. This includes the history teachers' identities, their role in the new educational dispensation and the myriad of social issues related to Holocaust education.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the literature relating to Holocaust education and history teachers' stories

Introduction

Before embarking on my study, it was necessary to familiarise myself with the existing scholarship by listening to the “conversations” of other researchers in my field of study (Andresen, 1997, p. 48). This was done by undertaking a thorough review of the literature. Knowledge does not exist in a vacuum and my study is only a tiny part of a far greater body of research. To locate gaps in this body of research and thereby discover where my own study fitted into the research field, I undertook a thorough review of the relevant literature (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delpont, 2005, p. 124). Later, I drew on this research to support my findings.

Good qualitative research should be original and of a high quality, not simple interpretations of the work undertaken by others and the readings should be “systematic, explicit and reproducible” (Fink, 2014, p. 3). To achieve this goal, Fink proposed a method for “identifying, evaluating and synthesising the existing body of completed and recorded work produced by researchers, scholars and practitioners” (Fink, 2014, pp. 3-5). It entailed the following seven steps: select a research question; select various sources; choose relevant search terms; apply practical and methodological screening criteria; conduct the review; and finally synthesize the results.

A literature review has many purposes, but primarily it should place the study in context by showing the path of previous researchers' findings and it should show how the current study is linked to them (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 125). I therefore undertook the literature review to understand how others in my field theorised and conceptualised their studies, what methods they used, and what their epistemological and ontological standpoints were (Henning, Van Rensburg, & Smit, 2004, p. 26; Mouton, 2001, p. 87). This was not done simply as an evaluation of a set of texts, but rather as an examination of and critical engagement with the “body of accumulated scholarship” (Mouton, 2001, p. 86). Engaging with the scholarship also helped me to find a niche for my study and thereby clarify the purpose of it; to establish the theoretical framework and define the research questions (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 18); to identify the methodology (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 20) and to

contextualise the study (Henning et al., 2004, p. 27). With this knowledge, I set out to review what was “hot”, pertinent and cutting-edge and which ideas and issues were “cold”, defunct and no longer relevant in my review of the literature relevant to my topic.

Undertaking a literature review

Following Fink’s methodology for conducting a literature review, I began with the first and second tasks (Fink, 2014, p. 3), that is, the development of the statement of my research topic (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 125) and identification of relevant sources for my readings. The sources were varied, but being a 21st Century scholar, the most obvious point of departure was the internet. I also identified a variety of other sources, including books, journal articles, scholarly monographs, essays, and research reports (University of East Anglia, 2012, pp. 1-7) and searched through the bibliographies of journal articles that I found interesting and relevant in order to access further sources (Henning et al., 2004, p. 28). I stored these references electronically in EndNote bibliographic software, together with the relevant abstracts and related Portable Document Formats (PDF) documents. This, together with the rest of my digitally recorded thesis was backed up in numerous ways to preserve the information: on the hard-drive of my laptop, on my Universal Serial Bus (USB) device; on the desktop of my work computer; on an external hard-drive; and to Dropbox. I then applied Fink’s steps three to five by identifying, evaluating and synthesising the accumulated body of literature. To begin, I *Googled* relevant search terms such as Holocaust education, history teachers, personal stories and narrative inquiry amongst others. These led me to scholarly books, internet websites and most importantly journal articles, which offered debates on the most current research (Fouché & Delport, 2005, p. 126). I also accessed amongst others, the websites of well-known organisations related to Holocaust studies such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the United Nations and the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation.

Whilst I identified many relevant sources, I also found myself faced with some unexpected difficulties when I tried to buy books or journal articles. Whilst some looked fascinating and pertinent, on further investigation I discovered that they were too costly or were not available locally. The poor South African exchange rate combined with value-added tax on books and journals and international delivery charges meant that I was not always able to source literature that I felt would have provided me with the most current, accessible, accurate and relevant knowledge on my research topic (Mark, 1996, p. 92). In contrast, internet websites were easily accessible, affordable and generally provided me with instant information. But

they were sometimes just that – informational – and in general, this is not the “high-quality original research” favoured by Fink (2014, p. 3) nor is it the dependable, peer-reviewed knowledge that I was seeking.

To truly listen to the voices of scholars in my field, I realised that my most easily accessible and reliable resource was the online University of KwaZulu-Natal Library’s Off-Campus Databases. Using my internet connection and suitable screening criteria that included word searches such as Holocaust, Holocaust education, teachers’ stories, history teachers, education about the Holocaust in South Africa and the umbrella theoretical and methodological frameworks of narrative inquiry, as well as various combinations of these terms, I freely downloaded peer-reviewed articles on a wide array of relevant topics, thereby satisfying Fink’s fourth and fifth tasks. Despite this ease of access, here too was a financial barrier. Some of the articles that I wanted to use were available only through purchase, even though they were part of the database of journals to which the University of KwaZulu-Natal subscribes, and once again the high prices made some of the materials unaffordable. Despite these roadblocks, I was able to gather enough suitable literature to listen to the “conversation” of other scholars and thereby gain insight into the body of work related to my areas of interest, that is, the stories of history teachers and their teaching of the Holocaust.

For this study, I reviewed the literature in four main areas: history teachers’ identities; their Holocaust knowledge; the social issues concomitant with Holocaust education; and the other facets of Holocaust education that impact on history teachers’ teaching of the Holocaust, such as controversial and emotive issues and the various operational and practical considerations that they are required to consider. I also identified gaps in the literature and discussed Holocaust research in South Africa. Then, armed with a mountain of literature, viewpoints, agreements, disagreements and scholarly dialogue, I set about organising my thoughts and began to build my literature review. This was Fink’s sixth task and, according to Fouché and Delport (2005, p. 130), the most crucial priority for the literature review. My intention was therefore to review other researchers’ theories and findings, compare and contrast their theoretical and conceptual perspectives, and take note of their diverse methodologies and issues in order to create a cohesive, coherent argument that would speak to my own research. This, I realised, was going to be a mammoth task (Wassermann, 2012, p. 5) and therefore needed to be well organised (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 130). I needed to find a way to organise my ever-expanding bibliography.

Organising the literature review

With an ever-expanding list of references in EndNote and the copious notes that I had made about my readings, I was advised by my supervisor to record detailed observations of the readings into an electronic template. I therefore consolidated the information in an Excel spreadsheet, using columns entitled: Author, Date of Publication, Title and Findings; what I agreed and disagreed with and why; how the readings might be useful to me; and what surprised me. Fighting my reluctance to write a summary after each reading but realising their collective worth, I forced myself to write the summaries and they ultimately proved to be invaluable. As the list of readings grew, themes and categories within the body of literature began to emerge; so, I separated them into themed tabs in Excel, thereby creating groupings that would later provide the theoretical underpinnings of my research.

Several possible options to organise the presentation of the literature review were possible; chronologically, contextually, conceptually, but also by school of thought, thematically, hypothetically, by case study or by method (Mouton, 2001, p. 91). My choice of method was driven by the research problem. It unfolded incrementally as I gained greater clarity through multiple, cyclical, interactive readings (Mouton, 2001, p. 91). Ultimately, satisfying the seventh task, I chose to order the review thematically. This decision evolved gradually as I began to record the literature in NVivo, computer-aided qualitative data analysis software. I was aware of its potential for organising a literature review (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 179) but had not used it for this purpose before. So, I decided to try it. My first step was to import the PDFs of the journal articles that I had sourced from the Off-Campus Databases into NVivo and then began annotating and coding them. However, once I began working with the multitude of PDFs in my reading arsenal, I realised that the task was far too onerous as I had already acquired too many references to re-annotate them and I concluded that this was simply not going to be a feasible endeavour.

With this idea shelved for future research projects, I nevertheless wanted to find a way to code my articles, books and other material using NVivo. I pondered my dilemma for weeks, knowing that NVivo held the potential for my literature review, but not knowing how to go about it. Then a light-bulb moment struck. Instead of importing and coding each journal articles and book, I simply imported and then coded the summaries I created in Excel, themed tab by themed tab. This was the key not only to finding a way to deal with the large amounts of literature I had collected but also to choosing the method I was going to use to organise it. As themes within my readings emerged and evolved into ever expanding logical hierarchies,

they suggested the super-categories that underpin my study - the context of the Holocaust education globally and locally, history teachers and who they are, stories in general, and the personal stories of history teachers. Thus, logic ultimately dictated that I organise and write my literature review thematically (Fouché & Delport, 2005, p. 130; Mouton, 2001, p. 91).

It was now time to develop the strategy I would use to tackle the readings. I decided to funnel my sources on each topic by first examining the broader issues and then drilling down to more precise topics. For example, when dealing with the literature on Holocaust education, which ultimately became the background material for Chapter One, I began with the development of Holocaust education globally, exploring the way other countries and communities around the world viewed it, and then narrowed the lens to Holocaust education in Africa and then South Africa, where amongst other things, I examined the development and implementation of Holocaust education. This began my insight into my topic, and I was finally in a position to begin my review of the work of other researchers.

I listened to the theories, arguments, comments and criticisms of authoritative voices on issues relating to Holocaust education, gaining a broad understanding of the economic, psychological, social and political context in which the Holocaust is taught (K. Murphy, 2010, pp. 2-3). I investigated if there were any barriers or advantages to teaching it in South Africa and why the Holocaust is almost always taught hand-in-glove with apartheid. I also discovered why the Holocaust was introduced into the NCS. I followed a similar strategy to learn about the history teachers whose work it is to teach about the Holocaust, who they were and what their place in South African history education was.

Hence, to conduct the literature review for this study, I read many resources and listened attentively to the various discourses to develop the theoretical and methodological frameworks that would underpin my research. Comparing and contrasting other researchers' methodological ideas (Andresen, 1997, p. 48), drawing on the "body of scholarship" (Mouton, 2001, p. 87), and listening to other researchers' points of view, arguments and perspectives provided me with insight into the nitty-gritty of narrative research and Holocaust education (Ankiah-Gangadeen, 2013; Parker, 2012). Through this process, I identified gaps in the literature as well as other studies that resonated with my own and hence defined the research space for my study. I was therefore ready to implement Fink's sixth and seventh steps, that is, writing the literature review and synthesising my results (Fink, 2014, p. 5).

With my practical knowledge of literature reviews at hand, it was time to review the literature relating to my study, beginning with the history teachers in South Africa, their knowledge and resources, including their knowledge of the Holocaust and ending with a discussion about the gaps in this literature. So, I began by asking, “Who are the history teachers?”

The history teachers

My exploration of the literature began with a practical, demographic understanding of the history teachers, in which I discovered that their past experiences such as apartheid, impacted on their classroom practice. The review of the literature continued with the history teachers’ role post-1994 and how they adapted to the teaching history in a post-conflict, democratic educational environment. With the introduction of the Holocaust into the NCS, the history teachers were the link between education about the Holocaust and the learners. Therefore, to fully investigate Holocaust education, it was essential to gain insight into the history teachers and their personal stories. Aside from their personal and professional identities, I wanted to understand their Holocaust education pedagogy and philosophy, the extent of their Holocaust knowledge but most crucially, whether history teachers in the literature had any personal connection to the Holocaust.

Through my readings, I discovered that there is a great deal of diversity amongst South African teachers (Pithouse-Morgan, Naicker, & Pillay, 2017, p. 126). The history teaching population is made up of Black African, White, Coloured and Indian history teachers and they come from vastly different religious, cultural, political, and economic backgrounds, with differing life experiences that have influenced them. Their lives are shaped by the stories with which they were raised, reflecting the cultures of which they are a part but also conversely their stories are shaped by their culture and the social roles available to them (Bell, 2002, p. 207). As a result they bring diverse ideas, prejudices, personal difficulties and triumphs into the classroom informed by their thoughts, actions, philosophy, pedagogy, values, attitudes, and beliefs (Seetal, 2006, p. 146).

Identity on every level can shape a person’s behaviour and teachers are not an exception. There is recognition in both formal (school) and informal (museum) sectors that history teachers’ biographies matter and that history teachers’ individual and collective identities are related to “their own personal and institutional biographies” (Robinson & Zinn, 2007, p. 76). Moreover, history teachers’ identities influence their classroom practice (Seetal, 2006, p. 149). In fact, it has been suggested that teachers’ biographies should be included as “valuable

sources for history teaching” in post-conflict societies (Hues, 2011, p. 82; Weldon, 2005, pp. 61-70). As a result, Tibbitts (2006, p. 307) believes that South African teachers need to be “personally prepared” to teach the post-1994 curriculum and unlearn elements of their apartheid schooling and upbringing and that it is essential that history teachers “confront their personal narratives” within the apartheid era (p. 299). In fact, she advised that C2005 should include a biographical component, in which teachers would tell their personal stories in order to directly facilitate their “grappling with their own histories during the apartheid era in order to be prepared to address the topic in the classroom with some insight” (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 307). However, this component of C2005 did not come into effect.

Past influences on history teachers’ personal stories - apartheid and Christian National Education (CNE)

History teachers’ personal stories are intertwined not only with their personal pasts, but also with their collective socio-political pasts. Current South African history teachers are affected by, amongst other things, two strong influences from the past, apartheid and the associated CNE. Large numbers of the current history teachers are, in some way or another, products of apartheid (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296; Weldon, 2005, p. 6; 2008, p. 8). Many are the first generation of the history teachers to experience a non-racial, democratic education system (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 2) but even second and third generation history teachers are not immune to their effects, which are felt via the experiences of their parents, grandparents and other extended family members, as well as the impact these phenomena had on their economic and socio-political standing.

Despite South Africa having emerged relatively peacefully from its traumatic apartheid past (Petersen, 2010, p. 27), deep cracks remain in South Africa’s national, collective psyche, with many older history teachers still carrying the “baggage of apartheid” (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 3). This is “the legacy of prejudice, racism, hurt, anger and guilt – the stubborn ghosts of the past” (Weldon, 2008, p. 8). Sporadically incidents occur in society that reveal that the past still simmers below the deceptively calm surface of the present and these serve to illustrate the strong mental and emotional connection that exists between history teachers’ understanding of the Holocaust and their personal experiences of apartheid. For instance, during a discussion on the impact of the Holocaust on the Jews at a JHGF teacher education workshop (Nates, 2010, p. 22), some history teachers passionately but erroneously declared that like the Holocaust, apartheid was a genocide and that they too had suffered, as though their suffering was not given recognition when speaking about the Holocaust. Despite this deep, personal

emotional association between the Holocaust and apartheid for some, other history teachers simply plastered over these conceptual cracks with platitudes such as, “we see children, not colour” (Jansen, 2004, p. 118). These observations inevitably tinged their teaching, as the history teachers filtered their curriculum knowledge through the veil of their conflicted personal and professional identities, which ultimately impacted on their teaching of values (Weldon, 2010, p. 357).

The gut, emotional response displayed by South African history teachers when confronted with the controversial issues of race and apartheid during Holocaust lessons has led to the suggestion that before teaching the Holocaust, history teachers should first deal with their personal histories to enable them to engage with the material more objectively (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296). The necessity for this filtering provides an opportunity for further research for, according to Weldon (2010, p. 362):

One of the most fruitful fields of further research would be on how the autobiographies, emotions and beliefs of teachers not only filter curriculum knowledge in the classroom, but impact on the way in which democratic values are taught through classroom interactions. Very little is known about this in divided societies.

A second powerful force exerted on current history teachers’ collective psyches and identities was CNE (Nates, 2010, p. 22). When Holocaust education was introduced into the NCS in 2007, almost all the history teachers had been raised and educated under the previous apartheid educational system, which was underpinned by a strong Christian National ethos (Chikoko, Gilmour, Harber, & Serf, 2011, p. 11; Weldon, 2005, p. 1). CNE was based on austere Calvinist principles and was established to uphold strict Afrikaner values, with the intention of imposing a White worldview on the “natives” in order to keep them “in a permanent state of political and economic subordination” and to protect White power and privilege (Msila, 2007, pp. 148-149). The effect of this indoctrination was to create feelings of inferiority in Black Africans and superiority in Whites thereby driving a wedge between the racial groups. Also, Black African education was funded disproportionately less than White education, while Coloured and Indian education lay on the financial continuum between the two. The education of Black African teachers and learners under apartheid was inferior in every possible way, which stunted their educational, professional and personal development (W. R. Johnson, 1982, pp. 220-222). This was the legacy of South Africa’s history teachers at the dawn of democracy.

The newly installed ANC-led government attempted to right past wrongs through vehicles such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was established in 1995 and described by Archbishop Desmond Tutu as:

... part of the tender bridge from a repressive past filled with conflict to a new dispensation with a healed and reconciled nation which has come to terms with its past, not by amnesia or trials, but by amnesty and storytelling (Barry, 2006, p. 696).

But despite the TRC being generally regarded as successful in bringing out the truth, it was less successful in bringing about reconciliation (Vora & Vora, 2004, p. 317) and racial conflict in South Africa continues unabated.

History teachers' role in the educational dispensation

Post-1994 with the winds of change gusting through South Africa, History as a subject was identified as the vehicle for the delivery of the new educational dispensation, which was underpinned by the values of the South African Constitution. The task of promoting values, citizenship and democracy fell, and continues to fall, to the history teachers. They were expected to be the agents of this social change; to teach responsible leadership (Kallaway, 2012, p. 36; Seetal, 2006, p. 143; Weldon, 2008, p. 7); to encourage their learners to embrace moral values, uphold human rights; and to become upstanders in the face of social injustice (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 3). At the same time, they were expected to be promoters of civic responsibility (Kallaway, 2012, p. 36; Seetal, 2006, p. 143; Weldon, 2008, p. 7), in spite of their own lack of clarity on the meaning of citizenship in a democracy (Enslin, 2003, p. 73). This was a massive undertaking for the history teachers and it was all to be achieved with no special training or support (Seetal, 2006, p. 148; Wassermann, 2011, p. 155) because although teacher preparation workshops were organised by the then Department of Education, these were described by some history teachers as “chaotic” (Hues, 2011, p. 79).

The first incarnation of the history curriculum in 1995 was an interim one, so little changed from the pre-apartheid years, other than the eradication of overt racism. Simultaneously the ambitious C2005 with its expected implementation date of 2005 was proposed. With the introduction of OBE in the C2005 NCS, the history teachers found themselves confronted with a radical constructivist curriculum leading to their being stuck in a muddy, history quagmire as the subjects History and Geography were merged into the Learning Area known

as Human and Social Sciences. It was also at this point that discussions emerged regarding the inclusion of the Holocaust.

Despite this radical shift, there was no guiding framework provided in terms of the history curriculum (Ball, 2006, p. 4) as the highly structured curricular framework of CNE had been and the history teachers were left rudderless in choppy waters. They were expected to chart their own course, create their own learning programmes and resources, and were even actively discouraged from using the textbook (Weldon, 2005, p. 2). Chikoko et al. (2011, p. 11) reported

As one South African tutor put it, “Teachers just do not have the capacity to deliver on a complex new ‘progressive’ pedagogy that was favoured by the policy-makers, few of whom had any idea of realities in disadvantaged classrooms.

In other words, it was left to floundering history teachers to produce their own knowledge and as a result, teachers felt “disempowered rather than freed from the shackles of the past system” (Weldon, 2005, p. 2). Also as a result of their disadvantaged backgrounds, as a 1999 South African report by the President’s Education Research Initiative showed, a high percentage of teachers post-apartheid, were unqualified, particularly in rural areas, or under-qualified with limited conceptual knowledge (Sigabi & Mphuthi, 1999, p. 15), a situation borne out by the SAHGF (R. Freedman, 2009, p. 93).

Over the next 12 years, the history curriculum saw numerous incarnations. Even though, according to Phillion and He (2004, p. 8), the ability to bring about educational and social change lies at “the heart of teaching”, the history teachers were thrust into a world of history and curriculum uncertainty and upheaval that made constructive change difficult. These changes were particularly problematic when the Holocaust was introduced because history teachers did not have the luxury of accumulated experience. In addition to their lack of Holocaust teaching experience, the history teachers were responsible for the implementation of each new version of the curriculum (Seetal, 2006, p. 146; Weldon, 2010, p. 353); curricular changes that were frequent enough to prompt the news headline, “Rushing curriculum reform again – how often can the education system expect to keep up with changing demands?” (Bertram, 2011, p. 1). As a result, they lacked not only specialized Holocaust knowledge but even basic content knowledge (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 3), and, in this vacuum of knowledge, history teachers produced knowledge through their personal experiences (Griffiths, 1995 cited in Seetal, 2006, p. 153).

Moreover, there was a fundamental battle to simply get high schools to teach history. Because of the merge with the subject of Geography, History was often neglected and even where it was taught, history teachers had to overcome the negative attitudes of many of their headmasters and colleagues, as well as learners and their parents. This marginalisation of history and the lack of consultation with the practitioners of history education, including the history teachers, led to a great deal of criticism. It was felt that History should be included, because it was the only subject officially addressing issues of human rights. Therefore “History was re-installed as an autonomous subject” (Hues, 2011, pp. 79-80). However, by then the numbers of learners studying History had dwindled at both Grade 9 level, where History and by corollary the Holocaust was now mandated in the NCS, and at Grade 11 level (Hues, 2011, p. 90). Also, when it was taught, it was usually taught with a lens on apartheid to teach two of the lessons of the Holocaust - that genocide should not be repeated, and that human rights should be upheld. However, with the introduction of the 2011 CAPS, more changes were on the cards and with this curricular update History as a subject was no longer overtly mandated to be the deliverer of values. Instead, the Holocaust was to be taught as a series of historical events, without its human rights emphasis.

Personal change

In addition to struggling to adjust to new professional expectations, history teachers had to face adjustments on the personal front too. They were expected to confront and deal not only with their past experiences but also with present personal issues (Seetal, 2006, p. 143) and social transformation (Petersen, 2015, p. 257). Racism, for instance, did not simply dissipate after 1994 and in the staffrooms and classrooms, teachers had to confront their own attitudes towards each other as well as the changing face of the learners, many of whom were now “born-frees”, that is, born post-1994. At the same time the history teachers were expected to not perpetuate racist attitudes in the classroom, a condition necessary for the implementation of the aims and ideals of the new democratically-based curriculum (Weldon, 2008, p. 7) while still “negotiating their own pasts and memories of apartheid as either victims or perpetrators” (Wassermann, 2011, p. 155).

Teaching the Holocaust means dealing with thorny, complicated issues such as crimes against humanity, xenophobia, genocide, apartheid and justice and as a result, teaching it is like poking a stick into a hornet’s nest. It stirs up complex, emotive thoughts and feelings and sometimes leads to heated debate. The same can be said of discussions about race and apartheid that inevitably arise during Holocaust lessons. As products of apartheid, either as

perpetrators, bystanders or victims, the Holocaust story prods the memories of many history teachers who still battle their apartheid scars and whose “unseen pains of transitions” continue to haunt them (Jansen, 2004, p. 118). Many South African history teachers bear memories of their experiences of living under apartheid, experiences that shaped, and continue to shape, their personal identities (Petersen, 2015, p. 257).

Because the Holocaust engages with deeply moral issues, it has been recommended that in order to do this work teachers first need to undergo personal change (Weldon, 2008, p. 8) for into this scenario they bring not only their own identities, but also their memories and experiences of the past (Jansen, 2008, p. 59). Without appropriate spaces to examine their pasts, the classroom becomes contested ground and potentially, “the site for the teacher to express their pain - with students ill-prepared - understandably - to contain the teacher’s emotions” (Petersen, 2015, p. 257). Supporting this contention, K. Murphy (2010, p. S76) notes:

Working with the case study of the Holocaust, particularly in countries emerging from mass violence, provides extraordinary opportunities for teachers to make connections to their own violent past, to develop a vocabulary that allows them to do the work of teaching about their own difficult history. Significantly, this type of study of history also allows teachers not to stay in the past, but instead to make connections to the present and talk about the future.

Yet, despite the connection having been made between history teachers’ own pasts and teaching about their own history when teaching the Holocaust, scant research has been conducted on what these pasts are and how history teachers’ lived experiences influence what they teach. Dealing with past attitudes and memories is an exercise fraught with difficulties, because although memory frames our personal and collective identities, it is not always exact and according to Nytagodien and Neal (2004, p. 381) some of our “recollections” might not even have happened. Yet memory is helpful, because reflecting on the past provides each person with unique reminiscences that in turn impose “special meaning” on her current perceptions. These in turn become an “accumulation of memories” through which collective societal identity is shaped (Nytagodien & Neal, 2004, p. 382).

Therefore, interviewing history teachers to listen to their personal stories as slivers of their life histories provided a window not only into what is taught and how, but also into their perceptions of life and humanity that ultimately had the ability to transform what they teach.

But before using the history teachers' personal stories to understand Holocaust education, an investigation into teachers' knowledge was necessary.

Teachers' knowledge

Knowledge is a pre-requisite for effective teaching (Guerriero, 2014, p. 4). Traditionally, teachers have been thought of as having a knowledge base that is comprised of content knowledge, general pedagogical knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, curriculum knowledge, knowledge of learners and their characteristics, knowledge of educational contexts, knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values (Ben-Peretz, 2011, p. 4; Shulman, 1986, p. 8). But the classification of teachers' knowledge as expert is not found simply in their knowledge about the curriculum or teaching strategies, but rather in how they organise, integrate and use that content knowledge (Hattie, 2003, p. 5).

Furthermore, while their theoretical and practical knowledge together constitutes their professional knowledge (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996, p. 24), it is "the sum total of the teacher's experiences" that represents teachers' personal professional knowledge (Connelly, Clandinin, & Ming Fang, 1997, p. 666) as illustrated in Figure 1. Clandinin (1985, p. 361) argues that if the various factors comprising teachers' knowledge were taken in isolation, it could be argued that theoretical knowledge is, in fact, better known by academics than teachers, and practical knowledge of children is better known by their parents. It is the totality of their knowledge, the complex web of interconnected elements with multiple layers, including the teachers' working environment, inside and outside the classroom, their knowledge as professionals, and the relationship of that knowledge to policy and theory (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996, p. 24) that makes up the fabric of teachers' personal professional knowledge. In other words, teachers' knowledge is more than a combination of theory and practice; their knowledge certainly resides in their minds but also in their lived experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 1988, p. 269).

It is therefore necessary to study teachers' lived experiences biographically in addition to the details and forms of their classroom practice. In other words, teachers' personal knowledge derives from their identities, who they are, where they come from, and the specific context in which they grew up (Clandinin, 1985, p. 361) while their practical knowledge is informed by their personal experiences, backgrounds and personal characteristics (Watson, 2006, p. 525). Teachers' personal practical knowledge therefore relies on both theoretical and practical components; embodies emotional and moral knowledge; includes knowledge about how to

deal with experiential emotional, controversial issues, and even includes matters that have the potential to harm learners (Foster, 2013, p. 141). These elements are all found in teachers' personal stories. Stories therefore play a key role in teachers' personal knowledge.

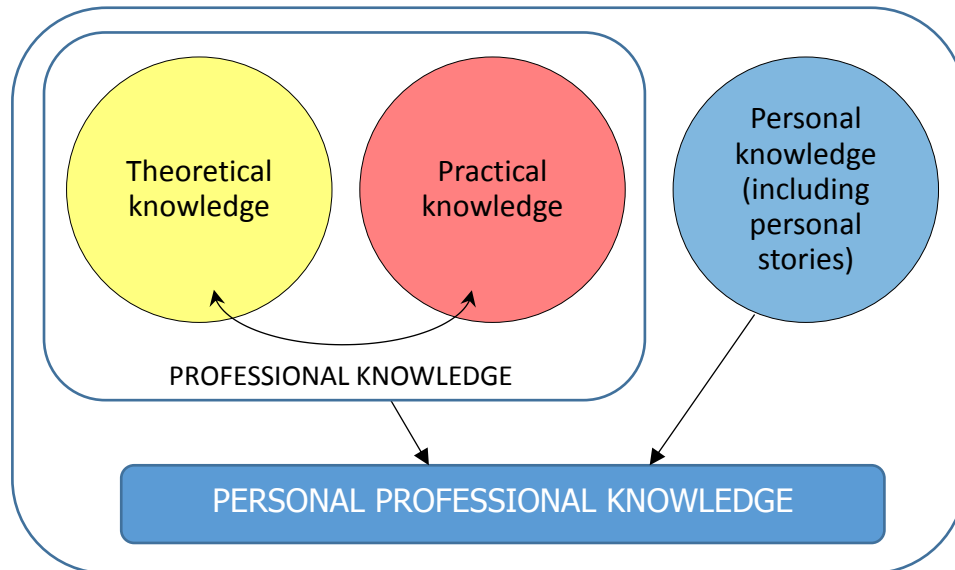


Figure 1. Teachers' personal professional knowledge, based on the work of Clandinin and Connelly (1996, pp. 24-30)

There is a complex, multidirectional relationship between being and agency, according to Watson (2006, p. 525), who proposes, "teachers' stories provide a means by which they can integrate knowledge, practice and context within prevailing educational discourses." In this way, personal practical knowledge is "intimately connected with the personal and professional narratives" of teachers' (Clandinin, 1985, pp. 382-383) and their stories become the landscape in which their practice and professional identity meet (Watson, 2006, p. 525). These stories take place in a certain context and are imbued with the teachers' past experiences, present situations and future plans, being shaped by the construction and reconstruction of the stories that tell of their experiences (Craig, 1999, p. 398). In other words, teachers bring their histories to bear on what they teach (Jansen, 2008, p. 71) and they shape their lessons through the way in which they position themselves and their learners (Geschier, 2010, p. 47).

For instance, one of the most contentious areas of knowledge in South Africa is the history teachers' professional knowledge, which, due to South African's apartheid past, is neither uniform across the races nor equitable. Black African history teachers who were educated under the apartheid regime received vastly inferior education than their White counterparts as

National Party spending differed according to race (Vally, Dolombisa, & Porteus, 1999, p. 83). Vally et al. (1999, p. 83) described the apartheid education system as follows:

In Black schools, apartheid education meant minimal levels of resources, inadequately trained and few staff, poor quality of learning materials, shortages of classrooms, and the absence of laboratories and libraries. Besides these tangible deprivations, schools also inculcated unquestioning conformity, rote learning, autocratic teaching, authoritarian management styles, syllabi replete with racism and sexism, and antiquated forms of assessment and evaluation.

Black South African history teachers' professional knowledge is therefore intertwined with their history teaching and their personal situations inevitably impacted on many spheres of their professional knowledge. And ultimately, Clandinin and Connelly believe, bringing this complex relationship of theoretical, practical and personal knowledge together represents knowledge that is valid and reliable, making for better educated teachers (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996, p. 24),

Resources and teacher development

Teachers need to be adequately educated and have the necessary knowledge for teaching, including practical knowledge of their learners (Shulman, 1987, p. 4). They can then organise and integrate their content knowledge and stories are often used as a frame to do this (Carter, 1993, p. 7). Furthermore, it has been shown that the better both the content and pedagogical content knowledge of the teachers, the more learners were able to achieve and the greater the teachers' pedagogical content, the more effectively the teachers taught (Guerriero, 2014, p. 4). In other words, what teachers know is a measure of what they teach. Hence, teachers who know more teach better; teachers who know more history, teach better history; and teachers who know more about the Holocaust, teach the Holocaust better.

There is however, a thorn in South African education and in the ability of teachers to fully attain the required knowledge base. As a result of their legacy of discrimination under apartheid, Black African, Indian and Coloured teachers were historically not well prepared by their teacher education (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 11). They relied, and continue to rely, heavily on textbooks and rote learning (Kallaway, 2012, p. 36). While textbooks tend to be the primary shapers of national identity and historical awareness (Koekemoer, 2012, p. 31; Stojanovic, 2001, p. 27), when it comes to the multiple versions of the history curriculum

with which the history teachers have had to contend, they have tended to turn to curriculum documents as their benchmark rather than the approved textbooks as a source of knowledge (Hues, 2011, p. 78).

Aside from using the NCS documents to guide their teaching of the Holocaust, history teachers also use the textbooks, which are easily accessible, but the content therein is not consistent. Consequently, the Holocaust topic ranges from being represented as a footnote to WWII to being more deeply interrogated. Even so, there is little or no control over the accuracy of the knowledge that history teachers disseminate (R. Freedman, 2009, p. 94). The problem is exacerbated by the relative newness of the topic in the latest history curriculum. In the view of Harding, London, and Safer (2001, p. 506), a partial solution lies in a change of focus by the history teachers, who are usually deemed to be “the experts” in their field and therefore thought to possess all the knowledge that needs to be dispensed. They suggest that history teachers could adopt a more collaborative approach in the classroom thereby empowering their students and attaining greater equity between teachers and learners.

Aside from these resources, it is argued that history teachers can supplement their Holocaust knowledge at local Holocaust centres or through online Holocaust courses, as discussed in the previous chapter. It is claimed that the Department of Education has “recognised the SAHGF as the provider of choice” and endorsed the educational programmes at the Holocaust centres (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 3). These programmes, a senior museum educator stated, would ensure that the Holocaust was taught correctly, because, she argued, the history teachers “can’t teach it their way” (Gouws, 2011, p. 96). The SAHGF’s teaching programmes are based on the premise that “the history of the Holocaust provides a powerful case study for examining the dangers of prejudice and discrimination and the moral imperative for individuals to make responsible choices and defend human rights” (Nates, 2010, p. 19; Petersen, 2006, p. 11). Moreover, the SAHGF believes that Holocaust education should be used to challenge discrimination and prejudice in South African society and contribute to the inculcation of moral values by encouraging learners to stand up in defence of human rights (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 1).

One of the components of teacher education workshops of the SAHGF that relates to this study is biography (R. Freedman, 2009, p. 90). Freedman believes that biography should be covered if history teachers are to achieve the personal change that he feels is necessary, a situation that he states can only be achieved through self-examination and introspection (R. Freedman, 2009, p. 94). Therefore at the CTHGC, the teacher education programmes are

designed to address teachers' understanding of identity, by creating an understanding of the relationship between "the construction of identity and behaviour" (Petersen, 2011, p. 1) and highlight the connection between their personal, group and national identities, with the ultimate goal of initiating personal growth, agency, and a sense of moral responsibility to ensure that the history teachers stand up for the human rights of others (Petersen, 2011, p. 2). Teacher training workshops held by FHAO and Facing the Past also provide history teachers with the opportunity for self-reflection and to consider their pasts (Weldon, 2010, p. 359) and they enable history teachers from diverse backgrounds to explore "their own biographical knowledge and experience in the context of apartheid" (Hues, 2011, p. 82). There are some disadvantages however, one of which is that many of the online courses are dollar-based and therefore costly, so this would probably serve as a financial barrier to most South African history teachers. Also, the current teacher training programmes, whilst addressing biography, do not focus on each history teacher's individual story nor do they connect the teachers to a deeper understanding of how their personal stories can create a lens through which they teach the Holocaust. Anecdotally, all these workshops exploring teachers' biographies have been successful, but no research exists to support this claim. In addition, aside from influencing social transformation, teacher development globally enables discussions about a country's past, which ultimately impacts on learners' personal growth and development too. This is particularly relevant in a post-conflict, post-apartheid Third World South Africa (Weldon, 2008, pp. 1-12).

This social element of Holocaust education, which is discussed in the next section, is a significant element of the way the Holocaust is taught.

Holocaust knowledge

It has been suggested that there is a relationship between history teachers' rationale for teaching the Holocaust and their understanding of it (Pettigrew, 2017, p. 1). In South Africa, the aims of teaching history are outlined in the CAPS-History curriculum and refer to the topics and content knowledge required by the history teachers. The aims of history include factors such as inculcating interest in and enjoyment of the past, understanding forces that shape the past and being able to understand historical concepts and methodology. Included in the study of history at both Grade 9 and Grade 11 levels, is a socialisation process, as the history curriculum "supports citizenship within a democracy" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p. 8; 2011b, p. 9). This is achieved by the documentation of the aims of history in CAPS which notes that history teachers should adhere to the values of the South

African Constitution; encourage civic responsibility and responsible leadership; and promote human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia. In other words, both historical and social concerns lie at the heart of history teaching in South Africa and by corollary, the Holocaust.

The historical aims for teaching the Holocaust are to teach learners the actual history in response to questions such as, “How did the events of the Holocaust unfold?” and “What events made it possible?” The historical approach to teaching the Holocaust therefore includes historical content, consideration of concepts such as democracy, nationalism and totalitarianism and Nazi propaganda (Moisan, Hirsch, & Audet, 2015, p. 252). In contrast, the social aims for teaching the Holocaust are embodied in the desire to socialise the learners and inculcate values in them, by addressing their civic and moral responsibility. This is done by encouraging learners to consider the ethical issues and implications of situations that arose during the Holocaust, such as the complex dilemmas faced by people or the kinds of justice that were meted out to perpetrators. Other social issues that are dealt with are issues of human rights, genocide, racism and discrimination and the way in which these apply in a contemporary context (Moisan et al., 2015, pp. 252-254). However, this socialising aspect of Holocaust education is often emotionally charged (Gouws, 2011, p. 202; Pettigrew, 2010, p. 50; Salmons, 2010, p. 57).

With the changes in the national curriculum and the current CAPS-History curriculum for Grade 9, the historical events of the Holocaust are outlined in the content (Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p. 41), however, the social component of teaching the Holocaust that was present in the previous NCS is not. Even so, the literature shows that various social issues continue to arise, particularly when teaching history in a post-conflict and post-apartheid, diverse, multicultural environments such as South Africa where countries are required to deal with their conflicted pasts. This leads to discussions about building national identity, achieving unity and reconciliation in the face of racism, and dealing with the impact of multiculturalism and diversity. Researchers agree that teaching the Holocaust assists countries in their post-conflict development (Staub, 2006, p. 881; Weldon, 2009, p. 277) and stimulates national discourse. In addition, the Holocaust is more likely to be taught in countries that have a focus on human rights, diversity and multiculturalism (Bromley & Russell, 2010, p. 1). The Holocaust is then taught as a case study to counteract that country’s own social issues such as racism, discrimination, stereotyping, xenophobia and antisemitism (Altman, 2013, p. 126) thereby reflecting each country’s experience of human rights abuses, genocide and antisemitism (Maitles, Cowan, & Butler, 2006, p. 13). In this way, the Holocaust is taught to

confront their own shortcomings, particularly regarding issues of racism and human rights. In Rwanda, for example, where free speech is still regarded as dangerous, using the Holocaust as a case study provides the opportunity for significant connections to Rwanda's past and current issues" (K. Murphy, 2010, p. 74). Other post-conflict countries like South Africa, also use the Holocaust in this way but translate their teaching of the Holocaust into social activism (Nates, 2011, p. 30).

Yet, many post-conflict societies have no desire to face their pasts or deal with their own atrocities, even though a necessary ingredient to understanding ourselves is understanding our past (Bourguignon, 2005, p. 64). Moreover, there is no empirical evidence to support the notion that teaching the Holocaust will prevent future genocides or even immunise learners against bullying, racism, stereotyping or hatred (Weldon, 2005, p. 7). There is also no evidence that learners will adopt behaviour changes that will lead them to accept diversity, respect cultural differences, assume responsibility, participate actively in democracy, actively defend human rights when they are violated, nor help and care for the discriminated and persecuted (Ehmann, 2001, p. 608; Petersen, 2010, p. S29). Therefore, there is no guarantee that teaching about the Holocaust will protect countries against racism. In a post-conflict country like Hungary, for instance, whilst there is a desire to build a new national identity through a strengthening of national consciousness, there remains a glaring avoidance of the country's recent history of antisemitism and racism. This is demonstrated by the fact that despite displaying a willingness to use the Holocaust portion of their history to build its national consciousness, Hungarians have rephrased history, taking credit for the good and simply ignoring national historical atrocities (Van Iterson & Nenadović, 2013, p. 97).

A similar rewriting of the past (Jenkins & Brickley, 1989, p. 21) and building of a new national identity has been evident in South Africa when new national educational policies were implemented (Baines, 1998, pp. 1-14; Weldon, 2008, p. 2). One of these was the introduction of the Holocaust into the national history curriculum. The Holocaust was mostly taught prior to apartheid and this enabled discussions about the parallels between Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa to take place as well as topical discussions about human rights, antisemitism, racism, and the concept of choice (Nates, 2010, p. 19). By obliquely examining the human rights abuses perpetrated by the Nazis and their collaborators, discussions about the Holocaust provided emotional distance from the traumas of apartheid and facilitated South Africa's confrontation with its apartheid past. However, teachers needed to be aware that despite some similarities in the legal implementation of social and political policies, significant differences between the Holocaust post-1941 and apartheid also exist. For

instance, unlike the situation in post-WWII Germany, where most of the victims had been murdered, in post-apartheid South Africa, perpetrators and victims continued to live together and needed to find a way forward together (Weldon, 2008, p. 2).

However, the literature revealed that examining South Africa's apartheid past can be painful and some teachers reported that they did not enjoy teaching about apartheid because it raised emotional issues for them (Silbert & Petersen, 2008, n.p.). Because of such issues, Salmons (2003, p. 147) urges that learners who come from "cultural and ethnic backgrounds that have long histories of prejudice and discrimination" should have their own pain acknowledged before examining the experiences of victims of the Holocaust. Furthermore, discussions around issues such as bullying, persecution, racism, marginalization, prejudice, exclusion, isolation, and violence, should take place in a safe environment for learners (B. Van Driel & Van Dijk, 2010, p. 135) for their implications are far-reaching and can inform learners' future sense of identity (Robinson & Zinn, 2007, p. 76). Furthermore, while it has been acknowledged that learning about past abuses of human rights has not prevented them from being repeated, it can nevertheless serve as a powerful reminder that to repeat past mistakes is foolish and should be prevented (Department of Education, 2000, p. 24).

Notwithstanding South Africa's relatively peaceful 1994 transition to democracy, it remains a fractured society with persistent racism (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 43; Enslin, 2003, p. 73; Msimang, 2013) and it remains a society in conflict (Weldon, 2008, p. 7). With a huge chasm between those wielding wealth and power and those without it, racial fault lines have appeared across the country and events are continuously being filtered through a racial lens (Jansen, 2008, p. 60). Unity and national reconciliation is yet to be achieved and racism continues (Enslin, 2003, p. 73; Msimang, 2013). It is increasingly being placed front and centre in the public consciousness with race and racial differences occupying social media from articles such as *Racial Tension Building in SA – Jansen* (Edwards, 2010), to television news, to rants by internet bloggers and there is even a note in the latest Grade 9 CAPS for History explaining it (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 43):

The issue of 'race' still vexes South African society today. Scientists say that 'race' is a cultural or social construct and not a biological one. Apartheid ideology, for example, selected superficial criteria of physical appearance to create categories of people and used these to classify people into 'population groups'.

The discussion about race for 14-year-olds in the CAPS-History curriculum falls under the following topics: definition of racism; 1948 National Party and Apartheid; and 1950s: repression and non-violent resistance to apartheid. As previously noted, these topics are taught by history teachers, who were themselves born and raised within the social and cultural context of the racially-based system of apartheid; a factor that continues to influence their personal identities (Baines, 1998, p. 7). In addition, South Africa is peppered with violent service delivery or xenophobic protests, for example, the recent #feesmustfall civil action that engulfed the country's universities. Racism and xenophobia are rife despite "the virtues of the constitution" (Kallaway, 2012, p. 33) and the ideals embedded in the NCS which promotes "human rights and peace by challenging prejudices" and "supports citizenship within a democracy" (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 9; Kallaway, 2012, p. 30). This was demonstrated in the xenophobic attacks that hit the headlines in 2013 (Evans, 2013; Patel, 2013), 2015 and 2017, amid warnings that South Africans were becoming desensitized to violence (Centre for Human Rights, 2013). Despite political changes and changes to a non-racial schooling system in South Africa having been achieved relatively peacefully (Jansen, 2004, p. 117), in the classroom, "where it matters the most, not only in terms of curricular knowledge, but for inculcating the democratic values for the new society" change has been more difficult to achieve (Weldon, 2008, p. 7).

Multiculturalism⁸ is most commonly regarded as a phenomenon in which the social and cultural differences between people are celebrated and honoured (Fay, 1996, p. 4) and according to Kalantzis and Cope (1992), "may prove to be the key educational issue of our epoch." Diversity and the issues that it raises are found not only in mainstream schooling but also in educational policy (Phillion & He, 2004, p. 4). In South Africa, however, multiculturalism has not been well-defined and remains a "contested concept" (Baines, 1998, p. 5). Researchers agree that South Africans want to build a new national identity but differ when it comes to how this is done. For instance, researchers have divergent views on the influence of diversity, with Baines (1998, p. 2) postulating that focusing on diversity can be divisive while Weldon sees it as a uniting force (Weldon, 2008, p. 7). The South African Constitution recognises and encourages cultural diversity and makes provision for different groups to nurture their own language and heritage although it does not specifically enshrine a policy of multiculturalism and questions arise as to how these distinct groups can really relate to or understand one another (Fay, 1996, p. 4). For instance, does multiculturalism contribute to national unity (Weldon, 2008, p. 3) or is it potentially divisive (Baines, 1998, p. 4)?

⁸ The phrase multicultural education is used in North America while intercultural education is used in Europe (B. Van Driel & Van Dijk, 2010). I will be using the world multicultural to describe cultural diversity.

According to Fay (1996, p. 137), personal identity is an integral part of a diverse, multicultural society. Furthermore, he proposes that identity is so unique that unless you are part of a particular social group you cannot really know the experiences of that group. He therefore advises that in a conflicted multicultural situation one should ask what people mean by their behaviour rather than making assumptions about it. This raises questions for the diverse history classroom. Can learners as a group empathise with the people they are studying, such as Holocaust victims who are from a completely different group (Fay, 1996, p. 12)? Do learners hold similar values to those they are learning about? P. Du Preez and Roux (2010, p. 13) point out that there is a disconnect between the values advocated at school and those prized at home, so a side effect of this non-alignment in consciousness could be to infuse distrust and miscommunication into a situation where trust is key, and thus lead to a breakdown in the sharing of knowledge (Finestone & Snyman, 2005, p. 14).

The result of the emergence of such issues in the classroom was that a variety of conversations took place about how Holocaust education impacted on both teachers and learners, such as the emotional impact on them. These issues are discussed next.

Preparedness to teach the Holocaust

Since knowledge is such a complex, layered phenomenon, the question arises as to how the history teachers' Holocaust knowledge was acquired and whether they had the support and capacity to teach it. Since the introduction of the Holocaust into curricula worldwide, questions have been raised about history teachers' preparation for and their ability to teach it. Alarm bells have been rung as to "whether the majority of public school teachers possess the necessary training and preparation to teach about this most complex and emotional subject" (Shawn, 1995, pp. 15-18; Waterson, 2009, p. 7) even though an entire methodology, unlike any other topic in the history curriculum, has sprung up about how to teach the Holocaust (Cohn, Ali, & Horne, 2009, pp. 53-59; Glanz, 1999, pp. 547-565; Task Force for International Co-operation on Holocaust education, 2010, n.p.; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, n.p.). Because of the vastness of the topic and the complexity of the history, it is necessary for teachers to understand why they are teaching the Holocaust otherwise they will be unsure of what content to include (Pettigrew, 2017, p. 2). Moreover, Petersen (2010, p. 27) advises that if teachers are to be enabled to effectively teach the Holocaust when the goal is social transformation then teacher education has to extend beyond merely their content knowledge and methodological skills. In this regard, schools have not provided adequate teacher training (Schwartz, 1990, p. 99). Consequently, many teachers are not educated to talk

about controversial topics that are related to Holocaust education, such as prejudice, racism and discrimination or to deal with their emotions (B. Van Driel, 2003, p. 130). This is supported by Chikoko et al. (2011, p. 9) who suggested that South African teachers are generally not sufficiently prepared to facilitate discussions about controversial issues citing lack of time; fear to engage with issues that might raise controversy; fears about possible legal litigation; feeling uncomfortable; and a “great desire not to open up the wounds of racism” (Chikoko et al., 2011, pp. 13-14). Moreover, he found that a gap existed between what teachers said they did and what their students perceived them to be actually doing (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 10).

Conversations about Holocaust education

Inevitably, teaching about the Holocaust means teaching someone else’s history and in South Africa, this means teaching a Eurocentric history far removed from most history teachers’ personal experiences. The majority of South Africans know little of WWII European history and what is known is approached with a degree of scepticism, being viewed through the lens of colonialism (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 3). Colonialism is regarded with derision in South African society, as evidenced by the demands of the current #feesmustfall movement to decolonise higher education (Le Grange, 2016, pp. 1-12). Moreover, because numerous Holocaust museums have sprung up both locally and globally with the intention of highlighting Jewish memory, history about the narrow period 1933 to 1948, and activism, it has been suggested that the totality of Jewish history is erroneously being viewed entirely through the lens of the Holocaust and does not incorporate the other thousands of years of European Jewish civilization (Young, 1993, p. 349). This lack of understanding of Jewish history could generate barriers to empathy, with a laager mentality of us vs. them developing as a result of the deep suspicions that sometimes arise from lack of understanding of other people’s culture, identity and religious beliefs. Gobodo-Madikizela (2002, p. 23) described the barrier to empathy thus:

... if from the very onset, before one’s ability to choose the right thing is tested, one’s moral obligations are divided in terms of “us and them,” and the images of “them” are such that they exist only as objectified others, then the idea of “choosing the right thing” has a totally different meaning from the one we may have in mind.

Aside from teaching other people’s history, the history teachers are also teaching other people’s children. This necessitates an understanding of the unique nature of each learner,

who brings his or her own background and life perspective to the classroom (Harding et al., 2001, p. 509). This is particularly relevant when teaching the Holocaust because the extreme events can distress learners if what they see or hear triggers a personal reaction. For instance, museum educators reported that some learners became extremely emotional during course of their Holocaust exhibition tours as they related some of the Jews' experiences to their own or were simply touched by the atrocities that they were witnessing (Gouws, 2011, p. 135).

It's emotional

While teachers' identities and knowledge play a significant role in how the Holocaust is taught, they do not tell the whole story. Inescapably, the Holocaust is an emotional matter (Moisan et al., 2015, p. 248). Even though both head and heart matter in education, it is emotions that are "at the heart of teaching" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 835). Emotion has the ability to raise temperatures and generate intense emotion (Lindquist, 2010, p. 89). Baum (1996, p. 45) for instance, describes the absolute stillness and silence that ascended on her class when she taught the Holocaust, elaborating that it was "not hostile, not bored, not apathetic." Other complex emotions also crowd the history classroom: intuition and caring (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 836); discomfort vs. feeling safe and supported (Zembylas & McGlynn, 2012, p. 44); hope and despair (Baum, 1996, p. 45); and empathy (Bikwana, 2011, p. 63; Fracapane & Haß, 2014, p. 22). However, the concept of empathy should not be overplayed in Holocaust education as it is extremely difficult for both children and adults to truly understand what others experienced during the Holocaust, a genocide that took place in a very different time and place (R. Harris, Foreman-Peck, & Northants, 2004, p. 98). They contend that it is almost impossible for learners to fully identify with victims of the extreme trauma of the Holocaust (Short & Reed, 2004, p. 55). For this reason, role play, which might trivialise the history, has mainly been rejected as a pedagogical tool (Short & Reed, 2004, p. 55; Silbert & Wray, 2004, p. 17).

History teachers' emotions are particularly relevant in post-conflict environments, such as South Africa. Some feel uncomfortable when confronting controversial issues in the classroom and may therefore avoid teaching sensitive topics (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 8). Ironically, though they might feel uncomfortable teaching other controversial topics, they tend to feel a sense of responsibility to teach about genocide (K. Murphy, 2010, p. 75). Despite the difficulties they pose, emotive and controversial issues are nevertheless "an integral and inescapable part" of the secondary school curriculum (Stradling, 1984, p. 121). This means that any situation can arise, and history teachers are simply required to deal with them, with or

without the relevant education. For instance, they might be thrust into conversations about bystander behaviour or the dilemmas faced by victims and even perpetrators during the Holocaust (Nates, 2010, p. 20). These debates can sometimes be painful because they tap into the history teachers own past apartheid experiences (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296); stories that are often emotion-laden (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 305). As a result the history teachers view teaching the Holocaust as a “difficult and emotional task” (Weldon, 2005, p. 6) and because many are unable to “divorce their own personal history from that of the required curriculum” (Nates, 2011, p. 2). Further complicating the situation, the teacher, while grappling with her own intense emotions, is required to behave like a psychologist and simultaneously deal with her learners’ emotions and attitudes.

It’s daunting and raises controversial issues

In South Africa, teaching about the Holocaust is designed to provide a neutral, less emotionally charged starting point for teaching apartheid, but in both topics, controversial discussions about racism, discrimination, stereotyping, choice and dilemmas inevitably arise (Nates, 2010, 2011; Tibbitts, 2006, pp. 300, 303). Yet a key component for strengthening democracy through education is the ability to discuss controversial issues (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 6; Wassermann, Francis, & Ndou, 2009, p. 1), that is, issues that can be seen from multiple, diverse perspectives (Wassermann et al., 2009, p. 2). Some of the aims of teaching controversial issues, including the Holocaust, are to inculcate critical thinking in learners (Inbar, 2009), to prepare them for the real world (Burron, 2006, p. 6; Wassermann et al., 2009, p. 3); to help them to make informed judgements (Manyane, 1995, p. 10; Wassermann et al., 2009, p. 4); to improve their interpersonal skills; and to enable them to become better citizens (Harwood & Hahn, 1990, p. 2) with the ultimate aim of enhancing democratic behaviour (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 6). These aims are in line with those laid down by the DoBET for the South African curriculum (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 4).

Despite these lofty aims, for some teachers the teaching of controversial issues is problematic, particularly when connected to racism. The Holocaust, which raises many uncomfortable issues including racism, genocide, the abuse of human rights and moral values falls within this category. More specifically, South African teachers are reluctant to open “the wounds of racism” (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 14) and some feel more comfortable simply not tackling issues that stir up muddy water, preferring to adopt a more factual approach (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 14). The conceptual shift of the new CAPS-History curriculum might therefore be

more comfortable for them. Open-ended topics like, “What choices did people have in Nazi Germany?” and “How the Nazis use this [Aryan] ‘identity’ to define and exclude others?” (Department of Education, 2002b, p. 61) that characterised the NCS-History Grade 9 curriculum have been removed. Instead they have been replaced with more content-based material, such as “Reasons for public support for the Nazi Party and the 1932 and 1933 elections” and “Examples of resistance to Nazism in Germany” (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 41).

Another aspect of the controversial nature of Holocaust education is that it is “fraught with political and ethical questions that are difficult to separate and debate” (Moisan et al., 2015). Controversial topics that can arise include antisemitism, apartheid, the Palestinian question or even discussions about justice or about culpability. Topics such as these can generate strong reactions, both positive and negative, in both teachers and learners (Nates, 2010, p. 24). Anti-Jewish sentiment is on the rise internationally, particularly in Muslim and Arab-speaking communities (Rutland, 2010, p. 75). And even though antisemitism amongst the Black African community in South Africa is limited (Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, 2016, p. 25)⁹, current affairs issues such as the Palestine-Israel debate or xenophobia, that are often in the news can provoke uncomfortable, challenging situations for teachers of the Holocaust. This situation was attested to by museum educators during the course of their guiding at the DHGC (Gouws, 2011, p. 132). In fact, many history teachers who teach the Holocaust find it daunting (Moisan et al., 2015, p. 248) and in such cases, where they feel ill-equipped to handle emotionally-charged discussions, an option is to simply choose to avoid the entire messy state of affairs (Bromley & Russell, 2010, p. 154; B. Van Driel, 2003, p. 130).

Furthermore, Holocaust education is prone to methodological and content problems such as the teaching of incorrect facts; gaps in the history teachers’ content knowledge; poor methodological knowledge; teachers who are unprepared; time constraints; curriculum overload; and large group sizes (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 15; Gouws, 2011, p. 141; Nates, 2010, p. 23; Waterson, 2009, p. 4). Difficulties can emanate from the history teachers’ lack confidence; lack of sufficient resources; feelings of helplessness and inadequate preparation when dealing with issues of diversity or intolerance (Petersen, 2011, p. 3; Waterson, 2009, p. 4). These issues are supported by other research, which found that teachers feel “woefully

⁹ This was illustrated in a recent study on how Black Africans view Jews in South Africa. The summary of the findings showed that in Johannesburg approximately 51% of Black Africans said they had met a Jew, while in Durban, the site of my study, 81% reported that they had not (Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, 2016, p. 25).

underprepared” to teach in a diverse, multicultural environments (Ball, 2006, p. 1) such as South Africa and they lack the tools to deal with any learners’ negativity that might arise when discussing controversial issues (Wassermann et al., 2009, p. 7). It has also been found that some history teachers do not understand the rationale behind the inclusion of the Holocaust in the history curriculum (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 3) and as a result, particularly those who feel incapable, unqualified or unwilling to engage with the subject matter, have unilaterally decided that “the best option for history [is] simply not to teach it” (Dryden-Peterson & Siebörger, 2006, p. 400). Moreover, some teachers have an ambivalence towards engaging with human rights, a topic that they strongly connect to the Holocaust, and this hampers their ability to create upstanders for social justice (Petersen, 2011, p. 3).

How do I teach sixty learners in a diverse, multilingual class?

Large group sizes can be highly problematic and they are particularly evident in South African township and rural schools where there can be forty to sixty learners in a class (Phurutse, 2005, p. 5). Also, in many cases schools are poorly resourced with limited access to basic facilities like water, electricity, sanitation and healthcare making discussions about emotional issues or complex theoretical discussions challenging (Ball, 2006, p. 4). Exacerbating the situation, there is sometimes a large diversity of learners in the South African history classroom and whilst teachers are encouraged to uphold cultural diversity (Vally & Dalamba, 1999, p. 32), within this educational ideological framework, issues of racism arise, characterised by the “language of racial accusation, the language of social alienation, and the language of group anger” (Jansen, 2004, p. 118).

Language poses other problems too. South Africa has eleven official languages, a situation that causes difficulties for educators during Holocaust centre teacher education programmes (Nates, 2010, p. 23). The preferred language for Holocaust education is English and teaching about the Holocaust in learners’ mother tongue can be difficult. This was illustrated when a Black African isiZulu-speaking museum educator explained that words commonly used in Holocaust education, such as antisemitism, stereotyping and discrimination do not exist in isiZulu, the mother-tongue of most learners in KZN (Gouws, 2011, p. 139). The issue of the language of presentation in Holocaust education, as far as I can ascertain, has not been previously researched, and provides an opportunity for further study. A further concern is the lack of time available for teaching the Holocaust - a common gripe faced by Holocaust educators worldwide (Assmann, 2010, p. 104; Davies, 2000, p. 107; Russell, 2006, p. 137).

It's uplifting

On the flip side, engagement with the Holocaust can be a positive experience providing history teachers with the opportunity to connect with their own histories (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296). Holocaust education programmes such as that of the CTHGC use their training workshops to create the emotional space for teachers to explore their personal stories of apartheid and their experiences of teaching in the recently democratic country (Petersen, 2011, p. 3). Because teachers tend to get personally involved in the history that they are teaching, this leads them to air their opinions (Hues, 2011, p. 86). Other elements that make a positive difference to teachers' experience of teaching the Holocaust includes a positive school climate and culture; the application of modern technology; and the context of the classroom (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010; Salmons, 2001, 2003). It has been noted that teachers who participate in Holocaust educational programmes immediately make connections to their own history of human rights (Chyrikins & Vieyra, 2010, p. 10) and through the Facing the Past programme, teachers felt that they were able to reclaim their professionalism (Weldon, 2005, p. 4). It is the engagement with these personal stories and how teachers use their stories to connect to Holocaust education that underpins this study.

Despite many issues regarding Holocaust education having been addressed in the literature, gaps remain. It is these gaps that I address next.

Gaps in the literature

While reviewing the literature, it became evident that there were various gaps. Firstly, I discovered that several studies had been conducted on history teachers who teach the Holocaust in South Africa and who had attended teacher education workshops at the JHGC and CTHGC (R. Freedman, 2009; Nates, 2010; Petersen, 2006, 2011, 2013, 2015; Schrire, 2007). Other studies indicated that other history teachers had participated in the Facing the Past programme (Tibbitts, 2006, pp. 295-317; Weldon, 2008). However, there were no studies on history teachers who had not attended Holocaust-related workshops or accompanied their learners through the permanent exhibitions and these history teachers in fact comprise the majority in South Africa. I was also unable to find literature about teachers in other countries that addressed history teachers' stories where they had no contact with Holocaust centres.

Another blank arose in dealing with the question of history teachers' rationale for teaching the Holocaust. It has been pointed out that the rationale or motivation for teaching the Holocaust

can have “a profound impact on [teachers’] classroom practice” and that the question of why they are teaching the Holocaust is therefore paramount (Pettigrew, 2017, p. 2). The answers provided usually lie in the history teachers’ content knowledge and pedagogy (Moisan et al., 2015, pp. 247-268; Pettigrew, 2017, pp. 2-26) but nothing about the fact that their personal stories might be contributing to their understanding of why they are teaching the Holocaust. There was therefore space for the use of narrative inquiry in relation to history teachers’ stories. Globally, studies have taken place about the use of Holocaust survivors’ stories in education (Conle, 2003, 2007; Moisan, Andor, & Strickler, 2012), but I was unable to find research that used narrative inquiry as either methodology or theory about history teachers’ stories in Holocaust education.

Another fissure in the literature concerned history teachers’ personal stories. Weldon (2008, p. 2) stated not enough attention was paid to the inherited attitudes and values of teachers in a post-conflict state and that in order to embrace a values-driven curriculum, “teachers need to have structures in place which enables them to confront the personal as well as societal legacy of apartheid” (p. 2). This pointed to the need for teachers to be able to tell their personal stories. Another study that supported my realisation was the Western Cape study on memory and history teachers. Those researchers found that there was a lack of research into history teachers’ stories and the way their stories might impact on their practice (Dryden-Peterson & Siebörger, 2006, p. 401). These studies were not related to Holocaust education per se. Studies that did relate to Holocaust education in South Africa addressed diverse aspects of it. For example, one study addressed how knowing about the Holocaust shaped various responses to apartheid in South Africa (Gilbert, 2010, pp. 32-64). Another adopted an historical perspective of the development of Holocaust education in South Africa, with a focus on the CTHGC (Petersen, 2015, pp. 1-322), whilst another conducted an investigation on the Holocaust in textbooks (Koekemoer, 2012, pp. 1-179). Yet another study investigated Holocaust education through the work of the museum educators at the DHGC (Gouws, 2011, pp. 1-227). In fact, the more I read, the more I realised that was a substantial gap in the body of literature pertaining to the personal stories of history teachers who teach the Holocaust worldwide, and that history teachers’ personal stories were missing in the body of knowledge on Holocaust education in South Africa.

Therefore, my study fills this gap and provides a South African perspective on both Holocaust education and history teachers’ personal stories, where according to Seetal (2006, p. 149) “very little is known about the way history teachers currently view themselves and how issues of teacher identity influence teacher practices in the classroom.” At the same time, my study

contributes to the discourse on both Holocaust education and history teachers' personal stories.

Conclusion - teaching the Holocaust in South Africa

This chapter began by way of a description of the way in which I set about writing my literature review. Thereafter, by listening to the most recent and authoritative voices on my topic, the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of my study unfolded, leading me to discover how history teachers' stories informed their classroom practice of teaching the Holocaust in KZN. I learnt about the most commonly accepted empirical findings and identified relevant instruments with which to access my data. The review of the literature did not end after my first encounter with my resources, but continued throughout the course of my study, thereby enabling me to keep abreast with the most cutting-edge research in my field and underlining the relevance of this research (Andresen, 1997, p. 48). Furthermore, I could ascertain the direction of future research and practice of research in my field of study.

Summing up, teachers are the front line of Holocaust education, so before embarking on my research, hearing about history teachers' experiences from other researchers was crucial. I also read about the various changes in the history curriculum, how this affected the history teachers and how they coped. Readings about teacher education and their personal professional knowledge provided me with insight into some of the pedagogical challenges facing local history teachers, such as curricular issues and how they integrated apartheid and nationalism into their Holocaust lessons. I explored what other researchers had to say about history teachers' philosophy and pedagogy and the social issues that dominate Holocaust education and investigated issues of identity, teaching in diverse, multicultural classrooms, and history teachers' stories. The literature suggested that history teachers in South Africa need greater education about both content and methodology when they are teaching about the Holocaust because when it comes to Holocaust education, it is not only what is taught, but how it is taught that matters (K. Murphy, 2010, pp. S71-S77; Waterson, 2009, p. 2; Weldon, 2008, p. 2). However, Holocaust education methodology is not specifically dealt with officially in South Africa. The section on the Holocaust is very small in relation to the entirety of the history curriculum and there is an added complexity due to the emotional nature of teaching it. Also, content and methodology aside, the Holocaust is a controversial topic and many South African teachers are still battling their own apartheid scars (Jansen, 2004, p. 118; Nates, 2010, p. S17), which continue to shape their personal identities, memories and

experiences (Jansen, 2008, p. 59). Thus, Holocaust education remains a somewhat tentative, thorny topic in the classroom.

The attention of the literature review now turns from Holocaust education and the history teachers who teach about the Holocaust to the theoretical framework that underpins this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical foundations of narrative inquiry

Introduction

Based on the background and context of this study, I knew that I wanted to work theoretically and methodologically with stories. As I related in Chapter One, stories were, and they remain an integral part of my life experiences. I find them compelling and they fit perfectly with my view that as human beings we construct our own reality through storytelling. But my choice of theoretical and conceptual framing required theoretical substantiation. As I looked for the first clear thread to untangle my knotted thoughts about theory, I found it in the literature. Whilst I did not want to explore the history of narrative, nor grand narratives, nor critical analysis, I wanted to investigate personal stories, so narrative inquiry, I realised, would best serve my purpose.

Stories and storytelling in research have often been undervalued, being regarded, particularly by positivists, as unreliable fabrications, despite having their roots in theoretical constructs such as postmodernism and social constructivism. And while, narrative inquiry has often been referred to simply as a methodology, at its core it is both “a philosophical stance towards the nature of social reality and our relationship with it, and the mode in which it should be studied” (Spector-Mersel, 2010, p. 204). To gain further insight into the philosophical underpinnings of narrative inquiry and its related methodology, I turned to the ontology and epistemology of narrative inquiry. These helped me to define the boundaries of my study. The results of my investigation follow, and the chapter ends with a discussion about the nature of stories and story construction.

The seeds of narrative inquiry as both phenomenon and method were planted when Connelly and Clandinin used the phrase “narrative inquiry” in 1990 in relation to educational research (Clandinin, 2013, p. 13; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, pp. 2-14). They regarded it as a way of understanding experience, with the role of the narrative inquirer being to study experience (Clandinin, 2006, p. 45) and seek knowledge that not only records and describes human experience but also add meaning to it (Clandinin, 2007, p. 44). Their thinking was based on Dewey’s educational theories of pragmatism (Clandinin, 2006, p. 46; 2007, p. 44; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 42). He believed that education took place through the learners’ direct experience, when they grappled personally with a problem. He therefore posited that the key

to education was understanding experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. xiii). Dewey also believed that although people are seen primarily as individuals, they always exist in relation to others in a social context and there is always a sense of continuity in their experiences (Caine, Estefan, & Clandinin, 2013, p. 576; Clandinin, 2006, p. 46). As he noted, “Sound educational experience involves, above all, continuity and interaction between the learner and what is learned” (Dewey, 1938, p. 10), where continuity is the influence that our past experiences have on our future experiences and interaction the way in which the teacher influences students’ lived experiences. Dewey therefore theorised that the terms “personal, social, temporal and situation” were important when describing experience (Wang & Geale, 2015, p. 196), concepts that later featured strongly in Clandinin and Connelly’s three-dimensional narrative inquiry space.

Exploring truth and reality in narrative inquiry

In response to the research questions, the study was grounded in a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 124), in which reality is seen as subjective; a construction in which humans as social beings create and re-create the meaning of their world and reality (Voce, 2004, p. 2). Moreover, this reality is expressed through language (Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloch, & Sikes, 2005, p. 167) with the stories told having continuity, that is, a past, present and future. This continuity in narrative inquiry is regarded as “an ontological matter” (Clandinin, 2013, p. 16) and the resultant epistemology is a hermeneutic understanding of our life experiences. That is, we interpret our reality by structuring the events of our lives into narratives or stories that make sense to us (Lai, 2010, p. 2). People therefore understand and research the world through stories and explore the narrative nature of knowledge: its origins, what it is, who produces the knowledge, how it is communicated to others and how it can be understood (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 7).

Whilst narrative inquiry is not formally defined in the literature, the following description has been widely accepted by narrative inquiry researchers:

People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular

view of experience as phenomenon under study. (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 479)

Thus narrative can be regarded as both ontology or “narrative way of being,” and epistemology or “narrative way of knowing,” (Sarasa, 2017, p. 32). Furthermore, the personal stories that we tell, both to ourselves and others, become the lens through which we make meaning of our life experiences. In this way I gained insight into the history teachers’ understanding of Holocaust education both through their beliefs, understanding and knowledge as well as their personal stories.

Various types of inquiry populate the narrative arena. These include studies of biography, in which the narrative inquirer writes and records the experiences of someone else’s life (Creswell, 2013, p. 72); life history studies, which depicts the whole life of a person told in various episodes or situations (Gardner, 2003, p. 179); narratology, which is used in relation to literary theory and literary criticism; and structuralism, which focuses on linguistic structures. However, narrative inquiry differs from other narrative research (Clandinin, 2013, p. 16) in that firstly, it concentrates on understanding a phenomenon, such as Holocaust education, through people’s storied experiences (Huber, Caine, Huber, & Steeves, 2013, pp. 216-217) rather than on the way in which their stories are constructed by simply presenting data in a heuristic way. Secondly, it uses stories as data. Thus narrative inquiry has been described as “a storied phenomenon” (Clandinin, 2013, p. 34) with experiential methods being used to study the phenomenon.

In school-based narrative research two primary narrative inquiry concepts predominate: “experiencing the experience and thinking narratively” (Xu & Connelly, 2010, p. 355). The purpose of undertaking a narrative inquiry is thus to gain understanding of experience (Kramp, 2004, p. 104) since experience is what is being studied (Xu & Connelly, 2010, p. 355). The task of the narrative inquirer is firstly to delve into the stories of peoples’ lives as they are lived, told, retold and relived (Clandinin, 2013, p. 34) and then to attend to the telling of those stories and the details of the experience in order to understand their lived experiences as told (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 459). The narrative inquirer thinks narratively rather than traditionally, such as a history teacher who thinks about how to teach the Holocaust rather than writing a research report on the specific way the Holocaust should be taught. On the other hand, the task of the participant, who is the storyteller, is to attend to the details of their experiences.

I had personal, practical, and social reasons for employing narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2013, p. 37). On the personal front, as discussed in Chapter One, that stories support my view of the world and my place in it. Practically, I wanted to understand the connection between history teachers' personal stories and their understanding and practice of Holocaust education and socially I sought to understand if history teachers delved into their personal stories to add depth to their teaching of the Holocaust or were simply purveyors of history curricula and historical facts.

Even though various criticisms have been directed at it, narrative inquiry has continued to mushroom in qualitative studies. These criticisms include accusations of narrative inquiry being a linguistic inquiry because of its reliance on the story as the unit of data; narratives being regarded as fabrications; and for being simply a methodology. However, the latter is refuted by Clandinin and Murphy (2009) who discuss in detail "the narrative ways of thinking about the phenomena under study" and how these "are interwoven with narrative research methodologies" (Clandinin & Murphy, 2009, pp. 598-602). This is discussed in the next chapter which deals with the research design, methodology and methods of the study. However, the next step was to understand the nature of stories.

The nature of stories

From the literature, I discovered that narrative inquiry is a by-product of narrative knowing, and narrative knowing results in stories (Kramp, 2004, p. 108). Thus, stories are central to the making of meaning and comprise the fabric of narrative inquiry research (Glover Frykman, 2009, p. 299). In educational research, the focus is mainly on teachers' stories that "shape and inform their experience" (Bell, 2002, p. 208). The range of stories and how they can be used is as broad as the range of human experience, encompassing personal stories, family intergenerational stories, institutional school stories, cultural stories, (Clandinin, 2013, p. 22), and contextual political stories. To gain greater insight into the nature of stories, how they can be used, how they are constructed and who tells them, I turned to the theorists for explanations.

Beyond the theoretical abstractions of lived experience, stories are constructions through which the telling and retelling of history teachers' storied lives are told. The importance of stories was described by Polkinghorne (1988), who noted:

... people conceive of themselves in terms of stories. Their personal stories are always some version of the general cultural stock of stories about how life

proceeds. As narrative forms, these stories draw together and configure the events of one's life into a coherent and basic theme. One's future is projected as a continuation of the story, as yet unfinished. (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 107)

Stories are functional, interpretive reflections of experience, providing the means to convert knowing into telling in order to understand the world because before the story is told, it does not exist and once told, stories give meaning to experiences (Kramp, 2004, p. 111). In this context, stories are representations of human experience that unfold over time with an emphasis placed on the continuity of the experience in a particular context (Clandinin, 2007, p. 40). They are therefore an integral part of who we are as human beings. Stories can help us organise our thoughts, but they also touch us emotionally. They can provide a moral compass or a means to understand our social world (Chaitin, 2003, p. 3) and they have the power to shape and change us (Fay, 1996, p. 189). Thus, Okri (1996) wrote:

It is easy to forget how mysterious and mighty stories are. They do their work in silence, invisibly. They work with all the internal materials of the mind and self. They become part of you while changing you. Beware the stories you read or tell; subtly, at night, beneath the waters of consciousness, they are altering your world. (Okri, 1996, p. 34)

We live inside our stories and our stories live inside us but we cannot live another person's story; we are the only ones who experience our lives (Gardner, 2003, p. 177).

Telling our stories can be cathartic, especially for those who have undergone trauma, such as Holocaust victims (Chaitin, 2003, p. 3). In telling our stories we choose the experiences that we wish to highlight and discard others (Bathmaker, 2010, p. 7; Bell, 2002, p. 207; Dillow, 2009, p. 1345). In other words, we tell stories of our experiences that, amongst others, contribute to our self-growth or educate others (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. xxvi). "Stories do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by lifelong personal and community narratives" (Bell, 2002, p. 208). Furthermore, they are not static, once-off productions, so we constantly structure and restructure our stories as new life events unfold. In turn, these events are shaped by our "personal and community narratives" (Bell, 2002, p. 208). and through them we reveal our discoveries about the world to others (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. xxvi; Sikes & Gale, 2006). Hence stories also have a social function, which brings a performance aspect with it. The teller re-creates her personal experience for her audience, selecting those elements that reflect her personal identity, self-image, outlook, socio-cultural attitudes and the relationship to those to whom the story is being told. She is in the moment, telling the story as if it is currently taking place and the audience are voyeurs to the

experience. They in turn listen but can also ask questions and engage with her thereby shaping her telling of the story. However, this is not the actual experience, it is a representation of the experience and therefore incomplete. At the same time the storytelling is dependent on language to make the experience as real as possible (Riessman, 1993, p. 11). As part of the performance aspect, stories should be told well, that is with “depth and texture” in order to facilitate understanding between people (Kramp, 2004, pp. 111-118).

Stories also help people to contextualise the past and support arguments that can be used to persuade, engage or entertain the others. They can empower people to act (Shaw, 2006, p. 105) and thereby bring about change (Riessman, 2008, pp. 8-9). However, they can also mislead (Riessman, 2008, pp. 8-9). Stories can be gendered, with the qualitative aspects of men’s and women’s stories being different (Shaw, 2006, p. 105). However, there is always an agenda according to Yow (2014, p. 19) who claims that narratives are neither simple nor innocent.

Context is another important factor in narrative thinking (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 27). Narratives often incorporate cultural beliefs, reflecting the different cultural groups to which people belong, with the different “social and historical contexts constantly inviting them to tell and remember stories of certain events and to leave others unstoried” (J. Freedman & Combs, 1996, p. 42). Stories therefore reflect not only who we are, but also what we know and the context of our lives (Clandinin, 2013, p. 21), including the biographical, social, cultural and historical circumstances that affect people’s lived experiences (Chase, 2011, p. 422).

Getting access to stories in narrative inquiry is therefore paramount. Despite the many ways in which empirical data, termed field texts in narrative inquiry, (Xu & Connelly, 2010, p. 481) can be accessed, stories collected through interviews or “conversations” (Clandinin, 2013, p. 34) are regarded as the dominant field texts in narrative research (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a, p. 103; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 259). In-depth interviews give researchers the opportunity to ask participants to tell their stories (Chase, 2003, p. 274) and communicate meaning through their storytelling.

Story structures

From these descriptions it is evident that stories are a means of communication between people in which someone tells someone else on a particular occasion and for some purpose

that something happened to someone or something (Phelan, 1996, p. 218; Phelan & Rabinowitz, 2012, p. 3). To do this, they need to be constructed and co-constructed, both by the storyteller and the person who hears or reads the story, with each story being construed as a single event (Halverson, 2011, n.p.). These constructions are an ordered, structured selection of events and characters from the teller's past experiences, with a beginning, middle and end as well as some kind of transformational process or turning point (Scholes, 1980, p. 210) or tension that is often highlighted by the researcher in the telling of the story (Creswell, 2013, p. 72). They begin with a connected sequence of events that unfold sequentially, connected by time and subject matter by someone who recounts the progression of events (Scholes, 1980, p. 209). Inevitably there are consequences to that telling (Rudrum, 2005, p. 200). Also, stories are composed of "authors, narrators, and narration; plot, time, and progression; space, setting, and perspective; character; reception and the reader; and issues of value" (Herman, Phelan, Rabinowitz, Richardson, & Warhol, 2012, p. ix). To distinguish stories from simple discourse, at the very least "characters and a plot that evolves over time" are necessary (Brockmeier & Harré 1997, p. 265). Even the telling of dreams or life experiences such as a trauma or achievement are told according to these basic conditions (Brockmeier & Harré 1997, p. 265). This basic framework also appears in speeches, children's tales, and myths, so not every communicative and written exchange is a story. There are also reports, question and answer interactions and arguments, where a detailed plot outline, characters, and a setting are not needed (Riessman & Speedy, 2007, p. 428). When telling the story, the narrator must also take the nature of the audience into account as well as finding ways to make the account interesting.

I now examine some of these structures more closely.

Each story is told from a particular point of view or perspective; this is focalisation. The story can be told, for instance, from the perspective of the storyteller or a fictional protagonist. The perspective can also be either event- or experience-centred. In event-centred narratives, the focus is on what happened to the narrator, while experience-centred stories can come from short sections of interviews, whole life histories, collected stories, journals, or even shopping lists (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013, p. 5). The range of stories is vast, going from "brief, tightly bounded stories told in answer to a single question, to long narratives that build over the course of several interviews and traverse temporal and geographical space" (Riessman, 2008, p. 23). In both event- and experience-centred narratives, the storytellers give expression to their individual experiences. However, event-centred narratives remain constant while experience-centred narratives can vary over time or in different circumstances, resulting

in different stories being told about the same experienced event. Unlike event- or experience-centred personal narratives which are grounded in individual stories, there is a third kind of personal story that is co-constructed through dialogue (Creswell, 2013, p. 71), such as the exchange of letters or emails (Andrews et al., 2013, p. 5). These are not simply texts but evolve out of people's everyday personal experience, thoughts and feelings, sometimes accompanied by emotions such as rage, timidity or tearful silence. But in every instance, Plummer (1995, p. 16) argues, they make a difference to people's lives, communities, cultures, and politics. The stories in my study focus primarily on experience-centred narratives as told by my participants through the lens of their personal experiences as they teach the Holocaust.

As part of the internal structure of stories, storytellers adopt certain genres, or they create overriding themes. Bruner identified these elements as - *fabula*, *sjuzet* and *forma*, which roughly approximate to the notions of theme, discourse and genre (Bruner, 1987, p. 17). The *fabula* or theme is what the story is about, be it anger, jealousy, achievement or thwarted ambition. The *sjuzet* or discourse equates to the plot, dealing with story elements such as time, place, people, and events. And finally, the *forma* is the genre in which the story lies, such as comedy, farce or tragedy. Deciding on the *forma* commits the narrator to a type of language use, for instance, telling the story in the first or third person (p. 18). This internal structure of a story is then supported by external elements, such as causality, coherence and language (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 7).

The fundamental conditions for a story are that it must have a plan or plot that evolves over time and characters (Brockmeier & Harré 1997, p. 265; Riessman, 2008, p. 4). The units of discourse of stories are words, sentences, texts, and conversations through which a narrative structure can be created to build persuasive arguments (Brockmeier & Harré 1997, p. 265). Other literary conventions such as metaphor, image, and character are also used in narrative to demonstrate "the complexity and vastness of human experience in ways unavailable in academic prose" (Wieba, 2009, n.p.). Metaphor is one of the more commonly used figures of speech used by storytellers in descriptions of their lives, as it weaves imagination and stories together (Caine & Steeves, 2009, p. 1). By imagining something that is not necessarily applicable to what is being discussed, ideas can be subliminally introduced to the discussion, adding depth and understanding to the topic under discussion (Caine & Steeves, 2009, p. 11). Another way to creatively embellish stories is through symbolism (Etherington, 2013, p. 29). Despite these elements being important in the construction of stories generally not all are a focus in narrative inquiry, unless they add significantly to the meaning of the experience or

are adopted as a means of analysis, such as Structural Analysis, in which the focus of the analysis is on how the story is told (Riessman, 2008, p. 19).

Story elements

Hence, as part of the conventions of storytelling, conversational elements are threaded into the story. For instance, people take turns to speak; the who, what, where and how of the story unfolds; the “complicating action” occurs; an evaluation of the events takes place; and there is validation from supporting witnesses (Labov, 2001, p. 64). Characters, incidents and settings all come together to reveal the story’s significance (Carter, 1993, p. 6). Ultimately though, it is the narrator who determines which elements to include in order to make the telling complete (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987, p. 10) and in what time frame the story should unfold to develop “a coherent plot” (Shaw, 2006, p. 105).

Plot is a crucial element of a story because it creates narrative meaning by pulling the elements of the story together so that the individual parts function as a whole (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 18). Each element of an event is therefore not only part of the whole but at the same time can lead to some other event as the story unfolds. What begins as part of some whole, can become the cause of something else (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 6), which in turn provokes a “rupture or disturbance” occurs that leads to “some kind of unexpected action that provokes a reaction and/or adjustment” (Riessman, 2008, p. 6). The story then culminates in a climax, which provides the story with closure and causality, an end to the why and how of the story’s events (Vetten, 2014, p. 2). Furthermore, in the telling of these stories, people use archetypal plots such as comedy, tragedy, hero, myth or romance, as moulds into which they pour their own stories (Riessman, 1993, p. 19). For example, a young history teacher might translate meeting a potential boyfriend into the dream of a knight in shining armour who will gallop into her life on a white horse, sweep her off her feet, rescue her from the dangers of life, after which they will marry and live happily ever after. But in order for these plots to unfold, there needs to be certain “goals, motives and agents” and central to these are time and change (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 20). In this way, all the story elements are ultimately woven together to create the fabric of the story in a process called “narrative configuration” (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5).

Language and language use are also noteworthy story elements because language enables the us as storytellers to communicate our stories to others (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 23) both verbally and non-verbally (Efran, Lukens, & Lukens, 1988; Shaw, 2006, p. 96), personally

but also assists in the building of communities (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 35). However, Denzin (1994, p. 296) cautions, “Language and speech do not mirror experience. They create experience and in the process of creation constantly transform and defer that which is being described.” In other words, language “constructs what it narrates” (Kramp, 2004, p. 116). Yet language is unable to fully translate our experiences into stories that entirely encapsulate a person’s lived experience. It is, however, more than simply a means to establish meaning, as it also has the power to reflect reality (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003, p. 2). Hence, an examination of language in narratives can add to the texture of the narrative inquiry (Brockmeier & Harré 1997, p. 265).

In addition to these story elements, the input and actions of the narrative inquirer contributes to the quality of the elicited stories (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441). The narrative inquirer should therefore be proactive in assisting people to tell their stories by assuming a ‘not knowing’ position rather than an expert one (Etherington, 2013, p. 22) and encourage their participants to tease out aspects of their stories that include the cultural context of the story, the beginning, middle and end, the significance of other people, if there is historical continuity, and how the story was located in the teller’s life (Etherington, 2013, pp. 23-29).

Narrative inquiry places a special emphasis on writing (Creswell, 2008, pp. 511-550). Aside from writing the research text, the retelling of participants’ stories by the researcher or restorying is an integral part of the analytic process. Because stories describe events that have already occurred and are not predictions or speculations about the future, they are often written and told in the past tense (Scholes, 1980, p. 209), generally by one person to another as a method of recounting a sequence of events that ultimately results in some later action, and where the teller wants to convey a certain meaning to the listener (Riessman, 2008, p. 3). One of the responsibilities of writing is that the researcher should write well, in order to engage the reader and writing in the first person can help to draw readers in (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 466). It should also be borne in mind that as the researcher writes for an audience and needs to be aware of issues of representation and audience (Riessman, 2008, p. 3) so, even though different readers might prefer different styles, “the general requirement for a good story is that it be told or written in a “clear and coherent manner” (Sikes & Gale, 2006, p. 9). Also, in writing a good story the account should have narrative integrity that embraces two principles: congruence and coherence (Kelly, 1999, p. 432). The principle of congruence consists of internal consistency while coherence ensures that there are no contradictions in the plot, that questions of interest are addressed, and that the story is intelligible. The components of the story must relate to each other and fit easily into the

context of the story (Kelly, 1999, p. 434). Moreover, the principle of plenitude ensures that the account is complete and is a reflection of the entire of the story, including history and social context while paying attention to balance, generality and contextual detail (Kelly, 1999, p. 434). Also, the re-storied stories are embedded in their particular social, personal, physical (Hwang, 2008, p. 85) and cultural contexts (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003, p. 1) and followed certain conventions, such as the use of storylines and genres. Moreover, With my understanding the role and structure of stories, I next needed to consider the narrative space within which those stories took place - the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space (Clandinin, 2006, p. 46; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 54), which I discuss next.

Three-dimensional narrative inquiry space

By pulling together the commonplaces of temporality/time, place/context and sociality, Clandinin and Connelly (2000, pp. 89-91) developed the concept of narrative inquiry as a three-dimensional space within which to study experience (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, p. 436; Johnson Lachuk & Mosley, 2012, p. 312) and attend to a narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, p. 436).

All stories take place somewhere (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 70) and the situation/place where the story takes place impacts not only on the meaning ascribed to that story (Creswell, 2013, p. 74) but also to the storyteller's identity, which is interwoven with the context of her experiences (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441). Place also refers to the context in which the phenomenon takes place (Creswell, 2008, p. 522), in this case, in Durban in post-apartheid South Africa. In fact, Clandinin and Rosiek (2007, p. 70) claim that "the qualities of place and the impact of places on lived and told experiences are crucial [to the inquiry]." Thus, the events that played out in the history teachers' stories were relative to this place and the place became a lens through which the history teachers' personal stories were viewed (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 54). In addition, stories are describes as taking place in a "landscape of consciousness" (Bruner, 1987, p. 20), with an inner and outer landscape. Narrative inquiry moves between these two states, so both the internal and external worlds are present in the history teachers' personal stories, crossing the porous borders of both time and place (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 50). In my study, the outer landscape refers to the events of each history teacher's unfolding story, while the inner landscape reflected their inner consciousness.

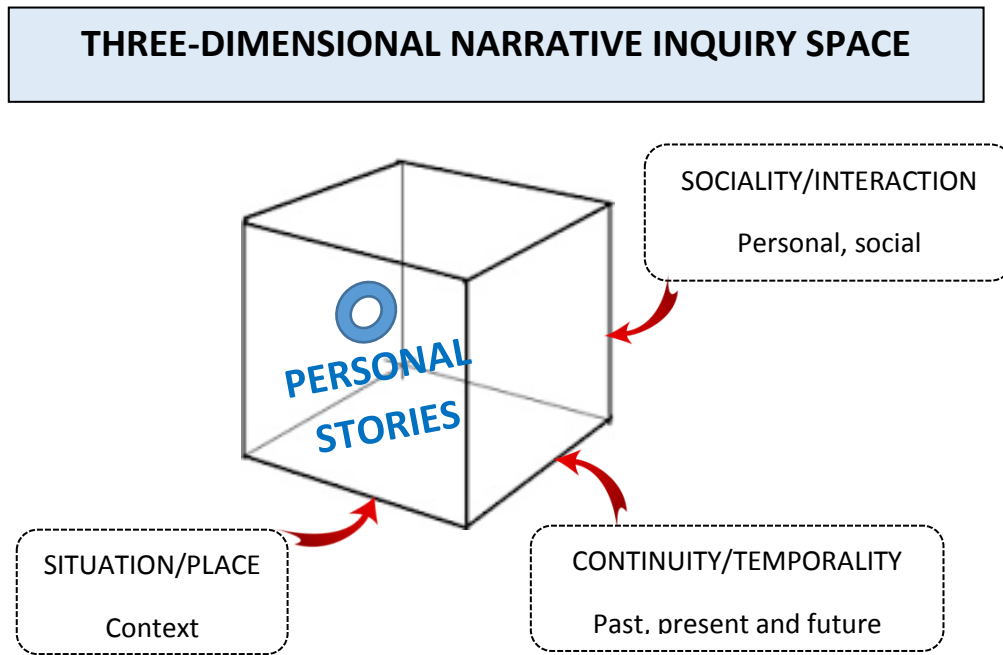


Figure 2. Three-dimensional narrative inquiry space, based on Clandinin and Connelly (2000, pp. 49-51)

Just as a story occurs in a certain place, it also takes place at a certain moment in time, so the second aspect of the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space is temporality/continuity. The experience is temporal because lives are in transition, referencing past, present and future (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 479) and the events of people's lives are examined "backward and forward, inward and outward" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 54). Temporality considers not only the time period in which the inquiry took place - 2013 to 2017 in the case of this study – but also the temporal nature of the experiences of people's lives. The participants narrate past, current and even future events, that might take place beyond the study, as their personal stories would be constantly revised (Clandinin & Huber, 2002, p. 4). Furthermore, people change over time (Bell, 2002, p. 209). So, while the continuity or temporality aspect of this narrative inquiry directed me to frame the participants' past, present and future, the happenings, places and interactions (Clandinin & Huber, 2002, p. 3), my story also became part of the inquiry (Byrnes et al., 2013, p. 7).

The third element, the human element, takes place through sociality/interaction. The role of the narrative inquirer is to deal not only with personal conditions but the social conditions too. These social conditions or sociality refers to the interaction between the personal and social aspects of the inquiry (Creswell, Hanson, Plano, & Morales, 2007, p. 244), the personal aspects being the thoughts, feelings, morality, aesthetic outlook and desires of the people in

the inquiry, both participants and researcher. These are coupled with the social conditions, such as the “existential conditions, the environment, surrounding factors and forces, [and] people” of the inquiry, that is, the conditions under which people’s experiences and events unfold (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 480; Creswell, 2013, p. 74). Part of the role of the narrative inquirer is to take note of the complex interplay between these two conditions, the social and the personal (Adams, 2008, p. 175; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 91). Therefore, sociality can be regarded in the interactions that took place between me and my participants and the interactions that they had with their schools, friends and family, and communities.

The three-dimensional narrative inquiry space therefore provided me with the essential elements of my study. The stories are comprised of time and context, that is, post-apartheid South African schools; and the human element, in which the participants revealed their thoughts, feelings, hopes, desires and fears, as they looked forward and backward, inward and outward as they told their personal stories. And even though their stories might sometimes be contradictory, confused, or even fallacious, according to Gardner (2003, p. 179) they are still useful.

Conclusion

The literature revealed that experience is at the core of narrative inquiry, which chronicles human understanding of reality. By investigating the theoretical foundations of narrative inquiry and examining its roots in Deweyan theory, I was able to develop a narrative, storied framework to support the methods and methodology, using the research questions as my compass. This was followed by a review of the literature pertaining to narrative inquiry and the nature of stories. The chapter ended with a review of the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. Now, with the theoretical framework established, it was time to investigate the methodological framework underpinning this study within the greater body of the research design for the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research design, methodology and methods

Introduction

The backdrop to this study began with the background and literature review, which provided me with the means to conduct the narrative inquiry. In Chapter Three, I examined the theory and in Chapter Four, the methodology for conducting it. All these steps were part of the research design to enable me to develop a conceptual framework within which to investigate history teachers' personal stories to understand how their stories shaped their teaching of the Holocaust. But first I wanted to understand the meaning and purpose of the term research design in a qualitative context.

Research design begins with a conceptualisation of the study, which references various factors. These include the purpose of the research design; the context in which the study takes place; the theoretical paradigm that informs the research; and the research techniques that will be used to collect and analyse the data (Durrheim, 1999b, p. 33). Furthermore, there should be a close link between the theory and the method of the inquiry (Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xxiii; Patton, 2002, p. 125) and design coherence and design validity should shape it. Design coherence describes the design elements such as sampling, data collection and interpretation that fall within the context and paradigm of the research and design validity ensures that the conclusions drawn by the researcher are supported by the research (de Beer, 2016, slide 22).

Whilst there is some confusion over the exact definition (Fouche, 2005, p. 267), Cresswell (1998, p. 2) refers to qualitative research design as “the entire process of research from conceptualising a problem to writing the narrative” and Tredoux (1999, p. 311) as a plan or protocol for the research. These are the definitions that I chose to adhere to, there being no exact definition. Furthermore, due to the inductive nature of qualitative research and the fact that qualitative researchers generally develop their own research designs as they progress (Fouche, 2005, p. 268), I set out to establish my own research design for this study.

The research design – putting theory into action

The research design encompassed the entirety of this research; it was the plan for my research that took the study from conception to completion, from the first chapter to the last as I moved

from choosing the sample to the writing of the final narrative research texts. The research design was based on both general qualitative research design protocols and the special needs of narrative inquiry. Figure 3 is a representation of the research design. It shows how the research design was to be implemented: what data was required; the methods used to collect and analyse the data; and how this approach was to be used to answer the research questions (Van Wyk, 2012, slide 3). It also helped me to define what decisions to make and why; what would be included and what excluded; and any relational and/or ethical concerns that might arise (Thomson, 2013, n.p.). Issues of reliability, validity and ethics also fell within its ambit (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013, pp. 78-99). Overall, the research design covered all the decisions, strategies, approaches and methods within the boundaries of this study (Fouche, 2005, p. 268). In short, it defined how the research was done and what principles guided it (Ekka, 2014, p. 98). Representation of the research design and its component parts are shown in Figure 3, based on the work of Clandinin, Pushor, and Murray Orr (2007, pp. 21-35) and Clandinin and Huber (2010, pp. 436-441). These are firstly, the justification for the study, then naming the phenomenon, the methods used, including analysis and interpretation of the data; the criteria for sound research, such as positioning, uniqueness and representation; and finally, the ethical considerations that govern the research. The narrative research design was influenced by design coherence and design validity.

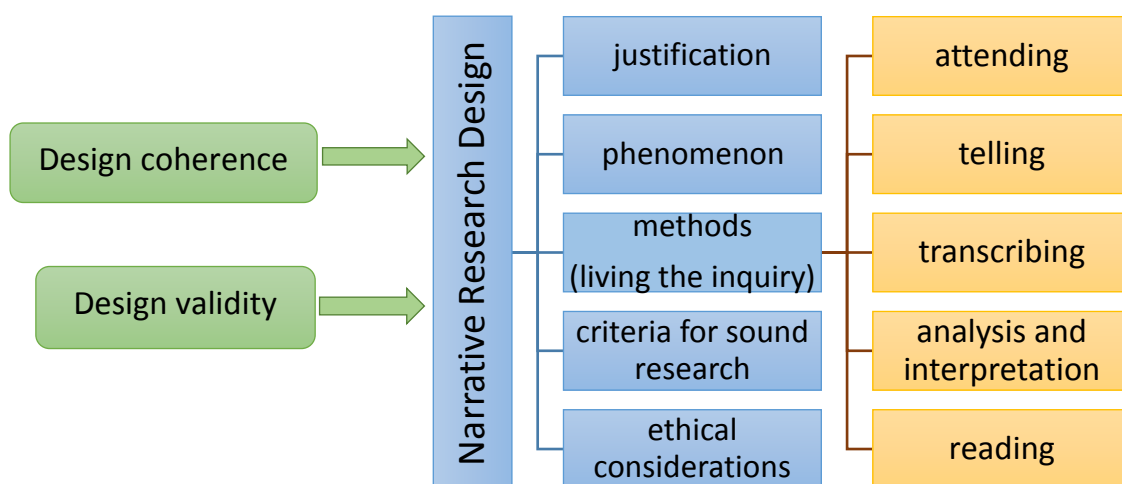


Figure 3. Outline of the narrative research design

With the structure of the research design in place, it was time to live the inquiry, to put theory into action. As I lived the inquiry, it evolved from my imagination to the field; from the field to field texts; from field texts to interim research texts; and ultimately, from interim research texts to the final research text that would be read by the reader, my audience. The decisions about the implementation of the methods of the inquiry lay within the commonplaces of

sociality, temporality and place, that is, the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space and were carefully considered (Clandinin et al., 2007, p. 27). However, since the criteria to assess the inquiry were not clearly defined in the literature and it was up to me to justify my points of view and then set my own criteria for the study (Bell, 2002, p. 210; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999, p. 139). These are discussed in greater detail on pages 107-108.

Before discussing the component parts of the research design, I define the methodological tools that were used to conduct the inquiry. These were woven into the research design and guided the collection and analysis of the field texts, to ascertain how people constructed their personal stories and made meaning of them (Shaw, 2006, p. 118). The first methodological tool was the BNIM technique (Wengraf, 2001, pp. 1-389), designed to draw out the participants' personal stories in the attending and telling phases of the inquiry. The second, Riessman's five levels of representation (Riessman, 1993, p. 9) helped me to conceptualise the process of the inquiry. The third tool was the means to conduct the narrative analysis. Both thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008, pp. 53-76) and analysis of narratives vs. narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 6) were used. The fourth tool was used to locate the study in the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, pp. 49-51). A representation of these tools follows:

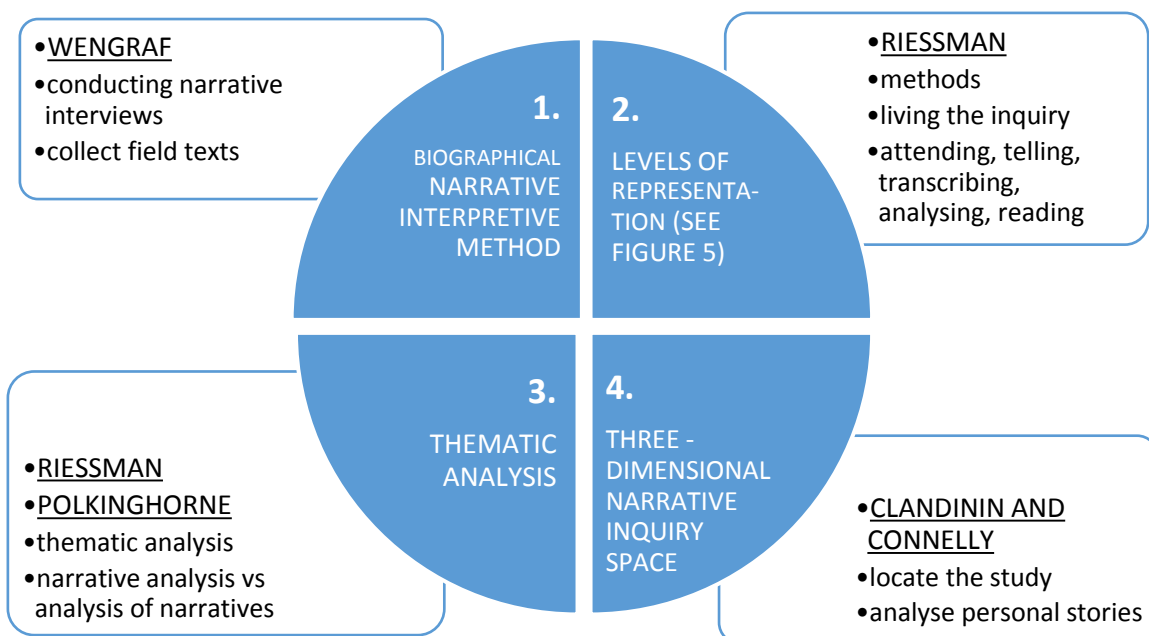


Figure 4. Four methodological tools used in the inquiry

I now examine each of these components in greater detail.

Justification and naming of the phenomenon

The first step in implementing the research design was to justify the study. Personal, practical and social considerations all played a part in the justification for the study (Clandinin et al., 2007, p. 24), answering the questions, “Why am I doing this study? What is its purpose?” The answers to these questions were dealt with in Chapter One, in which I discussed the personal impact of stories in my life and their role in defining my view of the world. I also discussed the broader social context of the study and how, based on findings that emerged from my master’s study, my motivation, arose for conducting the research.

The next question I asked was, “What am I inquiring into?” The answer to this lay in naming the phenomenon of the inquiry (Clandinin et al., 2007, p. 25), which was also discussed in Chapter One. The more I thought about history teachers and their relationship to Holocaust education in South Africa, the more I became convinced that their personal stories could provide insight into how the Holocaust was taught. However, I chose to exclude history teachers who had attended Holocaust education programmes, such as that offered by the DHGC, firstly because these programmes were not attended by the majority of KZN history teachers and secondly, because of the strong ideological and methodological content in the programmes. As part of my investigation I also wanted to know if the Holocaust held any special meaning for the participants and particularly, if they used any of their personal experiences in their teaching of it and why. Considering these themes, I named the phenomenon, “Investigating Holocaust education through the personal stories of history teachers.” But naming the phenomenon involved more than simply establishing my topic. I also had to come to grips with the body of relevant literature about Holocaust education, narrative inquiry, personal stories, history teachers, and so on. Peshkin (2000, p. 5) summarised naming the phenomenon succinctly:

This naming points to a relevant literature; it identifies the existing work that I must take account of in some defensible way. Generally, less consciously known to researchers, the phenomenon as named and conceived is probably associated with personal perspectives, dispositions, and feelings-in a word, their subjectivity-that also will bear on the interpretive process. We are not indifferent to the subject matter of our inquiries.

Therefore, in naming the phenomenon, I set in place a fundamental element of the research and set the background for the practical steps I would take in conducting the research, that is, the methods of the study.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK (METHODOLOGY)

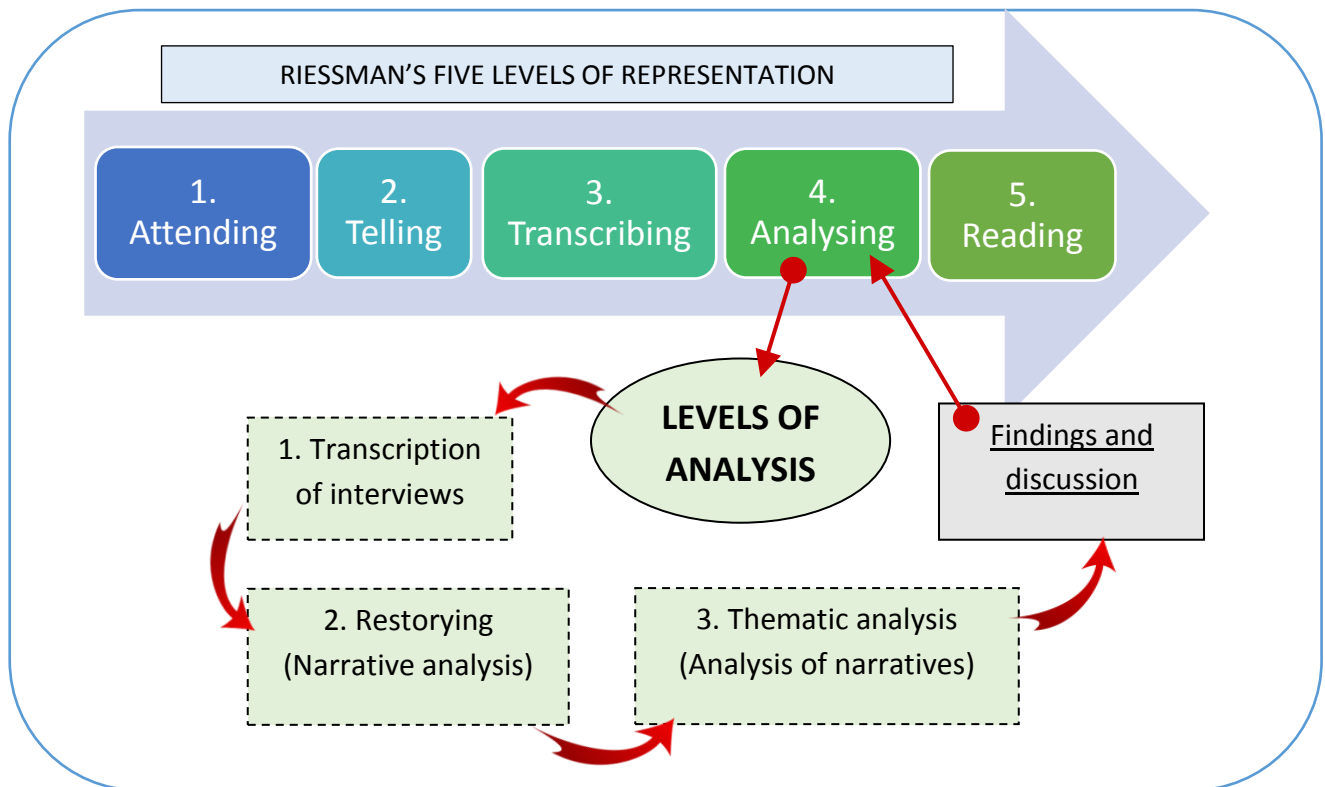


Figure 5. Methodological conceptual framework

Methods - Practical steps for delving into the history teachers' personal stories

I began the practical aspect of the narrative inquiry by attending to it. This was followed by the telling, transcribing, analysing and finally, the reading, as Figure 5 illustrates.

Attending – sampling and methods

The first level of representation was attending to the inquiry (Riessman, 1993, p. 9). However, with no absolute definition of attending available, attending took on many meanings in the context of this study. The first focus of my attention was where to start the inquiry. As Xu and Connelly (2010, p. 357) suggest, the narrative inquirer does not necessarily begin her research by defining a problem or examining the literature (although even at this early stage a field of interest is vital and the research questions must be borne in mind (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 124). My first consideration was therefore “essentially an act of imagination” (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 481), which entailed me thinking about what I wanted to study and developing a concept around the topic for my research. I thought about who my participants would be, where the history teachers might come from, and I tried to imagine how their lives might be intertwined with the lives of Holocaust survivors, victims or even

perpetrators, a plan for the research, and possible problems that I might encounter along the way. I considered the broader temporal, continuous nature and context of people's experiences and the practicalities of engaging in the narrative inquiry, such as sourcing the participants. I considered how to conduct the interviews, implement the research design and ensure that the data was securely recorded. As the researcher attending to the enquiry, I wanted to ensure that my research methods, observations, theoretical understanding, and interactions with my participants were meaningful and would lead to pertinent answers to the research questions. In attending to the inquiry, I made various choices, such as the sampling of the participants and what methods would be used to conduct the study.

With these thoughts in mind, I set out to identify the participants. I chose them using purposive sampling, that is, in a specific, non-random way (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 202) in order to obtain the rich, thick data, that is characteristic of qualitative research (Henning et al., 2004, p. 8). One of the main issues pertaining to sampling is its representativeness (Durrheim, 1999b, p. 45), so I set out to obtain a sample that was as representative as possible of the range of history teachers who teach about the Holocaust.

Various criteria influenced my sampling choices. My first consideration was that the history teachers had to have taught the Holocaust either to Grade 9 or Grade 11 learners, and that they had not taken part in museum or online Holocaust teacher education. I stipulated that they should not have taken part in any formal educational tours or workshops at Holocaust centres or taken Holocaust-related courses with organisations such as Facing History and Ourselves. As discussed earlier, teachers who had done so were excluded due to the extensive educational material and well-defined pedagogy with specific outcomes that is disseminated by these organisations. Besides, emotion is often added to the mix of museum educational tours to encourage visitors to respond viscerally to the exhibition material. A further reason for excluding this group of history teachers related to the extent of current Holocaust education research in South Africa. To date, almost all the recent Holocaust research that I encountered related to history teachers who had participated in this type of teacher education. By excluding these potential participants, I filled a gap in Holocaust education research in South Africa.

The next criterion was that the history teachers should be willing to take part in the study and be prepared to share their stories of teaching the Holocaust. Thereafter, I considered the history teachers' personal characteristics. I had originally anticipated choosing my participants based on their race, that is Black African, White, Coloured, and Indian who were

experts in this field, that is, with four years' Holocaust teaching experience. However, the panel overseeing my proposal defence felt that racial categories in current research were overused and problematic and they suggested that I use a different identification method instead. I therefore chose my participants based on the type of funding models of the schools at which they taught. These were fully government-funded schools, partially government-funded Model C schools and privately funded schools in both urban and rural socio-economic environments. Learner funding is currently undertaken according to a quintile system. According to this system Quintile 1 schools cater for the poorest 20% of the school population and hence, according to the DoBET, require the most amount of funding. Quintile 2 caters for the next 20% and so on, up to Quintile 5 schools, which require the least amount of funding (Department of Basic Education, 2014, p. 4), having funding from wealthy organisations, individuals or parent bodies. This categorisation enabled me to choose a representative cross-section of history teachers from rural to urban, rich to disadvantaged and single race, often rural schools, to multi-race school, which added greater authenticity to the data.

I was aware that my sample would be small due to the intense, time-consuming nature of narrative inquiry but I ultimately chose seven participants. A small sample such as this could have been perceived as a design flaw, but I was confident that in qualitative research larger samples are often characterised by less in-depth knowledge, while smaller samples yield richer, thicker data (Amin & Ramathan, 2010, n.p.). Moreover, according to Short and Reed (2004, p. 129), small samples in the field of Holocaust education research should not be simply dismissed, but they should encourage larger, expanded studies. They continue,

While we may be reluctant to generalise the findings from the few studies that are available, we repeat that there is no suggestion that the studies themselves are invalid and make no contribution to knowledge. On the contrary, they have to be taken seriously for they reveal, among other things, that some teachers (and perhaps a great many) approach the Holocaust in ways that prevent their students from fully coming to terms with it.

The question of whether possible participants were able to participate time-wise was an important consideration. I had originally considered asking the participants to keep a visual journal to record their thoughts between the time that I spoke to them and the interviews. They would be asked to collect relevant pictures or photographs and paste them into an empty journal that I would provide for them. The purpose in doing this was to get them to consider their personal connection to the Holocaust. However, this proved to be a barrier to finding

participants and was abandoned. Although time was also a factor in the pre-interview activity it did not deter participants from agreeing to take part in the study, and they readily agreed to examine the Holocaust-related photographs and to answer the few questions that I emailed to them for discussion during the interviews. Most of the people whose names were proposed as possible participants were recommended to me by other people, such as my supervisor and work colleagues. Some seemed suitable, others not so, and a third batch seemed suitable but did not want to participate. The possible participants' willingness to tell their personal stories, to discuss their Holocaust pedagogy, and to give up few hours of their time to be interviewed therefore played a role in the sampling.

Finding the participants was just the first hurdle but contacting them proved to be somewhat of a hit-and-miss, random affair. Once I received the names of possible candidates from friends or colleagues, I called them, told them who I was, explained what my study was about and asked if they would like to participate. If they agreed, I emailed a letter to them (see Appendix 3), explaining the study in further detail. The email asked them to sign a form confirming their participation (see Appendix 4) and I instructed them to bring it with them to the interview. I also sent them a set of 28 photographs and three questions that I asked them to consider before we met (see Appendix 5). These questions were designed to stimulate their thinking about Holocaust education and how they related to it. We also discussed where to conduct the interviews and what time would be most convenient for them. Their responses varied. Some wanted me to go their homes where they felt most at ease, one of the participants wanted to come to my home, and the rest wanted to meet at the university. The interviews were therefore conducted at a time and place convenient for each participant. One proviso was that the venue had to be quiet with no interruptions (Cohen et al., 2007; Kelly & Terre Blanche, 1999). I interviewed Florence, John and Siphon at the university, Emma and Hannah at their homes, Thandi at my home, and Jabir at the school where he taught.

As part of the attending phase of the inquiry, I paid attention to suitable methods that I might use to conduct the inquiry. Arts-based narrative inquiry, I speculated, was a way to obtain a unique, if possibly controversial, perspective on Holocaust education, rather than using a traditional research methodology (Estrella & Forinash, 2007, pp. 376, 380). I therefore decided to use collage-making as an arts-based approach (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2011, pp. 1-10) to solicit history teachers' personal stories. This consideration was based on literature that spoke to the role that art-based narrative inquiry can play in reconciliation, such as the comment below, which I felt would be useful for an inquiry on Holocaust education:

As we look back at ... our presentations on narrative and arts-based research, we now examine how we use arts-based research and narrative inquiry in conflict and reconciliation. If we return to the idea that the arts give us tacit and possibly unspeakable knowledge about something, we can see how arts-based research might open up new and undiscovered avenues of understanding in conflict and reconciliation. (Estrella & Forinash, 2007, p. 381)

Unsure of whether my proposed methodology would be successful, I decided to conduct a pilot session prior to commencing the actual interviews. I wanted to discover if there were any loopholes in my presentation and if the art-based narrative methodology that I was considering would provide me with the rich, thick data about Holocaust education that I sought. For the first pilot session I provided ten volunteer students from my PhD History education cohort with sheets of blank paper and piles of local magazines. Even though all were history teachers, not everyone in the group had taught the Holocaust and some only had limited knowledge about it, so this was not an ideal group. Nevertheless, I divided them into pairs and asked each pair to create a collage of photographs that best reflected the purpose of Holocaust education. The results were disappointing as the modern images available were not particularly relevant to a discussion about the Holocaust and the outcome was a trivial presentation of their understanding of it. I therefore decided that this method of data collection was unsuitable and inconsistent with the narrative inquiry approach that I envisioned. I needed a clear focus on stories and storytelling. I therefore changed my methodology to bring it more in line with the protocols of narrative inquiry and undertook another pilot exercise.

My second attempt at piloting proved more successful and beneficial and reassured me that I was on the right track. I again piloted my data collection at a History education cohort with my fellow PhD candidates. I still wanted to use a creative method, so this time I gave each of the pilot participants two printed A4 sheets, each bearing six black and white Holocaust-related photographs. I instructed them to choose three of twelve photographs that they found most applicable for teaching the Holocaust and to write an explanation for their choices next to the photographs. Having them record their answers proved to be useful as I was able to take the sheets away and compare their answers later. Also, photographs are a useful methodological tool because they prompt discussion and offer the possibility of triggering participants' memories thereby increasing their ability "to tell narratives of their experience and to reflect on them." They also act as "memory anchors" and their use generates longer, more focused interviews (Collier, 1957, p. 856; Loeffler, 2005, p. 375). They can also be used to triangulate the findings, although I did bear in mind the caution that the photographs per se might not automatically elicit useful interviews (Harper, 2002, p. 20).

The results of this pilot exercise were instructive. The photographs were purposively chosen to represent what I considered to be different aspects of the Holocaust and eventually formed part of the group of 28 photographs that I would later use in the narrative interviews. They included Nazi propaganda posters, children reflecting life before the Holocaust, Hitler and his cohort next to a train, and women working in the concentration camp. The photographs that I used were found randomly on the internet using a Google search with a Holocaust theme but with my knowledge of photographs that were commonly used in teaching the Holocaust in South Africa I was able to source suitable images. For example, I chose a photograph of a Jewish woman sitting on a bench marked “Nur für Juden!” or “Only for Jews!” which was a phrase similar to the “Whites Only!” injunction used on South African benches during apartheid to enforce social segregation. This image is available on multiple websites.



Most of the photographs were familiar to me as commonly used images in Holocaust education in Holocaust-related books and textbooks as well as on Holocaust centre exhibition panels. I have credited photographs obtained from the internet where possible, but they were mostly in the common domain and available on multiple websites.

Next, I asked my pilot participants to share with me whether any of the photographs related to any aspect of their personal experiences, and if so to explain the connection by writing a short comment underneath the picture they chose. Afterwards, I collected their written comments. This was valuable as it alerted me to issues that I later used to improve my study. For instance, I realised that I needed to include images that were traumatic and difficult to look at, such as piles of bodies or bodies being inserted into ovens, to provide my participants with an opportunity to choose photographs that were not necessarily pedagogically sound. Also, I requested that the pilot participants rank the twelve photographs from most to least representative of Holocaust education and then to discuss the first three chosen photographs

on their list. I realised that my instructions in this regard were not clear and I needed to improve my instruction technique to generate personal stories. Interestingly, almost all most of the photographs chosen by the participants were part of a common pool of six. This pilot session was therefore very worthwhile and achieved a lot in a short space of time.

My third attempt at piloting was intended to be a full pilot, conducted with a history teacher who taught the Holocaust. However, two initial letters to prospective pilot history teacher participants proved fruitless. They simply did not reply. And when I eventually found what I thought was a willing participant, the young lady began to make various excuses and I never heard from her again, so I decided to simply proceed with the study as finding participants was proving to be difficult.

My conclusion was therefore, that the piloting exercises were generally advantageous, as they enabled me to eliminate those elements of the methodology that were “ambiguous, inappropriate or unnecessary” (Puurula et al., 2001, p. 170). As a result, I scrapped my original idea of using collages and focused instead on eliciting personal stories from the history teachers through one-on-one narrative interviews. As part of this data collection method, I introduced a relatively large number of photographs, covering a wide range of topics related to the Holocaust. The pilot studies showed that when asked the appropriate questions and provided with a trigger such as the photographs, the participants drew connections between their personal experiences and their understanding of what occurred during the Holocaust. The piloting also showed that I needed to be very clear about the question or questions posed to the history teachers. I therefore set about finding an appropriate to guide the undertake the inquiry. The interview process sounded simple enough when I reviewed the literature; I knew that I needed to elicit stories based on the history teachers’ personal experiences to better understand Holocaust education. From my past experience using semi-structured questions in my master’s study, I knew that they would not generate the kind of data that I sought, that is, in-depth personal stories, but I was unclear about the best way to elicit these personal stories in the short amount of time that would be available to me with each participant. Trawling through the literature, I struggled to find literature that provided the guidelines I sought, with most of the literature on narrative interviewing being a small part of a broader discussion on qualitative interviews (Greef, 2005, pp. 286-299; Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000, pp. 1-15; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, pp. 129-134).

However, with the day of my first interview fast approaching and still having no firm idea of how I was going to conduct a narrative interview, I frantically searched for an appropriate

narrative method. I then stumbled upon the BNIM technique, which opened the methodological door (Wengraf, 2001, pp. 1-389). This method is aimed specifically at narrative interviewing and it provides a detailed method for drawing out participants' stories narratively. The BNIM technique provided me not only with theoretical knowledge but also with practical techniques. Unlike semi-structured interviews where the use of pointed questions directs the discussion between the researcher and the participant, I discovered that I needed to ask a single technically-constructed open-ended question, called a Single Question Aimed at Inducing Narrative (SQIN) (Wengraf, 2001, pp. 122-123). The method indicated that the structure of the SQIN should be dictated by the research questions and method and that each narrative interview should consist of three subsessions (Wengraf, 2001, pp. 118-120). These are discussed in greater detail on page 84.

Telling - conducting the interviews

Interviews are a way to communicate our personal stories to someone else. Chase (2003, p. 274) describes them as "occasions in which we ask for life stories ... about some life experience that is of deep and abiding interest to the interviewee." But prior to meeting the participants in person, I needed to initiate the pre-interview activity and asked the participants to attend to a couple of matters. Firstly, I also wanted them to examine the 28 photographs that I had emailed to them in preparation for the interview and to answer the accompanying questions. But most importantly, I wanted them to attend to the nature of their past personal experiences, remembering their primary experiences and selecting which of their personal experiences best fitted their understanding of Holocaust education and the way they taught the Holocaust.

Finally, it was time to meet the participants. Once the day of the interviews arrived, I met with each participant at our specified venue. As discussed earlier, our one-on-one meetings took place in various places and at times that suited the history teachers' busy schedules. Once we had met and greeted each other, the first order of business was to attend to the formalities, such as getting the consent forms signed by the participants. I used this time to make the history teachers feel comfortable, so we spoke about trivial, general matters such as me getting lost, or how they felt about being interviewed. I also openly set up the two recording devices, my cellphone and iPad (in case one failed) and when we were both ready, I began taping.

During the interviews I adhered to a few guidelines. Firstly, as the narrative inquirer, I listened without prejudice to the participants' personal stories in order to gain a deep understanding of

their experiences in the field of Holocaust education (Kramp, 2004, p. 108). I also bore in mind that each participant was living her own story (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 463) and that every story was told from its unique point of view, depending on the context, the teller and the audience (Kramp, 2004, p. 108). In other words, the telling of the history teachers' personal stories was not only influenced by their experiences but also by my presence as the audience to those stories (Schiff, Noy, & Cohler, 2001, p. 169). Furthermore, with the attributes of the researcher being central to the quality of narrative inquiry, I had to demonstrate a high level of "ethical and critical engagement"; narrative sensibility; reflexivity; and a high level of tolerance for ambiguity (Bleakley, 2005, p. 539) in order to achieve success as a narrative interviewer and to be an effective listener (Shaw, 2006, p. 122).

The process of attending to the inquiry coincided with the start of subsession one of the BNIM technique, as the participants listened carefully to the single question that I put to them to trigger the interviews. Imagining a see-saw with my participant at one end, me at the other and the audience on standby, at this point, I was high on the see-saw and my participant silent, listening to the SQIN. The back and forth in the conversation has been termed narrative privilege (Bolen & Adams, 2017, pp. 623-625). I asked each participant the same carefully crafted SQIN (Wengraf, 2001, pp. 122-123), which was presented as follows:

I'm interested in learning about Holocaust education through the personal stories of history teachers and I'd like to hear yours. Please tell me your story of how you became a history teacher and particularly about your teaching of the Holocaust and what, if anything, Holocaust education means in our South African context and to you personally. All the experiences and events that were important to you personally.

Using the same question in each interview provided consistency to the inquiry. As the BNIM method prescribed, I told the history teachers to take as long as they needed and that I would not interrupt them but would take notes that would later lead our discussion. Then I was silent and waited for them to begin. As the participants attended to the SQIN, the history teachers reflected on their past personal experiences, drawing on what they saw, heard, touched, felt, observed and thought. At this point in the inquiry they were narrativising their experiences (Kim, 2015, p. 156). This is a selective, imperfect process in which reality was actively constructed as the participants thought about what had happened to them during their lives (Riessman, 1993, p. 9).

The figure below shows the relationship between the five levels of representation, that is attending, telling, transcribing, analysing and reading (Riessman, 1993, p. 9), and BNIM subsessions one, two and three (Figure 6).

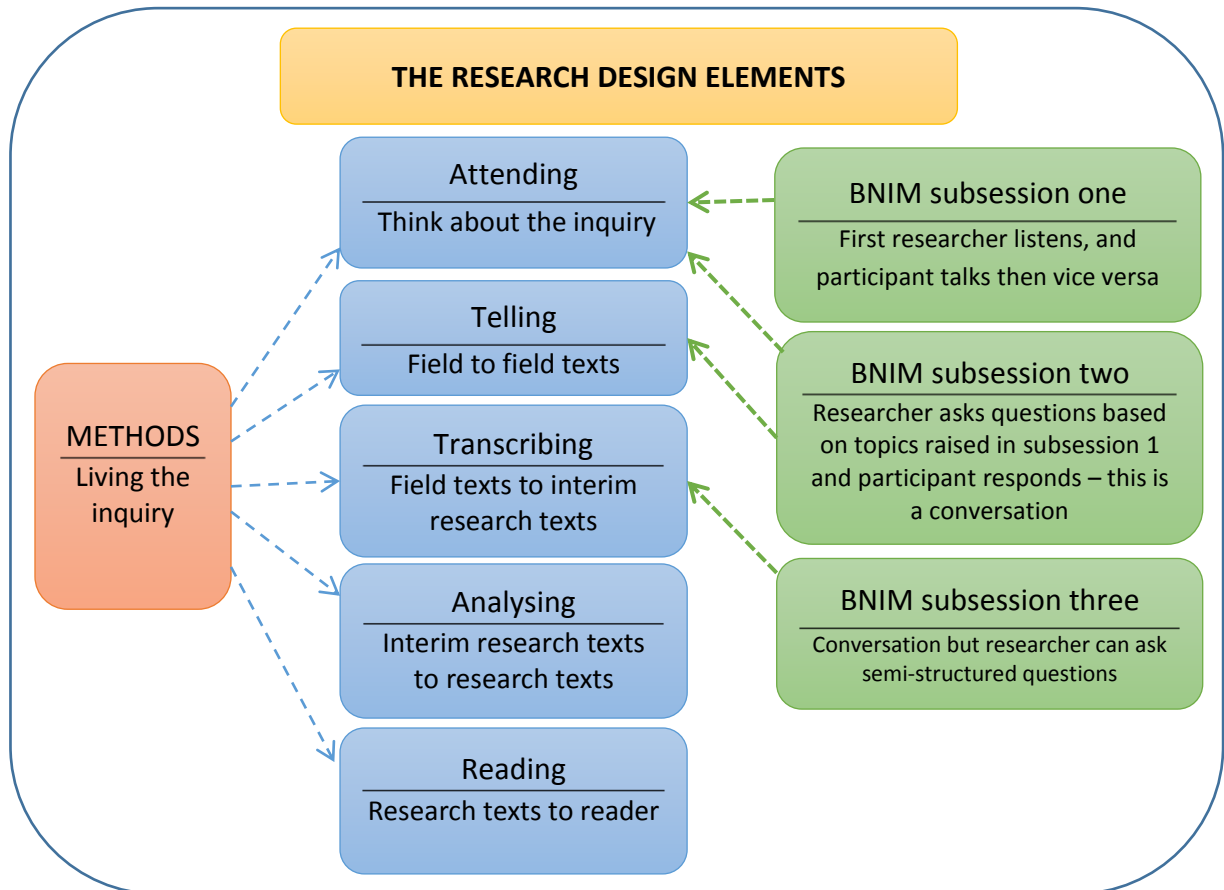


Figure 6. The relationship between Riessman’s five levels of representation and the three BNIM subsessions

With the attending phase complete, it was time for the history teachers’ voices to be heard. This telling of the history teachers’ stories or “living the narrative inquiry” (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441) was the fundamental element of BNIM subsession one. In relating their stories, the participants were converting their knowing to telling and through the telling shared their life experiences in story form.

As the history teachers were telling their personal stories uninterrupted in response to the SQIN, I was quiet. I attended to what they were saying, listening closely not only for the content of their personal stories but also paying attention to the gaps and silences (Clandinin, 2013, p. 46). Attending and telling occurred simultaneously. It was a fluid process with blurred boundaries. As the participants spoke I furiously scribbled notes, at the same time

consciously attending to what they said in order to pick up Particular Incident Narratives (PINS) as well as key words and phrases that related both to their personal stories and the research questions. I showed my interest by changing my facial expressions, nodding my head, smiling to encourage the storyteller to continue and sustaining eye-contact. I even permitted myself the occasional, “Mmm,” but other than that I was uncharacteristically silent. The PINS were an integral part of the method as it was these stories that gave greater insight into the phenomena under discussion. As the literature revealed, stories should be told well, that is with “depth and texture” as this provided the means for people to better understand ourselves and others (Kramp, 2004, pp. 111-118) and this was certainly the case for many of the PINS that were told by the participants. For instance, John’s personal story in which he was physically threatened and made to intimidate and threaten others, followed by his flight to South Africa and the xenophobia he faced, was told in intricate detail. This telling added depth to my understanding of the authenticity of his insight into aspects of the Holocaust as a result of the events of his life.

Being a novice narrative researcher, I was initially sceptical that BNIM would produce stories, but despite some initial tentativeness, the history teachers’ words soon began to flow and as their thoughts turned inwards, they spoke of their feelings and memories. Some participants began their interviews speaking slowly, others ummed and ahed, while yet others launched into a release of emotion about apartheid. This was the performance aspect of telling (Riessman, 1993, p. 9), with the participants using performance techniques, such as altering the tone or volume of their voices, to draw their audience in. Some of the participants became animated, others sad, and yet others spoke alternately slowly and then quickly until the telling of that experience was exhausted. For example, Thandi’s voice was soft, sometimes fading to a barely audible whisper as she recounted the circumstances of her emotional separation from her father and being constantly on the move with her mother as they dodged the apartheid police. Also, when Sipho spoke of his experiences of almost being killed, his voice lowered almost to a whisper as he relived and retold his experience. As the method indicated, what emerged sometimes surprised even the participants and they exposed information that they did not consciously intend to do (Bell, 2002, p. 209). Sipho revealed later that he surprised even himself when he spoke about the trauma of being attacked and John spoke of the cathartic nature of the interview, saying that simply talking about what had happened to him was a relief, as he had not done so since becoming a refugee in South Africa. Hannah, on the other hand was a confident, outgoing storyteller who regaled me with stories, including her account of cross-breeding dogs, an account that was always received by gales of learners’ laughter, as well as her German grandmother’s experiences of living in WWII Nazi Germany. Whilst I

observed these performance techniques, I did not analyse them as part of the analytic process. Instead, I dealt with them as techniques that added salt and pepper to the inquiry rather than being the meat and bones of it. Ultimately, regardless of their style of telling, I allowed the participants to continue to talk until their free-style telling in response to the SQIN was exhausted. At this point, the participants' voices were dominant as they sat high on the see-saw.

Narrator distance was also observed in the telling, with some of the participants like Rashid and Hannah, adopting an all-knowing stance when they constructed their stories, deciding on what to include or exclude as they imposed structure and meaning on their personal stories, according to their own belief systems. The participants in narrative inquiry are not simply observed as in traditional research (Kramp, 2004, p. 111). Instead, they are active participants in the narrative interviews, co-constructing the stories to provide the means for the researcher to better understand them (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 464). And despite the fact that different versions of the same story always exist (Riessman, 1993, p. 64), it is up to the listener to interpret what she hears. It was tempting for me to correct historical errors as the history teachers spoke, but historical truth is not the primary goal of narrative inquiry. So, I avoided correcting Rashid's contention that Jews owned the world at the time of the Holocaust and Siphos belief that most of the Jews were killed in Nazi Germany before WWII began.

In telling their personal stories, the participants used stream-of-consciousness speech. They freely associated ideas, which morphed from one to the next as they described their lived experiences. As a result, the participants often accessed previously hidden memories. For instance, Thandi reminisced about how her grandmother had taught her to do beading and as she did so she remembered that the beads were still somewhere at the back of her cupboard at home, which led her to reflect on her desire to get back to them one day. The telling of these accounts, in the form of stories, are regarded as the primary means to generate field texts in narrative inquiry (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007). Riessman (1993, p. 10) notes however, that there is "an inevitable gap" between the experience as lived and any communication about it.

The telling in sub-session one generally lasted for approximately half an hour, although to my consternation, one of the participants, John, stopped speaking after just ten minutes, unlike Rashid whose initial telling lasted almost an hour. What, I wondered, could this short response possibly yield? I wondered if I should break the method and ask him more questions but

decided to stick to it and ultimately realised that the ten or so main points that I needed for sub-session two were present. In contrast, Rashid's first sub-session lasted for over an hour. Unlike semi-structured interviews where a few pointed questions lead the discussion and the researcher can re-direct the participant's attention if they wandered too far off the topic, the BNIM procedure provided the participants with the space to speak freely. Thus, the history teachers meandered through their conscious and sub-conscious memories, relating memories that spontaneously surfaced as they connected their thoughts to their knowledge of Holocaust education. Almost contrary to my expectations, once they had exhausted their thoughts at the end of the first sub-session, they typically exhaled and commented, "So that's it, that's my story," just as the method predicted.

A powerful element in narrative inquiry is the relationship between the participants and the researcher and this contributes to the quality of stories elicited during interviews (Etherington, 2013, p. 22). It was therefore my task to be proactive in assisting people to tell their stories by assuming a 'not knowing' position rather than an expert one (Etherington, 2013, p. 22) and at the same time teasing out the cultural context; the story's timeline; the significance of other people in their stories; historical continuity; and how the story was located in the teller's life (Etherington, 2013, pp. 23-29).

In terms of the amount of time available to interview each participant, Xu and Connelly (2010, p. 365) make the point that if the researcher spends limited time at the research site, "there is more scope for imagined and pre-established theoretical interpretations and biases to be brought to bear" (Xu & Connelly, 2010, p. 366), which implies that the more time the narrative inquirer spends with the participant, the deeper the conversation. Also, with greater involvement and commitment to their personal stories, the narrative inquirer is less likely to theorize or concoct interpretations by filling in the gaps, consciously or sub-consciously and they cannot create abstractions or generalisations from specific stories (Carter, 1993, p. 10). However, my time with the participants was limited by the nature of the research, so with the permission of the participants, I allowed the interviews to continue until the discussion was exhausted, beyond the initial hour that I requested in my original email to them.

At the end of sub-session one, when the history teachers had exhausted their response to the SQIN, we paused for a short break of five minutes or so, as per the BNIM technique. The purpose of this intersession gap was to give them time to reflect on what they had said while I prepared for sub-session two. I did this by breaking eye contact and concentrating on the notes I had taken during sub-session one (Wengraf, 2001, p. 137) to create a schedule of key points

for further discussion. As the method predicted, while I was immersed in this task, some of the participants burst out, “Oh, I just remembered ...” as further thoughts bubbled to the surface.

Subsession two then commenced. Its purpose was to generate further stories about the themes and topics that had been raised during what Wengraf refers to as a “return to narrative” (Wengraf, 2001, p. 120). This was my opportunity to discuss points raised by the participants in subsession one that related to the connection between their personal stories and how they taught the Holocaust. There was a proviso however, this discussion could only take place in the specific order in which the points had been raised and no new topics were to be introduced. Also, if I missed an opportunity to ask something, it could not be revisited or raised later. This proved to be challenging but I stuck to the method and it paid dividends. With no distractions, the history teachers became deeply immersed in recounting their experiences and their imaginations took flight, informing and shaping the telling of their experiences (Caine et al., 2013, p. 581). I was also able to add my own voice to the conversation, telling my story, or at least parts of it, if asked and when appropriate. This provided a balance to the conversation, enabling my participants to feel that they were not only giving, but also receiving (Gardner, 2003, p. 176). At this point, the balance between the teller and listener-researcher teetered over the fulcrum, at times bringing me and then them into the dominant position on the see-saw.

The interviews were generally very successful, raising critical points and revealing how the personal stories of the history teachers shaped their teaching of the Holocaust, the findings of which are discussed in the next chapter. But I faced a few challenges. These evolved mainly from my own discomfort and inexperience in conducting BNIM interviews. I sometimes moved on too quickly, when a bit more probing might have yielded better results, such as when Rashid spoke about the yellow vans. I also found that “plugging away” at the participants, pushing them to develop incidents that they had spoken about (Wengraf & Chamberlayne, 2006, p. 5) was personally difficult for me. The instruction to keep pushing one’s participants is, in fact, contrary to what some other qualitative researchers say about interviews. They contend that participants should not be questioned vigorously but rather given the freedom to let the story unfold, leading to a two-way dialogue (Henning et al., 2004, p. 67). This was relevant for subsession one, but subsession two required a different *modus operandi*. Thus, as the participants and I engaged in the second and third subsessions, the see-saw tilted back and forth over the fulcrum as the conversation swung between the participants and me.

According to Wengraf (2001, p. 142), subsession three is ideally conducted a few days after subsessions one and two. However, due to the study's time constraints, the teachers' busy lives and knowing that my PhD study was time-sensitive, it was necessary to conduct subsession three on the same day. Therefore, after subsession two ended, I launched into subsession three, laying out the 28 Holocaust-related photographs on the table before us and asking the history teachers to answer the questions I had sent them in our pre-interview contact. The purpose of subsession three was to gain further insights into areas that I felt were relevant to either to the participant's personal story or to my research question. Semi-structured questions were used.

It was evident as we spoke that some of the participants were familiar with the photographs, having spent time looking at them and thinking about them prior to the interviews. However, others like John had clearly not done so and seemed almost surprised to see the range of Holocaust material. I asked the participants to answer three questions, allowing time between each one for the participants to consider and answer before moving on to the next question. The questions were:

1. Which three photographs do you think are most relevant for teaching the Holocaust and why?
2. Which photograph do you think is the least relevant, appropriate or useful and why?
3. Which of the photographs, however many you choose is okay, relate to you personally and why?

In retrospect, I felt that the second question was too broad, but still, it yielded appropriate answers. However, the third question was most important because it provided me with insight into whether there was a connection between their understanding of the Holocaust and their personal stories.

An advantage of subsession three was that it provided me with an opportunity to further interrogate the participants' Holocaust knowledge, pedagogy and their personal connection to the Holocaust using a new tool – the photographs. For example, Emma only chose photographs that bore images of children, reinforcing the focus in her life on children, both her own and others, while all Siphos' choices contained images of Hitler. This focus reflected incidents in his own life, such as his equation of the headmaster - his purported friend who shouted and yelled at him and the other staff - with Hitler.

As the participants mentioned incidents that related to their personal stories, inconsistencies in the historical facts about the Holocaust arose. I chose not to challenge any of them during the interview. I also used everyday language to communicate with my participants to ensure that we communicated effectively.

The post-interview period was a time for recording my thoughts and looking back. In line with the BNIM procedure, I set aside an hour immediately post-interview to write my observations, thoughts, impressions and feelings. This self-debriefing “to saturation” is a crucial element of the interviews and as Wengraf (2001, pp. 142-143) reports, it is “central” to understanding the interview and to “advance professional competence.” Therefore, not being able to always remain in the same room, as soon as I drove away from the interviews, I found a quiet, safe place to park my car and thought deeply about what had transpired. I felt that it was necessary to do this as soon as possible after the interview so that I was still “in the moment” and able to recall the interview clearly. I recorded my thoughts as voice notes on my cellphone, verbalising my immediate post-interview observations and impressions for as long as I could, sometimes taking half an hour to do this activity, and trying to reach saturation. Bits of the participants’ stories began to coagulate: who they were, what they thought and felt about teaching the Holocaust. I also noted their personal life philosophies and how these influenced their teaching of the Holocaust. I summarised the key points in their personal stories, and drew as many connections as I could to show how their personal stories connected to their teaching of the Holocaust, bearing my research questions in mind (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 466). But most importantly and later to prove most useful were my immediate insights. I continued this post-interview activity for as long as it took to debrief myself. These observations later proved to be insightful, significant, and very useful when restorying.

Later at home, as I further contemplated the interviews, I realized that the participants might only have told me what they wanted to reveal, possibly adjusting or editing their personal stories to fit in with how they wanted to be perceived or tailoring their stories to maintain “narrative identity” rather than telling the story in a manner that defended “historical accuracy or truth” (Gardner, 2003, p. 179; Trahar, 2009, p. 4). Therefore, they might have cloaked certain aspects of their lives, meaning that the telling might not be complete. My options as the researcher were clear; either to listen to the stories and accept them for what they were or to probe their memories in greater detail to try and uncover a more verifiable truth (Gardner, 2003, p. 179).

As the interviews drew to a close, more than half of the participants invited me into their classrooms to teach a Holocaust lesson and many indicated that they wished to remain in contact with me. I viewed this as a reflection of the depth of the interviews, and the connection we had established in a short period of time, but also to the vulnerability they felt in revealing deep-seated parts of their personal stories. Some promised to email any further thoughts that they had post-interview, however only two did so; Rashid and Hannah. Rashid had laughingly said at the end of the interview that I knew more about his personality and deepest thoughts than even many of his closest relatives, but I got the impression that this made him feel exposed and vulnerable. Hannah, on the other hand, sent me a few pages that she had written about the photographs prior to the interview but did not elaborate on the interview itself. The extra material added nothing further, as I found that most of it had been aired during the face-to-face interview. This brought the telling phase to a close.

Transcribing

The next task in my research design was to undertake Riessman's third level of representation, transcription in which I moved the taped interviews from the field texts to interim research texts. As I transcribed the interviews, converting them verbatim into written text, my role was dominant. Transcription is an interpretive act, shaped by the researcher and this was therefore also the first stage of data analysis. Like the telling, transcription is an "incomplete, partial, and selective" endeavour (Riessman, 1993, p. 11) as there is no unique true representation of spoken language (Riessman, 1993, p. 13). In this first level of analysis, I chose how to interpret what the participants said and wrote notes based on these observations.

Transcription, using transcription software, began as soon as possible after the conclusion of the interviews. This was done as faithfully as possible to the recordings and yielded numerous pages of text for each interview. The software that I used to assist in this phase enabled me to listen and then, using various key strokes, move back and forth through the audio tracks. However, this was not a straightforward task as I was faced with multiple choices, such where to put pauses, emphases, and line breaks, amongst others, so even at this stage, analytic thoughts swirled in my mind, clotting into the first clumpy bits of analysis. Themes emerged here and there, as Kramp (2004, p. 120) said they would, and an overall picture and timeline of who my participants were, their life experiences leading to their becoming history teachers, and their engagement with the Holocaust in their classrooms began to take shape.

The container for the transcriptions was Excel. As I transcribed, I numbered and indicated the speaker in a cell, but wrote in chunks of text rather than numbering each line of text

individually. Generally, the chunks indicated a change of voice, unless I required more space. I listened carefully and repeatedly to the audio notes to ensure that the transcriptions were accurate, although sometimes I strained to hear clearly or understand words that were foreign, such as when Thandi lowered her voice almost to an inaudible whisper. It was up to me to form the text into understandable portions, thus initiating the first interpretive stages of the analysis. At this stage I also wrote annotations in the margins of my document as signposts to my thinking, commenting on content and drawing conclusions and comparisons with other interviewees as they came to mind, as I systematically hacked my way through the thicket of data. This early analysis proved to be very useful later when the interviews were not as fresh in my mind.

After each transcription was completed, I emailed it to the relevant participant for perusal and correction. Member checking is an important part of qualitative research design because it ensured that the spirit and details of the personal stories were accurate, at the same time shifting the substantiation of the field texts from me to the participants (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 124), and adding to the reliability and trustworthiness of the study. It also encouraged the participants to co-construct the story with me, since narrative inquiry requires that participants are actively engaged with the emerging story through “ongoing negotiation” (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441). However, only two of the participants replied and of those, only one had read and annotated the transcription before returning it to me. Member checking, in this case, proved to be fruitless and I can only surmise that the participants moved on with their lives, getting caught up in their busy daily schedules.

After the transcriptions and member checking were complete, my attention turned from the field texts to interim research texts (Clandinin, 2013, p. 47) and I began the analysis and interpretation of the field texts, which is Riessman’s fourth level of representation.

Analysis and interpretation - analytic framing of the stories

Data do not speak for themselves therefore they require interpretation (Riessman, 2005, p. 2). Data analysis is essentially the interpretation, condensation and synthesis of the field texts using various analytic frameworks (Chase, 2005; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441; Creswell, 2013, p. 70). Although written here as a separate section, data analysis in fact permeates throughout the inquiry (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 336; Patton, 2002, p. 436), starting from the moment ideas begin to emerge and sense begins to be made of the field texts. Data analysis can yield various outcomes: themes and categories (Polkinghorne, 1995, pp. 5-6; Riessman, 2008, p. 13); stories (Clandinin, 2013, p. 34;

Polkinghorne, 1995, pp. 5-6); performance narratives that are presented through language, gestures and even music (Riessman, 2008, pp. 105-140); or research texts that focus on say, narratology, which is the narrative structure of stories (Huber et al., 2013, p. 217) amongst others.

The analysis of the field texts in this study was conceptualised in two phases: firstly, listening within the transcribed texts to the voices of the participants and restorying their accounts (Riessman, 2008, p. 21); then conducting an analysis across the restoried stories searching for themes and categories (Chase, 2011, p. 424). In this way, the participants' personal stories were used to produce stories (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 462) as well as to interpret stories (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a, p. 103). The theory supporting this conceptualisation evolved from Polkinghorne's identification of two types of data analysis: narrative analysis and analysis of narratives. His ideas were based on Bruner's early ideas of cognition (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5) in which he identified two types of cognition - paradigmatic and narrative. Polkinghorne therefore described two types of data analysis: narrative analysis, in which events and happenings are used as data and the narrative inquirer produces "explanatory stories"; and analysis of narratives, where the narrative inquirer begins with stories as data and then searches for categories, themes and other common elements across those stories (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5). Although both analysis of narratives and narrative analysis can be used independently in a research project, Kramp (2004, p. 120) believes that these analytical typologies are not mutually exclusive and that research can incorporate both narrative analysis and analysis of narratives into one research project, as mine does. She explains:

It is possible but not necessary in your research to do both an analysis of the narratives and a narrative analysis. These methods of narrative inquiry are not inherently contradictory. They can be complementary. Used together they provide a rich analysis of the stories your research participants shared with you in their interviews. An analysis of narratives that leads you to identify the individual and the shares outcomes would certainly inform and shape the plots you construct when you create your storied analyses.

However, there are dissenting views on the use of thematic analysis in narrative inquiry. Clandinin (2013, p. 52) maintains that "to develop or confirm existing taxonomies or conceptual systems" is not the way that narrative inquirers work and, in her view, the focus in narrative research should be on the way that lives are "lived and told throughout the inquiry." Riessman (2008, p. 58) also adds a cautionary note, saying that in thematic analysis, "Readers

usually learn little about the local context [or] conditions of production.” Whilst these ideas have merit if the thematic analysis is the sole outcome of the analysis of the transcriptions, I believe that the search for cross-story themes post-restorying is useful, yielding contextual cross-story knowledge, provided that the restoried stories are well told and rich in content, as I will show in Chapter Six. I therefore used both analysis of narratives and narrative analysis to analyse the field texts within the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space (Figure 7).

TOOLS FOR THE ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FIELD TEXTS	
Analysis that produces stories (restorying)	Analysis that produces themes and categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • narrative analysis (Polkinghorne) • three-dimensional narrative inquiry space (Clandinin) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • analysis of narratives (Polkinghorne) • thematic analysis (Riessman)

Figure 7. Tools for analysing and interpreting the study’s field texts

Analysis that produces stories (narrative analysis)

The analytical process, which started with the first tentative interpretations of the transcriptions and with the field notes, was followed by restorying, that is the creation of new stories based on the participants’ interviews. Restorying or analysis that produces stories is a fundamental element of narrative inquiry (Bell, 2002, p. 210) as it enables the researcher to engage with the participants “in relational ways” (Clandinin, 2013, p. 47) within the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space (Clandinin, 2013, p. 47). Stories can either be presented as snippets of the totality of the storyteller’s life story, or as larger more encompassing stories (Creswell, 2013, pp. 70-74). These personal stories comprise but a few fragments of the participant’s larger life stories, as they relate to their teaching of the Holocaust.

The construction of stories allows three interpretive actions to take place (Vetten, 2014, p. 2). Firstly, restorying brings order and consequence to the unstructured interviews. This can be achieved using either a problem-solution or a functional analysis approach. The former brings organisation to the data by describing how the story starts, how it develops and where it ends (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002, p. 333) while the latter investigates the purpose of the story or what kind of story it is, such as a success story or a journey of discovery (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a, p. 103). I chose a problem-solution approach for this study, placing the personal stories within the three commonplaces of narrative inquiry. In other words, the central action of the story around which it developed was identified as I conceptualised the plot of each

story. Next the relationship between this central action and the situational elements that surrounded it were identified. This involved placing the restoried stories in context. Since the interviews took place in places that did not reflect the participants' personal stories, I placed them in a context that would reflect the life experiences of the participants. In other words, I narrativised the real events of the participants' lives and place the restoried stories in a creative setting. Hence, since the origin of Siphos story was in the rural area of KZN, I placed the context of his restoried story there and Florence's blog was written from the perspective of her being the history teacher at her current school. Finally the "normative and aesthetic connections" with regard to various elements of the story were included (Vetten, 2014, p. 2). Therefore, every story was told from the unique perspective of the history teacher and was dependent on the context in which the story took place, as well as the audience to whom the stories were told (Kramp, 2004, p. 108). In addition, the restoried stories embodied crucial elements of narrative inquiry: story coherence and progression of the story through time (Kramp, 2004, p. 110).

To undertake this second level of analysis, the restorying, I had to make certain decisions. I had to decide what information to include; in what order, where and at what time the stories took place; what to emphasize or interpret; and which parts of the stories needed to be reworked in terms of previously-held thoughts, points of view or shared histories, both of me and my participants (Etherington, 2013, p. 12). I used all available sources including the interview transcripts and my field notes to obtain a global picture of the story. Also, the interpretation of the stories was inevitably seen through the lens of my own local and global knowledge. My narrative knowing, on which I drew to shape my choices, developed out of my personal experiences as a teacher, my Jewishness, the landscape of South African politics and our apartheid history, and my previously acquired knowledge of Holocaust education. I therefore felt that I was competent enough to make interpretive connections to the context of the personal stories (Vetten, 2014, p. 2). For example, I wrote descriptively about the rural area in which Siphos grew up, despite him not having directly described it. In the restoried memoir, he is sitting on a hill overlooking a rondavel, hills and rondavels being a common feature of the KZN geographical landscape. The description was based on my personal knowledge of the rural areas of KZN, of which he spoke. Also, through my direct knowledge of apartheid, I had insight into it, such as people being forced by law to live in different areas. This understanding resonated with my book knowledge of Jews being forced into ghettos, concentration camps and death camps during the Holocaust. In this way I built the restoried stories around the participants, real people whose identities needed to be protected for ethical reasons, but I pushed the methodological boundaries of the narrative inquiry when setting the

scene. This thought process resonates with comments made by Wiebe (2014, p. 552), who reminds researchers that fictionalising scholarly work remains “a new frontier.”

Yet, this new frontier is growing and issues such as the manner of restorying have become points of discussion in the literature. For example, rather than simply sticking to academic writing, as in writing for a textbook, it has been suggested that restorying can take place in other ways, such as through fictional character presentations. This was done by Wiebe (2014, p. 549), who was dissatisfied with purely academic writing in her own research. She therefore decided to use fictional characters when restorying, through whose eyes, she remarked, the participants’ “experiences and ideas would be told re-presented.” She expanded that imagining the world through the eyes of her participants provided her with “new insights into their worlds” (Wiebe, 2014, p. 552). Dillow (2009, pp. 1338-1351) and Mara (2009, pp. 1-23) also used creative writing techniques and fictionalised their understanding of theory and all these three researchers provided inspiration for my methodological choices. This was an innovative idea but in Alvermann’s opinion (2002, n.p.), in order to get academia beyond the walls of institutions requires an openness in academic writing. Polkinghorne (1997, p. 3) also actively encourages researchers to experiment with narrative formats when reporting their studies, citing that “by changing their voice to storyteller, researchers will also change the way in which the voices of their ‘subjects’ or participants can be heard.” I therefore felt encouraged and confident to place the new stories of my participants into fictionalised contexts.

The process of conceiving and writing the restoried stories was incremental, unfolding organically. At the outset, I read and re-read the interviews and field notes numerous times. The field notes were useful jumping off points because they provided a record of my immediate post-interview thoughts, feelings and impressions. I wrote about how I perceived the participant’s characters; wrote notes containing encapsulated versions of my understanding of what I had heard about the teaching of the Holocaust; and recorded my general impressions of the interview. Moreover, the field notes provided me with useful tidbits that I had forgotten by the time of the writing and these helped me to construct the restoried stories. I then re-read the interview transcripts, underlining relevant ideas in pencil, making annotated notes, and drawing mental connections to other field texts. These included notes that I had created for various talks given to friends, informal groups, university cohort groups, family and work colleagues about my research. Each of these field texts prompted memories of the interviews, providing me with cumulated insight. Next I analysed the transcripts for key elements that would characterise the participants’ lived experiences in order to tell new stories

(Clandinin & Huber, 2010, p. 436; Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002, p. 330) and used them to build a narrative framework for the stories. I placed the events of the stories, each with a beginning, middle and end, in chronological sequence; placed the story in context; established the characters and their relationships, that is, I worked within the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space; and provided the causal connections (Creswell, 2013, p. 74).

Restorying was a complex affair, with many layers of engagement with the data. It was a process that unfolded as I progressed rather than being minutely planned beforehand, and unlike the structured coding in NVivo, which I undertook later in my research to look for common themes, this was a fluid, open, creative process, with the many connections being drawn intuitively. I wanted to understand what each participant was really saying from the most superficial level down to the deepest so that the restoried account would bear a strong resemblance to the teller's lived experience (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2014, pp. 351-374). I also sought to maintain the tone and texture of the history teachers' voices while undertaking this second level of analysis. Restorying therefore required that I make decisions about what was to be included, omitted, magnified or reduced, in order to give form to the data and to reproduce each history teacher's personal story as faithfully as possible. At the same time, I wanted to find creative ways to present the stories in a readable, accessible way. This was extremely time-consuming, adding almost a year to my thesis-time.

To restory, I used NVivo to analyse the transcriptions. This might be seen as controversial, as some researchers believe that NVivo should only be used for large samples, as discussed on page 78, but I was comfortable with my substantiated methodological choice as NVivo enabled me to create a hierarchical structure that eventually formed the backbone of the restoried stories. Various themes emerged including becoming and being a history teacher; family and heritage; childhood experiences; schooling and education; religion; and personal philosophies. The history teachers also spoke about the schools at which they taught, how they taught the Holocaust as well as how they felt about teaching it. Other aspects of the stories that I felt were significant were what the participants thought about teaching history and the Holocaust in South Africa and some of their challenges. I identified why they believed that the Holocaust was introduced into the school history curriculum and the manner in which they taught it. Other key points included the connection between the Holocaust and apartheid, dealing with learners' questions, the history teachers' responses to the interview photographs and their personal characteristics. I used this data to build a timeline of the history teachers' personal experiences and created a very broad template for restorying the

transcriptions. In addition to the NVivo analysis, I referred to the original transcriptions to verify exactly what was said and to my field notes as I began writing the stories.

To begin restorying, I opened a blank Word document on one side of the computer monitor (this was to be the new story) and laid the relevant transcript next to it; both documents lay side by side. As I read through the interview, I copied and pasted snippets of the transcript into the new document. I did this to maintain authenticity. An outline of the storyline evolved. The beginning of the story introduced the participant to the reader, telling his or her personal story about growing up and becoming a history teacher. The middle of the story told of how the participant taught the Holocaust, challenges and successes faced and how each person connected their personal stories to their Holocaust teaching. I then ended the story by describing how the session ended or provided a few final thoughts. These story elements spanned past, present and future, where the story took place, and the sociality or interactions that took place between the participants and the people who populated their stories in line with the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. The stories morphed as I wrote them, but generally followed this basic plan. Narrative inquiry theory was front and centre throughout the restorying process.

Pushing the boundaries of narrative inquiry, I chose seven different genres to represent the seven different restoried stories, each being written through the eyes of the protagonists by narrativising real events and placing them in a creative setting. Only the setting of the participant's story has been altered. In truth, all the interviews took place in rather mundane places - a university seminar room, a school library, participants' homes, and on one occasion at my own home, but the stories told by the participants suggested more creative settings that were reflective of who they were as people. I was very conscious of the fact that the participants' stories needed to be told in an ethical, trustworthy way and not altered in any way. Their stories had to be told with the utmost integrity and verisimilitude – they were not simply figments of my imagination running wild, but part of a disciplined, structured research process, where I remained true to the words of the participants, to their meaning and to their intention.

Thus, to reflect the different personalities and circumstances of each participant, I chose to restory their personal stories using different genres. The telling of the stories was told through a blog, a short-story, an illustrated journal, an exchange of letters, a memoir, a television interview and a presentation to parents. My choice of genre was purely intuitive, based on how I perceived each participant. I found that trying to identify the “voice” of each history

teacher challenging; requiring both thoughtfulness and research. Firstly, I had to ensure that I understood the fundamentals of each genre and how it might affect my writing of the stories. I attempted to change my writing style for each story while remaining true to its content and I minimised my own voice. I was attentive to and concentrated on the entirety of the story, reading and re-reading the transcripts as I familiarised myself with the narrator's "language, inflection, and especially the story itself" (Kramp, 2004, p. 116). For instance, I restoried Thandi's story as a short story because of the way our meeting unfolded. A short story is a story with a fully developed theme and outcome, but is shorter than a novel, but it contains the same five basic elements of a novel, that is, character, setting, conflict, plot and theme. Thandi's story was the first restorying exercise. The events of her interview led me to view it from two different perspectives - hers and mine. The story began with her entry to my apartment and a thought-provoking, cringe-worthy comment. The first sentence was unremarkable, "You have a very beautiful apartment." But she then added, "You live here by yourself?" The question hung in the air like a soap bubble about to burst. I felt extremely uncomfortable, but we moved on quickly and the focus of the interview changed to the reason for her visit, Holocaust education. In addition, Thandi's interview was peppered with many small stories: about her blue Polo and her holiday experiences with her children, her life growing up, her romantic relationships and her feelings about her father. But as she left, the conversation came full circle as she again spoke about my apartment, as my unease returned. A short story soon evolved in my imagination, employing a common technique in storytelling whereby the story unfolds sequentially through the eyes of the different protagonists. Hence the plot unfolded. All these events provided me with insight into Thandi the person, Thandi the history teacher and Thandi the parent and revealed how her story contributed to her understanding of the Holocaust and shaped the way she taught it.

Hannah's story was written as an exchange of letters. This genre evolved from the way she spoke. Her chatty, friendly style, humour and outgoing nature were evident throughout the interviews, but she also expressed a range of emotion as she spoke about her work and her grandmother – love, anger, humour, frustration and her passion for teaching the Holocaust all emerged. Through letters, I was able to reveal these diverse aspects of her personality while peeling back the layers of her family's history and her personal connection to her teaching of history and the Holocaust. Hannah's story was told in a straightforward way, but it was peppered with the bursts of humour that punctuated the interview and I attempted to capture these moments in her story. Her clarity of thought and description of various happenings were perfect for letters.

In contrast, Siphos story mirrored his introspective manner and the quiet, yet dramatic way in which he spoke. He almost whispered when he told of the traumatic events of his young life. During the course of telling his story, Siphos drew me into his beautiful but dangerous world, dominated by the rural landscape of KZN. He reflected on the many experiences that shaped his teaching of the Holocaust, and I imagined him sitting on a *koppie*¹⁰ as an older man, staring out over his land and reminiscing about the events that had brought him to that point in his life. When trying to decide on a suitable genre, I reflected that his was an historical account of his own story, as he remembered the experiences of his life. A memoir was therefore born.

One of the most dominant aspects of Emma's story was that she was a devout Christian Zionist and ardent in her zeal for Israel. She was also a devoted mother, a wife, and a dedicated, passionate teacher who held some very strong views on the Holocaust and antisemitism. I needed to find a story genre in which her strength of opinion could be harnessed. Teaching was clearly in her blood, so her story was moulded into a fictional presentation to parents on how to rid the school of the racism and antisemitism that permeated it. This enabled me to mould her personality into the presentation and at the same time not only present a monologue, but also allow interaction with other characters in order to challenge her views. Also, presentations are often accompanied by visual aids through media such as PowerPoint. This enabled me to introduce the discussion about the photographs.

John's story on the other hand begged to be told as an interview. From the outset, the dramatic tales of his youth, family and flight to South Africa were so topical that they needed to be presented in a punchy, newsy way. I therefore wrote his story as a television interview, channelling veteran journalist and television host, Christiane Amanpour. This genre also provided a strong visual component. John came to South Africa from Zimbabwe as a refugee in order to escape violence and intimidation but also to build a better life for himself and his family. Although he was primarily a mathematics teacher, he was asked by the school to teach history. His experiences, including the xenophobia he experienced in the new South Africa, were intertwined with his teaching of the Holocaust. All the experiences and events of his life, such as going to university and being confronted with the violence of contested politics; the experiences that informed his desire to leave Zimbabwe; the problems facing him on his arrival in South Africa; his work as a history teacher; and ultimately his teaching of the Holocaust shaped how he understood and taught the Holocaust. This process, he revealed at

¹⁰ A small hill in Afrikaans

the end of our one-on-one interview, was in fact cathartic for him. The genre of a television interview was the perfect platform to showcase the diverse, dramatic events of John's life.

Florence's one-on-one interview was unusual amongst this group of participants as she had no dramatic tales of flight, deeply religious convictions, threats to her life, nor deep family connections to the Holocaust. Her story was a simple one, but it was filled with emotion: love for her family, passion for teaching history, and the importance of empathy to her. She grew up living in a house located opposite the school she attended, went to university to become a history teacher and eventually came back to teach at that very same school as a history teacher. Her family was a happy stable one and she had various siblings, all of whom eventually became successful in their chosen careers. Her passion for teaching the Holocaust and the depth of her emotion and empathy were almost naive. As I transcribed her interview, chunks of stories, incidents or comments emerged. This reminded me of blogs, such as that by qualitative researcher Pat Thomson, who writes about "research education, academic writing, public engagement, funding, other eccentricities" (Thomson, 2017, n.p.). Blogs are generally informal, relatively short pieces of writing, written in a conversational style. They also prompt responses from the reader. This suited my view of Florence, so like her, the blog I created was chatty but heartfelt. It reflected her love of people and humanity but also addressed deep-seated issues connected to her understanding and teaching of the Holocaust. Treating Florence as a blogger meant that I was able to deal with various diverse but sometimes disconnected aspects of her personal story.

But by far, the most difficult story genre to decide on was the last. Whereas the other stories almost immediately presented themselves as a certain story type, I had absolutely no idea what to do with Rashid's story. His interview was four and a half hours long, filled with facts, moments of intensity and reflection, but underneath the surface of his telling, lay a subterranean river of unspoken innuendo. From the outset of this the interview, which took place during the Israeli-Gaza War of 2014, he made it clear that he was a Muslim. Once I mentioned about half way through the interview that I was Jewish, he declared that for him, the interview was suddenly more interesting. There was a subtext, a dance that played out between us as we spoke about his teaching of the Holocaust that ultimately surfaced near the end of the interview. In his restoried story, I therefore needed to find a way to capture his innermost thoughts: his passion for teaching, his intense love of learning, his devotion as a Muslim, his complex feelings about the Palestinians and his desire to reveal all he knew about the Holocaust, while simultaneously discussing his life and teaching experiences. When

researching a possible genre, I considered a diary, but soon discovered that a journal would be more appropriate. A diary and journal differ markedly,

A diary is a report of what happened during the day—where you ate, who you met, the details leading up to the kerfluffle in the office, and who took whose side. It's a bit like a newspaper about you.

A journal is completely different. A journal is about examining your life. It's a GPS system for your spirit. "I've made this mistake before ... and I always make it when I'm rushed for time and feel panicky. But I feel panicky because I know I'm headed for the same mistake." Journals lead to insight, growth, and sometimes, achieving a goal. (Quinn McDonald, 2007, n.p.)

As the novelist Pat Conroy noted, "Writing (a journal) is the only way I have to explain my own life to myself" (Conroy, 2010, n.p.) and this was how I felt Rashid would be able to best tell his story, ruminating as he did during the interview and explaining his life to himself. However, I once again wanted to include images to add depth and interest to the personal story, thus Rashid's illustrated journal evolved.

Finally, in addition to analysing the stories within the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space, I had to consider story elements such as the structure, language and presentation of the inquiry. It has been suggested that "specific tensions or interruptions" take place during the course of storytelling (Creswell, 2013, p. 72) and one of the purposes of narrative is to understand what takes place at those moments of tension (Huber, Huber, & Clandinin, 2004, pp. 181-198), such as the tensions and disruptions that took place at Siphos school when the headmaster began issuing Hitler-like orders. Hence, the argument needed to be presented in such a way as to effectively engage the audience and convince them of the story. So, I included elements such as quotations, images, linguistic turns of phrase, and figures of speech to add to its flavour. These, folded together with tensions, temporality, sociality and place, combined to make a conceptual gateau within which "different kinds of field texts and different analyses [could] be conducted" (Clandinin & Huber, 2002, p. 1).

Reflections on restorying

Ultimately, the restoried stories as the second level of narrative analysis were my interpretations of the history teachers' personal stories as told to me (Riessman, 2008, p. 57). I was constantly aware that, "The paths we construct through our own remembrances can be experienced by no-one else" (Fay, 1996, p. 25; Gardner, 2003, p. 178) and that the restoried stories were manifestations of my impressions of the participants as I perceived them from

our pre-interview contact and the interviews themselves. Like Wiebe, I restoried in order to “retell, or reinvent, an existing story,” (Wiebe, 2010, p. 1) but unlike Wiebe who used entirely fictional characters, the characters in my stories were fictionalised versions of themselves. I used their words and the events of their lives authentically thereby creating narrative non-fiction but fictionalised the settings of their stories for ethical reasons, that is, to retain their anonymity. In other words, the restoried stories were my versions of the history teachers’ truths wrapped in a fictional narrative (Wiebe, 2014, p. 549) using their phraseology and content. To add visual impact to the stories, I added found photographs, graphics, and other material where appropriate as they related to the participants’ words. These images were not given to me by the participants but were sourced on the internet to add depth to the participants’ stories. The only images that were not sourced by me but which appear in the stories were the photographs listed in Appendix D.

In retrospect, one of the most challenging elements of restorying and an aspect of the analysis that I did not find discussed elsewhere in the literature is what I have termed compression. The closest description I found was that of C. L. Langer and Furman (2004, p. 7), who when discussing the process of writing poems as part of their research field texts, referred to the poems as having a “condensed form” that leads to “a more powerful representation of the data.” For me, compression was the process of reducing the transcriptions, squeezing the large amounts of data into compressed stories to reveal their essential elements, perhaps like the formation of diamonds, as per focus of the study and research questions, without losing the essence of the meaning or intent. I did this by running my first drafts of the restoried stories through NVivo, as the initial stories were so long that using them would have resulted in a tome, unsuitable for thesis production. The uncompressed stories might form the basis of a future publication, but for now they needed to be compressed a second time to reduce their volume and another level of analysis took place as I picked out the most salient points, while still striving to retain the content and character of the story and to make it more easily readable. When producing the new stories, it was necessary not only to “fit the data” into storied form but also to retain story coherence, as mentioned earlier (see page 96) and to bring order and meaningfulness to the stories that might not always be immediately apparent (Kramp, 2004, p. 120; Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5). For instance, Hannah’s love for her grandmother and the stories her grandmother told of how she had suffered during WWII, led to a subtext in her teaching, not only of the Holocaust but throughout her life, that there are two sides to every story.

In summary, restorying was the second level of narrative analysis in which the field texts were brought into a coherent, storied form with a beginning, middle and end, telling the stories of the history teachers and show-casing the events of their personal stories to demonstrate that their personal stories shaped their teaching of the Holocaust. With seven restoried stories in hand, it was time to put the stories into conversation with each other, and to conduct a cross-story thematic analysis.

Analysis that produces themes and categories

In some studies, narrative non-fiction in the form of restorying is regarded as the final result of the inquiry or as in the case of this study the restoried stories became the data for further analysis. I chose to use thematic analysis to establish underlying categories (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 462) in order to answer the research questions. However, I was aware that Polkinghorne (1988, p. 10) cautioned that when translating narratives into themes and categories, “crucial dimensions of narrative experience” can be lost such as “the experience of temporality that it contains” To mitigate this loss, not only the content of the stories was analysed (Riessman, 2008, p. 53; Riessman & Speedy, 2007, p. 430) but also the how and why of the events that took place within the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. Because of the unstructured nature of the interviews and the fact that not every person discussed the same topics, it was my job as the narrative inquirer to link the different storytellers’ understanding of Holocaust education by unravelling their restoried personal stories and searching for commonalities and differences.

To do this, I imported the seven restoried stories in Word format into NVivo and open coded them, that is, I labelled the concepts that emerged from my close examination of the field texts (Henning et al., 2004, p. 131). The labelling was done by creating nodes in NVivo. I read and re-read each story, searching for the meaning behind the words (Kramp, 2004, p. 116) to identify various themes and created free nodes before building the nodes into a hierarchical tree. Contained within each node were the words of the participants. These labels represented new knowledge, not knowledge based on previous theories. Open coding was followed by axial coding, that is, the process of putting the data “back together in new ways after coding by making connections between categories” (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 340). As my understanding of the data grew, I shifted the nodes constantly, grouping common themes and categories until they resulted in super-categories. This re-arrangement of the nodes enabled me to organise my thoughts, creating the structure that assisted in the analysis of the field texts. To avoid flipping between screens, I printed this tree hierarchy, which became the foundation of my conceptual framework and the outline for writing up my findings. This

printed record of the emergent themes was an invaluable reference during this analysis phase of the research. Amongst the many themes that emerged, a few notable ones were apartheid and the Holocaust; teaching methods; questions including “Why the Jews?”; resources, materials and strategies; challenges such as emotion and antisemitism; and identity. These are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

Whilst a global understanding of the history teachers’ teaching of the Holocaust began to emerge from their personal stories, I bore in mind that these stories were not complete versions of their lives; they were able to pick and choose the memories they wished to share with me. Surprisingly, however, the participants’ stories were much more richly detailed than I had originally anticipated they might be. As Gardner (2003, p. 180) observed, “People always have more to tell us than we expect.”

Reading

In terms of the methodological conceptual framework (see Figure 5) and Riessman’s five levels of representation, the final stage was to move from the interim research texts (the restoried stories and the findings of the analysis) to the final research text (the completed thesis), which was ultimately open to public scrutiny (Clandinin, 2013, p. 50). Once again, the balance shifted, and a new character took centre stage – the reader.

The reader is also part of the narrative inquiry, bringing his or own thoughts to bear on the words of the new story and making sense of the original story through the kaleidoscope of her personal experiences. Thus, a factor to consider at this stage is “double attentiveness,” which Simon (2005, p. 98) believes, is necessary for “responsible reading.” On one hand, the reader listens to the information in the stories and learns about events that took place in the past, in this instance the history teachers’ personal professional knowledge and practice, but on the other it stimulates personal reflection, as the research text inevitably becomes a mirror for the reader’s own life (Simon, 2005, pp. 87-103). But the text is contested. It could have been written in other ways with different possible versions of the same story (Riessman, 1993, p. 64) based on alternative analytical interpretations. It is therefore up to the reader to interpret what she reads, bearing in mind that historical truth and absolute fact are not the primary goals of narrative inquiry. Moreover, the reader may or may not share the concern of other researchers with regard to oral history texts that they should be regarded with deep suspicion, even though there are distinct advantages in reading or hearing other people’s personal stories, such as engaging in mutual discussions (Gardner, 2003, p. 180).

A consideration in representing my final research text was also the nature of my audience. Who was going to read it? I anticipated multiple audiences – the language editor, the participants, the examiners, my supervisor, and beyond those immediately connected to the study, a greater imagined audience of other researchers or interested readers, including those at the local Holocaust centres, family and friends. This brought to mind the criteria by which the text would be judged, bearing in mind that the audience might not be familiar with the topic or methodology or they might have greater experience in the field than I do. I was aware of possible criteria by which the research would be judged and which I discussed earlier in the text. These arose from the ontology of the inquiry, for as Alvermann (2002, p. 135) wrote:

Rejecting the notion that narrative texts need only “move us” to establish their truth claims, Riessman (1993, p. 64) and Polkinghorne (1995) argued for judging a text’s authority in terms of its coherence (explanatory power), correspondence (achieved through member checks), persuasiveness, and pragmatic use (the insights and understandings it provides the field).

Thus, the reader is the final interpreter of the research text.

Attention now returns to the research design and the factors that comprised living the narrative inquiry. In the next section I therefore discuss matters of reliability, trustworthiness and credibility alongside other criteria that underpin sound qualitative research (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 345), as well as positioning, uniqueness and representation, and ethical considerations.

Other design considerations

To address questions of the standing of the study, various other research design considerations now came to the fore. These included the representation in the wider field of qualitative analysis, its relationship to other studies in the field, as well as issues of ethical research.

Questions of reliability, trustworthiness and credibility

Because each researcher has an individual point of view and understanding of a story, depending on who tells it and in what context, truth or what is real cannot be defined as a single entity. It has therefore been suggested that truth in narrative inquiry be replaced by trustworthiness (Earthy & Cronin, 2008, p. 16) or verisimilitude, which is “the appearance or likelihood that something is or ‘could be’ true or real.” This is regarded as a more appropriate criterion for narrative knowing (Kramp, 2004, p. 108). Another criterion is validity, which has

been described as “the believability of a statement or knowledge claim,” (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 5). However, achieving validity was not the aim of this study as I was not attempting to prove that the history teachers’ personal stories were believable or even accurate reflections of what happened. Rather, I wanted to understand the meaning attributed by the participants to their experiences (Chase, 2011, p. 424). Criteria such as generalisability, objectivity and replication are aspects of quantitative research, but these are considered to be problematic in qualitative narrative inquiry (Delpont, 2005, pp. 160-163; Durrheim, 1999a, pp. 83-91). For instance, generalisability does not encapsulate the full scope of a narrative (Kramp, 2004, p. 113). Generalisability, objectivity and replication are therefore not regarded as embodying the values of narrative research (Griffiths & Macleod, 2008, p. 1) instead being aligned to quantitative research in which findings need to be replicated and generalised (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 148; Kramp, 2004, p. 113). In contrast, narrative inquirers do not seek generalisations or objectivity. They replace generalisability with transferability (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 7), thereby embracing many truths or narratives rather than seeking a single generalizable truth (Hunter, 2010, p. 44; Wang, 2017, p. 45). My objective therefore, was to achieve credibility, trustworthiness, transferability, plausibility, rigour, transparency and verisimilitude (Bell, 2002, p. 210; Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441; Cohen et al., 2007, p. 148; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 7; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999, p. 139; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b, p. 80; Welsh, 2002, p. 6).

To address these criteria, I adopted various strategies that spoke to the representation and positioning of the study. Firstly, I considered how I was representing the data. In the form of the restoried storied, I provided as accurate a representation of the field texts as possible, even though I was fictionalising aspects of the history teachers’ personal stories. I adhered to the ontological and methodological assumptions underpinning the narrative inquiry, and was mindful that the written texts required “evidence, plausibility, and disciplined thought” (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 485) and that the manner of its representation should include trustworthiness, credibility, and rigour (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, p. 13). Most importantly, I continued to think narratively throughout the inquiry, presenting the stories within the commonplaces of place, temporality and sociality. For example, in Florence’s personal story she spoke of some of the difficulties she experienced as a Holocaust educator in a disadvantaged school with a distinct lack of resources and showed how she dealt with the situation. As she narrated,

.. in my school we have one computer which is the secretary's computer, a printer and a fax machine. These all sit next to the secretary. When you're

printing exam papers you either do it at an internet cafe or at your home or you can ask the secretary to print your exam paper if she's not too busy. This is a problem.

Transparency was another factor to ensure credibility. This was employed early in the research process, beginning with the transcriptions. Apart from ensuring that the transcriptions were accurate, thorough, and member checked, I included evidence of the non-verbal elements of the interviews such as sighs, pauses, laughter, tears and so on. Transparency could be found in my research journal, which also provided rigour for the research. It was a reflexive journal, in which I wrote about matters big and small, personal and scholarly (Kelly, 1999, pp. 426-427). As a repository for the documentation of all the steps of the research from inception to conclusion, the research journal provided a record not only of each stage of the research but also how I felt about it. These observations were later used as a resource to write not only about the methods of the inquiry but also to help in building character sketches in the restoried stories. For instance, a journal entry written at the inception of my PhD journey described how I felt about engaging with what I perceived at the time to be the lack of structure, emotiveness and wildness of narrative research, although as I later found this was completely incorrect. On 6 March 2013, a couple of months after the start of my PhD registration, I wrote in my research journal:

The idea of the intense emotion attached to writing for narrative research actually terrifies me. It's foreign to how I view research, which I see as quite clinical and almost detached. Research in my eyes is formal and structured - both in style and form and content. We have to have introductions and conclusions, follow formal rules like starting each paragraph with an idea, following it up with an explanation and then providing evidence. This makes me feel tight and controlled and yet within this, the creative use of words, the pulling together of strands of ideas and knitting a multi-coloured cardigan of ideas is a different, opposite process. I therefore need to find a way to let my ideas explode onto the page, rather than type them in clipped phrases and boring monologues, as I am wont to do.

This was the logical mathematician in me. However, by 29 October 2014 my understanding of narrative inquiry had developed and changed significantly and by 1 March 2016 I was well into living the inquiry. This meant that I better understood the core of narrative inquiry and was able to write the restoried stories in a constructive, creative narrative way. In the interests of transparency, what follows is a transcribed section of Thandi's interview, followed by the way it was written in her restoried story.

- 3137 Thandi: I love doing
- 3138 B: Ja
- 3139 Thandi: Beads and stuff
- 3140 B: Ja, that's lovely
- 3141 Thandi: That my grandmother taught me. That skill.
- 3142 B: Oh really?
- 3143 Thandi: Yes.
- 3144 B: You know what. My grandmother also ... I'm an embroiderer, and my grandmother was also an embroiderer.
- 3145 Thandi: Okay. That's lovely. Because eish, my granny used to sit under the the you know there was a tree at home that my grandmother used to sit under and she would you know, go on and on doing this and I said please teach me. In fact, I didn't even ask her, she said, come here, sit down, let me show how to do this. And within two days, I could do my own designs and ...
- 3159 Thandi: Yes. So that's what I do, sometimes when I've got time, but my beads are there, somewhere in the wardrobe. Hai [deep exhale]. These days I'm just too busy. But when I get time, I [will] do it.

And this is how the transcription was compressed into the final field text:

[My granny] was an embroiderer and she did beautiful beading. We used to sit together under a shady tree with our beads forming rainbows of colour around us. She would go on and on doing this, and I wanted to say, "Please teach me!" But of her own accord, she said, "Come here, child, sit down. Let me show you how to do this." And within two days I could do my own designs! I'm too busy to do it now, but when I've got time to do it, but my beads are there, somewhere in the wardrobe.

Transparency is achieved not only in the complete disclosure of the method of the inquiry but also in the creation of a verifiable audit trail (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 128). NVivo provided this transparency and credibility as the coding was documented and available for scrutiny. It was used to keep a track of decisions made (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 93), in the process setting up a verifiable audit trail. So, while the coding process in NVivo was no quicker than manual coding, it was for more efficient in retrieving data and enabled rigour in

the analysis. Furthermore, mind-maps were used to demonstrate and record my thinking (Meehan, 2013, n.p.).

Whilst credibility, plausibility and transparency are very important in narrative inquiry, trustworthiness or the legitimacy of the field texts is regarded as “the bedrock of high quality qualitative research” (Birt, Scott, Cavers, Campbell, & Walter, 2016, p. 1802). Trustworthiness through transparency was therefore a desirable criterion and, as Earthy and Cronin (2008, p. 16) state,

An analysis should not claim to be any more “truthful” than another, but rather render transparent the process by which the interpretation of the narrative and stories has been reached. Then we can argue that there is a high degree of trustworthiness in the analysis and any conclusions drawn from it.

To ensure trustworthiness in my findings, I used more than one data source to triangulate my findings (De Vos et al., 2005, p. 362), that is, one-on-one interviews, field notes and photographs. Visual modes of enquiry, such as visual journals, contributed not only to the triangulation of data, but also to the recognition that there are many ways of doing things and many facets to reality (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2011, p. 2). The use of photographs also added credibility to word-based studies by accessing a different part of a person’s consciousness (Harper, 2002, p. 22). However, one of the criteria over which I had no control was that I had to accept that the only measure of knowing what happened to the storytellers was what they chose to tell me. It is inevitable that when talking about their lives, people sometimes lie; they can forget details; they exaggerate, become confused, and simply get things wrong. They might also have hidden agendas and often there is a merging of fact and fiction. Yet ultimately they are revealing their own truths (Alvermann, 2002, p. 6; Riessman, 1993, p. 64).

One of the primary ways to ensure both trustworthiness and transparency was through member checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 128), which has been described as “a technique for exploring the credibility of results” (Birt et al., 2016, p. 1802). As mentioned in the section on transcription, I returned the transcriptions to the participants for them to check for accuracy and resonance with their experiences. I wanted to be sure that they were satisfied with how their words had been transcribed, and that the names, places and events were correct. Moreover, I wanted them to establish that they had said everything they wished to say and that they did not want any part of the interviews to be excluded. If participants did not reply or send any alterations to the transcriptions that had been sent to them, I confidently

assumed that they were satisfied with the transcriptions and I continued with the analysis of the field texts. I was also satisfied that none of the participants wished to withdraw from the study nor alter or remove any part of it. Verifiable interviews, which were recorded, and the data was captured in various places: my work computer, home computer, external hard drive and USB, also ensured that the knowledge produced was credible and plausible, reliable and trustworthy.

Aside from member checking, Polkinghorne (2005, p. 141) suggests that it is important to choose participants who can offer insight into their experiences as this adds to the trustworthiness of the research. This was done by choosing participants who had taught the Holocaust to Grades 9 and/or 11 but more importantly, those who were free of external influence regarding Holocaust education.

Yet another way that I ensured that the data and analysis were made credible was through peer debriefing (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 129). During the course of the study I gave numerous short talks and had numerous discussions about my research with a group of women with whom I met with regularly, including a professor. In-depth discussions and questions that they raised added depth to my thinking. To test the evidence of the research, I attended and gave presentations in cohorts, I wrote and presented conference papers, I worked closely with my supervisor and wrote an article and chapter for a peer-reviewed journal and edited book. Where I presented papers at academic conferences I always received valuable feedback. Mostly, the academics with whom I engaged expressed an interest in the uniqueness and relevance of the study in the greater Holocaust education and history education space.

Ongoing contact with my supervisor provided me with clarity and insight, particularly with regard to structural difficulties of the thesis and numerous discussions within my university cohort group over the duration of my research provided me with valuable insight into aspects of the inquiry that I might not have considered. In this way I ensured creditability trustworthiness and rigour. In addition, by maintaining constant contact with the literature, both new and old, and the publication of journal articles I ensured that the research was transparent, trustworthy, credible, verifiable and consistent.

Finally, I knew that the research would be judged on the representation of evidence through rigour and to demonstrate this, one of my strategies was to adopt a standardised approach to the way in which I conducted the narrative interviews, using one standardised question as a narrative prompt for all the participants. NVivo was also a useful tool in this regard. Using

NVivo meant that the coding process was extremely thorough as I went through line by line of the restoried stories and was easily able to record the various themes and categories that arose, not being dependent on say, the limits imposed by coloured highlighters. This process was recorded and verifiable in the multiple nodes that were created and then organised into categories and super-categories thereby providing evidence and a record of the decisions that I made during the analytic process (Chase, 2011, p. 424; Riessman, 2008, p. 186). By using NVivo, the coding was placed on record, and as mentioned earlier, able to be printed, allowing for greater transparency (Welsh, 2002, p. 6). In addition, I found coding with NVivo faster than manual coding hence it provided greater efficiency and allowed for more rigorous analysis of the data (Rambaree, 2007, p. abstract). By providing a thorough account of the coding process in NVivo as well as the meticulous documentation of manner in which I conducted the full range of my research, I left a verifiable an audit trail, which added to the rigour of my inquiry.

Polkinghorne (2007, p. 474) suggests that different kinds of knowledge require different kinds of evidence to support the knowledge claims, so I supported my arguments with quotes from both the participants and the literature when appropriate. I also familiarised myself with research across various disciplines, reading literature pertaining to education, psychology, literature, nursing, philosophy and history, all of which inform narrative inquiry as a method of qualitative research (Kramp, 2004, p. 110) and listened to the conversations of other writers and thinkers in the field (Kramp, 2004, p. 110), heeding their advice.

The positioning of the research relates to how the study was located in relation to other texts, including its uniqueness. The study exists not only in the relation to the findings and the literature, also how it relates to other inquiries and paradigms (Clandinin et al., 2007, p. 29). This is discussed further in Chapter Six.

Ethics and ethical considerations

Finally, in the reading of the final research text, the reader will be considering ethical concerns of the study. In narrative inquiry research design, ethics and ethical considerations are pivotal (Clandinin et al., 2007, p. 30) because in telling stories of people's lives and their deeply personal experiences there is a responsibility on the part of the researcher to both the participants and the stories. In fact, Clandinin, Caine, and Huber (2017, p. 426) state that "ethical considerations permeate narrative inquiries from start to finish." Clandinin (2013, p. 30) also reminds the reader that, "As narrative inquirers, we become part of our participants'

lives and they part of ours ... Narrative inquiry is a deeply ethical project.” Indeed, simply in the telling of stories, there are “integrally moral and ethical dimensions” (Hunter, 2010, p. 44; Wang, 2017, p. 45) and telling and hearing stories can change people, both the participant and the researcher (Clandinin et al., 2017, p. 420; Fay, 1996, p. 192).

My ethical obligations as a narrative researcher extended to multiple levels: relational, presentational, and personal. I had an obligation to the university, to my participants, to the broader narrative research community but also to my own values. In any research relationship there is both explicit and implicit contracts. The explicit contract refers to the signed forms, the disclosure of the recording devices and included by obligation to obtain written consent from the participants and gatekeepers according to UKZN policy (Cohen et al., 2007; Groenewald, 2004; Kelly & Terre Blanche, 1999). This meant that the history teachers willingly agreed to take part in the study and allowed me to freely use whatever was said during the interviews. As discussed on page 82, the signing of the participant consent forms was completed in the first few minutes of our meeting. These were standard ethical procedures that apply to most qualitative research. Another standard feature of ethical qualitative research practice is to contact any gatekeepers to gain access to the participants. This study necessitated that I obtain permission from only one headmaster; this permission was obtained verbally.

Apart from the explicit research contract, there was also an implicit contract that lay in the development of the ethical relationship between the participants and me. As Huber and Clandinin (2002, p. 797) observed,

We began to see that we needed to be guided by relationships ... Engaging with one another narratively shifts us from questions of responsibility understood in terms of rights and regulations to thinking about living and life, both in and outside classrooms and on and off school landscapes.

Prior to meeting my participants, I was aware that in the exchange of personal stories, a connection could be established. This awareness enabled me to gently disengage from them after the interviews, which was sometimes difficult, both for them (Rashid and Florence) and me. I wanted to know more about them, help them with their teaching of the Holocaust, give them motherly advice or just learn more about them. After divulging personal information, exiting the research space needed to be “delicate and ethically sensitive” (Xu & Connelly, 2010, p. 367). In fact, Josselson (2007, p. 545) warns that, “The nature of the relationship that develops in narrative studies is emergent and cannot be predicted at the outset, and here lies

some of the murkiest and most subtle of ethical matters.” Thus, the participants remained part of the research long even after they were actively removed from it. This was evident in my transcription and analysis, where I got to know the history teachers better than ever before. In some respects, this relationship is almost like ex-lovers, who although they may no longer be part of your life, always occupy a small part of you.

Disclosure provided its own ethical dilemmas. I pondered on what and how much to tell the participants about the study when I first contacted them. This was an aspect of relational ethics or how I related to my participants (Clandinin, 2013, p. 30). According to Josselson (2007, p. 540) it was not necessary to fully disclose the nature of the research in narrative inquiry, because the framing of the study to the participant might compromise the unstructured nature of the interviews. But she emphasises, the nature of the aim of the study should properly inform the participants of the focus of the study. I therefore chose not to overtly disclose that I wanted to know if they experience any personal connection when teaching the Holocaust, although my methodology did reveal this. I decided that by sending Holocaust-related photographs to the participants prior to the interview and asking them to consider how they related to the photographs, I was able to get them to create that link before the interviews. Relational ethics are part of UKZN protocol, which requires accountability when the researcher engages in interviews. As part of the ethical clearance required by the university, I undertook to do no harm, to respect the participants’ confidentiality, to maintain their anonymity (Clandinin et al., 2017, p. 419), and to abide by their decision if participants wished to withdraw from the study (see Appendix A). The notion of doing no harm is however, quite problematic, because although there is evidence that most people find the interviews cathartic, “healing, integrative, useful, and meaningful” (Josselson, 2007, p. 559), at the same time, there is no guarantee that the interview will not be painful, hurting them in some way, despite the consent form that they sign. This resonates with the view that the deeper the connection between researcher and participant, the more the participant reveals personal, intimate or even contested views (Josselson, 2007, p. 546) and this deep connection is a feature of interviews where people are disclosing deeply personal stories. It was therefore my responsibility to protect the “privacy and dignity” of the participants who are contributing to global Holocaust knowledge (Josselson, 2007, p. 537) by using pseudonyms and changing details of the contexts of their personal stories. However, just as critical was the attention that needed to be paid to the written text that followed, because as narrative inquirers we need to be conscious of our involvement in our accounts of the participants’ stories (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441).

Presentational ethics refers to the way that we as researchers retell their stories (Clandinin, 2013, p. 30). The text of the written account was necessarily compiled by me and so I imposed my own meaning on participants' lived experiences (Bell, 2002, p. 210). Ethically-speaking, this meant that I needed to be vigilant and pay attention to issues such as my position as both insider and outsider; the limits of my conceptualisations; my own role in the research story; and how I might influence my findings (Samuel, 2012, p. 12). Positionality therefore also needed to be considered. Hence I was both insider and outsider, and I was aware of the possible different perspectives of the same event (Riessman, 1993, p. 64). Thus requirements for ethical narrative research includes being non-judgemental and empathic (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, pp. 436-441), as well as maintaining high levels of confidentiality and protecting participants' identities (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007). Addressing confidentiality issues, I obtained letters of consent from participants that protected their right to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity (Henning et al., 2004). I also used pseudonyms in my writing and obtained ethical clearance from UKZN as per UKZN policy.

This led to a discussion of the ways in which the study was positioned and represented, and finally I spoke about the ethical requirements for narrative inquiry research, including this study. In general, qualitative educational researchers make meaning of their research and portray it in different ways (Byrne, 2017, p. 37) but a factor that permeates their texts is that they are inevitably "value-laden," meaning that the language used and the representations created are not neutral. As such, the researchers' voices and actions were woven into the fabric of the study, be it the research texts, the field notes, the restoried stories, or the textual analysis (Byrne, 2017, p. 38).

A practical consideration when conducting the interviews was the use of tape recorders, which can fail. In my case, I recorded the interviews on two separate devices and saved the interview data as soon as possible onto my computer's hard drive. Also, with regard to the sourcing of images to be used for the visual journals, I had to consider that there are no current guidelines on the use of pictures found in magazines and other similar sources (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2011, p. 4), but once in the public domain, the sourced photographs should not pose any problems.

Reflections on the methodology

These reflections were added later than the rest of the chapter, but I decided that this was the right place to reflect on issues that I encountered with the method during the study.

A major challenge when undertaking a narrative inquiry is the time factor. It takes a significant amount of time to conduct and complete a narrative study due to the storying nature of the research, particularly with regard to the restorying. I certainly found this to be the case. The length of the thesis increased significantly due to the inclusion of restoried stories, but I believe that this added narrative step was necessary to preserve the integrity of the data as the second level of analysis was conducted on the restoried stories and not the original transcripts of the interviews. In this regard, I was able to find literature to support or refute my decision about the length of the restoried stories and this study therefore provides new answers. There was also a time commitment required by the participants (Bell, 2002, p. 210). As a result, only a small number of participants are generally available for narrative research (Bell, 2002, p. 210; Xu, Connelly, He, & Phillion, 2007, p. 418) and this was certainly the case in this study. Because of limited time and the fact that my participants did not respond to my requests for their input into the transcriptions, I was unable to engage in further collaboration with them (Clandinin, 2013, p. 47) and they were therefore unable to play a role in the construction of the final story. This is a flaw in my research. Another factor was that participants should feel that they are also receiving something from their participation in the research, rather than just giving (Erwin, 2013, n.p.) and to this end, I offered to assist them after the completion of my thesis in any way I could with their Holocaust teaching. To date though, I have not had any requests for assistance.

One of the advantages of narrative inquiry is that getting people to tell their stories is relatively easy as most people enjoy sharing stories about themselves and recounting their experiences and this was certainly true in this case. The participants were willing and open in telling their stories and as mentioned earlier, some found the process cathartic, as they told stories that they either had not considered for a long time or had never told other people. They were generally quite truthful in the recounting of their personal stories. I remained as true to their stories in my analysis as possible and was cautious in the way in which I represented the truths and values of my participants (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 467).

Conclusion

In writing this chapter, I knitted theory and practice together. I discussed the methodological foundation of the study and the methods used to carry it out; these were the practical aspects of the inquiry. The chapter started with a discussion about the research design before moving on to how the theory was put into action, that is, the methods or living the inquiry. The chapter ended with a discussion about ethics and ethical responsibility. My role in the

methodology, as the researcher, was not only to construct the research stories, but also to analyse and interpret them to gain meaning and understanding but at the same time make my own influence on the research explicit (Byrne, 2017, pp. 38, 40) and ultimately to make the significance of the study, as a whole, clear. Hence, understanding the methodological framework, the research design and the practical considerations of narrative inquiry provided me with the means to undertake a systematic study and draw out the meaning of history teachers' personal experiences (Riessman, 1993, p. 78). However, before proceeding to drawing out the meaning through narrative analysis, the history teachers' personal stories need to be told. The restoried stories therefore constitute Chapter Five and the findings of the subsequent thematic analysis are discussed in Chapter Six, together with a comparative examination of the relevant literature.

CHAPTER FIVE

Seven history teachers' personal stories and their experiences of Holocaust education

Introduction

In the previous chapter, my choice of narrative inquiry methodology was outlined. I did so to enable me to understand Holocaust education by listening to the lived experiences of the history teachers who taught it. I used various models to illustrate this methodology. Figure 3 showed the narrative research design, which led me through the process of conducting the research, from: justifying the study and naming the phenomenon; to living the inquiry; to analysing and interpreting the data; to positioning and representing the study; and finally, to considering its ethical aspects. I used four methodological tools in the process of implementing the research design, which were represented in Figure 4 and Figure 5. Wengraf's BNIM was used as a route map to collect the field texts through narrative interviews. The next tool was Riessman's five levels of representation, which assisted me with the methods in which I lived the inquiry that is attending telling, transcribing, analysing and reading. The analysis portion of the study was governed by thematic analysis as described by Riessman and Polkinghorne; and finally, Clandinin and Connelly's three-dimensional narrative inquiry space was evident throughout the inquiry as a golden thread, influencing various elements of the study from locating it to structuring and conducting the analysis.

In this chapter I propose my answers to the first research question, which asked, "What are the personal stories of the history teachers?" The chapter is thus comprised of the restoried stories. These personal stories are based on the transcriptions of the narrative interviews and are a product of the methodology in action. They were written as the second level of analysis, the first being the transcription of the narrative interviews.

There are seven stories. Each one stands independently, based on the participants' one-on-one interviews. They are built to capture the Holocaust knowledge, pedagogy, methodology and voice of the history teachers in a way that tries to stay as true as possible to who they are, but at the same time adheres to the methodology, including remaining within the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space.

About the seven personal stories of the history teachers

The first story entitled, *A knotted tale of a history teacher, the Holocaust and apartheid*, is a short story telling of the personal experiences of Thandi, a Black African history teacher born to anti-apartheid activist parents. It is based on her interview in which she related her life journey from child on the run to history teacher. She teaches at a lower middle-class government school. Apartheid and human rights are key components of her teaching of the Holocaust.

The next story is Emma's. Emma was a White history teacher, Christian Zionist and mother to two young boys who taught at an upper middle class private school. Her personal story deals with issues that are deeply personal and embedded in her teaching of the Holocaust – antisemitism, human rights and her Jewish heritage. It is entitled *Exploring difference - what the Holocaust can teach us about society and ourselves*.

Her story is followed by a blog, *Life is Beautiful*. Florence, through whose eyes and personality the blog is written, was a Coloured history teacher teaching at a lower middle class, urban, government school. Through it, she explains her pedagogical approach to teaching the Holocaust, a factor that sets her aside from the other history teachers and she was the only one to have devised her own methodology to do so.

An exchange of letters about Holocaust education is the correspondence between Hannah, a South African history teacher with German roots, who taught at a middle-class, urban, government school and me. Her story explores the Holocaust from two points of view – that of a South African history teacher with a passion for human rights and as the granddaughter of a woman who lived in Nazi Germany during the time of the Holocaust.

John's story was penned as a television interview about his life as a Black Zimbabwean refugee in South Africa and describes what teaching the Holocaust means in the context of his personal story as a history teacher at a lower middle-class government school. It is entitled, *From Zimbabwe to South Africa – a history teacher's Holocaust teaching journey* and explores issues of racism, murder, intimidation and xenophobia.

Explaining life to myself is a journal written by Rashid, an Indian Muslim history teacher who taught at a high school in an urban area but fed by predominantly Black learners, some of whom came from a nearby squatter settlement.

The final story, Siphos, was written as a memoir. Called *A gun, a spear, the Holocaust and me*, it tells of his life growing up in rural KZN and how he became a high school history teacher at a rural, government school, rising through the province's educational ranks but not being able to be open about his success. It tells of the way in which he had to juggle his rural and urban lives. His story deals with issues of apartheid, xenophobia and prejudice.

The stories follow.

(Thandi)

A knotted tale of a history teacher, the Holocaust and apartheid

Setting the scene

Thandi strides purposefully into my living room, taking in the surroundings of the apartment. Light streams in through the open blinds. “Mm,” she comments, “you have a very beautiful home.” This is followed by a pregnant pause and then, “You live here all by yourself?” In an instant, my hostess ease switches to squirming discomfort. “Yes, I do,” I sheepishly confess and quickly divert our attention away from the topic, asking her if she wants anything to drink and ushering her to the dining room table where we are going to do the interview.

Once seated at the end of the table and politely refusing all offers of tea and biscuits, despite my urging, Thandi does, however, accept a simple glass of water. There is a short lull in the conversation, but we soon settle into the interview and after briefly explaining the interview process and the method that I will be using, I deliver my single research question. There is a moment’s contemplative hesitation and then she launches into an explanation of her understanding of Holocaust education.

Well, for me the teaching Holocaust and what happened in Germany to the Jews basically reminds me of what happened here in South Africa in so many ways. So many similarities. Even though here in South Africa they're not as bad maybe as they were in Germany, but there were also very bad, in the sense that you know, people's rights were just being trampled over, they were killed for absolutely nothing and they were killed because one man believed that they deserved to be wiped out from the face of the earth.

You know, if you read about how the Jews especially, but not only the Jews but also Blacks, homosexuals, gays, lesbians, deformed people were caught up in something that in their wildest dreams they could never have dreamt of. You know, to be killed because somebody thinks you are not worth it. It's very sad.

I am slightly thrown by the incisiveness of her observation because I had anticipated that this kind of insight would evolve over the course of the interview. But this is good. I make a mental note to myself that she is revealing the lens through which she views her teaching of the Holocaust and contextualising it. But I need to know more about what underpins her insight and understanding, so I allow her to simply talk.

Stepping out of my comfort zone

After finding my way to the address I was given for the interview and parking in my battered blue Polo next to Brenda's Mercedes Benz, I wonder what is in store for me as I stand outside her solid wooden double front door and ring the bell. "Hello," she says and smiles warmly to welcome me into her apartment. Shew! This is a big place. What is a little person like Brenda doing in a place this size? My three kids and I as well as a couple of aunts and uncles could easily live here. "You have a very beautiful home," I comment. And I simply can't resist throwing in, "Do you live here all by yourself?"

You see, this place reminds me not only of everything that I am working towards but also from where I've come. I've achieved a lot in my life so far: I have a modest house in New Germany; my blue Polo that generally gets me to the places I need to go, but sometimes gives me grief; a good job as a History teacher at a local high school; but most of all my independence. This is a very a far cry from where I've come! In fact, a lifetime away.

Memories of my childhood flood my thoughts as I perch at the end of the large dining room table. I think about where I came from and how far I've travelled to reach this point in my life, but also where I still want to go. I was born in a rural area of the Eastern Cape called Umtazana (I'm sure you won't know it, it's that far off the beaten track) but not all my childhood years were spent there. Rather, I remember moving from here to there and back again, then on to someplace else, and so it went. The police would come; they would ransack the house and we would move ... again.

Beginning at the beginning – my past

But I get ahead of myself. Let me start at the beginning. I was born forty-two years ago to two parents. I mention that I had both a mother and a father because that's the way I think that families should be. Normal. However, mostly our house was full of women! I missed my father who was away for many years at a stretch, but whenever I asked, "Where's Daddy? When is he coming home?" I would be told gruffly, "Hai Thandi. You know that he's in Pretoria. He's working in Pretoria!" It occasionally crossed my mind that this must be hard work because he never came home for family celebrations, holidays or my birthday, but I never received a satisfactory explanation or answers, so I was forced to accept that this was just the way life was.

Even though there was no male figure at home, my life before Primary School seemed relatively simple. I, my mother and six siblings, lived in Umtazana surrounded by nature, although more

realistically it was the *bundu*¹¹. The other kids and I played imaginary games in poor, but generally happy surroundings, peppered by the household chores we were all expected to do.

Starting primary school was an exciting event. Dressed in my second-hand, new-for-me school uniform and clutching my mother's hand, I crossed the threshold to a new world. Now aged six, I was at school, making new friends and getting on with living, quite oblivious to the painful politics of South Africa that were soon to become an integral part of my life. At that point, my life was still relatively sheltered, apart from the occasional raised voices and intense discussions that emanated from the adults when they thought that I was already asleep.

However, as soon as I began to settle into Sub B, adjusted to the school routine and enjoyed my new friends, the police of Lennox Sebe's¹² government raided our house and a whirlwind of change swept us up and plonked us down elsewhere. I and my six siblings ended up in Durban with my mother at my granny's house. However, this lasted only a short while and then my mother left again, taking only me and my brother with her. Then when I was in Standard Four we took off again and I went to live with my Granny again. This time it was Kokstad and yet another new school, but the authorities came and once again we were forced to move. Then when I was in Standard Five I went back to go and live with my aunt. This became our reality. We ran from the farm in the Eastern Cape to East London to Kokstad to Durban and back again and there were always so many adjustments. Suddenly I had to learn to speak Zulu because I had only spoken Xhosa before. I also had to adjust to living in a one room place whereas before we had four rooms. We moved from the rural areas to the township and I was not used to township life. I had to catch up quickly and adapt to a lot of things. Even now I'm a very adaptable person. I always tell my kids,

Listen you guys, my parents were not there most of the time, but I learnt everything I could grasp from different people. Because remember, I was raised by many different people. Some teach you this, some teach you something else. I had to learn quite a few things growing up because life is so unpredictable, you need to learn as much as you can.

This is why I am so adaptable. The things you experience help you a lot when making choices.

That's how it was all the time. Running and hiding, although to be honest when I was younger I wasn't aware that we were hiding! That realisation only occurred when I was a little older, when it suddenly dawned on me, "Okay! So, this was what was happening to my family!" However, I

¹¹“Bundu” is South African slang for a wild, unpopulated area

¹² Lennox Sebe was the chief minister of the Ciskei Territorial Authority; a region established as a Xhosa homeland by the apartheid regime. He ruled the Ciskei with an iron fist and crushed any perceived opposition (South African History Online, 2015b, n.p.).

guess it was the pressure of this hide and seek with the authorities that became too much for my parents, because when I was nine they divorced. It amazes me now that children are so resilient. I don't think that I was too badly affected by my parents' divorce because my mother, the constant in my life, was still there and my always absent father was still absent.

Besides, we were also with my granny, where life was filled with excitement. She spoilt me to bits and showered me with love. In fact, I was very happy to be left with her when my mother took off somewhere. My mother could be strict, but life with my Granny was fun. She was an embroiderer and she did beautiful beading. We used to sit together under a shady tree with our beads forming rainbows of colour around us. She would go on and on doing this, and I wanted to say, "Please teach me!" But of her own accord, she said, "Come here, child, sit down. Let me show you how to do this." And within two days I could do my own designs! I'm too busy to do it now, but when I've got time to do it, but my beads are there, somewhere in the wardrobe.

The penny eventually dropped about my father's whereabouts when I was twelve and in Standard Six at school. My father wasn't working in Pretoria. He was in jail! And all our running from place to place was because of him. What a shock that was. Then the puzzle pieces began to fall neatly into place. I learnt that where we lived, in what is now the Eastern Cape¹³ was a hotbed of political activity, even more so than in other provinces, and that my father was an active member of the Pan African Congress, the PAC,¹⁴ who fought, sometimes violently, against the apartheid regime. My mother, I now discovered, was also an activist. I didn't understand what this meant at first, but I did know because of my father's political activities the police would come. They would look for him, they would find him, they would take him – and so it went on. They would ransack our house and then we would move from here to there. I went all over during my Primary School years. I've been in and out, up and down, or at least that's how it felt. Bitter.

As I grew up we continued to run from place to place. I never knew how long I would be staying or where I would be going next. It depended on the police. When I was at school in the rural areas you had the morning assembly, went to class, and learned. But in the township, it was more like you would be learning and then you would hear people shouting about the police and the next thing people would be jumping out of windows and you would be wondering, "My goodness what's going on?" Teargas! I knew exactly what to do if they started shooting teargas. I knew that I had to carry a bottle of water with me all the time in case I had to wash my face. So, I had to learn very fast. Things would happen. You'd be walking down the road from the shops to buy

¹³ Before 1993, the Eastern Cape was part of the Cape Province and included the homelands, the Ciskei and Transkei that were created under apartheid. It was the birthplace of Nelson Mandela (South African History Online, 2015a, n.p.).

¹⁴ The Pan African Congress (PAC) is a political party that came into being in 1959, as a result of a breakaway from the African National Congress due to lack of consensus over Africanism.

bread and suddenly, you would just have to run for your life. It was very scary, but sometimes it was also exciting. But eventually I was crying all the time, so my mother took me to a mission boarding school in Pietermaritzburg where life became normal again, although I was separated from my brothers and sisters who were in the Eastern Cape and I only met up again with them when I was studying at university. To this day, I and my kids are here, and they are there.

Fortunately for me the education at this school was good and I eventually became a history teacher. So now I'm a grown woman. I have three children, aged eighteen, eleven and five years. I've chosen not to marry their father because I'm no good with relationships. I think that this was due to the fact that I had no father figure at home and as a result I can't tolerate people who want my attention all the time. I'm not used to it. I can't settle down. My children's father is in their lives. He comes and goes, but he doesn't live with us and I don't want to marry him. Besides, he says that I'm too liberal to marry! So instead I take my children on adventures!

Back to the present – teaching the Holocaust

I digress ... Brenda snaps me out of my reverie when she asks me to sign a consent form and then proceeds by explaining the process she's going to use and asks me a single question. I focus - after all, the purpose of my visit to Brenda is to talk about the Holocaust and how I teach it so here goes...

I teach at a government school in semi-rural KwaZulu-Natal. My classes are big. For example, I have one class of sixty-seven learners. In the staffroom, I often keep to myself because most of the teachers tend to think that they are mightier than the rest of us, based on the kind of car we drive, and it drives me crazy that they have such a negative attitude, whining, "I can't!" in the face of all adversity. I love being a teacher and I have to say that I'm passionate about teaching history. Being a history teacher has taught me a lot of things, such as things that happen and how people behave when they are faced with certain situations. Although these lessons affect me, I try and learn from what I teach because I believe that history must not repeat itself. But sometimes history and particularly the Holocaust, can be a challenge, because they take me back to my childhood experiences and the way I grew up and then I look at the way my parents were treated during the apartheid system.

Oh dear. I can feel the tears welling up in my eyes. Brenda asks me if I would like a tissue, but I refuse. I must not let my emotions get the better of me as I tell this story. This is exactly the kind of emotional situation that I try and avoid in the classroom.

I've been teaching the Holocaust for a fairly long time now - seven years, in fact. When I teach this section, what I believe is most important is how I introduce the topic to the learners. Firstly, as a teacher, I must remain as neutral as possible because I don't want to sway my learners' ideas with my own. When I introduce the Holocaust, I always tell them about Hitler first, his background and his childhood, that he was just a normal boy, like all other boys. His family was not particularly well off financially. Nevertheless, he had both his father and his mother with him, so he grew up in a normal family, although he did go to an orphanage at some stage. I believe that from the time that Hitler was a young boy he knew that he was good with speeches and writing and he used these to his advantage. Later, during World War I, he showed his bravery and I think he got a medal for that.

Despite his normal life, somewhere, somehow, Hitler was disappointed by many things. There was one significant event when he was told by a Jewish art teacher that he was not good enough and he was refused entry to art school. Growing up he really wanted to be an artist, so this rejection and the feeling of not being good enough sparked a hatred of Jews that spread like wildfire in him. I also strongly believe that Hitler, somewhere, somehow, decided that nobody was taking him seriously, nobody was listening to him. As a result, he decided that he would make people aware of him and show them who he was. I therefore believe that it was circumstances or decisions or both that forced him to do what he did.

I can relate to this experience because I've been on both sides of this situation of being disappointed and feeling not good enough. Firstly, one of my learners, Happy, told me that she wanted to be an actress. Without thinking twice, I blurted out that she would never be an actress. As the words crossed my lips, I realised the impact of what I'd said. I felt awful and I worry that what I told her sank in and that it stayed with her. Even if she was aware of it previously, once the criticism is out, it's out. It sticks. It sinks in. It hurts. And it's going to affect her life; as it did Hitler's. On a personal note, my parents were constantly redirecting me. When I told them,

“I want to be a lawyer when I grow up.”

My father exclaimed, “No Thandi! We don't have that money, that kind of money that can take you there.”

“Okay,” I retorted, “then I want to be a fashion designer!”

My mother was clearly agitated, “What are you ...? You caaaaan't!” she scolded.

“It's not good enough. Rather become a teacher or a nurse.”

So, I became a teacher but deep down I still want to put things together, make my own clothes and so on. I love beads and stuff, it was a skill that my grandmother taught me, but I don't have the time anymore. I have three kids and I've got to make sure that they go to school, that the house has

got water, lights and so on. I just don't have time for those dreams any more. But I try not to let the learners know my personal feelings.

After teaching about Hitler the man, I tell the learners how Hitler was initially jailed and that was where he wrote his book *Mein Kampf* and put his writing and speech-making skills into place. People listened to him. Germany was suffering great hardship after World War I when Germany had been forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles, which was a burden to the German people. Even though Hitler was actually born Austrian, not German, he saw an opportunity to give the German people something that they could not give themselves and through his propaganda managed to make people believe in him. He became the Chancellor of Germany in 1933 when, after dethroning Kaiser Wilhelm¹⁵, there was no-one to take his place. Hitler grabbed the opportunity with both hands and when he was elected Chancellor he put his plan for Germany in place.

The sad thing is that the Holocaust should not have happened. People's rights, the right to life were taken from the Jews. People were killed because they were Jewish, Black, Jehovah's Witnesses. It was pure and simple cruelty. It amazes me what people will do to protect their lifestyle, such as the rich people who backed Hitler, especially as Hitler had made it clear that those who did not back him would lose everything to the Communists. People in Germany lost sight of what is right and what is wrong. When Hitler started saying Germany was for Germans and he began ill-treating the Jews, killing children and old women for something they did not do, the Germans wanted to rid themselves of these people, despite the fact that the Jews were educated people, doctors, lawyers, and businessmen. In fact, most of the Germans knew that the Jews had something that they didn't have – education. Another thing that frustrated Hitler was that the Jews believed. They had principles, they kept the Sabbath, they prayed. To Hitler this was nonsense, so he had to get rid of them and the people of Germany said nothing.

The Holocaust happened because people made choices and Hitler's decisions were based purely on revenge, anger, hatred and power. He was full of anger. I believe that he really wanted to become an artist and he couldn't, so when he got an opportunity he used his anger to a point whereby he became a dictator. Therefore, when I teach about the Holocaust, I try and portray a picture where normal people can become monsters just through their experiences, which I believe would affect quite a lot of people. So, to me, the whole thing of the Holocaust is based on hatred. And revenge. Hatred and revenge.

¹⁵ The appointment of Hitler ended the democratic rule of the Weimar Republic as Hitler and the Nazi Party believed that democracy had been forced on Germany. In the 1932 elections, the Nazi Party was the largest faction in the German Parliament and in 1933 after the elections, President Paul von Hindenburg gave Hitler the mandate to form a government (Yad Vashem, 2016a, n.p.). Kaiser Wilhelm II had in fact abdicated the throne in 1918 and fled to Holland (Yad Vashem, 2016b, n.p.).

When I teach the Holocaust I also teach about South African history, because they work together. I teach apartheid first, partly because it's in that order in the textbook and within apartheid I teach human rights. After this I can teach about the Holocaust so that the learners can go back and reflect on apartheid history. And I must admit that sometimes I even use my own experiences as an example and sometimes other people's experiences. However, when you are teaching about the Holocaust, if you've been truthful with yourself, you know that the situation in apartheid South Africa and Nazi Germany were similar but not the same.

To get the learners to understand other people's experiences I tell them to speak to an older person in the family, or even an older neighbour about what it was like during the apartheid era. It's important to hear from people that actually know. But to some of the learners, some of these things are like bedtime stories. Once upon a time. It's something that happened in the past, an Alice in Wonderland or Snow White or one of those kinds of stories. It completely shocks me that these learners don't even know why Nelson Mandela went to jail or how apartheid started. Many even think that apartheid survivors over-exaggerate, but then I tell them:

... in South Africa you couldn't go to the beachfront ... [but] they just did not believe me. And I was like surprised. Haibo ... they should know about this. Their parents should have told them about this. [I tell them] Go and ask anyone who's older than your mother. Just ask them about the beachfront. [Then they come back and say,] "Phew, so it is real! You know Miss it is real. You know my Grandfather told me that they couldn't go without, you know, having their dompasses."¹⁶

I believe that what happened in Germany is in many ways like what happened here in South Africa, with the Security Police being like the SS in Germany. Then there were the laws, the segregation laws, Blacks this side, Whites that side. Even the shaming. Pass books. And you had to be aware of where you were, what you were doing. There was a constant fear of what's going to happen next. This happened in Germany but also here in South Africa. People were living in fear and their right to be free was taken from them. It was a situation of Them and Us.

I must say, I relate to pictures about the Holocaust, like these pictures of women.

¹⁶ A dompas was literally a "dumb pass" reflecting the resistance by Black people to being forced to carry identifying passes in according with the Pass Laws.



The one on the right reminds me that I could never have a White friend whether I liked it or not. This was just out of the question for us while the picture on the left is a familiar situation. I knew quite clearly where to sit and not to sit. The writing on benches and other amenities said, “Whites only” or “Blacks only”.



Even this picture of the children reading books about the Jewish [people] and how the Jews were poisonous strikes a chord with me. In the same way, the Whites were also told that we were foolish, stupid, all that those kinds of things, so the stories that they knew about us as Black people is that we are foolish, we are stupid, we are monkeys – you see, a monkey will always be black, you can never see a white monkey. As a result, you asked yourself what was wrong with us for you to be treated as being beneath White people and the only conclusion you can come to is that South Africa copied what happened in Germany.

At the end of the day, even though we were not put in ovens, we were put in ovens of a different kind, like in jails. We were not put in ovens whereby you were going to be burnt alive or you were, we were put in jails. Those were ovens, if I may call it or say it because you were there, and you were not supposed to be there. You were dead - alive. You were there. It was the same as you are being ... you are not alive ... and yet we know where you are but it's just that we cannot come and visit you. Those were jails. In Germany those they were concentration camps where they were killed. We were also killed there, in those jails.

This brings me to human rights. The learners should be taught to relate to their peers and understand that they all have human rights. When I teach the human rights chapter in the history textbook we discuss the number of human rights that were violated during the Holocaust and it is only then that the Holocaust begins to make sense to the learners. To me it's clear that if you are going to tell them the Holocaust story without teaching them about human rights, then it means

you are you're just ploughing on very dry land ... in fact, you are just pouring water back of a dark hole. Brenda laughs as I say this, but I'm serious. It must be the metaphor that amuses her.

You see the Holocaust does have an impact. And when you teach about it, you can actually see that the learners, young as they are, understand and they relate some of the things that went on during the Holocaust to their own experiences. For example, in the kind of area that they live in, there's a lot of violence and people are stabbed, some are butchered, so they even though it's not quite the same kind of thing, the learners are aware of the brutality that goes around them. They relate. There was an incident that one of the learners told the class about, where a boyfriend burnt his girlfriend and the child. Learners have witnessed brutality in their immediate environment. Most of the time their stories are about bad things that happened around them, maybe over the weekend someone was stabbed, and someone else was shot. This happened you know. They always have these scary stories that return. They might come and say, "I was raped by my uncle or I was raped by a policeman."

Brenda asks if this kind of conversation comes up during my teaching of the Holocaust or if they see images or hear about it. "Yes," I tell her, "especially when I show them the picture of the prisoners who are sharing a bunk bed." A child might say to me, this is how they sleep at home or a boy shares a bunk bed with his cousins, so during that time anything can happen. But I admit that I have to be cautious because some learners are just *tsotsis*.¹⁷ They come with a very sad story and you start crying, then you realise, "Ooohhh, okay, this one is just playing with me", maybe he just wanted money.



When teaching the Holocaust, I always explain to the learners about all the bad things that happened to the Jewish people and how they were killed. Some of the learners don't believe what I'm telling them, and they actually ask, "*Haibo*, is it true? How can, you know, people do such things?" and the only thing that convinces them is when I show them the pictures although I must admit that I don't show pictures in class very often. Even then, some of them think it's a joke and don't take it seriously but some are genuinely bereaved, hurt, whilst others say matter-of-factly, "Okay, so it happened. So what?" But sometimes the learners ask questions and sometimes it's very hard to look at some of the pictures that we see in the history textbooks and not think about what the Jews went through and not get sad about it.

¹⁷ *Tsotsi* is a South African word for hoodlum, or a dodgy character. Someone who steals, lies and generally is not to be trusted. A township gangster.

Sitting here at the end of the dining room table, I realise that I have so many questions. Hitler blamed everything on the Jews, but I've never found out the reason why he decided that it's the fault of the Jewish people and that they had to pay the ultimate price. I also still wonder how the German people allowed someone who wasn't German to dictate to them? To my mind, a Nigerian cannot come to South Africa and dictate to us. Although I suppose Hitler did wipe out all the other political parties and by 1936 his was the only viable party in Germany and everyone listened to him. Hitler ordered, and they obeyed. How can a person have this much power over so many people, I wonder? And the German soldiers who even enjoyed killing these people; what happened to, "Love your brother as you love yourself?" I realise that maybe things happened because people were too naive, and stood back saying, "Well if I'm okay, it doesn't affect me, why should I bother?" The way I see it, we are self-centred and selfish with an I-don't-care syndrome.

The learners also constantly return to the question, "Why out of all the people that were there, why did Hitler despise the Jews? Why did he choose the Jews?" The only answer that I keep coming back to is that Jewish art teacher who said he was not good enough. That's how I interpret it. I have no other interpretation; unless of course there are interpretations that are there that I'm not aware of. But it saddens me to think that the learners don't understand this explanation because for them it's normal to be told that they aren't good enough, so most of them don't pick out that line as significant. Also, the questions that the learners ask, show me that the Holocaust impacts on them, young as they are.

When I teach the Holocaust, there are various messages that I want to pass on to the learners. The Holocaust teaches a person that life is very precious and that treating other people is also very important and that it's important to make others feel comfortable and cared for, and that they are worth it. To give them self-worth. It teaches us not to undermine other people. That's what it taught me, not to undermine anything. Take people for granted. And to be mindful of the decisions that we make. This is the exact opposite of what happened to Jewish learners who were shamed in German classrooms. You can never do that to a child.

I want them to understand that even if things happen in their lives, they need not succumb to their circumstances or let it change who they are as people and that even if we don't see eye to eye it does not mean we must kill each other. We cannot take somebody's life for granted. I also want them to be aware of what's going on around them. The Jews saw what was going on although it seemed that they were not aware what Hitler's intentions really were, that is, "Germany for the German people" even though he said it repeatedly in the papers, in the news, on TV, and in his speeches.

Another important lesson for my learners is that the Holocaust did not happen overnight. There was The Night of Broken Glass and many other events that should have alerted the Jews. The Jews should have left because circumstances showed them that things were going to get worse. I understand that they were citizens, they had businesses, they had homes, some were old, and some believed that things were going to get better. But still, they stayed. Why?

Thinking about my teaching, I believe that what I say to my learners is very, very important. I cannot just say anything because it might have some kind of effect of them. Our society today is based on what we say to our learners. There are so many challenges when you're teaching about the Holocaust because you have to make the learners understand what you are talking about. And you have to make sure that you're not biased at all. Children can be swayed by your own ideas or feelings because they're also people. They can tell when you are angry or sad or when you are trying. Also, apart from being conscious of the sensitivity of this topic, I also need to have time to teach it. I must allow debates and questions. When I begin to teach it, I usually give the learners something to take home and read such as the background to Hitler's life and when they come back to the class, we go over it and we discuss what they have read.

Brenda is curious to know when the learners talk about the Jews, if, they have ever met one or if they know anything about Jewish people. Like me, I don't think they have met any Jews, but I tell her, even if they meet a White person with whom there is a negative historical connection through apartheid, they don't have any ill feelings. You see, they're just kids who are just asking questions. Blacks are very religious-orientated, and they know the Bible from the front cover to the back, so when speaking about the Jews they relate them to the Bible. I must say that I myself wonder if the Jews crucified Jesus, even though he was one of them and this is a question that comes up with the learners too. One child asked me that question. He said to me,

“Miss, do you think Jesus was a Jew?”

I said, “Yes, he was a Jew.”

“Who killed Jesus?” he replied. “Is it the Jewish people killed Jesus?”

He must have heard in Church that Jesus was a Jew and the Jewish people crucified him because he was saying,

“Maybe, Miss, the reason why the Jewish were killed is because they crucified Jesus.”

And I was like, “Wow! Well we do not know. But maybe we'll find that out when Jesus comes again for his Second Coming.”

After I mention that I don't show pictures in class very often, Brenda asks me about how I learnt about the Holocaust in order to teach it. She also asks me about other visual media. I tell her that

textbooks are my main resource in the classroom, both to teach and for my own information. I don't have videos, only the prescribed textbook. I'm not a TV person and although I have DSTV¹⁸ at home, I don't have the History channel – it's too expensive. I once visited the Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre on my own to see the exhibits. Also, when I saw the movie *Schindler's List*, I was like wwoooowwww, because to be quite honest, I was very bitter at my father. It was like he chose the struggle above us. But now I understand what pushed him to do what he did. When I saw those pictures I was like, "Eish! I wonder what it was like to be in that situation. That was bad." But most of what I know about Hitler came from a book that I was fortunate to read on Hitler's background and youth and also, of course, from the History textbook that I use in the classroom.

I've said so much about my own life, so I turn to Brenda and ask, "So when did you come to South Africa?" I'm surprised to hear that she's a third generation South African and I listen as she tells me her story as both a Holocaust teacher and as a Jewish person. But as I'm speaking, I glance down at the pictures on the dining room table and one catches my eye. It's a picture of a huge pile of shoes and it triggers something in me, a classroom memory. I say softly,



Hai. Mm-mm. I remember showing my learners this. The pile of shoes. You know, sometimes when you show them a picture like this one, they don't look at who ... these shoes have no owners. ... Whoa. So many shoes. To them it doesn't dawn on them that ... the shoes belong to people. So, you have to make sure that the pictures that you use, it's something that is very true ... Because when you-you give you them this lovely group, you know, of six, seven pictures and ask:

“What do you see in this picture, what can you tell about this picture?”

¹⁸ DSTV (Digital Satellite Television) is a digital television platform in South Africa. It is a pay-to-view television offering that is usually unaffordable for economically disadvantaged people. It includes channels such as The History Channel and National Geographic on their premium bouquets only.

They look at the pictures blankly. Then add, “Shoes, Miss. So many shoes.”

And so ... [I prompt] ... You have to now ask the question like, “Whose shoes? You know, who do they belong to?”

“Ooohhh!” they now say.

The phone suddenly rings. It’s my babysitter wondering when I’m going to get home. My thoughts wander but I bring them back to reflect on the challenges that I’ve faced when I teach this history. For me, teaching history affects me because it takes me back to the way I grew up. I would look at the way my parents were treated during apartheid system so sometimes it sort of brings back certain worries for me. Sometimes I do get affected by the lessons that I teach. But I try my best not to let my emotions get the best of me. But I admit that this is a very challenging section to teach. You cannot teach this chapter without knowing where you have come from, especially if you were born within the apartheid system, because it taps into all the things that you went through, and it brings up difficult memories. And you cannot teach the Holocaust and not think about the fear of not knowing if that day will go by with you still breathing. It must be nerve-racking. I know I cannot live a life like that - in constant fear.

But it’s also the reason that I enjoy teaching it so much as it taps into what is actually going on – the way we look at people, the way we look at ourselves and especially the fact that we think we are better than them, or they are better than us. So, this topic brings up issues of self-esteem, self-worth, selfishness, self-centredness, and all those emotions. It makes you think a lot and then you look at yourself and you wonder, “Am I a Hitler as well? Or am I one of his generals?” And you look at your colleagues and you start calling them names, just as the learners call us names. They call one of the teachers Joseph Goebbels, the death doctor.¹⁹

And when I think about the people who survived the Holocaust I know that I too am a survivor, a survivor of apartheid. This raises questions for me. Was my situation that bad or was their situation much worse than mine? But then I think it was the same, because no-one should be treated like that. No matter how big or small, whether you shoot me dead or slap me, it’s not right. I feel a connection with the Holocaust survivors.

Thandi: Ay, to be there and then to be able to live and tell it. It's, it's quite um, I don't know. For me it's - it's more than an achievement. It's, uh, I don't know how they managed to sleep at night. I would have nightmares.

Brenda: Some don't sleep.

¹⁹ She has the facts wrong; the death doctor was Josef Mengele. Joseph Goebbels was the propaganda minister.

Thandi: Some have forgiven them. It ... you know just to survive this whole thing is for me, ay ... It's one of the, you know, great things. And to be able to sit and smile like that and know where you've been. For me it's ... G-d is good.

Brenda: And does that connect to you, thinking of yourself as a survivor?

Thandi: It does connect to me because ... I'm not as bitter as I used to be. I was. I've overcome my anger. I'm no longer angry. It's just that my growing up has taught me quite a lot of things and I feel I was supposed to have gone through this so to be the person that I am now. And ... I'm happy. I think I'm doing very well, regardless of you know things that have happened. I regard myself as, you know, a survivor. I'm swimming like nicely, I'm swimming afloat and I'm swimming. I'm not sinking at all. I don't even want to compare myself to anyone. I'm happy with the way I am.

Brenda and I chat a little bit more about inconsequential things and after a while the conversation draws to a close. I'm drained. It's time now to go home, to my daily life and my children, time to move on, away from the Holocaust and the memory triggers of apartheid and my life that it produces in me.

The day draws to a close

The conversation slows. I can tell that Thandi is restless to get back to her daily life. She mentions her babysitter, "Hai, let me go and sort that lady out." We push back from the table and Thandi gathers her handbag then we walk together towards the front door. "I must say you have a beautiful flat," she tells me again. I cringe again. "You stay here all by yourself?" Again, I sheepishly say yes. "You're lucky," she says and leaves.

I am left silent behind the door, which I press shut and I stand for a while, looking around my flat. My eyes fall on the scattered evidence of the interview on my dining room table: my laptop, two glasses now empty of water, my iPad recorder, my notepad and pens. I reflect on the rawness of Thandi's tale that have held me enthralled, compelling me to learn more about her life experiences and the dramatic way in which she mingled the personal and professional elements of her story. Finally, I'm left to contemplate what Thandi's story really means for Holocaust education and how lucky I am.

(Emma)

From the outside looking in - what the Holocaust can teach us about society and our ourselves

Emma Weiss has been Head of History at Midvale High School²⁰ since 2000. She is married to David and has two sons. At university, she read for a Bachelor of Education. This was followed by her Master's in Education in which she focused mainly on South African history. She has a special interest in Holocaust education.

Good evening parents, teachers and distinguished guests. Thank you for asking me to address you this evening. I've been invited by the Principal, Mr Naidu, to speak to you about issues of racism here at Amandla College based on the success that I've had in reducing incidents of racism with my own learners at Midvale High School. Midvale High, where I teach, is a private, economically privileged, affluent, well-resourced secondary school. Unfortunately, there are also underlying sensitive, uncomfortable issues in the fabric of the school that force me to confront the darker side of humanity - racism, antisemitism, stereotyping and discrimination.

My focus tonight will fall on the importance of learning history with attention paid to the Holocaust in order to create awareness in the learners of the dangers of discrimination and stereotyping. The Holocaust might not be familiar to many of you, but I hope that as the evening progresses, the importance of teaching it to the children will become clearer.

My story

To begin, let me tell you a bit about me. At home, I'm first and foremost a wife and mother. I'm happily married to my husband and adore my two wonderful young sons. As a family we are members of the Christian Zionist²¹ Church, which I'm sure contributes to the success of our marriage. At school, I'm the Head of Social Sciences, a dedicated history teacher and a passionate proponent of Holocaust education. I tell you this not only as background information, but also to provide you with insight into what matters to me. My family also has a connection to World War II.

Growing up, my passion to teach history had a lot to do with my own History teacher. He was amazing. He was a funny, old Portuguese man (well at least we thought he was old), but in reality, he was probably in his mid-30s; scruffy, untidy, hopelessly disorganised and late for every lesson. But

²⁰ Pseudonyms are used for all names and places to be in line with the ethical considerations of the study to preserve anonymity.

²¹ Christian Zionists believe that the second coming of Jesus will only occur when the Jews return to the Holy Land. They therefore strongly support the existence of the State of Israel.

when he taught history, he would sit on his desk and tell us stories. I loved the fact that every time he spoke about WWII he started crying. And for me, ever since that time, I loved history and wanted to teach it. After school, I went to university where I completed a Bachelor of Education degree. This spanned four years, after which I went on to complete my master's in education focusing on Adult Education.

I was thrilled when I qualified as a history teacher in 1995. My first teaching post was at a distance-learning school where I taught English. After that I joined Midvale High School in 2007 as a Grade 9 Social Science teacher, which meant that I taught History in the first half of the year and Geography in the other half. For me, the Social Science syllabus can be summed up as human rights and human wrongs. We therefore place a focus on human rights when we teach the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide and some other genocides. This is why I became a history teacher; I think it's crucially important in every single way for students to learn about this.

I must tell you that in my first years at Midvale High I had to fight for History to be included as a subject because, at that point, the school didn't want it, the parents didn't want it, and one of our previous headmasters had actually cancelled history as a matric subject. But I honestly believe that in order to develop as human beings, children have got to be taught history. History is not a popular subject these days which means that most children don't take it. As far as I'm concerned, this means that they're not fully educated. The value of learning history even comes through in subjects like English where, according to my colleagues, the History students always have the edge, not just because of their writing skills and the depth of their background knowledge but also morally and who they are as people.

Today, there are approximately fifty children writing matric at Midvale High, yet only fourteen are doing History. Even so, it is way better than the initial two. Fourteen is still not a great number, which might be due to the idea held by both parents and learners that History is not a subject that can teach a person how to make money. That's the learners' attitude and it's their parents' attitude. They have lots of respect for mathematics because they believe it will be important for their careers. This is an affluent community but it's not a very established professional community. There is lots of new money, made out of construction and development.

I'd now like to turn to the Holocaust, which I believe is very important to teach and I'll explain why. Firstly, I must tell you that despite my interest in the Holocaust, I'm not Jewish, although my first connection with it is my family history. I admit that I sometimes wonder how much my Jewish background has influenced my current thinking as my grandfather was half Jewish, his father being Jewish and his mother German. My grandfather escaped from Germany as a young man and came to

South Africa during the Holocaust. Once here, he married my grandmother who was his first wife but certainly not his last! She divorced him when my father was quite young, but after the war, my grandfather went back to Germany. The new German government was very apologetic to returning Jews, asking "What can we do for you?" My grandfather said he wanted a German passport for himself, his children and his grandchildren, which he received. So, he once again lived in Germany, this time with his fifth (and final) wife and he ultimately died there. Although he always said that he was against the Nazi government, on his return he was nevertheless happy to be regarded as German and he no longer followed the Jewish faith of his childhood. I don't know if he had a faith at all, but he certainly had a Jewish name, which he kept. I guess you can say that he was a non-practicing Jew. I discovered only recently that his father, my great-grandfather who was a practicing Jew, died in a Nazi concentration camp and I was quite taken aback by that news. In addition, my husband also has Jewish ancestry as his grandfather was also Jewish. However, he was cut off from the family when he became Christian. So, between my husband and me there's a lot of Jewish blood and a lot of Jewish sympathy. For me, the Holocaust is personal.

This is not true of everyone in my family, however. My parents find discussions about the Holocaust very uncomfortable. They don't think people should know about it and they feel insulted when they see Holocaust memorials and museums. They say, "Why can't we just forget about the Holocaust? Why do we have to get our noses rubbed in it all the time?" So, this became something that I had to discover for myself. I needed to know why I believe that knowing about the Holocaust is so very important.

Interestingly my family also has an apartheid connection. My husband's grandfather who was also Jewish was related to one of the lawyers defending the Rivonia Trialists, including Nelson Mandela, until he himself was arrested and charged for the same crime.

As time progressed, I began to realise that teaching the Holocaust was very closely aligned to my personal values and beliefs and that, even though it's a highly emotive and complex topic that isn't always pleasant to teach, I still believe that it's crucial to teach it, particularly in the light of modern history and what's going on in the Middle East today with the conflict between Israel and Gaza.

By the way, for those of you who are thinking that you need to be schooled in how to teach the Holocaust order to be able to teach it, I can assure you that my ability to teach the Holocaust has not evolved out of any formal education. When I was at school and later at university, I wasn't taught anything about the Holocaust as far as I can remember, but rather I just heard about it. I suppose it's one of those things that just get passed down. So, when I first became a teacher it was one of those

horrible things that I had to get through but as you grow as a person, you grow spiritually, you grow in every way then you think, "Agh this is an absolute outrage!"

So, I had no formal Holocaust training. I have my B.Ed. which is a four-year degree and then I studied an M.Ed. in Adult Education. This was purely academic. My teacher training had a lot about South African history but nothing about the Holocaust at all.

The Holocaust takes about two weeks to get through, including the content and movie-wise, so it's not that long. It's actually quite a small part of my syllabus that I'm doing at the moment. The first time I taught the Holocaust was in 1997. It shocked me, but it was part of the curriculum, so I taught it. Later, when the Holocaust was introduced in 2007 into the national history curriculum for all Grades 9s as a dedicated topic, I didn't question its presence – I just knew that I didn't like it! It's not nice to teach about genocide on that sort of scale. It's traumatic to see what people went through and how they suffered that trauma. It disturbed me to think that it didn't take place a long time ago. Not that it makes any difference to the victims that it wasn't a long time ago and that it's very modern. You see, I believe that everything is in the present for G-d, meaning that those people who experience the Holocaust are as present to Him as I am now. I therefore find the Holocaust just shocking. It's just horrible, absolutely horrible. So, even though I usually want to find out most things in history, this has not been the case with the Holocaust. I didn't, and I still don't want to find out more or know more. I don't want to hear about the medical experiments and things like that. I really don't. Consequently, I don't spend time doing extra research, which, I hate to admit, means that I'm not completely au fait with the facts. Ironically, though, I do end up spending more time than is allocated as the Holocaust means a lot to me. So that I don't have to learn more, I spend a lot of time showing films to the children, doing source-based exercises or discussing the issues that come up when I teach the Holocaust. For example, teaching the Holocaust provides me with an opportunity to deal with the Israel-Gaza conflict, so I'm very grateful it's in the syllabus.

So, even though I don't particularly enjoy teaching it and initially it was horrible to teach, it's only as I've realised the importance of topics like the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide, that I've come to embrace them. Now I feel passionately about teaching it and it's something that I find deeply personal. I guess I've grown as both a teacher and a person and teaching the Holocaust has grown with me.

The issues facing Amandla College

It's time to address the reason why we are here tonight, to discuss an issue facing all of you. According to Mr Naidu the headmaster, Amandla College is dealing with ongoing incidents of racism. This can be very distressing. I know, because a similar problem exists at Midvale High. As at Amandla

College, the majority of the learners come from very privileged backgrounds although at Midvale High the majority of the children are White.

I can tell you that my biggest challenge today is the children. You see, there's a White racist phenomenon at present. I'm going to be blunt. The children are not only White racists, but they are antisemitic as well. This doesn't apply to everyone of course, but in my view the majority of the feeling out there is that of racism and antisemitism. That is the norm and to be honest I find it scary. I believe that this comes from massive unawareness and absolute ignorance. In fact, it's really only the history students that learn not to be like that and particularly after we talk about these issues in our Holocaust lessons. This is why you need to teach the Holocaust.

To illustrate what I mean by antisemitic incidents, there was even an incident with my son, who is learner at the school. My son is, like me, very pro-Israel, pro-Jewish. He's eleven. One day he was speaking to a teacher about his Jewish ancestry and one 11-year-old sniggered and passed a funny comment. As a sensitive person, you can pick up the racist undercurrent that exists. I questioned the children about it, but they didn't say anything bad in response, they wouldn't dare, but then I asked, "Well, what's going on?" Someone blurted out that it was the TV programme *South Park*. They said that it was simply part of the language out there. I don't know if you've watched *South Park*. It's very antisemitic. They have this whole thing with redheads, saying to redheaded children, "You are rangas²² and rangas don't have souls." And they will insult each other by saying, "Oh you Jew!" I didn't realise how influential *South Park* was, but clearly it is. It's the feeling out there and you can also see it in the press. But I believe that they also pick it up from their parents. You see, the majority of people did not learn about the Holocaust at school and are therefore ignorant about it. This might also be the reason that they have a negative attitude towards Jews, although maybe that's not an excuse because the Midvale parents are largely racist towards Africans as well. So, lack of parental education is definitely an issue, but more worrying is the problem that these racist attitudes are then passed on to the children.

So, what is the purpose of teaching the Holocaust? Well firstly, the fact that people are portraying Hitler in a positive light is absolutely fundamentally shocking and really a reflection of lack of education. It's easy for children to express stupid comments if they haven't actually been taught. In fact, when the learners first hear about the Holocaust in my History classes they are very quiet, they

²² Ranga is a derogatory term used by Australians to refer to red-haired people.

don't react. Then I think the majority of them once I've told them respond appropriately. So, children need to be taught about it.

Secondly, and as time progressed, I began to realise that teaching the Holocaust was very closely aligned to my personal values and beliefs and that, even though it's a highly emotive and complex topic that isn't always pleasant to teach, I still believe that it's crucial to teach it, particularly in the light of modern history and what's going on in the Middle East today with the conflict between Israel and Gaza.

The result of this education is that learning history and particularly the Holocaust gives the children emotional maturity. The children can learn a lot from the lessons and this is evident in the learners that take History after Grade 9. They are a whole lot more understanding both personally and as a group. So, for me, teaching the Holocaust is going to produce learners who are far more understanding about other people. Consequently, incidents of bullying and intimidation generally decrease. This is the goal at Amandla College.

How to teach the Holocaust

Once you've decided that the Holocaust is a relevant teaching tool to address the issues in your school, what methods can be used to teach it? This is aimed particularly at the History teachers but is really relevant for everyone.

From the beginning of my teaching of the Holocaust, I've related it to children's' experiences on the playground. I use these moments to discuss notions like bullying. I explain to them, "You know, even if there's someone on the playground that stands out, is different or they're new, we can we learn from the Holocaust. You can choose to bring them in and include them or you can choose to be hateful to them and leave them out." So, I apply lessons from the Holocaust to their lives. The children need to accept and love and not reject and hate. Also, one of the pitfalls that you should avoid is that you obviously can't blame the Germans, in fact you can't blame anyone, but an event of that magnitude must not be slipped under the carpet. You see, for me there is a difference between forgiveness and forgetting. It's right to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to remember and to teach it, in every single way.

Another way that you can introduce the Holocaust is to use a story such as the story of David Cash that I have in one of my textbooks. He was present when his friend raped and murdered a little girl in a hotel room. He chose to stand back and do nothing because he didn't think that it was his problem

but found himself on trial for what he could have done. The book raises the issue that people are able to make choices in order to make a difference for positive change.

Now let me explain what is in the curriculum. The Holocaust is in the essay syllabus in Grade 9 and is allocated about two weeks. In terms of essay writing and the type of questions I ask, the type of work we do at Midvale is mainly source-related. The learners need to get hold of the evidence themselves and construct what they see for themselves. I don't do too many essays on it, it's mainly shorter questions, more source-based questions that I do on the Holocaust. We see the Holocaust again in the Grade 11 curriculum when we teach Eugenics and Social Darwinism.

When teaching the Holocaust, I like to show films, so I show them *The Pianist* and *Schindler's List*. As I mentioned earlier, these take a long time to get through as well as reading all the sources, so I do spend a lot longer than the two allocated weeks. In addition, I find photographs to be extremely useful. For instance, I teach about Nazi propaganda using the antisemitic pictures. Photographs and other images can also be used in the classroom to show the progression of the Holocaust. I'll talk you through how this can be done with this PowerPoint presentation. Please turn on the projector, Max.

Teaching the Holocaust through pictures

Slide 1



In "Life before the Holocaust" photographs, such as this picture of young girls sitting next to a swimming pool are very important. I mean these little girls were just normal happy children. It makes you wonder what happened to them. Seeing their happiness in the photograph almost makes knowing what might have happened to them even worse. Sometimes I think almost having a happy life first almost makes it worse, because you have like great expectations of what your life's going to turn out.

Slide 2



The Holocaust, as you know, progressed in stages, with the first stage, being the segregation stage. An image to illustrate this might be this one, a photograph showing writing on a bench that says, "Only for Jews". It's horrible but it shows the level of indignity that a perfectly normal respectable woman had to suffer and be humiliated like that. She's obviously embarrassed so she's covering her face. This is also an

apartheid type situation.

Slide 3



The image of two little children wearing Stars of David and the image of two Jewish children being humiliated in the classroom are very emotional and touching, and personally, any images that deal with children affect me. I must admit that being a mom makes me more emotional when it comes to anything with children. I was never as emotional before I became a

mom. Of course, when you see something happening to children you relate it to your own children, which I'm sure everyone does. But this shows us the use of the initial laws.

Slide 4



A photograph that shows life in the ghettos is this one, where the children are crawling through the ghetto wall. It's also a very useful, I think, for the children to see. They can perhaps take their own food for granted and this shows what children lengths they would go to, in order to get food.

Slide 5



The next stage is people being marched into a cattle truck.

For me, this train journey was almost the worst part of the Holocaust. Just being in that for three weeks at a time, no food and water and people dying there, and I just can't get my head around that. I mean, I mean it can't be pleasant to be gassed to death but that to me is almost worst. Just that journey. It's absolutely awful.

Slide 6



And then, obviously, there is the ultimate horror of the whole thing, the culmination of horror of everything and it's just so stark. This is shown through this photograph of the people in their bunks in a concentration camp, which is incredibly haunting. It shows how the people in the concentration camps lived and the desperate state they were in. Some of the expressions on their faces are like they were almost not even human anymore, some

of them. And some of them had almost vacant stares. To be honest, it's a horrible photograph and I hate it, but I suppose it's very useful in teaching about the Holocaust. It shows the extreme horror of the Holocaust.

Slide 7



Even this photograph of the body being put into an oven at the crematorium is useful when teaching. But it's very brutal.

Slide 8



Then there are the piles of objects things that were found after the Holocaust such as the wedding rings, spectacles, and shoes. They show the human element of the Holocaust and are very emotional for me and the children, particularly moving for girls are the wedding rings.

As a quick aside, one question in a textbook that I was using asked very relevant questions about photographs as sources. For instance, it asked, "Why would we choose a picture like this pile of wedding rings as opposed to actual dead bodies?" The children came up with interesting answers. One child said, "Well it's very emotional because we see what happened, but it doesn't have the gruesome factor." Another answered, "It's more poignant seeing people's wedding rings and how personal wedding rings were." Seeing pictures of children experiencing life before is also something that would mean a lot to me.

Slide 9



Even sculptures can be useful for the children to connect to in the classroom. This photograph showing a sculpture in Minsk, Poland, is amazing. Although it's very abstract, it really does capture the horror of the Holocaust.

Slide 10



On the other hand, I don't think that a photograph like this one, of a bunch of old people, even if they are a group of Holocaust survivors would touch the children. I don't think children would relate very much to it.

Thanks Max, you can turn the projector off.

I must tell you, in 1997 when I first started teaching, I was exposed to very gruesome photographs in a textbook - photographs of mass graves where you saw piles of dead bodies. To see these graphic pictures of starving dead bodies and mass graves was not something that I could look at and simply look past. Seeing these images is common because the sort of sources that you read when learning about the Holocaust is deeply disturbing, especially when there's children involved. Yet, despite the graphic nature of those pictures, that textbook was actually a fantastic source because many of the photographs were in colour.

Now that I've told you about my passion for Holocaust education, how valuable I believe it is and how you can teach it, I should also tell you about some of the challenges that History teachers teaching the Holocaust might face.

Challenges

As I said, I've been teaching the Holocaust for the last ten years or so and despite all these years of teaching it, the Holocaust remains an uncomfortable subject for me. There are photographs that I can't even look at myself let alone show the children but there's also there's factual information that I can't share with the children because I can't digest myself as a person; it's very, very sensitive. Personally, I can't get over it. Who would ever believe that history teaching is quite so gruelling?

You might be wondering at this point what makes teaching the Holocaust so uncomfortable for me and to be honest I often ask it myself. I think it's because I'm a mother. To see other mothers and children going through those circumstances disturbs me. In fact, I was so upset the other day that I actually had to speak to my pastor. The church I go to is very pro-Jewish. It's actually got a menorah on it, instead of a cross. It's messianic Jewish funded as well. So, I asked him, "How could the Holocaust have happened?" He replied that he didn't know but added, "How can you explain something like that? But at least it's allowed for the creation of Israel." But it doesn't help those people that actually went through that. I'm just thinking that they're all in a good place; at least I am praying that they now are.

Another challenge that you might face is having to deal with Holocaust deniers. To me, they are idiots. I mean they've got all this evidence for exactly what happened, and you can't deny anything like that. So, it's very jarring.

Another difficulty is that teachers get to watch the movies many times over the years and a movie like *The Pianist* is just such a good movie that you start getting nuances and emotions. For me, the

result is that it does impact me more and more all the time. I've watched *The Pianist* about seven years in a row. You'd think I'd get callous about it but I don't. In fact, I find it harder to watch every year. Maybe it's the fact that the older you get the more emotional you get; but it doesn't get any easier; in fact, it gets harder. For instance, there are now certain scenes that I simply can't stand so I close my eyes and block my ears, like when the old, crippled man gets thrown out of the window and when the little boy gets under the ghetto wall and struggles through into the ghetto.

One of the challenges of teaching the Holocaust is the emotion involved. My learners will verify that when I teach the Holocaust I get emotional, although I try not to. I tell them that it's going to be emotional; it's not going to be a nice subject to learn about, but that they need to know, and I tell them why they need to know. Maybe I'm just a very emotional person now but I think it comes with age. I think that as you grow older and more mature and you have children, you experience life, you become more sensitive. I see that as a good thing. So, as a young teacher in my twenties I didn't think too much about teaching the Holocaust although even then I didn't like the photographs.

But emotionally the children are definitely shocked. Still, I don't think it affects them emotionally as much as me because I don't think children are as emotional as adults, although seeing that old man being thrown out the window in *The Pianist* upsets them. *Schindler's List* is also a very, very difficult movie to watch. Recently there was a documentary on DSTV called *The Hidden Holocaust*, which showed the unknown stories of massacres in Eastern Europe. This was incredibly difficult for both me and the children to watch. These movies trigger emotions in them. They are shocked. The fact that it's in the past is irrelevant because what happened remains shocking and upsetting. That said, maybe it's good that they are shocked. I want to shock them. They must be shocked. The children must be shocked when they hear people saying things like, "Hitler's gas chambers must return," in present day pro-Gaza protests. And you know I find their shock reaction positive because you know they need to realise that the Holocaust was shocking, and they need to understand. Even the Holocaust-related nudity must be watched. It's what happened! So, I'm not prepared to cover that up. Even at fifteen they must see it, as it is part of what they need to know. Although those two films at least have a light at the end of the tunnel. After the film, we discuss it and I do talk to them about the relevance of it in the present. For me, this is the purpose of teaching history. It's got to be linked to what's going on now.

To conclude, let me draw the strings of my talk together. The Holocaust is personal to me. This grew out of my family history and the alignment there was with my own values, but evolved into a powerful teaching tool, as I began to understand the importance of teaching the Holocaust (and of course the history) to learners. In my opinion, racism, stereotyping and discrimination are the result of lack of education. So how can it help to solve the problems with racism at Amandla High?

Education about the Holocaust enables children to better understand the nature of genocide and the importance of human rights. Let's not fool ourselves; the Holocaust is not nice to teach. It's also challenging for the teacher, who becomes closely connected to the material by teaching it year after year. It's difficult to teach about genocide and to come face to face with the trauma suffered by people just like us but it's very important to help prevent future genocides. Despite being an emotional experience for both teachers and children, it provides the children with emotional maturity, which they do not learn elsewhere, and this results in fewer incidents of racism and antisemitism, not only as individuals but also as a group. As a bonus, it allows the teacher to discuss current issues, such as the contentious Israel-Gaza conflict.

Let me conclude by saying that learning about the Holocaust will make your learners more compassionate, caring and understanding human beings and thereby achieve your goal of reducing racism in your school. Thank you.

Open the floor to questions

I'd now like to open the floor to questions. Please identify yourselves and tell me your position in relation to the school.

Q: Hello Emma. Thanks so much for your very informative talk. Where do you go to look for information on the Holocaust apart from the textbooks? And what resources do you use in the classroom? Oh, by the way, I'm a teacher and my name is Heather.

A: Thanks Heather. When I want to find information, I turn to the internet and to books, but I have to confess and say I'm a little bit guilty in terms of the actual subject content; I don't know too much about it. In the classroom, we use just one textbook. It's almost like I give the learners the bare bones of the facts but then I let the sources and movies speak for themselves. Details-wise I could brush up on that but as I say it's just a bit gruelling. I also have the Durban Holocaust Centre teaching pack that I ordered for the school. They've got a whole booklet and that DVD. I've got that, and I do use the DVD and from that I can just see that they do link it a lot to apartheid.

Q: Hi Emma, I'm Simphiwe Shabalala, a parent. Someone mentioned to me that it was compulsory for all Grade 9s to study history, so how come so few of the Midvale students study the Holocaust?

A: I am aware that Grade 9 is the year that the Holocaust is studied in State Schools and with the IEB syllabus as well. However, at Midvale we follow the Cambridge system²³ which means that

²³ Cambridge International Examinations are external examinations written by South African matriculants in lieu of the local matriculation examinations.

the children get the choice of dropping History in Grade 8. So, even though we follow the State syllabus, unfortunately the majority of children in my school drop it.

Q: Hi, I'm a History teacher at this school. My name is Renisha. I've noted that the curriculum links the Holocaust and apartheid together by juxtaposing them. Can you tell me a bit more about how and why they have done that?

A: Yes, there is a link, particularly in the Grade 11 CAPS curriculum in the section on Eugenics, where the Holocaust is presented as one of the case studies for a country that has embraced eugenics and they do compare it to apartheid. To be honest, I'm not 100% sure, but I know the Holocaust museum has very much gone that way, but they obviously have to, probably to get in with the government. I suppose you have to make it relevant to South African contexts so that's why they do it, but I think that the comparison to the apartheid regime is a little bit stretched.

Obviously, there are some linkage points, such as the initial stages of the Holocaust. There is the segregation and the discrimination and the even the ghettos, although the Holocaust ghetto situation was much harsher than what happened in apartheid, but that was only until 1938. Beyond that there was absolutely no comparison. Personally, I think the government is kind of using the Holocaust. Obviously, the South African syllabus is very ANC-based, I believe that. So, it's just their angle, which is fine, it's reasonable, I mean you've got to make it relevant to the majority of the children in this country. I mean, they're going to think, "Well why are we studying this?" and I suppose you can make a comparison, but you can't completely compare the Holocaust to apartheid by any stretch of the imagination. There was obviously police brutality in South Africa. In the Eighties, there were all those dodgy dealings and assassinations and hangings and arrests. I mean it was terrible, I realise that, but not on the scale of the Holocaust and I don't think you should even demean the Holocaust by comparing it to apartheid. So, I don't think you can really adequately compare the Holocaust to apartheid. Anyway, I don't personally compare it.

Q: Emma, I'm Jade, the school counsellor. You mentioned that you use many different sources of information. Is there any Holocaust topic that you avoid and why?

A: As far as my methods of teaching go, I use a lot of sources, but there are certain bits of information that I prefer to cut out, like I don't want to talk about the medical experiments. I mention them, but I don't go into that it's just too awful. I do try and keep it factual but as far as I'm concerned, the sources that they read and the photographs and the movies that I show them speak for themselves. I think at the age of fifteen there's certain aspects of it that are best left unsaid.

Q: Hi. I'm the father of a learner. There was an incident in the newspaper recently about a school that visited the Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre and the children were laughing and

pretending they were Hitler with the finger under the nose and the Nazi salute. Do you come across this kind of behaviour at your school and how do you deal with it?

A: Yes, I have and I've found it to be a common thing with the Grade 8s (those children who are 14-years-old) in particular- they love to re-enact Hitler. They put a finger under their noses and do the Nazi salute with the other arm and they love to do this. They get so excited because the first thing I do with the Grade 8s is World War I. I make them enact the Triple Alliance, the Triple Entente and the group that does Germany invariably does the Hitler salute, which I think is a real insult to Germans. I have to explain to them, "The Germans had nothing to do with Hitler at that stage!" It's probably just silliness.

While we are on this topic I should mention another phenomenon at Midvale High. Many of the Grade 8s), somehow think that the swastika is cool. They enjoy learning about Hitler and World War II but there's a real callousness in the use of the swastika in graffiti. They draw it a lot. I find that exceptionally disturbing and in fact this one particular incident this child actually drew it while I was teaching the Holocaust which really, really upset me. About two years ago, while I was teaching the Holocaust, one child drew a swastika on the desk. He actually proceeded to actually take History but fortunately he was not in my class because I don't think I could have ever treated him fairly after that. This is what happened. I knew he was a great swastika graffiti artist because he always drew them on his files. I remarked to him several times, "You know that's offensive. You know I don't like that." He would simply shrug it off. And then the one lesson I had been you know speaking about the Holocaust and I had reached the crux of the matter on the whole Holocaust. I was getting very emotional because I was teaching them about the worst part of the Holocaust. When he left, there on his desk a swastika was drawn, so I thought, "You know, honestly, honestly, honestly!" and I had to attribute that to real hard-heartedness. That's just a hard heart. A child. Maybe it was rebellion too, but he couldn't claim ignorance after what I told them. I was devastated. I only saw it after he left so I couldn't do anything about it. The classroom was empty. When I saw that, I was furious! Devastated! I asked myself, "What has this child actually learnt? Nothing!" And all the other children knew about it as well; they knew that he had done it. In fact, they still talk about it today. And for me, I didn't speak to him afterwards although I probably should have. But I didn't. I was so upset that I didn't want to even speak to him. It was towards the end of the year and I can't remember if I had the opportunity to see him again, but then he dropped History with me - so - that was it.

Q: Emma, a personal question. You are blonde-haired and blue-eyed. Do the children notice this and do you tell them anything about your personal story?

A: Absolutely. Yes and yes. One concept that emerges during the course of my Holocaust lessons is the notion of being Aryan. I describe what an Aryan looks like with blonde hair and blue eyes and the learners often say, "Oh, like you!" So, I say, "Well, I've actually got a bit of Jewish

blood.” Then I tell them about my ancestry and that I'm not very Aryan because I have too much Jewish blood! I tell them that my grandfather was half-German, half Jewish and that my great-grandfather was a Jew who fought for Germany in World War I. Moreover, I was told that my grandfather, while he was in Germany, was a British spy working against the Germans. He never spoke much about this and the whole history was cloaked in mystery. Even until he died I think he was frightened that he had worked against the Germans. All this makes it even more tragic that my great-grandfather was ultimately killed in a concentration camp and how my grandfather went back to Germany. They're very interested in my personal story.

Q: Hi, I'm Sandile, a parent but also a journalist. Do your learners talk about the Israel-Palestine question?

A: Hi Sandile. I have had a couple of incidents. For instance, one year when I was teaching about the Holocaust and the learners had to do a project on it. There was a Muslim child in my class, who did the project and then at the end he wrote, "but - now the Israelis are abusing the Palestinians". That was the first time that I had been exposed to that kind of talk and to be honest I felt a bit ill. I know that the Muslims have a thing about the Holocaust. They equate it to what is happening currently in the Middle East. However, at that stage, I didn't realise the extent of their hatred. Our church had a whole presentation about this topic. There were two sermons about it how very dangerous these Muslims are. Even if you say only 10% or only 3% of Muslims are fanatical, if you take how many Muslims there are, that's a scary amount of fanatical Muslims out there. It's scary. I've even stopped watching the BBC because it's so unbelievably biased against Israel. The Muslims don't just want Israel; ultimately, they want the whole world.

Q: Emma, are you saying that antisemitism is part of the popular lingo?

*A: Absolutely. The resurgence of sayings such as "Oh you Jew!" amongst the children is deeply disturbing. Personally, I actually think that has got a lot to do with this the rubbish that the left-wing media writes about the whole Gaza thing. You know, it's such one-sided reporting, it's laughable. It just makes me absolutely horrified. In fact, I think I have to write a letter to the *Courier*, our local newspaper because there was a whole pro-Palestinian march for which the local council paid R80 000 and the only political party that stood up against it was a Christian party. They voiced an objection and are now lodging an appeal. Then this one quite well-known person said, "Oh, why are we making such a big deal of it? If the council wants to march, it is R80 000 well-spent." This was quite a well-known person in the community, so I think I'm going to have to reply to that. You see, I believe that the Palestinians don't want a piece of Israel; they want the whole of Israel. But honestly, I think it's just ignorance and lack of education and just childhood cluelessness. This is why I believe that it's essential that the Holocaust is covered in Grade 9 before they actually drop History.*

Unfortunately, history is a subject that is far too easily dropped and it's such a crucial subject for many reasons, one of which is learning subjects like the Holocaust.

Q: In response to the last speaker, Emma, aren't you showing a lot of bias yourself when it comes to the media and the Palestinians?

A: I don't believe so. But yes, the whole future of the Jewish people and how they were persecuted is very personal to me. I'm terribly passionate about that because I'm very passionate about the Jewish people, about Israel and the right for Israel to exist as a nation. Not only the current Israel-Gaza war, but particularly the antisemitism that's arising from that is disturbing. The media now is so anti-Israel and I think that people that don't know will automatically go to what the media says but my History learners just know, without me even carrying on; they just have that innate thing that they're pro-Israel. You know so I just say, "Well, that's my job done."

Q: Have you ever been to Auschwitz? I'm Peter.

A: Hi Peter. Although many of my learners' grandparents were in World War II, no-one that I've taught has any personal connection to the Holocaust. Interestingly the parents of quite a few of my learners have been to Auschwitz and their children have gone with them on tours. I admit I couldn't go there but I'm too sensitive. I'm affected enough; I don't need to be affected any more. So no, I'll never go to Auschwitz.

Q: Emma, I'm Ntombi, a parent of a Grade 9 learner. You mentioned something about the parents at Midvale being part of the problem. I'm a parent; what can we do as parents? I don't have any personal connection to the Holocaust.

Ntombi, I suggest that you just speak to your children. In matric one of the tasks the learners do is an historical investigation where they interview grandparents. They have old diaries and old documents so that comes out a lot, which is great. The learners have to have their own evidence and do their own research. I have found that the children love their grandparents' stories; and the grandparents love telling their stories. Also, I would advise that you are aware what your children watch but at the same time examine your own attitudes. Antisemitism and racism are out there. As I've said, the children can see it clearly in the press but they also pick it up from you, their parents.

That's all we have time for but please feel free to come and chat to me over tea, which is being served in the foyer. Thank you.

(Florence)

Life is Beautiful



A History Teacher's Blog by Florence Adams

“There is no greatness where there is not simplicity, goodness, and truth.” — Leo Tolstoy

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About Me

May 26, 2014

Hi. Welcome to my blog. I'm Florence, a 26-year-old history teacher, living and working at a government school in Durban. I'm passionate about history. I love being a history teacher and I'm very, very proud when I tell people what I do for a living. Being a history teacher fulfils me emotionally and intellectually and I love going to school every day to see my learners - my Smurfs. I'm not married yet, but that's by choice, although I do have a wonderful boyfriend who spoils me to bits. This blog is a record of my experiences, through which I hope to make a contribution to making the world a better place.

Frog Leaps – School to University to Teaching

6 February 2015

I'm excited! I've been asked by a PhD student to participate in a study on the teaching of the Holocaust. I readily agreed but the interesting thing was that she also wanted to know my personal story. We're meeting next week, but my memory has been jogged and I've been thinking a lot about my journey to becoming a history teacher.



My first experience with history was at school. I attended a local government school, which was actually right across the road from our house! It was a co-ed multicultural government school and many of the learners, like me, were Coloured. At school I did well, but the way I learnt history then and the way I'm teaching it today are very different. From the time I was at school, I really liked history. My history teacher, Miss Jamieson, was the best creative mind, the best teacher *ever*. She was so beautiful and she was a history specialist. She was such a good teacher that she made us *want* to do history. It's almost sad, though, that our kids' love of history often just depends on the effectiveness of the teacher.



Unfortunately, the way we learnt history did not prepare us for university. There's a huge gap between high school and tertiary education and I believe that kids who go to a government school suffer more when they get to university than kids who go to ex-Model C²⁴ schools, where they learn referencing and how to write an essay on their own.

For history at my school, we wrote notes upon notes, pages upon pages of essays. Then we studied them. Ironically, we all got 'A's in matric simply because we knew the essays, having learnt them parrot fashion. For matric our teacher said to us, "I'm going to give you four essays to study. If you study two it means you might fail, but if you study all four and you know them, all you've got to do is write them down." And that's what we did. I thought this was normal; but when I got to university I found it wasn't normal at all. My school wasn't normal. For instance, when dealing with source-based material, our teacher would evaluate the source material, not us, so when I got to university I didn't even know what primary and secondary sources or concepts were. There were many things I didn't know. As a result, I really struggled in my first year. My success doing history at school had led me to believe that I was completely equipped in this field, but I was in for a dreadful shock. Even now I

²⁴ Model C schools are government schools that are administered and largely funded by a governing body of parents and alumni. They were previously White schools under the apartheid regime.

laugh to myself but at the same time I'm embarrassed when I think that I wrote www.google.com as my first reference!

Despite the school's methodology, I was fortunate to have had very inspiring history teachers like Miss Jamieson and later my university professor. Prof made history feel like fun, not like a lesson. His classes were so inspiring that I wanted to make history fun and interesting in my classroom too!

I'm proud to be a history teacher, although to be honest I was never going to be a history teacher originally. I didn't even want to teach! But, by chance I came to a teacher training institution after I matriculated so the die was cast. Then in my fourth year at university I got my first job as a substitute teacher, teaching mathematical literacy, even though I hadn't studied maths at university. The following year, however, when the school principal saw that I had majored in English and History, I was assigned to teach Social Sciences. As a new teacher, I taught junior History, that is, Grade 9. This was also my first encounter with teaching the Holocaust. Now, I've progressed to teaching the Grade 11 history.

I must confess that in my first year teaching Grade 9, I was a terrible history teacher. You see, as the teacher you control what's going to happen in your class. You must decide whether to focus more on history or geography in the allotted time for Social Sciences. I was comfortable with mapwork it so I did more geography in my first year. But in the second year, we received new textbooks that had quite a bit on Hitler and the Nazis and the Jews and they had pictures, so that made me interested. And so, using that textbook, I started doing more history than geography in my class, which I admit was once again off balance. But by then I had some knowledge and found the Holocaust very interesting to teach.

That's how I became a history teacher. What about you?

Comments

Phumzile Sibisi. Hi Florence. I empathise! Like you, my first year of teaching was difficult, but time has improved the quality of my work. You have such an inspiring story. It will help the young women in my class to persevere, to face challenges head on and thereby achieve their goals. Thank you. But you said you were never going to be a history teacher when you started out. What did you want to do?

Florence Petersen. Thank you, Phumzile It's a funny story. I wanted to be unemployed for a year and travel. I thought I'd take a gap year after matric. But then I thought I should work immediately as I don't come from a very wealthy home, but my father told me, "If you're gonna work, that's fine, but if you're gonna study it's fine as well." So, I thought, "Well maybe I'll work and earn first and then I'll do sidelines." But then I wanted to au pair. I wanted to do everything. Eventually I decided to take up teaching and I studied by correspondence for a

year. That was a dismal experience. I failed three subjects which made me realise that distance learning was not for me. I ended up at teacher training college and they credited me with the subjects I had already done. But I had missed a foundation year, so I struggled. However, through persistence and my will to succeed, I became the history teacher that I dreamed about being.

The Smurfs and the Colour Bar

15 February 2015

As I walked out of school today and across the road to my father's house, it struck me – I have come full circle in my life, for here I am, teaching where I schooled.

I have a big class. We have very big numbers at my school, forty-eight kids in a class although I'm sure the regulations say it should be one to thirty. With these very big numbers, by the time they get to Grade 12 some have failed, some have left school, some have filtered out, which means the matric class is usually small. Many kids come from a nearby township because they believe they can get a better education here than in the townships. It's a co-ed school but not really multiracial as the majority of kids are Black and Coloured. But it's difficult, very difficult. There are language barriers. There are cultural barriers.

One of the issues is that in history, when it comes to ideas of race we tend to say the word Blacks a lot. Because of race sensitivity, something I always ask the kids, "Do you want to be called African or Black?" Some say, "Ah Miss, any one, it doesn't matter." So sometimes you use it interchangeably but then you offend somebody. Some kid always picks on the race thing but one day I had a boy who saved the day. He told me I shouldn't call them Blacks; I should call them Blues because the school uniform's blue. So, I began to call them the Smurfs; I used to call my whole class the Smurfs. They love this!



Interestingly, because the Grade 9s are all immature and crazy, they generally don't see colour. They don't differentiate that she's a Coloured and I'm a Black; they're all just friends. But by the time they get to Grade to 11, they have constructed these ideas of race and what race is better. To be frank, I think some kids' parents play a big role in this. I had a child once who asked, "Miss, what's colour bar?" I exclaimed, "Why do you even know that? Which teacher is teaching you that?" "No miss," the child explained, "my mother said it." You see, they learn what their parents feel at home, but they also

bring to school. I had a Coloured boy who insisted on calling Indian children ‘coolies’²⁵ and I said to him,

“You can't say that, it's offensive.”

He replied, “But Miss, my father says it.”

And I said, “Yes, in the privacy of his home. You can't say it in a classroom.”

You know, I believe that he shouldn't even be saying it in his home because now this child has learnt this word that he never even needed to learn. The influence of parents on their kids' attitudes is something I always see in my classroom.

Have any other history teachers experienced racism in the classroom? Are your learners conscious of colour? If so, please write. I'd love to know.

Emphasizing Education

22 February 2015

The whole idea of race and history came up again today, this time at home and it reinforces what I said previously about the role that parents play in their kids' ideas on race. I can tell you this. My father doesn't know anything beyond South Africa. I know that for a fact. He grew up in the rural areas of what was then the Transkei, a Bantustan for Xhosa people, left school in Standard 7 and became a carpenter. My mother, who has passed away now, was a machinist; she sewed clothes. Her education was also very limited. Together they had seven children, five girls and two boys.

My father is a staunch African National Congress (ANC) supporter. He follows South African politics, knows South African history and loves his country. He's very patriotic to South Africa, even though he believes everything they're doing is wrong. Somehow or another, my father has this idea that the ANC government is going to move *all* the Coloured people to Cape Town. He doesn't want to live in Cape Town and complains that Cape Town is not for him.

He's very crazy about that. But he still supports the ANC. He has an opinion on everything in South African politics, but truly he knows nothing much about the world. He believes he knows about World War II but he can't tell you any facts about it, not even who the Allied Powers were.

Despite the fact that his education was limited, when we grew up education was a big thing in our home and my father always emphasised, “They can't take it away from you!” My parents always

²⁵ Coolies is a term used to describe unskilled labour that was first brought to South Africa from India and Asia in the 1860s (Du Bois, 2012). Today it is used as a contemptuous and highly offensive term to refer to Asian and particularly Indian people living in South Africa.

enforced that we stay in school and become something. And we did! I and my brothers and sisters are all educated and successful career-wise. Education has proved the key to our success.

Choices and Challenges – teaching history, teaching the Holocaust

11 March 2015

Despite the huge support that we have for history at school, as a history teacher I'm still faced with numerous choices and challenges. When deciding what topics to teach there are practical decisions to make: what am I photocopying from the textbook? What am I writing? Do we have the materials for all these kids? Everything comes into it. Then I have to decide, what am I going to teach? Am I going to do snippets of it? Am I going to do a discussion on it? Am I going to do the whole thing? What am I going to do? And even more significantly, are we going to teach history at all?

You see, teaching history in South Africa is not an assured thing. Shockingly, it can simply be left out, despite being mandated as part of Grade 9 Social Sciences. My friend told me recently that the boys at a local urban boys' high school protested that history should be removed from the curriculum at their school and they won. The kids didn't study history that year; they chose accounting instead. I'm aware that history is not taught in all schools so fortunately history is a strong subject in our school. Our headmistress was a history teacher. She really loves history and she really feels that it's important for the kids to learn it, so she makes sure that history is pushed when the learners have to make their subject choices. In this way, many kids in our school do history and we have many history classes.

You can leave stuff out!

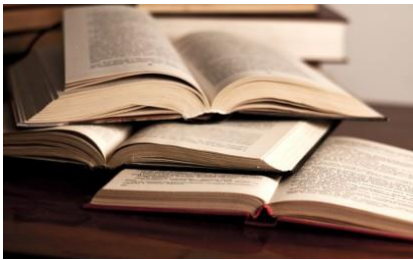
Last year was first time I taught Grade 11 history. I was finding my feet, so I taught everything, because I thought I was supposed to! And then I learnt the trick. You can leave stuff out! I hadn't known this. So, this year I left out a lot of things. But still, I don't think it's good. In my first year, I felt like I was in touch with my subject, while this year I felt like some of the kids missed out on certain sections. Last year I made my PowerPoints; I had my pointer; I was really ready whereas this year, I left out quite a few topics.

If you had to ask me what made me do this, I would probably answer, the race against time and to some extent where my interest lay. One of the topics I always leave out in Grade 11 is apartheid South Africa because we cover it in the last term of Grade 10 and again in the third term of Grade 11 when we teach apartheid South Africa under Eugenics. At that time, we deal with the pencil test, the idea of carrying the *dompas*²⁶ and then the learners look at it again in Resistance to Apartheid. So, I move on from it. South African history is so overdone and boring. I hate saying it but I don't like teaching it

²⁶ The official document required under apartheid South African law that Black people had to carry with them to prove their identity and stated where they could live or work. Literally means 'dumb pass'.
www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/dompas

because I feel like the kids learn it everywhere, be it in English comprehension or elsewhere. I believe that you can teach apartheid in one go, so I always feel like saying, “Let me rather teach them some world history!” I know that I have to come back to South African history later, but I always teach them some world history first and in Grade 9, that’s the Holocaust.

Choice, challenges, and changing the world



One of the factors that we as teachers use to determine what sections to teach is the textbook. Some textbooks have extensive information, which means they'll have about four pages on the Holocaust. Then apartheid might have eight pages and maybe three for Australia, so it depends on what the textbook focuses on.

Personally, one of the challenges I face in the classroom comes from the gap that I experienced between what I learnt at school and what I learnt at university, because sometimes I feel that I'm not properly equipped to teach certain things. On top of this, the curriculum keeps changing.

Teaching the Holocaust in Grade 11 can also be a challenge. At that level, it’s only a small section of the curriculum but I believe that it’s a turning point in history. In Grade 11 the Holocaust appears under the topic, *Ideas of Race in the 19th and 20th Century*. It’s a very small section that examines eugenics and the so-called scientific basis for racism by looking at Social Darwinism and Pseudoscientific Racism. There are four case studies: Australia, Nazi Germany, America and apartheid South Africa. As teachers, we get to choose whether to cover all four or we can look at what’s in the exam or we just leave it out if we want to. So, because the Holocaust is a very small section and it has been covered in Grade 9 many of the teachers feel, “Okay, we've done it for so many years we don't have to come back to it in Grade 11!” and they simply leave it out. I realised recently that somehow or another Grade 11 skips some parts of World History including the Holocaust. We scratch the surface of the Holocaust but we don’t focus on it. This is horrible because we leave out turning points. Some things in the world really impact everybody and should never be left out. The Holocaust should never be left out.

As history teachers, we don't look at the fact that **history is a subject that is there to change the world**. That's why we teach history. Children need to learn about the past to change the world. As teachers, I feel that we're not looking enough at that aspect of history. We're looking at it too concretely: this is the time we have, this is what we're going to cover and this is what we're going to leave out. In the end, it’s up to us, the teachers. We make choices about what is in and what is out.

Comments

Buhle Mkhize. This is so true! It's like someone has jumped into my head. I have thought many of those things when time is tight and I know that I am not going to finish the syllabus. But please clarify something. Why do you believe that the Holocaust was a turning point in history?

Florence Adams. There have been many wars in the world, Buhle, many. There was the Crimean War. There were wars before the Holocaust but this event involved the greatest loss of life. People were dying in Germany, people were not able to enter other countries and they were suffering. People lost their entire lives, their families, their history, and the world watched. It shows us humanity failed. Therefore, this was a turning point in history and it's something that I feel like every single person needs to get to a point where they know *something* about the Holocaust. Something!

One man, a single event

2 April 2015

Something that fascinates me is that by the time the kids get to Grade 11, whenever you mention World War II they know what the event was but they always just link it to one person, Hitler. They don't look at it broadly. They write so much on Hitler and not on the people who suffered because we teach about Hitler's birth, where he was born, why he felt he needed to rise in the ranks of the German army. We speak about the book that he wrote, the museum that he wished to build and his dream for Germany. We speak so much about him that it's almost like we idolise him. In fact, the way the textbook portrays him idolises Hitler, and some teachers are so stuck in the textbook that it takes away from what actually happened. The textbook paints a picture of who Hitler was, and then they give sympathy to him, to his mother, and it's like an excuse for what he did. That picture gets painted in the kids' minds and so many teachers focus so much on Hitler that when the kids hear 'Holocaust' they associate it immediately to 'Hitler'. The kids even learn about the Jews in primary school. Thereafter the kids start to say, "But you've got to say he was a very intelligent man to have accomplished all that." And it's the way they are taught that makes them feel that it's a *good* thing that he was able to achieve this.



So, when I teach the Holocaust I always make it known that Hitler was the *bad* guy! I never sympathise. There are times when I actually ignore the fact that he lived in poverty because that's not an excuse for what he did. I always try to tell the kids that; but they don't see that side of it. They don't see the people who suffered or those horrible striped clothes they had to wear. They don't see the tattoos on the arms. They don't learn about that because we focus so much on what the Nazis were doing in Germany and not on the people they were doing it to. People look at the stereotypes, and not

at the *events* that took place. In fact, many people regard the Holocaust as a single event. It wasn't about one day. It was suffering. It was pain. It was torment. And this is what we need to get our kids to understand.

Comments

Liyanda Khumalo. Florence, what do you mean by the Holocaust being viewed as a single event? Was it not a single event? As far as I know it took place from 1933 to 1945, so that makes it a single event.

Florence Adams. Hi Liyanda, thanks for your comment. I think we are both right in different ways. In the years that I've been teaching the Holocaust, I've become aware that some of the children don't really understand what happened because the way the Holocaust is taught can make children think that the Holocaust happened on one day, or in a very short space of time. That's also why the language in the textbook we use irritates me. The language used makes it seem like it was just such a small event in the world. When you're teaching the Holocaust I feel like just the name "the Holocaust" already makes children think it's a single event. So if you say, "the Holocaust" whereas we say "apartheid", apartheid sounds longer and I say to children, "the Holocaust, the Holocaust, the Holocaust", which sounds like a single event for them.

Sipho Kubayi. That's very interesting. So, do you believe that the language used in the classroom create misunderstandings for the learners?

Florence Adams. Definitely. It becomes difficult for the kids to see the Holocaust as this long, drawn-out suffering. They see it that way. That's why I believe that the words and the language we use in history are so important. It makes a child either understand what you're saying or just misunderstand everything and then they create their own view.

Brenda Gouws. Florence, what kind of other problems do the learners have with language? Do they understand words such as stereotyping and discrimination?

Florence Adams. Kids struggle with language. Apart from the words, children struggle in our school because of language generally. Our school is English home language but the kids' first language is isiZulu; their mother tongue is isiZulu. So they struggle. Some kids can't spell the words, even though we don't mark spelling at all in history. But I don't think all the kids know what the different concepts that are, what the different ideas are. For example, children struggle with the word "ideology" and you must say, "ideas". But they look at you as if to say, "What are you talking about? You are using big, big words that I don't understand," and so as a teacher you've got to be aware of this. I also feel that some teachers don't know much about

it themselves, so they teach the Holocaust incorrectly. Teachers need to expand their own knowledge.

Opportunity and Motivation Required

14 May 2015

There was some animated chatter in the staffroom today about the Holocaust being taken out of the curriculum. Some people thought it had been and others that it hadn't, and then I found out that it was still in. This led to an interesting conversation with my friend Lena.

I asked, "So, what's the hoo-ha about?"

Lena replied, "You know, with the way they're constructing the new CAPS, they're reducing everything, even the Holocaust."

"Why are we reducing the Holocaust?" I exclaimed, "Lena, why?"

She shrugged her shoulders, "Ach, no idea - but they're increasing *uhuru*."

"What's that?" I wanted to know.

"It's about some freedom in Africa," she replied.

"Really? We teach so many things in Africa! What makes the freedom in Africa more important than ... you know."

Since 1994 there have been many changes in the national history curriculum; so I really feel that our teachers need to have workshops on the Holocaust, especially with the new CAPS. The Department of Basic Education offered a workshop but their version of a workshop is to have a hundred people in one room and one person standing at the podium *reading* what the document says - so mostly teachers don't go.

But if teachers want to be better equipped to teach anything, government should make it a requirement that every single teacher (whether old or new) should get a further qualification; every teacher should do a post-graduate study. In the same way, I always say to the children, "I'm preparing you for life and for the world, not just for the matric pass."

As teachers, we need to ensure that learners obtain a certain percentage and we need to finish in time, but if teachers want to improve, they've got to expand their knowledge base. I can tell you that many of our teachers are not computer literate. One day a teacher who uses the *Foundations* textbook for Grades 10 and 11 asked me to get her an *Encounter* textbook in order to use its resources as she said that the other textbook was going to be used to set the exam. "Maybe the *Encounter* textbook will have different pictures," she added. I was stunned. "Why are you relying only on textbooks?" I

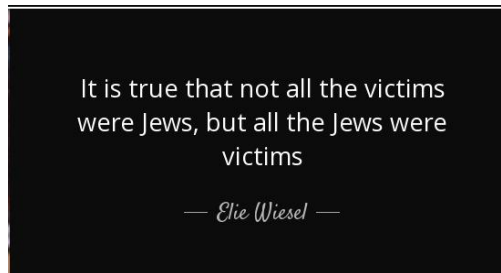
exclaimed, “You can go on the Internet! That’s where the textbook guys get their pictures.” Her reply was, “Eish. Too much work!” “No it's not,” I chided, “you click-click, copy-paste.” And I have to add that she’s certainly not old; she's 36 years of age. “It's just a lot of work,” she'll tell you. In fact, it seems that a couple of my friends who are history teachers are constantly complaining that everything is too much. Too much paperwork. Too much this. Too much that.

So everyone, as teachers we have to grab our opportunities but ... motivation is required. What motivates you every day?

Strangers Keep Out!

26 May 2015

When I was at school, my history teacher had a poster that has really stuck with me. It read,



She told us that what happened in Nazi Germany didn't only happen to Jewish people. There were also other people that suffered; like Black people and disabled people. The rest of the world suffered too. At the same time, there were people who sat back, governments who sat back, and watched for a long time before doing anything. She believed that governments need to act when something's happening because no matter how many protests that a small number of us make as individuals, nothing's going to happen. It's true. This has always stuck with me.

Do you have a moment in history that's stuck with you? Do you have a defining moment from your past that extends its fingers into your present? I look forward to hearing about it.

Emotion and Empathy

4 June 2015

I was reminded in class yesterday, what an emotional challenge teaching the Holocaust is. I'm always sad when I teach the Holocaust. I think it's because I'm a very emotional person. My emotions are automatically turned on so I cry very easily. When I first taught about the genocides in Rwanda and 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.



When I first taught it, it was something I didn't know much about. But as I read more and more through the textbook, it hurt. And so, when I teach it I always try to get the kids to a point of empathy first. 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. And some kids really laugh at certain things. Like if you show them a picture of the concentration camps with very thin children, they laugh. You've got to

get them to a point of empathy before you teach the Holocaust.

So, what is empathy?

For me it's putting yourself in someone else's shoes. Our kids are not able to do that because we're in the age of technology. Our kids don't think. They *Google* everything and they don't feel much for anybody. So, what I always say whenever I'm doing anything with eugenics, whether it's the pencil test or anything else, I say, "Close your eyes," and I try my best to paint a picture for them. I put them in the situation and say, "Now if this was your sister or your brother and all you could do was stand and watch, how would you feel?" I try to get them to a point where they're going to feel something. If you just dryly relate what happened, just give them the facts and figures, they feel nothing and they leave the classroom feeling nothing and then they write and they feel nothing. Some teachers emphasise dates and names and all these things whereas I always say, "Let's look at the people. Let's not look at a name and dates, let's look at the people," and I always try to get them to see it that way. No matter what you show kids in a classroom, if you show them something sad, it doesn't automatically get them to an emotional place, especially with other kids around. It's difficult for them to show emotion because they always feel embarrassed and honestly, the Grade 9s in my school are very, very immature.

The first response of many of our Grade 9 kids is, "Yoh Miss! For real? It happened?" That's always them! So to get a straight line to a point of feeling is difficult as compared to a Grade 11 child. Therefore, a good place to start teaching about the Holocaust with the Grade 9s is pictures. I show them where Germany is, because our kids don't know that. Then once they know where the place is, I paint a picture of *who* was involved and after that I come back and say, "Okay. What do you know about this?" Some are very enthusiastic because they know, but others don't know much and so I always try my best to get everybody to give a *little* bit of something. However, it's a big class and some just get left out.

Recently there was a girl in my class who called out, “Miss! I know about the Holocaust.” So I said, “Okay, what was the Holocaust?” “It was Hitler, Miss. It was Hitler. He was the one!” “What do you mean?” I asked. “He killed *all* the people, Miss!” And for me, I felt that that was what she had learnt in primary school; but it was time to move on and learn the true details.

Teaching the Holocaust well is a choice, though, because it’s up to each individual teacher to decide on their focus, history or geography. The teacher has to have a balance or a passion for what they do. You've got to want to teach it.

Comments

The Avenger: Well I think Hitler was the main person and he should have done a better job!

Sarah Britten. Florence, where do you think your empathy comes from?

Florence Adams. Sarah, I think I've always had it but I think it also developed when I listened to people I've met along the way. You know, I've always been lucky enough to meet such good, warm people. Where do you think empathy comes from?

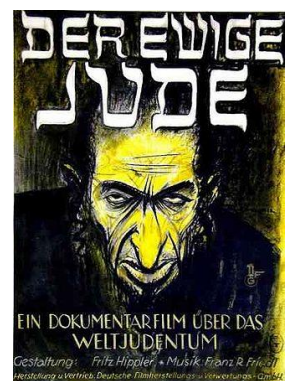


Stereotyping and Inappropriate Humour

18 June 2015

There's a famous picture in the textbook that I used when I first started teaching Grade 11. It's the same one that the teacher who was mentoring me always used. It's a cartoon of a Jewish man with a very, very big nose and it fell under the eugenics section. It showed the stereotype of Jews; that they love money and they have these very big noses.

When my mentor was teaching the kids this section and using this cartoon, he made it a joke and said to the children, “See this picture. See this guy's nose! This is what they're talking about!” The kids laughed and so the topic simply wasn't serious any more. The picture had lost its meaning. When you're trying to teach things with empathy you can't make the kids laugh; it's not there to make them laugh. But that's how he was teaching this source. I really wanted to stop him but I was supposed to be learning from him, so I didn't. But it was really not the way to teach the picture.



Emotional moments

One of the difficulties for me when teaching the Holocaust is that every time I teach pseudo-scientific racism I have an emotional moment, every single time because I always think to myself, “This is human life we're talking about,” and if we make children realise that it hurts us as teachers and it's sad for us and it's *bad*, then they start to feel that way too.

I also became very emotional when I was teaching about the Middle East in the section we do called Nationalism. I explained the difference between Islamic state and the Jewish state and talking about Palestine and Israel and discussed the religion behind it and then I showed them a related TV clip that I hadn't watched at home because I was in a hurry that morning. Suddenly during the clip I felt overwhelmed with emotion. I started crying and then two girls in the class started crying too. There were images of an explosion. There were kids on a beach and there was shooting, gunfire. There was an explosion further off and this child ... I cried and the child cried and the two girls cried. I felt terrible because the clip wasn't age appropriate, but then I realised that this was current news. If the kids were watching the news at home with their parents they would have seen this type of stuff, so I didn't turn it off. We continued and we watched this guy do his report and then I put it off. And then one of the boys said,

“Miss, is this today, like it's happening now?”

“Yes,” I replied.

“So like Miss, these Jewish people like from then, even now?”

“Yes,” I concurred.

Then another child commented, “So Miss, is this what you mean when you talk about things from the past a worming their way through into society today.”

“Yes!” I enthused.

I've mentioned this because there is crossover that happens when we teach Nationalism and it comes to the Middle East. This is a section that we are required to do and it filters across to the section on the Holocaust because when the children understand what happened during the Holocaust, they get the background for what happens in the Middle East. They understand that the history of the Middle East comes from a history of somewhere else.

Comments

Brenda Gouws. Hi Florence, I would like to know, what makes you so passionate about history? What drives you?

Florence Adams. I think it's that I feel like so many people don't know the true story of history. I think that when they teach history, many teachers are just concerned about time; we're looking at what we're going to leave out, what we can teach and I feel like we lose the real meaning of what we're supposed to be doing in there. When a kid comes in for a history

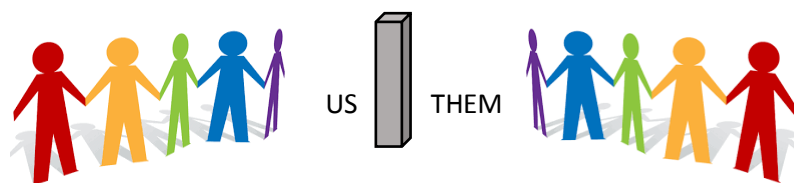
lesson and we say, “Take out your book. Write this down,” we aren’t teaching history. We’re making them write stuff that they’re never going to read again. But if we make these children *feel* what happened in history, they start to worry about it and I always tell them, “People like to say, history will repeat itself. We need to change that.”

Can We Be People?

24 June 2015

I came across an article recently that brought to the fore the horrific way in which people treat others when they think they are different from them. So, I always tell our children, “Listen, can we be people? Why must we be anything but people?” and whenever they come into the History class, I always tell them, “My Smurfs, we are people.” The children like that line. Sometimes they say, “Miss, miss, she’s not a girl, she’s a person.” And I add, “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.” So the kids know how I feel about race because I always make sure they know, including how I feel about what happened in Germany and they know not to mock the Holocaust because that upsets me.

But it took me a long time to get to this point. I’ve been teaching for five years and I hate to say but I did lots of bad things to children in history in my first year. I taught it all wrong. I’ll talk about this in a future post. But I finally learnt that feeling is the key. When kids feel sad and they feel hurt and they feel something for the next person; when they feel love and they feel joy and they feel togetherness and unity for a person, then they start to understand history. But if we’re going to teach children the scary things, and show them the bad man and show them the hero, that’s all they are ever going to learn about the story. But if we teach them feeling, they’re going to learn about the people in the story. That’s what we need them to learn.



Comments

Nhanhla Gumede. Florence, where do you think this inspiring lesson came from?

Florence Adams. I think I learned that we are all people from my history course during my teaching training. It was a very diverse class and we had a White lecturer. That was the first time I had been taught by a White woman. She used to say to us, that we are history students before we are anything else. Somehow or another when she said this I felt so elite and special, “I’m a history student.” And she always said to us that as history students we should know this and as a history student we should know that. You felt like you wanted to know more and

more. And so in my class I used say to the children, “As history students you should know this,” but now I've turned it into, “We are people and as people we should know this.” And I think that's where it comes from. That lecturer always made us feel like we were different. We were unique. We were history students.

And maybe this also comes from the fact that that I come from such a big family. My brother's married into an Indian family. I just don't like the fact that people always see colour first. We need to move away from it and history has a big role to play in changing things. If the history teacher always makes children see categories and little things to fit into, then you've lost the plot. A history teacher's supposed to say, “This is what it was but it's no longer that.” Now we are in a new place. I really feel like history's a very important subject. There's no history that's better and or more important than another history, although as I mentioned in my blog of 11 March 2015, some histories are turning points.

Kids, parents and the Holocaust

30 June 2015

Generally, I don't think that the parents from our school know much about the Holocaust. I don't think so. Some parents haven't even been to a museum. One assumes that parents should be able to help their child but they actually can't. They don't know much and they're generally not involved, especially those parents whose children are in our boarding establishment. I don't want to call these parents uneducated or illiterate but we've got a lot of parents that are not really in touch with the curriculum. I always say when kids get to high school, somehow or another, the parent feels it's the teacher's child now. I also feel like parents don't empower themselves; not all, but in *our* school situation. And kids lie to their parents about their results, their homework etc.

Also, I know for a fact that in our school we have a language barrier. Many of our parents insist on speaking isiZulu, but they send their children to an English school, so when they come in to parent-teacher functions, it is difficult to communicate. Sometimes I think they do it on purpose because they'll just keep quiet while you say everything, then their child will say it to them, then they'll say it to the child and the child will say it to you, so it becomes a struggle.



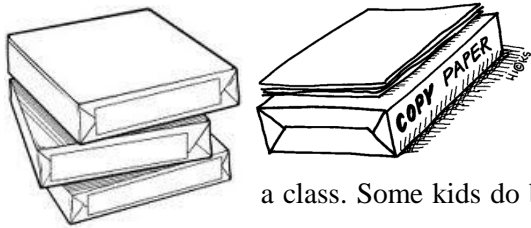
Tools of the trade and available resources

8 July 2015

When working in a privileged school that has sufficient financial resources, the teachers have access to both hardware and software. However, in my school we have one computer which is the secretary's

computer, a printer and a fax machine. These all sit next to the secretary. When you're printing exam papers you either do it at an internet cafe or at your home or you can ask the secretary to print your exam paper if she's not too busy. This is a problem.

Worksheets are also a problem. Teachers usually cut and paste for themselves. This is not the cutting and pasting one usually associates with computers, rather, the teacher photocopied from a textbook and then sticks it onto a white sheet. You'll literally cut and paste and make your own worksheet. This can be done at home if you have a copier there. I'm lucky because I won a photocopier machine – but some people don't have this resource.



As far as paper that we use goes, the school gives each teacher ten reams at the beginning of the year and each child is also required to bring a ream. However, not all kids can afford this. You get about twenty reams from a class. Some kids do bring a full ream while others bring half a ream and they just leave it in the office and then that's how the rolling off takes place for the year. Then it's up to the teacher to decide how you're going to use that paper. What I tend to do if I make a worksheet, is make sure that there's work on both sides and I keep a copy for the next year. A good thing with history is that each year you can recycle, depending on what you're going to teach. However, some teachers just don't, others waste.

Pictures are an important resource and I use them in my PowerPoints. I always try to get pictures, always, because in the textbook you get one small little picture and it's either very dark when you photocopy it and then you don't see what's happening or you end up telling the kids what's happening but they don't always 'get' you. So, I always try to get some pictures such as the most current map and an old map so that we can look at the differences.

Apart from using textbooks, I also use the movie *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*. I've watched it with my class twice. It's really a good movie, and although it doesn't focus so much on what's happening in Auschwitz, the children do get an idea of what's taking place there. There's also a documentary I use called *Band of Brothers*, which is very good, but because it's so long, my class has never watched it to the end - but we have looked at it. I also tried to get them to look at documentaries. The internet is very useful for that and I even record documentaries that appear on the History channel from time to time. But because it's so difficult to show it in the classroom, even if you have a PVR, so you have to go onto YouTube and get it there. In my experience sometimes the player fails but there's so much out there that you can use.

Museums are actually very important too, although they are often regarded as sort of dusty old places. We should all visit museums. I need to have an advert that shouts,

“Take your child to the museum! It's free!”

You know I walked into a museum once and it was empty. It was a Saturday morning and the museum was empty, but I said, if they were to bring some celebrities portrait into the museum, it would be full!

Whatever your challenges might be though, there are ways around them. Be creative and share your ideas. I can't wait to hear them.

Comments

Brenda Gouws. Hi Florence, I totally agree that pictures are very important when teaching history; as the saying goes, "A picture paints a thousand words." This is also true when teaching the Holocaust. I'm interested to know, though, where you find information on the Holocaust and how you use your resources.

Florence Adams. I come to the university a lot to use the internet and I use it in my class as well. I used to only use talk and chalk, which is what teachers always do, but now I also use PowerPoints. On a chalkboard you draw your little squiggles of the world and try and say "This is where Germany would be," but my supervisor at university said to us in our honours class, "Try your best to use technology in your classroom. Yes it can fail, it can, but, at the end of the day, go the extra mile. Make the child see that you are taking an interest and they will take an interest too." Even though we have one textbook per desk, it's not the same as a child looking at a different thing from the textbook. The kids must see that this supports that, so I try to use the internet a lot.

Anne Frank – just one name amongst many

14 July 2015



I have a gripe today. Why, I ask myself, is Anne Frank the only child we know by name from the Holocaust? I know she is well known by children and adults around the world for the poignancy of her diary that she wrote while hiding with her family from the Nazis, but I hate that we look only at her. She's not the only little girl who suffered. What if we had found the little journal or a little letter, or a little teddy bear of a little boy? Why must one person be idolised? I have no problem with Anne Frank, it's a great part of history, but why only her? There are many people that we need to look at. Why must one single Jewish person be acknowledged when there are *so* many others who suffered? We talk about her in Grade 9 but personally I'm glad that we don't even mention her in Grade 11.

You know, history needs to stop finding their heroes and villains and focus on more ordinary people!

Shock and scare tactics

31 July 2015



I've been reflecting on the change in the way I have taught the Holocaust. When I was an inexperienced teacher and trying to work out how best to teach the Holocaust, it was tempting to use shock and scare tactics. Certainly the first time I taught it 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.

Today I know better. That is not the way to start, even though I'm one of the teachers who started that way. You've got to start with feeling. I learned from my own experience that showing gruesome images is not the way to start. Other photographs can be used much more effectively, such as this pile of shoes. I would show it to my learners and then ask, "Where are the feet for those shoes?" Why were



there so many shoes? Even though it doesn't have the bodies splattered or a thin person, or people starving, it has so much meaning, so much more meaning and so much pain in looking at it. You know, when you look at a pile of shoes, shoes of the same colour but the size of those shoes, big and small, you wonder, "Where are the feet for those shoes?" This is a picture that says a lot.

So rather than shocking my learners, I now just make them feel. I like to paint a mental picture for them. I know that we've got to give the dates, we've got to give the facts, we've got to give the times and so on, but I always want to paint them into the picture. I want to open their imaginations and enable them to put themselves there.



And that's when I show them a picture of a young boy in a concentration camp. I cannot show them a picture of a young boy in a concentration camp when they have just come into the class laughing and sweating from running on the playground. If I show them a picture like this, they'll start laughing immediately. But if I make them feel like it's them, and they're there and they have a feeling, suddenly their minds are at ease and they're ready to learn. That's the thing that teachers don't do - we don't put the feeling there. The child's coming from so many other lessons. They've absorbed so much knowledge everywhere. They've had break, they've eaten, some of them are so full they just want to sleep. You've got to put them in the right mode to learn.

Comments

Brenda Gouws. Hi Florence. Please can you give us an example of the picture you might paint?

Florence Adams: Sure. So when I teach eugenics to my Grade 11s, 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's 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.

And then they have their little picture of themselves, where they've put themselves in this place.

Frieda Jones. Wow Florence. Really awesome. I'm going to try that next time I teach the Holocaust.

Brenda Gouws. Thank you so much for sharing, Florence. It's very moving.

Lindiwe Khumalo. Very interesting blog. Tell me, what do you do with controversial issues in the classroom? I have some difficult moments when I teach the Holocaust.

Dealing with emotional and controversial issues

7 August 2015

After last week's blog on emotion and empathy some of you wrote to me wanting to know more about and particularly how I deal with emotion. You also asked where I stand on controversial issues, so I'm going to address these two topics in today's blog.

Let me say upfront that I try and avoid emotion in the classroom because as a teacher, when you're emotional, the kids wonder if you're weird! Besides, I want them to feel, I want them to understand but I don't want them all sobbing and crying! I just want them to understand. I want them to be able to feel so that they can put themselves in that situation. But at the same time, if I'm crying and stumbling all over the class, I'd really look crazy and the kids would be saying, "Miss cries for everything!" So I try to stay away from the emotion.

I also make it clear where I stand on a controversial topic at the beginning of the lesson, so they know exactly how I feel and tell them if there's something I don't agree with in history. For instance, when I teach eugenics and Darwinism, I might say, "Listen, I'm teaching this to you but I don't believe in it. However, it is what it is." I am a Christian. I explain, "I don't believe that I evolved, but you're going to *learn* about this and it's okay if you don't feel the same way. But it's also okay that if you believe in this." And they will be reassured, "Miss is teaching it, but she's not saying we *have* to believe in it," because some children say, "Miss I didn't come from ..."

So, when it comes to the Holocaust, they know for a fact that I'm anti-Hitler, and I always speak about the fact that things in the past will always filter into schools. Recently a boy came to me and said, "Miss did you see the news? In the North West province, Miss, there were boys that are doing and girls doing this," and he showed me the Hitler salute." I replied cautiously, so as not to dampen his enthusiasm for the news, "Well I'm glad that you know what that is," and then we spoke for a long time about it and I eventually brought it to the whole class and spoke them about it.



Also, there was a boy in my class who drew the swastika in Tippex on his shoe, but he had little dots in between it and it was a design. I said, “You know, that's not a nice design, it's an ugly design. I let him know how *I* felt about it. I always say it's a horrible thing and you shouldn't make it into a beautiful symbol, there's nothing beautiful about it.

Teaching the Holocaust in the context of the Middle East

21 August 2015

Today I realised just how complicated and complex teaching the Holocaust can be. It's not only teaching about the past, but also addressing contemporary issues. This is particularly true when I teach the Grade 11s. Although it's not part of teaching the Holocaust, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict always comes up in this lesson probably because of the section we teach called Nationalism. I spoke about this in my blog of 18 June 2015. Nationalism covers the formation of Israel as well as the conflict in Gaza. This links to my teaching of the Holocaust because when the children have learnt about nationalism then they understand what happened during the Holocaust and what happens in the Middle East today. Teaching the Middle East covers about fifteen pages in the textbook which is quite extensive. This is a section that can't be left out because the department requires it to be in your internal exam. The learners have to know it.

However, it often raises heated discussions and I'm wondering how other history teachers feel about teaching the Middle East.

Comments

Aisha Naidu: You said that you work from the textbook. Do you find any bias in it when it comes to the Israel-Palestine question?

Florence Adams: Yes. In fact, one particular textbook is not allowed to be researched. I know this because I wanted to do a longitudinal analysis on it in my honours and I was told in no uncertain terms that I should choose a different textbook. I'm not sure why, but it definitely does have a lot of bias.

Aisha Naidu: Is it biased towards Gaza? Or the Palestinians? Or the Israelis?

Florence Adams: This is controversial, but I feel like there are a couple of cartoons that favour only the Palestinian side. I must say that it bothers me that when it comes to nationalism as there are many perspectives to talk about: African, Afrikaner, Ghanaian and the Middle East, but we are required to do the Middle East.

Brenda Gouws: Thank you for always providing us with such valuable insights in your blog. You address not only the Holocaust and history in general, but also topics that affect the

emotions of learners and teachers, and contemporary controversial issues. I hope to be reading it for many years to come.

Florence Adams. Thank you so much, Brenda. I'm very aware of my responsibility. As teachers we have the power to change a generation. We also have the power to cripple and destroy and sow seeds of hate and doubt in a child's mind. A teacher has the ability to steal a child's self-esteem by the stuff that we say to them, and that's sad. So I always do my best to enlighten and support my learners in the best way that I know how.

(Hannah)

An exchange of letters discussing Holocaust education

Dear Brenda,

I received your letter yesterday asking if I'm willing to participate in your research on Holocaust education and I'm thrilled to say yes, as I believe that education about the Holocaust is one of the most important topics in the Grade 9 curriculum.

You asked for my basic background information first, so here it is. I'm a twenty-seven-year-old History teacher and have been teaching the Holocaust for two years. I teach at an ex- Model C²⁷ school, which has mainly Black learners, but also some Indian and Coloured learners and the occasional White learner. I love teaching History although I must admit when I was at school I wasn't particularly interested in it, even though I was always good at it. During my Grade 9 school year I did an oral history project that piqued my historical interest and once I matriculated I set about choosing my career and seriously began to consider becoming a history teacher. However, it took a gap year and much deep contemplation for me to arrive at the conclusion that History teaching was for me as I realised that I really love the subject. With my decision made, I embarked on my university career where I was even more inspired by my history lecturer. From the first lecture he looked at history from a unique perspective. For him, history wasn't just a string of events that happened in isolation, but rather an amazing story that has to do with everything.

As far as my learners go, last year I had a wonderful, responsive class. I must admit I found it shocking initially that only one of my thirty-five learners had heard about Hitler, a couple said that the name sort of rang a bell and the rest knew absolutely nothing about him or the killing of the Jews. I had gone in thinking that they would at least have some basic knowledge about Hitler. Nevertheless, the class was responsive and interested. Their ignorance probably shocked me because of my own German background and personal knowledge of the events of World War II, including the Holocaust, which came mostly from my reading of *The Diary of Anne Frank* when I was eleven years old. In fact, this was how I first knew about the persecution of the Jews in Germany and that the Holocaust was something that happened to real people. It brought the Holocaust to life through the words of someone young that lived and died through it. To me, her diary was more than just a story of the past.

This year, however, I have experienced many more difficulties with my History class as the learners simply showed no interest in what happened during the Holocaust. This could be due to the implementation of the new CAPS, as the Holocaust is now only a very small section of the curriculum

²⁷Model C schools are government schools that are administered and largely funded by a governing body of parents and alumni. They were previously White schools under the apartheid regime.

and as teachers we have had to teach more about the World War II battles, rather than the violation of human rights or what happened to the Jews. Even more distressing is the fact that the learners this year have been completely unable to empathise with the victims. Even when I told them that this was an actual event and what if it happened to their families, they just laughed said, “It’s not important! It was in the past and we must move on from that.” I tried to explain that the Jews have been persecuted throughout their history and Hitler used antisemitism as one of his tools, along with propaganda, terror and violence, to unite Germany, but the learners just didn’t grasp the importance of the section at all, not even in relation to apartheid.

Despite my disappointment and frustration, I remain passionate about teaching the Holocaust, partly because of my belief in the importance of teaching it in South Africa and partly because of my family history, which is intricately intertwined with my teaching of the Holocaust. You see, my grandmother was German, and she lived in Germany for the duration of World War II, including during the period of the Holocaust, and she regaled me with stories about her experiences of that time. I will happily expand on this in future letters if you feel that it is relevant for your study.

Yours sincerely
Hannah

Dear Hannah

Thank you for responding so promptly and positively to my request to participate in my study. I look forward to learning more about your family your understanding of Holocaust education and how your personal story has impacted on your teaching of the Holocaust.

Classes will always differ in their responses to the same history, so I hope you have a more positive experience again next year and in the years to come. I was interested to read your observations regarding the difference between the previous NCS Grade 9 History curriculum and the current implementation of CAPS, particularly with regard to the content related to the Holocaust. There are definitely differences that I see impacting on the way it is taught, particularly the shifting of the spotlight away from human rights.

It appears that your connection to both history and the Holocaust runs deep, and I can’t wait to learn more of your story, your grandmother’s, as well as your teaching of the Holocaust to Grade 9 learners. By the way, did your grandmother ever speak about the Jews who were living in Germany during World War II? And can you tell me some of the lessons you might have gleaned from her experiences?

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

Brenda

Dear Brenda

My grandmother was a typical blonde haired, blue-eyed German, unlike me, because although I appear blonde, my hair colour comes out of a bottle and my eyes are brown. I loved spending time with her, with her white hair and wrinkled hands. She made me laugh because she would sing to me and I was always anticipating that she'd break into a German song that the soldiers always sang. She sang it to me every time I went to see her. Unfortunately, that wasn't very often as she lived in another city, but I loved visiting her. She was always funny. She would absolutely smother me in kisses and love and food, make me eat and eat and eat. And she had so many things in her house, like all these ornaments so she was entertaining to be around. I can honestly say that she influenced my love of history because when I learnt about World War II I felt a direct connection with it because of her being German.

She was about twelve years old when World War II started and about sixteen when it ended. It appears that her family was quite wealthy because when she spoke about The Great Depression she said that it didn't affect them at all and commented that she didn't think that it was as bad as other people said. I don't think they ever battled financially and they certainly never used food coupons or anything like that. Even during the war, I don't think she suffered much, except when bombs were dropped on them, then they had to go into bunkers and that's all. Mostly I remember my grandmother's laughter and the fun we had, but whenever she spoke about the war she cried, even though she was young at the time.

Apart from the time that I spent with her as a child, I learnt more about her story during an interview that I conducted with her for my matric oral project. At the time, she told me about her war experiences, about how the German cities were bombed and how scared she and her family and friends sometimes were. At that time that I spoke to her she was about eighty. I was moved by the fact that all those years later it still affected her. I remember she told one story of the time that she was in a bunker when the Allies dropped a bomb. Nothing happened, but she told me how a girl grabbed onto her arm and for an entire day the girl didn't let her go. She was horrified and said, even until she died, that if anyone touched her arm she would freak out. She simply could not bear anyone grabbing her. It dawned on me then that you don't learn that kind of history in school. You don't learn that the Germans were scared and that German women and children had bombs dropped on them. You just tend to be under the illusion that the Germans were uniformly bad and they were bombing everyone else's countries and cities and that nothing happened to them.

I must say that I regret not having asked her more questions but at the time of the interview I was only sixteen years old and it simply didn't cross my mind. I can tell you that she never mentioned Jewish people and she never mentioned that they died. She mostly just described the war as she experienced it

personally from a young age. The result was that I was fascinated with this war that she spoke of. I don't recall my grandmother saying much about Hitler, but as I said, I didn't really push her for details. She never mentioned that she saw him or what he was like. She just emphasised that her family weren't Nazi supporters or supporters of Hitler although I can't be sure whether that's the truth or not because I've seen photos of all her brothers in Nazi uniform bearing the swastika and they're all sitting there quite proudly. In retrospect, maybe she just said that because later it was bad to be seen as a Nazi supporter. Nonetheless, she was very proud of her nationality and simply loved being German.

You know, Brenda, I believe that ultimately, it's the winners who write history, so the Germans (as the losers) were seen to be doing all the bad. One lesson that has stayed with me since I interviewed my grandmother is that there are two sides to every story in history and I even wrote that in my oral project. You don't learn that bad things happened to German people too. You only learn about the bad that happened to the British people and all of their allies. That was fascinating, because it was the beginning of my understanding that there are two sides to a story: the side that you're supposed to learn, which is written by the winners; and then there's a whole other side, a whole other story and I believe that you should empathise with the losers too.

I hope your thesis is going well.

With sincere good wishes

Hannah

Hi Hannah

Thank you for sharing your grandmother's fascinating story with me. It clearly illustrates how valuable it is to interview an older member of the family and to have direct access to their memories. As you've discovered, each person has a unique perspective on events. I was surprised that she never mentioned the Jews at all, nor from what you've said so far, did she speak about the horrors of the Holocaust. This reminds me a bit of myself as I can honestly say that even though I grew up in apartheid South Africa, I was simply not aware of what was happening under the banner of apartheid.

Also, hearing from someone you love who was on the losing side of a situation has provided you with insight into the complexity of human behaviour. Your observation that there are two sides to a story is a valuable one in enabling you to assess situations and I'm sure this must have helped you in your teaching not only of the Holocaust but also of other situations, where you can see both sides. Does this colour how you see life in general?

Did you learn anything from her about her views on Nazi ideology or anything else that you can share with me? What about the rest of your family?

I look forward to hearing from you.

Brenda

Hi Brenda,

Yes, I do feel that I see both sides. I never think there's one side. Even when my learners are having an argument, I won't listen to one only. I say to one, "Okay, you said that and that," and then to the other, "now you tell me, what he said, what he did," and somewhere in there you're going to find common ground of the general idea of what happened between the two stories. I suppose you don't really realise but when you unpack it, yes, seeing both sides does colour how I see life in general. I must say, I haven't thought like that for a long time.

Thinking back, my grandmother had strong nationalistic ideas. I can't say whether or not she followed Nazi ideology, but I can tell you that she hated every other race, other than Germans. To her, the English people were terrible, the Americans were terrible, and the Germans were the best, the absolute best. Their education was better than anyone's. She was so proud that when she was twelve, she was learning Latin and ancient Greek, unlike South Africans who don't learn these languages in school at all.

My family is a large one. My grandmother was one of nine children. Two infant siblings died when they were small and of the nine, six were boys. She always spoke about her brothers dying in the war and how her mother, my great-grandmother, died of a broken heart a few months after the death of her last son. All six brothers died within two months of each other.

My grandmother met my grandfather when Germany was divided into East and West. In a spontaneous gesture he gave her cigarettes and that won her over. Later they moved to England and lived in Oxford for a while before relocating to South Africa. It appears that she never needed to work, and she had very expensive tastes and a lavish lifestyle. Regrettably though, she could be very difficult and insulting to people, quite racist actually, especially with regard to Indian people. I don't know why, but she had a particular loathing for them. So, I suppose in general she wasn't a people's person, in fact, she didn't like people at all and it seemed that she only had time for her family, not even her children's marriage partners. She liked her children and her children's children, end of story. Ultimately, she was one hundred percent German, brought up in Nazi Germany, loved everything German, and even today she loves being German. But in the end, she couldn't even speak German; although maybe she didn't want to speak it to avoid the post-war taint or maybe it was just that there was no-one to talk to. I absolutely adored her. She died about four years ago.

Because I had a close connection with Germany and World War II, as a scholar that was always my favourite part of history, so, as a History teacher, when I teach about World War II, I tell my learners about my heritage and my grandmother and they are like, “Wow!” They think it’s awesome that I know someone who was in the war. For them it’s important to see a personal connection. This makes the topic interesting because many events in history are foreign to them.

I think that’s all I remember for now. Please feel free to ask any questions and I will do my best to answer them.

Cheers

Hannah

Dear Hannah

I’m sitting in beautiful Cape Town on a warm sunny day as I write to you. Thank you for your last update. Personal stories are so important because they reveal not only the human side of the story, but also the importance of learning about the past from those who were there. Your grandmother’s story is fascinating and particularly how it connects you to your teaching of history, but how terribly tragic and heart-breaking that she suffered the loss of six brothers followed not long after by her mother. I was really sad to hear that.

In your next letter, please will you outline for me how you teach the Holocaust, your methodology and so on.

Many thanks in advance.

Kind regards

Brenda

Hi Brenda

Cape Town sounds wonderful. I hope to spend some time there over the next school vacation.

Generally, when I teach the Holocaust, I first teach about Hitler and then gradually come to the Jewish people, not simply blurting out that they were killed in gas chambers. Learners need to know that Hitler did not come into power and immediately had gas chambers to kill the Jews. I explain how it happened progressively. They need to understand the steps that were taken.

Interestingly though, when I began teaching the Holocaust at the beginning of last year, my Head of History instructed me not to focus too much on Hitler, to avoid World War I and to jump straight into the persecution of the Jews and the Holocaust. He suggested that I concentrate on the human rights aspect of the Holocaust and not so much on what happened as this was the focus of the outcomes-

based NCS at the time. Fortunately, we are given a great deal of academic freedom as teachers and because I felt passionate about this section, I nevertheless decided to go into some detail about Hitler including how he came to power, how he felt about the Jews and his ideas about the master race. This proved to be very successful.

So, I teach how at first in schools the Jews would be segregated, made fun of because they were Jewish, and then eventually it became an actual law that Jewish people were not classified as German. It didn't matter if you were born in Germany or if your parents were born there, you simply weren't German. And, I tell the learners that about the punitive laws governing Jews. For instance, they couldn't go out at certain times and they could only sit on certain benches. You see, by segregating the Jews, the Nazis were making it known that Jews were different from 'normal' Germans; so different that they had to have separate amenities, such as benches. The learners knew what happened in the concentration camps; what people had to wear and everything that happened to them in terms of disease and starvation and when I showed them pictures of the gas chambers where the Jews were murdered, they were mortified. I also teach about the invasion of Poland and the Einsatzgruppen and how Jews had to dig their own graves, were lined up and shot. This is always a shocking part of Holocaust teaching. When my learners hear about these squads and how they shot defenceless children, they learn how deep the hatred for these people went. Also, they learn about the psychological effect it had on the members of the Einsatzgruppen, which teaches them that not all men were heartless killers. We discuss the concentration camps and how the Jews actually lived in these camps before they would be sent to gas chambers and I show them pictures of very thin people, like the picture of the liberation of Buchenwald that you sent to me, that shows the reality of the situation without being too graphic for fifteen or sixteen year olds. But it's also important for me to tell them that there was German resistance, such as the students of the White Rose Movement. You see, not all Germans supported Hitler, like in South Africa where not all White people supported the apartheid government.

In a nutshell, I explain that it's a process, which went from the persecution of the Jews and the use of laws to the final result of the actual planned killing of Jews. It's not that Hitler came to power and said, "Okay everyone, let's hate the Jews and BAM! they all did." It was a process and I don't think that is emphasized much, or it wasn't in my little guideline I was told to follow by my Head of Department.

I must say, with CAPS we now teach the learners about battles and to be honest, they're not very interested in that, nor am I. The battles have their own importance but as far as I'm concerned, the political side is much more important - what happened to the Jews, the violation of human rights and how we eventually got to human rights. I teach them that you can't kill a person because they're different. To me, that's more important and relevant to them than learning about the Battle of Britain. We also discuss that the Holocaust was a gross human rights violation, but that at the time there was

no such thing as human rights. I actually discussed this with one of my colleagues Jade, on *WhatsApp* and we spoke about how the focus has moved away from human rights with the latest CAPS. As we said:

Jade: Hannah, you mentioned in our last History teachers meeting that we need to be teaching human rights. I think your ideas are very valuable, so how would you actually integrate this into your classroom practice and do you relate it to your lessons on the Holocaust?

Hannah: Well, I think I would speak about the whole formation of the United Nations and generally about human rights. I want to teach the learners that we need human rights. For instance, children shouldn't be working, they should be going to school, have shelter and be loved. This is important because it's what makes us human. That's how we're supposed to live; we're supposed to protect children. The reality is that children are neglected, their parents abandon them, they have no home and they sleep on the streets.

Jade: How did your history class respond?

Hannah: Actually, I used it last year and they responded very well. They understood it, because it's something they see all around them; they see poor people, they see people begging with their children and they know that's not how people are supposed to live. But you know, Jade, this year there is nothing on that in the CAPS Grade 9 History curriculum, and we weren't told to go into it, so I'm concerned that we aren't teaching human rights.

Jade: Yes, I noticed that too because teaching about human rights is very important, especially with all the xenophobic violence that we have in South Africa.

You see, I also believe that discussions around human rights are important because of the whole problem with racism in South Africa. I tell my learners, "Learning about the Holocaust is important because it's something that actually happened to people, a group of people. I want them to know that racism is not just about black and white as they believe. The Jews might have looked slightly different, but they were White people and they were persecuted by White people - so it's nothing to do with racism. It has to do with the fact they are different. They believed in something different and so they were blamed for everything that went wrong in Germany. The whole hatred of the Jews didn't start with Hitler, but I don't really tell them it comes from other people who hate them; their whole history they've been persecuted. Hitler managed to get a whole nation through education, through schools and through teachers to think about Jewish people the way he did. That kind of thing did interest them.

Last year especially my learners were completely fascinated and horrified that someone could kill all these people just because they were a bit different. They were fascinated with all that was going on. I also showed the learners a video of human rights, how you are supposed to be loved, and then the

reality out there such as a desperate, poor person sitting on the street and they really did engage with it. I told my learners, “You can't just go around killing people, because there are people now that will stop that from happening,” because that is a question the learners have asked before, “What if people decide now to start killing the Jews, what if White people?” It really distresses me that this year the learners just didn't see the connection to human rights even though I explained to them why it was important to us in South Africa because many of the apartheid leaders were educated in Nazi Germany and that's where they got their racial ideas from, their racial thinking. Just as Jews could only go out at a certain time and they were put into ghettos at one point, so White people in South Africa had to stay in one place while Black people, Coloured people, Indian people were moved somewhere else. They were totally separated from one another. I mean if it weren't for that Nazi education maybe we wouldn't have had apartheid.

So this year it wasn't such a good experience teaching the Holocaust and normally I love it; it's my favourite section, it's interesting, it should interest them, it should horrify them. But this year it just didn't hit home. Even with the latest xenophobic violence²⁸, the learners appear to have learnt little about the dangers of racism.

By the way, do you know the book, *To Kill a Mockingbird*? That's the one in which a little boy asks his mom why Hitler is killing all the Jews because they're White people too. I use this book to teach that people must love each other, that there's no need for hate between people just because they are different. I use the example of the boy in the book, who believed that one should only hate people if they're Black or different to you.

So, you see Brenda, I believe that it is important to emphasise to the learners that not everything is about race, because to them everything is racist but I'm often shocked at their ignorance in this regard. They are too quick to jump on the racism issue. For instance, one of my learners told me recently that all White people are Afrikaans, even though I am clearly White, and I speak English. So, if I speak about racism, I always emphasise, “You can't say White people are racist, you can't say Black people are racist. It's people who are racist.” The learners are often surprised to discover that in the Holocaust it was White people killing White people and I have to explain to them that this is because the Jews are different in other ways - it's not their skin colour that makes them different. So ja, there are so many lessons that can be learnt with the Holocaust, it *is* an important section - definitely - *the* most important section, I think.

With best wishes

Hannah

²⁸ One of the most recent bouts of xenophobic violence took place in October 2015 in Grahamstown, South Africa.

Dear Hannah

I like your strategy of using the book, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, to engage young learners. It's also a little different from using *The Diary of Anne Frank* as most teachers do.

I enjoyed reading your WhatsApp conversation with Jade. It was very topical and highlighted the social importance of teaching about the Holocaust as a case study for the most extreme violation of human rights. I recently came across this comment made by the ANC's KZN chairperson, Sihle Zikalala who said, "South Africans should be taught at young stage to despise racism. To achieve this, the department of education (sic) should ensure that life orientation currently taught in our schools has extensive content that deals with social cohesion and racism."²⁹

I wanted to write to him to tell him that all people need to do is teach what's in the curriculum! The Holocaust, which is supposed to be taught to all Grade 9 learners nationally, was included in the Grade 9 curriculum for that exact purpose – to teach values, uphold human rights and teach about the dangers of racism. After all, the Holocaust was an illustration of one of the most extreme instances of racism and discrimination! Also, Grade 9 is the appropriate year to teach the Holocaust if you are trying to get across a social message because it's an exit year for learners who do not wish to study history, so Grade 9 is the last year that all learners have been mandated to study history. The problem is that many schools simply do not teach History at all, favouring those subjects that students perceive as being able to make them money in the future instead, such as the Sciences.

So, in the light of our discussion on racism, I would be very interested to know whether or not you teach apartheid and how you teach it in relation to the Holocaust. And have you come across any teaching techniques other than multimedia that work for you?

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Brenda

Dear Brenda,

To me, the most important thing is making that connection with what happened to the Jews in Germany and what happened during the time of apartheid in South Africa, because it's part of the Grade 9 curriculum this year to learn about apartheid and you teach it after the Holocaust because of the connection between the two.

For me, this connection starts with the laws. Jews had laws passed against them because they were Jewish. Black people had laws passed against them because they were Black. The Holocaust was located in another country, whereas apartheid is unique to South Africa, but segregating people in

²⁹ News 24, 2016-01-17

terms of race, or religion, or anything else, has happened everywhere in the world. So as South Africans, we cannot say, "Poor us, poor us!" It has happened and maybe it makes it less sensitive for the learners to speak about apartheid after they have learnt about the Holocaust because in my opinion, the Holocaust was a million times worse because of the systematic killing of the Jewish people, while apartheid didn't quite end in mass killing, otherwise you would have had the same end result of what happened to the Jewish people.

And that's important in the South African context and that's I think it's important to teach about it but also the fact that you can't just hate people because they belong to a certain race, because they have a certain religion, because they look different. I also taught them about the other victims too and they knew about all the people who were persecuted.

It's really quite amazing that the learners in my class, most of who come from a nearby Black township, know absolutely nothing about the Holocaust. It's very distant to them. And in many instances when I tell them what happened, and this is how people felt, I almost have to tell them, so you are supposed to feel this way in response. It distresses me that they don't think for themselves, although I do understand that the Holocaust is a difficult concept for them to understand as fifteen-year olds.

I must say, that to try and explain very difficult concepts I sometimes use humour and that has worked very well for me. For instance, when I'm trying to explain that it wasn't only Hitler who believed in the perfect race, it was common at that time, also in the United States of America and there was this false science that *this* would be the perfect race. To try and explain it I use the approach of dog breeding and I'd say, "If you want a purebred dog, you know, if you want a Pit bull, (they all know Pit bulls), if you want a Pit bull are you going to take a Pit bull mom and a Chihuahua dad?" and they would say, "No, no, no, no, no!" Then I'd say, "Because if you do, then you're going to get a pavement special!" and they would shriek with laughter. I would explain that if you want a good Pit bull, you are going to breed two good Pit bulls and then they would better understand the concept of eugenics and Hitler's obsession with creating a perfect race.

I tried to explain to them what Hitler thought the perfect race was - which is actually difficult. You have to explain that Hitler's perfect race was someone with white skin, blonde hair, and blue eyes, someone who is physically and mentally perfect. So, anyone who wore glasses was not the perfect race, and even people who were shy were considered to have a mental disorder. This included Black people, Jehovah's Witnesses but also White people.

I believe that this obsession with looking perfect led to the whole self-hate concept; some of the Jewish people hated themselves for being Jewish. This is possibly what is being illustrated in the photograph of the woman on the bench hiding her face. Maybe she was ashamed of being Jewish. In

the same way, some Black people today hate themselves for being Black, so they come up with the idea that to be lighter-skinned means that you're more beautiful. I see that in the co-ed class, the fair girls have all the boys after them while the darker girls are teased all the time simply because they are darker-skinned. I taught them that this is self-hate. I ask them, "Why is a person beautiful because their skin is fair?" The girls want the whole European hair kind of thing and they'll put the extensions in and they put on pink lipstick because it all boils down to looking European. I don't think they even realise that that's what they're doing. And so, I think there are a lot of lessons that can be taught teaching the Holocaust, such as you can't just hate someone because they look different. And you don't just judge a person based on their actions. You try and understand where they come from. Even though I find it shocking that the learners don't know who Hitler was, if you think about where they come from, many don't have electricity, TV, access to books or a library; I have to understand that. So I teach them where different countries are; that people have different cultures, different languages; and how everything started like that. To me, history is the best vehicle to teach learners that people are different and just because they're different, doesn't mean they're bad.

With warm regards

Hannah

Dear Hannah

Thank you for sharing your insight into the connection between the Holocaust and apartheid. Your message to the learners that as human beings we should not simply hate another person because they have a different philosophy, or religion, or race is an important one. It's also particularly relevant in the current situation in South Africa where we have seen increased tensions around issues of race.

By the way, your analogy with the dogs was hilarious. I'm sure it must have stuck in the minds of your learners. You have a very amusing turn of phrase.

Hannah on a different note, what resources are available to you and which ones do you find to be the most useful both for you and your learners?

Best

Brenda

Hi Brenda

When looking for information I do a great deal of research on the internet. Some of my resources include websites such as Wikipedia and YouTube. YouTube is the best, because you can type, for instance, 'persecution of the Jews'. Then you can pick what you would like to watch, such as Hitler's Rise to Power and for the learners it is way more interesting than reading. You can just spend ten minutes listening and watching a video and you can gain a whole lot of knowledge. Rather than me speak for an hour, they can watch a video and it will have more of an effect. But we don't have

internet access at school. I have access at home, so if I want to download YouTube videos, I just download them and then I set my projector up at school. I believe that seeing videos it makes a huge difference, like at the richer schools where they have Wi-Fi, videos and so on, whereas we don't so I spent my own money buying curtains for my class and buying a projector. The learners had never seen a projector and were fascinated when I showed them a little natural science animation of a fish in water and the fish was just swimming; they were completely fascinated. But last year the headmaster was constantly moaning at the teacher who is my superior that when he walked past my classroom he couldn't see in because the curtains were drawn, and it was dark. It was certainly not so dark that the learners couldn't see, it was just not bright and light, but it was so much better because they could see the videos. Because of that, this year I've had this long wait, and no one will explain why I'm not getting my curtains! My projector is a very important resource for me in the classroom, so I hope to get it up and running this term. Without it I'm stuck with printed notes, which simply don't have the same effect. They're not clear; the learners aren't looking at them. It's so much better when you can teach with pictures in colour and I must say they can see them more clearly if they are projected, even if they are in black and white.

Actually, I use many photographs in my PowerPoint presentations too. For me, PowerPoint is easier to teach with than the board, as I don't have to turn around to write something on the board, because that's when you lose the learners, you just flip through slides, show them pictures, it makes it more real for them. Seeing pictures makes a huge difference. And they respond so well to them, to the personal side of things. For example, I show the learners how the Jews were lined up and then shot. From this they can see that this is something real, something that happened. They are horrified at seeing a gas chamber and horrified at the piles of gold teeth, and shoes and seeing how many people died. And when they see how emaciated people have become, they often gasp and say, "Oh my word, I can't believe this! Look how skinny that person is! How can someone live like that?" On the other side of the coin, however, some of them laugh and joke and behave very badly, jeering, "Oh! This looks just like Siphon (a skinny boy in the class)" and that's when I could really strangle them. That's where I say to them, "What if this happened to you? Or your brother, or your mother, is it then as funny?" Then they reply, "Oh no, sorry," but I know that is an empty apology and that it's still a joke to them.

I also use films and documentaries. The learners loved watching the film, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, which I showed in class and, most importantly to me, they realised that this really happened to people. It was the real thing. And last year I showed many documentaries, such as ten-minute clips on Hitler's speech. To be honest, it didn't matter what he was saying, it was just how he spoke and from that the learners could understand the power of his oratory. The learners also listened to the speech that Barak Obama made at Mandela's funeral. Everyone was interested. It was how he spoke, not necessarily what he said. The learners then understood that the way to get a nation to listen to you is how you speak. How Hitler spoke was important.

I also take the opportunity to show them Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*, which my grandmother gave to me. I always tell the learners that Hitler wrote this in jail and that it gave him a lot of support and promoted his ideas, including his thoughts on racism and *lebensraum* or living space. The learners respond with awe to the fact that they can see and feel a copy of the actual book and it makes it more real for them.

I hope your thesis is going well.

Ciao

Hannah

Hi Hannah

It seems that you are facing some real challenges by working in an economically disadvantaged school but well done for taking the situation into your own hands and purchasing the resources you need to best engage with your learners. You have obviously given a great deal of thought to your methodology and the way in which you approach your teaching of the Holocaust and it appears that your use of multimedia is very successful. In fact, this strategy is supported by a study done in 2009 on the use and development of multi-media tools in South African schools, particularly the use of educational DVDs in rural areas where learners do not have access to libraries or the internet (Bester, Els, & Blignaut, 2009).

Your resources are well balanced and innovative, and the wide range of multimedia provides depth to your teaching of the Holocaust so it's a great pity that you are restricted in your use of your projector, particularly as you have gone to the expense of buying it yourself.

Now, apart from the challenges you faced with a disinterested group this year and the restrictions on your use of rich multimedia, do you face any other challenges when you teach the Holocaust?

Warm regards

Brenda

Dear Brenda

I definitely have a problem with time. I would love to extend my teaching of the Holocaust to asking the questions such as, "Why do you think Hitler did what he did?" or "If you were Hitler what would you have done?" but that's sort of impossible when you have to do certain themes by a certain time. The big, main and first question learners always ask, is "Why the Jews?", and I don't get time to deal properly with that and a question that confuses the learners that we don't have time to pursue is, is Hitler bad or good? But at the end of the day they have to write the exam and they have to give certain

answers for it, so how I would love to teach history doesn't quite happen. I have to sort of tell them this is what happened, this is how people felt, you're supposed to feel this way, so that's how you must feel. Also, I think the learners have to be a bit older than Grade 9 to grasp some of the complex concepts. I've tried showing them opposing views, but it doesn't work with them. It's almost like they can't think for themselves. I have to think for them.

As far my classes go, at the moment mine is the biggest and the worst. They were previously divided into smarter classes and less smart, and although I feel that's supposed to be wrong to do, nevertheless it works better because if you have a stronger class you can work at it at a different speed and you can do different things with them. You can do higher order concepts than with the lower classes. Now we have this whole mix thing and now in my top class I have ten learners, with seven learners that failed last year. So they're weak. And they still don't care and they're disruptive. They walk around, make a noise. It doesn't matter if you are the best teacher, very strict, there are about five boys who go out of their way to get attention in class. They don't care. They'll get 5%, 12% because they don't do any work and you can warn their parents, but it makes no difference. Every teacher has a problem with them. That class I taught last year, they were amazing. They were smart; they asked questions and now this year, completely different.

Even so, I don't generally have discipline problems, even with the terrible Grade 9s. I'm happy that learners come to me afterwards, and they know they can ask me anything. One of the other history teachers feeds hatred in his classroom and even amongst other teachers. But to teach learners hatred that we're supposed to be forgetting, doesn't help. The learners are very vulnerable, and they do listen to teachers, so anything you say is regarded as the truth. So, when you're teaching it, that's what you're going to think. Therefore, you have to be very careful when you're a teacher, what you say. And there's just some that don't care.

Anyway Brenda, I must end off for the time being. I hope my comments have been helpful.

Cheers

Hannah

Dear Hannah

Thank you so much for all your valuable input. I think that's all for now. I'm most grateful for your participation in my study. It has been fascinating and you have provided me with very rich material. Your personal story clearly colours your teaching of the Holocaust. I will be in touch with you again as soon as I have transcribed our interview, to get your feedback.

With warmest good wishes,

Brenda

(John)

From Zimbabwe to South Africa – a history teacher’s Holocaust teaching journey

Interview transcript from a one-hour television special documentary on a refugee history teacher’s perspective on teaching the Holocaust in South Africa, for the series *Holocaust Education in South Africa - Personal Stories Inform Practice*. The host of this segment is Brenda Gouws, a Holocaust education researcher at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Presenter: John Chiyangwa, welcome to the programme. Thank you for joining me to talk about Holocaust education in South Africa and your perspective on teaching this complex and often emotive subject.

John: Thank you for giving me the opportunity to be on the programme.

Presenter: Having you here today provides the viewers with an opportunity to learn more about how refugees and other foreigners are making an impact in South Africa, but also how the Holocaust might be used to change attitudes towards racism and, in particular, xenophobia in South Africa. We will start by talking to you about growing up in Zimbabwe, what stimulated you to leave and how you settled in South Africa, all through the lens of your experience as a history teacher teaching the Holocaust as part of the CAPS-History curriculum.

John, you were born in Zimbabwe, but you are currently living in South Africa. To begin please tell the viewers where you are teaching, what you are teaching and how the Holocaust fits into your story.

John: I’m currently teaching at a small government school about half an hour out of Durban in a rural, but not deeply rural area. My learners are predominantly Black Zulus. Although I’m qualified to teach both mathematics and history, I’ve found that my skills are most necessary in the field of history education so at present I’m teaching the Holocaust as part of the History curriculum for Grade 9.

Presenter: How many learners do you have in your classes?

John: Like most schools, you have the greatest number of learners in history than in

any other subject. This is not because it is chosen by the learners, but rather because the principals themselves say, “Ay, ay, ay. Those people who failed in Grade 8 when they're in Grade 9 put them into History.” So, this year I had one hundred and twenty-eight Grade 11s and one hundred and forty-two Grade 12s taking History.

Presenter: Sixty in a class? How do you teach sixty in a class?

John: Ay. It's a war! Ja, you go in a war zone because the moment you turn to write something on the board, from that corner there, there's a paper thrown at you. “What?” you wonder. You turn around they are all quiet. You ask; they don't tell you. So you have to be very, very, very vigilant, because you might lose it. You go mad. You end up talking to yourself. Even the external subject supervisor was shocked to discover that all my Grade 10 learners wouldn't fit into one classroom because I have so many.

Presenter: That really is a challenge. Did you always want to teach or has your teaching career developed over time?

John: For me, becoming a history teacher was not actually by choice. You see, the path I have taken has evolved because I don't like violence, but I was thrown into a violent situation in which I had to survive.

Presenter: Teaching and violence is an uncomfortable mix. How did they come together for you?

John: Let me start with this. I am a boy who grew up in a middle-class family in Zimbabwe thirty-three years ago. I was born in a small town in Mashonaland West province, Zimbabwe, where I lived with my parents. My dad was a builder, a bricklayer with a small construction company, and my mother was a housewife.

[Pan to pictures of the town]



I went to what was called an ‘A’ school, that is, a school like the South African Model C school, which was formerly a White school but is now a multiracial government-funded school. My family consists of five members, our mother being the sole provider, our father having passed away.

Presenter: Were you always interested in history as a subject?

John: Not really. We were all taught history up to Grade 9, but I dropped out of it after that. I also studied mathematics and sciences at school, but when I got to College I thought I had stumbled across something easier when I came across Social Studies, which is part history and part geography. But in fact, you have no choice at College in Zimbabwe about what subjects you are going to study. At College level they simply offer you something based on your school O-level results. They offered me Social Studies, so I took it.

Presenter: From what you’ve said, it seems that your childhood and teenage years, provided you with a stable, happy life with few real challenges. Would you agree?

John: That’s true, Brenda. It was after I got to College that life changed and became tough. Growing up we were not poor, but we were also not rich. When I got to College however, I had to buy my own meal tickets, literally, as these entitled me to a key to a room. Coming from a middle-class family, I found things tough. I became interested in student politics to try and discover if I could change policy back to free education, then I would be able to change my life and in the process my mother would not be burnt in the sun trying to save some food to make sure that I attended College.

Presenter: That’s a very proactive move on your part. What did you do to get involved?

John: When I entered student politics I was just the Entertainment Officer. To my advantage, this meant that I would automatically be seen to be supporting the government, although in truth I was supporting the new opposition party. You see, I believed that this new party was going to be the messiah of Zimbabwe. However, those in power have ways and means of avenging the other political parties.

Presenter: Can you describe for the viewers how the political events in Zimbabwe unfolded thereby influencing your teaching, including the Holocaust?

John: In Zimbabwean politics, the political parties separate along tribal lines. The majority party ZANU-PF, headed by Robert Mugabe³⁰ represents the Shona-speaking people. ZAPU is for the minority Ndebele-speaking people. There was a conflict that Mugabe called “a Moment of Madness” when more than 20,000 people were killed in a bout of ethnic cleansing by Mugabe’s Fifth Brigade soldiers. They were buried in mass graves. Because I was born in 1981, I was too young to know anything first-hand of what happened but even today there's still war between the Ndebeles and the Shonas.³¹

As I began relating the events in the country to the history of Zimbabwe, I became more and more interested in history itself. I saw that the political situations around the world make more human rights abuses happen and I realised that I really wanted to venture into this field and to try and understand, “If this thing happened, how was the situation resolved? What were the causes? What are the implications?” But I found politics tough.

Presenter: Politics can be tough. It can permeate one’s life and influence your choices. This is especially true in a country where political events directly affect people’s daily lives. Can you tell our viewers about some of the difficulties you experienced?

³⁰ Robert Mugabe became Zimbabwe’s first executive head of state in the first post-colonial democratic elections. He has led the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) since 1975. Mugabe consolidated his power in December 1987, when he was declared executive president by parliament, combining the roles of head of state, head of government, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, with powers to dissolve parliament and declare martial law.

³¹ The Gukurahundi genocide took place in Matabeleland from 1983 to 1987 (Murambadoro, 2015)

John: Yes. The problem was that sometimes you had to ... take orders. Sometimes those orders were very difficult. Especially if it was your first time, they were very difficult.

Presenter: What do you mean? Can you give us an example of what was so difficult for you?

John: Well, someone might say to you, "Listen. We are the ruling party. That is the opposition party. Now that lady and her family support the opposition party. We need you to go there and educate them about our party. If they don't change, beat them up." Those were the orders; although I did not participate in such things. I was usually only on the sidelines. But when it came to the issues of singing and toyi-toying at night, going to an opposition person's house, beating the drums and dancing so that they felt intimidated, I was there. We had to do it because those were orders. I knew that this was the way to survive in College.

Presenter: To me, this scenario speaks to situations where, during the Holocaust, people were compelled to do things even if they were unwilling. They were given 'choiceless choices'. Are you saying that you were expected to do things that conflicted with your personal ethical code?

John: I realised that this was not good - participating. So I stood on the side when we went to these events. I didn't want to be seen in the front. And I didn't want to be seen at the back, so I would go into the middle. It was an issue of trying to please the guys who were in the front. They were usually implanted into the universities and colleges, taking six years to do four-year courses.

So sometimes you even had to clip³² somebody and just do it, but you know, after doing that you'd feel bad, but you could not betray the comrades because you were in the Students' Representative Council. They would say, "Comrade, comrade! You know The African Way. Ja?" You had to participate to please your comrades and be careful of those people who had been sent by the government because they'd be watching all your moves. You had to be in-between to survive.

³² Clip or klap. This is South African slang for hit or punch.

Presenter: What would happen if you didn't take part in the intimidation? Was there any fallout?

John: Well automatically you'd be moved from your position in the party and then in a college with over a thousand students, you lost your prestige, even friends, and all that kind of stuff, so it was the way of surviving. But I survived, and we are here now, me, my wife, my nine-year old daughter who was born in Zimbabwe and my son of four, who was born in South Africa.

Presenter: John, what was the catalyst that made you leave Zimbabwe?

John: I started to become aware of the kind of life that we as Zimbabweans were living, and the violation of human rights that were taking place. I wanted to be where there is democracy, like London. In a democratic country, people don't label each other or insult each other. But in Africa they make sure that you know who you are and what your place is.

Presenter: Labelling people can be very damaging.

John: Yes, if I look at a photograph like the one you have put up on the screen for instance.



These children were labelled, classified using the Star of David. There is no need to label people, for as I always tell the kids, we are all Africans but because of the colonial borders, we began to label each other as Zulu, Xhosa.

Presenter: Please explain this further for our viewers.

John: You see, in Africa, the type of leadership we have in Africa is a leadership whereby they use force to be in power, no matter what. Right? Africa is still to realise what is actually democracy. For now, it is not there. Usually democracy is only enjoyed by those who are in power.

It was only when I became a friend of a Mozambican man and he told me

stories about what was going on in Mozambique that I realised, “Hau, so human rights abuses are happening in Africa, but are we not all Africans?” I realised that this person looks like me. We are the same. I realised that we look at people differently only because of these so-called borders.

Presenter: Did you personally experience any violations of your human rights in Zimbabwe?

John: As I mentioned earlier, my rights to education were violated because all of a sudden education was no longer free. Also, there was the violence. This was a political issue. Imagine a child of my age then, or a child that I'm teaching now who comes to me, knocks on the door of my house and says, “We are having a gathering. We want you outside.” This is what happened. You could not say no. This child was sent by the people who were in power. And these kids were also being used as spies.

I remember one particular incident that still bothers me. I was teaching at a farm school. My wife was there. We were sleeping. It was around 11pm. Suddenly there was a loud banging on our metal door. I ignored it first, because I knew it was them, because the story was going around that they were going to come one day for the teachers. Then I realised, “Ay! If I don't open they're going to wake up my daughter!” She was about two years' old at that time. So, I climbed out of the bed and went to open the door dressed just in my shorts. The young person at the door exclaimed, “Right Comrade, we are having a gathering, we want you at the ground now.” I answered, “Okay, I'm coming now.” “No,” he said, “we are waiting for you.” It was dark. As we passed the light, I was walking behind these people and I realised, “Haibo, I teach one of these boys!” He was a kid in my Grade 7 class at the farm school where I taught. He was one of the older boys. My mind spun, but I followed; joking, singing, and dancing. Then once we got to the ground, we were singing, going farm to farm collecting all the other teachers.

Presenter: That's shocking.

John: Yes. Sometimes when we saw a car in the road, we'd stop the car in the road and ask, “Do you have a card for this [political] party?” If the person didn't

have one, one way or the other the person had to join us and then the person would be released. But if he became rebellious, he was beaten up. I realised then that not only were we being abused, but we were abusing other people at the same time. This event was something of a night vigil, because they only released us around three in the morning. After this I went to sleep, but I was starting work at seven the next morning. I was tired, but I was still expected at work. They didn't care about this.

Presenter: How did you respond to this intimidation?

John: I tried to tell my story to my headmaster at school and later people working in the capital city, but they all dismissed my complaints saying, "No comrade, we are at war. You have to do it. But I'll talk to them, and maybe they should only pick you up on Fridays."

This triggered an idea and I developed a strategy; every Friday I would pack my bags and go away somewhere. Of course, they soon realised what I was doing and declared, "Oh he's running away!" I was labelled as a person of the opposition. Therefore, to protect my family, I had to be seen. From then on, most of the weekends I would not even go home. I would just stay in that school, get in the trailer of a tractor with them and go to other farms, singing and giving away slogans.

Presenter: What effect did this have on you?

John: As a teacher, it really disturbed me to think of how the kids would see me at school the next day. To me, my rights were violated. To be honest, I got so angry that I turned my anger on my learners, which I know was wrong. The abused became the abuser. In class I became angry and emotional. I even told them, "Right, I'm the Chairman here now! The moment you entered this door, I'm the Chairman! You do what I say. When I'm out there, you are the Chairman!" I know that I was acting in compensatory way for what these people were doing to me. But then I felt bad as a teacher – but sometimes you do what you do in order to survive.

Presenter: Was this a turning point for you, John?

John: Well it came to a point where they said, “Okay guys, you are going to be voting in this station and you, they said, (pointing to me), you are going to be the presiding officer, who will be holding the voters' roll.” I was horrified at the cheating that took place. Ballot papers were in serial order, so there was absolutely no secrecy in the vote. Living people were given dead people’s identity numbers in order to vote. People's rights were abused just to keep these people in power. That's African politics. I even heard stories of people being raped, although personally I never saw anybody who had been raped. So from my experience, I realised, “Ooohhh, this is Africa now.”

Presenter: How old were you then?

John: I think I was about twenty-four or -five.

Presenter: How did your wife feel about that was happening to you?

John: She realised that we had no choice but chided, “Let me tell you one thing, John. Don't come home with your hands dirty with blood. Whatever you do, make sure you don't have people's blood in your hands.” And I made sure that that never happened.

Presenter: Well everyone, we need to break here for a commercial. Do stay with us and we will continue this fascinating discussion with John Chiyangwa, Holocaust educator, refugee, teacher, husband, and humanist who is telling us of his fight for survival in South Africa and how his personal experiences contributed to his understanding of human rights and his teaching of the Holocaust.

<p style="text-align: center;">COMMERCIAL BREAK 1</p>
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Presenter: Welcome back. We are now going to hear about the decision John made to secure his and his family’s future. Earlier we spoke about John’s choice not to take part in violent acts, but apart from the violence, there were other economic considerations which he had to take account, all the while feeling responsible for his family. He decided to do something about it. So, John, what influenced your decision to simply flee Zimbabwe in 2008 and go to South Africa?

John: Brenda, as time went on I found myself once again back at College and yet again part of that local community. I did various jobs that I was told to do. I would go to town and bring back news and although I did small tasks for those in charge, I was hidden.

You see, I never liked violence. I'm not a violent man, so essentially it was the political situation and those elections that I told you about that brought about my decision to leave Zimbabwe. They opened my eyes to the things that were coming. The army was in power. Wherever you'd go, you had to carry a political party card as a form of identification. Also, the economic situation was dire. For example, when my money came into the bank, I would make sure that it was withdrawn the same day. If you didn't go to the bank that day, by the time you got there the next day, either your money was worthless, or the prices of goods had doubled. I was spending more time in the banks and shops than in the classroom! There was no sugar, no porridge for my daughter. So, one day I woke my brother and said,

"I'm going down south."

"Today?" he asked, "are you mad?"

"Mad or not, I'm going today."

My wife asked, "Are you sure?"

"Yes," I replied, "I'm very certain."

So, I went.

But this was not an easy decision. I struggled when I got to Durban, but I found a small flat, moved in and stayed in that empty flat for three months, sleeping on the floor. Things were tough, but I had to escape the economic hardships. I couldn't see my child die while I was there in Zimbabwe. I came to South Africa with the trousers I was wearing and another pair in a plastic bag with another t-shirt. The moment I got to Jo'burg Park Station, I immediately changed. I took off my dirty clothes and put them in the plastic bag. I wouldn't allow people to see that this person was dirty or that he hadn't bathed. It was like, "No. You have to survive! A difficult situation is cause for desperate measures." And that was what I had to go through to come to South Africa.

Presenter: Clearly you were very determined as well as having the courage to make the change.

John: I was! And to show that I was prepared to change my life and everything about it, I was prepared to do any job that I came across. Because of the construction experience that I had had with my father as a small boy, I did small construction jobs, usually with the Durban Indians, who are always renovating. I did tiling, I did ceilings. I fitted carpets.

Then one day I just woke up and said, "I'm tired of these jobs." I searched the area around where I was staying and came across a building with a sign that said it was a school. It didn't look anything like the schools in Zimbabwe with their massive grounds and very large fences. Nevertheless, I said to myself, "Let me try. You never know." I was surprised when I knocked on the door and someone opened it and even more shocked when I walked upstairs; there were about three hundred kids in that school. I hadn't known that that they were looking for teachers, but fortuitously when I arrived they had a pile of CVs that they were wading through. There and then they offered me a job and I started teaching the next day.

Presenter: When did your family join you from Zimbabwe?

John: As soon as I received my first salary I sent for my wife and two months after that my wife went to collect my daughter.

Presenter: What happened and how did you feel about leaving Zimbabwe?
[pan to picture of Jews being corralled to the ghetto]

John:



When I left Zimbabwe, it was like I was running away. And I was running away actually - from the political situation. In fact, when I see pictures like the one on

the screen now, it reminds me of getting to the border, which meant you would be saved. But as you passed through you were humiliated. You had to stand on a big mat and were sprayed for foot and mouth disease. You know, you cannot enter South Africa without stepping into such a place, so already you become an outcast. You see, from the moment you arrive at the border you are labelled an outcast. And there was I, with my plastic bag. Fortunately, these people had bags. They had time to pack. I didn't have time to pack.

Presenter: Do you ever regret your decision to come to South Africa where in essence, you remain a refugee with refugee status?

John: Since coming to South Africa, we've never looked back. I can honestly say that Lady Luck was on my side. The first school at which I applied and was accepted wanted me to teach Mathematics and History. I excelled in the History so continued to teach it to Grade 10. Then I was offered a History post by the Department of Basic Education.

Frankly, if I had remained in Zimbabwe I don't think I would have survived without acquiring a criminal record because people were forced into the position of doing things simply to survive; in fact, the only way to survive was to get involved in corruption; corruption by pen and paper. You had to lie.

Presenter: Was this common practice?

John: Yes. Mostly. However, one thing I've realised about Zimbabwe is that no matter what people are going through, they do not commit violent crimes such as killing each other, hijacking, and housebreaking. They mostly commit white-collar crimes. This is not like what is happening in other parts of Africa. I can say that Zimbabwe is one of the most peaceful countries. It's safe to walk in the streets.

Presenter: John, let's fast forward to the present. You've been living and working in South Africa as a history teacher, but are you a South African citizen?

John: No I'm not. I work with a permit. When I was working for the school I was not permanent; I was on a contract that was renewable every year. In previous years, we didn't get letters of termination, but this year, when I came back from

marking, my termination letter was waiting. So, for now, I'm jobless.

Presenter: You've been through a lot.

John: Yes, a lot. But I'm a survivor. You see, if you don't have an option you have to survive. A man has to do what a man has to do.

Presenter: Once again, it's time for commercial break and when we come back, we'll discuss John's teaching of the Holocaust and how his own experiences impact on it.

<p style="text-align: center;">COMMERCIAL BREAK 2</p>
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Presenter: Welcome back, viewers. Now John, let's turn our attention to your teaching of the Holocaust. When did you first come across the Holocaust as a subject and what were your first impressions when you had to teach this complex, sometimes controversial topic?

John: I came across these topics, the Holocaust and Nazi Germany when I taught at that private school in Durban in April 2009. I must say that at first it was very emotional for me to teach as I related it to my life experiences from Zimbabwe, like how things were and how things happened in Nazi Germany although in Germany it was more harsh and ruthless than it was from where I came. For example, if you're teaching about Nazi Germany when they were levelling the homosexuals and also the Jews, the gypsies and so on, sometimes in history, you relate this to the events of what's happening in your own country. That meant that I had to go back and talk about the xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans. To me, it became emotional and also to the kids, because they tended to say, even to my face, "These foreign guys are here to take our jobs," but the moment I explained to them the reason or the push factors for me to leave there and come here, I could see that that the kids were becoming more emotional. Some of them they even changed their attitudes towards foreigners generally.

Presenter: As I've been listening to you I'm wondering if there are echoes for you with the

Jewish refugees from the Holocaust.

John: Actually yes. You see in Zimbabwe we have an issue similar to the Holocaust.

Presenter: What do you mean?

John: For me that would be the political situation, because the political situation in Zimbabwe has caused big problems for me. It has influenced where I live, what my career is, my feelings about other people's behaviour and my attitude to human rights, xenophobia and democracy. I want to live in a country where democracy works such as the United Kingdom, where people don't label each other, insult each other.

Presenter: Is the Holocaust taught in Zimbabwe?

John: No. I don't think they want to introduce it to the syllabus because it's too close to home. The ruling party don't want to discuss the issues as they don't want to be seen as bad people; they want to be seen as the political messiahs even though they have blood in their hands. So, to bring that topic is far too difficult.

Presenter: How do you feel about teaching the Holocaust? You said earlier that at first teaching it was emotional because it related to your life experiences in Zimbabwe, but can you tell us about how your personal life experiences relate to how you teach the Holocaust?

John: It is very emotional for me because it makes me think about how the Jews were hated. When you look at the issues of tribes and faces, like here in South Africa, one thing that I've come to understand, and live with, is that the Zulu people are not particularly accommodating when it comes to their space. They have got this mentality of saying, "This is ours. We don't share." Only a few of them now are beginning to understand the situation of foreigners in their country. So sometimes when I'm teaching the Holocaust, I'm reminded of that fact that people were required to be identified as part of the true Aryan race and that this line thinking was pursued through scientific racism. It feels like this situation exists in South Africa today too.

Presenter: Have you had any personal experiences of this?

John: I have. There was recently an incident that really hurt me. I was standing in front of the class teaching the Holocaust and speaking about the way the Jews were treated when they fled to other countries, when a kid just blurted out, “Ay, it’s the same thing as you saying that you’re a foreigner.” This really disturbed me, but I could not let my discomfort show in the classroom. Later, when I had a free period and reflected on it again, I realised how much that child had hurt me when he identified me with what was happening in the Holocaust.

So, the next day, because I was still thinking about it, I tried to explain to the class how I was feeling. I wanted to release my feelings by explaining to that child that there were not only people from other countries in South Africa, but also people from different areas, such as the Eastern Cape, who are in the class. Then another child declared that people were calling him names and suddenly he started crying. By the time I’d finished teaching for that one hour, I realised how emotional we’d become. This child was crying, and that child was shouting whatever he wanted and there was nothing that I could do. I couldn’t shout at them. I couldn’t grab them and hit them, because I was doing a job. I just had to educate them.

Presenter: It certainly sounds like the situation in the classroom was very emotive and at the same time tangled up with your personal experiences in Zimbabwe. Would you agree?

John: I would. For me, the political situation in Zimbabwe brings a lot of bad memories to the fore. Moreover, I become very emotional when the kids just say things like that point blank. I have to remember that kids are kids, even though they are sometimes adults in terms of age. Nevertheless, mind-wise they are kids. They don't see that they've hurt somebody.

Presenter: Why do you think that what that boy said upset you so much? Was there something specific that he said to trigger such a deep emotion and how was it connected to your teaching of the Holocaust?

John: Well, when the kid said, “Here [in South Africa] we kill foreigners because they are taking our jobs,” I was shocked. I thought, “Haibo, here I am in class and

this child is telling me that he's going to kill foreigners. And I am a foreigner.”

There's connection here with what happened in the Holocaust with the Jews. They were treated as foreigners. They were subject to the same treatment as foreigners in South Africa, although our situation is a bit better. But when the xenophobic attacks happen, you begin to see that it's like history is repeating itself again. You see people are labelling each other, people are killing each other. So, it becomes very emotional.

Also, if I think about it, the learners are identifying themselves as the perpetrators. They say they're going to attack and kill, so I guess you can say that they identify me, as a foreigner, with the Jews but not themselves. In my experience the learners identify with the Germans.

Presenter: This is true. Your personal experience of xenophobia reminds us that the kind of conditions that led up to the Holocaust persist, like stereotyping, discrimination and racism still exist. It's not surprising, given your story, that teaching the Holocaust might be a difficult, emotional task for you.

John: Initially it was extremely difficult, but as time has gone on I have become more experienced and comfortable with teaching the topic. Sometimes I even start by telling them that, “You know what? I'm a foreigner and I'm here to stay. And there's nothing you, or you, you or your father are going to do.” I put in a bit of fear so that they don't open their mouths. But when I see that even some of the older boys have been made emotional by what's been said about foreigners, I go out of the class and call them. I talk to them and say, “You know guys, that time I was teaching I wasn't angry.” You see, what I'm really trying to say is that I'm trying to buy my own welcome into the class, so that part is difficult. It's emotional.

Presenter: What about other teachers? Have you had any resistance from them?

John: I have. More in the line of stereotyping. Some South African teachers say, “Ay you can't come all the way from Zimbabwe to teach us our history,” because they believe Zimbabweans are supposed to be teaching mathematics and physics and chemistry and all that kind of thing. They enquire, “How do you

know our history today, baba?" and I respond, I know your history by reading it." But also, I have lived portions of what I teach.

Presenter: Indeed, you have and this ties in with your experience of xenophobia and underlines the learners' and other teachers' lack of understanding of the principles of tolerance and acceptance of others.

We're going to have a short commercial break and when we come back we'll discuss John's views on Holocaust education.

<p style="text-align: center;">COMMERCIAL BREAK 3</p>
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Presenter: Welcome back viewers. According the South African Department of Basic education, the Holocaust was introduced to teach the learners about the dangers of xenophobia, bullying, discrimination, stereotyping which can result in genocide in order to prevent history repeating itself. John, were you aware of this?

John: No, I wasn't but it makes sense.

Presenter: John, does Hitler figure prominently in your teaching of the Holocaust?

John: Well, I always tell the kids that Hitler was the main culprit in the Holocaust. Even though they haven't seen the man in real life, they can see in this picture that he's raising his fist. This tells us that he's an authoritarian man, he's a dictator. I point out that there are people sitting at the background and immediately a learner will say, so "Oh, so this man was ruling by force?" You can tell from the photograph being shown now, that Hitler is showing anger.



Some people even call Mugabe Hitler now because Mugabe is a dictator in some ways too and he also has an iron fist, which he uses. Because you see, like those people sitting at the Hitler rally, sometimes we attended these political rallies. But this was not by choice. You were forced to attend. I wonder about those people in the background, if they were there by choice.

Presenter: How long would you say it takes to teach the Holocaust portion of the history curriculum for Grade 9?

John: I'd say about three weeks. Three weeks of torture. And it's like a year; because immediately after that experience, you got to apartheid.

Presenter: Oh, immediately after?

John: Ja, you go to apartheid, you see. So, the wounds are still fresh, and the kids still have the whole the picture from the Holocaust. So if I say, "just imagine just because you are a homosexual, or you are labelled in the class a homosexual" I'm trying to get them to understand prejudice but sometimes as a teacher you have to be very, very careful.

I remember an incident last year when one boy, one boy-girl decided not to do physics. He just arrived at the history class. No-one mentioned his orientation to me, so as I was teaching I said the word 'homosexual'. Suddenly people were calling out and gesticulating in the class. They were shouting, banging the desks. I shouted, "Quiet. Quiet!!" But they did not keep quiet. Someone even stood on the desk. "Quiet!!!" I yelled. These were Grade 11s. At last they kept quiet. "What's wrong with you all?" I asked. "Ha," someone replied, "there's one here!" I was flummoxed. "Where?" I enquired. Then the boy started to cry.

It wasn't my fault. I wasn't told. What was I supposed to do? Should I make the forty-nine suffer because I want to protect the rights of one? No. I cannot do that. But the topic came up again when someone said, "We hear that in Zimbabwe homosexuals are killed ... Mugabe doesn't like them." I said, "Ja it's true. It's his personal point of view. And mine too when I was growing up. I used to hate such people. But by coming here to South Africa I understand them now." I explained that being born like that was not a choice and I used the opportunity to explain that everybody was born with different feelings. But they persisted, "Nooooo! He's not a guy. We are telling you, Sir." This boy didn't help himself, because when he stood up to explain that he was not a girl, he used funny gestures and then the whole class broke down and the entire period was in tatters.

Presenter: Relating this to the Holocaust, given that the learners display such overt prejudice towards homosexuals, how do they feel about Jews and the Holocaust?

John: Because they haven't seen one, usually their attitude is based on what they've heard about. As with their attitude towards foreigners, they don't understand the situation or what really happened. They just take it from the papers, from the media, from whoever is talking about this. But if they had some first-hand experience, maybe they would understand.

Presenter: Do they at least empathise with Jewish victims?

John: They do. They do. They say, "Shame, but that's life, you know."

Presenter: Do you have any thoughts on what might help the learners empathise?

John: Maybe a photograph such as this:

[pan to photograph showing the liberation of Buchenwald]



You can see straight away from the look of each person that he was not well. The body says a lot. Also, the way they are sleeping illustrates the conditions under which people lived in labour or death camps. Even their faces show fear. Seeing a photograph like this helps the kids to empathise and understand what these people went through.

Presenter: And what about a photograph like this one?

[pan to photograph of a pile of victims' shoes]



John: With regard to a picture like this pile of shoes, I admit I have wondered whether or not the photograph was exaggerated. Nevertheless, this photograph does give the learners an opportunity to think about the people who wore those shoes, because you never know who was wearing them.

Presenter: John, as we saw in the clip, in the South African school system, apartheid is closely aligned to teaching of the Holocaust. When do you teach the Holocaust in relation to apartheid?

John: First, I teach the Holocaust and then apartheid.

Presenter: And do you use the Holocaust as a tool to teach apartheid?

John: I do. I do.

Presenter: How do you do that?

John: Well, I'd ask if they can see what happened in apartheid and how people were separated. Then I'd say, "Guys, you remember we were talking of Jewish people and other victims who were separated from their loved ones and where there were the labour camps? The same thing happened in South Africa." Then I explain, "Let's look at Soweto. It was the largest location in South Africa. Why? Because of the mines. So in a way they can call that a labour camp, because Black people were put there in order to work in the mines." Once I talk about this, the kids can now relate. Some of them even ask, "Ah Sir, so are you saying that it was also happening there?" "Yes!" I concur.

Presenter: Calling Soweto a labour camp might be seen as rather controversial.

John: I suppose it could be, but I also speak about other topics such as justice and retribution. I'll even provide the kids with an example, telling them that Mandela instituted the TRC, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to do something like the Nuremberg Trials but I explain that there was a big difference, because in Germany it was more retributive and here in South Africa it was more of a reconstruction. In this way the kids start to realise, "Oohh okay, so what those guys were doing was wrong and it did not only start with us, it also started there." By talking about these things, by the end, the kids start to relate more to me as a foreigner.

Presenter: It seems important to you that the learners relate to you personally. Is it? And what do you do to achieve that end?

John: It's important that I get the kids to relate to me as a person, as someone not so different from them. To get them to relate, sometimes I tell them about the surname Ndlovu, that we have Ndlovus in Zimbabwe. My neighbour is Ndlovu. "So, you never know, you might be from Zimbabwe," I suggest. But last week someone shouted from the back of the class, "I don't want to be Zimbabwean!" "What's wrong with being Zimbabwean?" I responded. "Hey, the story is real. You eat people in Zimbabwe."

“We eat people?” I was shocked.

Presenter: Are you saying that the learners believe that Zimbabweans eat people?

John: Yes. Those are the stories that people tell. It's like they are not taught what is happening in neighbouring countries. They just watch TV and they therefore believe that every foreigner who comes to South Africa is very, very poor! But this is because of the TV people. They've got stories to sell, so they don't focus on the rich areas because there are no stories there. They come to the poor areas and then the learners associate you as a foreigner with the poor people. But I must say that by the time we finish the topic, the kids understand better.

Presenter: What kind of goals do you have when teaching about the Holocaust?

John: Certainly, as a history teacher sometimes you want to come with strategies to teach the young people that it's not necessary to incite violence. Teaching about violence and trauma as in the Holocaust or apartheid touches a nerve in some kids. Maybe there's a learner who's lost a parent during the apartheid times, because the area where I teach was more IFP-dominated during the apartheid period; whoever was in the ANC was killed. Therefore, most of the kids that I teach have parents who are disabled or who were killed during that process.

So, the moment you their see faces changing or you can see they are becoming emotional you immediately try to change the topic. That's what I usually do. But some learners have the opposite reaction and even laugh, especially when they see the very thin people at the fences in photographs.

[pan to a photograph of Holocaust victims standing at a fence at the time of liberation]



Presenter: What you do say if the learners laugh?

John: Sometimes I remind them, “Guys, at the end of the day we are all humans. We make mistakes.” Then I will remind them, “Remember that day when you called me a kwerekwere³³, you remember? I got angry, but today are we not talking?” That’s what we’re supposed to do. Then I go to them, pat them on the back so that at least their emotions recede. This is important because the moment the child becomes emotional, as a teacher you also have something to fear. When you teach the Holocaust, you have to be very, very careful. It can turn against you because it brings on a lot of emotions. “What if this child goes home and says, “My teacher was teaching us something that made me emotional.”

But sometimes I get angry. I tell them, “I don't see why you are laughing here! This is a serious matter. This is a human being. Even if it's a dog, you cannot laugh when you see a dog limping. And you are laughing.” And you know, and it also brings my own emotions to the fore. I ask them, “Am I the only one who's human here?” I'm feeling for these people in the picture and they are laughing. So, to be honest, that topic is more of, of a torture, to the teacher and to the learners. It tortures, yes, it tortures, it tortures, it tortures.

Presenter: It sounds as though emotion plays a role in your teaching of the Holocaust? What do you think? And would you say that there is a link between the Holocaust and apartheid in the curriculum?

John: Well you should look at the way they've done it in the curriculum! It's the Holocaust and then apartheid, because they want to compare the two. They want to say, “Okay, these are crimes against humanity in both Germany and South Africa. People were killed,” although I must say that in South Africa, people were not killed that much. Sometimes as teachers we even show those clips of Holocaust survivors’ personal interviews. By the time you've finished the whole thing, a child's emotions have been involved. Sometimes in a good way, sometimes in a bad way. And the bad way is what we don't want.

³³ Kwerekwere is a derogatory term used by South Africans when referring to foreign nationals living in or visiting South Africa kwerekwere. (n.d.). Retrieved October 6th, 2015, from <http://www.yourdictionary.com/kwerekwere>

Presenter: What do you do when learners become emotional?

John: Sometimes I send the child out of the class. If I know that the child is upset, I usually ask the other kids, "Who's this child?" I try to create a personal relationship with the kids, so they will talk to me. In one incident the learners told me, "This one's father was killed when he was in primary school. His father was in the opposition [party]."

When you come across such things you go to the child. You use his totem, that is, his surname is associated to a certain animal. This shows that you respect him and when you do that, he relaxes a bit. Then as you are teaching about the Holocaust, you come back to that boy again. "Mister." You don't call him by his name. You give him some respect.

"Mister, I know it wasn't fair, but what do you think we should do?"

He says, "You have to go and kill them."

"No, no, no, no," I exclaim, "that is wrong. Because if you go and kill them, everybody is going to kill everybody, because we've all done wrong to other people. If we kill every person, who is going to be left in the world?"

And he says, "Hai, I you see you are right!"

Then the tension subsides.

Presenter: John, I must admit that I'm horrified that the learner's first response was to kill. Is killing really so easily expressed in South Africa?

John: Very easy. Let me tell you about an incident that happened recently at our school. Two boys from different classes, both of whom I taught, went to go find out if they had passed. Suddenly, the one stabbed the other, outside the school. Just like that. Gone. See. So it's easy. When I came back from marking, my principal told me the story and he said, "You know what, I saw this coming, but I didn't know that it was going to be fatal. But I could see that these kids were filled with anger. Now, as a result," he said, "the families are going to fight. The one family will say, "You killed our son." Then they will all seek revenge. So, it becomes more of a daily bread killing in South Africa. Many people are killed. The cause of this particular fight was over a cellphone.

Presenter: How dreadful!

John: Killing is easy in South Africa.

Then there was another incident that occurred recently. We were in the staffroom during the break. It's customary that everyone brings meat and you put it all together on the table, the African way. All of a sudden there was shouting, "Hey, woza, woza, come, come, come!" Suddenly people started screaming. One boy came rushing in, holding his chest. He had been stabbed. Fortunately, I know First Aid, so I applied some Vaseline to seal the wound and rushed him off to hospital. The reason for that stabbing? His failure to pay back a fifty-cent loan for a cigarette.

Presenter: It must be really nerve-wracking, knowing that your learners are carrying lethal weapons.

John: I'm very scared. Very scared. I can see who's who. I know that these guys are the woonga³⁴ boys. When it's a sports day, I make a point of hanging around with the boys that I know are more vicious. I hang around with them, tell stories, we laugh together, we sing, you know. I'm trying to buy my own safety. It's not only me as a foreigner but even the South African teachers fear these kids. They've got anger in them. They can do anything.

Presenter: This is indeed shocking. But John, before you leave us I'd like to have a change of direction. Viewers, we'll be right back for the final segment of this fascinating interview.

COMMERCIAL BREAK 4

Presenter: In our last segment with you, John, I'd like to discuss your resources. With regard to your teaching of the Holocaust, where do you get your information?

John: From the textbooks.

Presenter: Just from the textbook?

³⁴ Whoonga is a drug that is made up of a mixture of low grade heroine and other additives like rat poison. It is highly addictive and a user can become addicted even after only using it once (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health, 2001).

John: Yes, although our textbooks have very few pictures, only those such as people standing at a fence. They don't show the actual things that were happening in the Holocaust. It's not documented in the textbooks.

Presenter: And the internet?

John: Ja, just to browse through. I sometimes pop into the internet, just to check on what really happened. But I cannot reproduce those pictures to give to the learners.

Presenter: So, to teach you stick with the textbook?

John: Mainly with the textbook. Well you know if you teach other things from other sources, the kids don't have access to that, so it becomes like you are only imposing things on them.

Presenter: Finally, John, do you believe that teaching the Holocaust can provide your learners with any lessons as future leaders?

John: Personally, I think a new crop of leaders who are yet to be born who show exceptional leadership qualities. It's difficult to get leaders like Nelson Mandela. But you know, Mandela died without seeing eye to eye with Mugabe. Mandela even told him, "You are killing your beautiful nation." So maybe when the children come through who don't have the influence of their parents and they are more free-thinking and maybe learning about the Holocaust will help them to see things differently.

Presenter: Yes, but isn't that where teachers are important?

John: We do our best, but you know, in Africa family plays the biggest part. Not the school. Teach them something new and they go home, they are told something else. Sometimes the school and family they are always on contradictory lines. You tell them about forgiveness but when they get home, someone is talking about going and attacking that Pakistani who owns that shop. The child doesn't want to be part of it, but he knows that, like the day when I was called, he will be told, "You are chickening out, you are selling out!" What is needed is to

marry the two, school and family, so the family supports what the school is saying then we will have better leaders.

Presenter: John Chiyangwa, I really appreciate you being on the programme and telling your story.

John: Sometimes it's difficult to tell a story like this, but it has definitely helped me to let go, especially as I never get the opportunity to sit like this with someone who is from a different background from me in terms of country and politics. It helps to let out what's been boiling inside.

Presenter: Thank you, John. By using your story to teach the Holocaust, you are teaching young people not only about the past, but also about the present and the future. You contribute in a very meaningful way to South African learners' understanding of human rights, xenophobia and the importance of listening to others. Not only that, your story reveals the choices you made and how you dealt with adverse circumstances in a way that was true to yourself. You observed what went on around you, chose ways to fit in and be accepted without getting blood on your hands but then decided that you did not want to be part of the violence that surrounded you. Through your example you are able to provide the learners with insight into the life of refugees and the struggles that they go through as they flee from dangerous circumstances in the hope of building a better life for themselves and their families. And by teaching the Holocaust through the lens of your own experiences, you add richness and texture to the fabric of Holocaust education.

That's it for now. Thank you to the viewers for joining us. See you next time on, *Holocaust Education in South Africa - History Teachers' Personal Stories* to learn more about the way in which our teachers' personal stories inform their teaching of this fascinating, but complex, emotional topic. Bye for now.

(Rashid)

Explaining life to myself

“Writing (a journal) is the only way I have to explain my own life to myself.”

Pat Conroy, My Reading Life

It’s a question I get asked all the time. “What’s the difference between a journal and a diary? A diary is a report of what happened during the day—where you ate, who you met, the details leading up to the kerfluffle in the office, and who took whose side. It’s a bit like a newspaper about you.

A journal is completely different. A journal is about examining your life. It’s a GPS system for your spirit. “I’ve made this mistake before ... and I always make it when I’m rushed for time and feel panicky. But I feel panicky because I know I’m headed for the same mistake.” Journals lead to insight, growth, and sometimes, achieving a goal.

~ Quinn McDonald (2007)

Three weeks before the interview – family, heritage and background

It’s arrived! I received an email from Brenda today regarding the interview I’ve agreed to do on Holocaust education in a few weeks’ time. Brenda is a PhD student doing her thesis on Holocaust education. She recently approached the headmaster of my school, who then asked me if I would be prepared to talk to her about my teaching of the Holocaust. I admit I gave it a lot of thought before agreeing to participate because of the subject matter and me being a Muslim. Thinking about how I would deal with an interview on the Holocaust, my immediate thought was ... curriculum. I realised that I could bring in the curriculum and everything that deals with education about the Holocaust, but I could also bring in my personal story because my religion opposes violence, oppression and racial discrimination towards people, just like Holocaust education is supposed to do. I’m quite confident that I’m first and foremost a professional and that I am able to teach the Holocaust without resorting to teaching about my religion, although of course the values that I hold are important to get across to the learners, so I agreed.

Brenda has given me three tasks in preparation for our interview. Firstly, she wants to know who I am which I guess entails a short biography. She also wants to know about the school that I teach at, the demographics, the learners and so on and finally she’s asked me to choose three photographs from those that she will send me that I believe are relevant to how I teach the Holocaust, one that is irrelevant and any number that connect to me personally.

Here goes. I'm 28 years old. I was born on 10th March 1987. It makes me a Pisces person, a fish, so I'm very sensitive. I live with my parents who are very strict. I am the youngest. I have two brothers and a sister. My father is a retired truck driver and my mum has always been a housewife. My eldest brother is a Maulana, a Muslim man revered for his religious learning or piety, and being an Islamic scholar, he's very religious. He and I don't really have much in common. My sister is married with a small boy; she's not working. My other brother followed in my father's footsteps; he's a driver, and I am a teacher. I love my family. I love my parents, but particularly my mum. She's my pillar of strength. I can tell her anything and she can tell me anything. I feel absolutely comfortable speaking with her and I think she has influenced my personality over the years. On the other hand, my father is a bit strict, so I wouldn't tell him my stories. Mostly I don't think he'd be very interested, unless I'm talking about the car or something, and I say, "Oh, I need new tyres," and he'll say, "Okay, we'll try and make a plan. Phone me." I don't have children of my own but I love children, so I still hope to get married and have some of my own.

I live with my parents in a residential area near a mosque. As I get home every day, I can hear the call to prayer. I hear it every single day, five times a day. I wouldn't say that I'm a perfect religious person where I follow the religion to the tee. I have my flaws like everyone does, but I'm happy as a teacher and as a person.

I matriculated at a government high school in Durban but before that attended an Islamic School until Grade 7, where I was taught a lot of religious beliefs and Islamic history. At school I so was inspired to teach by four of my own teachers that immediately after I matriculated I began teaching and I love it. Recently I came across something that said: "The supreme art of a teacher is to awaken creativity and innovation in a child" and I believe that I've been doing that for the last eight years. To me, teachers are the most non-jealous people on earth, because they enable children to go on career paths where they can earn far more than us teachers. It makes me feel proud to awaken something in children that nobody else in society has the power to do.

As far as my heritage goes, my whole family goes back generations and generations. My grandfather was an indentured labourer from India. He met my grandmother, who was also an indentured labourer. She belonged to a Durban family. They fell in love and eloped! Unfortunately, I don't know much about my mother's background because I was very little when her parents passed away, but I do know her brothers and sisters. I know much more about my father who is one of nine children, having six brothers and three sisters.

Although we now live in the city, my family own a farm on a twenty-two-acre plot of land that is in line of sight of King Shaka Airport. The farm is huge with orchards of mango trees, but its dirt roads

are corrugated and the huge farmhouse on the property is dilapidated with very few people living there. That's where my father and mother used to stay previously. This was also where my family experienced the 1985 Inanda Riots, during which a group of Blacks rioted, taking land away from the local Indian inhabitants. My mother who was a bit ill at the time, clearly remembers people constantly throwing stones, so my parents locked everything up, took their belongings, and left. Two years later in 1987 I was born. Things started changing radically in 1994 and eventually our family were given that plot of land by the White man who owned it. My father still has the title deed, although personally I wish someone would just buy it and we could get rid of it. So that's my background and my heritage.

Growing up in apartheid South Africa – yellow vans, the Inanda Riots and the Holocaust

Looking at the history of South Africa, the interim Constitution was created in 1993 followed by democracy in 1994. In 2000 I was in Grade 8 and matriculated in 2004 so I didn't know much about the apartheid system and I didn't see much of what went on, although it was part of my family background.

The only memory I have was of some yellow vans driving around. I remember them clearly. I could always identify with those vans, but I felt neutral towards them. When I was in Standard 4, I think, we were living in a farm area in Durban, where my grandfather had a farm. They would have their sirens on and were moving around places and I knew they were police vans, but they were just driving around our neighbourhood and I had no idea that they had any purpose. However, now that I've grown older I've realised that those yellow vans were differently used during apartheid times, very strictly going into places and asking peoples for passes or checking whether or people were in their demarcated areas, according to the Separate Amenities and Group Areas Acts. I'm sure those vans were used at that time, but now they've phased them out.

Who am I? Identity and identification

I must say, preparing for the interview with Brenda is, surprisingly, providing me with interesting insights into myself. I'm starting to consider things that I haven't really thought about, such as the concept of personality. You know, someone can smile at you and laugh but to really know a person is critical. And a child in a classroom must really be comfortable with a teacher. I can go and talk a whole lot of hogwash in front of Grade 9 lot of learners and say, "Okay, this is what happened, blah blah, World War II took place, or I can tell them the course of a river goes like this and it ends there. So, personality is a big thing, especially when you're teaching the Holocaust, which deals with Hitler's personality and character.

In terms of how I am in life, I'm very honest. I'm very attentive to detail and being a deep person, I analyse things very thoroughly so that I can have a better understanding about it and be equipped in the classroom. I don't take things very lightly. If you tell me something, it must be substantiated; you must tell me facts. And should a learner ask me a question I must be in a position to be able to talk about it.

When I teach, I know that I have the ability to get ideas across to children, to socially transform them into what our education system wants them to be and to grab their attention, just like Hitler himself. Hitler used to command the attention of thousands of the masses as if they were one, like this quotation by Bob Marley, which is very important to me as an educator:

The greatness of a man is not in how much wealth he acquires, but in his integrity and his ability to affect those around him positively ~Bob Marley
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I admit that I've been accused by my family and friends of being a bit dogmatic and rigid, but I'm convinced that this is because of my culture and traditions, where I need to be doing specific things at specific times. If I need to be home, for instance, I need to be at home. So, I've grown up being rigid or firm in the classroom as well. So, when the bell rings, we take out our books and get started with the lesson. I'm certainly not a violent person and I'm not the perfect person by any means. I'm not flawless; I'm a fallible human being. We all are.

My personal story will attest to the fact that I believe that people should not be discriminated against. People should not be killed. I believe that you cannot kill somebody without a valid reason and that there is always a way of finding a solution. What Hitler did, irrespective of the reason, was to take life away from people, which you cannot do.

Personally, I don't hate anybody. I don't have that kind of time to waste actually. Personally, I'd rather be angry with someone than hate someone. I can get very angry with somebody, but I won't literally hate them. Like my brother, I love him, but he irritates and *angers* me at times. I might only hate someone if they kill someone and I firmly believe that you cannot kill someone because of the colour of their skin.

Skin colour is something that is regularly brought to the fore by the learners. When I drew the parallels between apartheid and the Holocaust the other day, one of my Grade 9 learners immediately turned to ideas of race and racial discrimination and commented, "Sir, it was the

Germans against the Jews and they were both White, but in apartheid it was the Whites against the Blacks.” The learners were surprised that Whites were against Whites and found it difficult to comprehend. Putting that across to learners can be rather challenging because then you have to explain why the Germans did this and that it was what Hitler dictated to the German people.

My school

The school where I teach is fifty-three years old. We currently have one thousand and sixty-three learners. The majority are Black with a small number who are Coloured and Indian. Many of our learners come from the surrounding rural area of Ladysmith, an area that was marginalised by the so-called Group Areas Act of 1950, which separated Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians into areas designated specifically for each race group, in order to protect White privilege and Black land was appropriated for Government use for Whites. It’s slowly developing now, which means that there is a fast transport network system that brings the learners to school. However, it’s still a very disadvantaged area and many of the learners come from such poor backgrounds that we have had to provide a feeding scheme at school.

Two weeks before the interview – the use of photographs



The photographs have arrived and they’re really interesting. This one of Hitler reminds me of a picture in our textbook, which shows Hitler standing and holding a swastika flag in front of him. The photograph appears repeatedly, and one learner recently mentioned that it was almost like he was being promoted because it appears so often.

A photograph of the students of the White Rose Movement, Hans and Sophie Scholl and Christopher Probst is particularly suitable for high school students as my learners can relate to it. It addresses not only the Holocaust as an event but also ideas of race. For instance, the notion that White Germans could be in opposition to White Jews intrigues and baffles the learners. These students opposed Hitler with the slogan, “We will not be silent. We are your bad conscience,” and if something should happen in South Africa, we, the young adults, should have a resistance movement going too. Sadly, they were executed in 1943.



Also, the pile of victims' shoes like these, doesn't show the bodies of people but rather gives the learners a glimpse of the fact that there were bodies, based on the shoes that were there.

I don't really use the antisemitic propaganda poster, *The Eternal Jew*, although I know that antisemitic propaganda was quite common in Nazi Germany; our first textbook wrote about it. However, if you look at it now, Jews are successful; they've come out of it; perhaps like the Blacks in South Africa who were highly oppressed, but now they are successful. You need to look at the results of that oppression in society right now. Even the photograph of Hitler himself is not relevant because I don't think learners should see this fellow otherwise maybe they'll become like him and try and take over the world.

However, it's the photograph of the men in bunks that connects most with me. It's moving, painful and traumatic, showing as it does how the Jews suffered and stayed in those bunks for many days, starving. I would definitely use it in the classroom because I want the learners to be moved as well. I would also use this photograph of the Nuremberg Trials because it tells that these Nazis got what they deserved - retribution. There were consequences to their actions.



Three days before - the Holocaust, the curriculum and apartheid

In preparation for my interview, I'm making notes about the Holocaust curriculum. My school currently has a total of one hundred and ninety-five Grade 9 learners between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, all of whom learn history as part of Social Sciences, which is compulsory. I tell my learners that we are fortunate to be in a city school and to be situated on the highway. "Be quiet and listen outside," I whisper. "There are trucks going past. That's transport. The world is happening around us as we are sitting here and speaking. While I'm teaching you a history section about something that had happened many, many years ago, the world is happening. As you sit in this classroom, the world is happening."

According to the Grade 9 History curriculum in my school and in South Africa, we've been through three stages of the curriculum since the dawn of our democracy in 1994, the latest being CAPS which we adopted in 2011. I have personally noticed in the Holocaust section; the volume of content has increased for Grade 9 compared to the previous History curriculum when the Holocaust was part of a section called *Issues of our Time*. There's more focus on the Holocaust now. I teach it in Term One followed by apartheid in Term Three. As the apartheid section is taught quite a long time after teaching the Holocaust, my foundation has to be solid, because when I'm teaching 1948 apartheid in South Africa I must be able to relate it to some of the racial laws that were enacted in Nazi Germany. In fact, I see many similarities between apartheid and the Holocaust. Both were crimes against humanity. Consequently, I teach apartheid the same way as the Holocaust, that is, that people were racially segregated, oppressed and resistance took place. The Holocaust for me is a little bit more intense because it was gruesome and horrific, and a lot of murder took place, which the whole world knew about. Even Einstein himself once commented that it's not the people who do evil, it's the people who sit back and let the evil happen. To me that's moving.

Still, if I had my way, I would design the curriculum so that you would introduce the apartheid system first and then teach the Holocaust. This would help the learners understand the concept of racism as they would be able to relate to the local scenario first, heart to heart, which was more about resistance, segregation and separation. Then you would go to the extreme case of the Holocaust, where there was murder and brutality and extermination.

The Holocaust in the curriculum actually raises a question for me, "What does the Grade 9 Senior Phase History curriculum require from us history teachers in terms of Holocaust education?" The first concept we tackle in Grade 9 is the Rise of the Nazi Germany and then the teaching of World War II, including the extermination camps; Sophie Scholl and the White Rose Movement; the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and so on. In Grade 11, we briefly touch on the Holocaust, focusing mainly on the idea of race in the late 19th and 20th centuries; but why is it necessary to even teach the Holocaust again in Grade 11? What does Holocaust education want to provide for our learners in our current situation in the schools? I've come to the conclusion that it wants to create learners with social responsibility, encouraging them to become better people and not repeat these heinous crimes that have been committed before; so, my task as a passionate teacher is to teach History in order to make the learners aware and become stronger people. And according to CAPS, as a teacher I must promote diversity and social cohesion and show people how to become better in society. I believe that I do this. I have the ability to shift learners' minds to become stalwarts in society and resist any form of oppression or unfair treatment, because they are our children at the end of the day.

Two days before the interview – issues of diversity, identity and values

I'm always amazed that despite the different race groups in my classes, many of the learners don't know that some Indians are Muslims, some are Christians, some are Hindus, and some are Tamils. They think all Indians are all Hindus.

Actually, I speak of religion a lot in my class, especially when I teach a section in the Holocaust called 'Identity'. It requires the learners to tell me who they are, their religion and so on. I usually set aside Fridays for discussions when learners can talk about absolutely anything, even parrots or wallpaper. I believe this boosts their confidence to speak, which is important because in the Social Sciences you must be able to clearly relate what you want to say and as a teacher you have to allow for development and growth. I always do this although it sometimes means the learners step over the line, and then I have to tell them, "Enough. Just stop there; you can't say things like that." I believe that every teacher is very powerful, and I must use this ability to be able to show the learners proper values and how to develop an open mind. They should not be judgemental about other people or group of people. Sometimes in History we want to instil values in our learners even when teaching a horrific thing like the Holocaust, so we must be able to separate the bad things that have happened from the good that can come out of it.

It also really bothers me that the learners are very materialistic. They choose their careers based on how much they will earn. They want money, opulence. To me, life is about being happy, content with what you have. You don't have to be a radiologist or a cardiologist to be happy. You can be simple.

Being a Muslim educator certainly influences the way I teach the Holocaust because, as a person following a particular religion that has certain beliefs, I have certain values. My religion dictates very strict rules, there are certain things that we can and cannot do, just as the country has the South African Constitution that guides our rights and responsibilities. I am conscious of the fact that having gone to a religious Muslim school I have to divorce myself from my religion and cultural practices, so when I'm teaching the Holocaust I simply teach what the curriculum demands. I cannot openly say something that my religion would perhaps dictate to me because there comes a time in the section of the Holocaust that speaks of religion, as well as the cultural religious and traits of people. But I must be able to relate what I feel and believe to the class as well. I'm aware that children emulate a teacher to determine what is right and what is wrong, so I may not tell them what to become or influence them to change their religion and become mine, but I still want to impart to them the principles, belief systems and values such as non-violence and honesty.

The day before the interview – textbooks and other resources

One of the criteria for me to take part in this study is that I should not have been to the Holocaust Centre in Durban, which I haven't, but one of my colleagues went there a while ago with the learners and he brought back all the resource materials, which I have found very useful and we still show that DVD to the learners. The manuals have photographs that learners can relate to, which is valuable because history can become abstract when there are too many notes and not enough pictures or videos to help put things into perspective.

At my school we have just one textbook, which is brand new this year and in absolutely brilliant condition because of the new curriculum. In fact, we are fortunate to even have textbooks as some schools don't have them at all. The textbook is clear, but it doesn't discuss issues such as the logistics of war, how many army trucks were sent from here to this ghetto and so on. It strictly speaks of how the Jews were massacred and I feel that there is sensationalism there.

Not so long ago I was reading an article in the *Mail & Guardian* on how history authors, particularly in South African school textbooks, are influencing the way in which history happened in South Africa. For me, one of the ways that the history authors influence history is through sensationalism. I believe that sensationalism also plays a big role when it comes to the power of the media whether it is textbooks or television or magazines and how this influences us. The media can edit material to a great extent, even when we're speaking of the Holocaust. For example, instead of us finding out what happened to the people, the big focus in teaching the Holocaust in the textbooks is on how the Jews were tortured. This also applies to the Holocaust Centre DVD. The videos are very real, but at the same time there is sensationalism.

I also read recently of the power of cartoons. Cartoon analysts say that cartoons in today's generation have actually been caricatured in such a way to influence the minds of children. And believe it or not, as simple as it may seem, Calvin and Hobbes or Huggle Monsters on *Cartoon Network*, can be a tool that can influence young, small minds in children, their thoughts and the whole lot of social ills that exists in society.

This applies to technology as well. For example, a couple of years ago, a learner posed a very thought-provoking idea in response to a realistic video. He asked, "Sir, so whilst the war was taking place people were recording it?" This gave me pause for thought as photographs are primary sources in history and learners immediately relate to them. From my research, I found that there were people recording the war at times, maybe from a distance or maybe close by. But my problem is this. I presume that during war it was so chaotic the photographers would have switched off their video

cameras immediately and whatever material that they had would have been edited later. Then videos would have emerged. To me, there is sensationalism in this and it influences the minds of our people. Some textbooks, books and people even say that the Holocaust never happened, while others refute it. The largest museum in Poland speaks of that. My Social Science Head of Department Mr Ramsamy has been there, and he brought back pictures, primary sources that we show our learners.

So, when I teach this section, I have to be clinical in terms of what the curriculum wants from me. As an educator, I can't simply give my personal religious views about who's in favour, or not in favour of the Holocaust, nor do I justify what Hitler did towards the Jewish people. I remain neutral because I realise that what I say can influence a learner's thoughts. Hence, I need to be clear in my view as to why Hitler discriminated against the Jews. But this is not straightforward as I myself have many unanswered questions.

The evening before – my learners come first

I'm meeting with Brenda tomorrow. As I sit here at my desk, it's the learners who creep into my thoughts. When I talk about the Holocaust I always remember that ultimately, I'm talking to children and when I tell them what the literal meaning of Holocaust is, totally burnt, I know that some of them are going to think of it as something horrific. They may look at it as something abstract, but it really is completely literal – people were burnt during the Holocaust. When I explain to the learners that this happened to six million people, not all at once but over a period of three or four years, 1940 to 1945, I know they are listening to me, absorbing what I say and following my lead. But because they are so attentive to what I say, I must be very, very wary about what I say because they all come from very different backgrounds. Hence, even though I have my personal opinions on certain matters relating to history, racial issues and issues such as eugenics, I will definitely not relate them in the classroom. However, if I do happen to come across a class where it seems appropriate, I might reveal my personality and ideas to them, so that they can have a better understanding of the subject.

Day of the interview- the day unfolds

What an interesting day! I prepared for this interview the whole weekend and kept saying to myself, "You don't have to prepare at all, you just have to be yourself," but I was still extremely nervous. I needn't have worried. I got on really well with Brenda and the interview was thought-provoking, raising many issues, so I want to document it as fully as possible.

The day started off as a bit of a comedy of errors. Initially, Brenda got lost so I had to go out and collect her. She looked quite relieved to see me and followed my car back to the school. I was

incredibly nervous, but we chatted about inconsequential nothings as we made our way to the school library where we were having the interview and I began to feel a bit more at ease. I was still anxious but a little less so as I filled in a form ensuring my anonymity in her work. Even though I've been teaching history since I was nineteen and the Holocaust for the last seven years, I don't remember ever feeling like I was taking a test on it before. Anyway, I was determined to keep to the topic and be as professional as possible.

Brenda got right to the point. She asked me a single question, "Please tell me the story of your life as a teacher, from becoming a history teacher, to teaching the Holocaust in your classroom, and what if anything Holocaust education means to you personally." Then she added that she would like to hear all about my personal experiences and any events that might have happened. I concentrated hard on the question, but it certainly wasn't what I was expecting. Here I was with all my Holocaust material, ready to refer to at a moment's notice, and she was asking about me! So, I began by telling her about my family, my school and my religion. I told her that I am a Muslim because this is an essential part of who I am. But I clarified that as an educator I have to divorce myself from religion when I teach; that I realise that my personal opinion is sometimes not good in the classroom; and that I rather have to give the facts of the subject. She looked completely neutral when I said this, so I felt confident to continue. As I spoke, Brenda just nodded her head, smiled occasionally and furiously jotted down notes. This gave me a chance to breathe and think before I continued. I then explained where the Holocaust fits into the curriculum and also about diversity and identity as I had planned.

I meant it when I told her that I love teaching Holocaust history and have much to say about it. This was followed by a discussion about the aims of teaching the Holocaust, which I had noted in my journal three days ago, that is, to create upstanders and responsible citizens. Brenda and I then discussed change and living in a changing world and I mentioned that learners must be critical of what they hear and see so that they just don't take in whatever is said to them and be exposed to our ever-changing world. The issue of human rights came up and how the history of the Holocaust serves as a case study of human rights abuses. I told her that I believe that by showing examples of these human rights abuses, Holocaust education can lead to the building of social relationships in a country and arguably have the potential to change its social fabric. Besides, this is what is outlined in our CAPS.

I wanted Brenda to know that who I am allows me to teach the subject because Holocaust education influences how and where we are right now as people. The Holocaust had a major influence on the world. It shows us that irrespective of what culture, colour, religion, you do not have the right to take the life of another person, whether you are a leader in power or a dominant race group; even if they are on life support, you cannot choose to end someone's life. In fact, the Holocaust has been

recorded as the worst crime ever committed in history, aside from the other genocides - Rwanda and Darfur and recently the Middle East. To me it was horrific.

The topic of how I teach the Holocaust came next and I reiterated that I definitely go by the content outlined in the curriculum. I explained how, from the outset, when the learners hear Hitler's name for the first time, I have to go back to the basics and tell them who Hitler was, that he was not even German by nationality and he was a defect himself because he wore glasses and yet he wanted to create this racially superior group of people. In contrast, he discriminated against the Jews whom he considered to be the most inferior race group in the world. We then went on to some of the events that precipitated the Holocaust, including the fact that the German people were desperate for jobs because of the Wall Street Stock Exchange collapse in 1928. The Deutschmark had no value, but the Germans still started developing their weapons and continued with fighting. However, the rest of the world had money. Industrialisation was at its peak. Capitalism was rife. Communism was taking place. And amidst all of that, gold was being discovered. There was no place for the idea of race. It didn't exist in America at that time. Frankly, I can't understand why Hitler was so anti the Jews all over Europe because he hadn't done very much travelling. Generally, he was confined to Austria and then Germany and then from Germany to the surrounding areas. He had been nowhere else. So, to me, the Holocaust was about the mind, it was about power and how a person can influence others but I still have many questions. There are some things in history that really baffle me. For instance, what I can't understand is how Hitler was able to influence so many people. Maybe it was his oratory skills; being able to capture the mood of the country.

Something that surprised me was Brenda's assertion that there were only five hundred and fifty thousand Jews living in Germany in 1933. I thought that there were lots of them. She was also adamant that the Jews didn't have all the money and that the Jews do not control the world, as I suggested. In fact, she got quite animated about this. She even asked me how big I thought Israel was. Now I have always believed that it's huge, so I was very surprised to learn that the whole of Israel could fit inside the Kruger National Park. All I could say was that it was a heavy situation there and that I hoped everything would calm down soon.

The learners were next on the interview agenda, because like me, they have many questions. For instance, they ask me, "Why were the Jews the main target in the Holocaust?" and "Sir, how did this man possibly kill so many people?" and "Why were the Nazis even part of this? Why were they following Hitler?" They want to know, "How did he have the power to do a thing like that? Where did the money come from?" And some of them ask diverse questions such as, "At the time when the German people had no money, what was happening to them? Who was providing for them?" I also read in one of my books that the Holocaust was not an accident in history - it was not inevitable. The

book said that if the Holocaust happened once, it could happen again but maybe not necessarily towards the Jewish people. It could be towards a different race group. So, history can repeat itself under different circumstances, in different environments.

When it was time for a lunch break midway, Brenda reached into her bag and brought out a tub of grapes and a packet of dried fruit. I silently gulped – Woolworths! How was I going to deal with that? After all, I'm part of the Boycott, Divest, Sanctions (BDS) movement and we are supposed to boycott stores that buy goods from Israel – that includes Woolworths. So, I blustered a bit and then politely declined and asked her if I could get anything for her from the tuckshop downstairs, which she in turn, politely declined. Fortunately, I was able to quickly leave and when I returned the conversation reverted seamlessly to the interview.

We then spoke about my resources. Brenda wanted to know how I obtained my information. I was happy to tell her that my use of the Internet was at the top of the list. I gave her the example of the tons of material that I found when I typed 'Holocaust education in South African schools' in Google. I also use journal papers and books in my resources including an entire book that I have on the Holocaust and an old copy of *Mein Kampf*, which I've read. Because of my interest in history, I have tons of information and I do a lot of research, not only on the Holocaust but on all the topics I teach. I also have lots of materials for my classes because I've been teaching for a while, so I can walk into the class and just give the learners exercises to do. Yet I had to confess that even with all these resources, I still base my teaching on what the textbook says, because the Holocaust is not a subject that we go into much depth with our learners.

To conclude our rather lengthy interview, Brenda and I quickly discussed the photographs that she had emailed, then we said our goodbyes, gave each other a hug and promised to stay in touch. I even invited her to come and teach one of my classes! I really hope that she gets an opportunity to do so as I would love my learners to hear from someone like her who knows a lot about the Holocaust.

The next day – some personal reflections on teaching the Holocaust

The interview has been going over and over in my head and I need to record some of my deepest thoughts and feeling about teaching the Holocaust. Personally, I don't relate to it but on a humanitarian level it's moving. Some of the things that happened were devastating so teaching the Holocaust touches me a lot. It may not relate to me entirely, but I am sympathetic towards people that were killed then, just as they were during apartheid or in Rwanda, people like the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda, and in America the Black Americans. I am definitely sympathetic, as the Holocaust paved the way for history to unfold. To me it was one of the major interesting things that have

happened historically. But I must say, that generally, because of my religion, because of my family, I have this ideology - leave alone religion, leave alone the Holocaust. I like people. But there are also people that perhaps that are not of my liking. Besides, even though in my upbringing I taught not to have agendas for anybody or ulterior motives of some sort, which I think that applies to all teachers, if I'm honest with myself, I may have my *own* personal agendas, my own little ones, in my own conjured mind.

Brenda challenged me during the interview. She was curious to find out if I had any inner conflict when teaching the Holocaust. The simple answer is yes, I do. Very much so. But I firmly believe that things should unfold the way they should. Even in life. Therefore, if a controversial topic comes up in the classroom, I encourage discussion about it. The learners and I might agree to disagree on certain things, but that's okay. For instance, I'm convinced that Jews are the most powerful people in the world right now. In my opinion it's about money. They're very rich. I think Brenda was horrified when I said that because she exclaimed, "I'm not rich! And neither are my family, my parents, aunts, cousins and so on!" It made me wonder if maybe what I said was a generalised statement, but I still believe it. Also, to me, the Holocaust was something that was very well orchestrated in the world. Moreover, I find that I'm quite ambivalent in my thoughts towards Hitler. He was very powerful and one of the things that I admire about him, although I'm not supporting him, was that he could control the world. Because even though he created such an atrocity, he also brought about positive changes at the same time. I'm not saying that I'm condoning what he did, but I'm saying that what he did changed the world itself.

Two days later - undercurrents

When Brenda mentioned that she was Jewish quite early in our interview, I was quite surprised. This makes her only the second Jewish person that I've ever met. But after that, the interview suddenly turned more interesting. However, from the outset, I felt an unspoken undercurrent in our conversation. Brenda's Jewishness and my being a committed Muslim was a background murmur to our conversation. It was as though we knew we were on different sides of the Israel-Gaza question that is currently dominating the news channels. We skirted around this controversial topic. Historically speaking, since the Jews were given a large part of what was then called Palestine, now Israel, after the Holocaust and the end of World War II, there has been long-standing conflict between Jews and Palestinians over land ownership. So being current news, this topic was difficult to avoid in the interview. I asked Brenda for her take on the current situation in Palestine and she explained that from her perspective she believes that the Jews have a five-thousand-year history on that piece of land; it was the land where Moses brought the Jews; and that's where much of their biblical history took place. She said the Jews have always regarded Israel as the land that was

promised by G-d to them. I wanted to know if she had any problems personally with Muslims and she vehemently said no, but she agreed with me that there's a big history between Christians, Jewish and Muslims.

I'm not sure why, but I was constantly subtly trying to assure her that what I teach is completely professional and that I keep my religion out of the classroom. Yet I know that although we may ignore some things that have happened, I believe that the reality is that as teachers we have to be bold and audacious and say certain things that we feel should be said, because the world we are living now is very dangerous. For an example, I know that there is a big history behind the Jews and the Islam and the Christianity and the Wailing Wall in Palestine. There's a big, big, big, big issue about it. And there's so many stories that I see on the internet and in articles, because I make it my duty to update myself on current information and just keep informed about certain things. But I confess, I really don't understand how things unfold in the world; the people, their thoughts, their mind, their actions, their intentions, and their ideas.

One week later – challenges abound

Since the interview, I've been mulling over the challenges that I and other teachers face as we teach the Holocaust. I emailed Brenda about it and she's suggested that I document my thoughts briefly for her. This is the email I sent to her:

Dear Brenda

Further to our conversation the other day, I'm doing as you suggested and noting my thoughts on the challenges I face when teaching the Holocaust. Hopefully it will add to your thesis and help bring about some changes to History education in the future.

The thing that frustrates me most as a history teacher is that some children find history boring. In fact, a lot of them find it boring. There are learners that will tell you straight. "Sir, we're finding it boring now." They sleep in my class, which I admit makes me feel a bit incapable. They complain, "History, Sir? When are we going to get to geography?" I tell them, "It's history! Come on, it's something that happened before. People, we have to do this, it's in the curriculum; let's finish it as quickly as possible." But at least we are teaching history in our school as of this year. Previously, we didn't do history as with many other schools!

This is compounded by the fact that when we teach the Holocaust we go into so much depth in so little time, and then eventually it's forgotten. Moreover, you can't teach the Holocaust in isolation. There are two major wars on either side of it – World War I and the Cold War. So, lack of time is a real problem.

Language is another challenge. I agree with our School Principal who said that a teacher of any subject, be it Maths, English, History, or Natural Science is actually a language teacher. I know that as a teacher, I have to get my ideas across to the learners so it's important that they understand what I'm saying. But in my school, English is the second language of many of the learners, so they don't understand it as thoroughly as I do. Also, sometimes, in history, words can have double meanings or literal meanings or figurative meanings. Words can be ambiguous, so I must be able to come down to the learners' level to make sure that they understand what I'm saying. Consequently, I do see myself as a language teacher.

Another difficulty arises when I try to explain to learners how to differentiate good people from bad. You see, one simply cannot tell. There's no way the human mind that can distinguish them unless you have some wizardry. And sometimes even actions don't dictate whether the person is good or bad. Only time reveals everything.

Religion is another challenge. If you go back in history, half of the world's population still believe that we were not created by Adam and Eve, and we were! We have a lot of Christian learners in our school, that believe in Adam and Eve, but many others don't. A lot of them, because of the racial, cultural and religious backgrounds that they come from, believe the theory of evolution, of Darwinism, the natural process of selection and the survival of the fittest and how it had eventually crept into our society and it just came about and all these other racial theories that would have come about.

Emotion also needs to be considered in the classroom. I admit that I'm quite strict and I don't tolerate nonsense because children can sometimes just drive you up the wall; but even though I sometimes come across as being someone who is unapproachable, I'm actually a very sensitive person and sometimes I do become a bit emotional. I believe that as a History teacher I must teach with my heart and even if a topic comes up that is a bit controversial, I say, "Right, let's have a discussion." However, with the Holocaust, I need to be very cautious as sometimes

what I say in the class makes a big impact on sensitive learners and they become rather emotional. They don't actually cry but you can see in their verbal communication, their expression on their faces that they are utterly shocked, some more than others. As a Social Science teacher, I must ensure that what I say isn't going to hurt anyone.

But currently the biggest challenge that I face with the learners is dealing with the question of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Learners see things on TV or the internet about the Middle East because right now the Gaza War is headline news. During a classroom discussion a couple of days ago, one student expressed the opinion that the Jewish people during the Holocaust were marginalised, segregated, imprisoned and killed. But, she exclaimed, "Now it's happening again in the Middle East." Then she asked me openly, "Sir, what are your views on what is happening in the Middle East with the Jewish people, the people of Palestine, and the atrocities that are taking place there? What are your views on that because we are just doing the section and there's a big fight that is taking place?" I had anticipated a question like this so I had a neutral answer prepared. "Well at this point in time there are terrible things that are happening. I believe that irrespective of which religion or group of people it is, you don't have the right to kill another person." However, this bothers me.

Brenda, we cannot shy away from the fact that there are still atrocities that are taking place, even though we may be teaching it on one hand, it is happening again on the other hand. What you and I say right now will not necessarily have a major impact on a stop for the blockade that takes place in the Middle East now. Never. It's not going to happen, but just our own understanding of it, our studies and applying our minds to it, makes it very interesting. I didn't like what happened before and I don't like what's happening now. But these things are continuing. It's taking place.

I hope that you find these comments helpful for your thesis.

Regards

Rashid

One month later – why the Jews?

As a teacher, I know that the Holocaust raises many questions for the learners. This is not surprising as any child that hears of a killing would be shocked and they would enquire as to why this killing

took place. Some learners want to know about the religion of Jewish people or about Hitler's ideology. Others want to know why the Jews were targeted, why they were killed. Now I know that teaching the Holocaust basically addresses racial superiority but some of the learners are just not satisfied with the explanation that the Jews were regarded as racially impure and therefore Hitler wanted the world to be rid of them all. They want to know more. "But why?" they ask, "Why were the Jews specifically targeted?" This means that I must be able to respond and tell them as best as I understand it, why were the Jews killed and why was there such a strong antisemitic feeling towards them. But as I said, it remains a mystery for me. This is what makes the Holocaust controversial for me. I just don't know. It bamboozles me. I only know as a fact that the Jewish people were regarded as scapegoats, they were discriminated against and they were the prime target of the Holocaust. I also know that ultimately Hitler wanted to annihilate them completely from Europe and Germany. The textbook clearly outlines that six million Jewish people were killed brutally: in experiments, in gas chambers, through starvation, they were injected, euthanasia and so on.

The history books speak of several reasons as to why the Nazi Germans disliked the Jews, namely, that the Jews were a burden to German society, they were considered to be an inferior race and they were particularly targeted because of religious reasons. They broke away from the normal way of Christianity and I'm a bit reluctant to say this (although I don't know why, I shouldn't be reluctant to say it) but historians and books tell us that the Jewish people were partly responsible for the crucifying of Jesus Christ. I don't know whether that is, it could be a statement that was made by Christians themselves, because there are always people who would put a knife in your back and think absolutely nothing of it.

Yet I confess that even if I knew for a fact exactly why the Jews were targeted, I wouldn't want to go into very much in depth in a classroom. I simply can't say that out loud in that the Jews killed Jesus Christ and therefore they were killed. I have to give a variety of answers as to why the Jews were killed. Besides, we don't delve deeper into the history of why, because at Grade 9 level we are just touching the basics.

Wearing different hats

As a closing entry about my interview with Brenda, I've realised a few things about myself and my role in my society. In some respects, I become isolated outside of the classroom. It doesn't happen inside the classroom because I think I'm able to handle the learners' questions in terms of what our subject assessment guidelines dictate. But I've been in situations with friends or family, where people are having a discussion at say, the dinner table, about history or religion or whatever where I need to step in. I am aware that with my knowledge, whatever knowledge I have, I will be able to bring some

kind of impartiality and unbiasedness to the situation and just set the record straight. I can say, "This is not what happened," or "This is what happened" or "Let's look at it from a different perspective." In one instance, I was having dinner with my family recently when the question of the Holocaust came up. My family we were discussing what it was, religion and other details that I cannot give the dynamics about. But I had to step in and from an educators' perspective, from my perspective, try and iron it out and just say, "No guys, that's not how it's supposed to be. Your opinion is a bit biased. You're generalising now because that's not how it should be." So, outside the classroom I have to apply my teaching ability, skills, negotiation, mediation and arbitration, to try and remedy situations there and then. I've come across people who are talking utter nonsense. They don't know what they're talking about and they're fabricating things. Then I have to step in and say, "No, no, no. This is what happened in 1933 or in this ghetto uprising." So, I've had many situations outside of the classroom, where through my teaching of the Holocaust, I can put forward my approach to religion, discuss a holistic approach towards different groups, cultures, traditions and practices in South Africa and to explain jihad to some people in my family, to tell them that forms of what we call extremism and recently terrorism do exist.

In closing, I think that after this interview Brenda knows more about my personality and deepest thoughts than even some of my closest relatives. It's normal, I guess, because it's an interview and she asked me probing questions. But at the same time, there was trust and getting to know a person. From speaking to Brenda and documenting my thoughts in this journal, I've got to know more about myself, my family, and certainly my understanding of the Holocaust. So, this isn't the end of my journaling, but for now, I'll stop.

(Sipho)

A gun, a spear, the Holocaust and me

A memoir of my experiences as a history teacher in rural KwaZulu-Natal

Sometimes, as I sit here in the cool shade under a tree on this farm where my family has lived for many years, I look out over the green, rolling hills of KwaZulu-Natal and think about the events of my life that have brought me to this point. I read a newspaper story today about how there will soon be no more survivors of the Holocaust and that reminded me of the time when Brenda asked me to take part in her study. As a history teacher I was very happy to do this, but in her letter of request she mentioned that she was investigating the Holocaust through the personal stories of history teachers. I guess that's me, a history teacher with my own personal stories. I have many stories that grew from the events and experiences of my life and her request brought me face to face with my ideas about teaching, and specifically about teaching the Holocaust.

Life on a rural KwaZulu-Natal farm - my early years and becoming a history teacher

I was born in what is now called the Eastern Cape but later as a child I came with my family to live in KwaZulu-Natal. I am the tenth in a family of twelve children. Brenda raised her eyebrows when she heard this and questioned if we all have the same parents. This is a common reaction when people hear how big our family is. The simple answer is, "We do." Despite the fact that we were not affluent, and life was sometimes hard, my childhood was a happy one. I remember running carefree next to my father, who was in charge of about two hundred head of cattle on two farms and playing in the veld³⁵ around our rondavels³⁶ with my brothers and sisters. During the school term I stayed in town where I attended a government school. I took my studies very seriously, but over the school holidays I went back to the farm where I often worked as a herd boy, looking after the sheep. I also sometimes worked on weekends if it was my turn, which was usually once a month. No-one forced us young boys to work; it was completely voluntary. My friends and I worked in pairs to ensure that the sheep

³⁵ An open, uncultivated grassy area in Southern Africa

³⁶ A rondavel is a traditional African hut that is usually round with a thatched roof and is constructed of easily available raw materials such as stones, mud, grass and cow dung.

didn't wander into the farmer's garden around his house or into other people's fields. We wanted to work because we wanted to get money to pay for our school uniforms in order to help our parents who did not earn enough to support all twelve of us. It certainly wasn't a hardship - I was happy working on the farm.

When I think about it now, my friends and I were not exposed to politics. A White man owned the farm on which we lived and worked but we had no tension with him and there was certainly no friction between him and my father, in fact, they had a very good relationship and he allowed my parents to keep many heads of cattle. Some other farmers allowed their workers to keep cattle too, but they restricted the number, whereas this man allowed my parents to keep as many of their own heads of cattle as they wished and if one of our cattle was sick, my father would tell the farmer and he would take care of it. This was important to us as having cattle means wealth in African culture. In fact, this was the way that I was able to complete my studies, because as the farmer advised, my father sold a couple of heads of cattle to fund my studies. As a family we liked him because he was kind and always cared about the people who worked for him.

A difficult time of my life was when I was in matric in 1992 as my father passed away. Luckily there was a silver lining on that dark cloud, because even though no-one was working for him, the farmer kindly allowed us to remain on the farm, which meant that we never experienced the financial difficulties of other people that I knew who suffered under similar circumstances. However, I was due to start the first paper of my final matriculation exams the week after he died and his death was a devastating blow to me. I struggled to focus on my schoolwork. I knew that I had no choice but to persist and eventually I passed well enough to be accepted at university. In fact, this was a really proud moment for me because I was the first person who passed matric in my area.

For a while things continued as usual, then out of the blue, the farmer provided us with an unexpected lifeline to the future. In 2001 he called not only my family, but also the six other families living on his property to a meeting. He announced, "I've decided to sell my farm to you all!" We were stunned, but listened intently as he continued, "I stayed happily with your parents before some of you were even born and now some of the parents are no longer with us. I know that one day I will follow them, and I've decided that I want to leave you where they left you – here on the farm. So, I want you all to try your very best to find the means to acquire this farm and I will sell it to you." Fortunately, my family, the Langas, managed to secure the finance from the government to buy our portion and in 2001 we gained access to

the title deeds. But things did not go completely as the farmer planned and I hate to admit this even to myself, but we Zulus are selfish and so we did not live up to the farmer's expectations. He wanted us to work as a co-operative and he said he would mentor us, but each family wanted its own piece of land, exclaiming, "This is my property!" so it was difficult to get everyone to work together.

The Langa children continued to stay on the farm as a family, at the same time pursuing our different careers. I went to university where I qualified as a history teacher and my brother became a mayor of one of the local towns. Of all the seven families that lived on the farm, the Langas became the most successful. This caused friction between the different families, and they said, "We can't be controlled by the Langa family, because the sons of Langa regard themselves as people who know more than everybody else." Of course, this was not true. Despite many difficulties, my brother and I simply tried to break the shackles of the past and further our careers, but since many of the other families opted to remain and work on their farms; our success alienated us from our neighbours. Even when I was studying for my PhD I didn't tell anyone on the farm otherwise no-one would have come to my house; they would have regarded me as a person higher than them and they would have said, "This Langa person has done this and now he's exposing us!" I certainly never wanted that kind of jealousy to cloud my relationship with them, so when I was away, I simply said that I was working in town.

My wife Ntombi and I married in 2007. When we had the wedding we both planned financially for it, as we did other later projects, like buying our two cars, and yes, I paid lobola,³⁷ lots of it. To our delight our first child was born in 2008. That year we also bought a house in Durban, although again I lied as I told my neighbours on the farm that we were renting. Yet another auspicious year for my wife and me was 2010 when our second child was born and we also bought a second car. Now to some people this might seem like a very routine occurrence, but to us and to our community, these events were all happening very fast. But my wife and I have a wonderful relationship and we have weathered these storms together. I even told her to reprimand me if I do something wrong telling her, "But you see if we are at home," I told her, "if needs be you must shout at me and you mustn't feel intimidated, because the powers that I've got are not the powers that I'd use against you."

³⁷ Lobola is a Southern African term for the "price" that a man pays to the family of his bride-to-be in exchange for her hand in marriage. This is often paid in cattle.

During this period of my life, my personal friendship with the headmaster at the school at which I was teaching grew. I knew that he was always in my corner, so when he came to me and told me that people were saying things about me, I was shocked. He explained, “You are a threat to them because you are successful, that is why people keep saying negative things about you. They believe that as a result of your success you are going to feel dissatisfied and leave.” This was verified when other staff members asked me, “Why are you still here when you have a house in Durban?” and the whispers from the staffroom were that a few of my colleagues felt that I should be ignored when the time came to plan the new year’s timetable as I might leave at any time. No matter how much I protested, “I’ve got a home and a plot of land where I’m building another house. I can’t leave. I can’t go anywhere,” I was unable to dispel these negative thoughts that others had about me, which left me feeling very isolated and alone. It was then that I came to understand that the success of people creates fear in others.

History, race and other matters meaningful to me

I was and still am passionate about history. I started to love it in when I was in Grade 11. I can only attribute this to my history teacher, Mr Jones, who taught us differently. He wasn’t like any of my previous, unapproachable teachers who simply handed out notes day after day with an explanation maybe once every fourth day and to whom we couldn’t even address questions without being made to feel bad. With them, we were supposed to take *everything* that they said as gospel truth, because in their eyes the teacher was never wrong. In fact, if you happened to stop a teacher mid-lesson, you were taken to the staffroom and given a hiding. Mr Jones was different. He inspired me. He walked into the history classroom, and, without a book, told us stories. The only time he put chalk to the chalkboard was to summarise in sentences what he had said. It was from there I started to say, “History’s not difficult!” This was reinforced when I got to university and my history professor who was Afrikaans used the same teaching style. He would simply talk to us.

This was around 1995, just after the change in South Africa. I remember as students we used to chat amongst ourselves and my friends would say, “Ay, these Afrikaans people hate us!” They (and I to some extent) were convinced that whatever we were taught was designed to make us fail. I can smile about it now because that was clearly not the case, but at the time many people believed that all Afrikaans people hated all Black people, so when we looked at our Afrikaans professor we never saw someone who was genuinely interested in our well-being, as we later discovered he was, but someone who was our antagonist. Can you imagine

how shocked we were when we realised in the second semester that he spoke isiZulu fluently? To this day, I'm thankful that we never said anything bad about him!

For me personally, I think that on the whole I was fortunate in my early experiences with other races. I had a good experience with our White farmer and I can honestly say that racism simply did not exist in my childhood world. My experience seems to be far removed from the anger that I hear today in the voices of Black men on the radio. It was only when I got to university that I became aware of such things.

I found it interesting that when I taught the section on the Holocaust, my own identity as a Black man always reared its head. I made sure that the learners were proud of being Black and that they should not be offended if I called them Blacks, as too many were, even though they were Black. I would tell them, "You must remember you are a Black person. I'm also a Black person. I'm coming from the same background."

Teaching history, teaching the Holocaust

It was sometime in July 2015 that, with some trepidation, I set off for the first of my arranged meetings with Brenda. We had agreed to meet weekly until the end of our discussion, but I wondered what we were going to talk about. I need not have worried because it was very low key, but I was exhausted by the end of the session and overwhelmed with mixed emotions. The interview process meant that I spoke a great deal, and the more I spoke, the more my thoughts and memories tumbled out. The room where we met was filled with a sharp white light, which didn't bother me but it seemed to ignite a migraine in Brenda. I felt sorry for her.

At the same time, the situation evoked deep and difficult emotions in me as I tumbled through the events and situations of my life and my teaching, many of which related to her topic, the Holocaust, in some way, but others that were unrelated just spilled out. To my surprise, I ended up telling her of an event that I tell to very few people and to which my wife only became privy after we married; this was a traumatic experience in which I was nearly killed, and which I recount later in this memoir in greater detail. I'm not sure how I came to expose so much of myself during the interview but maybe it was the topic itself because speaking about the Holocaust always moved me. I admit that I'm a very sensitive person, so even in the classroom I had to try and be very objective about teaching the Holocaust and not focus too much on it; otherwise it released a torrent of emotion in me.

As I said previously, I taught the Holocaust to Grade 11 learners as part of the CAPS-History curriculum. In general, teaching history was a huge challenge in my school as history was not valued. It was regarded as an unfavourable subject. Language and the sciences were given far greater recognition and these subjects were “pushed” by the other teachers. Whenever I started a new academic year, I knew that I was sitting with a group of learners who already felt marginalised because they were studying history, being looked down on by both teachers and other learners. In fact, in my school, learners who studied history were called “Stupids”. I did my best to explain the advantages of learning history to my learners, but learning history remained a sensitive, contentious issue.

When I introduced the Holocaust to the Grade 11 learners, one of the first steps I took was to speak to my learners about the concept of nationalism, which is about the spirit of belonging and especially, of belonging to a particular country, as this section was also in the history curriculum. I told them that nationalism is about being prepared to fight for your country and if need be, die defending it. I then talked about pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism. I believed that it was important to look at what this science meant and how scientists conducted experiments in their laboratories, which were then picked up by people who started to practice this philosophy.

The most fundamental finding that came out of this pseudoscience was that Whites were a pure race and all the other people were inferior. The implication therefore was that people who were not White needed to be weeded out. The learners often frowned when they heard this, but I had evidence – the textbook! When they saw that it written in black and white, they knew that this was the truth and that I was not making up a story. Then, using the weed analogy, I could help the learners understand that like weeds, Black people are not hated, they are just unwanted. It was just a belief like any other, for example that Black people believe in the ancestors. To my mind, Hitler’s belief in the fit and the unfit emanated from the findings of those scientists. He never just woke up one day with that belief. He had a point of reference.

The Holocaust story as told by me

After discussing nationalism, I would go onto the history of the Holocaust itself. I taught that by 1933 when Hitler assumed power, he wanted to regain the territories that were lost to Germany after World War I when the victors divided Germany and certain territories were taken away from them. I taught them that other countries had ripped Germany off and they made Germany pay the war debts of the First World War. How, I asked the learners, was

Germany going to do that if certain territories were taken away? That is why, when Hitler assumed power, he said, “Okay, as a leader I have the responsibility to take care of my people.” *That* was his approach! He also realised that this was going to be impossible if he had to deal with people who did not have German blood, in this case the Jews, which made them unfit.

I remember that some of the learners used to call Hitler a bad leader, a bad person when they heard about how many Jews had died, but I always corrected them on this and explained that people, including Hitler, needed to be understood in the context of the decisions that they made. In other words, if they understood Hitler’s situation, they would realise that he was not a bad leader. During World War II his intention was not that many people should die. I explained that the Jews were not filled with nationalistic passion, so they would not fight and die for Germany. Hitler knew that the people who would stand by him were the Germans, not the Jews. The Jews were creating misfortune for the Germans. You see, I believe that the Jews saw business opportunities in Germany, so it was hard for them to leave. The Germans did not own businesses and the money of Germany was in the hands of foreigners. I believe that the Germans were supposed to generate money for themselves, but that money was taken by Jews. The Jews also acquired properties; but Hitler had promised his people living space, lebensraum, so to my mind, he needed those properties that were owned by the Jews to give more living space to Germans. These things made life problematic for Hitler and in conflict with his primary goal, which was to regain the territories. Therefore, I told my learners, “I do not want you to label Hitler as a bad leader. You must just know where he got his beliefs from.” Unfortunately, in order for him to achieve his aims, he had to go via the Holocaust, which was not his aim. So according to me, as a history teacher, Hitler was not aiming to kill the Jews; he was simply wanted to have his own people on his side. However, to this day in my mind’s eye, I can see Brenda sitting silently and looking blankly at me as I explained this. The room was completely still. So, I continued. Where were the Jews by that time? Most of them were killed by the time the war started. You see, in 1939, there were only about two hundred thousand Jews left in Germany, because they had all been killed.

My next step when teaching the Holocaust was to examine Germany and what Hitler outlined in his book, *Mein Kampf*. I taught my learners that according to Hitler, there was no need for the German government to feed or house unfit individuals who displayed undesirable characteristics. Of course, Hitler was referring to the Jews because there were too many Jews in Germany before the outbreak of World War II in 1939. By that time, Hitler had spread a lot of propaganda with the aid of Joseph Goebbels and Himmler, people who were very close to

him. It seems to me that the German people were scared of him when he spoke because they didn't know what he was going to say. At this point, Brenda asked if I covered the wider community of Europe when I taught the Holocaust, but I didn't. I focused on Germany.

As part of my interview, Brenda asked where I got my resource materials from to teach this section. I must admit I was a bit at a loss to answer the question. Basically, I learnt about the Holocaust from the school textbook and the curriculum as my points of reference. I think that with this information I was able to understand the root causes of the Holocaust as I was even asked to coach other teachers, because there was no subject advisor in our area. When new teachers arrived, they were sent to me for instruction.

Strangers in our midst - Germany and South Africa

I've been thinking a lot recently about the conversation that I had with Brenda about race and strangers, particularly since I read an article based on a survey about the rise of xenophobia in South Africa (News24, 2014, n.p.). It reported that levels of xenophobia and intolerance of foreigners were increasing in Gauteng and that thirty-five percent of all respondents said that foreigners should be sent home immediately. This is what I think happened in Nazi Germany – the Jews were foreigners and the Germans thought they should leave.

At one point during the interview, Brenda asked if there was a connection for me between what happened in apartheid South Africa and the Holocaust. This was a thought-provoking question for me. You see, the way I understand things, even now, is that the racist philosophy adopted during apartheid echoed that of Germany. In South Africa under apartheid, the Whites were at the top of the hierarchy, followed by Indians, Coloureds, and then at the bottom were the Blacks. So, when I discussed the fact with the learners that all the people in Germany were White, I told them that Hitler regarded the Jews in the same way that the Blacks were thought of in South Africa. Just as the Black people had to carry pass books wherever they went, the Jews in Germany had to wear yellow stars. I mentioned the stars because I'm not sure if the Jews also had to carry passes, but that's beside the point. The point is that history always repeats itself. But it has to start with a point of reference. "What," I asked them, "would you have done if you were a White person at the time? Let's say you were President Botha and you needed to take care of your own people, what were you going to do?" Then a Black learner said to me, "I was going to do the same thing!" I was happy about that because, you see, I wanted my learners to have a neutral stance, even in South Africa, because the Blacks were the majority and they were a threat to the Whites. So, then

my kids understood that what the National Party was doing to the Black people was not wrong.

But thinking about the Jews in the Holocaust, I knew that none of my learners, and even I, had not met a Jewish person. However, they still had the perception that Jews made money. They came to this conclusion based on all the foreigners that were in town in the present. You see, the learners equated the Holocaust situation with the situation in South Africa and they did this because I channelled them in that direction. I did it because it was easy to move from the known to the unknown. I was using what they knew as a base. Then the learners developed an understanding that the Jews were the same as the Chinese which meant that they no longer used the Blacks as their point of reference (which made me happy). I had reprimanded them about the Blacks, so after that they tended to use the Chinese. I recall the very quizzical expression on Brenda's face as she asked, "Why the Chinese?" But it was clear to me. You see, while China produced and still produces some good things, others are not good; maybe torn or rejected garments are sent to South Africa. I believe that the Chinese use us to make money, throwing things our way knowing that we do not have money so we will buy their cheap goods. When I explained this to my learners, they felt that the Jews did the same thing in Germany, not necessarily selling cheap things, but that they had more businesses or properties, even though they did not have German blood. So to me, what Hitler did was not wrong. He was right. He needed people who would support him, not the Jews who were just focused on business. This is like the Chinese in South Africa; their foremost concern is to get money. They don't consider that it might not be right to sell cheap goods. In fact, they know that it's not right but they want money. They don't care that they are lowering the economy as long as the money is in their hands and I wanted the learners to understand the Holocaust from that perspective.

This reminds me of an event that occurred in 2006 in Ixopo, and even here in Durban. I felt that the xenophobia that was taking place at the time provided me with a good example to teach the Holocaust because the Black people in South Africa were trying to get rid of other Blacks that came from neighbouring countries of South Africa. The Black South Africans were saying, "These people they are taking our jobs." To me, this was the same feelings that the Germans were having about the Jews when they said, "Now these people are creating our misfortune." The Germans believed that if the Jews just went back to their country, then the German people would not suffer the way they were suffering. Even today the same applies here in South Africa, so what happened in Germany gave the learners a good point of reference. However, sometimes the learners weren't entirely convinced. They felt that

somehow it was different. Then I had to explain to them that the reason why they saw it as different was because they were taking one side, they were biased. I urged them to be objective, however difficult that might be, and to try to imagine themselves being that person.

You see, as Blacks, we need to remember that people like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo were sent to Robben Island, but when Oliver Tambo was released he didn't have a place in South Africa. So, people went to Zambia; the headquarters of the ANC were in the capital city of Zambia. They were in Lusaka. These countries gave the Black people an accommodation. In Mozambique, they were also South Africans, including Umkhonto we Sizwe³⁸. They also went to Botswana. This raised the question for the learners, "If the governments of those countries didn't give these ANC people an accommodation in their countries, would South Africa make a public statement, saying, 'South Africa belongs to *everyone* who's living in it?'" So, now the Blacks are claiming South Africa as theirs whereas history tells us clearly that South Africa belonged to the Bushmen and Hottentots. These Black South Africans that have claimed South Africa as their own actually migrated from the central parts of Africa, moving down to the southern part of South Africa. So, all in all, all of us that who are staying here, are foreigners. The Whites they say come from Europe and the Blacks from central Africa. So, I ask, "How come you can claim that South Africa belongs to you?" That is why Nelson Mandela said, "South Africa belongs to *everyone* who's living in it." We must promote tolerance, you see.

Holocaust images and triggered memories

The day that we looked at photographs of the Holocaust that Brenda had brought along provided me with greater insight into the events of the Holocaust. In fact, I took those photographs home with me and put them in an album. So yesterday I was browsing through that album and it reminded me of the discussion that we had. I hadn't seen many of them before and the ones she brought along were quite comprehensive. I realised recently that I didn't use photographs during my teaching of the Holocaust, but this was to prevent too much emotion being churned up, although I did use them in the final examination. However, I used photographs in other sections, where we discussed the mood in the photograph, the background; things that might at first appear to be hidden such as the intention of the photographer. But seeing the Holocaust photographs again has triggered memories and thoughts. A couple had a great impact on me.

³⁸ Umkhonto we Sizwe³⁸ is abbreviated as MK. It means "Spear of the Nation" in isiZulu. This was the armed wing of the ANC.

On that day, Brenda had asked me to choose three photographs that I felt were useful for teaching the Holocaust. I was surprised to realise later that all the ones I chose related to Hitler in one way or another. The first was of Hitler and his cohort walking next to one of the Transports. For me this represented the people who stood by Hitler, such as Goebbels and Himmler, helping him to spread his gospel. Hitler was really powerful because of those people around him. The second picture was Hitler addressing a rally. Hitler strategized his speeches, by meeting with the other people, so he knew exactly what he was going to say. The third photograph was the one about Nuremberg. You see it was at Nuremberg that the discriminatory laws were introduced. But then I saw this photograph of a man kneeling next to a pit and being shot. I realised that this would be useful too, as it showed that not all the Jews were killed by being sent to the concentration camps. You could see how skinny the man was. Seeing a person like that touches a person and sometimes when I taught learners who were sensitive they cried. This was why I could have used pictures like this but I didn't. As a teacher, when I spoke about a person treating another person unfairly, the learners sometimes cried because they related it to what was happening to them in their homes, to something that you as a teacher didn't know about. This reminds of an incident in my classroom a few years ago, when I was teaching the Holocaust and a Coloured learner kept his head firmly down. Then I saw tears. I didn't ask him at the time what was wrong, but after the lesson was over I asked him to stay behind and asked him what had made him sad. He answered,

I don't have a father. My father was killed by the police of the White government. When you are talking about what the Germans were doing to the Jews, I relate it to what happened here when the police were working for the Government. They killed my father on instruction from the Government. As a result, today I am suffering. I don't have a father because of such things. This makes me understand that the boys there, in Germany, the young people who were Jews, were going through the same thing. They experienced the hardships that I experienced.

This touched me a great deal as I'm a sensitive person. When I see that people are upset, I am touched.

I must say that some of the photographs really connected to me personally, such as the photograph of Hitler addressing a rally. It triggered feelings in me with regard to a situation at my school with a person in authority, the headmaster, who was also addressing his people. It reminded me of how he didn't sift his words. He just threw them at us, not bearing in mind how they were going to impact on us. This is what happened.

In June, the headmaster, my friend, called a special staff meeting after school. Something had occurred that absolutely infuriated him. As a combined staff, we were thirty-five people. He shouted at us. He threw his words down on his colleagues as though he was above all of us, including his two deputies. He was pressing down. "I'm scared of nobody here!" he thundered and shook his finger at us. After that, something happened in the school. Instead of being considerate and simply calling out the person who had upset him, he spoke to us all collectively, as though we were clueless. This resulted in a change in me. I felt empty. I felt lost. I felt unwanted. I even wondered if maybe it was time for me to leave the school because of the total lack of respect that he showed me. You see, he was like Hitler at that point. He made the mistake of pushing the people, instead of going out and being amongst them and understanding them. Despite his continual advice that we must mind the level of communication that we adopted with the learners, he didn't do that himself. Now, like Hitler, he just told the people. The people were not part of what he was saying. They were not part of his decisions, but they were simply expected to obey. His message was clear, "If you don't do it, you die!" I understood this because on that day in the staffroom he said, "I'm not scared of anybody. If you don't want to work here, it is better that you leave." There was no room left for me to manoeuvre. You see, such leaders break the people down and the world will be chaotic if we have such people who just throw everything. Even at home, a person should not spill everything out but should always leave room for discussion.

Another photograph that touched me personally that day was a black and white photograph of two little Jewish children sitting next to each other. Both were wearing Stars of David on their clothes. They looked bemused. They had no idea what was going on, they were too young. They were just two innocent victims of their circumstance. I related to this because in our Black schools it happened a lot that young people were victims of circumstance. This is illustrated by the following terrible incident. I was a learner at school and I can't say why it happened or even what the final outcome was, but it has stuck painfully in my brain like a notice pinned to a notice board. I relate this story with sadness and horror.

When I was at school, I used to catch the bus with another girl from my school called Nokuthula. We would chat happily at the bus stop as we waited for the bus to arrive. We were about sixteen years old at the time. Now Nokuthula was doing very well at school and another child, Asanda, mentioned this to her mother. For some unknown reason, this infuriated Asanda's mother. I don't know if there was a problem between the families or maybe jealousy, but after a few days Asanda's mother said to her, "Try your best to get close to

Nokuthula. Become her friend.” The mother didn’t explain why Asanda should do this, but being a dutiful daughter, the girl obeyed. A few weeks passed, and the girls were getting closer. Asanda mentioned this closeness to her mother, who asked, “Does your new friend bring lunch to school? Do you share your lunches?” “Yes,” replied Asanda, “she brings lunch, but we don’t share.” Asanda’s mother then instructed her to begin sharing her lunch with Nokuthula. As weeks passed into months, the girls’ friendship flourished and sharing lunches became a natural occurrence. Nearby the school, an African woman used to sell *vetkoekies*³⁹ every day, which both the girls loved! One day, Asanda’s mother told her, “Take this muti⁴⁰, put it into a *vetkoekie* and give it to Nokuthula. If she doesn’t eat it, throw it away! Do not eat it yourself.” Happily, Asanda gave the doctored *vetkoekie* to Nokuthula, not suspecting that it was poisoned. What ensued was too horrible to explain. Nokuthula’s tongue turned a vibrant green and she died. Right there. She never even got to the hospital. I have no idea why this happened, but I do know that if Black people want to fight with you, they sometimes go through their children. I also know that as a Black child, you did not question the instructions you receive from your parents. It was this kind of obedience that helped the learners to understand that the people who killed the Jews did so because they were told to and that under no circumstances were they to question the orders.

In fact, this sometimes led to a contradiction between home and school, where the learners were told one thing at home and another at school, such as looking at the teacher when he or she spoke to you. You were told to make eye contact at school, but if you then got home and made eye contact with your mother, you’d get a hiding for being cheeky! But I do understand that our parents were not educated.

My wife is calling me for dinner, so I’ll conclude here. Maybe next week I will be in a frame of mind to tackle where the discussion went to next.

A gun and a spear

I want to record the incident that I referred to at the start of this memoir as it has played on my mind a great deal over the years. For many years I kept it a secret and told very few people; even my wife didn’t know about it until after we got married. To this day, I still wonder how I ended up telling Brenda, but maybe it was triggered when she told me some of her own story. I hadn’t known, for example, that she was Jewish, and she explained a bit about her personal

³⁹ The literal meaning of the word “vetkoek” is “fat cake”. It is a bun similar in shape to a doughnut without a hole, and is made from flour, salt and yeast. The dough is rolled into a ball then deep fried.

⁴⁰ *Muti* is a term used for traditional medicine in Southern Africa.

history, how her forebears had left Poland even before the Holocaust began because of discrimination, and how they had changed their name in England. She also explained that she is a fourth generation South African and therefore has deep roots that keep her here.

This is what happened.

It was 1994 and I was twenty-two years old. I set out that morning to look for the teacher training college in my area where I was going to study. The township where I was, was split into warring factions – African National Congress (ANC) against Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). As I walked, I became aware that someone was following me. He called out, accusing me of being ANC. When I turned my head, I saw a person that I didn't know and yet he took out a gun and pointed it at me. I was confused. I couldn't understand what was going on. I was rendered powerless through fear. I couldn't move. I knew that if I moved I was going to fall. At the same time my mind raced. In that moment I thought about the *muti* that the Blacks use to prevent being injured during a shooting or stabbing popped into my head. The story goes that if you stab a person, the knife simply won't go in, it's like stabbing a rock. So, I tried to make that man think that I was using such *muti*, even though I actually wasn't. He shot. But the gun didn't work. I braced myself. He shot again. I wanted to ask him why he was doing this, but I knew that my voice would vibrate and so I said to myself, "No, I mustn't shout or talk back because he'll read in my voice that I'm scared, then he'll come for me," because he was standing apart from me. Then I put my hand behind my back, all the while looking straight at him. I was pretending that I was taking something out but in fact I didn't have anything. And then, just like that, he walked away. I shouted boldly after him, "I'll catch you!" To my horror, as I spun around, behind me someone else was holding a spear ready to attack. I froze. Every muscle in my body turned to stone. Fortunately, he was a little bit far and seeing what happened to the man with the gun, he decided to take off. Completely relieved, I began walking home. As I was walking, I was perspiring. My heart and my mind were racing. When I finally reached the house where I was staying with my brother, I blurted out what had happened. At first, he thought that maybe I was joking and he laughed at me, but he finally realised that it was true after I haltingly repeated the story. And then I started to be emotional and cry. I didn't eat that evening of the 30th January and as a result of that incident, I had to move where I was staying. I needed to get distance between me and that incident.

I'm sure that as I was telling this story to Brenda she must have been wondering what this had to do with teaching the Holocaust, but it was not the end of the story. You see, in October of the same year, I was due to write my first college history paper. It was a Saturday evening and

I had gone to sleep around 9pm. Suddenly there was a huge commotion. I was startled awake. People were kicking the door of the hut where I slept. Not knocking. Kicking. They were shouting and accusing me of being IFP. My mind was in turmoil. Why? Who were these people? Why were they after me? What I hadn't known at the times was that while I was at college, a message went around the area saying that on that Saturday evening everyone was to come together and sing struggle songs and those who were not there would be labelled as IFP. Now they were coming for me, believing me to be IFP even though I was living with them in that ANC area.

Again they kicked at the door and yelled for me to open it. At the time I didn't have electricity. I was using a candle. I fumbled trying to grab the matchbox, but in the dark I ended up pushing it away. I was shivering as they threatened, "If this door is opened because we manage to kick it in, we'll kill you!" That galvanised me and I rushed to the door and opened it for them before they opened it themselves.

"Why are you here in the dark?" they yelled. "Who is inside there with you?"

"I'm alone" I gulped.

They said, "Okay, switch on the lights!"

"We don't have electricity. I'm using the candle," I whispered.

So, they ordered me to get the matchbox to which I stammered, "I can't find it, but it's-it's here in the house." Finally, someone understood and said,

"Okay, this one is young. This is a young boy."

Someone else said, "Okay, let's give him a chance," and with that I finally managed to ignite the match. They glanced around the small candlelit room, as shadows played on the hut walls, and they saw that nobody else was there. Then they demanded to know why I didn't go to the meeting. Spluttering I explained that I didn't get the message.

"So where have you been?" they barked.

"I was at college," I whispered, my mouth dry.

I was totally shocked by what happened next.

"You are being rude!" one man screamed. "Why do you have ready answers for our questions? The only answer is that you made preparations in anticipation of our coming!"

As they spoke, I became more and more frightened and I'm sure that my eyes got wider and wider. You see, one man was pointing a gun at the side of my head and another was brandishing a spear, holding it to my chest. Even as I write this, I can feel that I'm holding my breath and I inhale sharply. They made me to lean against the wall. By that time the tears just

came out. Then I whispered to them with resignation, "Okay, you can kill me." You see I had already conceded to myself that that day I was going to die. My mind had raced back to January 30th. I was experiencing the exact same thing - the gun and the spear.

During that first attack in January, those two weapons, the gun and the spear, were not at a close range. Now in October, just months later, they were poked in my body. Then the tears just came out and I said, "Okay, you can do what you want. You can kill me. It's not a problem. I don't have a child. I'm still young. No problem. Carry on." One man, the one who had stopped them before stared at me intently, then he said gruffly, "Okay, remove these things," indicating to the gun and the spear as he stormed out of the hut. I hadn't known before then that he was the leader of them, just like Hitler. He just seemed to be one of them, but then he began issuing instructions and I knew instantly that if he had said, "Eliminate him," then his followers would have done just that. Instead he instructed, "Okay, wait!" And they listened to him. Afterwards I understood that he was their leader and he wielded the power of life and death over me. It was only later, when I began to teach the Holocaust, that I realised that this story was a doorway to my understanding of my own traumatic experience. You see, this incident helped me to comprehend the power of life and death yielded by Hitler over the Jews and to fully understand that those who were faithful to him would kill if instructed to do so. After all, he was the Fuhrer, the leader, a man who, when he sneezed, all of Germany caught a cold.

Because of incidents like this, teaching the Holocaust is a nightmare to me. As I said before, I'm a sensitive person and I get touched by it. I taught it (and apartheid) simply because it was part of the curriculum and I was forced by circumstances to do so. I had to help the learners to understand the Holocaust, but they also got emotional and sometimes cried, which really upset me. Writing this, reminds me how difficult it was to also teach apartheid and what was happening in the townships under the apartheid government. It's painful to remember because I nearly died there in Durban. A man tried three times to shoot me. To this day, I don't know why the gun didn't work. Even today, just thinking about it distresses me and the images from that time rush vividly to the front of my mind.

Thoughts that I live by

My discussions with Brenda led to a great deal of introspection. I didn't question my methods or sources, but the process made me think about how I was teaching the Holocaust, which was actually only a very small part of the work I did as a history teacher. Brenda and I discussed

this and I did my best to explain to her how I taught the Holocaust, my methods and so on, and also what teaching history meant to me.

Since then, I've been exploring my own understanding of myself and my teaching to try to think if I used my personal experiences to help me in my teaching. I did, and I still do. For a start, I believe that it is important in life not to jump to conclusions. Sometimes in life you have to look at the situation of the person before you make a decision and say, "This person is not right, this person is right." You must understand where the person is coming from. Like a flower, the life of the flower lives below the ground and not above. It is the roots that give life to the flower. Roots sometimes even penetrate rocks and stones to get to the life-giving water. For me, this even applied to the learners. I always bore in mind that even though they were with me in the classroom, their base, their roots, were at home, like the flower in the ground.

Also, I believe that the things you learn as a child remain with you, stuck in your subconscious mind. Attitudes are deeply ingrained, which means that it's very difficult to change people's attitudes. For example, my good experience with the farmer left me with a good impression of White people, which in turn provided me with a good experience with my professor at university. This reinforced my belief that through education about the Holocaust we learn about social problems and this is why I loved teaching history.

But as I sit and think about it, I can honestly say that teaching the Holocaust was very difficult for me. The topic was too full of emotional minefields and it stirred up difficult memories for me, as I'm sure you will appreciate from the stories I have told you.

Conclusion

This chapter answered the first research question by telling seven personal restoried stories in various genres. These were the lived experiences of the history teachers who taught the Holocaust and the personal stories were the product of the inquiry in restoried form (Fouche, 2005, p. 270). With experience being an underlying assumption in andragogy (Merriam, 2001, p. 5), studying the history teachers' experiences enabled me to gain insight into Holocaust education as taught by them. To generate the interviews that formed the backbone of the stories, I began by asking a single question about what had happened in their lives as history teachers and then used what they told me in response, as a starting point from which to probe their individual memories (Creswell, 2013, p. 72; Gardner, 2003, p. 179). I did this "by listening, observing, ... writing and interpreting texts" (Clandinin, 2006, p. 46).

With the personal stories told, it was time to move onto the next research question and examine these individual stories as a part of a larger narrative - a collection of short stories - in order to identify the commonalities, differences, and gaps that exist across the collection. In this way, I begin to understand Holocaust education through the eyes of the storytellers, the history teachers.

CHAPTER SIX

Writing the analysis story

Introduction

In the previous chapter I answered the first research question, “What are the personal stories of the history teachers?” by telling the participants’ personal stories. This was the restorying aspect of the narrative analysis, in which I chose what to include and what to omit, as I built narratives of who the history teachers were and how they taught the Holocaust. The stories were composed of multiple components, including how the participants became history teachers; how they taught the Holocaust; their feelings about their personal connection to the Holocaust narrative or lack of it; how they felt about the learners’ understanding of the Holocaust; and how they filled the conceptual gaps in both their and their learners’ knowledge of the Holocaust. The next step is to answer the second research question, “How do the history teachers’ personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust?” This cross-story thematic analysis is the third level of analysis (Riessman, 2008, p. 35). As Figure 8 shows, the first level of analysis was the transcription of the one-on-one interviews; the second level was restorying the history teachers’ personal stories; and third level is the thematic cross-story analysis, in which I peel back the layers of the history teachers’ lived experiences, their memories and thoughts, and identify commonalities, differences, synergies and discord across the seven restoried stories.

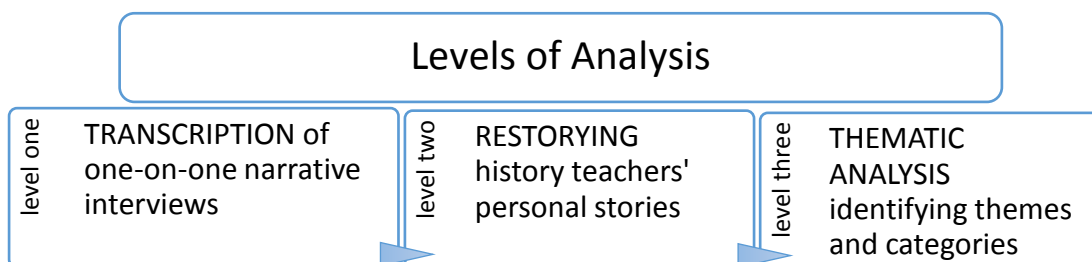


Figure 8. Levels of analysis

To answer the second research question, “How do the history teachers’ personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust?” I began by importing the personal stories into NVivo, where I analysed them thematically. With my conceptual framework as the foundation of the analysis, I identified the history teachers’ personal professional knowledge (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996, p. 24). In this chapter I therefore discuss the core areas of knowledge that

emerged from my cross-story thematic analysis, as illustrated in the route map below (Figure 9).

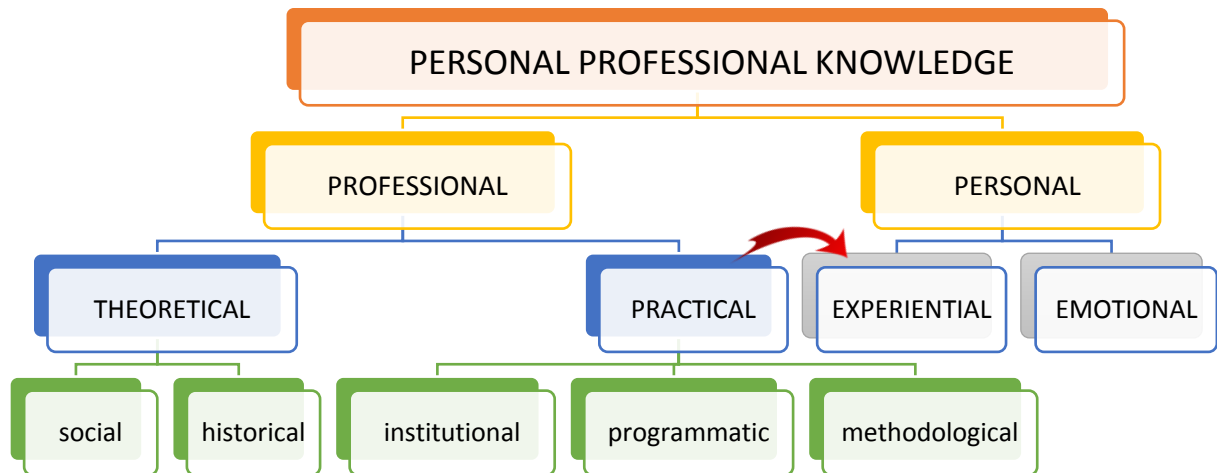


Figure 9. The history teachers' personal professional knowledge landscape

Analysis of the history teachers' restoried personal stories showed that the history teachers' personal professional knowledge was comprised of personal and professional knowledge. In the restoried stories, the history teachers' professional knowledge is comprised of theoretical and practical knowledge, which were in turn, made up of social and historical Holocaust knowledge and institutional, programmatic and methodological knowledge. Adding a further dimension to the history teachers' professional knowledge was the history teachers' personal knowledge, which in turn, included emotional and experiential knowledge. Personal and professional knowledge were blended when the history teachers' practical knowledge shaped their experiential knowledge, as indicated by the arrow in Figure 9.

It is important to note that although the themes and categories discussed appear to be contained within finite, well-defined borders, their boundaries were, in fact, fluid and blurred, seeping into each other and making classification difficult. However, the delineation was necessary to provide a route map for the reader and my discussion begins with the history teachers' theoretical knowledge, a key component of their teaching of the Holocaust as found in their personal stories.

Theoretical knowledge

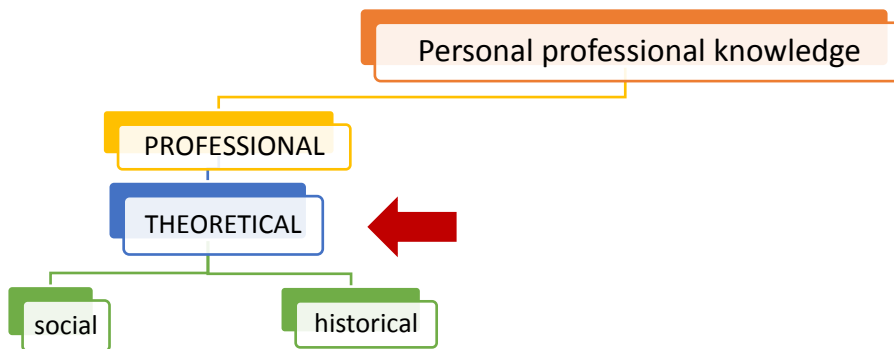


Figure 9 (a). The theoretical component of the history teachers' personal professional knowledge

The first section of the cross-story thematic analysis began with the history teachers' theoretical knowledge, as shown in Figure 9 (a), which was what they knew about the Holocaust and Holocaust education in terms of both historical and social Holocaust knowledge (Shulman, 1987, p. 5).

Historical Holocaust component of theoretical knowledge

The analysis showed that historical Holocaust knowledge was the foundation of their teaching of the Holocaust, based as it was on the CAPS-History curriculum, which outlined what they were expected to teach. Based on this document, the history teachers knew what aspects of the Holocaust they should teach and decided where to place their emphasis. It was crucial that the history teachers knew the historical elements of the Holocaust, that is, the dates, places, events, people and so on because as Harris and Bain (2010, p. 9) observed the commonly observed axiom, "Teachers cannot teach what they do not themselves know and understand." The following table illustrates the extent of the history teachers' historical Holocaust knowledge, as seen through the lens of their personal stories:

Participant	Historical Holocaust knowledge
Rashid	Excellent
Hannah	Good to excellent
Florence	Good
Emma	Good
Thandi	Fair
John	Sketchy to poor
Sipho	Poor to fair

Table 1. Range of the history teachers' historical Holocaust knowledge

From their personal stories, it emerged that the participants' historical Holocaust knowledge differed from person to person, a finding that correlated with a comprehensive English study⁴¹ by Pettigrew et al. (2009, p. 58). There was little uniformity in what the history teachers in this study knew about the Holocaust. Their historical knowledge ranged from sketchy to excellent, with those having excellent historical knowledge being well-versed in what they were expected to know about the Holocaust at the relevant grade levels, as well as being well-acquainted with the current curriculum and its aims. In contrast, those with sketchy historical Holocaust knowledge had a hotchpotch of ideas about the historical Holocaust and what happened to the Jews.

As shown in Table 1, the Black African history teachers, Thandi, Sipho and John, had lesser historical Holocaust knowledge than the White, Coloured and Indian history teachers, Hannah and Emma, Florence and Rashid. To find the reasons for this discrepancy it is necessary to examine their personal stories. The stories showed that John and Sipho, who had both experienced political violence, found teaching the Holocaust taxing, because their traumatic memories were repeatedly brought to the fore. As a result, they did no research beyond the textbook, even though they both stated that they enjoyed teaching the Holocaust. It is difficult to attribute this lack of research to their early childhood experiences, because while Sipho had little cultural capital related to formal schooling, growing up in a deeply rural area, John had been well-educated in an urban middle-class city in Zimbabwe. Their common experience,

⁴¹ In my study I have made numerous references to two national English studies on Holocaust education. These are *Teaching about the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools*, a study that researched national trends, perspectives and practices, focusing on the work of history teachers (Pettigrew et al., 2009, pp. 1-130). The other is *What do students know about understand about the Holocaust?* a study that focuses on the learners in English secondary schools, conducted by the same group of researchers (Foster et al., 2016, pp. 1-272). These are the largest, empirical studies of Holocaust education worldwide.

however, lay in their very similar experiences of political intimidation and violence with the very real threat to their lives. In contrast, Rashid's personal story showed he enjoyed teaching the Holocaust and as a result had excellent knowledge. The source of this knowledge lay in his life story, as he had attended a religious Muslim primary school, where learning was highly valued and there was a culture of scholarship.

When teaching the historical Holocaust, all the history teachers were concerned first and foremost, as professionals, with teaching the historical events, as prescribed by the CAPS-History curriculum. They taught the Holocaust chronologically, providing a narrative in which one event followed the next. In this respect, teaching the Holocaust was a memory discipline. They focused on events such as conditions in post-WWI Germany, the impact of the Treaty of Versailles, and the rise of Hitler and Nazism. They also taught about the political and social position of Jews in Nazi Germany and about Hitler, and about race, teaching the mechanics of Social Darwinism and eugenics. Most taught that the Holocaust was well-orchestrated, occurring progressively, with Florence passionately making the point that it was not an event that took place on a single day, instead taking place over numerous years. However, while most could place the events of the Holocaust in a chronological sequence, in general, they did not take pedagogical considerations such as the "sequencing, pacing and evaluation practices" of their Holocaust lessons into account (Hugo, Bertram, Green, & Naidoo, 2008, p. 33).

There were also times where their historical knowledge was lacking in substance and therefore educationally problematic (Hugo et al., 2008, p. 33). Moreover, multiple myths and conjecture infiltrated the historical Holocaust knowledge of some of the participants like Siphon and John, revealing a lack of logic and clarity. As a result, some of the Holocaust lessons became questionable and even fell apart. A case in point was Siphon's comparison of unwanted Jews and unwanted weeds, his identification of the Jews as foreigners in Germany, and his comparisons of Jews with the Chinese in South Africa, which revealed the paucity of his understanding of a fundamental underlying cause of the Holocaust, antisemitism.

Individualisation of victims, which has been touted as a technique to bring understanding of the Holocaust as well as empathy to victims, was not used by many of the history teachers, unlike English history teachers, who were most likely to include individualisation of Nazi victims when teaching about the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009, p. 41). The most popular stories to individualise victims that were used by the history teachers in support of their teaching of the Holocaust were *Anne Frank's Diary* and films such as *The Boy in the Striped*

Pyjamas. However, only Florence recognised and emphasised that there were other children who also wrote journals and diaries because in her worldview, she wanted all children's suffering to be acknowledged.

In general, the participants' stories showed a tendency to concentrate on Hitler's rise to power and issues of racism, topics avoided by the English secondary school teachers. A great deal of emphasis was placed on Hitler the person and whilst many of the history teachers regarded him as a monster, this was not always the case as I will show.

Thandi in particular placed a strong emphasis in her teaching of the Holocaust on Hitler, struggling to understand what made him a monster. To reach an understanding, she foregrounded the events of Hitler's life, dissecting his thoughts, actions and feelings, and then comparing them to her own life experiences. To make sense of this, Hitler's motives for killing the Jews, Thandi, as a child of apartheid, drew on her difficult lived childhood experiences. She dissected and projected her childhood experiences onto Hitler's to try and rationalise his actions. Confused by what she considered to be Hitler's normal Austrian upbringing in contrast to her own disrupted difficult one, she concluded that it must therefore be possible for any normal person to become a monster as a result of their lived experiences. Her concentration on Hitler's actions also led Thandi reflected on the role of men as providers and protectors, a role that she was forced to assume as a single parent when she found the men in her life lacking. She decided that not adopting a traditional female gender role herself challenged male power with the result that it was difficult to keep a romantic partner. This independence spilled into her teaching of the Holocaust, leading her to challenge Hitler as a troubled, dangerous man. Other history teachers also focused on Hitler, but their understanding lay in the context of post-apartheid, post-colonial South Africa, rather than focusing on Hitler's biography. For instance, Florence, Hannah and Emma taught that Hitler was a cold-blooded killer and described him as the devil incarnate; "the bad guy" and pure evil but they did not compare his circumstances to their own.

Yet, Hitler was not regarded as a monster by all. Other participants observed Hitler's actions with almost clinical detachment and veiled admiration, agreeing that what happened to the Jews was horrific, but rationalising that they could not entirely blame him. Rashid, for example, despite declaring that no-one had the right to kill another person, praised Hitler's ability to wield power through his rhetoric and the fact that he was able to change and control the world. He admired Hitler's oratory and the control that he had over crowds, but he never reflected on the negative aspects of that power. Apart from being praised for being able to

manipulate huge crowds, Hitler was lauded for bringing about positive change in Germany; for looking after his people as a good leader should; and as a powerful leader who controlled the world. Rashid even admitted that he tried to model his teaching style on Hitler's power to control to grab his learners' attention, "like Hitler himself," thereby bestowing Hitler with "big man" status. The personal stories of the male history teachers, John, Siphon and Rashid, who admired Hitler for these achievements, revealed that in most likelihood they had been socialised into a world where powerful men were elevated and regarded as successful. This phenomenon provided the key to their understanding of Hitler and history. John and Siphon, for instance, were in some ways themselves representative of the power role of many Black African men. Siphon's story revealed that he held traditional paternalistic Zulu views, viewing the man's role at home and in his country as that of protector and defender. He even paid *lobola* for his wife. It was unsurprising therefore, that Siphon rationalised Hitler's genocidal actions as those of a strong leader and stated that people like Hitler needed their actions to be justified in the context of their decisions. And when Siphon concluded that Hitler did nothing wrong when wanting to rid Germany of the Jews, because he was simply acting as a good leader should, that is, in support of his own people, he was reflecting his personal understanding of male power.

Hitler's dominance in the Holocaust narrative meant that for some of the history teachers and learners, Hitler was the Holocaust and the Holocaust was Hitler. Putting Hitler at the forefront of the Holocaust narrative was commonplace not only amongst the teachers but the learners too, as illustrated by one of Florence's learners, who, when the class was asked if they knew what the Holocaust was, shouted out,

"It was Hitler, Miss. It was Hitler. He was the one!"

"What do you mean?" Florence enquired.

"He killed all the people, Miss!"

This bothered Florence deeply because it created an idolised, idealised picture of a man she abhorred. To counteract this dominant narrative, history teachers like Florence, Thandi, Hannah and Emma tried to discourage any hero-worship of Hitler and sought to counter possible sympathy for him. Florence, a good example of this, said that she ignored the more sympathy-worthy factor of Hitler's life, his living in poverty for a short time, because poverty, she asserted, was not an excuse for what he did. She knew this only too well from those who were disadvantaged in her community and because of her own circumstances.

Amongst the historical topics that were not discussed by the history teachers was *Kristallnacht*, although this was commonly taught by English teachers of the Holocaust (Pettigrew et al., 2009, p. 41). Instead there was an emphasis on nationalism, which was also a topic in the CAPS-History curriculum, was also often discussed when the history teachers taught the Holocaust. Siphon, for one, placed a great deal of emphasis on nationalism, believing that it explained the parallels between the Holocaust and the current situation with refugees in South Africa, echoing in the process his own nationalistic ideas. Florence also believed, there was a “crossover” between teaching the Holocaust and nationalism and she added the Middle East, because she believed that learning about the Holocaust provided background knowledge for the continuing/contemporary conflict in the Middle East.

To teach the historical Holocaust, the history teachers also sometimes explained the semantics of Holocaust-related concepts using anecdotes from how they saw the world. Hannah, for example, used the cross-breeding of dogs to explain eugenics. This amused her learners and at the same time helped them to understand the complexity of Hitler’s obsession with creating the perfect race. This use of analogy illustrates the blurring of the boundaries between the history teachers’ historical Holocaust knowledge and their social Holocaust knowledge.

In summary, the history teachers taught different aspects of the historical Holocaust, depending on what interested them most. They taught the events of the Holocaust as expected, covering various facets, including the individualisation of victims and the chronological events, but with a particular focus on Hitler and his personal history.

Social Holocaust component of theoretical knowledge

According to some of the history teachers, teaching the Holocaust felt different from teaching other topics for the very reason that it touched on issues beyond the historical and focused on the social, providing them with an opportunity to teach beyond the historical facts, such as current issues. In this respect, there was a moral imperative that arose from the history teachers’ personal stories to inculcate moral values in their learners and make them aware of their commitment to society, but only when they taught the Holocaust. As Thandi noted, “the [other] history that we are teaching now, like the South African history that I’m teaching, does not teach me anything about you and me.” But each of the history teachers had a different social focus when teaching the Holocaust. Rashid wanted to teach his learners Muslim values, Emma about the dangers of antisemitism and the importance of human rights, Hannah about human rights and that there were two sides to a story and John that learners should be aware

of the rights of others, particularly when it came to foreigners to reduce xenophobia. Supporting this moral imperative, Bailey (2015, n.p.) noted:

Studying history is dangerous. The uninformed think it's about learning facts and knowing specific dates. History is about critical thinking and questioning everything, including yourself. It's about re-evaluating your perspective, identity, prejudices and loyalties. History is learning about society as it is, not what idealists want it to be.

So, as the history teachers worked their way through the events of the Holocaust they brought in concepts like values, morality, identity, dilemmas and human rights and they discussed issues of genocide, propaganda, persecution and resistance, eugenics and Social Darwinism, nationalism, antisemitism and justice. In this respect, a second parallel Holocaust curriculum emerged that was just as powerful, if not more powerful, than the historical Holocaust narrative and ultimately their teaching of the social and historical Holocaust melded. In fact, as in the study by Moisan et al. (2015, p. 249), the history teachers tended to favour social and moral over historical Holocaust education, even though they were not always good at the former. They seized the opportunity to discuss current affairs or topics such as the Israel-Gaza war; topics that might not have had an outlet in other history lessons. One of these was Emma, who noted, "teaching the Holocaust provides me with an opportunity to deal with the Israel-Gaza conflict, so I'm very grateful it's in the syllabus." By favouring these social and moral Holocaust-related issues, the history teachers fused the previous NCS-History and current CAPS-History curricula, blending them according to their personal understanding of the meaning of these concepts, while not neglecting to teach the historical aspects of the Holocaust (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p. 21).

Furthermore, while many of the history teachers stated that they wanted to create upstanders, reduce bullying, engender open minds in their learners and generally improve society, only Rashid explained that his religion was the important personal part of teaching the Holocaust. As he explained:

This means that I need to bring in the curriculum [to our discussion] and everything that deals with education about the Holocaust, but I can also bring in my personal story because of my religion, which opposes violence, oppression and racial discrimination towards people.

What he did not seem aware of at this point, was a potential conflict between his religious beliefs and his feelings about Jews in the present, which later revealed itself during the

interview. However, the origin of this social agenda is unclear. While there was a very strong link between it and the history teachers' personal stories, their awareness of social issues might have evolved out of their knowledge of the previous NCS-History curriculum, from the textbooks or SAHGF manuals, from reading the aim of the current CAPS-History curriculum, or even from a personal desire to be instrumental in creating a better world.

The history teachers' social Holocaust knowledge as shown Table 2, ranged from poor to excellent. Excellent social Holocaust knowledge meant that the history teachers taught higher order concepts such as human rights, genocide and antisemitism with the purpose of inculcating values in their learners, while poor social Holocaust knowledge skills, indicated that the history teachers wove conjecture, personal prejudices and myths into their content knowledge.

Participant	Social Holocaust knowledge
Hannah	Excellent
Florence	Good to excellent
Emma	Fair to good
Thandi	Fair to good
Rashid	Poor to fair
John	Fair
Sipho	Dodgy

Table 2. Range of the history teachers' social Holocaust knowledge

As Table 2 showed, Hannah and Florence had excellent social Holocaust knowledge. They were aware of their learners' emotional vulnerability and were mostly able to engender empathy and social awareness in their learners, using different techniques like guided meditation and humour. They discussed difficult social issues like identity and human rights with ease and sought to inculcate values in their learners without problematizing the Holocaust. Emma and Thandi's social Holocaust knowledge was fair to good, because although they were able to discuss social issues such as human rights and apartheid, they were often personally emotionally strangled in the process. The male history teachers, Rashid, John and Sipho had the least measure of social Holocaust knowledge, as they either by avoided controversial topics, like antisemitism, or introduced inappropriate comparisons, as Sipho did when he compared Jews in Nazi Germany with Chinese foreign nationals in South Africa.

Race and racism were dominant themes in the history teachers' personal stories, encompassing topics such as apartheid, xenophobia and antisemitism. The fact that race is currently foregrounded in the national history curriculum is evidence that this is a hot topic in South Africa, regularly hitting the headlines. Racism is an integral component of South Africa's recent past; a wound that has not yet healed and therefore seeps into almost every conversation. As Lindiwe Sisulu, a member of Parliament and one of the ANC's National Executive Committee (Sisulu, 2016, n.p.) cautioned,

Racism in South Africa will not simply disappear because we all wish it to. It will have to be consciously un-learned. After years of living in a society where racism is legal and normal, it is quite possible that it is an unconscious condition that infects all of us in one way or another.

This was certainly true for Thandi, who from the moment she stepped into the room for her interview, spoke about the connection between apartheid and the Holocaust. This was clearly a significant driving force in her life, having shaped who she was and how her personal story unfolded.

In fact, all the history teachers experienced racism in one form or another. From hair policies in high schools to racist rants on social media, with Whites pitted against Blacks and vice versa, there exists an entire language in South Africa of racist accusation, alienation and group anger (Jansen, 2004, p. 118) and the history teachers were not immune. It appeared that race-speak could not be avoided by the history teachers and most used the opportunity of teaching the Holocaust to achieve social goals, by trying to put an end to various forms of racism, stereotyping and discrimination. They believed that the Holocaust provided them with an opportunity to showcase possible genocidal outcomes of behaviour that began with name-calling and bullying, despite the fact that there is no evidence to support a direct correlation between bullying or name-calling, discrimination or stereotyping and genocide and there is "a vast chasm" between concepts of racism and prejudice and the act of genocide (Pettigrew, 2010, p. 53). However, as the literature indicated, these discussions provided the history teachers with an opportunity to view South Africa's apartheid past and issues of race from a distance (Weldon, 2008, p. 9). The question then arises, how did the personal stories, infected as they were by issues of race, play themselves out when the history teachers taught the Holocaust? As the personal stories revealed, concepts of race often became a minefield for the history teachers when they taught the Holocaust, tapping as it did into the stories of their pasts and opening emotional wounds, particularly in the case of the Black African history teachers who immediately drew parallels with their experiences of apartheid.

As discussed in Chapter Two, large sections of the current history teaching population, including many of the participants, were products of apartheid (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296; Weldon, 2005, p. 6; 2008, p. 8) and, they continue to carry apartheid baggage (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 2). Amongst these were Siphon and Thandi. Yet although apartheid and racism directly affected the Black African history teachers, it also affected the White teachers. Hannah, for instance, who felt that her grandmother was also a victim of WWII, sought balance and fairness in life and wanted to counter the narrative of racism and apartheid in South Africa. Racism was also anathema to Florence, who taught that anyone of any race could be racist, emphasising to her learners, “You can’t say White people are racist, you can’t say Black people are racist. It’s people who are racist.” Emma too became very upset when discussing some of her students, referring to them as White racists and antisemites. However, while the way in which the history teachers dealt with issues of race mirrored their personal stories, it should not be overlooked that their personal stories were not their only source of knowledge about racism and apartheid and its links to the Holocaust. If the history teachers had access to the SAHGF manuals or had been teaching under the previous history curriculum, the NCS, they were sensitized to links between the Holocaust and apartheid and as discussed in the literature review, race pervades every aspect of South African discourse.

Nevertheless, race was a personal matter for many of them. Florence, who was part of a large, multiracial, happy family, was adamant that not everything in life should be about race. For her, social cohesion was important. She envisioned everyone in South Africa happily co-existing, as her multicultural family did. For others, like Emma and John, racist concepts like bullying and name-calling were painful and divisive. John was devastated when his learners called him names, and Emma was personally offended when her upper middle-class learners jeered at each other, “Oh you Jew!” Nonetheless, teaching the Holocaust for as a social cause or for what they considered to be the right reasons provided the participants a feel-good (possibly even self-righteous) feeling and a passion for teaching the Holocaust. As Hannah concluded, “So, ja, there are so many lessons that can be learnt with the Holocaust, it is an important section - definitely - the most important section, I think.” Yet, there was a lack of recognition amongst some of the history teachers of their own racism. They could speak about racism objectively, but seldom crossed the boundary of believing that they could be racist too. A case in point was Emma, who although steeped in her own religious fundamentalism insisted that the Muslims of the world did not just want to take over Israel, they wanted the whole world. She was unable to draw the disparate strands of fundamentalism together. John too, despite being at the receiving end of racism, declared that all Zulu people did not want to share their space with foreigners. This was a gross lack of insight into his own behaviour.

However, part of the problem was also that teachers were often thrust into uncomfortable, unfamiliar situations and that they generally felt “woefully unprepared” to teach in diverse, multicultural environments (Ball, 2006, p. 1), such as South Africa. In addition, history teachers lacked the tools to counter learners’ negativity if there was controversy (Wassermann, 2009, p. 7).

Issues of racism including apartheid, antisemitism and xenophobia are not easy to teach. They are thorny, often personal, sensitive topics that require delicate handling in the classroom. History teachers are often not equipped to deal with the complex nature of discussions about topics like identity, social status, economic exclusion, national pride and feelings of superiority (Nakajubi, 2015, n.p.; Solomon & Kosaka, 2014, p. 5). But teaching the Holocaust is not all gloom and the history teachers’ personal stories showed that there were often positive outcomes. For example, many of the history teachers were able to generate and effectively handle issues such as diversity and the need for people to accept each other. They encouraged learners to look at others as people just like themselves. Hannah, Florence and John were particularly accomplished in these areas. Hannah drew on her understanding of her grandmother to encourage her learners to look critically at both sides of every story and to love rather than hate, particularly when people were different. Florence, whose whole being was entangled with emotions, tried to get her learners to feel things, rather than simply rationalising them, and John encouraged his learners to create personal links with foreigners by saying, “Guys, at the end of the day we are all humans.”

One of the more problematic aspects of teaching the social Holocaust for some of the history teachers was dealing with learners’ questions, particularly their questions about Jews. With few if any personal connections to European Jewish history, the history teachers were often as much in the dark as their learners, coming up with answers that satisfied their own world views, rather than being able to provide historically correct answers. Also, history teachers who originally came from the rural areas and, as products of apartheid, were under-qualified to teach the Holocaust (R. Freedman, 2009, p. 93; Sigabi & Mphuthi, 1999, p. 15) sometimes drew tenuous connections between the Holocaust and their own stories. So, when Siphos spoke of Jews as weeds, this metaphor was directly related to his understanding that weeds were not bad, they were simply unwanted in the field. In this way he drew on what was familiar to him - his lived experiences.

The learners’ questions about Jews included: Who were the Jews? Where did they come from? What did they believe? And “Did they do something to invite their fate?” But it was the question, “Why the Jews?” that thundered across all the stories. As Hannah stated, “The big, main and

first question learners always ask, is why the Jews?" and Rashid affirmed that the question came up "over and over." Like the learners in the study on English secondary school learners (Foster et al., 2016, p. 1), the South African learners were aware that the Jews were the primary victims of the Holocaust, but the learners raised troubling questions and it was up to the history teachers to answer these questions.

In their search for answers, the history teachers turned first to the textbook, from which they concluded that the Jews were "a burden to society", "a racially inferior group" and as a result, they were "discriminated against", "prime targets of the Holocaust" and "scapegoats." These were phrases that resonated with many of the participants in their own stories, and which echoed the literature that spoke of the social and political context in which the Holocaust is taught (K. Murphy, 2010, pp. 2-3). However, as Florence noted, the Holocaust in the textbook consisted of only four or so pages. This meant that the knowledge contained therein was minimal in most respects and often did not explain crucial concepts like the roots of antisemitism or address major events such as the role of the Einsatzgruppen in the Nazis' 1941 invasion of Poland and later Russia.

To try and explain "Why the Jews?" a few of the history teachers seized upon was the age-old antisemitic slur about Jews and money, teaching that the Holocaust was about money. They claimed that Jews had money with which they manipulated the economy and that this was behind their being reviled and killed. This slur exposed some of the history teachers' antisemitic inclinations. In fact, almost half the history teachers held this view about Jews and money, with Rashid stating, "I'm convinced that Jews are the most powerful people in the world right now. In my opinion it's about money. They're very rich." Siphso also felt that money was the explanation for the Jews being the targets of genocide, saying that the Jews took money that rightly belonged to the Germans. In his mind this almost justified their demise because it echoed his xenophobic belief about foreigners taking money that rightly belonged to South Africans. These answers were not grounded in solid argument based on historical evidence, but rather, were mired in prejudice and ignorance.

A second, more historically-correct explanation that emerged from the personal stories was that the Jews were victims of stereotyping and discrimination, being targeted because of who they were. This was an answer to which the history teachers could relate, as it resonated with their personal experiences of apartheid in South Africa, particularly the traumatic experiences of the Black African history teachers who participated in this study, and who were products of apartheid and still carried the baggage of their apartheid pasts (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296; Weldon,

2005, p. 6; 2008, p. 8). In fact, they were still negotiating those pasts, either as victims or as perpetrators (Wassermann, 2011, p. 155).

Other explanations for “Why the Jews?” were based on the history teachers’ biblical knowledge of Jews or what they saw as the role of religion in the Holocaust. One of the most frequent biblical explanations given by the history teachers was that the Holocaust was the Jews karmic punishment for killing Jesus. Mostly, the history teachers had no problem discussing a religious connection between the Jews and the Holocaust although Rashid, always conscious of his dual position as both Muslim and professional, chose not to disclose his true feelings on the topic, saying:

I simply can't say that out loud ... that the Jews killed Jesus Christ and therefore they were killed. I have to give a variety of answers as to why the Jews were killed.

It should be noted that whilst stereotyping of Jews by some of the participants took place, there was no overt hint of personal animosity towards Jews. This was supported by a recent study which found that the vast majority of Black Africans in South Africa do not hate Jews; Jews are simply not on their radar. In fact, 81% of Black Africans interviewed had not met a Jewish person, as found in this study, and close to half said that there was no difference between Jews and Muslims (Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, 2016, pp. 25, 31). Yet ultimately, even though the question, “Why the Jews?” arose frequently, the answers given to the learners did not generally satisfy them and the question tended to remain only partially answered.

Another racism-related topic revealed by the analysis across the restoried stories was xenophobia. Xenophobia can be described not only as the fear or hatred of foreigners but also of someone who is different or unfamiliar. The topic sometimes arose when the history teachers taught that xenophobia was a precipitating factor in the Holocaust, particularly if they identified the Jews in Germany as foreigners. Historically speaking, the Jews in Germany were not foreigners, being German citizens, although they might have been regarded as different, even though Jews were fully integrated into German society by the 1930s and many no longer practiced Judaism. However, this was overlooked by at least one of the history teachers, Siphon, who conflated the place of Jews in Germany before the Holocaust with the situation of Black African foreign nationals in South Africa. Indeed, there was joblessness in both situations. In Nazi Germany, the Jews were blamed for the lack of jobs by manipulating

the economy and taking German jobs, and in South Africa, Black African foreign nationals were accused of stealing South Africans' jobs.

The issue of foreigners and xenophobia in South Africa was encountered in both Siphon and John's personal stories, but in different ways. Siphon, with his nationalistic desire to unify Black people, tried to prevent his learners from perpetuating Black on Black xenophobia, but practiced xenophobia himself by blaming the Chinese community for lack of jobs and business opportunities in South Africa. Siphon wanted to teach his learners values and morality, yet he was unable to recognise his own prejudices. This inability to practice what they preached was also found with teachers at the SAHGF workshops who "bought into the values and moral lessons of history only insofar as they did not affect them personally" (R. Freedman, 2009, p. 95). In John's case, he used his personal story as a victim of xenophobia and Zimbabwean citizen to teach his learners that he was just like them and that even his surname, Ndlovu, crossed borders, being common in both South Africa and Zimbabwe.

A problematic area when teaching the social Holocaust for some of the history teachers was antisemitism. This was a topic that tapped into the personal beliefs and value systems of some of the participants. Emma, as a Christian Zionist had a passion for Israel; she was therefore hyper-sensitive to her learners' displays of defiance in drawing swastikas in her Holocaust lessons and although Florence was also angered by displays of antisemitism in her learners' drawings of swastikas, she was able to look more objectively at the situation than Emma, because she was not personally invested in eliminating antisemitism on the grounds of her religion as Emma was. Like Emma, Rashid found dealing with antisemitism difficult because as his personal story suggested, it challenged his Muslim worldview and exposed the ambiguity between his professional intellectual knowledge and his Muslim world. This resulted in an existential tug of war between his view of the Holocaust as a horrific event of murder and his uncomfortable, emotional response to it. Consequently, he felt that he needed to defend what he saw as the truth, sometimes saying to his family, "No guys, that's not how it's supposed to be. Your opinion is a bit biased. You're generalising now" or "This is not what happened." Yet at the same time he was emotionally entangled in his prejudiced belief that Jews were all-powerful. So, whilst he was able to defend the concept of justice and he was vehemently opposed to murder and genocide he still held contested views on Jews that conflicted with his objectivity and professional knowledge. This kind of thinking coincides with the literature which says that anti-Jewish sentiment is on the rise around the world, particularly in Muslim communities (Rutland, 2010, p. 75).

Although as discussed, antisemitism is not a contested topic amongst the Black African community in South Africa generally (Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, 2016, p. 25), antisemitism was problematic for Rashid. Moreover, it was a generally contested concept for some of the other history teachers too, and they knowingly or unknowingly promulgated racist ideas when they taught the Holocaust and antisemitic slurs were found in some of the history teachers' personal stories. The idea that all Jews were extremely rich and controlled the world, for instance, appeared in the personal stories of all the male history teachers. It should be noted however that Siphos antisemitic slurs that Jews made lots of money revealed more ignorance than antisemitism as did John's. In fact, with his African roots of *ubuntu*, Siphos struggled to understand the concept of antisemitism, saying that he was unwilling to accept that people could be judged as unfit or hated just because of who they were.

Discussions about antisemitism and the place of Jews in German society inevitably led to more diverse discussions about South Africa's political and social situation, including racism, stereotyping, abuses of human rights, and xenophobia, examples of which were found in many of the history teachers' personal stories. For instance, Thandi, Siphos and John experienced fear, intimidation and terror when their lives were threatened; Rashid's family were forced to flee their home as a result of racial riots; Emma and Hannah's families had come to South Africa to escape WWII; Florence's family had experienced racial discrimination; and John was on the receiving end of xenophobic hatred as a refugee.

With human rights included in the aim of history in the CAPS-History curriculum, the topic was often, although not always, raised by the history teachers. This was not an unexpected finding because it ties in with the contention by Bromley and Russell (2010, p. 1) that countries that have a strong focus on human rights, such as South Africa, teach the Holocaust. Many of the history teachers taught the Holocaust as a case study of the most extreme violation of human rights, accompanied by their desire to inculcate social responsibility in their learners. With incidents of human rights abuses being woven into the fabric of the history teachers' stories, many of the participants had personal insights into human rights abuses. Siphos and Johan, for instance, spoke of being subjected to physical attacks, Thandi experienced loss of schooling and stability during her flight from the apartheid police with her mother, and, by dint of being Coloured and Indian, Florence and Rashid experienced racism. Combined with the socio-political climate in South Africa, teaching the Holocaust teaching about it would put an end to stereotyping and discrimination, and ultimately genocide, and they focused on matters of responsible citizenship and preventing doing harm to others. The

history teachers wanted to help their learners connect to the notion of being human by recognising that people are all part of a single human race and they used the Holocaust to examine human rights issues (Nates, 2010, p. 19). This belief crossed colour, age, religious and gender lines. Avoiding hatred and the incitement of violence were also key issues, so Thandi and others taught that Holocaust history was about “you and me” and not “us and them.” These attitudes grew out of the personal stories of the history teachers and so the boundaries of their theoretical knowledge and personal knowledge blurred when they taught about human rights and the Holocaust.

The way the history teachers taught about human rights differed. A few semantically clarified the concept and discussed the formation and role of the United Nations. Others compared the violations of human rights in the Holocaust and Rwanda. As a parent, Emma was particularly touched by human rights violations against children and for Thandi the issue of human rights was closely aligned to her deep and personal feelings about her family and apartheid. In fact, Thandi vehemently asserted that everyone had human rights and that human rights needed to be taught when teaching the Holocaust. As she explained:

To me it's clear that if you are going to tell them the Holocaust story without teaching them about human rights, then it means you are you're just ploughing on very dry land ... in fact, you are just pouring water back of a dark hole.

However, Siphso was an exception in that he assiduously avoided the topic of human rights, saying that he considered it too controversial. He added that he felt that the entire section of the Holocaust was very difficult to teach, with the result, he confessed, that he whizzed through it. As we saw, this related directly to the discomfort he felt when being confronted with his personal memories of intimidation and violence and what for him, felt like a direct violation of his own human rights.

At the interface of social-historical Holocaust knowledge

While some elements of teaching the historical and social Holocaust have been separated for the purpose of this discussion, the teaching of them was, in fact, inescapably intertwined.⁴² As a consequence, some participants who favoured teaching the social Holocaust over the historical Holocaust complained that with the CAPS-History curriculum they had to teach

⁴² A note on methodology: some topics straddled both historical and social Holocaust questions, but a decision had to be made what would be put into which section. In fact, the boundaries were messy, and topics often did not fit neatly into one or another category.

specialised content such as dates, places, and battles whereas they believed that history should be used to teach life lessons and instil values in learners. Social concerns, such as preventing genocide and murder; heeding mistakes of the past and caring for others was important to them in ways that related to their personal stories. For example, Florence's concern for Jewish victims was borne out of her sensitive nature and her desire for everyone to just be "people." Learning from her mistakes when she felt that she did "lots of bad things to children" emotionally, such as showing them graphic pictures of the Holocaust and hurting them in the process, she was now far more cognisant of their psychological well-being. On the other hand, although Emma was also very emotional, rather than trying to protect her learners from the horrors of the Holocaust, she adopted a fundamentalist fire-and-brimstone approach, shocking them with graphic material and showing them emotive films, such as *Schindler's List*. Thandi, Hannah and John also focused on contemporary issues and drew parallels between the violations of human rights in Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa.

In contrast, participants for whom emotion relating to the Holocaust was painful like Emma and Siphso, avoidance, hiding their feelings behind multimedia, evading learning more about the Holocaust, or sticking as far as possible to teaching its historical aspects were strategies they used to minimise their personal engagement with the Holocaust. For them, the change in focus in the Grade 9 CAPS-History curriculum from the social Holocaust to a more fact-based historical Holocaust was welcomed. A balancing act therefore took place between the teaching the Holocaust for social and/or historical purposes. But when the history teachers felt that aspects of the Holocaust were beyond the scope of their understanding or experience, these were pushed to the background or omitted. So, Siphso's Afro-centric worldview led him to omit the whole of the rest of Europe beyond Germany's borders when teaching the Holocaust.

One of these out-of-the picture topics that was hardly mentioned by a good few of the history teachers was European antisemitism, even though it was a major cause of the Holocaust. With its long history tracing back to The Middle Ages, it was poorly understood by those history teachers who had no personal connection either to Europe or the Holocaust. Only Hannah and Emma, with their personal stories steeped in European history, culture and religion, recognised antisemitism as a cause of the Holocaust and were therefore able to better engage with this concept. In fact, for Emma with her Zionist passion, antisemitism almost became an obsession and she identified it strongly as part of the culture of the school at which she taught. In contrast, for other history teachers, like Thandi, Siphso and Florence, whose life stories were embedded only in their South African experiences, antisemitism was a purely

academic phenomenon. Therefore, when trying to explain Holocaust concepts such as discrimination and stereotyping they tended to draw parallels to their personal experiences of apartheid.

When teaching the Holocaust, the majority of the history teachers took a traditional top-down, teacher-centred approach, as South African history teachers who deal with controversial issues, particularly apartheid, tend to do (Wassermann, 2011, p. 145). They did this in response to their practical circumstances, but it also reflected their personal preferences and educational backgrounds. With the Holocaust being a relatively new, unfamiliar topic, a top-down approach provided greater means to structure their lessons and it enabled them to focus on their own understanding of the Holocaust. For Rashid, a top-down approach meant keeping a tight rein on the learners, and maintaining a professional, neutral and clinical classroom environment, and at the same time avoid the topic of religion. He was then able to direct his attention to his goal of encouraging the learners to build social relationships and changing the social fabric of society, based on his moral values. The other history teachers also wanted to maintain a specific focus when teaching the Holocaust, Emma on preventing genocide and helping the learners attain emotional maturity; for Thandi it was teaching about people and not hatred; for Hannah, teaching the Holocaust was a response to the racism in South African society; for Florence it was teaching her learners to empathise with others; and for John it was engaging with learners' prejudice. Without a specific social message, Siphon taught it because it was in the history curriculum. In each case, what the history teachers foregrounded often depended on their lived experiences, as I will demonstrate.

Taking a global view of the history teachers' personal stories showed that the social-historical knowledge of the history teacher lay on a two-dimensional continuum. Their historical Holocaust knowledge ranged from sketchy to excellent and their social Holocaust knowledge from dodgy to excellent. Figure 10 below is a representation of where each of the history teachers lay with respect to both their historical and social Holocaust knowledge. It is based on Table 3, showing the history teachers' social vs. historical Holocaust knowledge based on their personal stories.

The social-historical Holocaust graph in Figure 10 suggests that teaching the Holocaust from either a historical or social perspective brought out different strengths in the history teachers.

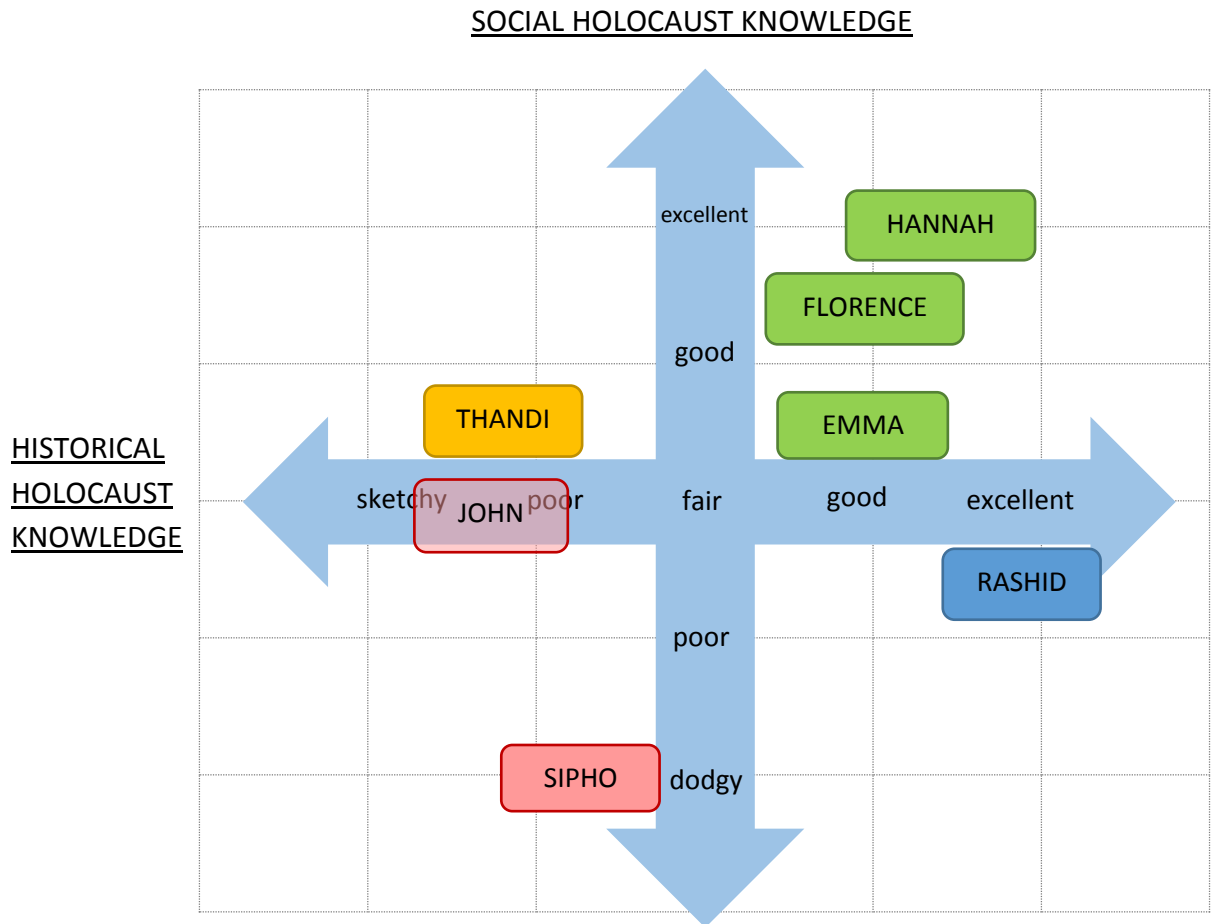


Figure 10. Range of history teachers' historical and social Holocaust knowledge based on Table 3, showing descriptions of participants' historical and social Holocaust knowledge

Participant	Historical Holocaust knowledge	Social Holocaust knowledge
Rashid	Excellent	Fair to poor
Hannah	Good to excellent	Excellent
Florence	Good	Good to excellent
Emma	Good	Fair to good
Thandi	Poor	Fair to good
John	Sketchy to poor	Fair
Sipho	Poor to fair	Dodgy

Table 3. Descriptions of the history teachers' social and historical Holocaust knowledge

Sometimes their historical Holocaust knowledge was good, but their social Holocaust content knowledge was dismal, or vice versa. For some, teaching the historical Holocaust, with its facts, dates and characters, proved an easier task than teaching the complex concepts of the social Holocaust, such as xenophobia and genocide. For others, the social Holocaust took centre-stage. Certainly, for Rashid, teaching the historical Holocaust took precedence, as he juggled his personal religious convictions with his professional self-image. With his life story grounded in his life as a Muslim, Rashid was more comfortable with the academic aspects of the Holocaust as he could divorce his theological discomfort about Jews more easily when sticking to the facts. The most balanced Holocaust educator was Hannah, who took cognisance of the balance between the social and historical Holocaust, just as she was able to look at both sides of a story and was therefore able to integrate them successfully. Her connection to the Holocaust via her grandmother provided her with a pragmatic view of the Holocaust. Siphos was poor in both spheres of Holocaust education. His historical Holocaust knowledge was poor to fair, but his social Holocaust knowledge was decidedly sketchy. The reason for this lay in his personal story as a product of rural, apartheid South Africa. Siphos had little cultural or educational capital. He grew up in a disadvantaged rural area and was subjected to CNE-based apartheid education. Furthermore, being a highly sensitive person, he found teaching the Holocaust incredibly difficult emotionally and therefore avoided learning more about it.

Within the range of social Holocaust knowledge, two biases sprang to the fore – gender and race. With regard to gender, the women, Thandi, Emma, Florence and Hannah had better social Holocaust knowledge skills than their male counterparts. There was no such bias in their historical Holocaust knowledge. However, there was racial bias in the historical Holocaust knowledge spectrum, with only the Black African history teachers displaying less than fair historical Holocaust knowledge. This was possibly due to their lack of contact with Jews and European history but also because of their backgrounds, because, as previously noted, Thandi and Siphos had poor educational capital, coming from disadvantaged areas and they struggled to keep their personal feelings about apartheid in check when they taught the Holocaust. John was overwhelmed by his status as a refugee and the resultant xenophobia he experienced. Having to deal with learners who said that they killed foreigners, his focus was more on keeping the more violence-prone learners in check and keeping his job as a history teacher than indulging discussions relating to difficult Holocaust topics. Both Thandi and Siphos limited their teaching of the Holocaust in different ways: Thandi focused a lot of her attention on Hitler while Siphos limited the geographical reach of the Holocaust. On the other hand, Hannah's and Florence's stories revealed that apart from having very good historical Holocaust knowledge, which they achieved through self-study beyond the textbook, both

could successfully communicate the complex concepts to their learners in straightforward, creative ways. Hannah's clarity was evident in her use of simple, clear language while Florence appealed to the learners on an emotional level. Both these women came from families which were steeped in a love of learning, as was Emma. However, Emma's difficulties arose from the emotional connection between her family, Christian Zionist Fundamentalism and Israel, which prevented her from engaging emotionally with the historical or social Holocaust material.

Learners' questions often crossed historical Holocaust and social Holocaust boundaries addressing issues of cause, morality, social and functional responsibility, and leadership. For instance, they wanted to know, "How could the Holocaust have happened?" and "How could the German people allow anyone, and most particularly a foreigner, to dictate to them?" Although ostensibly a question about the Holocaust, the latter question was undoubtedly a reference to the more present local concern about xenophobic attacks taking place in South Africa against Black African foreigners. As a result, the history teachers had to be knowledgeable, not only about the content of the Holocaust but also about current affairs, particularly xenophobia and the state of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, a topic that arose frequently during lessons about the Holocaust. They had to satisfy learners' concerns about the present and the killing of minority groups, such as Jews or even Whites. Topics such as xenophobia and the psychology underpinning the Hitler and the Nazis' hatred of Jews challenged both their historical and social Holocaust knowledge. Furthermore, these questions were not always easily answered. Such unanswerable questions stretched the limits of the history teachers' historical knowledge or even fell beyond the range of it. If there was a personal connection, they sometimes turned to the stories of their grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles. For example, Hannah turning to her grandmother's lived experiences, Emma inserted her knowledge of her Jewish great-grandparents into her historical thinking and Rashid used his memories of his mother's flight during the Inanda riots to understand Jewish persecution.

Thus, who the history teachers were, where they came from, and the events and experiences of their lives contributed not only to what they knew, but also how much time and energy they were prepared to invest in learning more about the Holocaust and how to teach it.

Teaching the Holocaust in the absence of sufficient theoretical knowledge
The question then arose, what did the history teachers teach in the absence of sufficient theoretical knowledge? When unable to fill these gaps with the limited knowledge available from the textbooks or other sources, some of the history teachers exaggerated, embellished,

fabricated, surmised or guessed those aspects of the Holocaust narrative with which they were unfamiliar. Others simply glossed over what they did not know. For instance, as Rashid confessed, no matter how much research he did, the Holocaust remained a mystery to him. So, when asked by a learner, “Who recorded the war?” he guessed an answer, fabricating a scenario by saying that since war was chaotic, the photographer would have had to switch off his video camera and edit the footage later, implying that the footage was not entirely tamper-proof.

Misconceptions held by history teachers are not unique to South African educators, as the literature revealed. Indeed, in their 2008 study about English Holocaust educators, Pettigrew (2009) concluded, “The Holocaust is clearly a very complex area of historical enquiry, but it is also a subject about which many popular conceptions – and more importantly – misconceptions are widely held” (Pettigrew et al., 2009, p. 102). This was also true of this study, where numerous misconceptions about the Holocaust filtered through the history teachers’ personal stories and their teaching of the Holocaust. By way of example, the numbers of Jews living in Germany during the early 1930s ranged from Rashid’s estimation that there were multitudes, to Siphos guess that there were approximately two hundred thousand. These numbers revealed bias in the history teachers’ personal stories. As previously noted and in line with his religious convictions, Rashid was convinced not only that Jews were controlling the world but also that their numbers were hidden, revealing his belief in conspiracy theories. Siphos, on the other hand, with his very poor theoretical knowledge, was clueless about the enormity of the Holocaust, a finding that concurred with the English study that secondary school teachers of the Holocaust were unsure of the number of Jews in Germany in the 1930s (Foster et al., 2016, p. 1). This type of conjecture made it almost impossible for Rashid and Siphos to reconcile the numbers of Jews that they believed lived in Nazi Germany in the early 1930s with the generally accepted number of six million Jewish deaths during the Holocaust.

Another misconception held by a few of the history teachers with poor historical Holocaust knowledge, Thandi, Siphos and John was that Hitler was the sole catalyst for the Holocaust, yet another finding supported by the English study (Foster et al., 2016, p. 139). Others speculated about the perpetrators’ personal motivations and some were unsure about the role Jews played in German society. Again, this was evident across the restoried stories. The history teachers both underplayed and over-exaggerated the part that Jews played in pre-Holocaust Germany. Some ignored the German Jews’ long-standing integration in pre-1933 German society and the Jewish contribution to Germany’s economic, social, and political life

while others overplayed the Jews' influence. In other words, in the absence of knowledge, even if they correctly followed the basic progression of the topics in the CAPS-History curriculum, a few of the history teachers jumbled the historical facts with their perceptions of South African society. This raised a question as to why did these history teachers like Siphon and John conducted no further research and what made them teach the Holocaust as they did?

For other history teachers who turned to the textbook, the history curriculum and other Holocaust resources for answers but did not find them, they adopted various strategies. Some speculated or made open-ended statements, allowing the learners to draw their own conclusions, like Thandi's speculation that maybe the bystanders during the Holocaust were naïve and not conscious of what was happening around them, or that the bystanders stood back saying, "Why should I bother?" possibly reflecting the situation in the own socio-political context of her own story. Others directed their learners' ideas to align with their own, such as Siphon, who admitted that he "channelled" the learners' thinking. He explained,

But thinking about the Jews in the Holocaust, I knew that none of my learners, and even I, had not met a Jewish person. However, they still had the perception that Jews made money. They came to this conclusion based on all the foreigners that were in town in the present. You see, the learners equated the Holocaust situation with the situation in South Africa and they did this because I channelled them in that direction. I did it because it was easy to move from the known to the unknown. I was using what they knew as a base.

Siphon also explained that he wanted to move his learners' thinking "from the known to the unknown." He did this by using what the learners knew, that is, South Africa, to explain the unknown, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. He did not encourage his learners to read or learn more independently.

Thus, out of the history teachers' personal stories came incidents which showed that even though most of the history teachers were fairly knowledgeable about the unfolding events of the Holocaust, particularly those who read beyond the textbook like Rashid, Thandi and Florence, others had gaping holes in their Holocaust knowledge which indicated that there was no uniformity in what was taught about the Holocaust or how it was taught. Instead, the personal stories of the history teachers provided clues as to what made some of the history teachers more knowledgeable about the Holocaust and how to teach it than others.

Turning to their personal stories

Cross-story analysis of the history teachers' personal stories showed that their lived experiences strongly influenced what they taught about the Holocaust and why they taught it as they did. The following table summarises the participant's personal experiences and the Holocaust topics they foregrounded and illustrates the relationship between their personal experiences and the themes that they highlighted in their Holocaust lessons.

History teacher	Personal experiences	Topic foregrounded
Emma	A fundamentalist Christian Zionist. Family history connected to the Holocaust. Her Jewish great-grandfather died in a concentration camp. Passionate about children.	Human rights. Antisemitism. Genocide and its prevention.
Florence	Stable, multicultural/racial family, archetypal middle-class story	Need for people to treat each other well. Feeling. Empathy. Contemporary issues.
Hannah	German family roots. Stable, logical, light-hearted, looks at the evidence.	Tells both sides of the story. Identity and difference. Human rights. Holocaust as a process.
John	Zimbabwean refugee. Experienced political violence in Zimbabwe and xenophobia in South Africa	Xenophobia.
Rashid	Growing up staunchly Muslim. Member of the BDS movement. Torn between being a good teacher and a good Muslim. Rational approach to life.	Historical Holocaust. Stuck to the facts. Moral values.
Sipho	Split rural/urban life. Caught in the cross-fire of political contestation. Subjected to cultural jealousy.	Black identity. Nationalism. Goodness of people.
Thandi	Daughter of PAC activists. Itinerant childhood evading apartheid police.	Human rights. Apartheid. Race.

Table 4. History teachers, their personal experiences and the topics they foregrounded when they taught the Holocaust

As previously discussed, despite the focus in the CAPS-History curriculum on the historical facts and events of the Holocaust, all the history teachers foregrounded the social Holocaust.

In fact, only Rashid foregrounded the historical Holocaust, reinforcing his view of himself as a history scholar and a neutral professional but even he highlighted social concerns. Moreover, there were palpable tensions between his personal story and his teaching of the historical Holocaust. Although he advocated a personal ideology, “leave alone religion, leave alone the Holocaust,” wanting to avoid discussing religion in the classroom, his religion always lurked under the surface. Also, despite believing that being professional meant that he should not have agendas or ulterior motives, he admitted that he might indeed have “small ones,” and tellingly confessed, “I like people. But there are also people that perhaps that are not of my liking” - although he did not say who they were. These personal issues and social agendas seeped into his teaching of the Holocaust.

The other history teachers also strongly linked their personal life stories to their teaching of the Holocaust. Thandi with her highly politicized family and early life on the run focused on apartheid and human rights when she taught the Holocaust. John did the same, foregrounding the social issue closest to him, xenophobia. He would say to his learners, “You know what? I’m a foreigner and I’m here to stay. And there’s nothing you, or you, you or your father are going to do.” Using this defensive stance, he believed that he could prevent learners’ negative comments on foreigners. Emma’s experience of teaching the Holocaust was different from John’s and Rashid’s. Being a fundamentalist Christian Zionist and having a Jewish family connection to the Holocaust, teaching the Holocaust was a highly emotive affair for her, so to avoid the intense emotion she focused on issues where she felt she could make a social difference. She therefore focused on ridding society of antisemitism and preventing genocide, as well as trying to get the learners to comply with her thinking on Jews and Israel. Hannah, as her story revealed, was devoted to her German grandmother, and whilst she was acutely aware of being White in South Africa and seeing the impact of racism, she was able to stand back and try to objectively assess situations, weighing up both sides. She was also conscious of the impact of identity and taught about this in her Holocaust lessons. Florence’s personal story revolved around her stable, middle-class, racially diverse family and her message to her learners was the importance of empathy in society and the need for people to treat each other with respect. And finally, with Siphos rural to urban background, he was conscious of the balance between urban and rural cultures. However, it was his confrontation with political violence that led him to foreground his Black African identity. Also, his gentle nature meant that he sought only the good in others, which sometimes compounded his confusion over the murderous actions of Hitler. Yet, he too harboured his prejudices that spilled into the classroom.

Because of this clear connection between the history teachers' personal stories and the lens through which they consequently taught the Holocaust, as Tibbitts (2006, p. 296) also noted, it would be advantageous for the history teachers to have the opportunity to confront and deal with their personal histories in order to deal more objectively with the emotional, controversial topic of the Holocaust.

Insights from the personal stories

As I have shown, both historical and social elements were part of the history teachers' theoretical Holocaust knowledge, often in relation to their understanding of the aims and content of Holocaust education in schools (Moisan et al., 2015, p. 252; Pettigrew, 2017, pp. 19-20). My study showed that the historical Holocaust was the skeleton of Holocaust education, but the social Holocaust was the meat and bones, as teaching the Holocaust was weighted towards matters that reflected the history teachers' desire to teach the "lessons" of the Holocaust and thereby bring about a positive change in society. In other words, the participants taught the Holocaust with the aim of teaching both the historical content and socialising the learners. Furthermore, the social elements of the Holocaust that they chose to teach reflected their personal interests and experiences combined with their understanding of the relevant issues. The importance of this was highlighted in Thandi's comment when she spoke about what was important to her – her experiences of apartheid and consequent human rights abuses. As she said:

To me it's clear that if you are going to tell them the Holocaust story without teaching them about human rights, then it means you are you're just ploughing on very dry land ... in fact, you are just pouring water back of a dark hole.

In fact, all the history teachers used their personal stories to teach the Holocaust, whatever their level of historical Holocaust knowledge. Some like Hannah and Rashid, had deeper Holocaust knowledge than John and Siphon (see Figure 10) and that this was attributable to elements contained in their personal stories. For instance, those with strong cultural capital whose personal stories were rooted in Europe engaged better with the social-historical aspects of European history as it connected to their ancestry.

As part of the social Holocaust, the history teachers dealt with complex issues relating to morality, religion and justice and were required to respond to diverse, complex questions that ranged from religion and the Jews' relationship to Jesus; to karma and the concept of karmic

punishment; and to genocide. The answers required psychological insight, insight into economics, deep historical content knowledge, and even insight into the grand narratives that spanned historical periods. The history teachers often dug into their personal stories to find answers to these questions. For instance, those with scholarly backgrounds, like Rashid, had better insight into the broader global perspective of the place of the Holocaust in world history. But for most of the history teachers, tasks like delving into the German psyche proved to be challenging because their personal stories offered no frame of reference beyond the South African context. Therefore, rural South African born and raised Thandi, when asked, “How could the German soldiers kill?” responded rhetorically with an open-ended, generic response, saying, “Well, what happened to ‘love your brother’?”

My research also showed that the history teachers used their personal stories in diverse ways to achieve diverse ends when they taught the Holocaust, based on their racial privilege or lack of it. The personal stories of the history teachers at the top of the social-historical Holocaust scale, Emma and Hannah, showed that they had excellent Holocaust knowledge. They gained this advantage by attending first-class White schools during apartheid, or Model C or private schools thereafter. Their vast educational advantage later translated into them teaching in better schools, having more access to resources, a deeper knowledge of European history, and a better pedagogy. As a result, they were able to place the Holocaust in its appropriate global and local context. Using these cultural and/or educational advantages, these history teachers built to build their Holocaust lessons around fact, and only used their personal stories to punctuate the history with anecdotes to illustrate a point. In the middle of the spectrum were Rashid and Florence. Schooling for Rashid was better than the average Black person because he attended a religious Indian school steeped in educational capital. He used his greater educational knowledge in his teaching of the Holocaust, even though the school at which he taught was middle to lower class. The Coloured history teacher in this sample, Florence, although too young to have experienced apartheid directly, was a second-generation inheritor of apartheid’s discrimination. However, she did not have access to the cultural capital and job opportunities of her White counterparts so found herself teaching in a less privileged school with fewer resources.

At the lowest end of the racial privilege scale, educationally the Black African history teachers suffered the most under apartheid, with poor, under-resourced rural schooling and they remained in this educational environment after they became history teachers. What the other history teachers who had not directly experienced the Holocaust lacked though, was the Black African history teachers’ experiential knowledge. However, when confronted with their

lack of knowledge in the classroom, those with poor Holocaust knowledge tended to fill their knowledge gaps with conjecture or myth that aligned with their personal biographies. They blended their personal stories with historical facts thereby conjuring half-truths and myths and sowing misconceptions. By way of example, Siphos conflation of the Jews with foreigners mythologised the Jews, and at the same time he drew on his personal experiences as a victim to speculate that the German people feared Hitler, just as he had feared his attackers. Neither of these arguments was supported by facts.

The history teachers tried to give clear answers to learners' questions but often they came up with more questions than answers. These warps in the fabric of their Holocaust understanding sometimes inadvertently revealed their personal feelings about various topics, such as this account of Rashid's controversial feelings about Hitler:

... I'm quite ambivalent in my thoughts towards Hitler. He was very powerful and one of the things that I admire about him, although I'm not supporting him, was that he could control the world. Because even though he created such an atrocity, he also brought about positive changes at the same time. I'm not saying that I'm condoning what he did, but I'm saying that what he did changed the world itself.

Rashid's Islamic-centred personal story left no room for a clear understanding of antisemitism, nor of Jews' present-day position in society, as he believed that they were no longer victims, and had therefore overcome any disadvantage that they might have suffered during the Holocaust. But still he had many unanswered questions and for him, the Holocaust remained a mystery. Another history teacher with questions was Hannah, who with the duality of her understanding of a story and confronted by learners, wanted time to explore moral questions that arose, such whether Hitler was good or evil. And Thandi, a strong independent woman, raising two children on her own, nevertheless found herself in a sea of questions when it came to Hitler and German mentality during the Holocaust. For example, she questioned how the German people allowed Hitler to dictate to them, especially as he was not born German.

A critical component of the history teachers' Holocaust knowledge, their current and future theoretical knowledge, was also contingent upon their personal stories. Most built on their knowledge year by year (Davies, 2010, p. 86), such as Rashid, who although he found the Holocaust somewhat contentious, nevertheless continued his professional development. But this was not the case for those history teachers whose personal stories led them to feel that

teaching the Holocaust was difficult (Sipho), emotional (Emma) or traumatic (John). And as some admitted, they only taught it because they had to – it being part of the CAPS-History curriculum (John and Sipho) - and they had no appetite for further personal professional development in this regard.

Ultimately, whether what they taught had a more historical or a more social leaning, depended on who the history teachers were, although as I have showed, the history teachers in this study tended to focus more on social outcomes when teaching the Holocaust. This distinction between the history teachers' desire to achieve a historical rather than a social outcome, was also evident in the 2009 study on Holocaust education in English Secondary Schools, where it was found that 67.1% of British history teachers who taught the Holocaust, did so in order to “develop and understanding of the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society” but for only 25.9% was the aim of Holocaust education to “deepen knowledge of WWII and the 20th Century” (Pettigrew, 2010, p. 51).

The history teachers' personal stories therefore showed that some had more theoretical Holocaust knowledge than others. For instance, Rashid's religious and political orientation culture of scholarship played a significant role in determining his emphasis on the historical Holocaust as well as setting up favourable conditions for both his excellent historical Holocaust knowledge and his emphasis on the values and morality. Thandi on the other hand, had no sense of the historical Holocaust, although, as I will show, her personal experiential knowledge gave her knowledge that she could not glean from a book. Her childhood disruptions in both her physical and emotional life meant that she searched for meaning that connected with her own experience in the Holocaust story. This was also true for Hannah, Florence and Emma, whose highly competent historical Holocaust knowledge was based on their superior access to resources and cultural capital. On the other hand, Thandi, John and Sipho had personal stories fraught with dangerous situations that ultimately undermined their historical knowledge. Their personal stories not only informed who they were as people, but they then used aspects of their personal stories to create meaning about the Holocaust. In the next section, I discuss how the history teachers' practical knowledge was informed by their personal stories.

Practical knowledge

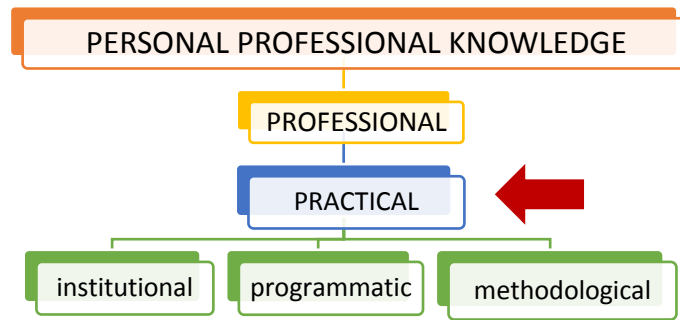


Figure 9(b). The practical component of the history teachers' personal professional knowledge

In the previous section I discussed the theoretical knowledge component of the history teachers' professional knowledge. In this section I examine their practical knowledge (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996, p. 24), see Figure 9 (b). J. H. Van Driel, Beijaard, and Verloop (2001, p. 138) describe practical knowledge as "teachers' knowledge and beliefs about their own teaching practice, and is mainly the result of their teaching experience." So I analysed the history teachers' personal stories to discover how they taught the Holocaust, what they taught about it, and why they taught it as they did. In keeping with the theoretical framework of the study, the history teachers' practical knowledge has been broken down into three knowledge areas: the knowledge derived from the schools at which they worked (institutional knowledge), their understanding and insight gained from the history curriculum and textbooks (programmatic knowledge) and the methods and methodologies they used to teach the Holocaust (methodological knowledge).

Institutional knowledge

The participants' institutional Holocaust knowledge answers, in part, the question, "Where did the history teachers' practical knowledge come from?" Their personal stories showed that they gained knowledge from previous Holocaust educators and the educational traditions at the schools at which they worked. This knowledge included how long the Holocaust had been taught at the school and the methods tried and used by other history teachers so it was cumulative, maintaining useful knowledge that would be shared by current and subsequent history teachers. Rashid, for example, learnt from his colleague who had visited the largest museum in Poland and returned with useful material that he shared. Other useful institutional knowledge included how to navigate access to materials and services at the school; the schools' ethos with regard to the teaching of history and the Holocaust; the length of time the

school made available for Holocaust lessons; and sometimes input from heads of department, colleagues and even school principals, who offered advice particularly to new history teachers on how to begin teaching the Holocaust, what to focus on and what to leave out. Knowing what to include or exclude is an intrinsic part of the use of stories in education (Carter, 1993, p. 9).

Although institutional knowledge was readily accessible in some schools, and several staff members were generous in providing supplementary materials, in others this support was absent. Rashid, Amy and Hannah spoke about the freely available institutional knowledge in their schools, particularly from their heads of department but whether they took this advice depended on their previous knowledge, their personal stories and how important the section was to them. Hannah, for instance, had direct Holocaust knowledge from her grandmother that she wanted to share so she ignored some of the advice she was given on omitting background material and taught more than was required. Hannah also butted heads with her headmaster. As a young, enthusiastic history teacher with personal access to technology not available to other teachers, she was wanted to use a projector, which required curtains in her classroom but was constantly confronted with road-blocks. Meanwhile, Thandi found herself out on a limb in the staffroom, unable to ask other history teachers about their teaching methods because, she said, she was not regarded as a wealthy teacher with a fancy car, which isolated her from the wealthier staff members.

Programmatic knowledge

Aside from institutional knowledge, what the history teachers taught was also based on their programmatic Holocaust knowledge, that is, knowledge obtained from official sources such as the CAPS-History curriculum and prescribed history textbooks. Mostly, the history teachers, as professionals, used the textbooks as their primary resource for teaching the Holocaust and all the participants reported that the schools at which they taught used a single textbook. However, other unofficial sources included printed material (books and manuals), digital material (films, television documentaries and the Internet), representational sources (photographs, art and sculpture) and museums. Their access to these materials was directly attributable to their personal stories as those with greater wealth or who worked in wealthy schools were able to access these sources with ease, while those like Florence struggled to even get her worksheets photocopied.

Historical Holocaust knowledge, which included when and how the Holocaust happened, who was involved, and why it happened, was at the core of CAPS-History curriculum and the source of knowledge for this material was found in the textbooks. The history teachers' use of and belief in the content contained in the textbooks, was however, not uniform. Some of the history teachers, like Siphon, who accepted the knowledge contained in therein as truth and went so far as to suggest to his learners that they should accept as fact what was written "in black and white" in the textbook. The source of Siphon's ability to simply accept the authority of an author's words because it was in the textbook lay in his culture, where knowledge was traditionally believed to be held by elders or those in authority. Others, however, were more reflective and sceptical about what they read, citing bias, omissions, insufficient visual material, and sensationalism.

One of these sceptics was Rashid. He claimed that it was not the clarity of presentation in the textbooks that bothered him but that the material was incomplete because evidence such as the logistics of war, how many trucks were sent into the ghettos, and so on were omitted from the textbooks. Generally, as a scholar of history, Rashid was open to different ideas and did not simply accept what was written as truth; he was comfortable questioning sources of authority and did copious amounts of reading and research. However, he was suspicious that the truth about the Holocaust was being withheld. To support this claim, Rashid suggested photographs showing some of the atrocities perpetrated against the Jews had been sensationalised through editing, losing sight of the fact that nearly all photographs taken during the Holocaust were taken by the perpetrators. For instance, he suggested that in a war situation the photographer would have had to retreat quickly, so later the photographs were manipulated to influence the learners. This prejudice was also evident in his scepticism about the portrayal of the Jews in the Holocaust as the ultimate victims. When he came across textbook material that spoke of how Jews were tortured and killed, he discredited it by saying that the textbook focused too much on torture and killing. He believed it was necessary to see how successful present-day Jews were, as this belied their victimhood. Thus, despite his excellent historical knowledge, he held a deep-seated, antisemitic suspicion of Holocaust history, even in primary evidential sources such as photographs. Moreover, his religious educational background meant that his scepticism was based not on ignorance but reflected his personal feelings about Jews as a result of his religion, family and BDS connections.

Other history teachers also cited lack of sufficient historical evidence in the textbooks but for different reasons. One of these was Florence, who felt that too little coverage was given to it, citing four pages of Holocaust material as "extensive" compared to other topics. Although she

did additional research, Florence was held back by her lack of access to resources at her disadvantaged school and the fact that she herself was still throttled by her disadvantaged Coloured background and lack of cultural capital. Other complaints related to the lack of “factual” or supporting evidence such as that by John, who relied heavily on the textbook for his historical knowledge. He too felt that the textbook did not show enough “actual things that happened,” citing the omission of photographs that could be used to show a broad range of Jewish experience in the Holocaust, but his lack of knowledge was based on the fact that he did no additional research, being more focused on his position as a refugee and at the same time lacking resources to facilitate that learning.

It was also argued that the political cartoons in the textbooks as historical evidence showed bias. At least half of the history teachers used cartoons as part of their Holocaust teaching but were appalled at the idea of political cartoons showing racism or bias, because all agreed that cartoons had the ability to influence learners’ thoughts. Even some of the more middle-of-the-road history teachers, like Florence, questioned the bias of certain cartoons in the textbooks, which she felt was biased against the Jews, citing the use of antisemitic stereotypes, like Jews having big noses or sitting on piles of money. Of course, bias depended on whose views were being represented and on which side of the political fence they lay. Hence, the pro-Israel history teachers, like Emma, accused the cartoons of bias against Jews and Israel.

Other books that were part of the storytellers’ research toolbox included *Mein Kampf*, which both Hannah and Rashid owned. Hannah had obtained hers from her grandmother, while Rashid claimed that his copy was used to learn more about Hitler’s personal philosophies and ideas. Both used it as a “show and tell” and, as Hannah related, to make the Holocaust more “real” for the learners. Copies of *Mein Kampf* are perfectly legitimate and freely available in South Africa. In addition, many of the history teachers said that they had obtained access to the SAHGF manuals and DVDs, which contained extensive information, from their colleagues, and they found these helpful in expanding their Holocaust knowledge.

Methodological knowledge

Methodological knowledge is a sub-section of the history teachers’ practical knowledge. The history teachers’ methodological knowledge therefore describes how they practically taught the Holocaust because, depending on their level of interest in the history or teaching of the Holocaust, the history teachers made various methodological choices and adopted different methodological approaches when teaching the Holocaust. These approaches were affective,

Hitler-centric, narrative, conceptual semantic, contextual, and presentism, as illustrated in Figure 11.

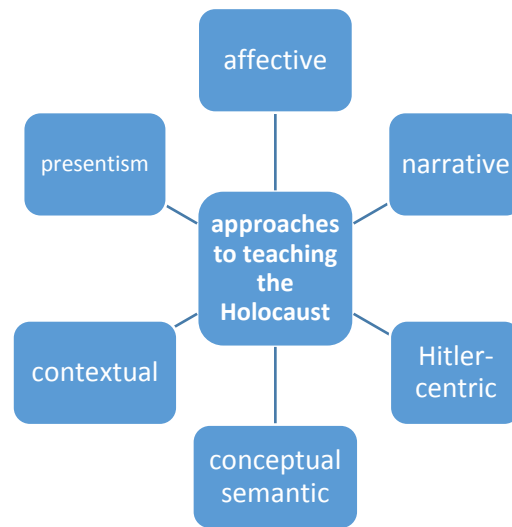


Figure 11. Approaches to teaching the Holocaust

Using an affective approach to teaching the Holocaust meant that the history teachers employed several techniques to generate emotion in the learners. For example, seeking to inculcate empathy in her learners, Florence used visual imagery and meditative techniques to mentally transport the learners out of the hustle and bustle of school life and make them more emotionally available to understanding the plight of others. Hannah on the other hand, used humour when teaching the Holocaust, keeping her lessons serious but light, in keeping with her sanguine approach to life. She did this by means of analogies, such as her description of dog-breeding to explain eugenics and thereby create mental pictures for her learners. Humour was, however, frowned upon by Florence who took a more serious approach to teaching the Holocaust, believing that humour was a barrier to understanding the Holocaust because it distracted from meaning. Taking an affective approach also meant that some of the history teachers relied on emotional hooks when teaching the Holocaust. Unlike the positive humour used by Hannah, John, a victim of fear and intimidation, ruled by fear to control his classes. Another emotive technique was to create an ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ situation, in which the participants attempted to unify the class, by giving the group a sense of emotional cohesion by naming it. Florence did this by referring to her learners as Smurfs, while Siphso created a group identity based on their common Blackness.

A narrative approach to teaching the Holocaust meant that for some of the history teachers, this was an opportunity to tell their personal stories. It was mainly used by those who felt

some personal connection to the Holocaust, either through their childhood experiences, like Thandi, or through the stories of their family members, such as Emma and Hannah. However, using their personal stories as an introduction to teaching the Holocaust was not confined to feel-good tales. Sometimes the stories were emotionally taxing to tell, as in the case of Siphon, and sometimes they were used to avoid difficult encounters with their learners, as John did when he told his story with the intention of deflecting negative comments about his foreignness.

The history teachers also used a Hitler-centric approach, in which they initiated Holocaust lessons with a discussion about Hitler, who John described as “the main culprit” and drew attention to him throughout their Holocaust lessons. As discussed in the section on the historical Holocaust, they began by discussing Hitler’s birth in Austria, his youth, and his family as well as his general philosophies. They spoke about the power that he wielded over the German people through his powerful rhetoric and the reasons for his intense desire to get rid of the Jews. In this approach, the role of the SS, collaborators, German army and Nazi sympathisers were either downplayed or omitted. Thandi for example, spent a long time trying to make sense of Hitler the person and how he came to be what she called “a monster.” For Florence, Hitler was a figure to be downplayed rather than highlighted while Thandi and Siphon, both of whom had grown up in a violent, apartheid world, tried to rationalise Hitler’s actions in order to make sense of the Holocaust. Siphon, who saw only goodness in people and tried to rationalise people's negativity, concluded that Hitler was simply misunderstood and that many of his actions were the actions of good leader.

In contrast to using emotion, other history teachers adopted a more clinical, neutral way of teaching the Holocaust; this was the conceptual semantic approach. They defined key words and concepts, such as “Holocaust”, “stereotyping” and “xenophobia” to provide objective distance to the topic. This group of history teachers included Rashid, who wanted to maintain strict control of his class and cloak his own feelings of confusion, and John who was not particularly *au fait* with the factual events. They therefore turned to cool, clinical definitions and concepts to avoid hot emotion.

Another common approach to teaching the Holocaust was a contextual one. The history teachers unanimously agreed that the Holocaust was worse than apartheid, but by placing some of the Holocaust events in the context of South Africa, they believed that they were able to provide the learners with a familiar context to delve into a very unfamiliar history. Besides, many were familiar with the scenarios of forced removals (Rashid’s family, John and Thandi),

not being able to have friends of different races (Thandi) and other discriminatory laws, having lived through them. The teachers using this model usually began their Holocaust lessons using a known scenario. Siphon, for instance, for whom the Holocaust was a difficult, confusing topic, discussed apartheid in South Africa. This felt comfortable because he had experienced it personally, so he used this to set the groundwork for Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1938 when discriminatory, racist legislation was implemented, in parallel to similar events in apartheid South Africa. Although the analogies he used were not always correct, Siphon used his personal story as a basis for his understanding of the Holocaust.

Finally, some of the history teachers also adopted presentism, tending to uncritically interpret the Holocaust using present-day concepts, values and narratives and dovetailing the Holocaust narrative with current affairs. This was mostly done by the history teachers with a personal agenda, such as Rashid who wanted to speak about his religion and possibly, in an oblique way, teach the lessons of Islam and Emma who wanted to discuss the situation in the Middle East with her learners. As she explained, teaching the Holocaust was shocking and traumatic for her because she believed, as part of her religion, that the Holocaust was not a history relegated to past but one that lingered in the present, echoing the concept of “deep memory” and the idea that “the Auschwitz past is not really past and never will be” (L. L. Langer, 1995; Petersen, 2015, p. 235). Emma lamented:

It's not nice to teach about genocide on that sort of scale. It's traumatic to see what people went through and how they suffered that trauma. It disturbed me to think that it didn't take place a long time ago. Not that it makes any difference to the victims that it wasn't a long time ago and that it's very modern. You see, I believe that everything is in the present for G-d, meaning that those people who experience the Holocaust are as present to Him as I am now. I therefore find the Holocaust just shocking. It's just horrible, absolutely horrible.

However, it was Siphon's comparisons between Chinese foreign nationals in South Africa and Jews in Nazi Germany that most spoke of presentism. He used the present to explain the past, rather than vice versa as envisaged in the CAPS-History curriculum, but without truly understanding either the past or the present, and peppering his account with inaccuracies and guesswork.

Together with their chosen approach to the teaching the Holocaust, the history teachers had other decisions to make too, such as how to present their Holocaust lessons. Some were very

well-prepared, using historical evidence such as photographs, books, documentaries, stories and other media to enhance their Holocaust lessons, like Rashid, Amy, Thandi and Hannah. Others were semi-prepared, like Emma, who despite being a highly-accomplished history teacher admitted quite readily that she was not as *au fait* with the history of the Holocaust as she should be, because of the depth of discomfort that the history invoked in her. She therefore hid her distress behind worksheets and Holocaust-related films, putting as much distance between herself and the content as possible and allowing these methodological tools to speak on her behalf.

The final category in the approaches to teaching the Holocaust was the history teachers who did little preparation for their Holocaust lessons beyond the textbook, like Siphon and John. Accordingly, the history teachers' level of preparation and modes of presentation depended not only on their access to resources, but also on their personal motivations and personalities.

Various practical teaching methods filled the history teachers' Holocaust education toolbox, ranging from traditional chalk-and-talk to the use of technology. The former occurred mainly where resources were scarce, or where the participants were averse to technology, both being true in the case of Siphon. He eschewed multimedia, including photographs, not only because he did not grow up in a technology-filled world and was therefore not particularly comfortable with it, but also because he feared upsetting the learners by showing them graphic images of Holocaust victims. This revealed his lack of desire to engage with the Holocaust at an emotive level. He avoided portrayals of violence, as it was simply too close to home. In contrast, those history teachers who had grown up surrounded by technology (cellphones, computers and so on) or those who taught in well-resourced schools used varying amounts of technology and this impacted on their teaching of the Holocaust. These were the history teachers who had grown up surrounded by privilege, and in particular, White privilege. Hannah, for instance, with her background rich in cultural capital, incorporated multimedia into her Holocaust lessons whenever she could, because she was able to personally afford to purchase a projector and curtains to darken the room, whereas the school as an entity could not. Others who showed films and documentaries on DVDs were Rashid and Emma, while Florence had only recently discovered the power of PowerPoint presentations. These history teachers were also the youngest in the group and therefore technologically savvy, whereas the older history teachers, Thandi, Siphon and John, were more cautious in their use of multimedia, although this might have been because they worked in the most disadvantaged schools. Furthermore, this racial split has roots in the inequity of apartheid, a situation that continues into the present.

Other resources used by the history teachers to teach the Holocaust included the use of the Internet and worksheets. Those history teachers with access to Wi-Fi, data, projectors and computers found themselves at a distinct advantage. In contrast, relying on hardware such as an overworked photocopier machine, made the mode of presentation more problematic for the history teachers. Florence, for instance, had no Internet access at her school and there was only one photocopier machine in a frantically busy secretary's office.

A practical decision to be made by the history teachers was whether to include themselves as a resource by disclosing their personal stories and for what purpose. When searching for answers to historical questions, for instance, the history teachers turned first to external sources such as the history curriculum and textbooks, then where they had access to them, the internet, other books, documentaries, and films. However, in due course, they also gazed inwards, turning to their personal stories to see if they could identify parallel scenarios from which to draw conclusions, such as their family knowledge, culture or religions. Some of the history teachers felt that telling their personal stories added depth to their learners' understanding of the Holocaust thereby making it more "real" (Emma and Hannah) but for others the disclosure would have been too emotionally difficult and only non-contentious aspects of it were used (Sipho). John also used his personal story, discussing his experiences of xenophobia and political violence. Indeed, it has been recognised that history teachers' stories should be included as "a valuable resource" in post-conflict South Africa (Hues, 2011, p. 82; Weldon, 2005, pp. 61-70).

Organisational, logistical decisions are part of a teachers' life and this was certainly the case for the history teachers. They had to decide how many worksheets to give to the learners when they had limited paper, whether to show whole films or just bits of films, but at an even more fundamental level, they had to make decisions about the time-split between the two elements of the Social Sciences, history and geography during the Grade 9 year. This was highlighted by Florence who, when faced with the need to structure the time-content matrix, said:

Then I have to decide, what am I going to teach? Am I going to do snippets of it? Am I going to do a discussion on it? Am I going to do the whole thing? What am I going to do? And even more significantly, are we going to teach history at all?

Various logistical and practical challenges arose when the history teachers taught the Holocaust. As their stories showed, those history teachers working in disadvantaged schools did not have easy or regular access to basic resources like paper, photocopiers and internet

access. This was not a problem reported in the literature. Lack of time, on the other hand, seemed to be a universal complaint wherever the Holocaust was taught (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 16; Pettigrew, 2017, p. 87; Short, 1995, pp. 167-188). The participants all agreed that there was never enough time to comprehensively cover or do justice to this enormous topic, so choices had to be made. One choice, Florence admitted, was to cut out chunks of the material, so long as what was going to be examined was taught. In fact, it had been a revelation to her as she grew as a history teacher, that she could make such significant choices about the content of her lessons. She commented:

I would love to extend my teaching of the Holocaust to asking questions such as, “Why do you think Hitler did what he did?” or “If you were Hitler, what would you have done?” But that’s sort of impossible when you have to do certain themes by a certain time.

Simply omitting material was, however, frustrating for the history teachers who were committed to teaching the Holocaust as best they could. Rashid and Hannah were meticulous in their planning and presentation but the time was fixed and no matter how much they wanted to deviate from it, other topics would suffer if they did. Therefore, choosing what Holocaust material to omit and what to include were personal decisions that were often based on who they were as people. Adopting a highly pragmatic, almost clinical approach to life, Rashid decided that the allocated time was simply too short to have much of an impact on the learners, so he just decided to do the best he could under the circumstances. This admission revealed that he was thoughtful, thorough, and introspective, often questioning the impact of his teaching on both his learners and himself. Siphon, who described himself as sensitive, simply left out emotive material in order not to encounter sad children, and Emma, despite being thorough in every other aspect of her history teaching, did not engage with professional development nor present anything beyond what she was required to do. With the option of leaving things out, choosing their focus required personal input, so as one history teacher noted, “You’ve got to want to teach [the Holocaust].”

Discussion

Pedagogy has been defined as the “interactions between teachers, students and the learning environment and learning tasks” (P. Murphy, 1996, p. 35) and the history teachers made numerous pedagogical choices when they taught the Holocaust. Firstly, they chose the type of teaching approach that they wished to use, be it a teacher-centred, learner-centred or learning-centred approach to teaching the Holocaust. The history teachers in this study generally

adopted a traditional teacher-centred approach as this was the way in which they had all been educated and were therefore comfortable with this mode of teaching. They decided how the Holocaust would be taught, how it would be assessed and the onus lay on them “to provide the ‘right’ information, in the ‘right’ way, regardless of learning/teaching styles” (Hara, 2010, n.p.). At the same time, the learners’ listened and engaged with the material provided by them (E. Johnson, 2013, p. 19). Adopting a learner-centred approach, which took into account of factors such as the local context of the teaching environment, the kind of homes from which the learners came and their resource materials (Concordia University, 2016, n.p.; UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, 2016, n.p.), was almost impossible in classes made up of sixty or more learners, as Thandi’s and John’s personal stories revealed.

Teaching in classes of this size was a huge challenge, and one that was generally only faced by the participants who had themselves been taught in classes of that size as products of apartheid. Before entering the Holocaust classroom, these teachers were already at a disadvantage and it appeared that the not much progress had been made in eliminating racial barriers at the time of the interviews. As Thandi’s personal story showed, teaching the Holocaust to classes with sixty or so learners required skills acquired over many years to keep them interested and engaged. One of her strategies was to focus on the personal in the Holocaust and another to locate the Holocaust narrative within the local context. She did this by telling Hitler’s personal story and simultaneously weaving in elements of her own apartheid experiences. Conversely John’s pedagogy left him vulnerable because he had little experience of classes this big, having been schooled in Zimbabwe and he admitted:

Ay. It’s a war! Ja, you go in a war zone because the moment you turn to write something on the board, from that corner there, there’s a paper thrown at you ... So, you have to be very, very, very diligent, because you might lose it. You go mad. You end up talking to yourself.

Hannah’s approach was likewise teacher-centred because in the absence of learners’ knowledge about the Holocaust and Jews, and with limited time to cover a reasonable amount of ground, she felt compelled to “tell, not teach.” As she noted:

It’s really quite amazing that the learners in my class, most of who come from a nearby Black township, know absolutely nothing about the Holocaust. It’s very distant to them. And in many instances when I tell them what happened and this is how people felt, I almost have to tell them so you are supposed to feel this way in response. It distresses me that they don’t

think for themselves, although I do understand that the Holocaust is a difficult concept for them to understand as fifteen-year-olds.

Hannah's teaching style was therefore informed by her desire to share her expertise in the clearest way possible, by sharing her love of history and her personal understanding of the Holocaust.

There was a correlation between the history teachers' personal stories and how they taught the Holocaust. Those who taught at private schools or Model C schools were invariably White, came from well-to-do homes and continued to live in a society which favoured White privilege, such as Hannah, Emma and even Rashid, who was Indian. With their rich cultural capital, they were able to access positions at good schools and together with better resources were able to teach the Holocaust better. In contrast, those history teachers who had poor cultural capital, usually taught in disadvantaged schools, like Siphon, Thandi and John. Their personal lack of education meant that their teaching methods were below par, never having had suitable role models and this meant that their teaching of the Holocaust was poor. Siphon for instance, was completely out of his depth when teaching the Holocaust because it was so far from his personal experiences of apartheid and patriarchal, Zulu culture.

My findings therefore showed that having access to resources, either via their schools or personally, was advantageous for the history teachers; however, many of the more previously disadvantaged history teachers who remained as teachers in disadvantaged schools due to their apartheid legacy, had problems gaining access to hardware resources. Some claimed that they had no support from management while others lamented the difficulty of using multimedia in their classrooms due to lack of infrastructure. Even on a practical level there were challenges as the history teachers juggled time commitments, lack of resources, and curriculum requirements.

The question therefore arises; did those history teachers who had more resources as a result of who they were and where they came from become better Holocaust educators? For instance, did those history teachers from wealthy schools and homes benefit over history teachers from poorer, less advantaged schools? The stories showed that this was certainly the case. Florence, for instance, came from a materially disadvantaged background but an emotionally, psychologically and educationally advantaged one. Moreover, advantage was not one-dimensional. For her, education was a priority but engendering empathy and compassion in her learners an even greater one. Even with limited material resources, she had good historical

content knowledge, excellent emotional knowledge, and by hook or by crook she found ways to provide her learners with worksheets, photographs or whatever else she considered important to help them understand the Holocaust. Moreover, she was the only history teacher who established her own methodology for teaching the Holocaust, creating what she considered to be a suitable empathic environment using guided meditation techniques to ensure that her learners connected to the Holocaust. In contrast, Emma as a privileged White person, worked in a well-resourced school with multiple resources, yet she admitted that her knowledge was lacking as she could not get beyond the barrier of her fundamentalism and deep emotion and she was therefore unable to impart her emotional knowledge.

As part of their methodology, the history teachers looked for ways to answer learners' questions satisfactorily. The teaching and learning environment is a dynamic one, so questions and answers were an integral part of the various interactions that took place during Holocaust lessons. The personal stories revealed that learners' questions were sometimes challenging, particularly when the history teachers had no satisfactory answers. Provocative learners' questions ranged from religion to war to emotion to race. The learners asked historical questions, including questions about Hitler, socially-oriented questions about xenophobia and race, questions about Jews, and questions that were directed at the history teachers personally. Sometimes, the answers to seemingly innocuous questions from learners, such as, "Was someone recording the war?" generated answers that exposed the participants' personal biases. Furthermore, when the history teachers were unable to find answers that entirely satisfied the learners, the participants offered endless justifications, often related to their personal experiences either with family or their lived experiences. In general, though, despite sometimes feeling that their answers were inadequate, the history teachers welcomed their learners' curiosity, believing that debate and questions should be encouraged, particularly those history teachers who were well-prepared and well-read.

Emotional challenges have not been discussed in this section as it requires a larger discussion, even though how the history teachers dealt with learners' emotions is a practical matter. Emotional knowledge is a theme that crosses boundaries. It straddles methodological, personal and even theoretical knowledge. However, choices had to be made and so, emotional knowledge and the challenges it poses are discussed in depth in the next section.

I therefore found that the history teachers' practical Holocaust knowledge was based on three pillars: their institutional, programmatic and methodological knowledge. They learnt about methods and techniques from their heads of department and the culture of the schools at

which they taught. Their programmatic Holocaust knowledge was dependent not only on the textbook and curriculum statements however, but also on how they interpreted what they found in the textbook, based on their personal beliefs and experiences. This also impacted on the methods they chose to adopt when teaching the Holocaust, although primarily the history teachers taught the Holocaust using a teacher-centred approach and within that, chose an approach that suited their personal styles of teaching, access to resources and ultimately their personal stories, such as Thandi whose focus on Hitler and apartheid dovetailed with her experiences of not feeling “good enough” and her itinerant life as a child avoiding the apartheid police. Her approach to teaching the Holocaust was therefore Hitler-centric. Thus, the history teachers’ personal stories impacted on the ways in which they taught the Holocaust; be it the schools at which they taught or their personal prejudices or the challenges they faced.

In terms of their practical knowledge, two stories emerged. Firstly, there was an overt story, in which the history teachers could control what they taught. They decided what approach to take, how much preparation they wanted to do, and how they would present their Holocaust lessons. But there was also a covert aspect to their teaching of the Holocaust that was frequently based on their personal stories. For example, the schools at which they taught were often determined by their personal circumstances, with the more advantaged history teachers teaching at more advantaged schools, and those with poor cultural capital being relegated to disadvantaged schools. This circumstance impacted further on their access to resources, the institutional knowledge that they were able to draw on and the extent of their programmatic knowledge. However, the two stories of their practical knowledge were interwoven with both impacting on their teaching of the Holocaust.

Personal knowledge

As discussed previously, the history teachers’ professional knowledge was made up of their theoretical and practical knowledge (see Figure 9). In addition, they had personal knowledge, which was comprised of emotional and experiential knowledge, as shown in Figure 9 (c). There is, however, a blurring of the lines between the two.

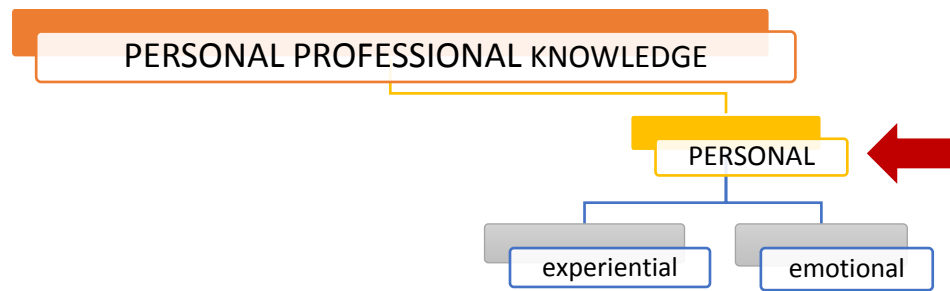


Figure 9 (c). The personal component of the history teachers' personal professional knowledge

Emotional knowledge

Emotion and emotional knowledge played a significant role in the history teachers' personal knowledge of the Holocaust. Many of the history teachers agreed that the Holocaust was an emotional topic to teach and from an educational perspective, encountering emotion was to be expected when learning and teaching about the Holocaust and personal knowledge. As Baum (1996, p. 44) explained:

While historical knowledge is essential to any understanding of the Holocaust, Holocaust literature teaches us, in part, how to feel about the historical facts. If Holocaust education cannot help but impart lessons in ethics and civics, emotion is central to such an education.

Thus, it was not unexpected to encounter the participants' perceptions in their personal stories that emotion was one of the most challenging aspects of teaching the Holocaust, both for the them and their learners. The literature showed that globally learners and teachers alike responded to Holocaust material emotionally (Baum, 1996, p. 45). Teachers were emotional, learners were emotional; the Holocaust was an emotive topic.

Identifying the history teachers' emotions

The history teachers who participated in this study were all emotional when teaching the Holocaust, although almost all agreed that they tried to avoid emotional situations. In keeping with the literature, Holocaust education tapped into the history teachers' emotion-laden personal apartheid stories (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296) with the result that they found teaching the Holocaust difficult (Silbert & Petersen, 2008, n.p.; Weldon, 2005, p. 6). However, many confessed that they wrestled more with keeping their own feelings in check than dealing with the learners' feelings. Florence, a particularly sensitive person, struggled with this so every time she taught pseudo-scientific racism, she had an "emotional moment." In addition,

Thandi's emotional experience of teaching the Holocaust was a constant battle not let her emotions get the better of her, because generally her feelings about her apartheid experiences ran rampant, and Emma wrestled with her emotions partly because she believed that she was just an emotional person who became more emotional the older she got, but partly because they were sparked by the feelings that were unleashed when she thought of her children and tapped into her religious feelings.

Thus, a full gamut of emotions was unleashed in Holocaust education, from anger and sadness to passion and enthusiasm. On the positive side, it appeared that some of the history teachers were buoyed when they taught the Holocaust, gaining a sense of purpose, despite the emotional difficulties they faced. They felt that they could bring about agency in their learners, and impact society positively. As Emma said,

As time progressed I began to realise that teaching the Holocaust was very closely aligned to my personal values and beliefs and that, even though it's a highly emotive and complex topic that isn't always pleasant to teach, I still believe that it's crucial to teach it, particularly in the light of modern history and what's going on in the Middle East today with the conflict between Israel and Gaza.

There was also a sense that Holocaust education provided emotional maturity to learners, which Emma believed led to greater understanding of others and in turn a reduction in incidents of bullying and intimidation. Moreover, addressing social Holocaust issues like human rights and apartheid provided many of the participants with a feel-good factor. As in other studies where Holocaust education was premised on teaching the lessons to assist in post-conflict, post-colonial development (Altman, 2013, p. 126; Bromley & Russell, 2010, p. 1; Staub, 2006, p. 881; Weldon, 2009, p. 277), the participants were disturbed and horrified by the killing of the Jews during the Holocaust. They felt that they were achieving a noble goal by helping to prevent further genocide and violence, however small their contribution by teaching of the Holocaust (Short & Reed, 2004, pp. 39-41). And although teaching topics like genocide and murder meant that the Holocaust was never regarded as a "fun" topic to teach, some of the history teachers treasured teaching it nonetheless. For instance, Hannah and Florence felt positive emotions like compassion, passion and empathy although Florence was wary about becoming too emotional in case she was labelled "crazy" by the learners. Ironically, Florence might have been the person who generated emotion when she taught the Holocaust with her chosen methodology of guided meditation. Thandi also found the positive in teaching the Holocaust, believing that it was an important topic to teach.

Some of the positive words used by the participants to describe their teaching of the Holocaust were “thought-provoking” (Emma), “interesting” and “moving on a humanitarian level” (Rashid), saying that it gave the history teachers an opportunity to “enlighten and support the learners” (Florence). Others said they enjoyed teaching it (Hannah, Rashid) while Emma declared that she was “passionate” about it. In stark contrast, other history teachers described the Holocaust as “disturbing”, “cruelty, pure and simple” and “horrible, absolutely horrible” (Emma), “painful” (Rashid), and “torment” (Florence, John). They found it too emotional (Emma), too difficult to teach (Sipho), baffling (Rashid) and even torturous (John). Other negative words associated with their feelings about the Holocaust were fear, shock, horror, anger, sadness, indignation and disbelief. This finding echoed the literature that cited that South African history teachers as saying that they found teaching the Holocaust very painful and therefore did not enjoy teaching it. This was mainly attributed to the Holocaust-apartheid connection (Silbert & Petersen, 2008, n.p.) and the fact that they were unable to divorce themselves from the NCS-History curriculum (Nates, 2011, p. 2).

The history teachers’ personal stories provided some clues as to why they reacted positively or negatively to teaching the Holocaust. John and Sipho were the two history teachers who found teaching the Holocaust the most emotionally challenging. They were also the two people who had been on the receiving end of the most extreme violence, with both having had their lives threatened, both being forced to attend political events, and both realising that they could either stay and be forced into those situations, or flee, as both chose to do – Sipho to another area and John to another country. Consequently, Sipho, John did not want to learn more about the Holocaust and it is not a far stretch to understand how deeply painful the memories of what they experienced were triggered when they taught a similar history in the Holocaust.

Looking at the types of words used by the history teachers and relating them to Plutchik’s list of basic emotions,⁴³ the personal stories revealed a broad range of emotions in the history teachers’ emotional Holocaust knowledge; from interest, anger and loathing, through sadness, amazement and fear to acceptance. Based on Plutchik’s Wheel of Emotion (Plutchik, 2001, p. 349), the table below, Figure 10, illustrates the list of basic emotions, words used by the history teachers in their personal stories, and who expressed those emotions. Although the list is far from complete, it provides insight into the range of feelings exhibited by the history teachers who taught the Holocaust.

⁴³ Robert Plutchik’s basic emotions were named as fear, anger, grief, joy, acceptance, disgust, surprise and expectation (Plutchik, 1991, pp. 72-107). These are underlined in the list of basic emotions.

Plutchik's list of basic emotions	Words used by the history teachers to describe emotion when teaching the Holocaust	History teachers who expressed these emotions
<u>Acceptance</u> , trust, admiration	Compassion, forgiveness, moving, concern, empathy	Florence, Emma, Thandi, Rashid
<u>Fear</u> , terror	Fear, shock, disturbing, torment, horror	John, Sipho, Emma, Florence
<u>Surprise</u> , amazement	Thought-provoking, indignation, disbelief, surprise	Hannah
<u>Grief</u> , sadness	Sadness, hurts me, moving	Thandi, John, Rashid, Sipho
<u>Disgust</u> , loathing	Horrible, hate teaching it, disbelief	Thandi, Emma, John, Sipho
<u>Anger</u> , rage	Anger, indignation	Thandi, John
<u>Expectation</u> , anticipation, vigilance, interest	Interesting, important to teach	Emma, Rashid, Hannah, Florence
<u>Joy</u> , ecstasy, serenity	Loved teaching it, passionate, favourite section, moving	Emma, Thandi, Hannah, Rashid

Table 5. Plutchik's basic emotions and the words used by the history teachers to describe how they felt about teaching the Holocaust

Analysis of the table showed that there was not a single group of emotions that dominated the history teachers' emotional landscape, but that a broad range existed. Also, the history teachers tended to be conflicted in their feelings about teaching the Holocaust; they both loved and loathed teaching it. For example, Emma felt that the Holocaust was a thought-provoking and important section to teach, but personally she did not enjoy doing so. They were also both happy and sad (Emma), and were sometimes filled with anger and sadness simultaneously (Thandi). This is what made teaching the Holocaust a complex task.

The source of these emotions could be found in the history teachers' personal stories. As previously mentioned, Florence believed that feeling was key to her personal philosophy of

life; she therefore made empathy an integral part of her Holocaust lessons, wanting to teach those learners who, she said, “don’t feel much for anybody,” to feel as she did. By ensuring that the learners knew how felt, be it angry, or fearful, or sad, she believed she was enabling the learners to mirror her feelings and thereby trigger similar feelings in them. In fact, she claimed that empathy combined with facts equalled human knowledge. However, there were questions in the literature about whether empathy could indeed play the role expected of it and whether learners could really empathise with groups who were very different from themselves (Fay, 1996, p. 12) and whether learners could identify with values that might be different from those being taught when they learnt about the Holocaust (P. Du Preez & Roux, 2010, p. 13). In fact, as R. Harris et al. (2004, p. 98) reminded researchers, empathy should not be overplayed when teaching about the Holocaust because of the difficulty in people truly being able to empathise with the extreme conditions and trauma of the Holocaust.

At an emotional level, Emma’s personal story revealed her deep connection both to her religion and to her children. For her, being a mother made her more emotional when she thought about traumatised Jewish children. In support of this, I found that every photograph she chose during sub-session three of her interview included the image of a child. Ironically though, Emma felt that children were not as emotional as adults. Thoughts such as these were the lens through which she taught the Holocaust. Emotional knowledge was also evident in Hannah’s story, but for her, the emotion was more controlled. The Holocaust was her favourite section to teach and she was able to engender positive emotion in her lessons using humour. By keeping emotion at bay as much as possible, Emma’s learners were not overtly emotional.

Emotion in the history teachers’ personal stories was often linked to memory, particularly memories of their apartheid pasts with which they were still trying to deal (Jansen, 2004, p. 118; Wassermann, 2011, p. 155). Memory related emotion was evident in the personal stories of Siphon, Thandi and John. Their personal experiences of being attacked, of experiencing apartheid, and of being considered a victim were emotional triggers for the participants. This made John feel vulnerable and irritated, sometimes angry in class, and sometimes defensive, as he parried with his learners on issues of xenophobia, triggered by the spectre of evoked memories linked to the violence and trauma of Holocaust events. Surprisingly, one of the most pervasive emotions for John was fear, as this was an unusual feeling in relation to the teaching of the Holocaust. John felt fearful about upsetting the learners; about losing his job; and about the aggression displayed by some of the learners both in- and outside his class. Relating how easily the learners easily spoke of killing others and the stabbing and murder of

fellow learners, evoked a great deal of fear him, making teaching the Holocaust particularly difficult. Hence, John observed:

The political situation in Zimbabwe has caused big problems for me. It has influenced where I live, what my career is, my feelings about other people's behaviour and my attitude to human rights, xenophobia and democracy.

This inevitably coloured his teaching of the Holocaust. As the literature showed, this was not an uncommon South African experience because discussions about the Holocaust raised “the legacy of prejudice, racism, hurt, anger and guilt – the stubborn ghosts of the past” (Weldon, 2008, p. 8).

From the range of emotion expressed in Table 5, it was evident that the Holocaust was an emotive topic to teach and it raised emotional challenges for the history teachers, particularly those who described themselves as sensitive or emotional. For example, Thandi reported that she could barely keep herself from “losing it” when she taught the Holocaust. It appeared that the longer the history teachers taught the topic, the more upset they became, a phenomenon that Emma ascribed to becoming more aware of the nuances of the horrors of the Holocaust. Other emotional responses to teaching the Holocaust were inner conflict and to some extent, feeling that it was an alienating experience when there was a contradiction in how the history teacher's emotions. In this regard, Rashid revealed, “Sometimes what I teach is contrary to how I feel.” Other participants were passionate about teaching the historical Holocaust but not quite as keen on teaching the social Holocaust (Rashid, John), or passionate about teaching the historical Holocaust but unable to deal with the emotions that were a by-product of this education (Emma). However, Emma and Rashid differed in their response to their discomfort. Rashid, torn between being the best teacher he could be and his religious convictions as an ardent Muslim, continued to learn about the Holocaust, researching and teaching it in depth while Emma, also ardent in her religious convictions, withdrew emotionally.

A further outcome of teaching the Holocaust was that it exposed the history teachers' personal prejudices, although some of their biases might have been based on ignorance, as was the case with Siphon, who with his rural, politically charged background formulated jumbled views on xenophobia and the Holocaust. Prejudice, jealousy of the Jews' achievements, and ignorance were other emotions experienced by the participants. There was also suspicion, which fanned participants' use of the antisemitic, age-old money myths about Jews. The source of this suspicion was, however, not the same in all the history teachers. For example, Siphon's was ignorance of Jews' role in Nazi Germany while Rashid's was based on his religious

background in which historically Jews and Muslims were suspicious of each other. These myths and misconceptions led to further stereotyping of Jews, so the history teachers unwittingly fanned the flames of discrimination and xenophobia with their unacknowledged personal prejudices.

Some of the history teachers were plagued by their own emotional sensitivity when they taught the Holocaust. Despite many referring to themselves as sensitive, it appeared that Emma was the most emotionally off-balance. Her passion for Israel, Zionism and the Middle East conflict and her family connection to the Holocaust led her to conclude that there was rampant antisemitism in her school. She explained that when the Holocaust was first introduced into the CAPS-History curriculum in 2007 she did not question its presence, but she knew from the outset that she “just didn’t like it.” Despite this, teaching it meant a lot to her because of both her and her husband’s deep family roots, so for Emma, it was inevitable that teaching the Holocaust would be fraught with emotion. Ironically, Emma’s parents hated hearing about the Holocaust saying, “Why can’t we just forget about the Holocaust? Why do we have to get our noses rubbed in it all the time?” As second-generation Holocaust survivors, they did not want to know what or how their parents suffered at the hands of the Nazis. In fact, they argued that people should not know about the it and that Holocaust museums were an insult to the memory of the Holocaust.

Those history teachers who found themselves in an emotional whirlpool, such as Emma, Rashid, Siphon, and Thandi, sought ways to mitigate the impact of their own emotions on their Holocaust lessons by trying remaining neutral and unemotional in the classroom. So, they avoided teaching certain aspects of the Holocaust, avoided their own further learning, or used multimedia tools to do their teaching, each dealing with their pedagogy in a manner that reflected their personal stories. Thandi, for example, handled her Holocaust lessons just as she handled the rest of her life, taking the bull by the horns and simply dealing with the situation, thereby protecting her childhood feelings. Emma distanced herself from the material and minimised her teaching time and Florence, despite her well-established Holocaust methodology, emphasising the gravity of the topic but avoided upsetting her learners.

In general, the history teachers realised that when they taught the Holocaust, they were tapping into both their own and their learners’ thoughts and feelings. This was evident in Hannah’s foray into discussions about identity and difference. Her learners’ questions about her Aryan looks made her reconsider who she was and teaching the Holocaust helped her to understand the schism in her grandmother’s identity, being both German and South African.

Using her emotional understanding she sought to keep the emotional temperature in the classroom cool by focusing on the events of the Holocaust, rather than on emotive stories. In contrast, Thandi's childhood experiences enabled her to understand the world could be a scary place, especially for children, but it also led her to question the treatment of her parents during apartheid, meaning that she was constantly on an emotional knife-edge when teaching the Holocaust. This emotional rollercoaster provided her with insight into her own emotional knowledge landscape, which she summed up by saying: "So this topic brings up issues of self-esteem, self-worth, selfishness, self-centredness, and all those emotions. It makes you think a lot."

I note here, that despite the evidence in this study of teachers' emotional sensitivity and inner conflict when teaching the Holocaust as well as how they managed their emotions, I found no references to these phenomena in the literature.

Coping with emotional learners

It was clear from their personal stories that it was not only the history teachers who became emotional in Holocaust lessons. The learners were often affected too, especially when the history teachers went out of their way to teach in an emotive way, by say, showing horrendous images of piles of naked bodies or bodies being pushed into crematoria or medical experiments. This was not the most common way to teach the Holocaust, but there were incidents amongst the participants, to which Florence attested regarding the early years of her teaching it. She admitted that she had set out to make the Holocaust "the scariest thing in the world", only to discover that this method was counterproductive because her learners became very upset and she vowed not to repeat that mistake. Other history teachers also contributed directly to the learners being upset by showing them highly emotive films with emotive music and troubling storylines, as Emma did when she showed the film, *Schindler's List*, which was castigated as a vehicle for deliberately churning up and manipulating emotions (Gray, 2014, p. 111). However, in line with her fundamentalist approach to life, the film dovetailed with Emma's desire to shock her learners to bring them around to her way of thinking. As she commented:

They are shocked. The fact that it's in the past is irrelevant because what happened remains shocking and upsetting. That said, maybe it's good that they are shocked. I want to shock them. They must be shocked. The children must be shocked when they hear people saying things like, "Hitler's gas chambers must return," in present day pro-Gaza protests. And you know I

find their shock reaction positive because you know they need to realise that the Holocaust was shocking, and they need to understand.

When the learners became upset, it was up to the history teachers to comfort them, which they did according to their personalities and lived experiences. John, with his own feelings running high, would immediately change the subject, fearing that the learners would go home and report to their parents that he had made them cry. Siphso, who described himself as sensitive, did not want to deal with distressed, crying learners, so he would take them aside after the lesson to make a one-on-one connection with the child to discover what part of the learner's own story had been triggered by what had been said. An incident that illustrates this was when one learner was extremely upset, Siphso discovered that the boy's father had been killed by the apartheid police and learning about the Holocaust had jolted his memories, which had come flooding out. As the boy said, "When you are talking about what the Germans were doing to the Jews, I relate it to what happened here when the police were working for the Government. They killed my father on instruction from the [apartheid] Government." Thus, the personal stories of the learners and their teachers became intertwined, making teaching of the Holocaust more emotive and complex.

In general, the history teachers engaged with distressed learners in a forthright manner, encouraging the learners to speak out about their feelings and helping them to understand what the Holocaust was and how it happened. They were sensitive to their learners' anguish, immediately changing the subject when they saw that learners were upset, as John did, or using humour to lighten the mood, as Hannah did. The history teachers' responses resonated with their own stories, so John's fearfulness led him to quickly pacify the learners, while Hannah tapped into her usual upbeat positive attitude to life around her. In contrast to John, she had no fear of losing her job, she enjoyed her teaching and she felt passionate about teaching the Holocaust because of her personal connection to the events of WWII.

Moreover, just as the museum educators at the DHGC sometimes pre-empted the emotive nature of the Holocaust exhibition, a few of the history teachers forewarned the learners that they were going to be upset, which triggered further emotion (Gouws, 2011, p. 136). One of these was Emma, who at the outset of her Holocaust lessons suggested that the learners might be upset thereby sensitizing them to the emotive nature of the material. This was a deliberate ploy because she believed if they became upset it would demonstrate her words were effective. As she explained, "I tell them that it's going to be emotional; it's not going to be a nice subject to learn about, but that they need to know, and I tell them why they need to

know.” In fact, she was the one history teacher who went out of her way to shock her learners, wanting to jolt them into accepting her world view and being unafraid to impose her messianic world view on them. This reflected her fundamentalist view of the world, as well as her passion for her religion, her family, and her convictions about the Middle East. Unlike Siphon and John, Emma’s background of privilege meant that she had not personally experienced trauma and she was therefore somewhat impervious to the trauma that shocking her learners might induce.

For those history teachers who were parents, Rashid, Emma, John and Siphon, teaching the Holocaust evoked deep feelings about their own children, particularly when they saw Holocaust-related images of children. In fact, every image that Emma chose during the photograph section of the interview, included children. Teaching the Holocaust reminded those history teachers who were emotionally vulnerable, not once, but every year when they taught the Holocaust, of their own trauma and as Emma related, each year felt progressively worse. This was also an observation made by Holocaust museum educators (Gouws, 2011, p. 138).

Findings on emotional knowledge

Analysing the history teachers’ personal stories, I found that the key to many of the history teachers’ emotional responses lay in their personal stories. For most, there was an alignment between how they felt and what they thought about teaching the Holocaust, for instance Florence, with her compassionate nature, saw the Holocaust as a way of teaching social responsibility, which she herself felt. She expressed her emotions and thoughts freely, ensuring that the learners became conscious of their own feelings. Thandi, Siphon and John were also able to share their feelings about the Holocaust. Siphon, for example, was forthright in his beliefs about Hitler’s leadership which he believed dovetailed with his own, that is, that leaders should put their own people first. In contrast to this openness, Rashid drew a veil over his personal beliefs and feelings. With his background steeped in Muslim philosophy and emotion and in the context of being a BDS supporter, he taught a deeply Jewish history, which resulted in an emotional disconnect. He was even able to admit these feelings were sometimes in conflict. As a result, he kept a tight rein on the emotional temperature in his classroom, adhering as closely as possible to an air of professionalism.

The breadth of common understanding and therefore emotional knowledge was evident in the similarity of John and Siphon’s lived experiences of violence and intimidation, without them ever having met, having grown up in different southern African countries and under different

social conditions. One family was rural and the other urban, and one was middle-class and the other economically disadvantaged. As a teacher, because of his background, lack of cultural capital and heritage Sipho remained in a rural disadvantaged school, and simply by dint of being Black, John was sucked into the apartheid story, teaching a subject outside the range of his usual mathematical expertise in a school where there was a constant struggle to ensure that the learners did not place his livelihood at risk by upsetting them in any way. In fact, the analysis showed that for almost half the history teachers, their emotional knowledge was acquired through their personal experiences of trauma.

However, this was not the only method of acquiring emotional knowledge. Even those participants who had relatively stable, untroubled lives gained emotional knowledge. For Florence, this was acquired from experiencing the cohesion in her interracial family. And because her life was generally uncomplicated, and almost a model of suburban, middle-class aspiration and achievement, Florence was able to concentrate on higher order emotional needs such as morality, purpose and meaning (Maslow, 1943, pp. 370-396). Conversely, others concentrated their attention on more fundamental needs like safety and security, food, and shelter, as in the case of Thandi. As a result, Florence's emotional awareness and her subsequent development of a structured methodology paved the way for both her and her learners to go beyond the historical events and tap into a more emotional, experiential way of learning about the Holocaust.

Ultimately, the personal stories revealed much about who the history teachers were and how they connected emotionally to the Holocaust narrative. All, for instance, believed that they were part of one large human family. Many spoke of their compassion for others, the need to understand where another person came from, and the way that people treated each other, to teach lessons from the Holocaust. In this way, drawing on their emotional knowledge and using emotion as a tool, the participants helped their learners tap into the lessons of the Holocaust and not simply provide them with historical facts that might have left the learners indifferent. As recognised by other researchers (Nates, 2011, p. 2), the Holocaust touched raw nerves, be they familial, personal or societal and it was evident from the personal stories that confronting the Holocaust led the history teachers on a journey of introspection. It made them question themselves, other people, events in their lives, both past and present, and particularly the events that were taking place in the Middle East at the time of the interviews. The history teachers considered how they felt about their families, their children, their learners, their colleagues, the parents of their learners and people in society in general.

Thus, emotional knowledge played an integral role in the history teachers' classroom practice when they taught the Holocaust. How Holocaust education made both teachers and learners feel was an essential part of the history classroom. It seemed that everyone was affected in some way or another. Structurally, the history teachers looked for their place in the world but being South African meant that they were constantly dealing with issues of racism and discrimination, and teaching the Holocaust was a trigger for their personal feelings. With emotion playing such an important role in the Holocaust classroom, the participants adopted strategies to deal with both their learners' emotions and their own. In particular the history teachers social Holocaust knowledge was based on values and moral concepts learnt as children. Thus, notions of sensitivity and leadership were linked to mirrored concepts in their lives. For Siphso it was confusion over foreigners; for Emma the importance of her family; for John, the need to fit in as a refugee; for Florence, the importance of having and demonstrating empathy for other people; and for Hannah, the importance of having a balanced worldview with a need to examine both sides of any story. Thus, the emotional knowledge showcased in the history teachers' personal stories filtered into both their historical and social Holocaust knowledge and for many of the participants, their understanding of human nature was fundamental to their teaching of the Holocaust. These findings support the contention that history teachers need to first deal with their personal histories before they are able to be objective about teaching the Holocaust (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296) otherwise they simply choose to avoid teaching it or aspects of it where they can, as claimed by Chikoko et al. (2011, p. 8). As one educator teaching learners how to cope with the effects of trauma and violence recently commented, "You can't help someone with their load if you are carrying your own burden" (Shapiro, 2017, n.p.).

Experiential knowledge

Emotional knowledge is one aspect of history teachers' personal knowledge; another is experiential knowledge. Experiential knowledge is informed by practical knowledge (Swart, 2017, p. 2); by doing and experiencing, the history teachers developed understanding. As an example, those participants who experienced the violence of apartheid better understood the violence of the Holocaust (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 305). As a result of that proximity, they also sometimes avoided it (Chikoko et al., 2011, p. 8), just as Emma's parents' wanted to do. Some of the history teachers who acquired this experiential knowledge were John, Siphso and Thandi, particularly as it related to apartheid and xenophobia. All three found that they were constantly reminded of their personal circumstances when they taught the Holocaust, a situation that they found disquieting. However, this experiential knowledge could not be

learnt other than through personal exposure. No books or films could teach anyone about the hatred, violence and the political intimidation that they experienced personally. They were then able to bring this experience into conversation with their understanding of the victims of the Holocaust and hence their lessons about it.

Linking past and present

Linking past and present in history is an established technique in history education, in which the past is used to inform the present. This was evident in the CAPS-History curriculum where history was described as a means to “enable people to understand and evaluate how past human action has an impact on the present and how it influences the future” (Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p. 9). The Holocaust was therefore a means to teach about the past to change the present and for the history teachers, this linkage spoke to their experiential knowledge. The history teachers conveyed this by saying that events such as genocide were not confined to the past but still occurred in the present. This focus on the ever-present nature of events was particularly important for Emma, who believed that both past and present existed at the same time for G-d. As she explained:

It disturbed me to think that it [the Holocaust] didn't take place a long time ago. Not that it makes any difference to the victims that it wasn't a long time ago and that it's very modern. You see, I believe that everything is in the present for G-d, meaning that those people who experience the Holocaust are as present to Him as I am now. I therefore find the Holocaust just shocking

Moreover, although the history teachers' stories took place in the past, they spoke to Holocaust education and its consequences in the present, and as they continued to unfold in the present, they would affect the future. One of the history teachers for whom the past provided an ever-present influence on the present was Siphso. As mentioned previously, his disadvantaged past meant that he it was almost impossible for him to “catch up”, thereby being locked into his position in society, both in the present and for the foreseeable future. As Emma realised, people's stories are immutable – even though you can modify your present, you cannot change your past and it continues to influence present and future life experiences. This was also true for John, who had come from Zimbabwe to improve his personal circumstances but found himself bogged down as a Black African in Zulu politics and on the fringes of South African education, being forced to accept whatever work he could find, wherever it was, and teaching whatever subject he was employed to teach, regardless of his expertise. In another example, although Florence and her siblings were able to rise above the circumstances of their parents under apartheid, they remained locked in a cycle that kept

Florence in the same school, opposite the same house in which she grew up. With the history teachers' experiential knowledge firmly rooted in their personal stories, the relationship between past and present continues to play out powerfully in both Holocaust and apartheid education. It was this connection that illustrated Fay's contention (1996, p. 192) that in order to promulgate agency, people need to have a narrative sense that past, present and future are related, because "only when a person can experience the present moment as connected to the past that is pointing to the future, can that person act." In other words, there was a constant articulation of expressions of historical consciousness.

A repeated theme binding past and present was the Israel-Gaza war,⁴⁴ which was taking place during the time of my interviews with the participants. This was a thorny issue, not only within the context of this research but also in the media. The Israel-Gaza war had supporters on both sides of the spectrum. On one side were the history teachers like Rashid, who grew up in a Muslim culture, traditionally anti-Jewish, but who was now faced with teaching a history about Jews. As noted earlier, he was highly conscious of the contested history between Jews and Muslims, saying that it was "a big, big, big, big issue." Past and present collided in those moments. So, while he was able to agree that the Jews in the Holocaust had been "marginalised, segregated, imprisoned and killed," he was not able to be sympathetic in the present and stated that Jews should no longer be regarded as victims, because they had achieved power, wealth and status. On the other side of the spectrum was Emma, who held diametrically opposed views to Rashid. As a vocal fundamentalist Christian Zionist, Emma was pro-Israel and virulently anti-Muslim, a point on which she did not hide her feelings:

Our church had a whole presentation about this topic. There were two sermons about it how very dangerous these Muslims are. Even if you say only ten percent or only three percent of Muslims are fanatical, if you take how many Muslims there are, that's a scary amount of fanatical Muslims out there. It's scary. I've even stopped watching the BBC because it's so unbelievably biased against Israel. The Muslims don't just want Israel; ultimately, they want the whole world.

Although the Holocaust took place in the past, its impact is still felt in the present. Not only is it taught in the present, but the history teachers' memories were evoked in the present. For

⁴⁴ The Israel-Gaza war also known as Operation Protective Edge took place in 2014. According to the BBC, "... in July 2014, authorities said over 2,200 people were killed - most of them Palestinians - and many more injured, during 50 days of violence. A ceasefire was agreed between Israel and Hamas on 26 August [2014]." This conflict in the Middle East dovetailed neatly with the Grade 10 curriculum topic on the Middle East (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p. 22)

both Emma and Rashid, their past lived lives, prejudices and passions were intertwined. In both cases, their past personal stories and philosophies coloured their present thinking. Other history teachers also lay along the continuum, some closer to Rashid's point of view and some closer to Emma's, but even those who were located in the middle of the spectrum, with no strong biases, found themselves embroiled in Middle East-Holocaust matters. A case in point was Florence's emotional response to a news report that she brought to her Holocaust lesson about children who had been killed on a Gaza beach. As she explained during the interview:

There were images of an explosion. There were kids on a beach and there was shooting, gunfire, the kids, there was an explosion further off and this child [in the class] ... I cried, and the child cried, and the two girls cried... We continued, and we watched this guy do his report and then I put it off. And then one of the boys said,

"Miss, is this today, like it's happening now?"

"Yes," I replied.

"So, like Miss, these Jewish people like from then, even now?"

"Yes," I concurred.

The Middle East question was therefore a dominant topic linking past and present as part of the social Holocaust, and it tapped emotively into the history teachers' personal stories.

One of the topics that often arose in discussions about the Middle East was violence. Talk of explosions and murdered children inevitably linked to the violence and mayhem of the Holocaust. Furthermore, in general, violence was woven into the fabric of the Holocaust narrative. However, violence was experienced personally by almost half of the participants. As a factor in apartheid and living in a male-dominated society such as South Africa, violent protests played out on the streets, as recounted by Siphon, Thandi and John. Their personal stories told of their encounters, either as victims or in the case of John, as a perpetrator. These history teachers could therefore empathise with the situation of the Jews in the Holocaust, even though their historical knowledge was not up to scratch. This certainly did not apply to all the history teachers, although there was mostly some measure of understanding of violence due to the social context. Violence was experienced through the stories of parents or grandparents, such as Rashid through his family's experiences of the Inanda Riots and Hannah and Emma through the stories of their grandparents. This contact with violence spoke directly to the next theme, identity, in which the teachers to considered who they were and where they came from as part of their experiential knowledge. This was the knowledge of their own lives, their lived experience.

Family stories also inevitably bound past and present and became a factor in the history teachers' experiential Holocaust knowledge. For instance, the two White history teachers grew up in an environment filled with stories of their grandparents' and great-grandparents' lived experiences, which influenced how they taught the Holocaust. As Emma revealed:

I admit that I sometimes wonder how much my Jewish background has influenced my current thinking as my grandfather was half Jewish, his father being Jewish and his mother German ... there's a lot of Jewish blood and a lot of Jewish sympathy. For me, the Holocaust is personal.

Yet even those participants with no family ties to the Holocaust gained experiential knowledge from the past, through their families. Lived experience in South Africa or, in the case of John, in Zimbabwe meant that the history teachers had insight into parallel Holocaust experiences that included flight, fear, forced removals and political violence. Both John and Thandi even described themselves as survivors; John a survivor of violence and Thandi a survivor of apartheid. Some of the history teachers experienced police brutality under the apartheid regime; others were intimidated or forced to intimidate others; and yet others were forced to flee their homes. This experiential knowledge could not be found in books; it was knowledge that provided insight into the lives of both victims and perpetrators during the Holocaust. While some of the history teachers experienced these events personally, as in the case of Thandi, Siphon and John, others gained vicarious experiential understanding, like Rashid who imbibed his mothers' stories of intimidation and flight.

Another factor in the participants' experiential knowledge was their early life experiences, such as where they grew up, their role models, their religions, and their families. Those who had experienced positive, stable relationships growing up tended to have easier, more communicative relationships with their colleagues, which in turn influenced their ability to convey their knowledge of the Holocaust to their learners. For instance, being open and friendly and having grown up in the environs of her school, Florence confided in her colleagues as friends and discussed the Holocaust curriculum and methods for teaching it with them. In contrast, other history teachers such as John and Thandi, with their experiences of growing up in conflicted environments, were more guarded about sharing their thoughts with their colleagues, particularly if they felt, as Thandi did, that she was regarded as a lesser person because of her lack of material wealth. John was also reticent in sharing his Holocaust teaching experiences with his colleagues, feeling that teaching the Holocaust overly exposed his vulnerability. As a result of the accumulation of these childhood events, John and Thandi

found teaching the Holocaust to be an emotional, difficult experience and they drew on their experiential knowledge to identify with what they were teaching.

Identity, reflection, rejection and perfection

Teaching the Holocaust not only thrust some of the participants into reliving their pasts, but also exposed the way their present-day lives were unfolding. Some of the history teachers who loved teaching the Holocaust felt that it provided an opportunity for growth and reflection. The jumping off point for her lessons was often an examination of Hitler's identity in the face of his search for the perfect race. As she explained:

I believe that this obsession with looking perfect led to the whole self-hate concept; some of the Jewish people hated themselves for being Jewish. This is possibly what is being illustrated in the photograph of the woman on the bench hiding her face. Maybe she was ashamed of being Jewish. In the same way, some Black people today hate themselves for being black, so they come up with the idea that to be lighter-skinned means that you're more beautiful.

Personal identity

Discussions about the Holocaust and the reason why the Jews were targeted ensued, and inevitably questions were raised about the meaning and nature of personal identity. Hannah for one used these lessons to enable the learners to examine who they were as individuals and as part of South African society. This reflectivity also led the class to consider Jewish identity and how it led to the Jews of Europe being the object of intense hatred.

When considering the identities of the Jews and of the learners, the thoughts of the history teachers inevitably turned inward. I realised that each of the seven participants identified themselves in a particular way. They reflected on who they were, their personalities, and their successes or failures as history teachers. They reflected on their race, religion, and social standing. In general, the history teachers were proud of who they were and happily announced that they were South African, a history teacher, Zimbabwean, Jewish, German, Muslim, Christian, Christian Zionist, Black, White, Coloured and Indian. They described themselves as rich or poor, urban or rural, young or old, married or singletons, parents or children, a mother or father, husband or wife, and son or daughter. Their personal stories also revealed a deep consciousness of their racial and religious identities. As Rashid said at the beginning of his interview, "Being Muslim is an essential part of who I am." Florence mentioned on numerous occasions that she was Coloured, Emma and Hannah both referred to their blonde hair and

Aryan-type looks and Thandi, John and Sipho, often referred to themselves as Black. As Thandi noted, she was well-aware of who she was growing up, which meant that White-girl friendships were out of the question. However, it was the categorisation of race that provided the history teachers with numerous commonalities in their understanding of the Holocaust.

Race, as previously discussed, was and still is a potent divider of groups in South Africa both pre- and post-apartheid, a point recognised by all the history teachers, but especially those whose life experiences had been informed by their racial classification, like Thandi and Sipho, and to some extent Rashid and Florence. At the top of the race scale were the Whites who were the recipients of apartheid's favouritism. Despite being second and third generation, post-apartheid White South Africans, there was a focus on the topic of race, particularly in the present where Whiteness is constantly in the news. It was evident from their personal stories though, that lives of the White storytellers Emma and Hannah were indeed undeniably privileged. They inherited the fruits of their parents' privilege, growing up in leafy suburbs and stable communities where they had on-tap resources such as electricity, good schools, access to job opportunities, as well as films, books, television, and the Internet to bolster their knowledge, especially their knowledge of history and the Holocaust. But the focus on race also meant that the White history teachers were acutely aware of their Whiteness, particularly when teaching the Holocaust, because they were constantly reminded by their learners of their Aryan blonde hair. Further down the race scale were Coloureds and Indians, Rashid and Florence. Whilst they both grew up in knowledge-rich environments, they and their families were nonetheless subjected to racial discrimination. Finally, at the bottom of the racial classification scale, being Black African meant that Sipho and Thandi were the most disadvantaged history teachers in the sample. In different ways, their families were broken, politicized, dysfunctional, or impoverished. Thandi and Sipho grew up in rural areas that were designated as black domiciles because of the Group Areas Act, where basic services were either terrible or absent. They had little or no access to quality education and at different times in their lives they both experienced political violence. As noted above, they therefore acquired experiential rather than book knowledge. They knew what it was like to be attacked, persecuted, and threatened, to be victims or even, as in the case of John, to being forced to be a perpetrator. So, when these history teachers heard a single sentence, like, "the Gestapo came", they knew what that felt like. For them, the experience of normative Whiteness was a reality and they, like their White counterparts, were intensely aware of their race. It was therefore evident in their personal stories, that this personal identity informed their understanding of the Jewish experience of the brutality of the Holocaust, which in turn filtered into their teaching of the Holocaust.

Considerations of race, religion, and colour, in turn triggered the history teachers to contemplate identity concerns such as rejection and lack of self-esteem (as in the case of Thandi), and discussion about the search for perfection, self-worth and self-hate (in the case of Hannah's learners). In fact, the personal stories showed that discussions about personal identity often turned to deliberations about physical appearance. This was an opportunity for the White history teachers to tell the stories of their German descendent - one Jewish, one not - and as Hannah reported, her learners would immediately pounce on the question, "Does your blonde hair mean that you are Aryan?" Her answers were pragmatic, and she was at pains to explain that she did not fit the Aryan ideal because her hair was bleached and her eyes brown. Thus, the history teachers' confrontation with the Holocaust was also a confrontation with their and their learners' racial identities.

It should be borne in mind that these observations are not generalisations of the different racial groups beyond this study, but rather a comment on the fact that where the participants came from, their lived experiences and the stories they told, influenced how they taught the Holocaust, and that in this instance, their racial groups provided them with common points of reference. In other words, the history teachers' personal identities were entangled with their personal stories, which in turn, shaped how they taught the Holocaust. For instance, talking about their own and Jewish identity led the history teachers to discuss the necessity for people in South Africa to embrace a diverse, multicultural heritage. This was a theme found in all the history teachers' personal stories and it echoed the literature, which claimed that in South Africa, multiculturalism can be seen as both divisive (Baines, 1998, p. 2) and a uniting force (Weldon, 2008, p. 7).

Aside from his Blackness, John clearly identified as Zimbabwean and a victim of xenophobia, thereby aligning himself with the experiences of Jews during the Holocaust. As someone "different", he was shocked when one of his learners exclaimed during Holocaust lessons, "We don't want to be Zimbabwean because Zimbabweans eat people" while another said, "Here we kill foreigners because they are taking our jobs." This gave John insight into the kinds of false accusations directed at the Jews, who were labelled child-killers and murderers of Christ amongst others, and it enabled him to understand the Holocaust at a profound, personal level. Other history teachers examined Hitler's actions, such as Rashid who confessed that he tried to emulate Hitler's oratory in the classroom, "in order to grab his learners' attention" and Thandi, who deliberated on the role she played in the present and whether or not she could be considered a perpetrator, for as she said:

It [teaching the Holocaust] makes you think a lot and then you look at yourself and you wonder, “Am I a Hitler as well? Or am I one of his generals?” And you look at your colleagues and you start calling them names, just as the learners call us names. They call one of the teachers Joseph Goebbels, the death doctor.⁴⁵

Religious identity was a strong shaper of how the history teachers taught the Holocaust. Emma, with strong ties to her Jewish background, empathised with the Jews. Rashid, as we have seen, brought his religious values into the classroom, and Thandi drew on the Bible to try and understand who Jews were, but whether they were overtly religious or not, this aspect of their identities played a significant role in their lives and shaped their Holocaust knowledge. Those history teachers with the most overt religious identities, Emma and Rashid, were conspicuous in their inclusion of the Israeli/Palestinian question when speaking about the Holocaust. Emma, as we saw, was firmly on the side of Jews and Israel, while Rashid’s thinking was coloured by his Muslim identity. He was, however, more guarded in the outward expression of his religious feelings, diligently seeking to maintain a separation between his religious identity and his identity as a history teacher. Possibly this was why he found it difficult to clearly articulate the fundamental reasons for Hitler’s hatred of the Jews, not wanting to betray his inner conflict, for as he revealed:

I know that there is a big history behind the Jews and the Islam and the Christianity and the Wailing Wall in Palestine. There's a big, big, big, big issue about it. And there's so many stories that you hear, and I hear on the internet and I see in articles.

The history teachers used these concepts and insights to teach lessons of tolerance and acceptance of others, and particularly to encourage their learners to avoid all forms of hate. They spoke about personal and group identity with a focus on the dangers of stereotyping and labelling of others and they tackled questions of who we are in society, an exercise that was inevitably entangled with their personal stories. For Thandi, an exploration of identity came through her connection between the Holocaust and apartheid. So, when teaching about the children’s book, *The Poison Mushroom*, she raised issues of Black African self-identity, speculating why Black Africans treated themselves as lesser human beings than Whites. Also, both Hannah and Florence discussed the range of diversity amongst people, who had different cultures, languages, religions and so on, and the need for creating a multicultural society. For

⁴⁵ She has the facts wrong; the death doctor was Josef Mengele. Joseph Goebbels was the propaganda minister.

them, history provided the best vehicle to teach learners about difference, but more importantly for Hannah, the Holocaust illustrated that a person's personal history was crucial in understanding their actions. According to her, "where you came from was a greater determinant than one's actions. You don't just judge a person based on their actions. You try and understand where they come from."

But whereas teaching the Holocaust was a positive experience for some of the history teachers, like Hannah and Florence, it was challenging and taxing for others, for as Tibbitts (2006, pp. 296, 305) noted, discussions about personal past experiences are often very painful and emotion-laden for history teachers. This critical introspection caused the history teachers to examine not only their own behaviour and thoughts but also that of their friends and colleagues. Rashid, for instance, was faced with family dinners in which he sometimes had to castigate his family for their inaccurate views on the Holocaust and Emma was befuddled by her parents' insistence that they did think that people should know about the Holocaust, complaining, even with their own Jewish heritage, that museums and memorials were constantly rubbing their noses in the Holocaust. Also, Thandi found that teaching the Holocaust sometimes made her reflect on her the actions and those of her colleagues through the eyes of the learners and she wondered whether the learners labelled them as Hitlers or Goebbels, in other words, as people who were neither good nor nice. In this regard John, who felt discriminated against because of being Zimbabwean, found teaching the Holocaust a painful exercise and Siphso mused, "I've been exploring my own understanding of myself and my teaching to try to think if I used my personal experiences to help me in my teaching [of the Holocaust]. I did, and I still do." Also, Siphso was sympathetic to the violence experienced by the Jews because he believed himself to be a victim of xenophobia. In fact, while teaching the Holocaust, Siphso constantly related the Holocaust experience back to his personal experiences as a black man. He was insistent that the learners, all of whom were Black Africans, should be proud of being black but also relating his understanding of xenophobia in Ixopo in 2006 the experience of Jews during the Holocaust. In fact, the depth of emotion in the participants' personal stories supported the observation made by Nates (2011, p. 2) that many South Africa history teachers were not able to "divorce their own personal history from that of the required curriculum" and carried their personal stories with them into the history classroom.

Personal power was another theme that arose in relation to personal identity. Most of the history teachers were conscious of the power they wielded in the classroom to change their learners' lives; change a generation's attitudes (Rashid); cripple, enhance or destroy or their

learners' self-esteem (Hannah, Thandi); change how their learners thought of others (Florence); or to sow seeds of doubt and hate (Thandi). To illustrate this, they spoke about incidents in their own lives where power had either been wielded against them by others (Sipho, John, Thandi) or where they had consciously used it as a tool to influence their learners (Florence, Rashid). Thandi for one said that she always remembered that she was talking to children when she was teaching the Holocaust and that what she said and the way she said it was crucially important. This personal understanding of power gave the history teachers' insight into the power that was wielded against the Jews during the Holocaust.

In many ways, as shown, the history teachers were introspective, reflecting on their personal identities and using their personal stories to support their teaching of the Holocaust. The use of this indirect experiential Holocaust knowledge through their personal pasts to shape their teaching of the Holocaust is a key finding.

Professional identity

In addition to the history teachers' personal identities, the participants all positioned themselves as professionals. For them, being professional teachers meant remaining neutral, avoiding personal opinions and not influencing the learners to adopt their personal, religious or political ideals. Yet despite their intention to remain neutral, personal opinions and feelings on contentious topics such as eugenics or biblical teachings spilled over in the classroom. According to Clandinin and Connelly (1996, pp. 24-30), both personal and professional identities are part of the teachers' personal professional landscape, so the history teachers' stories, encompassing their life experiences and consequent understanding of the Holocaust, constituted the backbone of their Holocaust teaching. The fusion of personal and professional is also supported by Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004, p. 109), who propose that teachers' biographies, and their beliefs based on those biographies, are important components of the formation of teachers' professional identity.

The participants' feelings about teaching history were another factor that affected how they taught the Holocaust. Some revelled in their positions as history teachers whilst others felt the burden of it. Those who were confident and happy in their roles brought vigour and enthusiasm to their Holocaust lessons, while a few, like Sipho, simply stuck to the history curriculum, teaching what was required. Many also regarded their role as history teachers to be agents of change, echoing the historical aims of the previous NCS-History curriculum. One of these was Rashid, who stated that he wanted "to socially transform the learners into what the education system wants them to be," that is, to become "better people." This moralising

reflected not only the aims of the CAPS–History curriculum but also his personal value system. And John, ever-conscious of his position as a foreigner and believing that his job was therefore tenuous, strove to make his learners conscious of others’ human rights, mirroring what he regarded as the loss of his own rights in Zimbabwe.

Recognising the negative power of labelling others when teaching the Holocaust, the participants felt that it was incumbent on them to encourage their learners not to label others and to demonstrate the dangers of labelling and stereotyping people. Florence used her life story as a Coloured person to make this point strongly when she described how she urged her learners to look beyond labels and race and colour and to simply see people as part of the human race:

I always tell our children,
 “Listen, can we be people? Why must we be anything but people?”
 And whenever they come into the history class, I always tell them,
 “My Smurfs, we are people.” ... Children like that line. Sometimes they say,
 “Miss, miss, she's not a girl, she's a person.”
 And I add,
 “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.”

In Florence’s uncomplicated world, she found labelling others and racial bias deeply troubling. For Emma, antisemitic labels really upset her sensibilities about Israel and Jews and Thandi was particularly conscious of the harm that labelling others could inflict, recalling an incident in which she told an aspiring learner that she would never be an actress. She linked this experience directly to her teaching of the Holocaust for as she explained:

... one of my learners, Happy, told me that she wanted to be an actress. Without thinking twice, I blurted out that she would never be an actress. As the words crossed my lips, I realised the impact of what I’d said. I felt awful and I worry that what I told her sank in and that it stayed with her. Even if she was aware of it previously, once the criticism is out, it’s out. It sticks. It sinks in. It hurts. And it’s going to affect her life; as it did Hitler’s.

Whilst labelling others was considered harmful, self-labelling appeared to be more tolerable to the history teachers and it led to the formation of their identities.

Discussion

The history teachers' personal knowledge was comprised of both emotional and experiential knowledge and these are linked, because how you feel is generally part of what you experience.

As their personal stories showed, in terms of their emotional knowledge, the history teachers exhibited a wide range of both positive and negative emotions. These could not be disentangled from their engagement with the Holocaust, as in many instances it evoked personal distressing memories (John, Thandi, Emma, and Siphon).

Closely aligned to the history teachers' emotional knowledge was their experiential knowledge, which was composed of the way in which they dealt with past and present. As I have demonstrated, they used their past experiences to shape their present teaching of the Holocaust. The theme of past and present was also found in the link between the Holocaust as a past event and current affairs.

The history teachers' personal and professional identities formed part of their experiential knowledge because the way that they thought about themselves and their learners impacted on what they taught the Holocaust. Furthermore, their personal identities, linked to race, religion, morality, and so on, underpinned their fundamental understanding of the world. Embracing their identity as professionals, the history teachers considered the impact of their words and actions on their learners when teaching the Holocaust, trying to avoid labelling others. They were reflexive about themselves and the impact of their teaching on the Holocaust, particularly where they had experienced or had other direct connections to the Holocaust, such as through family or religion.

Reflexivity in the literature is recognised as helping teachers to explore the ways in which people label themselves and forge their identities (Petersen, 2011, p. 3), particularly where their experiences relate to living under an apartheid state (Petersen, 2015, p. 257) (Baines, 1998, p. 7). The history teachers unavoidably carried their identities, integrated in their personal stories, into the classroom, where they reflected on what teaching the Holocaust meant to them and how they were viewed by their learners. Hannah, for example, saw teaching the Holocaust as an opportunity to connect to her German and South African histories in a positive way. Thandi considered her childhood with an absent father due to his incarceration, and a mother frequently on the run from the apartheid police and came to realise that this provided her with independence, but also a search for how people's childhoods

influenced who they were. This was the lens through which she viewed Hitler too, trying to understand why she was not a monster like Hitler.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to answer the second research question, “How do the personal stories of the history teachers shape their teaching of the Holocaust?” by conducting a cross-story thematic analysis of the restoried personal stories. Finding themes that traversed all seven personal stories, I was able to establish the key points that showed how the history teachers used their personal stories when teaching the Holocaust and the ways in which these stories shaped what they were teaching.

As I delved into the history teachers’ lived experiences, memories and thoughts, three major categories came to the fore: theoretical, practical and personal knowledge. Their theoretical knowledge shone the spotlight on both the historical and social Holocaust, elements that were intricately intertwined with their personal stories. Firstly, the history teachers used their stories as anecdotes or as ways to explain various aspects of the history. However, it was in their teaching of the social Holocaust that their personal stories came to the fore as their stories were filled with themes that resonated with Holocaust themes, such as antisemitism, xenophobia, human rights, racism and apartheid. They were therefore able to use their stories to explain and amplify and elucidate these Holocaust themes. The blending and knotting of the historical and social elements of their theoretical knowledge revealed why the history teachers taught the Holocaust as they did, as well as exposing the source of the myths and misconceptions that dotted the Holocaust teaching landscape. This was followed by the second element of their professional knowledge, their practical knowledge. Here the history teachers’ personal stories showed the way they taught the Holocaust and what the associated challenges were. This was knowledge in action – sourcing resources, speaking to colleagues, presenting their lessons via multimedia, and the type of approach they took when standing in front of their classes – be it teacher-centred or learner-centred. The third type of knowledge was personal knowledge to teach the Holocaust. This was knowledge gained from their own experiences; it could not be learnt from books. The history teachers used personal knowledge in their connection with the learners and to develop their own understanding of what occurred during the Holocaust.

The thread of emotional entanglement with the Holocaust was evident throughout this thesis with the participants’ emotional knowledge ultimately being interwoven with their other kinds

of knowledge. It affected both their theoretical and practical knowledge because emotional choices were made when the history teachers made pedagogical choices. For example, some chose to engage actively with the Holocaust narrative while others were overwhelmed by their emotions and therefore chose methodologies to teach the Holocaust that matched their emotional makeup like Emma, who avoided direct teaching as much as possible, focusing on films and worksheets.

All three types of knowledge were inseparable. It is this complexity that I unravel in the next chapter, where I take stock of what I have learned, and the insights gained, to draw conclusions based on the thematic analysis, and present my findings. I discuss the elements in the history teachers' personal stories over which they have control and explore how these factors affect the way that they approach Holocaust education. I also look for the meanings behind the findings to uncover how who they are influences what they teach and how, in the process, they use their personal stories.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Through the lens of history teachers' personal stories: towards a model of understanding

Introduction

This study began with two research questions, namely:

- What are the personal stories of the history teachers who teach about the Holocaust?
- How do their personal stories shape their teaching of it?

In response to the first research question, I narratively interviewed seven history teachers who taught the Holocaust as part of the CAPS-History curriculum in KZN and then restoried the transcriptions of their personal stories based on broad themes including growing up, becoming a history teacher and finding a personal connection to the Holocaust. To address the second research question, I analysed the restoried stories again using thematic analysis. Then, after laying out the route plan for this chapter, I summarise and discuss the key findings. These are the overarching themes straddling the history teachers' personal stories that show how the history teachers plaited the theoretical, practical and personal strands of their personal stories into a cohesive braid that defined their personal practical knowledge about teaching the Holocaust. There is one caveat, however. There are no neat, clean conclusions with tidily bulleted answers, as the presentation of the findings might suggest. The findings are messy. They cross blurred boundaries, leak into each other, overlap, and sometimes collide.

Bridging the seven personal stories

The range of the history teachers' personal stories was as broad as that of human experience and they combined what they taught about the Holocaust (their theoretical knowledge); how they taught the Holocaust (their practical knowledge), and why they taught the Holocaust as they did (personal knowledge), as represented in Figure 12. However, during the analysis, the boundaries blurred and merged and a new a picture developed that showed how the history teachers' personal stories shaped their teaching of the Holocaust (see Figure 12).

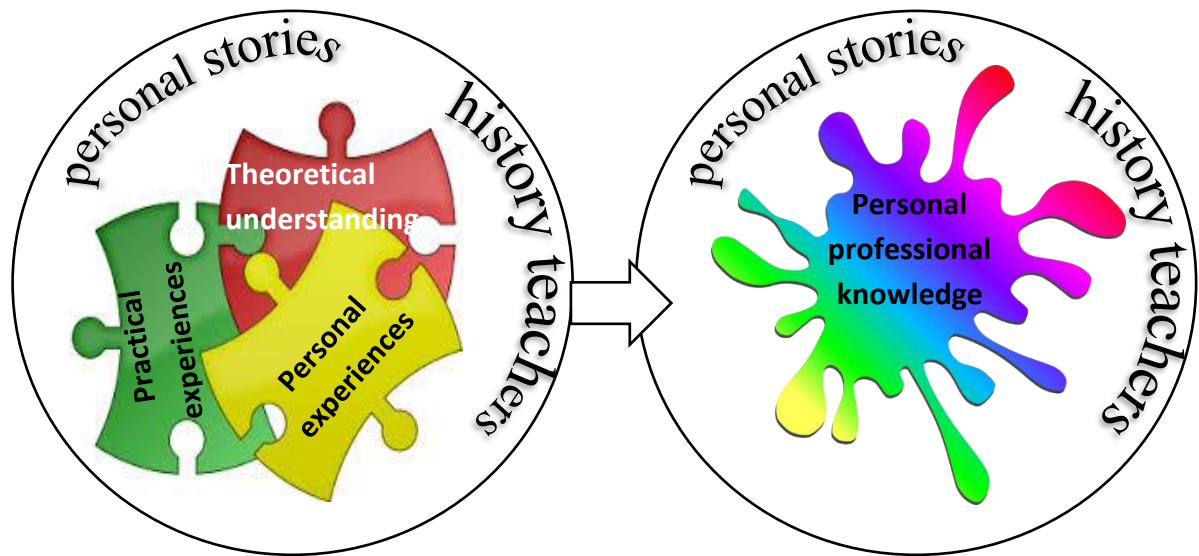


Figure 12. Components of the history teachers' personal stories comprising personal professional knowledge

Before discussing the findings, however, I revisit the parameters for the sample to illustrate the connection between the participants' personal stories and the findings. In my search for participants, I looked for history teachers who had taught the Holocaust as part of their teaching practice but who had not taken part in or attended any unofficial Holocaust education or training programmes, such as those offered by Holocaust centres or online organisations. I had no prior knowledge of the participants' personal stories or lived experiences. The sample was small, comprising seven participants, but was broad in range, encompassing gender, race, socio-economic position, age, religion and educational opportunity. The commonalities of the sample were that the participants were all history teachers who lived in and around Durban, South Africa at the time of the interviews. Only one participant, John, was not South African by birth, but Zimbabwean.

Analysis of the stories showed that there were two major factors within the history teachers' personal stories that influenced their Holocaust teaching; those over which the history teachers had no control (structural) and were unchangeable and those over which they had some control and were therefore subject to change (personal/non-structural).

Structural/societal elements of the personal stories

Within the larger societal system, the history teachers' stories were complex constructions that contained structural elements such as age, place of birth, race, and gender over which they had no, or at least very limited, control. For example, the participants had no control over where they were born or when, or what DNA they possessed, although they might have had some limited choices about their choice of gender or position in society. Even structural issues that might be changeable, such as gender, are very difficult to transcend. Another societal factor that might be altered is the effect of apartheid; but changing this is far from easy. Moreover, being completely integrated into the cultural, social system of their birth meant that the history teachers might not have been consciously aware of the structural matrix of which they were part, meaning that they were not always cognisant of their personal bias or prejudice. People can study and move from one socio-economic situation to another, but their past experiences always remain with them, colouring how they view the world, their feelings and actions, and underpinning all they do.

Race and identity

Race is a structural matter over which the history teachers had no control. They could not determine whether they were born White, with the accompanying advantage of privilege, or Black, in which case they suffered under apartheid and even today continue to feel the effects of their economic and educational disadvantage twenty-three years into democracy, including the burden of Black tax.⁴⁶ The racial lens played a huge role in the way the history teachers identified themselves and therefore shaped their personal stories, which in turn influenced how they taught the Holocaust. For instance, Thandi as a Black African South African woman was defined by her circumstances, growing up as a child of anti-apartheid activists and as a result becoming a woman who was very independent, forging her own way in the world. Apartheid was fundamental to her life story, written into her thoughts and feelings, actions and reactions. So, when she taught the Holocaust, it was the lens through which her knowledge and pedagogy was revealed. It was therefore not surprising that apartheid was the first thing she mentioned in her interview, saying, "Well, for me the teaching Holocaust and what happened in Germany to the Jews basically reminds me of what happened here in South Africa in so many ways." This statement reinforced the contention that South African teachers were unable to divorce their personal histories from that of the required curriculum (Nates, 2011, p. 2) and, I would add, were unable to divorce their personal stories from their teaching

⁴⁶ Black tax is the responsibility imposed on young Black people who have jobs and are expected to contribute to their families financially because they raised them and paid for their education. Unlike young White people who once they graduate or obtain jobs can use what they earn to climb up the economic ladder, young Black people give what they have earned to their families, often remaining in the cycle of poverty.

of the Holocaust. Acknowledging the sensitivity of this structural element of the personal stories, Salmons (2003, p. 147) noted that when people come from cultural and ethnic backgrounds where there has been a long history of prejudice and discrimination, there is a necessity for their pain to be acknowledged before they can begin to unravel similar experiences of Holocaust victims. There is a caveat however. This exploration of racial identity needs to be conducted in a safe environment (B. Van Driel & Van Dijk, 2010, p. 135) as issues of persecution, racism, marginalization, exclusion, isolation, and violence can emerge, giving rise to further distress.

A question that arises about race is whether those history teachers who grew up under apartheid with the material or cultural capital advantage became better Holocaust educators? Did White history teachers from wealthy schools and homes benefit over history teachers from poorer, less advantaged backgrounds? Ostensibly it appears that they did. Materially, better resources accessible to the White history teachers invariably led to better access to historical content knowledge, which in turn led to better teaching of the Holocaust. Better resources in their teaching environment also meant that the White history teachers had the option to include more exciting, innovative ways to present their Holocaust lessons. In terms of their personal professional status, the White history teachers were at a material advantage, which is still evident in South African schools today, with the Black African history teachers trying to play catch-up both materially and in terms of their knowledge. Being a White history teacher meant that there was a high probability that there was some direct personal connection or family reference to Europe, WWII and even the Holocaust, as in the case of Emma and Hannah. This meant that they started out teaching the Holocaust with an established frame of reference. Furthermore, their legacy of material and educational advantage probably gave the White participants greater insight into and understanding of the Holocaust, which meant that generally they taught it well. But there was no certainty in this. As I have stated Emma's Holocaust teaching left room for improvement, although her historical content knowledge was probably better than that of the Black African history teachers, a finding that was illustrated in Figure 10.

In contrast, Black African history teachers who were educated under apartheid were at a huge disadvantage (Vally et al., 1999, p. 83). Race determined where they went to school, the quality of their education, and the scantiness of the resources available to them. The staff in their schools were poorly trained; there were no laboratories or libraries; and the learning methods they used were antiquated. There was unquestioning conformity, rote learning, autocratic teachers, authoritarian management, syllabi filled to the brim with racism and

sexism and grossly inadequate assessment and evaluation methods (Vally et al., 1999, p. 83). Furthermore, the Black African history teachers who taught the Holocaust were products of CNE and apartheid, which meant they had compromised role models and were at an educational disadvantage, a situation that continued through their years at university and beyond. As teachers, this disadvantage determined the amount of institutional and methodological support they received, and even, by dint of their skin colour, the kind of schools they were placed in, with the White history teachers being placed in more affluent schools with greater resources. In other words, the history teachers have continued to carry apartheid baggage (R. Freedman, 2010, p. 2; Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296; Weldon, 2005, p. 6; 2008, p. 8). Apart from their educational and economic disadvantages, lack of skills development, poor job opportunities and exclusion from the country's wealth, their personal histories bore little or no reference to WWII, the Holocaust or Jews.

However, in response to whether the White teachers taught the Holocaust better or not, the personal stories revealed that there was, in fact, a more blurred nuance to this finding, because in fact, their race did not automatically mean that the White history teachers taught the Holocaust better. The Coloured and Indian history teachers in the study taught it well too, despite being previously disadvantaged, because of a passion for their work, doing the best they could with their resources, but most importantly, because of the time and effort they invested in researching the topic. Florence for example became an excellent Holocaust educator, even though she taught in a disadvantaged school with scant resources. Material advantage was certainly not one-dimensional as Florence's story showed. Her family provided her with cultural capital, despite their economic disadvantage, because they regarded education as a priority. Also, discovering technology in the form of PowerPoints, made Florence's lessons more multi-dimensional, which in turn provided her learners with greater insight into the Holocaust. Moreover, her pedagogy was innovative; she was the only history teacher to establish her own methodology for teaching the Holocaust, creating what she considered to be a suitable empathic environment by using guided meditation techniques to ensure that her learners were emotionally prepared to deal with the trauma of the Holocaust. Therefore, even with limited material resources, Florence exhibited very good historical content knowledge, excellent emotional knowledge, and one way or another she found the means to provide her learners with relevant worksheets, photographs or whatever else she considered important to help them understand the Holocaust. In contrast, Emma, White and privileged, came from an emotionally, psychologically and educationally advantaged family who provided her with a great deal of cultural capital and she worked in a well-resourced school. Yet, as she admitted, her Holocaust knowledge was lacking, and she could not get

beyond the barrier of her fundamentalism and the turbulent emotions she experienced when teaching the Holocaust, rendering her unable to impart relevant emotional knowledge.

This study shows that no formula exists that can predict the outcome of inherited privilege when it comes to teaching the Holocaust. It is a complex matter, depending on whether they are teaching the historical or social Holocaust and is further complicated by the history teachers' religious affiliations, personality and professionalism. For their part, the Black African history teachers gained a unique insight into the experiences of Holocaust victims based on their disadvantage. Furthermore, teaching the Holocaust triggered memories of their lived apartheid experiences. For them, this was not only the teaching of someone else's history but a mirror of their own. This linking of the Holocaust and apartheid was not only something done by the participants, but it is a staple of Holocaust education in South Africa (R. Freedman, 2009, pp. 91-95; 2014, pp. 134-142; Nates, 2010, pp. S17-26; 2011, n.p.; Petersen, 2011, pp. 1-11; 2015, pp. 1-372; Tibbitts, 2006, pp. 295-317; Weldon, 2008, pp. 1-12). This well-researched and well-understood phenomenon is factored into the CAPS-History curriculum with apartheid being taught after the Holocaust in the Grade 9 year (Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p. 43) to provide the history teachers with a way to discuss sensitive topics like race with the objectivity of historical distance.

Gender and age

Aside from race, other significant structural factors that was found in their personal stories and related to the history teachers' identities were gender differences and age. The study revealed that the women generally exhibited fair to excellent social Holocaust knowledge, which meant that they taught the Holocaust shaped by social concerns such as the need for people to treat each other fairly and seeking to prevent future genocides. They seemed to demonstrate a greater degree of engagement with social Holocaust matters than the men. Both men and women showed a great deal of care and concern for their learners, but the women tended to be more openly empathic towards Jewish victims while the men tended to be more judgemental about Jews and other communities. The men were also less successful with their social Holocaust engagement. All the male history teachers used antisemitic slurs about power and money and often being confused when it came to Jews and Hitler, a factor not found in the women's personal stories. Although all the history teachers expressed horror at the killing that took place during the Holocaust and were adamant that killing was wrong, the men tended to show a certain amount of admiration for Hitler's big men characteristics.

Not only gender but age also raised discrepancies in the history teachers' personal stories. Having been socialised from an early age in the use of social media and technology, the younger history teachers tended to be more technologically literate, using multimedia to conduct their research and to teach the Holocaust. Hannah and Florence both found the use of technology helpful, using projectors and PowerPoints to get their message across to the learners, while older history teachers used multimedia less frequently, like Siphso, who avoided even the most basic use of photographs, sticking to chalk and talk methods. It should be considered however, that not using multimedia might have been due to his lack of resources such as Wi-Fi in the rural areas.

Displacement

Another structural/societal theme that ran through the history teachers' personal stories and shaped how they taught the Holocaust was displacement. While this was not a phenomenon restricted to one race group, all the Black African participants experienced displacement personally, be it through flight, fear or intimidation. The lives of the Black African history teachers were written in change. The other history teachers also experienced displacement, but only as the second generation, through the stories of their parents and grandparents. Some had grandparents, both Jewish and German, who had fled to South Africa post-WWII, while the land owned by family members of other history teachers was stolen, forcing them to relocate. The history teachers' personal experiences therefore provided an understanding of the displacement of the Jews during and after the Holocaust with its consequent uncertainty, the necessity to adapt to new environments, language and people. As Thandi explained:

This became our reality. We ran from the farm in the Eastern Cape to East London to Kokstad to Durban and back again and there were always so many adjustments. Suddenly I had to learn to speak Zulu because I had only spoken Xhosa before. I also had to adjust to living in a one room place whereas before we had four rooms. We moved from the rural areas to the township and I was not used to township life. I had to catch up quickly and adapt to a lot of things. Even now I'm a very adaptable person ... The things you experience help you a lot when making choices.

Following societal narratives

In South Africa, the unevenness in society led to differences in the way the history teachers taught the Holocaust. People come from diverse backgrounds and cultures and this is also true of school communities. The local narrative dictates that mostly teachers in who teach in so-called good schools have a certain biography. Following this narrative, as learners themselves,

the history teachers who attend these so-called good schools acquire cultural capital, experience good education, know how to negotiate social situations, and often their lives follow one kind of personal narrative. Once they obtain their school leaving certificates, they move on to university, establish stable careers and start building nuclear families. These privileged individuals are also inclined to behave in a certain way, view society in a certain way, enact their professionalism in a certain way and teach the Holocaust in a certain way. They are also most likely to end up teaching in good schools with superior resources, reputation and even buildings.

But there is also a different kind of personal story, that is, the story of people who lack certain levels of cultural capital, and whose first real encounter with academic knowledge is when they enter university. They are people with more fractured lives who live with economic and social disadvantage. Some even must deal with the terror of physical violence or the threat of it, which teaches them something intangible about life that they would otherwise not have known, something that changes them “at a cellular level” (Streep, 2017, n.p.). These kinds of history teachers are therefore inclined to do things differently. This was certainly the case for the Black African history teachers in this study, who had to contend with being placed in schools with no institutional Holocaust knowledge, little resources and where History itself was the subject of scorn, as a subject for “stupid” who would not be able to gain materially from studying it. I therefore found their path to understanding the Holocaust lay not in book knowledge or in understanding Jews and Jewish culture, but more in their lived experiences, which shaped and moulded their world views and hence their teaching of the Holocaust.

Despite the diversity of knowledge and experience in Holocaust education, it is important to note that these metanarratives do not necessarily determine how people teach the Holocaust or predict that the lives of certain groups of people will unfold on some predicted trajectory. As discussed earlier, some of the history teachers, including Florence, managed to transcend their personal circumstances, teaching the Holocaust with insight and enthusiasm despite their disadvantaged economic and apartheid circumstances. In contrast, others like Emma found the Holocaust difficult to research and teach in defiance of her White, privileged background, simply because of her personal attitudes and mores. Thus, people do not fit neatly into categories that define how they teach the Holocaust based on a single criterion like skin colour. People’s lived experiences are messy, contradictory, and complex as revealed by their personal stories, and they contribute significantly to whether they will be excellent or dodgy Holocaust educators.

This brings us to the non-structural/personal elements of the history teachers' personal stories.

Non-structural/personal elements

In this section I discuss the features of the history teachers' life stories that lay outside the larger societal systems in which they lived. These were factors over which the history teachers had some measure of control, that is, the non-structural or personal elements of their personal stories. The history teachers had greater opportunities to take control of these non-structural elements of their personal stories and they could choose whether they wanted to change their course. They could decide, for instance, the extent of their Holocaust knowledge or the level of emotion they chose to display. These personal elements were open to change and choice. Amongst these non-structural elements was the choice of how to teach the Holocaust and what they taught.

Choices in Holocaust education

One of the first decisions made by the history teachers was the extent to which they wanted to engage with the Holocaust. In choosing what to teach, the history teachers considered the depth of their knowledge, their focus, and how much additional research they wished to do. The Holocaust being part of the CAPS-History curriculum aside, the history teachers taught the Holocaust as a result of conscious decisions. For some of the history teachers, teaching the Holocaust was a way to address issues that were important to them, like human rights, while for others it was simply a choice between teaching more history or more geography as part of the Social Sciences. As Florence noted, it was up to the individual teachers to make these decisions:

You see, as the teacher you control what's going on in your class. You must decide whether to focus more on history or geography in the allotted time for social sciences. I was comfortable [in my first year of teaching Grade 9] with mapwork, so I did more geography than history in my first year.

One of the factors in making decisions about teaching the Holocaust was the fact that for the majority of history teachers, the topic of the Holocaust was not personal. With South Africa lies outside the context of Europe, outside the realm of WWII, and it is not flooded with rampant antisemitism, and the Holocaust narrative is often far removed from their daily lives. Many of the history teachers both in and beyond the study had never met a Jewish person and would not know how identify one if they did, a situation that exists throughout the country with regard to Black Africans (Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, 2016, p. 5). The fact that I was Jewish, which I disclosed as part of my ethical commitment to the

research, surprised many of my participants, particularly as I do not bear a Jewish surname. Ignorance about the history of Jews was only slightly mollified by the history teachers turning to religious texts, such as the Bible, to hearsay via newspapers, or to social media for answers. In this lack of understanding of Jews and particularly of antisemitism, the history teachers' personal experiences differed substantially from their European counterparts. In South Africa unless they had a family connection, the Holocaust was not personal, but was used to address social issues such as genocide or the violation of human rights. However, this also resulted in misconceptions and conjecture on the part of the history teachers as their knowledge was incomplete. Misconceptions were not only a product of South African lack of knowledge but were also found elsewhere in the world (Pettigrew et al., 2009, p. 53).

Once they decided to teach the Holocaust, the next question was how did they teach it? The history teachers' Holocaust knowledge, as discussed in the previous chapter, was comprised of theoretical, practical, and personal components. Within each, the findings showed, the history teachers possessed varying levels of knowledge, as happens elsewhere in the world. In this study, it ranged from sketchy/dodgy to excellent and was made up of both historical and social Holocaust elements, which were interwoven. However, in agreement with the literature, many of the history teachers focused more on social Holocaust goals than others. This has been recognised in other countries teaching about the Holocaust such the UK, where Holocaust education currently exists in the sphere of "educational socialisation" (Pettigrew, 2017, p. 3)(Biesta, 2009, p. 7). Pettigrew (2017, p. 3) therefore advises that there needs to be philosophical considerations for Holocaust education that goes beyond social/moral vs. historical thinking. As she says:

... if education is to perform a potentially transformatory function – in *any* subject discipline – then it must provide students with access to "more reliable explanations," which may in turn fundamentally challenge or confound existing assumptions, as a basis to explore "new ways of thinking about the world."

Not unexpectedly, the history teachers taught what they knew, be it minimal or extensive, because, as the literature showed, teachers cannot teach what they themselves do not know and understand (L. M. Harris & Bain, 2010, p. 9) and as noted in the literature, better knowledge makes for better teaching (Guerrero, 2014, p. 4; Hattie, 2003, p. 5; Shulman, 1987, p. 4). In this respect, my findings concurred with the literature. Firstly, those history teachers with limited knowledge lacked insight into a variety of fundamental historical Holocaust factors, including the extent of the Holocaust, the numbers of victims, the

complexity of the causes of the Holocaust, and even the geographic range of the Holocaust. They were therefore unable to teach these facts. Also, in terms of the focus of their Holocaust knowledge, those who saw it as simply another topic, or as a means to assist in the teaching of apartheid favoured the historical Holocaust, while those who wanted to instil values in their learners foregrounded social Holocaust topics. Social Holocaust topics often reflected the history teachers' personal points of view. Ultimately though, the teaching of the social and historical Holocaust was indivisible. Where there was a lack of historical content knowledge, the history teachers filled the gaps with myth and conjecture often by drawing connections between their personal stories and the Holocaust, however tenuous. They then conflated the various scenarios, creating a blended version of the Holocaust narrative.

The Holocaust in the South African context brought various issues with it. Firstly, because it is relatively new in the history curriculum and therefore not included in the pre-service education of many of the current older history teachers, the history teachers were required to do their own research on the topic. Many of the history teachers therefore described their Holocaust knowledge as self-taught. This was not unique to South Africa, as history teachers in other countries reported doing the same thing (Balodimas-Bartolomei, 2012, p. 15; Pettigrew et al., 2009, p. 51). Furthermore, when studying the Holocaust, the history teachers focused on the historical facts and did not research Holocaust education methodology. They were mostly unsure of their reason for teaching the Holocaust or why it was included in the history curriculum, other than as an historical event. The majority did not know, for instance, that the Holocaust was originally included in the NCS-History to help history teachers address the parallel issues of apartheid and discrimination, even though many did so anyway. So, while all the history teachers recognised the link between apartheid and the Holocaust, putting this knowledge into practice was a contested matter. For instance, they were divided on whether to teach the Holocaust before or after apartheid. Some used the Holocaust to introduce concepts like human rights before teaching apartheid, but for others teaching apartheid first seemed like the logical thing to do, because they had experienced apartheid and therefore felt that it was a known phenomenon. The Holocaust for the history teachers in this latter category was very much an unknown. Adding to the confusion was the change in emphasis in the history curriculum from teaching the Holocaust as a means to understand human behaviour to a greater emphasis on what happened and why, and with a strong focus on race. With this chopping and changing of emphasis, the history teachers jumbled the motivation for the teaching the Holocaust, turning to their personal preferences to decide on what they would teach.

Agendas and personal stories

The personal stories showed that those history teachers with lesser Holocaust knowledge did not necessarily use their personal stories any more or less than those with excellent Holocaust knowledge. The amount of use of their personal stories related instead to the history teachers' perceived understanding of the purpose of teaching the Holocaust and how they used those stories. For instance, some of the history teachers found a mirror of their lived experiences of violence and flight. in the experiences of Jews during the Holocaust The idea that the history teachers used their theoretical Holocaust knowledge in relation to their understanding of the aims and content of Holocaust education was supported by other researchers too (Moisan et al., 2015, p. 252; Pettigrew, 2017, pp. 19-20).

A new finding was that those with better Holocaust knowledge used their personal stories as anecdotes or as accents to their historical knowledge, enabling them to elucidate, educate and inform, unlike those with poor or sketchy Holocaust knowledge who used their personal stories to embellish their teaching of the Holocaust, filling gaps in their content knowledge with assumptions and conjecture. Furthermore, they wove their personal stories into the body of their teaching, resulting in myths. In terms of other research, whilst there were discussions about the use of myths and misconceptions (Gray, 2013, p. 419; Short, 2005, p. 378), I found no literature that suggested that history teachers were themselves spinning this conjecture by weaving their personal stories into the Holocaust narrative, as occurred in the findings.

Another finding was that the history teachers had their own agendas when teaching the Holocaust, be it social, personal or professional. Adopting a social agenda related to their teaching of the social Holocaust. They took the opportunity to discuss issues like social cohesion, diversity, or multiculturalism or even to pass on their personal values. One of the history teachers described teaching the Holocaust as “very important to teach in South Africa” because it “tapped into what is actually going on” and showed “how we look at other people and ourselves.” A social agenda also enabled an exploration of issues such as gay rights and identity. Adopting a personal agenda, some of the history teachers taught the Holocaust with a particular goal in mind, be it political, religious, or even just to air their personal stories, as in the case of John. Rashid even admitted,

... even though in my upbringing I was taught not to have agendas for anybody or ulterior motives of some sort, which I think that applies to all teachers, if I'm honest with myself, I may have my *own* personal agendas, my own little ones, in my own conjured mind.

Finally, for some of the history teachers there was a simple professional agenda, that is, to teach the Holocaust as prescribed in the history curriculum.

Emotion and memory

As described in Chapter Six, emotion is a powerful element of the history teachers' Holocaust teaching. With emotion at the core of teachers' work (O'Connor, 2008, p. 117; Zembylas, 2003) and their experiences (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 305), the history teachers' personal stories were not simply factual constructions, but also repositories of emotional knowledge (Sengupta-Irving, Redman, & Enyedy, 2013, p. 2) out of which the history teachers' identities emerged (Fisher, 1989, p. 57). And as the literature showed, these emotion-filled personal stories were used to communicate human stories (Zembylas, 2003, p. 215) as a vehicle for Holocaust education. We saw that the history teachers' emotional knowledge developed through their personal lived experiences and when they taught the Holocaust, many and particularly the Black African history teachers, were transported back in time, to periods of trauma or upheaval or deep affection because, as the literature showed, emotion was linked to past experiences and memory (Crane, 1997, pp. 54, 60). Whilst emotion is a well-known factor in Holocaust education (Foster, 2013, p. 141; Foster et al., 2016, p. 97; Nates, 2010, p. S19), and there is an abundance of literature on the nature of emotion in teaching generally (Baum, 1996, pp. 44-57; Day & Leitch, 2001, pp. 403-415; Hargreaves, 1998, pp. 835-854; R. Harris et al., 2004, pp. 98-111).

Tightly bound with emotion is memory. It too plays a powerful role in Holocaust education, spanning as it does past and present and memory was closely aligned to the history teachers' emotional responses. As Petersen (2013, p. 6) noted of visitors to the CTHGC, "teachers will respond emotionally to the history of the Holocaust because it reminds them of their own traumatic past." This observation resonates with other studies which show that many history teachers are still trying to deal with their difficult apartheid memories (Jansen, 2004, p. 118; Wassermann, 2011, p. 155). The Holocaust is therefore a sensitive topic and it raises other sensitive, controversial issues such as racism, xenophobia and apartheid.

Heightened emotion also influenced decisions made by the history teachers regarding both their Holocaust pedagogy and knowledge. One way of dealing with the Holocaust, the study found, was for the history teachers who enjoyed teaching the Holocaust to engage fully with the material, choosing to expand their theoretical knowledge and presenting the material in interesting ways. In contrast, those history teachers who experienced emotional distress when teaching the Holocaust chose to avoid too much engagement with it, choosing either not to

develop their Holocaust knowledge or whizzing through the section to teach as little of it as possible, as Emma and Siphon did. This avoidance is supported by the literature on sensitive topics such as the Holocaust, and as Chikoko et al. (2011, p. 8) suggests that African teachers might avoid sensitive topics that required “skills and practice” because of their lack of experience in dealing with them.

Another finding from the personal stories was that those who experienced trauma personally, had more emotional experiential knowledge, which enabled them to gain insight into the experiences of Jews during the Holocaust. However, this emotional understanding was also fraught with difficulties. John, for instance, related to the Jews’ suffering as they were being expelled from their homes to ghettos, but he was unable to translate that experiential knowledge into a more global understanding of the Holocaust. This was demonstrated by the fact that he felt that he was the greater victim. “And there was I, with my plastic bag,” he said. “Fortunately, these people had bags. They had time to pack. I didn't have time to pack.” Whilst this reveals a deep level of experiential knowledge it also shows an absence of historical content knowledge because in the photograph the Jews were not fleeing to a new land as John assumed based on his personal experience, but rather were being driven forcibly into ghettos, and taking their belongings with them under the guise of simple relocation. This showed that even though some the history teachers were able to connect emotionally on some level to the Holocaust experience because of their personal stories, they required a totality of Holocaust knowledge to be able to teach it well.

An unexpected outcome of the study was that the interviews themselves were seen by some of the history teachers as cathartic, supporting the idea that by retelling and reliving our stories, they are brought to the fore allowing the storyteller to relive those experiences. If done in a safe setting, this can be “tremendously healing” (Chaitin, 2003, n.p.) and John in particular said that it was a relief to talk about issues that had bothered him as he had no-one else to talk to about it.

Fundamentalism

The final finding that I am going to discuss under the heading of non-structural elements, is fundamentalism. Fundamentalism was found not only in Emma’s Christian Zionism and Rashid’s Muslim fundamentalism but also in Siphon’s embrace of African nationalism, which is in itself a form of fundamentalism. The strict adherence to the basic tenets, be it religion or philosophy or ideology, was present in some of their personal stories. For instance, Siphon’s contention that Jewish pests should be driven out of Nazi Germany just as the Chinese should

be driven out of South Africa bore a strongly fundamentalist tone as did Emma's vitriol against Muslims. Those history teachers who exhibited this fundamentalism were sometimes aware of it and sometimes not. Emma, for instance, seemed blissfully unaware of her radical points of view as was Siphon, but Rashid was in some respects torn by his fundamentalism and was sure not to share his fundamentalist views with his learners.

It can therefore be concluded that diverse personal elements shaped the way the history teachers taught the Holocaust. This included what and how they chose to teach the Holocaust. Whether they acknowledged it or not, each history teacher had his or her own agenda when teaching the Holocaust, driven by both structural/social elements and personal/non-structural elements. It can therefore be concluded that their personal stories and structural backgrounds determined how and why they taught the Holocaust as they did and that even those parts of their stories over which they had little or no control were nonetheless powerful influencers in how they explained the Holocaust to the learners.

Unravelling the meaning behind the findings

The discussion that follows draws the findings together and answers the second research question, "How do the personal stories of history teachers shape their teaching of the Holocaust? As I have shown, the history teachers' personal stories indeed shape their teaching of the Holocaust because it is impossible to escape the gravity of both the structural and non-structural elements of their lives. But the question is, how did they do this?"

In undertaking the cross-story thematic analysis, I found that the history teachers' practice was awash with their personal experiences. Their lived experiences, including their early educational environments, emotions, identities, and the impact of their cultures, community and the society, shaped their knowledge at every level. For example, the Black African history teachers who had lived through apartheid in South Africa intertwined their understanding of it with their understanding of the Holocaust when the Holocaust narrative triggered past feelings and memories of the political conflict. Some of the history teachers even actively equated the Holocaust with their personal lived experiences, directly comparing their apartheid experiences and feelings with those of Jews in the Holocaust. This was not always successful, but for some, it was one of the few tools they had available to make sense of the complexity of what they were teaching. To do this, the history teachers told PINS that underpinned their career choices, determined their educational opportunities, and provided them with educational role models. These were then integrated into the restoried stories. A common

factor in many of the restoried stories was the positive role models they had at school and/or university, which ignited their passion to teach history. However, this did not necessarily translate into them wanting to learn more about the Holocaust, because as we saw, history teachers like Sipho and Emma, who claimed that they loved teaching history, did not love teaching the Holocaust.

As shown, emotion, both the history teachers' and their learners', was a key theme. In fact, it seemed that emotion trumped cultural capital, racial differences, material wealth and resources when the history teachers taught the Holocaust. But what the history teachers ultimately taught was "the sum total of [their] experiences" (Connelly et al., 1997, p. 666), that is, the theoretical, practical, and personal components. In other words, the history teachers brought their own histories to bear on what they taught (Jansen, 2008, p. 71) in order to make their teaching relevant (Dryden-Peterson & Siebörger, 2006, p. 399). It is noted here, that the sample in this study was small and perhaps a larger scale study will be beneficial to gain a clearer picture of whether the emotional component of the history teachers' personal stories provides a greater or lesser motivation for them to engage fully with the Holocaust knowledge and pedagogy than cultural capital and/or material wealth, as I propose.

As I explained earlier, I had no insight into the participants' biographies when they agreed to take part in the study, which led me to a somewhat surprising finding that, without exception, the participants found a personal connection in their life stories to the Holocaust, be it through their heritage, lived experiences or religion. Some wanted to share these personal stories with their learners, to speak about their families and heritage in order to draw their learners in, while others used their stories as anecdotes to illustrate points they were making about the Holocaust. Yet others used their stories to guide their methodology, explaining how things worked in society and developing practical techniques like guided mediation. They therefore made meaning of the Holocaust by drawing on whatever connection they found between their personal stories and the Holocaust narrative, be it content, context, emotional connections or life experiences. It cannot be ruled out however, that having this personal connection encouraged them to take part in this research, which required a commitment of their time and effort, so a further study might come to a different conclusion.

A further finding was that personalising their understanding of the Holocaust helped the history teachers to come to grips with a history that occasionally felt alien, complex, challenging or perplexing. However, being inside the bubble of their existence, often meant that the history teachers were unable to observe themselves from the outside and therefore

failed to fully grasp that they too had prejudices and biases, illustrating that they did not consciously know themselves (Bell, 2002, p. 209). I also found that the history teachers tended to exclude Holocaust narratives that collided with their personal beliefs. This was evident from the interviews where the history teachers sometimes stopped short of drawing what should have been logical conclusions or hinted at some hidden thought. In other words, they only chose to tell me, as the researcher, what they wanted me to know. As Bell (2002, p. 209) said, of narrative inquiry:

Participants construct stories that support their interpretation of themselves, excluding experiences and events that undermine the identities they currently claim. Whether or not they believe the stories they tell is relatively unimportant because the inquiry goes beyond the specific stories to explore the assumptions inherent in the shaping of those stories. No matter how fictionalized, all stories rest on and illustrate the story structures a person holds. As such they provide a window into people's beliefs and experiences.

A useful tool was the BNIM technique which enabled me to delve into the participant's personal stories and access deeply held beliefs that might otherwise have remained hidden. Sipho's personal story of the assault on him, which he revealed even he was surprised to have told me. This was a very personal disclosure. Thus, the history teachers' teaching of the Holocaust was a blend of their personal past experiences, their personal philosophies, and their professional knowledge. It can therefore be concluded that the history teachers' personal stories were used to make meaning, not necessarily by telling their stories to their learners although many did, but more broadly to make meaning of the Holocaust and thus teach it more effectively. Dipping into their personal stories seemed to provide a touchstone for some of the history teachers and added to their general enthusiasm for the topic, particularly those with a relevant apartheid or WWII family history. As Hannah said, her learners loved hearing about her family connection to Nazi Germany and were fascinated when she brought her copy of *Mein Kampf* to class. In general, it appeared that the learners enjoyed hearing their history teachers' personal stories and this gave the teachers an opportunity to speak about their heritage, world views, values or religious convictions. This in turn helped shape their enthusiasm for teaching the Holocaust. Furthermore, as Nates (2010, p. S20) noted, personal history was an important tool to empower learners to examine their own lives and "to draw lessons from their own stories."

Furthermore, the history teachers were often introspective, examining their life stories in the context of South Africa, thereby gaining insights that shaped their Holocaust teaching.

Through this introspection, what they discovered about themselves either increased their enthusiasm for teaching the Holocaust or made them feel uncomfortable and unhappy when they taught it. Some revelled in being able to tell their family stories, which in turn provided inspiration for their learners and encouraged the learners to change their behaviour, while others found that they wanted to keep their family stories private, being too painful or difficult to narrate. They also drew parallels between their lives and the lives of people during the Holocaust, both victims and perpetrators, by comparing their lived experiences of flight, displacement, intimidation or violence to those of Holocaust victims or positive experiences of empathy, humour, and the love they felt for their families. These narrative accounts and anecdotes shaped their Holocaust lessons.

It could therefore be concluded that empowering history teachers to delve into their personal stories is advantageous when teaching the Holocaust, and I concur with Carter (1993, p. 8), that examining their personal teaching experiences is, in fact, necessary to help teachers come to know their own stories. Whilst this has been done to some extent with history teachers who have attended Holocaust centres or Facing the Past workshops where discussions took place about issues of identity and past experiences (R. Freedman, 2015, p. 5; Hues, 2011, p. 82; Weldon, 2010, p. 359), this was not common practice and did not go far enough in helping the history teachers not only to understand that they had histories that connected to the Holocaust but also that their personal histories impacted on their teaching. So, while some universities included education about controversial and sensitive issues for their pre-service history teachers, the majority of history teachers did not have the opportunity to draw the connection between controversial, emotive issues and their personal stories as a way of examining identity, let alone being led through the process of examining the impact of those personal stories on their teaching of the Holocaust.

My proposition is therefore that history teachers' personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust, but that this is a deeply complex, emotive process, as I will explain. The literature tells us that teaching the Holocaust requires a set of special skills due to the moral complexity and emotional nature of the topic (Cohn et al., 2009, pp. 53-59; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2010, n.p.). However, many of the history teachers in South Africa schools lack these skills, not having received pre-service Holocaust education either because the Holocaust was introduced only recently, or they were long out of university when it was introduced as a topic into the history curriculum. They therefore do not possess relevant pedagogical skills to support the teaching of the Holocaust and in the absence of these tools, they turn to their personal stories to fill the gaps.

People take their stories with them and this was certainly case with the history teachers in this study (Jansen, 2008, p. 71). All used their personal stories in some way to support arguments (Emma) or beliefs (Sipho, John), to fill gaps (John), to amuse or engage learners by making them laugh (Hannah), or to teach personal values (Rashid). Sometimes they used their personal stories to provide clarity, or anecdotal evidence to support their explanations about the Holocaust. Some turned to their childhoods to seek metaphors, such as the comparison between Jews and weeds. At times the evidence they gave their learners was just a thumb-suck to attempt to justify a point, such as speculation about Holocaust photographs. At other times, the history teachers' personal stories simply muddied the water. In addition, although there were no rabid displays of antisemitism, it generated a level of discomfort present for at least one of the history teachers. Avoidance and sometimes anger were strategies used when the history teachers had to deal with uncomfortable situations, be it a display of emotion or questions about the Holocaust that the history teachers regarded as too controversial or too difficult to answer. In other words, the history teachers' lives were coloured by their lived experiences and these informed/shaped their thinking about history, the curriculum, their identities and their pedagogy when they taught the Holocaust.

The theory in the literature informs us that teachers uses their stories to teach (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996, pp. 24-30; Hwang, 2008, pp. 1-359; Osler, 2015, pp. 12-25; Sengupta-Irving et al., 2013, pp. 1-12). However, in South Africa, most of the history teachers who are teaching the Holocaust are for the most part, teaching an historical event that has little to do with them, depending on the nature of their personal stories. They are therefore teaching this traumatic event in a decontextualized context; this is not Israel or Europe or even North America. South Africa is on the periphery of Holocaust teaching in a post-colonial, post-apartheid multicultural environment where socio-political issues such as xenophobia, violence and racial discrimination abound. To contextualise the Holocaust, as suggested by the history curriculum, the history teachers link the Holocaust to apartheid, a local event that bore striking similarities to the initial stages of Holocaust. Yet, for those history teachers who have historical links to Europe or the Holocaust, however tenuous, there is a certain kind of insight that advantages them when they teach the Holocaust. Also, if the history teachers' personal stories relate to issues of violence, oppression, displacement or flight, they might use that insight in their teaching of the Holocaust. In other words, these are societal issues that relate to both the structural and non-structural aspects of the history teachers' biographies, where their personal stories lie at the intersection of the history teachers and the Holocaust.

Model for assessing personal story usage in Holocaust education

As the research story draws to its climax, the abundance of knowledge that has emerged about history teachers, personal stories and the Holocaust has crystallised into the emergent diamond, the climax of the thesis story, but two questions remain: What has been learnt about how the history teachers' personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust and what is my theory about how history teachers' personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust?

With the focus of the study on history teachers who teach the Holocaust without having received specific Holocaust education or training, the purpose of the study was to listen to the personal stories of the participating history teachers and to investigate how they used their stories to shape their teaching of the Holocaust. I theorise that the history teachers turn to their personal stories to gain greater understanding of the Holocaust narrative and to find inspiration and explanations to help them grapple with the complexity and enormity of the Holocaust and to find ways to teach it. Their personal stories reveal not only the multi-dimensional nature of their personal stories as might be expected, but I realised that all the history teachers found some level of personal connection to the Holocaust, albeit in a context far-removed from the event.

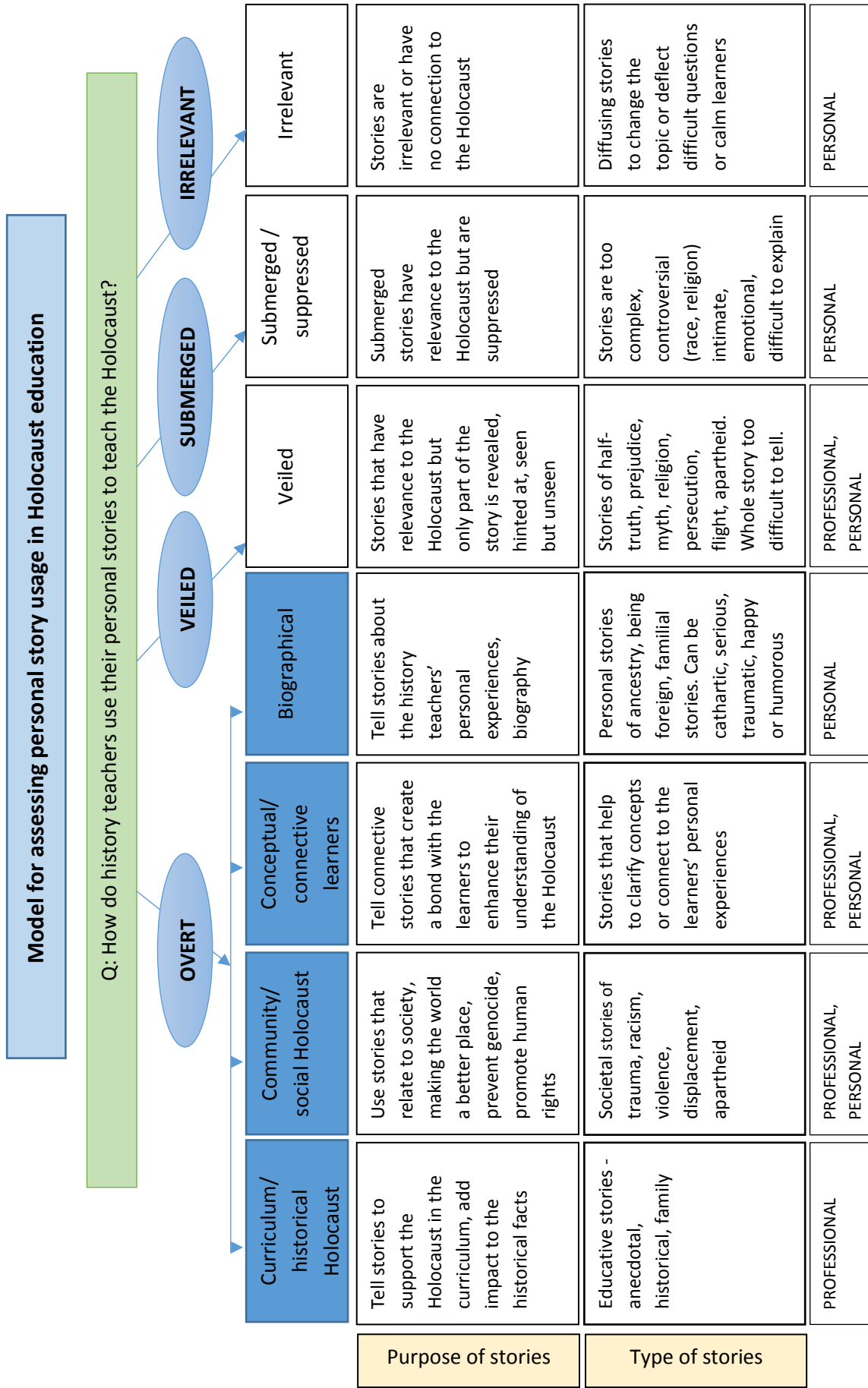
The theory I propose is that when teaching an event as traumatic and large-scale in history as the Holocaust, history teachers turn to their personal stories or parts of their stories, to enhance or make sense of the theoretical, practical, emotional, and experiential aspects of their knowledge. The question is, "How do they do this?" The answers lie in the findings. The analysis showed that history teachers who had a high personal stake in the outcome of their teaching of the Holocaust, such as getting learners to understand and eliminate antisemitism, turned to their biographies to add gravitas to their arguments. Telling the learners that a member of your own family died in the Holocaust creates a personal connection with the learners through which the history teacher hopes to enhance her learners' empathy and hence their insight into the enormity of the Holocaust because of antisemitism. This also provides the history teacher herself with a feeling of agency. Another example was found where the history teachers had to hide aspects of their personal stories because they encountered conflict with departmental or school rules, such as not discussing controversial topics like religion in the classroom, in which case the history teachers stuck to the facts. Or they tried to make sense of what they were teaching when they had to explain Hitler's motivation for killing the Jews to their learners, but they could not personally reconcile this action with their world views. By trawling through their personal experiences for similarities, they sought to

understand the seemingly un-understandable. In this way, the history teachers used their personal stories to unravel complexity. The model that I propose assesses how the history teachers' lived experiences shape their teaching of the Holocaust within their personal, professional landscape, which also responds to the second research question. The theory is illustrated in Figure 13.

In this model, I suggest that depending on their personal agendas, history teachers use their personal stories in four ways, be they conscious or sub-conscious, to teach the Holocaust: overt, veiled, submerged and irrelevant. These are based on the premise that everyone has personal stories that we construct from our lived experiences. Thus, when assessing how the history teachers' personal stories are used to teach the Holocaust, there is the underlying assumption that all the history teachers have personal stories that they bring with them into the Holocaust classroom. How they use those stories to shape their teaching of the Holocaust differs, and these differences are the focus of this study.

Referring to Figure 13, the first group of history teachers use their personal stories overtly, that is the group with the darker blue headings. They are proud of their personal stories and are happy for the learners to hear them. Some of the history teachers used their overt stories to support the Holocaust in the CAPS-History curriculum, for example by adding impact to the historical facts, and highlighting how people were treated, or what it felt to be in the grips of the Great Depression, or even how the perpetrators suffered. These are generally educative stories that are anecdotal, familial or historical in nature. They fall within the history teachers' professional agendas and are generally not particularly sensitive or likely to upset their learners.

A second group of overt stories are societal. These personal stories relate the Holocaust to community and are intended to highlight issues such as racism, xenophobia, and displacement with a focus on apartheid and South Africa. As I have shown, racism, discrimination and apartheid are dominant themes in this social Holocaust category of history teachers' knowledge and almost every South African teacher today has had some experience of these issues. The history teachers mostly use these societal overt stories to teach values, wanting to improve the world by helping to prevent genocide and to promote human rights. Generally, these stories can be regarded as having both professional and personal agendas. Although these stories can be upsetting for the learners, the study showed that generally the participating history teachers were able to cope if learners became upset.



Based on history teachers' agendas

Figure 13. Model for assessing history teachers' personal story usage in Holocaust education

A third way in which history teachers teach about the Holocaust is through connective stories. These stories are used by the history teachers to connect to the learners on a personal level, to clarify concepts or even relate to the learners' own stories. For instance, if a learner becomes upset when learning about the Holocaust because it relates too closely to his own experiences, such as the learner whose father was killed during apartheid, the history teacher might support that learner with a story of her own. Another example would be to tell a personal story that helps the learners to understand difficult concepts such as the reason why the Germans supported the Nazis using an "us vs. them" scenario. As previously discussed, connecting to the learners is an important task for the history teachers if they want to teach well, and using their personal stories enables the history teachers to do just this. Connective stories therefore enable emotional and conceptual understanding. Using these stories has both a professional and personal agenda for the history teachers because they can teach better when they make emotional connections with their learners and ensure that they have good relationships. This is also the space where the history teachers use the known to connect to the unknown, highlighting known contexts, like rural apartheid South Africa to explain an unknown European technological context like Nazi Germany.

The final group within the overt stories group is the biographical stories. The telling of stories about themselves, means that the history teachers tell stories of their beliefs, their origins or their childhoods. These stories relate directly to the history teachers' biographies, such as bringing a book like *Mein Kampf* to class because it is an object handed down through the family or telling stories about life lived in another country to clarify concepts. They might be closely aligned to the Holocaust narrative or they might be used to make the learners laugh and therefore lighten the mood in the classroom, such as the dog breeding story. The stories are personal in nature and the history teachers usually have a personal reason for telling them, be it to make their learners laugh or become serious or to increase their learners' understanding of the impact of politics on society. For example, a teacher telling the learners that she was not Aryan because her blonde hair came out of a bottle enabled her to address issues of identity that related to identity in the Holocaust or another explaining how it felt to be a foreigner. These biographical stories are sometimes cathartic to tell, enabling the history teachers to explain to the learners how, for instance, they feel about being foreign or frightened, which in their understanding of the Holocaust, was how the Jews felt in Germany, but they are also sometimes very painful feelings, where childhood memories of trauma or displacement are triggered.

Before I continue I need to add a note. By now it is clear that although I have categorised these stories in one box or another, there are in fact no fixed boundaries and many of the examples that I have given can apply to two or three categories. Hence a story told within the biographical category might also be a story that matches the educative story category, or the societal story category. The stories are fluid, slipping easily across boundaries. However, the purpose of the categories is to provide insight into the nature and diversity of history teachers' stories and the multiple ways in which they are used to teach the Holocaust, and each personal story told shapes the history teachers' Holocaust teaching in some way. I have therefore made informed choices about the different story categories.

I have spoken about the overt stories, which the history teachers freely tell, but there are three further categories of personal stories that require discussion. Although there are a few categories of history teachers' personal stories that are overt, there are also personal stories that are not entirely open. The first of these are the veiled stories, which are told by the history teachers, but they are half-hidden. They are still relevant to Holocaust education, but the entire story is untold. It is seen but unseen, or where only part of the story is revealed and the other is merely hinted at. Veiled stories are like masks where the storyteller can look out, but the audience cannot see in or like a bridal veil that makes the wearer only partially visible to the audience. For instance, stories of xenophobia are told, but the real story, the nitty-gritty of the story about violence is hidden. Other stories about apartheid might be told to explain circumstances leading up to the Holocaust, but the history teacher might not explain how she felt when she was separated from her father or how it felt to be running from the apartheid police. By way of example, veiled stories were also told during the course of the interviews, where stories about how they taught aspects of the Holocaust were told, but others were merely hinted at, such as the history teachers who wanted to discuss their fundamentalist ideas, but I only knew this through the myriad hints they dropped. Veiled stories might therefore be professional, trying to protect the learners from certain events or concepts or they might be personal where the history teacher does not want to not reveal too much about themselves or what they really think such as their prejudices. A further type of veiled stories are mythical stories, where the history teachers tell of one scenario but mean to tell of another. Veiled stories are told but contain half-truths.

Another type of story that is closed is the submerged story. Submerged stories exist but are not told at all for various reasons. These personal stories still inform how the history teacher teaches the Holocaust because they are known to the teacher, but they are suppressed, not told, because they might be too complex, too emotional, too controversial, too intimate or

even too difficult to explain to young people. Submerged stories have a personal agenda where maybe the history teacher wants to protect herself, or her learners and therefore chooses not to tell the story. A conscious decision is made to hide a submerged personal story. One such story might relate to the fact that a teacher is anti-Muslim and therefore does not want to teach Muslim children in her Holocaust lessons.

Finally, there are the irrelevant personal stories that might be told but might also not be told. Such personal stories might not be relevant to the Holocaust lesson per se, because they have no connection to it or are simply completely irrelevant, however, this does not mean that the stories have absolutely no use at all. Irrelevant stories might be told to diffuse difficult Holocaust lessons or to deflect difficult questions or even just to change the subject if learners become upset. Telling the learners about your aunt's cat has no relevance to the Holocaust, but it might help a learner who has become very upset when hearing about the Holocaust.

Within this model for assessing personal story usage in Holocaust education, Holocaust museums operate in the first and second overt spaces - supporting the historical Holocaust in the curriculum and teaching the social Holocaust, with an emphasis on making the world a better place. Schools operate in those spaces too, although there is a greater emphasis on the historical rather than the social Holocaust. The history teachers' personal stories operate in all the story spaces, but particularly in the connective, overt and biographical spaces, but also in the veiled, submerged and irrelevant spaces. The classroom is an environment where there is a close connection between teachers and learners, an educational space which is often very personal and where stories that are not part of the curriculum can be told.

When telling their personal stories, the history teachers can draw only on what they have experienced personally, because they have no idea about another context, like two parallel universes. The history teachers' lived experiences are grounded in South Africa, so the history teachers use stories that are rooted in what they understand. They do their best to relate the Holocaust narrative, a history that is in many respects a mystery to them, by drawing parallels to their own lives and searching their memory banks for things that will provide them with insight and thus hopefully help their learners to understand too. To do this they use family stories, stories of displacement, stories of violence, apartheid, trauma, happy stories of grannies and lives lived far away, stories of what drives them - fundamentalism, religion, values, or stories that are anecdotes to make the learners laugh and therefore learn, like the dog-breeding eugenics story. These stories shape their learners' understanding. Even the veiled stories influence what the history teachers teach because how they feel seeps out in words and phrases - like Siphon blaming Chinese foreign nationals for taking jobs or Rashid

talking about Jews owning and controlling the world. So even though as history teachers they have a curriculum and textbooks and other resources, fundamentally they draw on who they are to teach the Holocaust.

As I have shown previously, the literature tells us that people bring their stories with them, but the way they use their stories, as shown in this model, is new knowledge. The literature does not tell of veiled stories or stories that contradict the curriculum or stories that are cathartic for the teachers to tell by simply getting things off their chests when history teachers teach about the Holocaust.

Although this model has been created to refer to the Holocaust it is transferable to other topics in the history curriculum, such as apartheid, nationalism or race and eugenics. These topics are contextually different, but the model points to the broad factors of history teachers' personal stories and how teachers use them, depending on what they choose to amplify and what they choose to avoid.

My contribution - filling gaps and introducing innovation

As I considered the greater body of work on Holocaust education, I recognised that this study has made various scholarly contributions, particularly with regard to history teachers and Holocaust education, and to the method of narrative inquiry (Creswell, 2013, p. 70; Xu & Connelly, 2010, p. 354) and it has culminated in a model that contributes to both Holocaust education and narrative inquiry.

Contribution to Holocaust education

In terms of Holocaust education, the research has opened new doors contextually. As the literature showed, the Holocaust is taught in many places around the world (Chyrikins & Vieyra, 2010, pp. 7-15; Foster, 2013, pp. 133-148; Gross, 2013, pp. 103-120; Salmons, 2003, pp. 139-149; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, n.p.; Van Iterson & Nenadović, 2013, pp. 93-102). However, although it is part of the CAPS-History curriculum and is therefore taught in South African schools, very few people here have a family connection to the Holocaust and historically it has not been included in the curriculum for long. The history teachers have therefore been thrust into teaching a relatively new, complex topic with very little personal professional knowledge and very little pre-service education. Moreover, they have received very little departmental support. In disadvantaged rural and even urban areas, the history teachers' main source of information has been the history

curriculum and the official textbook. The study showed that where the history teachers fumbled in the dark trying to gain insight into the motivations and actions of the Nazis, searched for reasons why the Jews were targeted, and grasped for understanding of questions such as why the Jews stayed in Nazi Germany and waited to be slaughtered, many turned to their personal stories to find parallels and explanations. They trawled through their personal experiences for answers despite the fact they were personally so far removed from that context that making those connections was tenuous at best, and mythical at worst.

Also, questions have been raised since the introduction of the Holocaust into curricula worldwide, about history teachers' preparation for and their ability to teach it and alarm bells have been rung as to "whether the majority of public school teachers possess the necessary training and preparation to teach about this most complex and emotional subject" (Shawn, 1995, pp. 15-18; Waterson, 2009, p. 7). One of the missing links in this preparation is an understanding of how history teachers use their personal biographies and experiences in their teaching and by corollary, their teaching of the Holocaust. I agree with Tibbitts (2006, p. 296) who says that history teachers need to first deal with their personal histories before they are able to be objective about teaching the Holocaust and that South African teachers need to be "personally prepared" to teach the post-1994 curriculum, including the Holocaust, in order to cope with the impact of their apartheid schooling and upbringing and hence to be prepared to address the topic in the classroom "with some insight" (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 307).

I therefore propose that the model above can be used to help history teachers identify how they use their personal stories and provide them with the skills to begin to understand the impact that these stories have on their teaching of the Holocaust. This will also give them greater insight into the complexity and depth of Holocaust education. Furthermore, examining their personal stories will provide an opportunity for the history teachers to understand that they are steeped in their personal histories, which apart from empathy and parallel lived experiences also contain prejudice and bias which in many instances arose because they were a product of their circumstances. It can also illustrate that they do not, in fact, separate themselves from what they teach (Nates, 2011, p. 2), I believe that this can be done through workshops in which the history teachers will identify their personal stories and discover how they use them, in preparation for teaching the Holocaust. Although this study begins to address how the history teachers' personal stories shape teaching of the Holocaust, further study in this regard is recommended.

Contribution to knowledge about history teachers who teach the Holocaust and their knowledge

The study has also contributed to history teachers' knowledge in general and their Holocaust knowledge in particular. In terms of teachers' knowledge, there have been numerous studies with history teachers who have attended teacher Holocaust education workshops (R. Freedman, 2009, pp. 91-95; Nates, 2010, pp. S17-26; Petersen, 2006, n.p.; 2011, pp. 1-7; 2013, pp. 1-12; 2015, pp. 1-372; Pettigrew et al., 2009, pp. 1-132; Schrire, 2007, n.p.; Tibbitts, 2006, pp. 295-317; Weldon, 2008, pp. 1-12) but worldwide there have been few studies on history teachers who have not attended Holocaust education workshops and locally there have been no such studies at all. Novelty in this study therefore lay in researching history teachers who had not attended Holocaust education courses and were reliant only on the curriculum, the textbook and their personal research efforts. The study has also contributed to history teachers' knowledge in the field of narrative inquiry. The use of personal stories in Holocaust education are not unique, with studies having taken place about Holocaust survivors' personal stories in education (Conle, 2003, 2007; Moisan et al., 2012), but studies of history teachers' personal stories are scant. This research addresses that gap. I discuss my contribution to narrative inquiry methodology in the next sections.

The gap in the literature regarding history teachers' lack of knowledge about why the Holocaust is part of the South African history curriculum has been addressed. According to Pettigrew (2017, p. 2), English history teachers can generally explain their rationale for teaching the Holocaust, but according to the literature, those rationales usually lie in the teachers' content knowledge or pedagogy (Moisan et al., 2015, pp. 247-268; Pettigrew, 2017, pp. 2-26). However, in South Africa the participants were generally unaware of the reason for the inclusion of the Holocaust in the history curriculum, other than to say that it was connected to education about apartheid. Only Rashid spoke of the aim of the curriculum including human rights and social transformation, although many of the history teachers referred to human rights as a concept.

Also missing in the literature was research about the history teachers' personal reasons for teaching the Holocaust. This study found that they wanted to inculcate their personal values to make their learners better people; to tell their personal stories particularly about their political and religious views, apartheid experiences or family stories of WWII; or to help their learners understand issues like xenophobia by explaining what it really felt like to be a foreigner in their country. This was a gap identified by Weldon (2008, p. 2), who suggested that not enough attention was paid to the inherited attitudes and values of teachers in a post-conflict

environments and by Dryden-Peterson and Siebörger (2006, p. 401), who lamented the lack of research into history teachers' stories and suggested that these stories might impact their practice. This study addressed both those concerns, investigating the history teachers' personal value systems inherent in their personal stories, and discussing the impact of those stories on their teaching of the Holocaust. It was found that when teaching the Holocaust, the history teachers drew on this personal knowledge to entertain, elucidate points they made about the Holocaust, draw attention to concepts like eugenics, or to try and clarify complex moral issues, such as why Hitler murdered six million Jews.

Another contribution addressed how the history teachers dealt with conceptual issues. Dealing with concepts beyond the historical facts was often the point of connection for the history teachers, so, for example, understanding forced removals at a deep level enabled them to provide greater insight into say, forced removals of the Jews to the ghettos. Analysis of the seven personal stories found that where the history teachers found a connection between their personal stories and the Holocaust narrative, they found it easier to explain complex concepts to their learners, discuss controversial topics, illustrate points or cope with the emotion generated in the history classroom. Some of these personal connections were direct, with teachers having European roots or family members who experienced the Nazis and WWII, while others were indirect, where they gained understanding of the Holocaust through connected concepts such as violence or xenophobia. These personal connections to the Holocaust also determined whether the history teachers avoided learning more about the topic, taught it at arms' length or embraced it fully, irrespective of how they dealt with other history topics. Moreover, the strongest personal connection for history teachers teaching the Holocaust came about when they were engaged in teaching the social Holocaust.

For those history teachers who were lacking in historical Holocaust content knowledge or understanding, the findings showed that they often came up with misconceptions and myths, which are in fact, endemic in Holocaust education and are documented elsewhere too (Pettigrew et al., 2009, pp. 1-132). In this study, one source of these struggles lay in the history teachers' lack of understanding of the motivations of Hitler and the Nazis in wanting to kill an entire body of people, but more particularly from their personal prejudices. Clearly the textbooks do not provide sufficient information about the reasons the Holocaust took place and the long history of antisemitism is either glossed over or put on the backburner. In fact, it was seldom mentioned by the history teachers.

The findings also brought to the fore how the participating history teachers felt about teaching the Holocaust. Whilst many of those who took part in the study said they loved teaching it and found great value when teaching it in relation to apartheid, others loathed teaching it even to the point of calling it torture for the very same reason. The latter group found it difficult to deal with the emotion generated by the topic and its ability to stab into the core of their personal stories, releasing painful memories. This impacted on how they taught the Holocaust either rushing through the section or not undertaking any research beyond the textbook, which meant that they did not have sufficient historical content knowledge to adequately teach the topic. According to the literature, “very little is known about the way history teachers currently view themselves and how issues of teacher identity influence teacher practices in the classroom” (Seetal, 2006, p. 149) so understanding themselves has been regarded as important when history teachers teach about the Holocaust. First dealing with their personal histories would enable them to engage with the material more objectively (Tibbitts, 2006, p. 296).

According to Weldon (2010, p. 362), one of the most fruitful fields of research would be to understand how teachers’ autobiographies, emotions and beliefs filtered curriculum knowledge in the classroom. She suggested that the emotional impact of Holocaust education on history teachers was an area for further research, particularly as there was no emotional or psychological support provided for it, nor even prior preparation. This suggestion has been explored in this study. Firstly, the research showed that there was indeed no emotional or psychological support nor prior preparation given to the history teachers. Secondly, while the study is not about history teachers’ emotions but about their personal stories, as I have shown, emotions are a major component of the personal stories. The findings showed that there is indeed an abundance of emotion in the Holocaust teaching space in South Africa, even though it might have been anticipated that there would be an emotional distance as the history teachers were teaching someone else’s history far away in time and distance.

However, emotion in Holocaust education is not a new finding. It is well-documented that history teachers who teach the Holocaust become emotional, and in South Africa the reason for this is because the Holocaust raises painful memories, mainly about apartheid (Jansen, 2004, p. 118; Wassermann, 2011, p. 155) but also because it generates empathy and compassion for the victims. Furthermore, this study fills the gap about what history teachers do when they find their personal stories to be too upsetting or uncomfortable. Analysis of the personal stories showed that rather than seeking to expand their knowledge as some did, others simply sat back and limited their Holocaust knowledge to the textbooks, not venturing further into the topic, even when they were meticulous in doing research into other topics in

the CAPS-History curriculum. This discomfort was not related to antisemitism or lack of competence, but rather to the lived experiences of the history teachers. Hence highly competent history teachers on other topics dropped the ball when teaching the Holocaust because of how it made them feel. Others hid their emotions behind a veil of neutrality, appearing one way to the learners while feeling another, or not saying what they truly meant. Choosing what to tell and what not tell, gave the history teachers control over the use of their personal stories in their teaching of the Holocaust, but openly showing emotion, crying in class or being overwhelmed with sadness or fear meant that the Holocaust lessons would be punctuated with aspects of the history teachers' personal stories over which they had no control, a situation they wanted to avoid. There is, to my knowledge, no literature that speaks to this phenomenon.

It can therefore be concluded that this study showed that who the history teachers were influenced what they taught about the Holocaust. Furthermore, their lived experiences shaped their Holocaust knowledge, even though they did not fully know themselves and sometimes resorted to speculation and myth based on their own experiences. However, their personal connection to the Holocaust narrative also helped them to deal with difficult concepts, and together with their reflexivity and exploration of identity and emotions, the history teachers personal stories shaped their teaching of the Holocaust.

Contribution to narrative inquiry

The study also contributes to the body of knowledge that speaks of the use of narrative inquiry and personal stories. The study used BNIM for narrative interviews and various narrative analytical methods to conduct the thematic analysis, but the frontier lay in presenting the restoried stories. Using narrative inquiry as both the theoretical and methodological framework, methodologically I opened new doors in the field of narrative inquiry at my second level of analysis, by pushing the boundaries of restorying. Although some previous research has been conducted using vignettes of interviews, poems, drawings, art installations and even drama, I found none that used the data as I did. Firstly, I incorporated the data in an extensive way into the restoried personal stories, but a further level of innovation lies in the personal stories being told not through the eyes of the researcher, as most restorying tends to do, but through the eyes of the participants. Finally, the stories were written in seven different genres, which is also new.

At the outset, restorying troubled me and I was unable to find a definitive answer in the literature on how to restory. This seemed to be a topic that was glossed over or simplified. Over several months I returned time and again to what restorying actually was. I struggled, debated, contemplated, and read. I wanted to stay as true as possible to what was said in the interviews when I restoried but was unsure about what would be analysed for the cross-story analysis, the interviews or the stories. I was aware that restorying was crucial in narrative inquiry, but I was not quite sure where it fitted into the big picture. Before or after the analysis? Was this a written account of the interview itself? Or a quick potted version of the participants' lives? This was eventually resolved as I learnt more and wrote more and spoke more about it. I realised that as a level of analysis, I was adding my own voice, so in whatever manner I presented the restoried stories, they would be a result of my creation. I was choosing what to include and exclude, paraphrasing and parsing. The idea of writing the restoried stories as a narrativisation of real events but placing them in a creative setting was not an anathema. Moreover, I could have simply located the stories where they happened, at dining room tables or in an empty university classroom. However, the nature of the history teachers as storytellers spoke of another way to present the stories.

I therefore made two decisions about restorying. The first was to present the seven participants' stories using seven different genres using the voice of the participants. The genre of the stories was chosen specifically to speak to and reflect how I perceived the participants, as people, as teachers and as storytellers. The choice of genre was intended to add to the general impression of who the storytellers were. The second decision was to narrativise the facts as told to me by the participants, changing only the setting of the story. I therefore set out to find guidance in the literature on how to write restoried stories but found no practical advice. There was no literature that spoke practically of how to go about restorying, who should be telling the stories, or whether the restoried stories could be placed in a different genre. What guided me were other examples of restorying; precedents that lay in the work of Dillow, Mara and Wiebe (Dillow, 2009, pp. 1338-1351; Mara, 2009, pp. 1-23; Wiebe, 2014, p. 552). The characters that populated the restoried stories in the literature were both real and fictional. In each case though, the voice of the storyteller remained that of the researcher except for Wiebe's stories where fictional characters told the restoried stories. In contrast, in my study, and this is where the innovation lies, the voice of the participant, who is the protagonist of each story, was real. Other voices, such as mine, were there only as a device to extract answers from the protagonist. Our opinions were not given. Furthermore, in terms of the restoried stories, there is newness in the way I chose to express the voices of the storytellers. I channelled these as much as possible by paying attention to pace, word usage,

intonation and other repeated words or phrases. I wove the participants' own words as extensively as possible into their restoried stories. My study has therefore uniquely pushed analytical boundaries with the restoried stories being told through the eyes of the participants in a fictionalised setting but being tightly based on the transcriptions. But I emphasise that the stories were fact, even though the location and of the interview was changed.

Pedagogically, as previously discussed, with topics like the Holocaust, history teachers need to have both theoretical and practical knowledge, but there was an element of advantage for those history teachers with greater theoretical knowledge because of their personal circumstances. Those who had better levels of schooling, such as Rashid, had the tools to investigate historical topics more thoroughly, including the Holocaust. However, this was not the only determinant to the development of their professional knowledge. Rashid, for example, was also driven by an inner passion for scholarship. In contrast, those who lacked the drive to engage more deeply with the subject material did not teach the Holocaust as well. It is tempting to surmise that this was due to lack of cultural capital or disadvantage, but the personal stories showed this was not necessarily the case and another new finding showed that who the history teachers were as people, was a more likely determinant of whether they wanted to engage with Holocaust material or not. Moreover, they used their personal stories, to fill holes in the fabric of their theoretical and conceptual understanding, drawing on their professional knowledge, religions, limited knowledge of Jews and their lived experiences. In these cases, they often came up with erroneous comparisons. This applied not only to those teachers who had poor historical content knowledge, but even to those who had excellent historical content knowledge. Also, those history teachers who had traumatic apartheid experiences, or were deeply emotionally affected by the material, or who held deep-seated, mostly sub-conscious, antisemitic feelings found teaching the Holocaust difficult, traumatic, or unsettling and therefore they avoided learning more about it. Illustrating this finding, it was significant that Emma and Siphon lay on opposing ends of the socio-economic/political spectrum, coming from vastly different backgrounds, one advantaged and one disadvantaged, yet both were reluctant to open themselves to new Holocaust knowledge. Excellent Holocaust knowledge could not, therefore, be attributed to racial advantage or economic status, but rather to the impact of their personal stories on their pedagogy.

Thus, my contribution to narrative inquiry lay in pushing the boundaries methodologically, pedagogically, and by providing greater understanding of the impact of the history teachers' personal stories in shaping Holocaust education.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has addressed the findings from the cross-story thematic analysis in which I discovered the various ways in which the history teachers used their personal stories when they taught the Holocaust. Two elements emerged in the personal stories: structural and non-structural. The structural elements of personal stories cannot be changed. Examples of these type of stories include where the history teachers were born, whether they are male or female, the economic situation of their parents, and whether they were born to White, Black, Coloured or Indian parents, in rural or urban environments. Although some of these elements can be changed, this is usually only possible at great cost, such as their gender. On the other hand, non-structural elements are the components of the personal stories over which the history teachers have some measure of control, such as whether to study or not, whether to stay in a rural area or move to an urban one, whether to dwell on the past or concentrate on the present and future. These are not necessarily clear-cut or easy choices, but they are choices nevertheless. From these themes within the cross-story analysis, a picture began to emerge about how the history teachers' personal stories shaped their teaching of the Holocaust. It was evident that who the history teachers were influenced what they taught and that they used their personal stories in various ways when they taught the Holocaust. It was found that the history teachers were not fully aware of their inherent agendas and prejudices, nor of the inherent advantages some had gained by being born into a set of circumstances. Delving into their personal histories helped the history teachers come to certain understandings about themselves and what they were teaching about the Holocaust.

My research has highlighted the history teachers' personal stories and their varied experiences. It shows how these personal narratives informed their thinking about history, about the history curriculum, about the Holocaust and how they taught the Holocaust within the CAPS-History framework. Our stories are us, so even before the history teachers read or knew about the Holocaust, they possessed a lens of experience through which they both learnt about the Holocaust and later taught it. Inevitably this coloured their understanding of the Holocaust. Once in the classroom those with excellent knowledge used their stories to amplify certain aspects of their Holocaust teaching, while those with dodgy knowledge conflated their personal experiences with victims'. Generally, they were unaware of their personal prejudices and day to day biases and therefore, without intervention or being shown this aspect of themselves, they were unable to filter them out. As a result, the history teachers' personal stories invariably taught the Holocaust through the lens of their own world views.

Finally, the study has culminated in the development of a model for assessing history teachers' personal story usage when they teach the Holocaust that can be used to help teachers become more aware of the narrative space in which they operate. In the epilogue, which follows, I look back across five years of research and reflect on my personal, professional research story. I also look back over the previous seven chapters and reflect personally and professionally on my theoretical and methodological contribution to the fields of Holocaust education, history teachers and narrative inquiry.

EPILOGUE

Reflections and Endings

Looking back over five years of work on this research, I can see how far I have come since I wrote the first tentative words of the prologue. The thesis story has unfolded incrementally and in every chapter from the Prologue to the Epilogue, I have gained methodological, theoretical, personal and contextual insight not only into how the Holocaust is taught but especially into how the stories of those who teach it are woven into their teaching. The prologue provided a short introduction to the essence of the thesis, Holocaust education, history teachers and stories. In Chapter One I set out the background, rationale and motivation for the study highlighting all the personal and professional reasons why I became interested in Holocaust education. Amongst these was an opportunity to contribute to the body of knowledge about Holocaust education, as it has only been part of the national history curriculum since 2007 and is therefore limited. In particular, Holocaust education in South Africa has, to date, focused on the work of history teachers who have attended Holocaust education workshops, and not on the majority of history teachers who have not. I therefore set out to fill that gap. To my knowledge this is the only study of its kind in South Africa, thereby contributing new knowledge to the field of Holocaust education in South Africa.

The literature review that followed in Chapter Two investigated various components of Holocaust education including history teachers' role in the current educational dispensation, their knowledge, and issues at the heart of the Holocaust education space, such as emotion. Having found gaps and listened to the larger conversation about history teachers and their teaching of the Holocaust, I sought to discover a suitable theoretical framework within which to conduct the research. Narrative inquiry was an excellent fit and in Chapter Three I proposed a narrative methodological framework within which to conduct my research, focusing on personal stories with an emphasis on the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. How to implement that theory was the subject of Chapter Four, and this was where I laid out the plan of action for the research, from choosing the sample to conducting the interviews and finally analysing the field texts, all within the ethical boundaries of narrative inquiry and UKZN policy. With the narrative interviews completed and transcribed, I wrote the seven restoried stories to answer the first research question, namely, "What are the personal stories of the history teachers?" and these stories are presented in Chapter Five. Analysis across the stories to investigate the second research question followed, that is, "How do the personal stories of the history teachers shape their teaching of the Holocaust?" The

findings are recorded in Chapter Six. These findings showed that there are many layers to the way in which the history teachers' personal stories shape what they teach about the Holocaust, from their professional motivations to follow and teach what is laid out in the CAPS-History curriculum, to their personal stories based on who they are and where they came from. Furthermore, the history teachers' agendas, prejudices, knowledge about the Holocaust or lack of it, pedagogy and life philosophies infiltrated the way they taught the Holocaust at every level, be it conceptual, historical, emotional or practical. The key findings that emanated from the research, including new findings, and the related model for assessing personal story usage in Holocaust education that was designed, are located in Chapter Seven. Finally, as the study draws to a close, it is time to round off the thesis story with the Epilogue, which contains this summary of the chapters as well as my reflections on what the study has meant, for history education, for Holocaust education and to me personally and professionally.

To ensure that the research was credible, at every step in the research process I was reflexive, not only about my role in the study but also about the impact of it on my participants and the findings. According to Kara (2015, p. 71), "Reflexivity locates you within your research" and as she dubbed it, "me-search within re-search," emphasising the importance of being critically self-aware. I therefore strove constantly to be conscious of this reflexivity and for it to underpin all aspects of my research (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127). It was present in the telling of and listening to the participants' stories (Clandinin, 1985; Gubrium & Holstein, 1998, p. 170); it was an integral part of the interaction between me, as the researcher and my participants in narrative inquiry (Chase, 2011, p. 422; Riessman, 2008, p. 23) and it guided the steps I took and the choices I made throughout the research process (Callaway, 1992, p. 23). With this required self-awareness (Kramp, 2004, p. 115), I found myself looking both inward and outward (McCotter, 2001, p. 20). As a narrative inquirer I was conscious of the need to come to grips with different perspectives that were presented and became aware of the judgements and biases, both my own and those of my participants (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007, p. 466). I was aware that I imposed some value judgements on my participants before I even met them but worked hard to neutralise those biases and counteract them by keeping an open mind by not imposing my value judgements on what I heard. The pilot interviews, conducted prior to interviewing my participants provided me with an opportunity to discover my own prejudices.

I sometimes wonder if I would have done anything differently if I went back to day one, but in retrospect, I believe that the study unfolded as it should. There were certainly areas where

things could have been done differently, such as getting further insight from the history teachers. I think that seeing each teacher teaching a Holocaust lesson might have provided me with greater insight into the impact of their personal stories on their Holocaust teaching because occasionally I felt that the interviews did not provide me with the fullest picture. However, it is impossible to fully know people and at what point could I have said that I had the whole picture? Instead, I have chosen to see the research as a snapshot moment.

Holocaust education has been a passion of mine since I began my museum educator training ten years ago. People have often asked me about the stamina required to continue with research that has taken so many years and they wondered if it was distressing for me to deal with the Holocaust intimately on a daily basis. The truth is that I did not study the Holocaust per se, but how it is taught. This meant that I was more deeply involved with the stories of the history teachers than the nitty-gritty of the horrors of the Holocaust. My answers to them therefore lay in my own story. Being an educator has always been a part of who I am and not being able to teach the Holocaust, as I described in the first chapter, has led me on a fascinating research journey. And as for stamina, learning new things, reading, writing and breaking new ground create their own stamina, and they too are woven intricately into my life story.

However, there were certainly challenges along the way, both personal and professional. Life happens. Friends and family, including aging parents, a family wedding, and other events too many to relate in two lines, all happened in parallel to the daily work of my research. However, my greatest personal challenge was a mental one – switching my thoughts each day from one intense focus to another while doing two completely different “jobs” in which completely opposite skills were required. Leaving work at 14:30 with one mindset and then coming home to flip to a completely different one was probably the biggest challenge I faced. As I began settling down to study in the afternoons, I often felt like flotsam on a massive ocean as I sought to dive deep into my research but found myself frustratingly bobbing around on the surface. I would try to dive into the resisting depths, but found myself surfacing time and again, before I was finally able to sink deep into the ocean of my research and feel that I was truly coming to grips with the work I needed to do that day. This was a daily challenge, but it was particularly frustrating in this final year, when faced with the inevitable looming time crunch. Yet the challenges were minimal compared to what I gained. On a personal level, the research has given me purpose, strength, courage, and determination. With a goal in place, I was determined to give it my all each and every day – which I did. Prior to doing my thesis I felt lost. Then the door opened to an academic world of research and as my

thesis progressed from year to year I have gained greater strength and confidence in my ideas and have been able to forge a new place in the world.

Professionally too, the study provided me with numerous opportunities for growth and to become part of the global academic community. Attending both international and local conferences bit huge chunks out of my thesis time but meeting like-minded academics and sharing my work proved to be invaluable. I was able to test my ideas in peer-based forums and I met numerous people with whom I could collaborate on future projects. I was also able to see my research as part of a greater body of research and became aware of the areas in which I could continue to contribute beyond my thesis.

As I write the final pages of my thesis story, my thoughts turn to life beyond the research. I am reminded of a blog that I read recently entitled, “Breaking up with your PhD is hard to do” (Skelly, 2016, n.p.). Like the author, leaving my PhD behind will be one of the hardest things that I will have to do. I am faced with the question that is constantly on the lips of everyone who has listened to endless tales of my PhD experiences and supported me in ways I could only have begun to hope for, “So what are you going to do with your PhD once you have it?” My answer lies in the prologue; I will continue to listen to the voices of the storytellers. Their voices matter – be it history teachers, learners, colleagues, or family and friends. The world of Holocaust education also remains where I can continue to contribute to the work being done to educate, memorialise and remember Jewish victims. I became involved in Holocaust education because I believed that it has an important role to play in helping to combat racism and bigotry in our fractured South African society and I still believe it does. Listening to the personal stories of the history teachers, my participants, has provided me not only with educational insight, but with valuable personal insight too, as I reflected on the lives of the incredible people who teach the Holocaust in classrooms around the country - the history teachers. Every day they go to work to teach young people about the past and how the past can and does impact the present and future using their lived experiences to enhance what they teach, and in the process often laying bare cherished, very difficult or even traumatic memories. Many have suffered a great deal personally, to which their stories attest, and yet they set out every day to educate and care for South African learners of all creeds, religions and races. There are still many more stories to be told.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Turnitin Certificate

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feedback studio Brenda Gouws Stories, Storytelling and South Africa /0 1 of 1

1

PROLOGUE

Stories, Storytelling and South Africa

“I must say that at first it was very emotional for me to teach [the Holocaust].” John said as he contemplated my question, “because I related it to my life experiences from Zimbabwe, like how things were and how things happened in Nazi Germany, although in Germany it was more harsh and ruthless than it was from where I came.”

I listened more closely.

“What,” I wondered, “were his life experiences? This was a refugee history teacher from Zimbabwe teaching the Holocaust in South Africa and he was comparing his experiences in Zimbabwe to what Jews experienced during the Holocaust. What did he mean?”

Match Overview

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Ethical Clearance Certificate from University of KwaZulu-Natal



07 November 2013

Mrs Brenda R Gouws (210551782)
 School of Education
 Edgewood Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/1107/013D

Project title: Investigating Holocaust Education through the personal stories of history teachers

Dear Mrs Gouws,

Expedited Approval

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Acting Chair)
 /ms

cc Supervisor: Professor Johan Wassermann
 cc Academic Leader Research: Dr MN Davids
 cc School Administrator: Mr Thoba Mthembu

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Acting Chair)

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Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative (SQIN)

I'm interested in learning about Holocaust education through the personal stories of history teachers and I'd really like to hear yours.

Please tell me your story of how you became a history teacher and particularly about your teaching of the Holocaust and what, if anything, Holocaust education means in our South African context and to you personally. **All the experiences and events** which were important to you personally ...

Start wherever you like

Please take all the time you need - we've got about 20 minutes for your story

I'll listen first and won't interrupt you

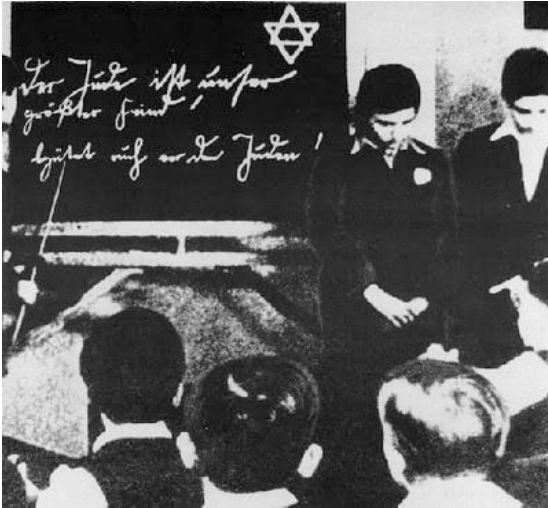
But **will take some notes** in case I have further questions

So, to begin,

Please tell me your story of how you became a history teacher and particularly about your teaching of the Holocaust and what, if anything, Holocaust education means in our South African context and to you personally. **All the experiences and events** which were important to you personally.

Photographs shown during subsession three of the interviews

1.



Shaming of Jewish students in a German classroom, 1933

2.



Jews being transported from France in cattle cars

3.



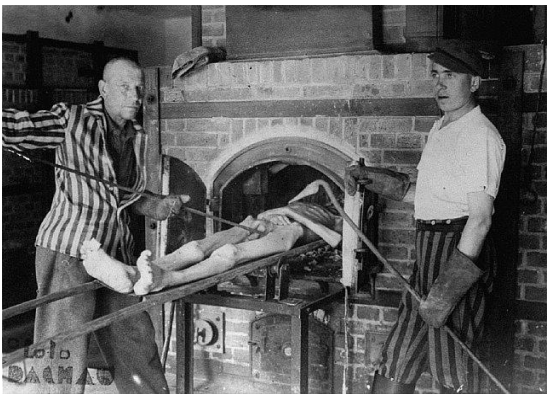
Jews scrubbing the streets of Vienna, March 1938

4.



Young girls sitting next to a swimming pool, prior to 1933

5.



Crematorium at Dachau

6.



Platform at Auschwitz-Birkenau

7.



Killing of Jews by the Einsatzgruppen at Ivanhorod, Ukraine, 1942.

8.



Group of Capetonian Holocaust survivors

9.



Children's book "The Poison Mushroom"

10.



Hitler and his cohort next to the Transports

11.



Caption reads: "The experience – racial pride fades"

12.



Students of The White Rose Movement

13.



Children smuggling food through a wall at the Warsaw Ghetto

14.



Pile of bodies after liberation of a death camp

15.



Caption reads, "Only for Jews"

16.



Memorial to the Jews of Minsk

17.



Hitler addresses a rally, 1930

18.



Liberation of Buchenwald, April 1945 (including a photograph of Holocaust survivor, Elie Wiesel)

19.



Jews deported from Prague, Czechoslovakia to Lodz Ghetto, Poland, 20 November 1941

20.



Jewish children wearing a Star of David

21.



Researchers examine the contents of the Ringelblum Cans, which chronicled daily life in the Warsaw Ghetto

22.



Nazis in the dock at the Nuremberg Trials

23.



Cartoon from the Evian Conference

24.



Pile of victims' shoes

25.



Anne Frank in the Annexe

26.



Antisemitic propaganda poster – The Eternal Jew

27.



The Warsaw Ghetto

28.



Burning of a synagogue on Kristallnacht, 1938

Table of participants' biographical information

	Name	Teaches Grades	M /F	Home language	Age	Years teaching Holocaust	Type of story
1	Florence Adams	9,11	F	English	26	4	Blog
2	Thandi Mkhize	9	F	Zulu	40	7	Short story
3	Hannah Thomas	9	F	English	25	2	Exchange of letters
4	Sipho Langa	11	M	Zulu	43	7	Memoir
5	Emma Weiss	9,11	F	English	40	10	Presentation to parents
6	Rashid Seedat	9	M	English	28	7	Journal
7	John Chiyangwa	9	M	Sotho	35	3	Television documentary transcript

Sample of email sent to participants requesting participation in the study

-----Original Message-----

From: bgouws@iafrica.com

Sent: 31/07/2014, 10:02

To: PARTICIPANT

Subject: Request for participation in PhD study

Dear Participant,

I was given your name by I am writing to ask if you will consider being a participant in my study. The topic of my thesis is "Investigating Holocaust education through the personal stories of history teachers". This is a study through which I hope to better understand how history teachers' personal stories may or may not inform their teaching of the Holocaust, a history which can be difficult to teach as it deals with emotive and complex issues.

If you are willing and if you have taught the Holocaust to Grade 9 or 11 as part of your history teaching, I would be most grateful if you would assist me with my study.

I would like to have a one-on-interview with you, which I estimate will take about an hour and a half to two hours at a time and place convenient to you. The interview will explore your teaching of the Holocaust, with particular reference to your personal story.

Prior to meeting, I will send you 25 Holocaust related photographs and ask you to think about three questions:

What are the three most relevant and useful photographs for teaching the Holocaust?

What is the least relevant?

Which photographs connect to you on a personal level?

We can discuss your responses during the one-on-one interview.

The interview will then be transcribed and returned to you by email for your input.

If you need any further information, please feel free to contact me on 0828220600 or via my email address or Prof Wassermann at wassermannj@ukzn.ac.za

Kind regards

Brenda Gouws

SAMPLE - PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I, (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Brenda Gouws of the Department of History Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous. I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the Faculty Research Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

I am over 18 years of age and eligible to participate in this study.

YES NO

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

Participant Signature:

Participant Name: (Please print)

Witness Signature:

Witness Name: (Please print)

Date: