

# **ANALYSING THE DOMINANT DISCOURSES ON THE HOLOCAUST IN GRADE 9 SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

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## **SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION**

"As the candidate's supervisors, we agree to the submission of this dissertation."

Prof. Johan Wassermann

Mr. Marshall Maposa

## **PERSONAL DECLARATION**

I, **MICHELLE KOEKEMOER (2065 19843)** declare that

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Michelle Koekemoer

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Masters in Education dissertation to my late grandfather, Petrus Albertus (Albert) Koekemoer (1928-2010) whose passion and interest in my studies always drove me to strive for excellence. Without him, this study would not have been possible and for that, I am indebted to him eternally.

## **ABSTRACT**

The Holocaust has become a focal point in many History classrooms in recent years as a direct result of linking the teaching of the Holocaust with Human Rights Education. Whilst there may be many studies on the Holocaust as a historical event, this study has analysed how the Holocaust has been embedded as a narrative in the Grade 9 GET South African History textbooks and which dominant discourses emerge from this.

This research is phenomenological in nature and was situated within an interpretivist paradigm. I employed Narrative Inquiry and Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse as the analysis methodologies. The analysis was completed through an instrument in which the various aspects that aid in the construction of a narrative were interrogated.

The dominant discourses which emerged from the findings were discourses of victimisation; perpetrators; Human Rights; historical significance and inclusion; exclusion and silence; pedagogical discourse; as well as textbooks as discrete discourses. A discourse of revisionism was interwoven within each of the above and emerged as the overarching discourse which alluded to the fact that the narrative of the Holocaust was not being denied but rather was being used to teach for something other than the actual historical event. The study concluded that the Holocaust has a deeply rooted link to education and the History curriculum in South Africa as there has been a shift in ideological thinking emanating from western consciousness and finding a place in African consciousness due to the former's prevalence globally. The focus of the narrative of the Holocaust - as seen in the four selected Grade 9 GET History textbooks which constituted the sample for this study - has shifted from a purely historical perspective to a perspective which is more social in nature.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Description
AS	Assessment Standard
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education
GET	General Education and Training
HRE	Human Rights Education
LA	Learning Area
LO	Learning Outcome
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NCS-SS	National Curriculum Statement-Social Sciences
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SS	Nazi Secret Service
SS	Social Sciences
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
USA	United States of America
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WWII	World War Two / Second World War



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction: Setting the Scene

### 1.1. Introduction to the Study and Framing the Context

Globally, in school curricula, the Holocaust has increasingly been examined, as noted by Schweber and Findling (2007), and subsequently has been included in History. As a result, it has become the focal point of many lessons regarding universal Human Rights as the historical event has been seen "... as having crucial moral lessons, maybe the most important moral lessons we stand to learn as human beings" (Schweber & Findling, 2007, p.1). Therefore the inclusion of the Holocaust in History textbooks would have been paramount to any curriculum which aimed to teach towards transformation and democracy whilst focusing on Human Rights (Weldon, 2004). However, the Holocaust has been and still is a controversial and contentious topic as its validity is seldom questioned or challenged and teachers tend to avoid its teaching. This contention lies with what Posner and Tom Irwin (learner and teacher) in the film, *The History Boys* noted:

Posner: [talking about the Holocaust] But to put something in context is a step towards saying it can be understood and that it can be explained. And if it can be explained then it can be explained away.

Tom Irwin: This is History. Distance yourselves. Our perspective on the past alters. Looking back, immediately in front of us is dead ground. We don't see it, and because we don't see it this means that there is no period so remote as the recent past. And one of the historians jobs is to anticipate what our perspective of that period will be ... even on the Holocaust (*The History Boys*, 2006).

Consequently, the Holocaust is firmly placed in History curricula globally as part of themes or topics related to World War II and Human Rights violations. In South Africa particularly the event is paralleled with Apartheid in an attempt to teach learners about Human Rights violations, prejudice as well as discrimination. As such the Holocaust as a

powerful issue became part of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) and subsequently the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) which has been endorsed by the Department of Education (DoE) and its successor the Department of Basic Education (DBE). The NCS and CAPS curriculum is an extension of the South African Constitution, whose values are entrenched in the constitution, particularly in the Bill of Rights. This implies that there are certain ideals which the DoE and the DBE wish learners not only to be aware of but to also understand. Thus, Weldon (2004, p.2) asserts that:

The overarching values framing the curriculum [NCS] are those of our Constitution and Bill of Rights. The preamble to the South African Constitution highlights the importance of 'recognising the injustices of our past' and 'healing the divisions of the past' while establishing 'a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental Human Rights.

It is therefore clear that the NCS and CAPS both emphasise Human Rights and social injustices which are due to South Africa's own History.

Whilst there may be plenty of studies on the Holocaust as a historical event, my study has investigated how the Holocaust has been embedded as discourse in the Grade 9 GET South African textbooks. This brings to the fore, the notion that the Holocaust has a deeply rooted link to education and the History curriculum in South Africa. Therefore, this study sought to contribute to the body of knowledge regarding Holocaust discourses in South Africa, especially the History textbooks used in schools to teach the Holocaust.

It must be mentioned at this juncture that the NCS referred to in this study is for Social Science (SS) and falls under the General Education and Training (GET) band. GET refers to the first ten years of schooling in South Africa up until Grade 9. Social Science refers to the Learning Area (LA) taught in Grades 8 and 9 which is a combination of History and Geography. For the purposes of this study, I refer solely to the History part of the Social Sciences Learning Area. Furthermore, I refer to History textbooks as opposed to

Social Science textbooks as my interest lies in the History section on the Holocaust in each textbook.

Due to the fact that this study aimed to research the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in South African Grade 9 History textbooks, these books need to be placed into context. A newsletter produced by the DBE in 2010 noted that textbooks play a vital part in teaching and learning and are seen as one of the most effective tools in delivering the curriculum and supporting assessment (DBE, 2010). This notion is reinforced by Johannesson (2002, p.89) who commented that;

Good textbooks play an important role in learning in South African schools. High quality textbooks in under-resourced school environments provide teachers with much of the scaffolding, and some of the confidence to deliver what a new curriculum requires.

The assumption can thus be made that textbooks which are endorsed by the state can be regarded as suitable or appropriate as their proposed roles are clearly spelt out in the *Curriculum News* (DBE, 2010, p.2) to principals and teachers. According to the DBE, the role of a textbook is to interpret and present knowledge in accordance with the content and concepts listed in the NCS now CAPS. In other words, the textbooks need only to include that which has been prescribed via the NCS thus, giving the state, total power to control what is being taught. The newsletter further seemingly welcomes the submission of new textbooks stating that;

The Department scrutinizes the textbooks through a screening and quality assurance process. The Department recommends changes to be made where necessary to ensure that the textbooks cover the curriculum. It is important that the textbooks will engage learners in quality learning activities in order to master the subject knowledge (content and concepts) and skills. Only textbooks that meet the criteria for good textbooks are selected and placed in the catalogue. The screening process is repeated in cycles to ensure that textbooks are regularly updated in terms of new technology and trends as well as current content (DBE, 2010, p.7).

Therefore, the DoE / DBE ostensibly seems to be welcoming differing views or opinions however they have the power to veto sections in a textbook which do not fit the educational ideology promoted by the curriculum. It must be pointed out that this study is historically rooted in the DoE and later the DBE.

Johnsen (1993, p.36) appropriately sums up that "although not formally or officially stated anywhere, in practice, the general attitude is that textbooks exist in order to be regurgitated on command" thus transforming learners into the perfect proto-type citizens by propagating their ideologies in the textbooks.

In President Jacob Zuma's State of the Nation address in 2011, the importance of textbooks in South Africa was reiterated as part of the 'Triple T approach' (Teachers, Textbooks and Time) to education. It was stated that, "teachers must be at school, in class, on time, teaching for at least seven hours a day. The administration must ensure that every child has a textbook on time, and that teachers are assisted to create the right working environment for quality teaching to take place" (Zuma, 2011).

Bearing this in mind, in 2012 it was discovered that thousands of textbooks had been dumped, shredded or burnt in Limpopo province instead of being delivered to the schools. Zuma condemned the late distribution of textbooks in Limpopo after the education department failed to meet their deadline, saying, "definitely, it cannot be left un-attended to - (it) is one of the serious matters. There will be consequences. We can't sit back as government when textbooks were not delivered on time" (Xaba, Sowetan, 2 July 2012).

Whilst there may be a crisis in the DBE with regards to the distribution of textbooks, what does remain clear is that the importance of these textbooks cannot be underestimated.

## **1.2. Rationale and Motivation for the Study**

The rationale and motivation behind this study, professionally, was to further my career by obtaining a Masters Degree in History Education. Furthermore, since this was a full dissertation it would also heighten my research abilities. The process of obtaining this will allow me to gain a deeper insight into textbooks in general and History specifically and how they relate to contentious and contemporary events.

The personal motivation for this study was as a direct result of the passion I have for History and the Holocaust has always been an area of interest to me as an example of how people were treated in History and how this manifests in texts which are used by both learners and teachers. Whilst much has been written about this topic, I wanted an opportunity to study this phenomenon in the genre of textbooks - as a History and English major at undergraduate level at university - to analyse the various discourses which feature in the Grade 9 textbooks within the narrative of the Holocaust. Furthermore, the studying of the Holocaust was something which I have always wanted to do as it is such a controversial issue. After completing an independent research project (Koekemoer, 2010) as part of the requirements of an Honours Degree, I realised that questioning contentious issues was something which I wished to address as most people circumvent them. Whilst I received criticism regarding this challenging project, many peers in the History community applauded the work as it illuminated aspects that were seldom recognised and it is for this reason, amongst others, that this study was undertaken.

An interesting small scale survey was conducted at the university where I lecture on first year History students upon their arrival at university, which dealt with how students felt about the Holocaust and whether or not it was of any real value to them in their context (the South African context). This captured my interest. The survey entailed the students ranking certain historical events in order of significance to them. There were 12 events listed on the survey and the students had to rank ten of these in



order of importance. It was found that 47% of the students did not rank the Holocaust as important to them and a further 36% of the students did not rank the Holocaust in their top 5. Only 2% of the students ranked the Holocaust as a most significant event to them. Baum (1996, p.47) concurs with these results as she notes that, "the Holocaust is still routinely neglected or studied cursorily ... many college students know almost nothing about what happened, to whom, when or where."

### **1.3. Purpose and Focus of the Study**

This study sought to add to the body of knowledge regarding Holocaust Education in South Africa and to close some of the gaps that exist in the current research literature on the Holocaust and South African textbooks. It analysed the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in Grade 9 GET History textbooks. Thus, the textbooks under analysis were compared in terms of the discourses they promoted and how they portrayed the Holocaust. Furthermore, an attempt was made in the study to understand the phenomenon of the Holocaust and how it manifested itself in textbooks and how such a manifestation took place. Thus, conceptually, I wished to determine what the discourses on the Holocaust were in various Grade 9 selected textbooks.

The focus of the study was to analyse the sections in the selected textbooks entitled "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" and to elicit what the dominant discourses on the Holocaust were and how and why these discourses appeared in the South African History curriculum.

In light of this, the research questions the study aimed to answer were as follows:

1. What are the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in Grade 9 prescribed GET History textbooks?
2. How do these dominant discourses manifest themselves in the textbooks?
3. Why do these dominant discourses manifest themselves in this manner?

#### **1.4. Background to the Study: What is the significance of the Holocaust?**

The word Holocaust is derived from the ancient Greek translation of the Hebrew word *olah* which means "a sacrificial offering burnt whole before the Lord" (Niewyk & Nicosia, 2000, p.45). However, in English, the word Holocaust has not been associated with any religious connotations but has been viewed largely in a secular sense to describe the enormity of mass murders and massacres (Niewyk & Nicosia, 2000). In contemporary times the Nazi Holocaust, is a term used to describe the mass murder of six million Jews by Nazi Germany before and during World War II. In some quarters, it is argued that this concept can only be applied to the Nazi Holocaust and other similar atrocities are merely considered as mass murders or genocides. Landau (2006, p.6) attempts to explain the "Jewishness of the Holocaust" and notes that most of the works written about the Holocaust have been written by authors of Jewish descent. Thus, the word Holocaust takes on a specific meaning for a specific event involving specific people in a specific place and a specific context. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum consequently characterises the Holocaust as the, "systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2011a). It must be mentioned that when referring to the Holocaust, the general public mainly refer to the extermination of Jews. However, other groups were also targeted by the Nazis including gypsies; the disabled; homosexuals; and some Slavic peoples. Most of these groups were persecuted not on political or ideological grounds, but on racial characteristics (Silbert & Wray, 2004). However, these groups are excluded from the term Holocaust and the word genocide is rather used when referring to those people who were not of Jewish descent. Consequently, the term Holocaust has become synonymous with Jews being targeted by the Nazis which idea is reinforced by the discourses that are available on the Holocaust as noted by Landau (2006). Therefore, it can be said that the concept Holocaust has been appropriated for the use of the Jewish people and refers to their suffering.

In 1933, Jews living in Germany were generally accepted into wider society; as indeed they had for hundreds of years and many Jews were amongst Germany's most prominent scholars, writers, and scientists. The persecution of the Jewish people began under the Nazi government in 1933 when Adolf Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany and was the pinnacle of a much longer persecution of Jews in Europe. With the German economy crippled, from paying the World War I Treaty of Versailles reparations, the situation deteriorated financially for Germany with the 1929 Great Depression. The Germans needed someone to blame for the conditions in Germany and the dire political and economic conditions allowed the Nazis to gain public support and thus, they blamed Jews for all their misfortunes. Hitler, with his abnormal hatred for Jews, turned them into the scapegoat for German suffering. In his book, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler repeatedly writes about the suffering of the German people and maintains that "the ravages from which our people are suffering daily [are] as a result of being contaminated with Jewish blood" (Hitler, 1924, p.457). His obsession with the creation of a master race of Germans - the Aryans who were to be athletically built, blonde and blue eyed - led to huge propaganda campaigns where Jews were depicted as racially inferior. This obsession further led to the decision to exterminate Jews and other groups of people (as mentioned previously) so as to purify the German race and ensure the German population became a stronger force to be reckoned with, one without any racial imperfections (Fischel, 1998). Thus Hitler's propaganda spread into every sphere of German life and was a tool used by Hitler and the Nazis to strengthen their power and manipulate the German people. School children were indoctrinated into believing that Jewish people were racially undesirable (Mills, 1999) and a popular anti-Semitic children's textbook, *The Poison Mushroom*, depicted Jews as dangerous and evil. Textbooks were then used to spread a certain ideological message about Jews. *The Poison Mushroom*, was arranged thematically around a discourse with "... an anti-Semitic attack on three fronts: physical appearance, religious beliefs, and moral values" (Mills, 1999, p.4). Similarly, formal educational discourse was used in this historical case to spread propaganda against Jews. School textbooks were filled with Nazi pedagogy which sought to develop children who could relate to the Nazi German nation, who

identified with the Nazi regime and its policies. In addition to this, Herf (2006) asserts that Nazi propaganda could reach out to audiences if it was directed through the right channels and thus, the spread of anti-Semitism widened. These channels included posters, pamphlets radio broadcasts and meetings to name a few which allude to the power of text and discourses in the spreading of propaganda and indoctrination in Nazi Germany. Hitler, having come to power, began enforcing his policies including the spread of propaganda and rewriting textbooks to conform to his ideology of an Aryan race.

Living as a Jew in Germany in the 1930s became virtually impossible as more frequent anti-Semitic policies were enforced and Jews were greatly excluded from every aspect of German society. Repressive laws such as freedom of speech, and voting rights were denied whilst prohibitions included not being allowed to utilise public transport, Jewish children were not allowed to attend the same school as German children, and Jews were not allowed to be civil servants (Silbert & Wray, 2004). In January 1933, the first concentration camp was established where opponents of the Nazi government were detained. This was instrumental in an attempt to monitor Jews as well as other political prisoners and to aid the deportation of Jews to ghettos, forced labour camps and later, death camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau (Piper, 2002; Yad Vashem, 2011a). In 1938, the persecution of Jews intensified even further with *Kristallnacht* (The Night of the Broken Glass) where the government organised the destruction of synagogues, homes, schools, cemeteries and hospitals belonging to Jews (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2011b). Thousands of Jewish men were arrested and sent to concentration camps and in the process families were separated and isolated by being herded into ghettos. Subsequently, thousands of Jews died in the ghettos of disease, starvation and random killings by the Nazis (Silbert & Peterson, 2007).

With the outbreak of World War II, the persecution of Jews intensified as Germany took control of most of Europe. Many Jews attempted to seek refuge in countries such as France and the United States which was refused and consequently, the Nazis saw this

as an international community who would not intervene in support of Jews and therefore strengthened their cause (Yad Vashem, 2011b).

In 1941, a decision was made to murder every Jew as part of the Nazi policy, the Final Solution; (Yad Vashem, 2011c) Jews were to be exterminated in specially designed gassing facilities. This persecution of the Jews reached its zenith as further strenuous oppressive laws and prohibitions were placed upon them (Silbert and Wray, 2004). Hitler's plan to eradicate Germany of Jews was moving into its final stages. As it was becoming too costly to shoot Jews by means of a firing squad, the Nazis decided that gassing would be a more effective solution. Six death camps were built of which two were also used as slave labour sites (Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek) whilst the other four camps were specifically designed for the purpose of killing Jews (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2011c). These were Treblinka; Sobibor; Belzec; and Chelmno and were operational by mid-1942. Deportation of the Jews from all across Europe was now vigorously in place with people being transported to the above listed camps by train in cattle trucks. The conditions on the trains were unbearable (Schory, 2011) as Jews were crammed into the cattle trucks with little sanitation and no ventilation. Many Jews contracted diseases on the way to the death and concentration camps and some died even before they had reached their destination. Upon arrival, the Jews were divided into two groups, those that would be killed immediately and those who were fit enough to work as slave labour. They were rounded up and machine gunned into either natural ravines, trenches or the graves they were ordered to dig. Others were gassed in the large scale gas chambers which were constructed in 1942 and their bodies were disposed of in large crematoria which had also built at the death camps. Gilbert (1985) notes that 3,550,000 Jews were murdered in Poland alone whilst other statistics (The History Place, n.d.) reveal that 5,962,129 Jews were murdered in total during the Holocaust.

In the final months of the war and up until it ended in 1945, the Allied forces began to liberate concentration camp prisoners as the German armed forces surrendered

unconditionally. This mass murder became known as the Holocaust. In its aftermath, thousands of survivors were displaced and many were traumatised, for the duration of their lives (Silbert and Wray, 2004; Silbert and Peterson, 2007).

The historical events as briefly outlined have provided an example of what is deemed as part of what is known as the official discourse on the Holocaust. This discourse forms part of what is opined as the accepted discourse global / world History on the event. However, like all other historical events, the Holocaust, is interpreted and contested as noted by Posner in *The History Boys* (2006). Therefore, three schools of thought have emerged over time; the believers, the revisionists and the deniers.

The believers - the first school of thought - consist of both scholars and the general public who support the official narrative of the Holocaust meaning they believe the narrative the way it has been written - the official narrative that six million Jews were killed in concentration camps by the Nazis (Gribetz, Greenstein & Stein, 1993). This dominant official narrative can be found in school textbooks, library books, museums, as well as memorial sites which are available to the public and is an accepted meta-narrative of a major tragic event. The Holocaust is clearly a very powerful topic that has insinuated its way into the common consciousness of the western world as a shared heritage and hence into school curricula. The common consciousness experienced in the western world can be found in the NCS despite being in Africa. Thus, this event is found in most textbooks around the world. UNESCO has recently launched a survey in which 195 countries will participate in order to see how the Holocaust is being taught in schools (UNESCOPRESS, 2012).

The second school of thought contests the official narrative of the Holocaust. Scholars such as Arthur Butz of the North-Western University in the United States (Nikzor Project, 1991 - 2009) and Robert Faurisson of the University of Lyon in France (Nikzor Project, 1991 - 2009) believe that the Holocaust did not occur in the way in which it has been reported in textbooks and articles. Such scholars call themselves revisionist

historians as they challenge the widely-accepted extermination narrative of the Holocaust. According to McPherson (2003), revisionists see History as a continuing dialogue between the present and the past. Naturally, interpretations of the past constantly change as new evidence or sources may be found and therefore new perspectives emerge. Whilst these revisionists do not deny the fact that the Holocaust took place they are concerned about the facts surrounding the historic event (Weber, 2009). Therefore, a discourse of revisionism emerges which is in conflict with the official narrative on the Holocaust. Harry Elmer Barnes (1958, p.4) clarifies by noting that, "revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude." Moreover, revisionists are interested in interpretations of historical events which are different to the accepted available narratives and thus, any accepted History which is looked at in a radically new way can be called revisionist History.

The third and final school of thought on the Holocaust is the deniers, of whom the British historian, David Irving is a leading figure. This school of thought denies the Holocaust altogether and believes that it never happened. Nonetheless, there seems to be a grey area when trying to distinguish between the revisionists and the deniers. Mathis (2004) observes that Holocaust deniers call themselves revisionists and object to being named deniers (Nikzor Project, 1991 – 2009). Furthermore, the deniers can then be classified as either those who completely deny the existence of the Holocaust or those who believe that there is a different interpretation to the official narrative. Mathis (2004, p.2) explains that deniers see themselves as revisionists as they question "the three major points of definition of the Nazi Holocaust." Firstly, (in layman's terms) they assert that there was never an official Nazi policy which planned to execute Jews. Secondly, they argue that gas chambers such as Auschwitz-Birkenau never existed and finally, they contest the death toll of six million Jews and claim a much lower number. Therefore, it can be seen that the line between a denier and a revisionist is at times ambiguous. However, this ambiguity is also a strategy to silence the revisionists, as at

times, revisionists are viewed as deniers because they do not believe the narrative as it is commonly known. American historian Deborah Lipstadt has noted that historians and scholars who use forms of negationism, people who do not agree with the official narrative, are often viewed as being far more dangerous than deniers of the Holocaust (Gernstenfeld, n.d.). Hence it is argued that "Holocaust revisionism is not History at all; it is dishonest" (Nikzor Project (1991 – 2009)). Thus, it can be deduced that both deniers and revisionists are viewed as dangerous as they do not subscribe to the idea of a meta-narrative and they thus distort the official narrative of the Holocaust.

Over the years there have been several court cases (The Zündel trials in Canada for instance) and major debates surrounding those who deny the Holocaust outright and there are also laws against such thinkers. In 2005 David Irving was imprisoned in Austria for denying the Holocaust, proving just how dominant the official or accepted narrative on the Holocaust really is. Thus, laws can be termed 'truth' laws as they legally sanction one interpretation of the Holocaust to exist in some countries such as Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Israel, the United Kingdom, and the American states of Florida, New York, New Jersey, California, and Illinois. Thus, taking the idea of a foregrounded meta-narrative and dividing it into smaller discourses each with its own focus according to the accepted 'truth' law. Therefore, three schools of thought exist; the broad deniers, the revisionists and those who subscribe to the very dominant and powerful official History. Furthermore, with such varying views, the nature and scale of the Holocaust not only becomes vast but also a conceptually difficult and controversial topic to capture in studies. This can also be due to the fact that the event forms part of the western consciousness which replaced the French Revolution in the minds of Europeans. The Holocaust as a shared heritage is evidenced by the fact that it is taught across the world. This common consciousness has become part of the narrative which is now underpinned by Holocaust Museums and centres as well as school curricula and textbooks. The question then remains, how would the Holocaust appear in the South African History School Curriculum?



### **1.5. The Holocaust and the South African School History Curriculum**

In 2000, the DoE adopted a curriculum which was more centred around "the skills and knowledge ... to encourage values ... which promote social justice and Human Rights at school and in the wider society" (DoE, 2008, p.15).

These previously mentioned official narratives represented in museums are becoming part of many school curricula including those in South Africa. The official Holocaust narrative is so guarded against change that those who do not conform are chastised. This highlights how divisive the issue of the Holocaust really is in a society in which it is embedded by means of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) as part of the Grade 9 History curriculum. The Holocaust is deeply rooted in official school History via the curriculum and textbooks endorsed by the DoE form part of the NCS. Consequently, the Holocaust is a contemporary issue as it is viewed as a shared heritage which can still impact our lives today and as a contentious issue as there are a variety of views on the topic.

The National Curriculum Statement for Social Sciences (NCS-SS) claims that, "learners should be able to debate historical issues, and produce well-structured pieces of historical narrative, description and explanation, giving their own interpretations of sources within the context of the South African Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (DoE, 2002, p.59). This indicates that the NCS is a curriculum with a strong Human Rights element. Weldon (2004, p.3) concurs when she states, "History in the RNCS [Revised National Curriculum Statement, now the NCS] was allocated a particular role as a vehicle for education for Human Rights and democracy." This can be seen in the various topics that Grade 9 learners are expected to learn for instance "Human Rights issues during and after World War II and How and Why did the Holocaust happen?" (DoE, 2002, p.61) Furthermore, the curriculum then aims, as noted by the NCS-SS (2002, p.1) "to develop the full potential of each learner as a citizen of a democratic South Africa." The idea of universal Human Rights enables this common

consciousness with the Holocaust. Therefore, it sets out to react strongly to the negation of Human Rights characterised by apartheid which is race ideology. Similarly, the Holocaust is used to point out the injustices of the past.

Therefore it is noticeable that several topics delve into Human Rights and one of these focuses on the Holocaust. The focus of the NCS, in this context, is then to "heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental Human Rights ... [as] ... education and the curriculum have an important role to play in realising these aims" (DoE, 2002, p.1) thus, the vehicle to enable this to occur, is the Holocaust. Moreover, this subscribes to the first school of thought (the believers) and the question remains - what are the discourses in the textbooks sections that cover the Holocaust? Hence, it was this controversial issue - the Holocaust - which was to be examined in the South African educational context.

## **1.6. Textbooks and the Holocaust**

The curriculum content is interpreted in the textbooks and the Holocaust, being a contentious and contemporary topic, appears in textbooks. This evolves from the NCS and the discourses which surround it and is then translated by the textbook authors and publishing houses into the textbooks. Textbooks are the new trend according to the DoE and therefore teachers will be relying far more heavily on textbooks. Thus, the reason for this study is to scrutinise the power of textbooks (Foster and Crawford, 2006) and official History (Crawford, 2004) as they will be providing the dominant discourse on the Holocaust and subsequently become the most important resource in schools. The endorsed NCS filters down into the content of History textbooks, therefore, it can be said that textbooks are powerful in promoting the state's agenda in terms of what is taught in schools. The reason for focusing this study on textbooks and their analysis is that textbooks are an aid to instruction in schools and are often the dominant text used by teachers and learners and thus a very powerful manifestation of official History. Therefore textbooks are very powerful vehicles in conveying the official

History endorsed by the NCS and the DoE (<http://Historymatters.co.za/>). The question one then has to ask, in light of what is stated in the constitution as well as the NCS and what is captured in textbooks, what discourses on the Holocaust are learners in Grade 9 studying?

### **1.7. The Research Design and Methodology of this Study**

This study adopted a qualitative research methodology which, is often used to explore and understand a particular phenomenon in any aspect of texts. Qualitative research is usually an investigation and the researcher interprets the meaning from the data. The overarching methodology which frames the study lends itself to qualitative research but is also located within the interpretive paradigm. The central aim of this paradigm is to understand phenomena through political and ideological contexts. In addition to being qualitative in nature and lending itself to the interpretative paradigm, this study also falls under phenomenological research which aims to question the nature of the phenomenon being studied (Hatch, 2002). The phenomenon in this study is the various discourses on the Holocaust which manifests itself in History textbooks.

The ontological assumption for this study was that the "... world is experienced and constructed by the people who live in it" (Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloh, & Sikes, 2005, p.100) which means reality or truth is socially constructed. In this study, the above mentioned proved to be true as the Holocaust as a whole could be interpreted as different things to different people in different contexts. Similarly, the various discourses meant different things to different people (learners and teachers) depending upon their context. Thus, the ontological assumption is that the discourses on the Holocaust are socially constructed via the NCS / CAPS and the textbooks which can be interpreted by different people (the end users - teachers and learners) in diverse ways.

The epistemological assumption concerning the bases of knowledge (Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloh, and Sikes, 2005, p.101) is that the knowledge constructed is, "subjective and inherently political" (Hatch, 2002, p.16) of which the Holocaust is and thus creating a meta-narrative.

The research design as indicated above allowed a phenomenon to be explored in depth in a world which was socially constructed. The research methodology below will explain how this phenomenon will be analysed through a branch of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2003) which is Narrative Inquiry as well as the proposed methods. The composition of a narrative was adapted from a model by Chatman (1978).

The research methodology adopted in this research was Narrative Inquiry which is "the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p.13). A narrative can be seen as a story that reflects the experiences of people which can be told through different mediums, i.e. through text (written) or visual means. The way the narrative is told is also dependent on several factors which can include the characters, the plot and setting to name but a few. Narrative Inquiry was appropriate for this study as the different discourses were viewed as forming part of the narrative of the Holocaust with its own perspective and focus.

The theoretical framework for this study focused firstly on the Holocaust as a historical event and the theory of Finkelstein's (2003) notion of two Holocausts; the Holocaust versus the Nazi Holocaust. Finkelstein (2003) argues that the memory of the Holocaust is being exploited and is benefitting the elite of the American Jewry. The Nazi Holocaust refers specifically to the historical event of the Holocaust which occurred in Nazi Germany. The Holocaust, on the other hand, is an ideological depiction of the actual historical event. It has induced a Holocaust Industry, as coined by Finkelstein, which seems to leave the actual event as an insignificant afterthought. In addition to this, a third type of Holocaust is also discussed, the Social Holocaust. This theory largely stems

from the work initiated at museums and the information that they give the public. Therefore, Human Rights issues are raised in this type of Holocaust teaching as well as the idea of the Jews being portrayed as the victims and the Nazis as the perpetrators.

Furthermore, this alluded to the fact that the event could be viewed in three different contexts in textbooks. Secondly, the theoretical framework focused on the Holocaust having relevance to universal Human Rights by linking the circumstances to those of other human tragedies as well as noting that the Holocaust was and still is a controversial and contentious issue. The teaching of the Holocaust will always remain a controversial issue as scholars cannot agree upon a single, acceptable narrative pertaining to the historical event. However, most people are forced into viewing the Holocaust in this single, acceptable narrative and thus we have the meta-discourse on the Holocaust. The Holocaust should then be viewed as a controversial 'uncontroversial issue' as it is seen from one agreed upon narrative.

At this juncture, it is necessary to explain what I mean by narratives and discourses. For the purpose of this study, narratives can be seen as anything that has been written or debated about a specific topic - in this case, the Holocaust. Thus from this point on narratives can be seen as any organised scheme of meaning regarding the Holocaust. Therefore, anything from a textbook, to an article or a museum pamphlet can be considered a narrative and as such these textbooks, articles or museum pamphlets become public discourses when the general public has access to them (Singh, 2007; Genette, 1982). Discourses on the other hand, emerge from the narratives as specific driven entities influenced by factors such as culture; politics; and ideology. Furthermore, a discourse has a particular theme attached to it and thus, more than one discourse can emerge from a single narrative. It must be noted that the literature that is available on the Holocaust is truly boundless; however, the number of publications that are written with the general public in mind are few and far between. One such book is Fischel's (1998) reference guide to the Holocaust which was specifically written

with general readers in mind. However, I have focussed on only one genre of writing; namely textbooks.

### **1.8. Route Map of the Study**

This dissertation consists of six chapters, of which this is the first. In order to represent the findings accurately, the chapters are arranged as follows;

#### Chapter 1

This Chapter has laid the foundations of the study and has highlighted the background information and has explained how the study has been framed and rooted. The narrative of the Holocaust has been briefly explained and framed in terms of where the topic fits into the NCS and History textbooks. This Chapter sets the scene and explains how the rest of the dissertation will unfold.

#### Chapter 2

Chapter 2 of the dissertation is a literature review of firstly the role of History textbooks in general (as part of the bigger body of knowledge on textbooks), and secondly how the Holocaust manifests itself in History textbooks. The focus of this Chapter was to provide a solid basis with which to understand the current nature of the intended curriculum on History textbooks to eventually evaluate Grade 9 History textbooks. Similarly, key theories, concepts and ideas related in the literature related to textbooks in general, History textbooks, Holocaust Education and Holocaust Education and the South African School Curriculum. The literature on the Holocaust forms part of the theoretical framework on Finkelstein's (2008) two Holocausts; the Holocaust versus the Nazi Holocaust, the Social Holocaust and the relevance of human. The theoretical framework concludes Chapter 2.

### Chapter 3

The research design and research methodology is fully explained in Chapter 3. Important features related to the methodology such as Narrative Inquiry as a branch of CDA is discussed and the methods employed in this study are explained and the choices made rationalised. Such methods include the analysis tool and features discussed include the data analysis methods, data generation methods, data collection, sampling, and their respective strengths and limitations. Features such as validity or trustworthiness, reliability and ethical considerations are also reflected on, ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods are thoroughly interrogated.

### Chapter 4

This Chapter analyses the research findings collected from the chosen History textbooks. The research design and research methodology which informed the research instrument (discussed in Chapter 3) is enlivened in Chapter 4 as the generated data was discussed and explored. Each of the textbooks has been dealt with respectively in terms of the analysis tool designed in Chapter 3 and the findings of each are thoroughly discussed before a comparative analysis was conducted to elicit similarities in narrative of the Holocaust. Within the narrative, several dominant discourses emerged which are discussed in Chapter 5.

### Chapter 5

In Chapter 5 the dominant discourses which emerged from the findings are discussed. The findings from Chapter 4 are linked back to the literature from Chapter 2 in order to determine which findings were expected and which appeared to be new knowledge. Using Fairclough's third and final dimension of discourse - namely, explanation - the dominant discourses deduced from the data findings in Chapter 4 formed the basis of the

discussion in this Chapter. This is done in terms of which discourses emerged from all the selected textbooks analysed.

## Chapter 6

In Chapter 6, conclusions are drawn and answers are offered to the research questions. The study is holistically reviewed and limitations to the study are considered. Furthermore, the contribution this study offers to academia is also contemplated.

### **1.9. Conclusion**

In this chapter, the background to the study was discussed in order to create a context from which the study stemmed and to explain why initially such a study was necessary to be undertaken. The purpose of the various chapters was explained and thus the reader knows what to expect when reading this dissertation.



# **Chapter 2**

## **Review of Related Literature: History Textbooks and Holocaust Education**

### **2.1. Introduction**

It is imperative, for the nature of this study, to discuss not only the available literature on textbooks but also the Holocaust and Holocaust Education. A foundation needs to be laid regarding what has been written about the Holocaust. The themes discussed in this chapter include;

- The Nature of Textbooks
- The Intended Purpose of Textbooks
- Getting to Grips with Textbooks in General
- The Role and Importance of History Textbooks
- Holocaust Education
- Holocaust Education and Textbooks
- Holocaust Education and South Africa
- Theoretical Framework of 'The Holocaust' versus the 'Nazi Holocaust'

It must be mentioned that a limitation to this study could be that my literature review was confined to English texts as I am not conversant in German.

A literature review frames a study or research and places it into context of previous research. This indicates how the proposed research fits into a particular field of study. According to Boote & Beile (2005) a literature review goes beyond the simple search for information, it is an appraisal of literature relating to a specific study, in this case, the Holocaust and History textbooks. It is in a literature review that researchers provide a context for their research and illustrate where their research coalesces with existing

knowledge in that particular field. Consequently, a literature review can aid in identifying the gaps that exist in a body of knowledge and create a niche for the proposed research. Without a literature review, "... you will not acquire an understanding of your topic, of what has already been done on it, how it has been researched, and what the key issues are" (Hart, 1998, p.1). Therefore, it is important that a researcher illustrates that he or she has read widely on the topic and is familiar with the key theories, concepts, thinkers and other studies which have been previously conducted regarding his or her research topic.

The review of literature was crucial to this study as the literature pertaining to textbooks and particularly History textbooks needed to be understood. Furthermore, the concept of Holocaust Education would not have been clear had literature not been consulted. In addition to this, the literature review was also aimed at understanding the concept of Holocaust Education and textbooks. These two aspects (textbooks and Holocaust Education) are examined separately in this chapter however, clear links are drawn as that which is written in the selected Grade 9 GET History textbooks regarding the Holocaust is the crux of this study.

In preparing for the literature review, it was determined that textbook research was an established field of research with literature being readily available both internationally and locally. Similarly, the literature available on the Holocaust, Holocaust Education and textbooks themselves was immensely vast. To attempt a review of most of the available literature would have been well beyond the scope of this study therefore, the literature presented in this chapter was carefully selected based on relevance. International and local perspectives related to the topic were reviewed including concepts and debates surrounding (History) textbooks, the Holocaust, and Holocaust Education.

This literature review has been structured in a thematic manner organised around a topic, issue or theme. Structuring a literature review in such a manner is highly flexible as, "... the complex nature of work in an area can be respected while at the same time

bringing some degree of order and organisation to the material" (McLeod, 2003, p.19). The purpose of this literature review was, therefore, to firstly establish the role of History textbooks in general (as part of the bigger body of knowledge on textbooks), and secondly to establish how the Holocaust manifests itself in (History) textbooks. Moreover, reviewing the literature on textbooks and Holocaust Education helped identify the gaps in the available literature and thus created the niche for this research as earlier emphasised.

## **2.2. The Nature of Textbooks**

Textbooks are contentious in nature as they are a, "... representation of political, cultural, economic and political battles and compromises" and they are therefore extremely complex (Crawford, 2004, p.2). Sleeter & Grant (1991) concur by pointing out that textbooks are symbolic representations of the world as well as the society in which we live.

The symbolic representation in textbooks is important for three reasons. Firstly, it confers authority on the dominant status of certain groups in society. This can be illustrated in the way certain social groups are portrayed in the textbook or perhaps more voice is given to one group as opposed to the other. Secondly, symbolic representations or social constructs are projected as the truth. This in itself is contentious, particularly in texts which deal with History as History can never be seen in a truthful manner as it is full of ambiguities and thus there can be no truth but merely different interpretation or viewpoints which are generally speaking subjective in nature. Thus, what is deemed as the 'truth' is forever changing and is open to interpretation due to the fact that, what is included in textbooks is set out to fulfil a particular agenda of the state in space not time. The third and final reason symbolic representation is important in textbooks is the text which "... screens in and screens out certain ideas and realms of knowledge" (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, pp.79-80). This prompts learners to think and act in certain ways, and not to consider the alternatives. Textbooks can therefore

never be neutral as they cannot disguise their ideological and cultural potency (Foster & Crawford, 2006) and are therefore contentious not only in terms of which content is included but also by design.

In the view of Apple (2000) texts have the dual nature of either regulating or liberating. Despite the fact that there are several phases in textbook production, much of the textbook production is inevitably controlled by the state in collaboration with the publishing industry. Therefore, textbooks have the power to regulate or are regulated to what is taught in terms of content and ideology as well as the power to liberate if the content portrays the state in a favourable light. For instance, in Russia during Communist rule, History textbooks deliberately portrayed the ideologies of Leninism in a positive manner (<http://www.saHistory.org.za>) therefore the power of those particular textbooks were focused on regulating as opposed to liberating. Similarly, under Apartheid in South Africa, texts were seen to regulate knowledge as opposed to liberating thus illustrating the very contentious core of the nature of textbooks. Moreover, the nature of a textbook can be linked to the intended purpose of the textbook.

### **2.3. The Intended Purpose of Textbooks**

The purpose of a textbook is then to "... influence the knowledge and understanding that young people [learners] have about their past and environment" Bourdillon (1992, p.6). Selander (1990, p.140) in turn claims that "... the purpose and function of the textbook is to fit into the institution's 'education' ... the idea is not to present new knowledge *per se*, but to reproduce already known knowledge." Therefore, textbooks in any disciplinary field will influence the way already known knowledge is presented to learners. This knowledge can be presented in any form, maintaining that power exists by teachers to portray events or happenings as social constructs in any way that is in accordance with the state endorsed curriculum. It must be reiterated that teachers do not solely rely on textbooks for their teaching and that other materials or resources may

be used however, the use of textbooks in the teaching and learning process is a powerful tool which cannot be underestimated.

This power of textbooks is reinforced by the fact that the textbooks are often the most readily available resource at the teachers' and learners' disposal. According to Husbands (1996, pp.88-89) "... the principal teaching tools we have to develop our pupils' [learners'] understanding and awareness are words: their words, our words and the words of actors in the past as they are presented to us in documents, or as textbooks." Textbooks are probably the first body of knowledge that learners are introduced to and thus, as Paxton (1999) notes, the most common text with which learners are most *au fait*.

This was reiterated by Apple (1991, p.6) namely that, "... textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn. For many students [learners], textbooks are their first and sometimes only early exposure to books and reading." Therefore, it can be seen that the power of textbooks is overwhelming. Textbooks are frequently the only text or information with which learners are confronted but also, textbooks can be viewed as, "... the commercial product it is, operating in a market which is sometimes sensitive to quality, but implacable on price" (Wilkes, n.d., p.16). Thus, textbooks are also powerful as an economic commodity and function as part of an economic process (Lebrun *et al*, 2002). Textbooks are thus powerful in more than one way and therefore, cannot be adequately defined as having one purpose or role. Johnsen (1993, p.330) aptly sums up the complexities of textbooks;

A textbook is neither just object content, nor pedagogy, nor literature, nor information, nor morals, nor politics. It is the freebooter of public information, operating in the gray zone between community and home, science and propaganda, special subject and general education, adult and child.

Therefore, it is clear that the textbooks intended purpose cannot be defined in simple terms as the very nature of textbooks is multifaceted and contentious. It must be noted however, that although my research promotes me to accept the fact that textbooks can

be used in various ways by teachers and learners, my focus for the purpose of this study is merely on the textbook itself and not on how it is used.

The fact that textbooks operate in a grey zone reinforces their intricacies which include factors such as culture, politics, and ideologies (Lebrun *et al*, 2002) which render it challenging for learners and teachers to question what they learn from these texts especially if they have been limited in their exposure to different views.

#### **2.4. Unpacking the Impact of Textbooks in General**

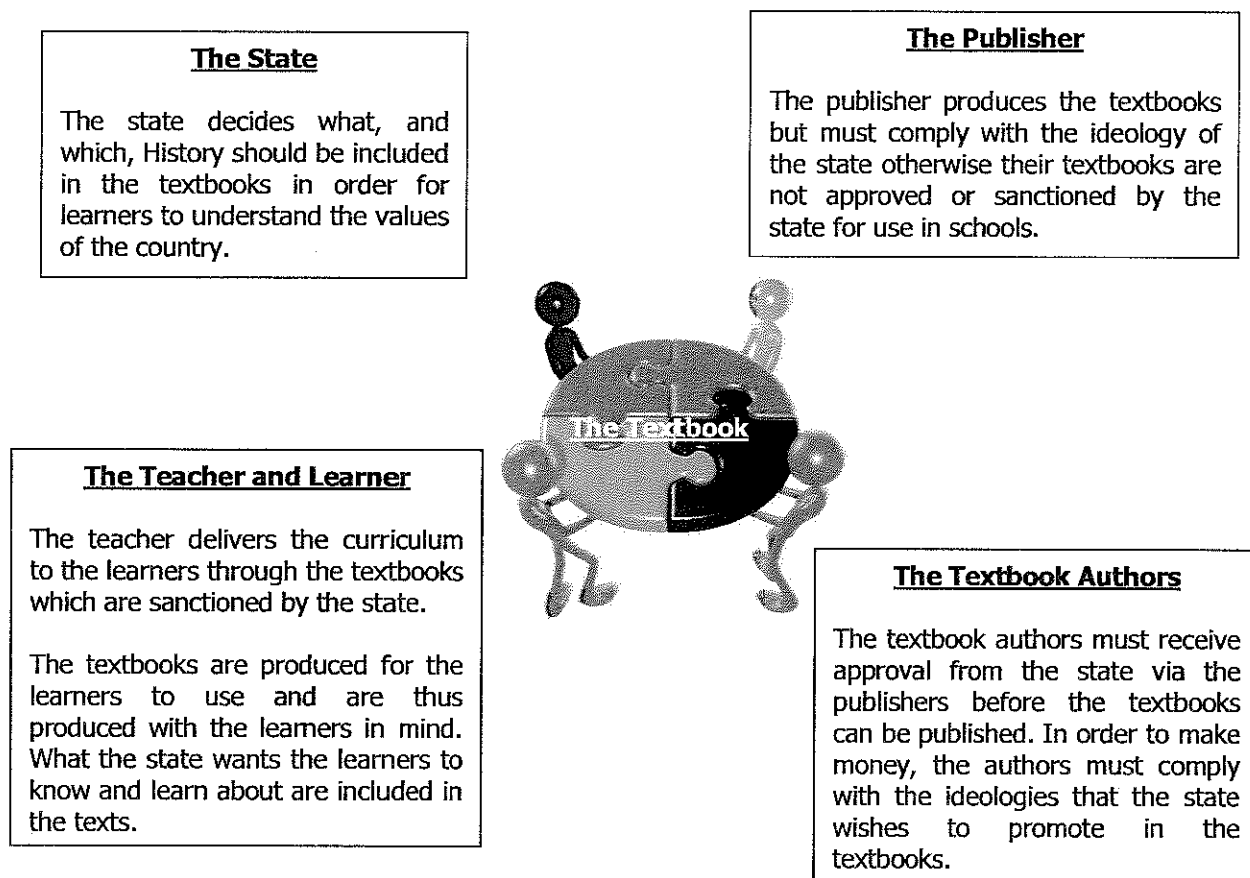
Textbooks in their general sense convey information or instruction whether it be an engineering manual, a medical volume or a Grade 9 History textbook. In each instance, the text is regarded as the 'expert' from where knowledge is gleaned (Crawford, 2004). The impact of such a text is probably more influential at school level and thus, textbooks are seen as one of the, "... most important educational inputs: texts reflect basic ideas about a national culture, and ... are often a flashpoint of cultural struggle and controversy" (Altbach, 1991, p.257) and are therefore frequently used world-wide including in South Africa. Foster and Crawford (2006, p.xi) note the significance of textbooks when they assert that, "textbooks and other books of text have been both important and ubiquitous in schools across many hundreds of years [and] they continue to be central to school curricula ... in almost all countries." Therefore, it can be concluded that textbooks play a powerful role in school education.

Considering the above Firer (1998, p.196) argues that, "Textbooks, as 'legitimized knowledge' are reliable mirrors of the political culture of societies," and are therefore powerful political tools. Apple & Christian-Smith (1991, p.3) concur that textbooks are, "... published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power" implying that textbooks are not merely used to convey knowledge but do so in a politically constructed manner. Within this context, Daniels, as cited in Foster & Crawford (2006) observes that textbooks are an imperative medium for shaping

learners' and possibly teachers' understanding of the world. Textbooks, then, have a major influence on how learners think and understand - to a degree how and what they learn - as well as how teachers teach a particular topic or content as the text is seen as the official narrative and authorised text by the state. Textbooks are therefore, powerful tools for society as they signify particular constructions of reality and reflect the values and aspirations of society (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Textbooks are therefore, in essence, constructs of reality in a certain temporal context, told from a particular perspective.

#### **2.4.1. Textbooks as Social Constructions**

It has been deduced thus far that textbooks have power as social constructs as they are not only the most widely used resource in schools but also represent justifiable curriculum knowledge (Crawford, 2004). In other words, although textbooks are constructed by various individuals and influenced by different stakeholders such as the state; ideology; publishers; textbook authors; and teachers, they present a broader cultural message which resonates from the state sanctioned curriculum and thus, presents what is known as the official narrative (further explained below). De Castell (1989) confirms this as she argues that the social function of textbooks bore resemblance to state policies and documents. Stakeholders who influence this social function of textbooks are widespread. **Figure 2.1.** shows the interrelations of the various stakeholders which affect textbook production and content.



**Figure 2.1** – An illustration of stakeholders affecting textbook production. Adapted from Wenzeler (2003; p.111)

In the above illustration, it can be seen that there are various stakeholders who not only affect but influence the production of textbooks. As part of the process, other stakeholders such as textbook publishers and authors mostly certainly contribute to the type of knowledge conveyed through textbooks. Textbook publishers will often publish what is required by the state in order to sell their textbooks thus; their agency is based on economic benefit and the same can be said for textbook authors. An author receives remuneration if a chapter or unit of theirs appears in a textbook thus, they are less likely to challenge the agenda of the state or the publishing industry when compiling their material. According to Apple & Christian-Smith as cited in Polokow-Suransky (2002, p.4) "Texts are not simply 'delivery systems' or 'facts'. They are the result of



political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises. They are conceived, designed and authored by people with real interests.”

Therefore, History textbooks are not only contentious in nature, but also influence the History curriculum and are influenced by it, thus playing a vitally important role in society, one which should undoubtedly be questioned and re-examined. Even if History textbooks are revised, they cannot be innovative if their production is state-centred or state controlled or commercial and similarly if textbooks are not used by subject specialists, they need not necessarily be used effectively.

Textbooks can be seen as particular constructs of reality as they are compiled for a particular purpose and agenda. Engelbrecht (2006, p.1) explains that textbooks by nature, “... tend[s] to control knowledge as well as transmit it, and reinforce selected cultural values in learners. They act as an officially sanctioned version of knowledge and culture and, consequently, have the power to foster judgmental perspectives.” It can therefore be deduced that textbooks are not only powerful but are also embedded in ideological discourses used by the state to promote a particular ideology. It is then this ideological discourse which becomes the official state sanctioned narrative from which learners are to learn via the textbook. Luke as cited in McKinney (2005, p.17) elucidates the powerful role textbooks play in the classroom in this regard;

Textbooks act as the interface between the officially state-adopted and sanctioned knowledge of the culture, and the learner ... Problems in ascertaining what will count as a common culture notwithstanding, textbooks are a specialised means for the ritual introduction of children into a culture's values and knowledge.

Textbooks are therefore not only conveyors of knowledge but they are the conveyors of state sanctioned knowledge. This state sanctioned knowledge can, as alluded to earlier, be called the official narrative of a country or nation state. Therefore, the state sees fit to mould the official narrative into a curriculum that agrees with its political ideology and framework (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant 1991). The official narrative

is what is intended to be taught in schools by means of textbooks which are official as it is endorsed by the DoE / DBE and by means of the NCS / CAPS in the case of South Africa. It is in essence, merely a version of the truth which the state wants learners in schools to learn about and understand. Textbooks are therefore powerful ideological constructs which can be used to promote particular perspectives and negate others.

## **2.5. The Role and Importance of History Textbooks**

Textbooks are not only part of the official narrative of a country but are powerful in promoting certain perspectives and ideologies. Whilst the literature reviewed above applies to textbooks in general, it also applies to History textbooks. The difference - it can be argued - is that History textbooks are even more powerful than textbooks in general as the nature of the subject is politically charged and contentious in nature and filled with ideological discourses. History textbooks are ideologically contentious as there are no living memories for events, as learners and teachers only have the textbooks as reference points. In the view of Stojanovic (2001, p.27);

History textbooks are among the most important means for shaping national identity and historical awareness. Owing to them, pupils [learners] are at an early age imbued with images of their own nation, its place in History, its characteristics, as well as with images of other notably neighbouring people.

The role of History textbooks has become increasingly more apparent in schools as History teachers, as with teachers of other subjects are becoming increasingly reliant on History textbooks to aid their teaching (Salomon & Kêt, 2007). According to Patrick & Hawke (1982) and Shug, Western & Enoch's (1997) History textbooks play an important role as they are probably the only source available to learners but many textbooks "... provide instruction through narrative and exercises as well as through lesson plans and classroom activities in teachers' editions" (Su, 1997-1998, p.2). Thus, these History textbooks act as a crutch to teachers - many of whom are not History specialists (Wilkes, n.d.) - who have to navigate through contentious and controversial topics.

In South African classrooms specifically, History textbooks play a significant role as many teachers do not have access to other forms of media or even subject knowledge (Bloch, 2009). The importance of History textbooks is further emphasized by the *Report of History / Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education* which noted that "History textbooks cannot but remain central to the cause of an improved History education" (Report of the History / Archaeology Panel, 2000). This notion of textbooks in general being central to the teaching and learning process was recently reinforced by the Minister of Basic Education, Angelina Motshekga, who proclaimed that textbooks are the most "effective tool to ensure consistency, coverage, appropriate pacing and better quality in terms of instruction and content" (Motshekga, 2009, p.1).

In light of the above, Santoli (1999) notes the importance of History textbooks in the classroom as playing a key role in shaping what learners will learn about their country's and other countries' History. Nicholls (2003, p.180) reinforces the notion of importance by stating that "... at the present time textbooks continue to be important resources in History lessons in many countries, their production, distribution and usage tied to major economic, political and ideological interests." Thus, the History textbook is central to the teaching and learning process and as a powerful tool to promote the state's ideology.

It can therefore be deduced at this juncture that History textbooks have multiple roles. Paxton (1999, p.320) explains that one of these roles is to provide and convey historical knowledge that "Textbooks tend to cover large swaths of History serving as introductory texts ..." In addition, the History covered in classrooms does not include detail but serves merely as an outline. This would result in learners not being able to grasp the complexities of the events that they are studying but still possess knowledge.

Furthermore, History textbooks are powerful tools that can be manipulated by the state as information found in textbooks can be regarded as official History or the official narrative. This official History is merely a version of the truth the state wants its people

to appreciate and understand which excludes and includes events as long as they agree with the adopted political ideology and framework (Crawford, 2006; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant 1991). As a result historical exclusions in History textbooks are rife (Kennedy-Manzo, 2004; Nash, 2009). Literature from across the globe confirms that states and governments are instrumental in what History content is taught in schools. For instance, following Hong Kong's return to China in 1997, existing textbooks had to be revised to conform to Chinese ideology. Zimbabwe is another example, where the textbooks are sanctioned by the government to portray the work of the government in a positive light - there is no mention of the land distributions and the international sanctions are blamed for the disasters that have occurred in the country (Jobling, 2006). Moreover, in South Africa, History textbooks dealing with Apartheid can be seen as "... ideological tools aim[ed] at shaping learners to view the world through the lens of their government's ideology" (Crawford, 2006; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant 1991). Since History textbooks are political in nature and states will use them to propagate their political ideologies and agendas. Pingel (1999) observed that History textbooks have been manipulated to glorify and justify the existence of certain political parties or ideologies at the expense of others. Morgan (2010) explains this as follows, "... since there is no ideologically neutral stance that can be taken towards the past, often the result of History textbook analysis leads to yet another timeworn conclusion: that textbook content is an ideological construct that serves the current political needs of the specific country or a particular system."

History textbooks therefore seldom interrogate questions and decisions that the heuristics historians employ in their everyday practice. Thus, what learners and teachers gain from History textbooks are merely renditions of past events which do not question or interrogate for meaning. It should be mentioned that the NCS / CAPS wanted to take a much more critical and questioning approach to History and that this may or may not have happened in different textbooks, but there may be some textbooks which do question and interrogate meaning. Subsequently, Kennedy-Manzo (2004, p.8) pronounced that "Nations around the globe, particularly those with fresh

memories of civil or regional conflicts or recent political strife have debated how to teach their History.” This would include how this History is represented in textbooks as sanctioned narratives by the state. Sherlock as cited in Kennedy-Manzo (2004, p.8) further notes that, “Textbooks are often torn between roles: providing the official or commonly held History, while also encouraging students to study various interpretations of events. Often those purposes are at odds with each other.” Thus, the power of the state which enforces these narratives are so overwhelming that the public, including teachers and learners, often regard these textbooks as the only truth. This happens despite the fact that truth in History can never fully exist as History is full of ambiguities as it is based on interpretations.

Dualism exists between History textbooks and the event, the Holocaust. Human Right’s Education (HRE) and tolerance, as reflected in textbooks are directly related to that which is outlined in the Constitution of South Africa. This in turn is enshrined in the NCS / CAPS documents and finally filters down into the textbooks. The Holocaust, as an event, is linked to this as it is used to teach learners about Human Rights and tolerance. According to Finkelstein (2003), this use of the event, the Holocaust, is seen as not only a social construct but can be termed the Social Holocaust (further explained later).

It is therefore clear that the role of History textbooks can never be neutral as their ideological and cultural potency cannot be disguised (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Thus, globally, History textbooks convey the ideas, values and, knowledge of a culture or cultures of a particular country and no matter how neutral History textbooks may appear to be, “... they prove ideologically important because they seek to imbue in the young a shared set of values, a national ethos, and an incontrovertible sense of political orthodoxy” (Foster & Crawford, 2006, p.1).

Embedded in these History textbooks therefore are the narratives that states choose to have learners learn and teachers teach about the state itself including its actions and its relationships with other nations. This represents a core of cultural knowledge which

governments expect future generations to both assimilate and support. In this process History textbooks can inveigle readers into portraying a "Disney version" of History as mentioned by Loewens (1996, p.27). Historical figures can be portrayed as heroes or tyrants thus, in the process; the historical truth can be distorted.

## **2.6. Holocaust Education**

The Holocaust has been regarded as a topic in its own right in the 1980s (Pingel, 2006). At first it was barely mentioned in textbooks but it has gradually become a phenomenon in its own right by being introduced into formal education in the form of museums which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Education surrounding the Holocaust can be dated back to Germany during the extermination of the Jews. This can be seen in the form of a popular anti-Semitic children's textbook *The Poison Mushroom* (refer to Chapter 1, p.5) which clearly depicts why the Jew cannot be trusted. In this way, education was used not only to indoctrinate German children but also to spread knowledge that the state desired learners to know.

In an informal manner, education regarding the Holocaust finds its way into more secular non-fiction for children, for example, *Hana's Suitcase* (Levine, 2008) is a book dealing with the murder of 13 year old Hana Brady during the Holocaust.

It must be pointed out that the term "Holocaust" also refers to "Shoah" by the Jews. This Hebrew word signals catastrophe and has, according to Novick (1999, p.133) been referred to by the Israeli Declaration of Independence as the "Nazi *shoah*" and furthermore is translated as the "Nazi Holocaust".

The term 'Holocaust Education' according to Eckmann (2010) is ambiguous and not clearly defined. Baum (1996) asserts that the term is almost perverse in its contradiction as it does not offer any hint as to what exactly one would gain from Holocaust Education. Would one be learning about the History of the Holocaust or

moral issues centred around the Holocaust or about the literature available on the Holocaust? However, the term is fully recognised in the academic world even though it does not fully explain what it addresses. For the purposes of this study, the term Holocaust Education refers to that which is found in school textbooks regarding the Holocaust.

The Holocaust, according to Short & Reed (2004, p.2) "... is acknowledged by all except those on the lunatic fringe to be an integral part of the Second World War and, as such, is not likely to be regarded by students as an irrelevance inserted into the curriculum for reasons of political correctness." Thus, the Holocaust has increasingly been seen in school curricula around the world as noted by Schweber and Findling (2007) and subsequently in History textbooks as an increase in the acute awareness of the violation of Human Rights.

Holocaust Education is a phenomenon of roughly the past 30 years which is due to the fact that it is finding its way from museums into formal education, curricula, into journals such as *Teaching History* (Counsell & Kinlock) and eventually textbooks. Holocaust museums have frequently become an arena for formal education as noted by Gouws (2011, p.30) that "Museums embody and reflect recollections of the past." Furthermore, a museum is then a crucial educational site as it shapes public memory and is in most instances, the most common view or story accepted about a particular event. Novick (1999) suggests that museums tend to simplify events and this aids public understanding as it is not complex to grasp.

Museums have become such important educational sites as the Holocaust has become the focal point of many lessons regarding universal rights as the historical event can be seen "... as having crucial moral lessons, maybe the most important moral lessons we stand to learn as human beings" (Schweber & Findling, 2007, p.1). Thus, its inclusion in curricula and subsequently History textbooks is viewed as being paramount in teaching towards transformation and democracy with a focus on Human Rights (Weldon, 2004).

This can be attributed to the Holocaust as a topic which would flow into education due to the strong position of its significance in western consciousness. After the 1980s, there was a shift in consciousness (Pingel, 2006) due to the intense feeling of remorse and guilt for past actions in History. The assumption can be made that the Holocaust as History is used as collective memory which in itself is a very powerful tool (Gillis, 1994). Interrogating what was written in textbooks on the Holocaust, indicate it was dealing predominantly with issues of 'educationalist institutions' (Pingel, 2006, p.131) on what learners should be learning and what society would like to pass on to the following generation. Thus, what is found regarding the Holocaust in textbooks is that which the state wishes society and subsequently learners to know and understand about the event.

Learners, in South Africa who study the Holocaust are in Grade 9 (DOE, 2002, p.102); their ages would range from 14-15 years of age. At this age, Pingel (2006, p.139) raises a question about the "efficacy of teaching such horrible events to 14 year olds." The Holocaust is an extremely emotive and vast topic. Can learners fully comprehend the Holocaust both cognitively and emotionally? Baum (1996, p.46) explains that "... the cognitive force of these emotions through which we make judgements about ourselves, others, and the culture around us" are essential to the ways in which learners make sense of the world.

The RNCS *Teacher's Guide for the Development of Learning Programmes* (2003) has taken the age of the Grade 9 learners into consideration as it states that;

"Many changes occur in learners from the age of 12 to the age of 15 years. This is the last stage of childhood (adolescence) before they reach adulthood. They mature physically, sexually, cognitively and socially in an independent manner. Learners further develop abstract thought. They concentrate on thinking in abstract terms and hypothesise and use lateral reasoning" (DoE, 2003, p.85).



Thus, the DoE / DBE are aware that such aged learners are impressionable and have a substantial number of factors to deal with excluding school work. The RNCS further states that;

“Moral development is inextricably intertwined with the cognitive and social development. Their capability for abstract thinking influences moral judgement and decisions. They still concentrate on social responsibilities, but are moving towards independent morality” (DoE, 2003, p.86).

The above mentioned lends itself to the thinking that whilst the learners are ever-changing due to adolescence they are capable of handling and comprehending the magnitude of certain historical events.

When teaching the Holocaust, teachers often expect learners to react in a certain way to the content or the sources which may be extremely graphic photographs depicting the Jews in the concentration camps. Baum (1996) states that these expected reactions are known as “obligatory emotions” (p.47), thus, these are the emotions learners are expected to feel towards the Holocaust via Holocaust Education - which include pity, sadness, horror or sympathy to name but a few. Learners to an extent are ‘bound’ to do or feel both socially and personally and what they ‘should’ do or feel, morally about the Holocaust. Russell (2006, p.37) notes that “It is easy to get an emotional reaction from students, but how much understanding will they have?”

These are also the kind of emotions society expects people or learners to exhibit thus an emotional pedagogical discourse relies on a moral compass to such an extent that the ‘wrong’ emotions such as mockery or hatred for instance would be a societal blunder as that would not concur with the expected norm and discourse. Blum as cited in Vetlesen (1994) questions the validity of such obligatory emotions and argues that people cannot be coerced into feeling a particular way as this ignores the extent to which contemporary society influences the way we think and experience emotions whilst Salmons (2001) contends that teaching the Holocaust should involve some kind of emotional link to the historical narrative but it should not however allude to tears.

The Holocaust can further be employed in History textbooks to develop political literacy (Short & Reed, 2004) as political literacy is essential to “empirical theories of democracy” (Cassel & Lo, 1997, p.317) and to cultivate good citizenship among learners. In other words, learners need to be aware of the political situation in a particular state in order to grasp the direction the country is heading politically. Political literacy would form part of the hidden curriculum as noted by Fyfe (2007). Thus, the Holocaust being a contemporary topic can be used to strengthen common consciousness in learners and for the public to grasp a better understanding on current political situations in terms of democracy, Human Rights and discrimination.

Whilst it can be established that the reasons for the Holocaust’s inclusion in History textbooks are to create good citizens or promote political literacy, Primo Levi (1989, p.396) argues that, “... we cannot understand (the Holocaust) but we can and must understand from where it springs and we must be on our guard. If understanding is impossible, knowing is imperative, because what happened could happen again.” Thus, the Holocaust’s inclusion is part of a historical narrative for learners to know what occurred. Polkinghorne (1988, p.13) furthers this notion explaining that a narrative is “the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite.” This means that a fostering of this knowledge and understanding needs to take place as we need to be aware that it could happen again if power is placed in the wrong hands. Moreover, Landau (2006, p.8) observes that it is, “... educationally essential and, therefore, legitimate to break it [the Holocaust] down into a range of limited human experiences, motives, crises and responses, with which it might be easier to identify and which can stand comparison with other predicaments.” In so doing, an event which is particularly vast and emotive can be made comprehensible for Grade 9 learners. Therefore, if the Holocaust is not broken down into themes or sections, the sheer magnitude of the historical event could possibly overwhelm the learners and nothing will be comprehended. In other words, the Holocaust cannot simply be remembered but needs to be understood educationally and conceptually. Short & Reed (2004, p.3) assert that whilst the Holocaust can be valuable

in aiding learners to learn about the, "... various facets of racism, it is an ideal medium for enabling them [learners] to understand and combat anti-Semitism." It can be observed that the Holocaust may be used to teach 'something else' but very few actually acknowledge that the Holocaust can also be used to educate about anti-Semitism. Therefore, at face value, the Holocaust is used to learn about Human Rights and discrimination but not issues of Jewish History (Gouws, 2011).

It has been argued that the Holocaust is of such phenomenological uniqueness (Katz, 1994) and cannot be compared with other genocides and thus features prominently in History textbooks worldwide. It remains a vast and emotive topic however this is contested by Finkelstein (2003). The Holocaust, "... remains a unique phenomenon in mankind's History" Lipstadt (1995) as cited in Blumoff (1995, p.601). It is this uniqueness that propels people to use the memory of the Holocaust for their own gains whether political or as Schweber & Findling (2007) puts it, for pro-life rallies. People are using the memory of the Holocaust as a public discourse to champion their causes by evoking the strong and emotional memories of this historical event and this could also occur in textbooks.

The narrative available on the Holocaust in textbooks is mostly taught from a German centred perspective (Blunting, 2009) which means that the events are related from the point of view of actions taken by the Nazis: "This perpetrator-based discourse not only mirrors Nazi language, it exacerbates the image of Jews as going passively to their deaths like sheep to the slaughter" (p.269) and consequently, a discourse of victimisation emerges. It must be mentioned that this problem is not unique to the Holocaust and Blunting (2009) further notes that it occurs whenever the History of the oppressed is being taught. Schwartz (1990) asserts that learners will be able to empathise with victims of the Holocaust if their teachers relate it to their own lives using issues of power and authority as well as creating a repressive environment.

Caplan (2001) asserts that if learners gain a deeper understanding of the Holocaust and its historical significance, then the dignity of the Holocaust victims as human beings will have been restored. However, Salmons (2001) alerts us to the danger of seeing the Jews only as victims which could lead to patronising feelings of pity. Wrenn (2001) notes that the commemoration of Jewish victims of the Holocaust is an example of how memory of past suffering has not been sidelined in History but is perpetuated so that people do not forget. Salmons (2001) further notes that there is also a danger in the fact that less consideration is given to the perpetrators and thus they are, in a sense, being dehumanised.

## **2.7. Holocaust Education and Textbooks**

The Holocaust as a topic in school curricula began to emerge in the 1970s (Bromley & Russell, 2010) in Western countries and later in the 1990s it became more prominent as a theme in History curricula worldwide.

The Holocaust has universal meaning (Avraham, 2010) and as a result is seen increasingly more in textbooks and the subsequent treatment of it varies from country to country as the state or government of each country decides how the Holocaust is to be portrayed.

In Germany, for instance, there is a sense of obligation to the Jews in History textbooks as there is a "need to overcome past injustice and tragedy and to carry out a special commitment to the Jewish people" (Wrenn, 1987, p.22). This obligation also extends to textbook authors contends Wrenn (1987) and an empathic condemnation of the genocide is portrayed in the textbooks to the extent that this can be linked to the treatment of the Holocaust in South African History textbooks where the Holocaust is treated as a Human Rights issue.

In American textbooks, the Holocaust is approached as analytical and descriptive according to Pate (1987) however, he notes that the authors' opinions do, at times, emerge. Korman (1970, p. 196) notes that the "treatment of the Holocaust in high school and college History textbooks was extremely skimpy - indeed, often nonexistent." Similarly, in the United Kingdom, Supple as cited in Short & Reed (2004, p.17) ascertains that "most textbooks dealt with the Holocaust in a dangerously superficial way. Gaps included few images and little information about Jewish people other than reproductions of anti-Semitic stereotypes ... no notion of named individuals other than Nazis or perhaps Anne Frank..." Thus, the treatment or coverage of the Holocaust in textbooks in both America and the United Kingdom was sparse.

In Israel, Firer (1987) notes that there are two types of Holocaust coverage. The first originating from a German perspective with little regard for the Jews whilst the second refers solely to the Judeo-centred perspective where the resilience of the Jews is highlighted and praised. In spite of this, the criticism is made that a holistic History of the Jews cannot be sufficiently covered.

The above discussion was a brief outline of how the Holocaust has been treated in several countries and below is a detailed discussion of the treatment of the Holocaust in South African textbooks.

## **2.8. Holocaust Education and South Africa**

In South Africa, a country with a politically volatile History, it is obvious that using the Holocaust to teach issues of racism, prejudice, xenophobia and Human Rights would be most apt. Holocaust Education is compulsory in South Africa as it is dealt with in Grade 9 as opposed to being optional or not being listed at all as in Germany (Pingel, 2006). The DoE and later the DBE reached a decision to implement a curriculum which emphasized the theme of Human Rights as previously discussed in Chapter 1 (p.1). Andre Keet from the South African Human Rights Commission notes;

It is widely accepted that the events of the Holocaust represented one of the most extreme Human Rights violations in the History of humankind. The lessons drawn from this crime against humanity played a defining role in the construction and development of contemporary Human Rights. Therefore and alongside the many historical and present day Human Rights atrocities across the world and our continent, the inclusion of the Holocaust in the curriculum was never disputed (Freedman, 2008).

Hence, it is mandatory to study the Holocaust in various educational settings for, as Short & Reed (2004, p.20) assert the Holocaust is vital in History textbooks as, "... at a time when many societies, culturally more diverse than ever before, are threatened by a rising tide of nationalism and xenophobia, a study of the Holocaust would seem to deserve the highest priority." Thus, the inclusion of the Holocaust was always based on a teaching towards or for Human Rights. The idea of using the Holocaust to teach issues of racism, prejudice, xenophobia and Human Rights have been implemented into a resource manual put together by the Holocaust Centre in Cape Town. This manual was written for teachers to assist them in teaching humanity and Human Rights in which a parallel is drawn between South Africa's apartheid and the Holocaust. The differences and similarities between the two ideologies are explored (Silbert & Peterson, 2007).

With the above in mind, the *Teacher's Guide for the Development of Learning Programmes* is an RNCS document (2003) which outlines how the Holocaust features in the curriculum. A proposed teaching plan provides a prototype for how teachers should plan to teach the content for Social Sciences. In weeks 1-5 of the school year in Grade 9 History, learners should be learning about "Human Rights issues during and after the Second World War" which includes a section entitled – and is the crux of this study – "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" (DoE, 2003, p.91). However, the Holocaust also features later on in the school year where during weeks 25-27, learners should be learning about "Issues of our time" where "crimes against humanity, apartheid and the TRC vs. [versus] Holocaust and Nuremberg trials" are taught (DoE, 2003, p.92). Furthermore, it can be assumed that from the above an opportunity is created in the

teaching and learning process whereby the Holocaust can be directly compared and contrasted with South Africa's Apartheid.

Thus, in order to teach universal Human Rights and social justice, apartheid needs to be taught "through learning about the Holocaust first and then Apartheid, learners are better equipped to make connections to issues of our time" (Nates 2010, p.19). The purpose of this parallel is to, "... encourage learners to examine the dangers and consequences of racial ideologies and prejudices" (Silbert & Petersen, 2007, p.35). The argument promulgated here is that by paralleling the Holocaust and Apartheid, learners will be enabled to understand that discrimination or oppression should never be allowed to happen again. This idea is affirmed by Short & Reed (2004) as they note that the primary reason for studying the Holocaust is to aid the future prevention of the violation of Human Rights based on discrimination. The Holocaust seems to - in the view of Short & Reed (2004, p.2) - "... soften the blows of loss." This inevitably leads to the 'never again' ideology. By viewing the past in this manner it is argued that it gives the learner or public a sense that things will change in the future and that each individual has the potential to effect an influence, if they so wish.

## **2.9. The Theoretical Framework of 'The Holocaust' versus the 'Nazi Holocaust'**

The proliferation over the past three decades of Holocaust Education into the History curricula and textbooks has not always been accepted by all scholars and Norman Finkelstein (2003), challenges this notion. He argues that the memory of the Holocaust is being exploited to the benefit of certain sectors of Jewish society and the state of Israel.

He distinguishes that the Nazi Holocaust refers specifically to the actual historical event of the Holocaust which occurred in Nazi Germany, one which would invariably be taught in schools. However, The Holocaust, on the other hand, in the view of Finkelstein, is an

ideological representation of the actual historical event. In other words, The Holocaust is a notion which uses the idea of the actual historical event to further another cause - for lack of a better word - or to promote political and other agendas with the memory of the event in mind (Finkelstein, 2003). It has induced a "Holocaust Industry", as coined by Finkelstein, which in his view leaves the actual event as an insignificant afterthought. This industry, argues Finkelstein, seeks to use this narrative to exploit the Nazi Holocaust in an attempt to increase certain personal, educational, and political aims. This can be clearly seen in Finkelstein's (2003) *The Holocaust Industry* where he takes a closer look at how powerful and useful the memory of "The Holocaust" can be as part of political ideologies and propaganda particularly in the United States. Finkelstein carefully unpacks the roles which each of the various Jewish organisations play in capitalising on "The Holocaust." Thus, two distinct narratives emerge, both regarding the same event but used in different ways. Both narratives agree that the Holocaust happened but it is the manner in which it is interpreted and presented which differ and most significantly, the way in which these narratives are used and for what purposes that greatly varies. Rabbi Wolf as cited in Berenbaum (1990, p.45) aptly sums up the enigma of these two narratives, "It seems to me the Holocaust is being sold – it is not being taught," hence the Holocaust is taught but 'how' it is taught is the conflicting issue.

The problem of representation is further compounded as noted by Kwiet & Matthäus (2004, p.ix) as they note that, "... our own current interests drive our understanding of History to the extent that the past 'as it really was' will always stay out of reach." Therefore, the 'true' Holocaust narrative will most likely never be revealed as there are many schools of thought - the believers, revisionists, and deniers - (as mentioned in Chapter 1, pp.12-14) with varying and opposing narratives of the event. Thus, the narrative of the Holocaust can be distorted to suit and support the ideological goals of an individual, party or nation state hence the three schools of thought; the revisionists, the Holocaust deniers and those who believe the official History.



Finkelstein (2003) does not accept the official History which is the narrative of the believers - as he questions what is done with this narrative and how this narrative is used to enlighten learners about the Holocaust as an event.

Consequently, the state is responsible for the collective memory of a country. This can be seen in the United States where, "...the Holocaust has come to occupy a position of tremendous power in the American imagination ..." (Schweber & Findling, 2007, p.1). Novick (1999) cited in Schweber & Findling (2007, p.1) further affirms that the Holocaust has become such a central metaphor to Americans that "... references to it [are] abound in political life regardless of context." The consciousness of the western world is pushed to other continents, namely Africa and thus, the Holocaust can be found in South African History textbooks and the parallel can be drawn to understanding apartheid. The Holocaust is contentious and controversial as a topic due to the many debates surrounding the historical event but it is accepted historically.

While Finkelstein's two Holocausts ("The Holocaust" and the "Nazi Holocaust") were discussed above, there is another type of Holocaust to consider. One which Gouws (2011) terms the "Social Holocaust." This theory is a fairly new notion but cannot be disregarded as it illuminates how certain people view the event.

The "Social Holocaust" can be aligned with what Finkelstein refers to as "The Holocaust" as it is concerned with teaching the Holocaust from a perspective with which society generally agrees. This largely stems from the work pursued at museums and the information given to the public. Therefore, Human Rights issues are raised in this type of Holocaust teaching as with the idea of Jews being portrayed as victims and Nazis as perpetrators. Thus, what can be seen is two polar opposites emerging - a Historical Holocaust (Finkelstein's "Nazi Holocaust") and a Social Holocaust (Finkelstein's "The Holocaust").

Kinloch (1998) and Haydn (2000) argue that the Holocaust is taught from a purely historical point of view and that "the same questions which we would ask of other historical events" be applied to the Holocaust (Haydn, 2000, p.137).

Both Kinloch (1998) and Salmons (2001) agree that the Holocaust should be taught from a historical perspective but Salmons insists that this cannot be divorced from the consideration of moral issues as, "the questions we ask as historians are often rooted in our own moral concerns" (Russell, 2006, p.38). However, it must be pointed out that Salmons does not intend that the narrative of the Holocaust be turned into a complete moral lesson of good versus evil. He notes as cited in Russell (2006, p.38);

Rather than Holocaust education being the panacea for racism, prejudice and other social ills, a study of this History is likely to show the complexities of these issues and that there are no easy answers ... The Holocaust should not be studied because it is redemptive but because it is historically significant; it should be studied as History, and not as a moral lesson.

Whilst there may be universal lessons which can be learnt from the Holocaust, they are not specific to it and can be learnt from other histories as well and why, therefore use the Holocaust to teach such lessons?

Concurring with Kinloch (1998), Salmons (2001) would argue that the historical context of the Holocaust is fundamental to the narrative but Salmons (2001) would add that an important part of such a narrative would be to include the moral implications.

Within a South African context, the Social Holocaust seems the most likely choice as it stems from a strong Human Rights education stance, one which can be seen in the NCS and CAPS documents respectively. Thus, a strong emphasis is placed on Human Rights violations as well as tolerance and, in terms of Apartheid education, the same Human Rights stance is taken. It has been previously emphasised that the Holocaust is paralleled with Apartheid in the Grade 9 GET History Textbooks. Thus, a distinction can be made that whilst the Holocaust has been agreed upon as a historical event, it may

not be taught as such in schools but rather the narrative of the Holocaust is 'used' to teach something else. In terms of education, the Holocaust is 'used' to teach Human Rights, and Apartheid in South Africa to name a few.

Using the Holocaust to teach Human Rights permeates not only through the curriculum but filters down into textbooks, particularly History textbooks. This coincides with the paralleling of the Holocaust with Apartheid where the Holocaust is used to teach about injustices so that learners can recognise the same injustices which took place in South Africa. The Holocaust is also used to attract people (whether the public or learners) to museums to learn more about the event. However, what is portrayed in the museums is not the Historical Holocaust but rather the Social Holocaust which serves a particular agenda (Gouws, 2011).

However, the Holocaust is not only 'used' for something else in an educational context alone. As noted by Finkelstein (2003) the narrative of the Holocaust is used to command support for American policies signed with Israel as well as to increase the benefits of certain American Jewry organisations.

When such a contentious issue is included in the most dominant discourse found in the classroom; the textbook, questions need to be asked about how such an event manifests itself in a textbook. Therefore, the niche for this study is to analyse the dominant discourses found in Grade 9 GET History textbooks regarding the Holocaust and how these manifest themselves by observing how they are used and thus what the underlying intention behind the discourse really is.

Furthermore, the notion of two opposing narratives will be used as another aspect of the theoretical framework for this study in a thorough attempt to analyse the type of discourses found in South African GET History textbooks. The question that needs to be asked is where do textbooks and their discourses on the Holocaust connect if there are more than one version of the Holocaust narrative? If there are so many variations and

schools of thought regarding the Holocaust, what is the place and, significance, if any, of Holocaust Education globally?

## **2.10. Conclusion**

In this chapter, a foundation was laid in terms of what was espoused from the literature regarding the Holocaust, Holocaust Education and textbooks in general and more specifically History textbooks. The themes highlighted in the beginning of the chapter were discussed and in Chapter 3, the methodology used for this study is discussed and explained.

# **Chapter 3**

## **Research Design and Methodology**

### **3.1. Introduction**

In this Chapter, I discuss my research design and research methodology and explain how it will be used to provide answers to my research questions. I explain the important features related to the methodology and methods that I employed in this study and rationalise the choices and decisions I have made. Such decisions were based on the literature review which I conducted in Chapter 2 as well as the theoretical framework I employed. The features on which I focus include data analysis methods; data generation methods; data collection; sampling; and their respective strengths and limitations. I also reflect on features such as validity or trustworthiness; reliability; and ethical considerations ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods are thoroughly interrogated.

Before the above can be attempted, a distinction must be made between what is meant by research design and research methodology. These terms are often confused and used interchangeably, however, according to Mouton (2001) research designs and research methodologies are two very distinct and different aspects of a study. A research design is essentially a plan of how the researcher intends to answer the research questions (Durrheim, 2002), hence, a research design is a blueprint of how the study is to be conducted in order for the research question or questions to be answered and is therefore concerned with the "end product" of the study (Mouton, 2001, p.56). There is no set template for a research design as each is unique and tailored to suit the aims and needs of each respective study and as a result, there are different types of research designs. In this chapter, the reasoning behind this choice is fully explained.

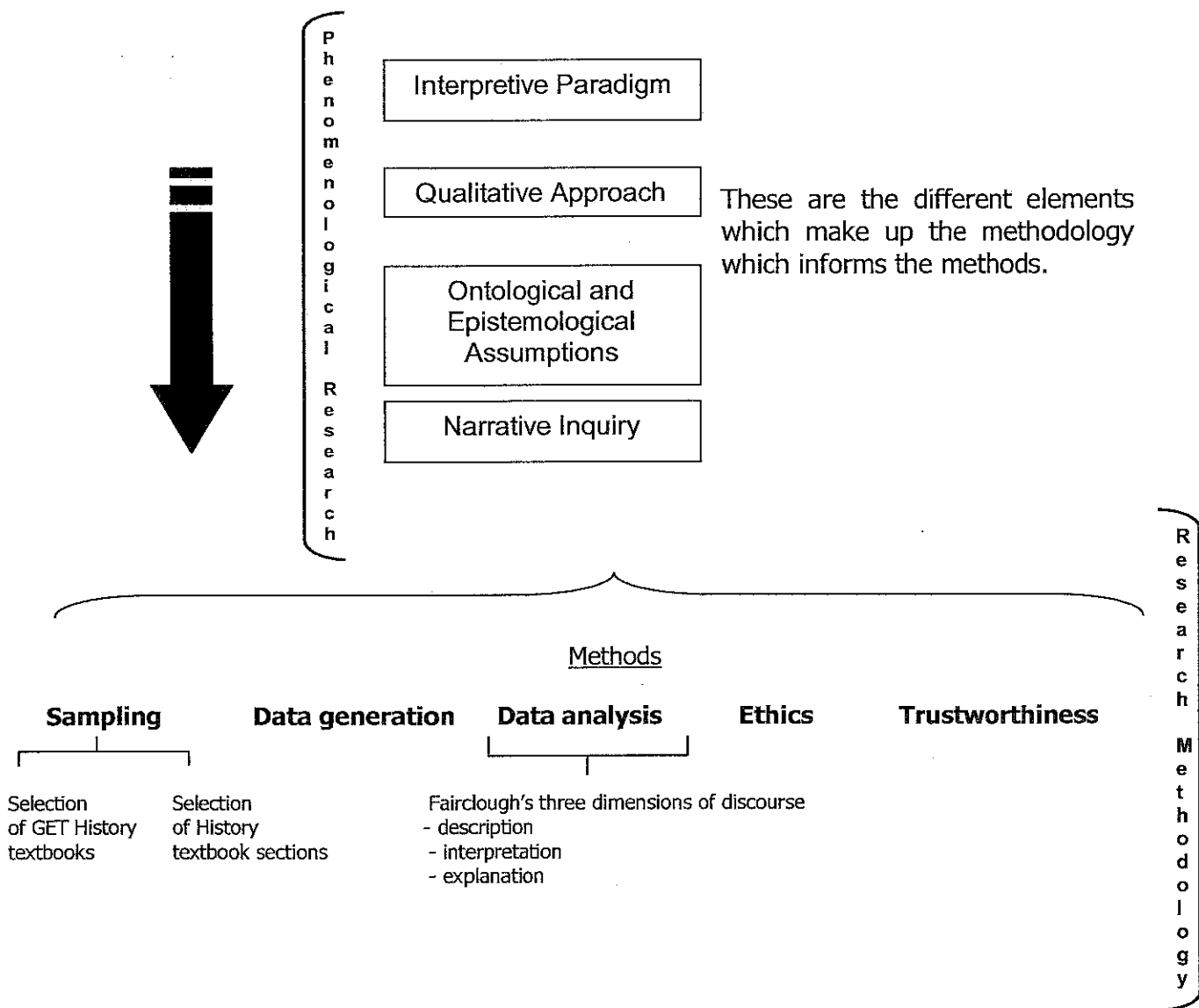
The research design and research methodology whilst serving different functions in the research, are both required in order for the study and research to be effective. The purpose of the research design is to plan how the research question will be answered, unlike the research methodology aims which are to find methods or tools to collect and analyse the data needed to answer the research question. According to Mouton (2001) the research methodology should focus on the tools and procedures to be used in the study - for instance, the tools for data collection and sampling.

Thus, the research design can be seen as a route map that will fundamentally steer the research in a particular direction provided that the researcher has planned the research thoroughly and follows the design diligently. The research methodology, on the other hand, can be seen as a collection of tools to execute the plan or route map. Mouton (2001) sums it up aptly as he uses an analogy to explain the difference between a research design and methodology. He notes that the research design is compared with a plan that has been approved to build a house. The plan starts with an idea which has been conceptualised by the prospective home owners and these ideas are translated into a blueprint which the architect will use to actualise the home owners visions (the end result). The research methodology is the process of actually constructing the house by using different methods and tools to perform the different tasks that are necessary. Therefore, in this chapter the research design has been outlined together with what was envisioned for this study as well as a demonstration of how the research was executed in order to answer the research questions.

In order to fully describe and explain what the research design and methodology entails, a holistic picture was created to demonstrate exactly what was envisioned for this chapter. Thus, a diagrammatical representation of how this chapter will unfold is presented below (**Figure 3.1.**). Underpinning the inclusion of this is to highlight how the elements of the study's research design coalesce and contribute to the study. Each aspect can be seen as a layer of research which has been melded to produce the study

as a whole and consequently, the research design for this study is unique and has been adapted and created for its enhancement.

Below is an in-depth explanation of each element of the research design and why it was chosen for this study.



**Figure 3.1.** – Diagrammatical representation of the route map for this Chapter

### **3.2. Phenomenological Research**

This study's overarching research framework is phenomenological research, which aims to enquire about the nature of a phenomenon under study (Hatch, 2002) which, in this case, is the various discourses on the Holocaust which manifests itself in Grade 9 GET History Textbooks.

Phenomenology was crucial to this study as the discourses on the Holocaust (which was the phenomenon) were being analysed and interpreted. As noted by Welman & Kruger (2001, p.81) "Phenomenologists question the possibility of studying [a psychology or sociological] reality with so-called objectivity ... according to phenomenologists, what researchers observe is not a reality [or truth] as such but an interpreted reality [or truth]." Furthermore it can be seen that interpretation is the crux of phenomenological research. It must be noted that whilst there are other stakeholders such as the publishers and the authors as well as the state and the curriculum, the primarily focus of this study was the textbooks and the dominant discourses on the Holocaust.

Schutz & Luckmann (1973) as paraphrased in Schostak (2002, p.39) notes that phenomenology occupies an attitude where a "...belief either for or against the reality, the truth, the rightness of anything said to constitute the world is suspended... [thus] provid[ing] a way of mapping the subject." Furthermore, the epistemological assumption that knowledge is subjective and constructed can be applied to the dominant discourses found on the Holocaust in History textbooks as what is deemed as truth or reality is 'suspended' or disregarded so that the 'subject' or phenomenon can be studied and explored.

In addition to the study being phenomenological in nature, it also lends itself to the interpretivist paradigm.



### **3.2.1. Interpretative Paradigm**

This study is also located within the interpretive paradigm. Interpretivism as noted by Williams (1998) is primarily exploratory and descriptive in nature and is designed to discover what can be learned about the area of interest. The central aim of this paradigm is to understand and explore phenomena.

An interpretivist paradigm was employed in this study by reviewing literature pertaining to the Holocaust and History Textbooks and critically analysing the data from the selected textbook chapters or units. The interpretive paradigm aims to understand and describe meaningful social action, thus, this type of research is flexible and steered by a set of views, beliefs and opinions on the world and how it should be interpreted and studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). While this study falls within the paradigm of interpretivism, it must be pointed out that the study is a study of text within this paradigm as a textual analysis where the aim was to understand the central phenomena.

To elucidate, the main objective of interpretivism is to develop a greater understanding of how people make sense of contexts in which they live and work. Stevens, Schade, Chalk & Slevin (1993) offer three key points in explaining the interpretivist paradigm. Firstly, the knowledge that is produced within the paradigm is done so inductively and as a result, concepts and theories emerge from the interpretation of the phenomena. Secondly, the data collected from within this paradigm is to a large extent subjective. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007) agree, noting that the interpretive paradigm is concerned with the individual and its central aim is to understand the subjective world of human experience. Lastly, research within this paradigm is carried out in the contexts in which phenomena occur that is the research or analysis is carried out within the textbook where the phenomenon in question is found. Therefore, it can be seen that the interpretivist paradigm was chosen as it best suited the aims of this study in

finding a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny (the Holocaust) in Grade 9 History Textbooks.

Terre Blanche & Kelly (2002, p.123) observe that "... interpretivist research methods try to describe and interpret people's feelings and experiences in human terms rather than through quantification and measurements" and in this study, those experiences can be found in the selected textbook chapters or units. It can be deduced from the above, that the interpretive paradigm is primarily concerned with understanding how people make sense of contexts in which they live or work and in this instance, interpretivism aims to understand how people make sense of texts; narratives; and discourses.

The interpretivist paradigm generates three basic assumptions. Firstly, interpretivists assume that the purpose of educational research is to understand the meaning which informs human behaviour. Secondly, interpretivists assume that there is not one single reality or truth but rather a set of realities or truths which are historical, local, specific and non-generalisable (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Habermas, 1988). Thirdly, it is assumed that results or findings are not waiting to be unearthed or discovered by the researcher but, are created through the interpretation of the data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

It must be mentioned that the interpretivist viewpoint is not without challenges. Critics believe that the interpretive paradigm "... fails to acknowledge the institutional structures, particularly divisions of interest and relations to power" and as a result presents incomplete accounts of social behaviour by their neglect of the political and ideological contexts of much educational research (Cohen et al, 2011; Sarantakos, 2005, p. 24). However, the purpose of this study was not to change the phenomena or society but to rather acquire a rich and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon as well as the factors responsible for the way in which it is manifested as discourses in the selected History Textbooks. The research embraces this paradigm because it sought to understand how different discourses on the Holocaust can be used to promote a particular view or ideology.

### **3.2.2. Qualitative Approach**

This study adopted a qualitative research approach which is often used to explore and understand a particular phenomenon in any aspect of texts. This could range from films and advertisements to novels, short stories or as in this narrative, textbooks. According to Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p.2) qualitative research can be defined as the, "... humanistic virtues of subjective, interpretative approach" therefore, qualitative research is usually an investigation and the researcher interprets the meaning from the data and it is used to explore and understand a particular phenomenon in this study. According to Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007) qualitative research is concerned with an in-depth, complex and detailed understanding of behaviour; meanings; phenomena; actions; attitudes; and intentions thus, emphasizing the intricacies of qualitative research. Anderson (1987, p.384) furthers this notion and notes that qualitative research is a "... research paradigm which emphasizes inductive, interpretative methods applied to the everyday world which is seen as subjective and socially created." Thus, for the purpose of this study, the qualitative research approach was chosen as the Holocaust in GET History textbooks – the central phenomenon of this study – was explored and understood.

Due to the open-ended nature of qualitative research, "... a single, umbrella-like paradigm [cannot be placed] over the entire project" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.vx) and therefore, the study cannot be completely defined as solely qualitative. This notion is supported by Stevens, Schade, Chalk & Slevin (1993, p.39) who argue that, "We use qualitative research as an umbrella term to refer to several research strategies that share certain characteristics." Therefore, this study is situated in a qualitative research approach as well as in other aspects of the research design as discussed before and in the sections to follow.

Considering the nature of the research questions which underpin this study, the qualitative research was the most appropriate approach to follow as this kind of research centres around understanding a phenomenon.

Ambert *et al* (1995) note several reasons as to why researchers embark on qualitative studies as they firstly, aimed at a smaller more focussed sample of data. This is significant as this data can be thoroughly analysed in a profound manner and thus maximize the quality of analysis. For the purpose of this study, such a sample was vital as more time could be spent interrogating the data. The sample size from each textbook was also small however; the nature of qualitative research is a deep, rich and thick analysis. Secondly, qualitative research allows for close interrogation or comprehension of trends or themes that emerge from data as well as meanings; phenomena; actions; attitudes; and intentions. The aim of this study was to understand the complexities of the different discourses on the Holocaust and the use of qualitative research was the most suitable medium to comprehend this phenomenon. Finally, qualitative research can be linked and transferred over a number of levels and sample groups, and the schematics of qualitative research can be applied to many sample groups with the intentions of understanding and analysing a particular phenomena or behaviour. In this study, qualitative research was applied to each respective textbook in order to establish whether prominent themes or trends were apparent. Potter (2002, p.56) notes that qualitative research is useful because "... of the rich insights it provides into problems which are not well understood." Thus, for the purpose of this study, the use of qualitative research facilitated the exploration and comprehension of the different discourses on the Holocaust in Grade 9 History Textbooks.

Qualitative research had intrinsic benefits for this particular study as it provided a workable framework wherein a systematic approach can be afforded to the rich, contextually bound data on the Holocaust from the selected Grade 9 History Textbooks and thus allowed for a better comprehension of the different discourses on the

Holocaust in Grade 9 History Textbooks and why these particular discourses manifest themselves in the texts.

It must be mentioned that there are challenges to qualitative research which needed to be affirmed. According to Potter (2002, p.160) qualitative research, "... cannot be done in an 'objective', neutral disengaged manner if it is to yield any worthwhile insight into the informant's world." Thus, qualitative research has the potential to become one-sided or biased if the researcher is either narrow minded or prejudiced.

### **3.2.3. Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions**

According to Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007) ontological assumptions are concerned with the nature or essence of the social phenomenon being investigated or researched. This is concurred by Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloh, & Sikes (2005) who argue that ontology is concerned with the nature or essence of things. Thus, it can be deduced that ontological assumptions attempt to distinguish whether things or phenomena are either a given reality that has been 'out there' in the world or something which has been created by one's own mind.

Ontologies help inform methodologies and the main question which is asked is what is the nature of the reality or truth (Sarantakos, 2005) and thus, the ontological assumption for this study was concerning the nature of social reality. This assumption is that the "... world is experienced and constructed by the people who live in it" (Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloh, & Sikes, 2005, p.100). This notion is furthered by Kincheloe & Horn (2007, p.5) as they noted that "ontology is the branch of philosophy that deals with being in the world – [it] assumes that an objective reality exists apart from human agents" and that reality or truth is socially constructed. The literature reviewed has demonstrated that the concept of the Holocaust means different things to different people and therefore it is difficult to pin down under one specific conceptualisation. Thus, the ontological assumption for this study is that the narratives

on the Holocaust and in turn, the discourses, are socially constructed and can be interpreted by different people in different ways. Likewise, the ontological assumption for textbooks is that they are also socially constructed and not only interpreted differently by different people but are written for a particular purpose and thus the intended meaning can vary greatly from what is actually perceived by the reader.

Epistemologies differ from ontologies in the sense that, they inform methodologies about the nature of the knowledge that is being sought. "Epistemology is the branch of philosophy that deals with the nature of knowledge and truth – it assumes that if we use the correct methods of knowledge production, we will assure that we 'reflect' this objective reality correctly" (Kincheloe & Horn, 2007, p.5). The epistemological assumption concerning the bases of knowledge (Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloh, & Sikes, 2005, p.101) is that the knowledge constructed is, "subjective and inherently political" (Hatch, 2002, p.16). For example, an epistemological assumption can be made of the agency of textbook authors - is there a personal initiative?; Is it imposed?; or is the author's view limited? The assumption can be made that the authors have an overt but false position as they are very limited in what they can envision for the narratives as they are bound by the vision the state as well as the curriculum and the publishing houses and other stakeholders have for the narratives which have to be included in History textbooks.

The research design as explained above has indicated that this research lends itself to exploring a phenomenon in depth in a world which is socially constructed. The methodology below will explain how this phenomenon will be analysed through the proposed methods and Narrative Inquiry.

### **3.3. Research Methodology**

The research methodology adopted was Narrative Inquiry however, this study also borrows from Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Both are explained fully below.

#### **3.3.1. Narrative Inquiry**

Narrative Inquiry is a relatively new qualitative methodology and is the study of "experience understood narratively" (Clandinin & Huber, In Press, p.1). As noted by Reissman & Speedy (2007, p.429) "... narrative inquiry in the human sciences is a 20th century development; the field has 'realist', 'postmodern', and constructionist strands, and scholars and practitioners disagree on origin and precise definition." Given this innovative approach, it is vital to unpack what is meant by Narrative Inquiry.

According to Genette (1982, p.127) a narrative is a, "... representation of an event or sequence of events, real or fictitious by means of language and, more particularly, by means of written language." Abbott (2002, p.3) in turn views a narrative as the "... principal way in which our species organizes its understanding of time." On the other hand Polkinghorne (1988, p.13) states that a narrative is "the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite." Thus, it can be seen that what is common of narrative inquiry is that it links human action and experience to language in a sequenced manner. It can furthermore be seen that Narrative Inquiry is complex and cannot be easily defined or confined to one simple definition.

It can be deduced at this juncture that due to the seemingly interdisciplinary nature of Narrative Inquiry, there is no one definitive theory or definition. Barthes (1977) aptly attempts to sum up the infinite nature of defining Narrative Inquiry when he notes;

The narratives of the world are numberless. Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures

and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, History, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting ..., stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover ... narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very History of mankind, and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative (Barthes, 1977, p.79).

Therefore, a narrative can be seen as a story that reflects the experiences of people which can be told through different mediums, i.e. through text (written) or visual means. The way the narrative is depicted is dependent on several factors which can include the characters, the plot and setting to name a few. Moreover, any narrative can be a gateway through which a person can enter the world and by which their experiences of the world are interpreted and made meaningful (Singh, 2007).

Hazel (2007) noted that Narrative Inquiry is fraught with semantic issues as a result of different disciplines using the same set of words but attaching different meanings to them or using different sets of words when talking about one concept. Thus, for the purpose of this study, several terms have been clarified while these term such as discourse; visual; textual; and medium of information (to name a few) have various definitions in other fields; for this study they were selected to mean a particular thing.

This study aimed at finding out what dominant discourses exist in the selected textbooks regarding the Holocaust. Furthermore, the term 'medium of information' refers to the different types of ways the information or knowledge is presented in the textbooks therefore, I have coined the term 'medium of information'. 'Text' refers to the print that can be found in the textbooks from the discourses to the activities set and 'visual' refers to the graphic aspect in the textbooks from images, photographs, cartoons, and sketches to name but a few. My aim for this study was to avoid the specialist language issues where possible and concentrate on the phenomenon, which is the Holocaust, in the selected Grade 9 Textbooks.



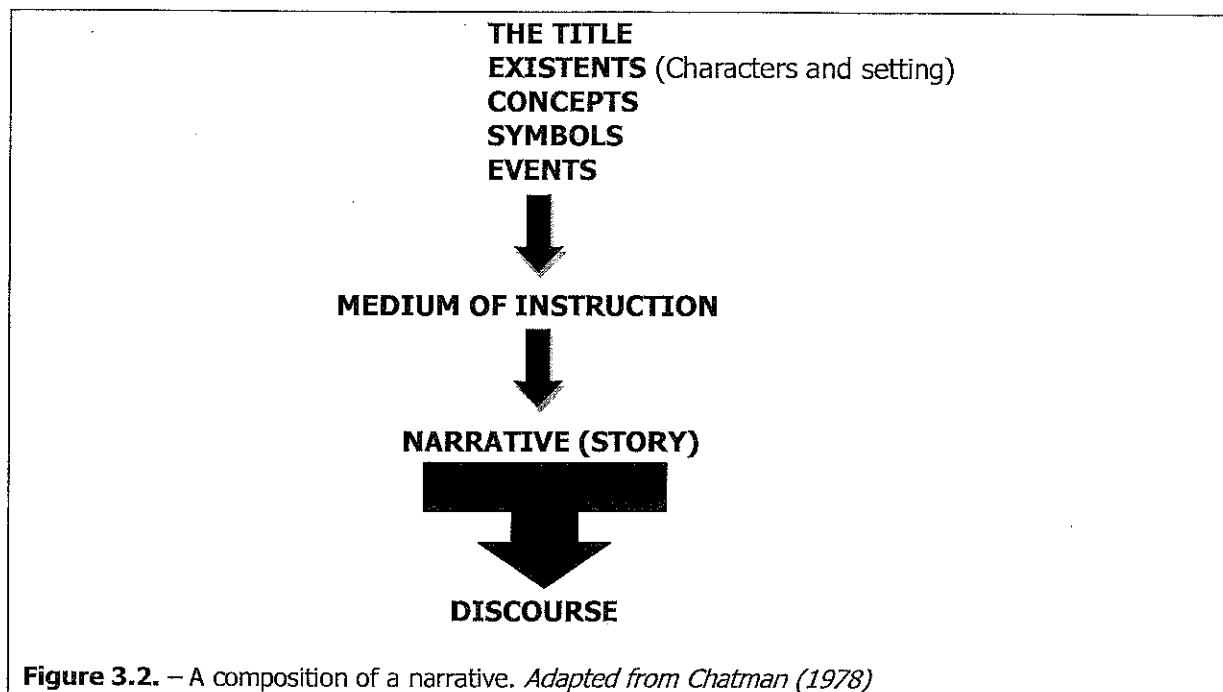
Connelly & Clandinin (2006, p.375) assert that, "Narrative Inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon." Therefore, Narrative Inquiry as a methodology can be seen as one that lends itself to understanding a phenomenon as agreed by Sinclair-Bell (2002, p.207) who notes that "narrative approaches to understanding are becoming increasingly popular in a wide range of disciplines."

As mentioned above, narratives are stories presented in various mediums as people are constantly, if not continuously, involved with stories throughout their lives both formally and informally. Stories are told more formally through official discourse as textbooks and unofficially at home and it is for this reason, that Narrative Inquiry was chosen as a methodology for this study to uncover the stories and discourses found on the Holocaust in Grade 9 History Textbooks. For the purpose of this study, the term 'stories' was replaced with the term 'narrative' (as explained in **Figure 3.2.**)

It is important to fully comprehend why using Narrative Inquiry would be the best option for this study and how using Narrative Inquiry would not only enhance the study but also be able to allow the full potential of the data analysed. "Narrative Inquiry is concerned with analysing and criticising the stories we tell, hear or read in the course of our research or work" (Singh, 2007, p.6) thus narrative inquiry can be used in textbooks to analyse and criticise the narratives that are told.

Chatman (1978) identifies the required aspects to making a narrative or story as the characters; the settings; events; symbols; and concepts used in the narrative. All of these aspects are part of the story and when they are all combined become part of a whole – the narrative.

The composition of a narrative or story can be explained diagrammatically as seen below in **Figure 3.2.**



Each of these aspects has been incorporated in a tool which was used to analyse the various textbook chapters. This will be discussed later in this chapter and is illustrated in **Figure 3.3.**

Whilst the methodology is Narrative Inquiry, this study also borrows from Fairclough's CDA "Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, 2001, p.352). Therefore, CDA has the aptitude to reveal the way in which power is diffused through various discourses in an educational context. Narrative Inquiry can be seen as a branch of CDA and thus, my instruments for analysis are adapted from Fairclough's (1995) three dimensions of discourse. These dimensions are:

- Textual and visual analysis (descriptive dimension) where the object of analysis is identified as either textual (written) or visual.
- Processing analysis (interpretation) where the process by which the object is produced and received is examined.

- Social analysis (explanation) where the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes are explored.

These three dimensions of discourse were considered when generating the data analysis instrument.

### 3.3.2. Data Analysis Instrument

Each textbook's chapter on the Holocaust was analysed using the tool illustrated below. Each aspect was described, interpreted and explained using Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse. See **Figure 3.3.**

	Description	Interpretation	Explanation
<b>Title</b>			
<b>Existents</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Prominent characters</li> <li>➤ Individual Historical characters</li> <li>➤ Setting</li> </ul>			
<b>Concepts</b>			
<b>Symbols</b>			
<b>Events</b>			
<b>Medium of Information (How is it presented?)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Visual</li> <li>➤ Activity</li> <li>➤ Textual</li> </ul>			

**Figure 3.3.** – The instrument used to generate the data

The aspects include the title of the chapter in the textbooks regarding the Holocaust. It is important to include this as it is the prelude to the actual chapter and certain expectation can be created by the title.

The characters were categorised into two sections; the prominent characters and the individual historical characters. Character refers to any person, or people who have been written about in the chapter. The prominent characters were mentioned on a recurring basis in the chapter whilst the individual historical characters were merely mentioned once or twice in the chapter.

The setting refers to the geographical place where the events of the Holocaust took place including the names of concentration and death camps that may be mentioned in the selected textbook chapters.

Concepts were also analysed in the chapters and this refers to any term that has been emphasised in the text. Key historical concepts help learners to organise knowledge and ideas about History, make generalisations, compare and contrast as well as find patterns and establish connections. Historical concepts have been divided into two categories; first order concepts and second order concepts. First order concepts, according to Calleja (2004, p.3) help learners to "... understand historical trends and patterns as well as specific events" for example, Nazism, anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust. Second order concepts help learners to understand, "how historical knowledge and understanding is constructed and created" (Calleja, 2004, p.3) and thus, second order concepts are more distinct due to their generalising power and relation to processes and include cause and effect, chronology, empathic understanding, continuity and change as well as the use of evidence.

Similarly, symbols were also examined as part of analysing the narrative which refers to the well known symbols which have a particular connotation attached to them and are related to the Holocaust. For instance, the swastika and the Star of David are prominent

symbols, the former a symbol of the Nazis whilst the latter remains a symbol of the Jewish people globally.

Events refer to the actual historical happenings that occurred during a specific time and place either before and / or during the Holocaust which could include the Final Solution or the Night of the Broken Glass.

Finally, the medium of information refers to how the narrative is presented whether in visual, text or activities in the textbooks. It is important to include this in the instrument as the way in which the narrative is represented plays a major role in the way in which the discourse manifests itself in the text.

The data analysis instrument accommodated the methodology of Narrative Inquiry as it was applied to both visual and textual data. The data analysis instrument also accommodated the theoretical framework of the notion of two Holocausts as the instrument will elicit data which can be categorised as either teaching towards the "Nazi Holocaust" or "The Holocaust" (Finkelstein, 2003).

### **3.3.3. Sampling**

The sampling for this study is purposive as it is concerned with detailed analysis and focuses on small samples as the data collected is rich. Whilst this type of sampling seeks in-depth data from a small selected group, it is also problematic. Purposive sampling cannot represent the wider population and is thus, "...deliberately and unashamedly selective and biased" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p.115). While it may appear that this type of sampling can be complex, and it may not be representational or generalisable, purposive sampling seeks to attain in-depth information as mentioned previously which is a requirement for this study. Purposive sampling is often used in parallel with convenience sampling thus History textbooks that were readily accessible were chosen in Grade 9 History classes which are also a popular

choice, judging by informal conversations with History Education honours students. The GET History textbooks chosen for this are as follows (**Figure 3.4.**).

It must be mentioned that the rewriting of South African History textbooks after the seminal democratic elections in South Africa became a tool to counter apartheid perceptions and stereotypes, since racial identities had previously been loaded with strong cultural and political content (Engelbrecht, 2008). Thus, the Outcomes Based Textbooks (OBE) were deliberately reacting to the old political order. All the textbooks in the sample were published in 2006. The findings could possibly be influenced by the time frame and that if the study were to be conducted again with different textbooks either published more recently or new CAPS textbooks the outcome might show different findings.

Furthermore, it must be pointed out that only Grade 9 History textbooks were analysed and not any other Grades as the Holocaust does not feature in any of the other Grades prescribed History curriculum.

Textbook Authors	Date	Textbook Title	Chapter	Subsection	Pages	Textbook Publishers
Angier, K., Carr, D., Cockburn, J., Holmes, P., & Wallace, J.	2006	<i>Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner Book</i>	Human Rights issues during and after World War II but specifically in Nazi Germany	How and Why the Holocaust Happened??	10 - 13	Vivlia
Barnard, J. <i>et al.</i>	2006	<i>Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book</i>	Human Rights issues in Nazi Germany	The Holocaust	19 - 21	Nasou via Afrika
Bottaro, J., Visser, P., Monteith, M., & Dilley, L.	2006	<i>In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book</i>	Human Rights issues during and after WWII	How and why did the Holocaust happen? <i>An analysis of prejudice.</i>	104 - 107	Oxford University Press
Burton, M <i>et al</i>	2006	<i>Shuters Social Science Grade 9 Learner Book</i>	Human Rights Issues during and after WWII	The Holocaust	14 - 17	Shuter and Shooter

**Figure 3.4.** – A table illustrating the four textbooks selected for this study.

The data generated for this study originated from the four History textbooks mentioned above and will be secondary existing data. It must be mentioned at this point that only the learner's History textbook and not the teacher guides were examined as most schools do not buy the teacher guides. Furthermore, this study focuses on the dominant discourses on the Holocaust and how this manifests itself and the persons who will be most influenced by these discourses will be the learners. The sections on the Holocaust are included in the chapters *Human Rights Issues in Nazi Germany* and *Human Rights Issues during and after World War II* respectively. This is the first chapter in each of the four textbooks (with varying page numbers). The History textbooks that are being used for this research have already been written and therefore, I will have very little control over how the data is represented (Mouton, 2001).

### **3.3.3. Ethical Issues**

This research adhered to the University of KwaZulu-Natal's (UKZN) policy on ethical issues and uses History textbooks as its data which is pre-generated and therefore there is no need to involve people in this study and the data will be treated in accordance with the regulations of the University. Due to the fact that the data deals with text which is accessible in the public domain and has been written for public consumption, there should be no difficulty obtaining ethical clearance.

### **3.3.5. Issues of Validity or Trustworthiness**

The issue of validity or trustworthiness need to be questioned in qualitative research, as the in-depth meaning of something is measured rather than quantity Winter (2000) asserts that the term validity is not applicable to qualitative research and thus terms such as trustworthy, relevant and plausible have been used. For the purpose of this study, I will refer to trustworthiness (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).



### **3.3.6. Limitations**

The first limitation of this study is the data analysis instrument. Due to the complex nature of Narrative Inquiry, the instrument may seem inadequate to address every aspect of Narrative Inquiry. The intention of this study was to analyse the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in GET History textbooks and thus, the CDA theories of Fairclough and those of Narrative Inquiry were chosen as they best suited this notion. The second limitation is the sample size. The sample size may seem small and non-representational however, all the History textbooks available for Grade 9 are subject to the same vetting procedure in order for these books to be used in schools and therefore, the sample size should not be considered a limitation. The final limitation is the fact that this research cannot be generalised. Mouton (2001, p.168) argues, "Given that most discursive practices are context-dependent or context-bound, such studies are limited in their generalisability." Therefore, because this study is context based as it is studying a phenomenon in South African History textbooks, its findings will not be transferable to other contexts.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

Throughout this chapter, the research design and research methodology used in this study have been outlined and explained. A qualitative research approach was chosen for this study and together with this approach; phenomenological research was employed as the study of a phenomenon and was ever present in this study. This was underpinned by an interpretivist paradigm which was best suited to this research and a sample of four Grade 9 History Textbooks was selected and the data was generated from a particular chapter in each textbook which fell under the heading "How and Why did the Holocaust Happen?" The analysis was carried out using one instrument which was adapted from Chatman (1978) and the use of Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse was employed. Criticisms of the research approach and paradigm and the limitations of this study were duly recognised.

In the chapter that follows, the research findings are discussed and explored. These findings are intended to answer one of the research questions of this study; what are the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in Grade 9 prescribed GET History textbooks?

# Chapter 4

## Data Analysis

### 4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have clarified the research design and research methodology and explained how it was devised to provide answers to my research questions. I elucidated the important features related to the methodology and methods that I have employed in this study and rationalised the choices and decisions I have made. In this chapter, the research design and research methodology comes to life as the research instrument which was discussed and explained in chapter 3 was implemented to analyse the selected textbooks. Each of the textbooks has been dealt with individually and at the end of the chapter, these were compared and contrasted so as to ascertain what trends and patterns exist, if any. Furthermore, one of my key research questions (What are the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in Grade 9 prescribed GET History textbooks?) was addressed in this chapter.

The textbooks used in this study were all Grade 9 History textbooks and all contained a unit or topic<sup>1</sup> entitled "How and Why did the Holocaust Happen?" It must be made clear that the data analysed in this study was only from these units or topics from the selected textbooks. Within each of the selected textbooks, the approaches to how this narrative of the Holocaust was portrayed and told varied. Therefore, the aim of this chapter was to analyse the narratives of the Holocaust.

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<sup>1</sup>Each of the selected textbooks used a different term for their units, chapters, modules or topics. Within these units, chapters, modules or topics sub sections can be found therefore, in this thesis, terms such as unit or topic are used interchangeably. Within each individual textbook the term used within that specific textbook was the same term used in the analysis to avoid any confusion.

It must be also noted that the narrative schematic template of most of the textbooks (layout) was similar. The chapter, unit or topic dealing with Human Rights issues in Nazi Germany and the Holocaust was predominantly the first chapter, unit or topic to appear in the textbooks. This shows some form of unity among the textbooks in terms of quality control. However, in one of the textbooks - *Shuter and Shooters Today Grade 9 Learner's Book* - the chapter, unit or topic dealing with Human Rights in Nazi Germany and the Holocaust was marked as chapter 5 in this particular textbook indicating that the authors had a different intention and thus placed the chapter in a different position on the book.

Each selected textbook section was analysed using Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse (see Chapter 3, p.67). Each section was described in terms of what was contained in the unit or topic whether textual or visual. This was then interpreted and finally an explanation for what was found was offered.

The chapter has been laid out as follows: each textbook unit or topic has been analysed separately by means of the research instrument. After the analysis, a conclusion was drawn in terms of what narratives concerning the Holocaust were found. Once all the textbooks were analysed, they were compared as well as contrasted in an attempt to ascertain what the dominant discourses on the Holocaust were (emerging from the narrative of the Holocaust) in each of the textbooks but also collectively across the textbooks.

#### **4.2. An analysis of the Holocaust in *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* (Vivlia: Education for the Nation Publications)**

Module 1 of *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* (Angier, Carr, Cockburn, Holmes, and Wallace, 2006) deals with Human Rights issues during and after World War II but specifically in Nazi Germany. Within this module there are five sub sections called units. Each unit deals with a topic. Unit 1.5 deals with the topic that is applicable to this study; "How and Why did the Holocaust Happen". The unit runs from pages 10-13. Contained within the three page unit are eleven sources both visual as well as textual.

There is a short prelude which reminds users what was learnt in the previous unit (Unit 1.3. Who did the Nazis target to be excluded from German society) before it goes into the narrative of "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" Users are reminded that one of the aims of the Nazis was to rid Germany of the Jews and that life for the Jews became more unbearable and violent during 1935-1938. It is against this backdrop that the analysis was undertaken. The first step of analysis was conducted as per

Fairclough's first dimension of discourse namely description. This was presented in table format. Below is **Figure 4.1.**

**Figure 4.1.** - Data findings of *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* as per Fairclough's first dimension of analysis - description.

<b>Title</b>	"How and why did the Holocaust happen?"
<b>Existents:</b>	
➤ <b>Prominent Characters</b>	Jews/Jewish [12] Germans [3] Nazis [10]
➤ <b>Individual Historical Characters</b>	Hitler [1] Giza Landau [1] Rudolf Höss [1] Nazi officer [1] Eugen Kogon [1]
➤ <b>Setting</b>	<u>Concentration/concentration camps:</u> Auschwitz [4] [Source S is a detailed map of the different concentration and concentration camps in Europe]  <u>Countries:</u> Germany [6]  <u>Continent:</u> Eastern Europe [3]
<b>Concepts</b>	Architects of horrific genocide Nazi Barbarism Jewish problem Final Solution Factories of death <b>[Textbook 'key terms']</b> Genocide Holocaust
<b>Symbols</b>	None
<b>Events</b>	World War II Final Solution
<b>Medium of Information</b>	
➤ Visual	Visuals [6: 5 photographs, 1 map]
➤ Activity	Activity [1: Interpreting sources]
➤ Textual	Sources [5: 2 letters, 2 statements, 1 report]

The data depicted in the table above was according to Fairclough's first dimension of discourse. Therefore, the data was further described below. In addition to this, Fairclough's second dimension of discourse (interpretation) was incorporated.

The most prominent characters found in the story of the Holocaust were groups with a political affiliation; the Nazis or Germans (used interchangeably) and the Jews. The Nazis and the Jews are roughly equally represented in this unit (the Nazis' mentioned 10 times whilst the Jews were mentioned 12 times). The description of the characters in the narrative of the Holocaust was vague and generalised for example, "People were transported to the camps by train" (p.11). However, the idea of victimisation is evident in this unit as the word choices used indicates that the Jews were preyed upon and targeted by the Nazis for no apparent reason. Jewish life became "unpleasant and violent" (p.10) and they were targeted by the Nazis "only because they were Jewish" (p.10) thus, the Nazis are portrayed as the oppressors while the Jews are portrayed as the victims.

The blame for the Holocaust is not pinned on one specific German such as Hitler, but rather the blame is placed on all the Germans collectively and not on Nazism as an ideology: "As the German forces advanced, many thousands and hundreds of thousands of Jewish people were executed in mass killings only because they were Jewish" (p.10) thus a discourse of perpetrators emerges.

Two distinct parties emerge from the prominent characters - the oppressed and the oppressors. The Germans are seen jointly as the oppressors while the Jews are seen as the oppressed. Both the oppressors and the oppressed can be further seen as historical actors who are mostly faceless. By this I mean that they are written about in such a manner that it is vague and generalised and specific individuals are underplayed.

While there are prominent collective role players in the unit, there are also individual historical characters although they might have been major characters in why the Holocaust happened. Adolf Hitler, leader of the Nazi Party and later Chancellor of Germany is seen as an individual historical character. The individual historical characters or role players are Giza Landau (a Holocaust survivor), Rudolf Höss (camp commander of Auschwitz), a nameless Nazi officer (officer at Auschwitz), and Eugen Kogon. These

individuals are not mentioned in the 'main' narrative of the Holocaust but rather in the sources found in the unit. It must be noted that the only information given about these individuals are their names and what is mentioned in brackets. No other biographical detail is provided and their involvement in the greater story is not revealed. For instance, Kogon is quoted in a source and there is no caption linking him to the Holocaust. In actual fact he was a Holocaust survivor as well as a historian (Hawkins, 2008). Hitler is only mentioned once in passing as one of the sources is a letter written by him in 1922.

While the above mentioned individual historical characters have been mentioned by name, their mention seems inconsequential as they were not part of the 'big men' who made an impact on how the Holocaust unfolded. Furthermore, the characters are not placed into a historical context and there is no way to determine whether this would ever be placed into perspective in a classroom situation where the textbook is used.

The geographical setting for the Holocaust is prominently Eastern Europe (especially Poland). Other settings mentioned are Germany, Eastern Europe and Auschwitz (which is a death concentration camp in Poland). These places are merely mentioned in the narrative and at no point are they explained in terms of what occurred at the various sites during the Holocaust so as to place it in a geographical perspective. This indicates that the geographical setting was not viewed as important in this version of the narrative of the Holocaust as the focus of "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" in terms of the events thus superseding the idea of locality. It furthermore indicate that the importance is not where the story took place but who was a part of the story. It must be pointed out that one of the sources (Source S, p.13) is a detailed map of Eastern Europe of the different concentration camps used during Holocaust. The map, is however, merely cosmetic in nature as it refers to Auschwitz as well as the other settings but without any accompanying explanation.

Concepts - both first order as well as second order (see Chapter 3 p.69) - are usually used in narratives to highlight the intention of not only the authors of the textbook but also the other stake holders (the publishers, the market, the DoE / DBE and the NCS / CAPS) who have an impact on the type of message that is carried across to the user. These refer to the Nazis as being "architects of a horrific genocide" and "Nazi barbarism" (p.10). These are first order concepts which reinforce a discourse of victimisation as the narrative reveals that the Nazis needed a "final solution" (p.10) and "factories of death" (p.11) to rid Germany of the "Jewish problem" (p.10). Furthermore, the event of the Holocaust is depicted as a "scale of tragedy" (p.10) and "horror of the Holocaust" (p.11) indicating sentiments of pity for the Jews. In this unit, the narrative does not make it clear to the user - in terms of the Nazi argument - *why* the Jews were seen as a problem which needed to be eradicated.

This textbook unit clearly indicates that the word "genocide" is a concept that the users need to be familiar with and understand the meaning behind. The word is not only bolded but there is an extra text box (para text) with a further explanation of what genocide entails (p.10). The explanation given does not mention Jews so it can be deduced that it can be applied to other groups as well which is in itself contestable. The concept "Holocaust" is also bolded in the text (p.10) and thus it can be assumed that users would need to familiarise themselves with this concept. However, no further clarification is provided about the concept (the Holocaust).

The only events mentioned in this unit are World War II and the Final Solution. Both of these are merely mentioned in passing and are not elaborated upon or linked to the narrative in a coherent manner. Furthermore, these events have not been placed into historical context nor have they been arranged chronologically and consequently there is no real sense of time sequencing. There are a few dates mentioned, such as 1922; 1942; 1945; and 1950 but these are not used to clarify the time around the Holocaust. Therefore, users are merely learning about a narrative with no real timeline as they will not be able to state when events happened and what were the causes leading up to



these events. Moreover, this version of the Holocaust (How and Why the Holocaust Happened?) can be seen as a decontextualised narrative that has random events placed within as well as large historical knowledge gaps.

There are several mediums used to present information in this unit namely textual; visual; as well as activities; and sources. At this juncture, it is necessary to recap that medium of information in this study refers to the different ways the information or knowledge is presented in the textbooks. Therefore, I have coined the term 'medium of information'.

There are several sources in the unit, both visual and textual. As mentioned previously, it cannot be established whether these historical sources are primary, secondary or tertiary as the necessary reference information has not been provided. These sources are presented in the unit but do not form part of the textual medium. However, these sources form part of the activity on page 13.

There is only one activity at the very end of the unit. There are four questions in this activity on page 13 (see **Figure 4.2.**).

**Figure 4.2.** -Activity questions from *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* (p.13).

1. Look at the pictures in Sources M, O and Q. What emotions do you feel when you look at these pictures?
2. Look at Sources K, N and P. Why would a historian not consider these sources reliable? Think about who wrote them.
3. Why does the author of Source R use the word 'your/you' many times? What is he trying to do?
4. Using the sources above, write a diary entry of a Holocaust survivor which covers their transport to and arrival at the camp.

The questions in the activity are extremely emotive and rely heavily on developing empathy and a personal opinion rather than examining historical sources to develop other historical skills and competencies. Instead it is espousing a pedagogy of emotion and opinion forming. It must be said that while historical sources are used in this

activity, they are merely used as a point of departure for the question and not used to their full potential. All the questions are lower order in terms of Bloom's taxonomy of questioning (Criticos, Long, Moletsane & Mthiyane, 2002). Question 2 asks users to examine three sources which have all been written by Nazis. The question asks users to state why these sources would not be seen as reliable. Such a question is not only a subjective question but also a leading one. Just because a source or piece of evidence was written by the perpetrators (the Nazis / Germans) does not mean that the information presented cannot be reliable. Furthermore, reliability cannot be established as the source needs to be identified for example as either primary or secondary and this cannot be done as the information needed to determine such has not been provided nor have the sources been referenced. The narrative told has rather large gaps in terms of informing the user about "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" Only certain parts of the narrative have been highlighted and the rest backgrounded or not mentioned at all at this juncture of the narrative.

In terms of the assessment standards, the activity states that the following assessment standards will be used in this activity: Learning Outcome (LO) 1 Assessment Standard (AS) 2, 3, 4; LO2 AS 3; LO3 AS 2 and 4.

Several of these assessment standards cannot be answered in this activity and have thus been included unnecessarily. For instance, LO 3 AS 4 states users need to be able to "... explain ways in which symbols are used to remember events and people from the past" (DoE, 2008, p.79). However, within the unit and activity under the research lens there are no symbols of any kind and this can therefore not be achieved. Furthermore, this activity is inadequate if it is expected to enlighten the user about "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" Therefore, this activity is not developing historical literacy but mostly emotional positions.

The visual medium consists of images which are emotive and provocative as they are portraying victims. These images include piles of Holocaust victim shoes (p.10), the

incinerators (p.11), mass graves (p.11), and two severely emaciated Jews in a concentration camp (p.12). While such images are effective allowing users to grasp the severity of the event, they are not being used to their full potential. Most of the images are merely cosmetic and are space fillers on the pages as there is no correlation between the visual and textual. All the images have captions which state (to varying degrees) what can be seen in the images. The information provided is not enough for users to ascertain whether the images are for example primary or secondary sources. There is nevertheless, one exception to this; the photograph of the incinerators correlates to the text as the incinerators are mentioned once in passing. However, there is no direct reference in the main narrative to the image.

There are several discourses which have emerged in this unit. The most prominent of these is the discourse of victimisation. It is made clear that the Jews were targeted and exterminated by the Nazis and thus they are portrayed as victims. This notion of seeing the Jews as victims further lends itself to the notion that users are obligated - whether they are morally inclined or not - to learn about the suffering of the Jews. This moral obligatory discourse falls in line with a discourse of Human Rights which is endorsed by the NCS (2002, p.2) as well as the CAPS document (2010, p.3). The concept of Human Rights is also enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996).

A Human Rights discourse emerges as module 1 of *Our World, Our Society Grade 9, Learner's Book* deals exclusively with Human Rights issues. Therefore this unit would be used to teach for Human Rights and against discrimination of groups of people. Such a discourse of Human Rights is in line with the pedagogical discourse which emanates from this unit.

The pedagogical discourse refers to how the unit of the Holocaust was actually presented in the selected textbook. The title of this unit, "How and Why did the Holocaust Happen?" pre-empt the user to expect these two questions to be answered in the unit. However, neither the *how* nor the *why* is addressed. *How* and *why* are both adverbs – such words are used to attain as much information about the verbs as

possible. In other words, these two adverbs aim to establish the reason as to *why* the Holocaust occurred and the manner (*how*) in which it happened. If one analysis what the words, *how* and *why* mean, one will find that *how* refers to the manner in which something takes place; in this instance the manner in which the Holocaust occurred. *Why* refers to the cause or intention underlying an action or event; in this case, the cause of the Holocaust. Neither of these are addressed. Therefore, the intended aim of the unit as a discourse is not fulfilled, as the title and the actual narrative conveyed do not correlate. I would argue that this is not a how and why narrative and thus there is no critical inquiry involved but rather a “what happened” discourse. This “what happened” discourse merely refers what took place during the Holocaust - the basic narrative.

There is also a discourse of perpetrators that emerges as the Germans are blamed collectively for what happened to the Jews as opposed to placing the blame on a single individual (i.e. Hitler) or the Nazi party or ideology. Instead, a narrative of collective blame of the Germans emerges.

A pedagogical discourse of emotion also appears as there are very selected snippets of information used in a decontextualised manner to depict the plight of the victims with no real explanation of the causes or consequences.

The complexities of the Holocaust are lacking in this unit of *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* and the questions of *How and Why the Holocaust Happened?* were not answered. It must be mentioned that it may never be possible to include everything on the vast topic of the Holocaust. However, the most significant events according to the authors regarding the Holocaust were merely summarised in this unit and therefore there were severe silences. These include the collective silence of other minority groups who were also affected by the Holocaust. Enlightening users about these groups will aid in providing some perspective as to why the Jews were victimised. Such minority groups include the Roma, the Slavs, the Gypsies, and homosexuals to

name a few. It is important for users to understand that the Jews were not the only group who were victimised and targeted and that the Nazis viewed the above mentioned minority groups as undesirables as well as they did not fit the description of the perfect Aryan race.

#### **4.3. An analysis of the Holocaust in *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*. (Nasou via Afrika Publication)**

Module 1 of *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* (Barnard *et al.*, 2006) deals with Human Rights issues in Nazi Germany. Within this module, there are four units each with its own sub sections called topics. Each unit deals with a detailed topic. Unit 3 deals with the persecution of the Jews and topic 2 entitled "The Holocaust" deals specifically with the Holocaust. In contrast with the first book that was analysed, the units, topics and modules are slightly different. This is as a result of the different preferences of the publishers and the textbook authors. This persists throughout the selected four textbooks (refer to footnote, p.1). The topic runs from pages 19-21. Contained within these two and a half pages are three sources both visual and textual. It is against this backdrop that the analysis was undertaken. The first step of analysis was conducted as per Fairclough's first dimension of discourse namely description. This was presented in table format. Below is **Figure 4.3**.

**Figure 4.3.** - Data findings of *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* as per Fairclough's first dimension of analysis - description.

<b>Title</b>	"The Holocaust"
<b>Existents:</b>	
➤ <b>Prominent characters</b>	Jews/Jewish [7]
➤ <b>Individual Historical Characters</b>	Hitler [2] Nazis [2] German Jews [1] Henry Bulowk [1] Anne Frank [2]
➤ <b>Setting</b>	<u>Concentration/concentration camps:</u> Dachau [1] Bergen-Belsen [2] Buchenwald [2] Auschwitz-Birkenhau [8] Treblinka [3]  <u>Countries:</u> Germany [1] Poland [1] Europe [1] France [1] Russia [2] Holland [1] Czechoslovakia [1]  <u>Region/ City:</u> Cape Town [1]
<b>Concepts</b>	"Death head" units Holocaust Final Solution
<b>Symbols</b>	None
<b>Events</b>	First World War Second World War Final Solution Nuremberg Trials
<b>Medium of Information</b>	
➤ Visual	Visual [2: 2 illustrations]
➤ Activity	Activity [1: 1 source based]
➤ Textual	Sources [2: 2 statements]

The data depicted in the table above was Fairclough's first dimension of discourse. Therefore, the data was further described below. In addition to this, Fairclough's second dimension of discourse was incorporated (interpretation).

The most prominent characters or role players in this topic were the Jews. There are no full descriptions of the Jews in terms of who they are as a people and they are only mentioned in passing as the story unfolds (pp.19-20). The concentration camps are written about the most in this topic, pointing out the harsh conditions and suffering of the Jewish people indicating a discourse of victimisation. This discourse is reinforced by the narrative as the Jews were "rounded up" (p.19) to be transported to the concentration camps. Furthermore, the Jews are seen in this topic as a faceless collective and not as individuals.

Hitler is portrayed as an individual historical character as he is only mentioned once in this topic in the main narrative. This in itself is surprising as he was the 'mastermind' behind the discrimination against the Jews and ultimately their demise. Other individual historical character include the Nazis themselves and Anne Frank. While the Nazis are seen as a individual historical character in this topic, they are still viewed as the oppressors and blamed for the Holocaust as a whole and not as individuals. The notion of a collective blame is evident as no one person is blamed not even the prominent Nazi leader, Hitler.

The mentioning of Anne Frank does not appear in the main narrative of the Holocaust but rather as an afterthought. There is a picture of Anne Frank with a small caption noting that she was a Jewish teenager who hid from the Nazis in Holland and that she kept a diary. She is not referred to again in the unit nor is it revealed how her story relates to the main story of the Holocaust. However, the topic challenges users to read Anne Frank's diary in their own time to find out more about the Holocaust and her life. The topic does not provide any further clarification.

The geographical setting for the Holocaust in this textbook is Eastern Europe. The settings mentioned reflect not only the countries mentioned but the concentration camps as well. These include Dachau; Bergen-Belsen; Buchenwald; Auschwitz-Birkenau; and Treblinka. Countries such as Germany; Poland; France; Russia; Holland;

and Czechoslovakia. The places are merely mentioned in the narrative. However, the fact that so much of the limited narrative revolves around the geographical aspect of the concentration camps of the Holocaust, a geographical discourse emerges as the location is given more prominence than the actual events which occurred. There is an text box (para text) entitled "Pause for Thought" that advised users to visit the Holocaust Museum in Cape Town to better understand the experiences of Jewish people as well as the Holocaust as an event.

In this textbook, the topic has not placed particular emphasis on any concepts for the users to familiarise themselves with. The concepts used in this topic refers to the victimisation of the Jews as words such as "death head units" (p.20) are used indicating that such units were feared and that their purpose was to destroy whatever came across their paths. The emerging story therefore, is that of violence and determination on the part of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews for being undesirables. The concept "Holocaust" is not explained in depth. What is seen is a vague and generalised conceptualisation, "a Holocaust is a large scale destruction" (p.20) which is not topic specific to the actual Holocaust and thus it can be a much wider scope, having more than one meaning in different contexts.

The Second World War, Final Solution, and the Nuremberg Trials are the only events given any real prominence in this topic. These events are merely mentioned and are not explored further by placing them into a time frame nor have they been placed into historical context with regards to other events. The First World War is also mentioned in the topic but as an afterthought in the textbox (para text) entitled "Challenge" (p.21) which asks users to find out more about the persecution of the Jews in Russia before the First World War. There are a few dates mentioned, such as 1939; 1941; and 1945 but these are not used to elucidate the time lines surrounding the Holocaust or to put it into historical context. A disjointed narrative therefore consequently emerges.



In terms of the narrative in this book focuses mainly on the concentration camps is a short summarised account on the suffering of the Jews. Thus, there are many silences resulting in a watered down historical narrative of the Holocaust resulting in a discourse of exclusion.

Furthermore, the visual medium includes a sketch by a French prisoner of skeletal Jews in their bunk beds in the concentration camps (p.20) and an illustration of Anne Frank (p.21). Both images are merely cosmetic and space fillers. Each respectively have captions which inform the user of what the image is about. However, there is no information present to indicate whether the source is for example, primary; secondary; or tertiary. While the text contextualises the concentration camps and the sketch captures this visually, there is no correlation or reference in the text to the mentioned sketch.

There is only one activity at the end of the topic. The questions in the activity are source based and rely heavily on the sources in the topic (see **Figure 4.4.**). There is no room for interpretation and reflection. The questions from this activity can be classed in terms of Bloom's taxonomy as lower order questions. The questions require the users to establish whether a Nazi Secret Service (SS) officer feels remorse for his actions or not. Thus, there is no development of users' historical inquiry skills or historical literacy but it is rather heavily reliant on the more comprehensive sources and extracting information from these sources as well as a pedagogy of emotion. There are no assessment standards and outcomes in this unit and thus, it cannot be determined whether the outcomes of this activity have been met.

**Figure 4.4.** - Activity questions from *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* (p.21).

1. What happened to the witness in Source A and why?
2. What evidence is there in his story that Auschwitz was part of Hitler's Final Solution for Jews?
3. According to Source A, what were the three causes of death for the prisoners of Auschwitz?
4. Does the Auschwitz officer seem to regret his actions? Give evidence from the extract to support your answer.
5. What seems to be his main concern? Quote to support your answer.

There is, however, an individual assessment at the end of the topic which asks the users to score their historical knowledge of the topic out of a possible seven marks. These marks are for being able to explain the Nazi policy of the Final Solution, the conditions of the concentration camps, and the methods used and the number of Jews killed. While these elements form part of the event (the Holocaust) there will always be other elements which have been excluded due to amongst others space available and thus a discourse of historical exclusion emerges. For some concepts or events to be excluded from a textbook, others need to be included. This problem cannot only be blamed on the availability of space in the textbook but also what the preferences of the various stakeholders in textbook production thus a clear choice is made as to what is included in the textbook and what is excluded.

There are several sources in this unit, both visual and textual. For example, there is a sketch depicting the conditions in the concentration camps as well as a statement from an Auschwitz prisoner. These sources have been included in the unit with no correlation to the textual medium. A severely condensed account of the concentration camps that form part of the Holocaust but not much else has been written about regarding the Holocaust.

There are several discourses which have emerged in this textbook on the Holocaust. The first being a discourse of victimisation. The focus of the topic is on Jewish suffering, their transportation to the concentration camps and the conditions that they faced in the concentration camps as a collection of people and not as individuals with their own

stories or experiences. These historical events are interspersed and the characters are hardly explained and explored. The user gets a strong sense of why the Jews can be seen as victims (oppressed) and the wrongdoing of the Nazis (oppressors). Interwoven with the discourse of victimisation is the issue of killing which is somewhat voyeuristic as the Nazis are portrayed as "death head units of the feared SS for a more deadly purpose" (p.20). Furthermore, this notion is compounded by the fact that the topic focuses on the geographical context of the Holocaust more so than on the historical actors or the events. Moreover, the notion of a Nazi-less narrative emerges within the discourse of victimisation as the importance is placed on the sites of the Jews death and not on the perpetrators as well.

Linked with the discourse of victimisation is a distinct Human Rights and anti-discrimination discourse. This can be seen in the main narrative where it is stated that the Holocaust is seen as a crime against humanity (p.20). Furthermore, this discourse can be seen in the activity questions where the users are probed to think about whether or not the Nazi perpetrators feel any remorse or regret for their actions (see **Figure 4.4.**).

A pedagogical discourse also surfaces in this topic as snippets of historical knowledge are used in a decontextualised manner to depict the plight of the victims with no explanation of the significances or causes. The topic, does however, attempt to incorporate historical source work into the activity and the users are able to grapple with and interrogate the sources but in a very limited manner.

The title of the unit under which the topic of the Holocaust can be found in the book *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* is, "The persecution of the Jews". Thus, the pedagogical discourse of Topic 1 of this unit deals with the restrictions placed on the Jews while topic 2 of the unit is entitled "The Holocaust". There is however a very vague conceptualisation of what a Holocaust is as mentioned previously but it is not linked to the Jews or Jewishness but more general to suffering. However,

the main focus of this topic (unit) is the concentration camps as a manifestation of the Holocaust. While vague generalisations are made, for instance, "the plan was to kill all the Jews in Europe" (p.20) specifics concerning the Holocaust are underexplored.

In this topic in *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* the focus was not on the actual Holocaust but the conditions the Jews found themselves in the concentration camps. There were therefore, several historical silences. One of these silences relates to the 'other' individual historical characters who suffered at the time, for example the gypsies or the Roma. These historical characters or role players, who were also affected during the Holocaust, and have not been mentioned in the topic at all. Perhaps, it can be argued that these characters were intentionally ignored in a discourse of exclusion. Anne Frank, for instance, was mentioned in the topic however there was no further elaboration. If she was not seen as important she would have been excluded from this textbook entirely. Especially since her narrative places a face or a humanness to the narrative of the Holocaust.

#### **4.4. An analysis of the Holocaust in *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*. (Oxford University Press)**

Chapter 5 of *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* (Bottaro *et al*, 2006) deals with Human Rights issues during and after World War II. This chapter specifically deals with Nazi Germany. Within this chapter there are three sub topics called units. Each unit deals with a detailed topic. Unit 5.2 deals with the topic that is applicable to this study; "How and why did the Holocaust happen? *An analysis of prejudice*". The unit runs from pages 104-107. Within these four pages there are five sources both visual and textual. At the start, it is clearly stipulated what the users are intended to have learnt at the end of the unit. These include being able to determine how the Nazis constructed an Aryan race, how their racial identities were used to define and exclude Jews as well as examine how and why the Holocaust took place. There are three activities in this unit; all sourced based. The preceding unit 5.1 dealt with how the Nazis

rose to obtain power in Germany. It is against this backdrop that the analysis was undertaken. The first step of analysis was conducted as per Fairclough's first dimension of discourse namely description. This was presented in table format. Below is **Figure 4.5.**

**Figure 4.5.** - Data findings of *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* as per Fairclough's first dimension of analysis - description.

<b>Title</b>	"How and Why did the Holocaust Happen? <i>An analysis of prejudice</i> "
<b>Existents:</b>	
➤ <b>Prominent characters</b>	Jews / Jewish [31] Nazis [26] Germans [10]
➤ <b>Individual Historical Characters</b>	Hitler [1] Dr. Mengele [1] Roma [4] Homosexuals [3] Gypsies [1] Jehovah's Witnesses [2] Slavs [1]
➤ <b>Setting</b>	<u>Countries:</u> Germany [5]  <u>Regions:</u> Warsaw [2] Paris [1]
<b>Concepts</b>	Holocaust Prejudice Aryan Race Reich Nazi German Nationalism 'Master Race' <b>[Textbook 'key terms']</b> Anti-Semitism Synagogue Ghetto Genocide Death camp
<b>Symbols</b>	Star of David Swastika (image)
<b>Events</b>	Nuremberg Laws <i>Kristallnacht</i> World War II Final Solution
<b>Medium of Information</b>	
➤ Visual	Visual [5: 2 illustrations, 2 photographs, 1 map]
➤ Activity	Activity [3:3 source based]
➤ Textual	Sources [1: extract from a textbook]

The data depicted in the table above was Fairclough's first dimension of discourse. Therefore, the data was further described below. In addition to this, Fairclough's second dimension of discourse was incorporated (interpretation).

The most prominent characters or role players in this unit are the Jews, the Nazis and the Germans. The Jews feature more prominently in this unit than the Nazis as they are mentioned more. The Nazis however, feature more in this unit than the Germans (26:10 ratio) and the terms Nazi and German are used interchangeably in this unit but are seen to mean different things. It must be remembered that the Germans were a collective people or nationality while the Nazis were a political party of people who all believed in and subscribed to a certain ideology.

The Germans are referred to as the "Master Race" indicating that they are more superior than others (p.104) while the Nazis are portrayed as the "bad guys" in a sense as they were the ones to devise the race ideology which discriminated against the Jews and wanted to perfect the "Nazi ideal of a German" (p.104). The descriptions of the Jewish characters in the story of the Holocaust are generalised as the "Jews were inferior" (p.104). No further description of who they are as a people were made. The textbook notes that "certain types of people were celebrated and admired while other people were humiliated and blamed for the country's problems" (p.104). The inference is made that the "other people" refers to the Jews. The unit then focuses on their physical attributes and their character traits - source B (p.105) depicts the 'ideal' man who is naturally German while a Jewish man is portrayed as inferior. In this vein, the Nazis are portrayed as the oppressors whilst the Jews are portrayed as the victims. The descriptions of the Germans are not generalized but specific; this is the case for both their physical attributes and character traits (p.104-105). The wrong doing is shifted from blaming just one Nazi like Hitler and places blame on them all equally. Thus, the blame is placed on Nazism instead of collectively on all the Germans.

Other individual historical characters such as Hitler, Mengele and various minority groups are merely mentioned once or twice in the unit and can thus be classified as individual historical character or role players. It must be mentioned that Hitler as a character was only mentioned in a source A (p.104) and not in the main narrative of the Holocaust. This could indicate that the intended blame of the Holocaust was on all Nazis and not simply on Hitler and thus a discourse of perpetrators emerges. Another prominent man in the plan to exterminate the Jews was Dr. Joseph Mengele - a German SS officer and a physician in the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz. However, he is also only mentioned once in the text. Mengele is mentioned in a text box (para text) in the unit (p.107) and does not form part of the main narrative of the Holocaust in this unit.

There were also other individual historical characters foregrounded in the unit, namely; the Roma, the Slavs, homosexuals, gypsies and Jehovah's witnesses. The Nazis viewed the above mentioned minority groups as undesirable as the Jews. However, despite this no real emphasis was placed on their suffering or victimisation in this unit.

The geographical settings mentioned in this unit are Germany, Warsaw and Paris. These places are merely mentioned in the narrative and are at no point explained or geographically related to the historical context of the Holocaust. The events supersede the location and this could further indicate that the 'where' of the narrative is not of importance but rather the role players or characters and 'how' the narrative plays out. However, this indicates that the geographical setting was not part of the intended version of the Holocaust. Source E (p.107) is a detailed map of Eastern Europe illustrating where the Nazis took over during the 1930s and World War II. It also shows the different concentration camps used during Holocaust. However, there is much information that can be gleaned from this map but it is not explained further in the main story (the text) but left for users to come to their own conclusions and deductions. Moreover, the concentration camps are not explained or analysed in the main text and are therefore silenced.

The concepts used in this unit, refers mainly to Nazism. These include "Aryan Race"; "Reich"; "Nationalism"; and "Master Race". Such concepts indicate the dominance of the Nazis over the Jews and others in this book. Concepts such as "genocide"; "anti-Semitism"; "synagogue"; "ghetto"; and "concentration camps" are regarded as important for users to become familiar with and understand the meaning behind. These concepts are not only bolded but placed in a text box (para text) with further explanation of what each concept entails (p.106). However, no additional information is provided about these concepts and how they should be applied nor are they placed into historical context within the bigger narrative of the Holocaust and why they are of such importance. The concepts used to tell the narrative are that of the Jews being viewed as racially inferior to the superior 'Master Race' Germans. The Nazis used "German Nationalism" to unite the German people and promote prejudice using anti-Semitic policies. Moreover, the "key terms" (concepts) noted by the textbook as important portray a narrative of victimisation as "concentration camps" were used to eradicate the Jews along with the destruction of their synagogues and poor living conditions in the ghettos. A distinct sense of Jewish suffering at the hands of the Nazis is evident.

Symbols are usually well known signs that can be easily recognised and have a particular connotation. Two distinct symbols emerge from this unit; the Star of David, associated with Jews and the swastika, associated with the Nazis. Both symbols appear in para text and are not referred to in the main narrative. The Star of David is not shown as a visual symbol but rather mentioned in a text box (p.105) which is entitled "Did you know?" It is noted that all Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David so that they could be identified by the Nazis. The swastika is depicted as a visual symbol in source A (p.104). These two symbols represent polar opposites - one the oppressed and the other the oppressor. The swastika worn with pride by the Nazis while the Star of David - a sacred symbol for the Jews - was used to identify them as unwanted.

The major historical events foregrounded in this unit are World War II, the Final Solution, *Kristallnacht*, and the Nuremberg Laws. These events are merely mentioned in



passing and are not elaborated upon. Moreover, these events have not been placed into historical context nor have they been related chronologically to the narrative of the Holocaust. Consequently, there is no real sense of time sequencing. That is the case despite a few dates such as 1930s; 1939; 1941; and 1945 being mentioned. These are not used to identify the events surrounding the Holocaust.

The narrative (text) of the Holocaust in this unit is a summarised account as it only deals with the theory of the Nazi Master Race (p.104); the Final Solution (p.106); and the concentration camps (p.106). Therefore, a discourse of exclusion emerges as only certain events are highlighted while others are deliberately excluded.

The visual aspect of this unit includes images of the perfect Aryan Youth (p.104), how to identify a Jew (p.105); sleeping conditions in the concentration camps (p.106); and a map (p.107). While such images are effective allowing users to grasp the severity of the event as well as the ideology of the Nazis, they are not being used to their full potential. Most of the images are merely cosmetic and space fillers as there is no correlation between the visual and the text. Many of these images are used in the activities but are not explored further in the narrative of the Holocaust.

There are three sourced based activities in the unit. Activity 5 deals with the Aryan identity and refers users to unit 5.1 (p.103) to refer to source F (p.103). The questions found in this activity range from middle to higher order questions according to Bloom's taxonomy. The answers for the questions can be extracted from the text and the users are obtaining a skill by working with sources. Activity 6, for example deals with the Nazi racial identities that were used to define and exclude people. The activity refers to the sources however; the questions are from the lower order of Bloom's taxonomy and while the activity allows for the users to extract information from the narrative and the sources, it relies largely on personal opinion. Activity 7 attempts to answer the leading questions of 'how' and 'why' the Holocaust happened. The activity relies on middle and higher order questioning (see **Figure 4.6.**): "Study source E. Is this source useful for

recognising the horrors of the Holocaust” (p.107) There are often no correlations between the narrative and the sources to explain the Holocaust as no references are made to the sources in the text. Many of the questions from all three activities rely on the users’ opinion and speculation thus an opinion forming pedagogical discourse emerges.

**Figure 4.6.** - Activity 7’s questions from *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner’s Book*(p.107)

1. Suggest why racial discrimination led to the Holocaust.
2. Study source E. Is this source useful for recognising the horrors of the Holocaust. Explain your answer.
3. The treatment of the Jews by the Nazis went through different stages, each one harsher than the last. It progressed from discrimination to persecution and finally to genocide. Use the information in this unit to fill examples of each of these in a table like the one below.

There are several sources in the unit, both visual and textual. These sources are generally cosmetic and do not form part of the narrative of the Holocaust but rather relate exclusively the activities (pp.104; 105; and 107). Primary, secondary or tertiary sources cannot be established as the sources are not fully referenced thus the validity and reliability if the sources cannot be contested nor established. There are several space fillers in the unit in the form of “Did you know?” as well as “Topics for discussion” boxes. This information is not fully explored in the main narrative. However, it can be seen as useful additional historical information.

There are several discourses which emerge in this unit. The most prominent of these is a discourse of victimisation. This is evident in the way in which the treatment of the Jews are portrayed in terms of prejudice. While the victimisation is evident, it would be more apt, in this unit, to look at the discourse of victimisation as a discourse of prejudice as the title of this unit alludes to the “analysis of prejudice”. The prejudice in the unit espouses from the race theory written about in the textbook as well as the harshness of the concentration camps illustrating the determination of the Nazis to eradicate the Jews. Linked to the notion of victimisation and prejudice is a Human

Rights discourse as ideas such as blame, inferiority, and fear are linked to prejudice and victimisation. These concepts can all be related to the notion of Human Rights and anti-discrimination.

A discourse of perpetrators is apparent in this textbook as a single perpetrator for the Holocaust is not clearly identified. The blame is not placed collectively on the German people or one individual such as Hitler but rather the blame is placed on the Nazi party and its ideology.

The title of this unit, "How and why did the Holocaust happen? *An analysis of prejudice*" pre-empt the user to expect these two questions to be answered in the unit. The *why* question is not directly answered in the unit, however, the *how* question is answered in terms of "How did prejudice lead to the Holocaust" (Bottaro *et al*, 2006, p.106). In terms of a pedagogical discourse, the intended aim of the unit is not completely fulfilled as the title and the actual story conveyed do not correlate in terms of the unanswered *why* question. The intention of the authors – which can be gleaned from the title – was to teach the Holocaust from a prejudice point of view; highlighting that there was prejudice against the Jews by the Nazis. Therefore, this unit is intended to be taught from a Human Rights perspective and against discrimination as noted in the NCS (p.70). Furthermore, the pedagogical discourse extends to the activities as well (as mentioned previously) as distinct opinion forming questions were asked in the tasks.

Overall in the *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* there is a discourse of victimisation (prejudice) which indicates that this unit would be used to teach for Human Rights and against discrimination of groups of people.

#### 4.5. An analysis of the Holocaust in *Shuters Social Science Grade 9 Learner Book*. (Shuter and Shooter Publication)

The fourth textbook to be analysed is *Shuters Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*, (Burton, *et al*, 2006) which deals with Human Rights issues during and after World War II but specifically in Nazi Germany. Unit 1 of this textbook was the focus for this study. Within this unit there are sub topics. These topics are not numbered but are merely bolded to indicate to users that a new topic will be started. The topic applicable to this study is merely entitled, "The Holocaust" and it runs from pages 14-17. Within these four pages are eight sources both visual and textual. The preceding topics dealt with in this textbook were the Aryan race, discrimination against the Jews and Hitler's Youth. It is against this backdrop that the analysis was undertaken. The first step of analysis was conducted as per Fairclough's first dimension of discourse namely description. This was presented in table format. Below is **Figure 4.7**.

**Figure 4.7.** - Data findings of *Shuter and Shooters Today Grade 9 Learner's Book* as per Fairclough's first dimension of analysis - description.

<b>Title</b>	"The Holocaust"
<b>Exists:</b>	
➤ <b>Prominent Characters</b>	Jews / Jewish [28] Nazis [12] Hitler [6]
➤ <b>Individual Historical Characters</b>	Germans [2] Homosexuals [2] Gypsies [2] Jehovah's Witnesses [1] Poles [2] Ukrainians [1] Russians [1] Soviet citizens [1] European citizens [1] S.S. officer [2] Tina Strobos [1] Ilse Kock [1] S.S. Col Karl Otto Koch [1] Eugene B. Borowitz [1]
➤ <b>Setting</b>	<u>Continent:</u> Europe [5]  <u>Countries:</u> Germany [7]

	Austria [2] Netherlands [1] Soviet Union [1] Belgium [1] France[1] Greece [1] Estonia [1] Yugoslavia [1]  <u>Region:</u> Miami Beach [1]  <u>Concentration camps:</u> Treblinka II [2] Mauthausen Concentration Camp [1] Buchenwald Concentration Camp [2] Auschwitz Concentration Camp [2]
<b>Concepts</b>	S.S. Raids Final Solution <b>Textbook 'key' terms</b> Holocaust Theatres Exhume Emaciation SS Exterminate
<b>Symbols</b>	Swastika (image)
<b>Events</b>	World War II Nuremberg Laws Final Solution
<b>Medium of Information</b> ➤ Visual ➤ Activity ➤ Textual	Visual [5: 3 photographs, 1 cartoon, 1 map] Activity [1: source based] Sources [5: 4 internet extracts, 1 book extract]

The data depicted in the table above was Fairclough's first dimension of discourse. Therefore, the data was further described below. In addition to this, Fairclough's second dimension of discourse was incorporated (interpretation).

The most prominent role players or historical characters were the Jews, the Nazis, and Hitler. It must be noted that the Jews were more prominently featured than the Nazis or Hitler (28:12:6 ratio). The Nazis are portrayed as the persecutors (oppressors) while the Jews are portrayed as the victims (oppressed). For instance, it is argued that "The German authorities decided that to discriminate against the Jews was not enough. They believed that they had to remove all Jews from Europe" (p.14). The discourse of

victimisation is evident as the concepts used indicate that the Jews were targeted by the Germans meaning Nazis. The sources in the textbooks illustrate the plight of the Jews (pp.14-16) as well as the resolve of the German Nazis to remove them from society. The extract states the German authorities decided the fate of the Jews not the Nazis.

Hitler is featured prominently in this topic. However, not in the main narrative but rather in one of the activities as there are several questions posed about him. Users cannot be expected to answer questions about Hitler if he is not featured in the main narrative of the Holocaust. Furthermore, as he is not mentioned in the main narrative, he cannot be blamed for the Holocaust and thus the blame avertedly falls on either the Germans or the Nazis or both collectively.

There are individual historical characters within the topic, "The Holocaust" in the book, *Shuter and Shooters Today Grade 9 Learner's Book*. These include Tina Strobos (who helped Jewish people in Netherlands); S.S. Col Karl Otto Koch (head of the concentration camp, Buchenwald); and Ilse Kock (wife of S.S. Col Karl Otto Koch). These individuals are not mentioned in the 'main' narrative of the Holocaust but rather in the sources found in the topic. The only information given about these individuals are their names and the above mentioned. No other biographical information is provided and their involvement in the greater narrative of the Holocaust is not revealed.

For instance, Eugene B. Borowitz, a Jewish philosopher, is quoted in source G (p.16) in a decontextualised manner. There is no caption linking him to the Holocaust. The information provided is not placed into a historical context and there is no way to determine whether this would ever be placed into perspective in a classroom situation where the textbook is used. Moreover, a distinct discourse of exclusion emerges.

Other historical groups, including the Roma; Homosexuals; Gypsies; Jehovah's Witnesses; Poles; Ukrainians; Non-Jewish Poles; Russians; Soviet citizens; and

European citizens who were also affected by the Holocaust. However the discourse of exclusion is also identified in this text again as these groups are merely mentioned and no explanation or analysis is offered as to what their suffering entailed.

The geographical settings mentioned in this topic are Europe; Germany; Austria; Netherlands; Soviet Union; Belgium; France; Greece; Estonia; Yugoslavia; Miami Beach; Treblinka II Concentration Camp; Mauthausen Concentration Camp; Buchenwald Concentration Camp; and Auschwitz Concentration Camp. These setting not only reflect continents, counties and regions but also concentration camps. These places are merely stated in the sources and not the main narrative of the Holocaust. They are at no point explained or geographically related to historical context. This indicates that the geographical setting was not of importance in this narrative of the Holocaust as the events supersede the historical location. It could furthermore, indicate that the importance is not where the narrative took place but rather who was involved in the narrative. Source H (p.16) for example is a map of Eastern Europe of the different concentration and concentration camps used during Holocaust. It must be noted that the caption of the map reads "Nazi concentration camps in Germany" however; the map is not of Germany but of Eastern Europe.

An image of an Auschwitz concentration camp memorial is found at the end of the topic (p.17). This memorial can be found on Miami Beach, USA. This information is merely cosmetic and is completely decontextualised from the rest of the topic's narrative.

The concepts used in this topic include the Holocaust, the Final Solution, and the S.S. Raids. The concepts the "Holocaust" and the "Final Solution" are italicised in the narrative but at no point is the concept of the Final Solution explained (p.14). The concept of the Holocaust is vaguely unpacked as "a large scale destruction of life, especially by fire" (p.14). This in itself does not express or explain the complexities of what the Holocaust was really about nor does it imply or relate to the Jews. The emerging narrative gleaned from these concepts are that the Jews were being

terrorised by the Nazis. While it is true that the Jews were victims of genocide, the chronological events that leads up to the implementation of the Final Solution are not discussed nor mentioned. These events are in essence silenced and left out intentionally thus a discourse of exclusion emerges once again. The textbook topic clearly indicates that the words "theatres (p.14); "exhume"; "emaciation"; SS (p.15); and exterminating (p.17)" are concepts that users need to be familiar with. These concepts are asterisked in the text and a short, vague explanation is offered in a decontextualised manner for example, emaciation is seen to mean "extremely thin, physically wasted away" (p.15).

There is one symbol found in this topic - the swastika, the symbol of the Nazis. It appears twice in different sources in both a visual and a textual form. This could allude to the power the Nazis had over the Jews seeing as their symbol was known as a sign of terror and fear. The symbol is not further referred to in the narrative.

The major events mentioned in this topic are Second World War, the Nuremburg Laws, and the Final Solution. These are at no point elaborated upon and have not been placed into historical context nor have they been pointed out chronologically and there is no real sense of time sequencing. There are a few dates mentioned, such as 1933; 1937; 1939; 1941; 1980; and 1985 but these are not put into context in explaining "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" leading to a narrative which has a watered down historical discourse.

The actual narrative of the Holocaust in this topic is roughly half a page of text whilst the rest of the topic is sources (p.14). There is a large text box (para text) entitled, "Did you know?" (p.14) with additional information regarding other groups that were targeted by the Nazis. However, this text is not directly related to the main narrative on the Holocaust.

The images of the dismantling of the Mauthausen Concentration camp (p.14), a cartoon of S.S. officers cleaning up a mess left from removing any items of value from the Jews



(p.15); sleeping conditions in a concentration camp (p.16); an Auschwitz concentration camp memorial (p.17); and a map of Eastern Europe (p.16) are the visual elements in this topic. The images regarding the dismantling of the Mauthausen Concentration camp as well as the Auschwitz memorial are merely cosmetic and space fillers as there is no correlation between the visual and the narrative.

There is only one activity at the very end of the topic (p.17). The questions in this activity (see **Figure 4.8.**) range from lower to high order questions in terms of Bloom's taxonomy. Some of the questions in the activity are emotive and rely heavily on personal opinion and to a lesser degree on the historical sources provided. One of the questions (question c.i. Refer to **Figure 4.8.**) requires learners to 'make up' a source that is biased in favour of Hitler. Such a question does not develop critical thinking skills but rather personal attitudes driven by a pedagogy of emotion. The activity expects users to do their own research on aspects which have not been covered at all in the topic. Thus a pedagogical discourse of opinion forming and research emerges.

**Figure 4.8.** - Activity questions from *Shuters Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* (p.17).

a.	What were Hitler's reasons for exterminating the Jews?
b.i.	Using Source H, draw a bar graph that shows the approximate number of Jewish people killed by the Nazis in:
	Belgium                      France                      Germany                      the Netherlands
	Austria                      Yugoslavia                      Greece                      Estonia
b.ii.	Calculate the total estimated deaths in these countries
c.	Sources A-G are all biased against Hitler, yet he had many loyal followers.
c.i.	Do some research and find (or make up) a source that is biased in favour of Hitler
c.ii.	Why, in your opinion, was Hitler so successful in exterminating the Jews all over Europe?
d.	Explain the message of the cartoon (source E)
e.	Do you think it is important for everyone to know about <i>the</i> Holocaust, or is it a chapter of History that we should all try to forget? Explain

The activity uses the sources to attempt to broaden the skills of the users in terms of how to interrogate sources.

There are several sources in the topic, both visual and textual. These sources are merely added into the topic and are cosmetic. They do not form part of the narrative of the Holocaust but rather part of the activity only. The sources contribute to the discourse of victimisation as the accounts are of Jewish suffering and conditions in the concentration camps. It cannot be established whether the sources are primary, secondary or tertiary as they are not properly referenced. Most of the sources have a website address as a reference therefore; the validity and reliability of the sources cannot be established.

There are several discourses which emerge in this unit. The most prominent of these is a discourse of victimisation. This is evident in the way in which the Jews were treated and the kind of sources the textbooks has used to illustrate to users the plight of the Jews, illustrating the determination of the Nazis to eradicate the Jews as well as through the sources both visual and textual as the suffering is seen in extracts from survivors and witnesses.

A Human Rights discourse emerges as the "German authorities decided that to discriminate against the Jews was not enough" (p.14). Moreover, not only the plight of the Jews is highlighted but also the violation of Human Rights. Furthermore, this topic is used to teach against Human Rights violations as the suffering of the Jews as a result of the Holocaust is highlighted.

An exclusion discourse can be noted as there are several historical knowledge gaps in the narrative, and thus only a partial narrative on the Holocaust is presented. It must be reiterated that a discourse of exclusion cannot solely be blamed on space availability but that deliberate choices are made by textbook stakeholders as to what is included and excluded regarding narratives in textbooks.

The title of this topic, "The Holocaust" alludes to the fact that the following topic will be about the Holocaust. The user can expect to find out more about the Holocaust in its

totality. However, the majority of the topic consists of sources and there is roughly half a page of actual text. This text is a severely summarised version of events with large historical knowledge gaps. While the pedagogical discourse deals with the way the topic is presented in the textbook as mentioned above, it also deals with the opinion forming questioning found in the activity.

In this topic of *Shuters Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* it mostly comprises of sources which do not correlate with the main textual narrative of the Holocaust. The topic as unpacked which focuses mainly on the discourses of victimisation and Human Rights violation.

#### **4.6. Comparing and Contrasting the Textbooks**

Thus far, in this chapter, the selected Grade 9 GET History textbooks have been explored and analysed individually as per Fairclough's first two dimensions of discourse (description and interpretation) in order to provide an in-depth breakdown of the content of every textbook unit or topic. While this analysis was being done, several similarities as well as differences were found when looking at the textbook units and topics collectively. Therefore, in order to create a holistic picture of what can be found in these textbooks in terms of the discourses espoused from the narrative, the following conclusions regarding the data analysis has been drawn below.

##### **4.6.1. Title of the Textbook Units or Topics**

A title is the name given to a person or book. In this case the title refers to the name of the different sections analysed in the four selected Grade 9 GET textbooks. Of the four, two textbooks entitled their section, "The Holocaust" while the other two entitled their sections, "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" This signifies that the title can be divided into two categories; a specific title and a broad title.

The broad title, "The Holocaust" alludes to the fact that the following topic will be about the Holocaust in general and all it entails. The user can expect to find out more about the Holocaust; the causes and consequences and is left to understand that what has been learnt about the Holocaust is generally all there is to the topic. It can be seen as a funnel effect whereby all the most important knowledge of the Holocaust is funnelled into one particular narrative. However, this broad title can also be seen as specific as the broad topic of the Holocaust is signalled to mean one particular thing in a particular conceptual context. Thus, when learners learn about the Holocaust from this broad topic, they will remember and recall, the specifics of what was written about the Holocaust and how and why it happened.

On the other hand, the specific title, "How and Why did the Holocaust Happen?" pre-empted the user to expect these two questions to be answered in the unit (as mentioned previously in the chapter). One of the textbook unit titles also had the following "An analysis of prejudice" added to it. This alludes that the focus of the unit would be prejudice involving "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" and to teach the Holocaust from a particular point of view or a particular narrative highlighting that there was prejudice against the Jews by the Nazis. Therefore, a more specific title signals that there is a more specific focus in the narrative and is linked to what is actually found in the textbook regarding the Holocaust.

Furthermore, the fact that there are two categories of titles in these four selected textbooks signals that there is conceptual confusion as to what narrative to include on the Holocaust. Thus, it can be argued that all the textbooks analysed agree on the content but the topic of the Holocaust signals something different as it is portrayed differently in each text, which can be gleaned from the title. Each textbook unit or topic's title indicates the purpose behind it. Therefore, the discourses found within each unit or topic will differ as the Holocaust means different things in different contexts.

#### 4.6.2. Existents

##### **(Prominent Characters, Less Prominent Characters and Settings)**

Existents form part of a narrative as the people who are either undergoing or performing certain actions in a particular geographical space (setting). These are very important to a narrative as without the existents, there would be no narrative in terms of answering the questions 'who' was involved and 'where' did it take place.

The existents can be categorised into two categories; people and space. The people refers to the historical characters who were involved during the event and this category can be further categorised into prominent characters and less prominent individual historical characters. As briefly explained in Chapter 3 (pp. 68-69) the prominent characters are those who feature predominantly in the unit or topic. Prominence was determined by the number of times a specific character was mentioned. The most prominent characters across all four selected textbooks was the Jews / Jewish people. This signals a Judeo-centred narrative. In three of the four textbooks, the German Nazis were also prominently featured but were not as foregrounded as the Jews. Therefore, different characters will be fore-grounded and others back-grounded. However, in this instance, the characters which are fore-grounded are not individuals but rather groups, for example, the Nazis who remain faceless throughout the narrative. In one instance, in *Learning Station Social Science Grade 9 Learner's Book*, the Jews were solely featured as the prominent character creating an acute awareness of the Jewish experience. No individual characters emerge as prominent not even Adolf Hitler and thus the prominent characters remain faceless.

In terms of the less prominent individual historical character - who were mentioned once or twice - which featured in all four selected textbooks, an idea of "other" (non-significant) people emerged. In three of the four textbooks, Hitler was a featured less prominent individual historical character while in the fourth textbook he was mentioned as a prominent character. In the three textbooks (*Learning Station Social Science*,

2006; *In Search of Social Sciences* 2005; and *Our World, Our Society*, 2006) which feature Hitler as a less prominent individual historical character, he is hardly mentioned. This is then a Hitler-less narrative of the Holocaust that writes exclusively of the Jews and hence their suffering linking with the discourse of victimisation indicating that the textbooks differ in how they choose to portray the narrative on the Holocaust.

Similarly, in *Learning Station Social Science* (Barnard *et al*, 2006) Anne Frank is portrayed as an individual historical character. In this unit, she is not even mentioned in the main text of the unit but as an afterthought as an optional extension exercise. Therefore, the individual characters appear and are no longer faceless.

The finding regarding existents whether prominent or less prominent individual historical characters relates back to the narrative of the Holocaust that is being told in each textbook. The literature advocates that historical figures (characters) can be made out to be heroes or villains with the historical truth and in the process can distort the true events. In this instance, there are no apparent heroes in the narrative of the Holocaust but there are however, villains. Villains in the form of the Nazis and the Germans.

Space was the second category of the existents. As explained in Chapter 3 (p.69) setting refers to the geographical place where events took place. For three of the four selected textbooks the setting was of no real importance as the events superseded the locality. However, in *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* a geographical discourse emerged as the setting which was noted as important in terms of the location of the concentration camps. Thus, this signifies that the actual location of the camps superseded the events and was deemed more significant to the narrative than the events themselves.

#### 4.6.3. Concepts

Concepts refers to any term that have been emphasised in a text. It must be pointed out that concepts are divided into two categories; first order concepts and second order concepts. As briefly explained in Chapter 3 (p.69) first order concepts enables learners to understand historical trends and patterns as well as specific events. There are several first order concepts in the selected textbooks. The most prominent of these concepts was the 'Holocaust' which was mentioned in all four of the textbooks. Furthermore, three of the four textbooks included key concepts which learners needed to know. In *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* these concepts included 'genocide'; and 'Holocaust'. In *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* concepts such as 'anti-Semitism'; 'synagogue'; 'ghetto'; 'genocide'; and 'death camp' was incorporated. In *Shuter and Shooters Today Grade 9 Learner's Book* concepts such as 'Holocaust'; 'theatres'; 'exhume'; 'emaciation'; 'SS'; and 'exterminate' were featured. In each of these textbooks a signalling of victimisation emerges as gleaned from the above listed concepts. A platform of suffering is created as the 'Final Solution' is mentioned in three of the four while the concept 'Genocide' is appears in two of the four selected textbooks.

Other first order concepts which featured in more than one of the textbooks include 'Prejudice'; 'Anti-Semitism'; and 'Concentration camps.' Pingel (2006) notes that words such as 'Final Solution'; 'Destruction'; 'Extermination'; and 'Kristallnacht' are used to down play the severity of the Holocaust. Within the four selected textbooks, there is no agreement in terms of what concepts should be featured across the board, yet there are a few similarities but to what extent has these concepts been explained in each text?

The second category of concepts is second order concepts. As briefly explained in Chapter 3 (p.69) such concepts enable learners to understand how historians work, what they are interested in and how historical knowledge and understanding is

constructed. Such concepts not only contextualise but support and provide evidence for whatever claims are made, be it in a lesson or in a textbook. Key second order concepts include historical significance, epistemology and evidence, continuity and change, progress and decline, empathy and moral judgement, and historical agency (Seixas, 1996). The second order concepts which are evident in the selected textbooks are historical significance; empathy; moral judgement and historical agency.

In all four of the selected textbooks, the concept of historical significance can be seen as each of the concepts which appear in the textbooks are there for a specific purpose as the textbook producers have deemed them significant in some way which contributes to the narrative of the Holocaust.

In *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* second order concepts such as moral judgement is foregrounded as 'architects of horrific genocide' and 'Nazi barbarism' are used employing a particular narrative for learners to learn regarding the Holocaust. Similarly, in the textbook, *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book* the concept 'dead head units' is used to describe the Nazis. This signifies that the Nazis were only interested in death and killing which could lead to a moral judgement and empathy on the part of the Jews.

Historical agency can be seen in *In Search of Social Sciences grade 9 Learner's Book* as concepts such as 'prejudice'; 'Aryan race'; 'Master Race'; and 'Anti-Semitism' are used. Historical agency is usually used between groups to promote one's agenda instead of the other. In this instance, the agenda of the German Nazis was to spread the ideology of the 'Master Race' and thus 'Anti-Semitism'.

It can be agreed that each of the textbooks contain both first and second order concepts and that each of these respectively contribute towards a particular narrative of the Holocaust signalled by textbook producers.



#### 4.6.4. Symbols

Symbols, as explained in Chapter 3 (p.69) are pictorial expressions of an idea, notion or concept which cannot be expressed equally in writing. Symbols are important as they raise consciousness of a particular party, group or idea. Moreover, symbols are strong attachments to a particular notion or ideology. For instance, the UKZN emblem is associated with the university and can easily be recognised. All that the university stands for, its ethos and reputation is attached to the emblem. Therefore many symbols represent groups, beliefs or ideas.

Symbolism is required in a narrative to give insight into a particular topic, in this case the Holocaust. While most learners may not necessarily know all the details of the Holocaust, the generalisation can be made that they may be aware of prominent symbols related to the event. The most common symbols are the swastika and the Star of David.

It is these two symbols which feature in the selected textbooks which were analysed. Only two of the four textbooks analysed referred to symbols. In *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*, the Star of David and the swastika was referred to. The former referred to in-text only while the latter was referred to as a illustration (visual). Similarly, in *Shuter and Shooters Today Grade 9 Learner's Book* only the swastika was referred to as a visual. The complexities behind the symbols were not explored nor explained. The swastika and Star of David represent two opposing sides; the Nazis and the Jews. Thus, the symbols signifies that the narrative of the Holocaust found in the textbooks were between two sides; the Nazis and the Jews.

#### 4.6.5. Events

An event refers to an actual happening or a thing which took place at a given time. A historical event, however, refers to a specific time and place in History where a specific happening occurred as briefly mentioned in Chapter 3 (p.69).

In order for a historical event to feature in a textbook, it needs to be deemed historically significant. An event can only be considered historically significant if it adequately meets a particular set of criteria. These criteria as set out by Partington (1980) indicated whether or not an event would be deemed historically significant or not. These include the importance of the event; the profundity of the event; how many lives have been affected by the event?; the durability of the event; and the extent to which the event has contributed to an increased understanding of present day life.

Bearing the above in mind, a few events were found in the selected textbooks. The most prominent of these was the 'Final Solution' and the 'Second World War.' These events featured in each of the four textbooks analysed, signalling their historical significance as the textbook producers chose to include these events in their narrative on the Holocaust. Therefore, these events were agreed upon and reiterated in each textbook and thus prominence given as part of the chosen narrative on the Holocaust. The 'Nuremburg Laws' featured in three of the four textbooks while '*Kristallnacht*' and 'First World War' were only mentioned in one textbook and only once. No other events were mentioned in any of the textbooks indicating that these were not significant to the narrative on the Holocaust.

It must be pointed out that these events were not the focus of the various units or topics and therefore, it may seem that the events are decontextualised and that there is no coherent narrative related to the events.

#### **4.6.6. Medium of Information**

The medium of information, as briefly explained in Chapter 3 (p.70) refers to how the narrative is presented in the textbooks whether in a visual or textual form. This presentation also included the sources activities. In terms of the selected textbooks, all four textbooks had far more visual sources than textual sources and activities. Each of the four textbooks had activities with one of the textbooks having no less than three activities. The way in which the information is presented forms part of the pedagogical discourse.

All of the textbooks made use of sources whether textual or visual. In some cases, the entire unit was comprised of sources with very little narrative relating to the Holocaust itself. The sources were not explained nor explored but merely placed on the page for the user to attempt to contextualise it on their own. Some of the sources in the selected textbooks were correctly referenced so as to determine or discuss whether the sources were primary, secondary, or tertiary in nature while other sources had no references whatsoever. In some instances, a mere web address was attached as a caption for a source. While the use of sources in History textbooks is of vital importance, it is also important that a balance is created between sources and narrative and textbooks cannot solely rely on sources to carry historical knowledge across to users. In this instance, a watered down historical discourse emerged or rather a discourse of exclusion and inclusion. Several of the textbooks used the exact same source; this was mostly the case with an image of conditions in a concentration camp. This indicates that the same provocative and emotive image was used to create an awareness of the plight of the Jews as victims.

The medium of instruction used in all four of the textbooks signals that there is some kind of unity among the textbooks in terms of using a more source based approach to the narrative. It must be pointed out that while the textbooks chose to use a source based approach, the sources were not used to their full capacity but rather that the

narrative was told in a pictorial form with the aid of a few textual sources to reiterate some kind of historical evidence.

#### **4.7. Conclusion**

In this chapter I have presented the findings from the data analysis of specific topics on the Holocaust in four selected Grade 9 GET textbooks using Fairclough's first and second dimension of discourse, namely description and interpretation. Among these findings it was made clear that in order for a narrative to be constructed, there are several aspects which need to work together to produce said narrative. These aspects include the title; the existents; the concepts; the symbols; the events; and the medium of information.

While each of the four textbooks contained the aspects above and provided the learners with a narrative on the Holocaust, each differed in its delivery of the content. The differences could have been how the characters were portrayed or how the title differed from another - however small the differences may be, the outcome of the narrative still differs.

Several discourses emerged from the analysis as a result of the narratives which were constructed using the various aspects discussed in this chapter. These discourses will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

In the following Chapter (Chapter 5), I present the synthesis and discussion on the discourses which emerged from the research findings and explore these further using Fairclough's third dimension of discourse namely explanation.

# Chapter 5

## Discussion

### 5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the discourses which were elicited from the research findings obtained in the analysis in Chapter 4. The findings discussed in Chapter 4 alluded to the fact that in order for a narrative to be constructed, various aspects (such as the title, setting, events, characters, and medium of information to name a few) needed to form part of the said narrative and that without these aspects the narrative would not exist. An analysis of these aspects in Chapter 4 clarified that several dominant discourses emerged from the narratives of each textbook section. Using Fairclough's third and final dimension of discourse - namely, explanation - the dominant discourses deduced from the data findings in Chapter 4 formed the basis of the discussion in this chapter. Each identified dominant discourse was explained and made meaningful through discussion and the use of the literature cited and discussed in Chapter 2.

A discourse was deemed dominant if it was found in all four of the selected sections in the textbooks. Thus, the discerned dominant discourses included a discourse of victimisation; a discourse of perpetrators; a discourse of Human Rights; a discourse of historical significance; a discourse of exclusion and silences; a discourse of pedagogical emotion; and a reflection on the medium of the textbook.

Before the various discourses are discussed, it must be specified that a major finding was that the education about the Holocaust and in turn, the pedagogy surrounding the Holocaust was underpinned by a form of revisionism. Whilst this in itself is a discourse which emerged strongly from the analysis, in order to fully comprehend the impact and influence of such revisionism, I chose to weave revisionism into my discussion throughout as opposed to presenting it as a sole standing dominant discourse. This was

chosen because revisionism emerged as the overarching discourse as it was evident in each of the other emerging dominant discourses.

Revisionism in Holocaust Education has been perceived as a global trend over the past 20 years where the interpretation of the Holocaust as an event has shifted from a purely historical event to a social one (Salmons, 2001; Gouws, 2011; Finkelstein, 2003).

Revisionism corresponds with the second school of thought regarding the interpretation of the Holocaust (See Chapter 1, pp.8-9). Within revisionism, the narrative of a particular event - in this case the Holocaust - is reworked and reinterpreted to fit a particular purpose. As new evidence surfaces, new perspectives also emerge as new reasons for historical use and thus narratives are revised (McPherson, 2003; Weber, n.d.; Nikzor Project, 1991 - 2009). In this study, the historical Holocaust narrative is reintroduced - without denying the horror or scale of the event - to fit several purposes and thus different dominant discourses emerge. For instance, the narratives delivered in each of the selected textbooks under analysis, varied as the content selected differed in terms of the setting, the characters, the symbols, the events, concepts, and the medium of information but with clear discourses emerging (See Chapter 4). Revisionism of the Holocaust narrative can be seen in terms of the genre of writing used in History textbooks. This genre relates to the angle or ideology with which the state or society, both globally and locally, wants learners to engage and ultimately learn about or from, and in this particular instance, the Holocaust.

It must be noted that the Holocaust as an event has not changed however; the meaning and uses thereof have been altered and therefore revised. A distinction must be made between revisionism and denial which are frequently mistaken to have the same meaning. Denial is the complete rejection of a historical event while revisionism as explained above is a reworked and reinterpreted event. The historical event of the Holocaust has not been denied but rather altered to suit a particular purpose or use. Moreover, the Holocaust is used to 'fit' other atrocities and as an event is used to teach

for the comprehension of other atrocities on either a personal or national scale and thus a distinct shift can be noted from a historical perspective to a social perspective, for example teaching the Holocaust for Human Rights. Furthermore, the actual historical event is underplayed (although not denied) whilst related social aspects are foregrounded as it is used as a vehicle for another purpose. Consequently, for example, dominant discourses of victimisation and Human Rights emerge from the Holocaust narrative as found in the selected textbooks.

## **5.2. Discourse of Victimisation**

The first dominant discourse which emerged from the analysis was a discourse of victimisation. Victimisation is concerned with the portrayal of a particular group or person who has been harmed or maliciously targeted in any way by another group or individual. In this instance, the victims that emerged were the Jews as the selected textbooks predominantly refer to them as the sole victims. Whilst it can be argued that there were 'other' victims during the Holocaust, for example homosexuals or gypsies, in this case, Jews were foregrounded.

The discourse of victimisation was a prominent feature in all the textbooks analysed. It was made apparent that the Jews were targeted and discriminated against by the Nazis because the focus was on the anti-Semitic policies and suffering of the Jews. There was a clear distinction made between the oppressed and the oppressors. With deeper analysis, it can be identified that the narrative of the Holocaust is told from a particular perspective, one of suffering and thus, the perspective of the Jewish people who endured it. This can clearly be gleaned through the data findings as in all four of the selected textbooks analysed, Jews were seen as the prominent characters in the Holocaust narrative (See Chapter 4, pp. 77-78; 86; 88; 94-95; 102; 104; 112).

In addition, the settings of the narratives in each of the selected textbooks further indicate a discourse of victimisation as the focus of for instance, in *Learning Station*

*Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*, was the concentration camps where the Jews were kept and in some locations, exterminated (See Chapter 4, p. 92) signalling the suffering of the Jews under the German Nazis.

Moreover, the concepts found in each of the sections from the selected textbooks further indicated a discourse of victimisation. Concepts such as 'architects of horrific genocide'; 'anti-Semitism'; 'death camp'; 'exterminate'; 'Nazi barbarism'; and 'Final Solution' were listed to name a few (See Chapter 4, pp. 114-115). 'Final Solution' was found in three of the four selected textbooks while the concept 'Genocide' appeared in two of the four analysed sections. Thus, a platform of suffering and victimisation was created by the concepts listed and used in each of the textbooks.

From the above mentioned it is clear that that a discourse of victimisation is prevalent in the textbooks and Blutinger (2009) argues that when the History of the oppressed is presented, victimisation emerges and therefore this depiction of the narrative of the Holocaust can be subjective.

It is also clear from the literature that the Holocaust could be taught from either a perpetrator-centred or a victim-centred discourse (Blutinger, 2009). The most popular and thus predominant discourse in the selected textbooks was the discourse of victimisation as it appeared in all four of the selected textbooks analysed and was a pedagogic choice made by the producers of the textbooks.

The use of a discourse of victimisation is not without danger. Schwartz (1990) argues that learners may be able to empathise with the victims but this may lead to what Salmons (2001) calls patronising feelings of pity towards the victims and they may not be viewed in light of the context. Wrenn (2001) further contends that remembering the Jews as victims of the Holocaust as well as the memory of suffering enables people to never forget what transpired and thus a platform is created that can be used to teach something other than the actual historical event. Ontologically, the truth still seems to



be that Jews are viewed as the victims in a Social Holocaust as explained previously in this chapter.

Victimisation as a discourse as it appears in the selected textbooks is favoured by the NCS as it aids in achieving the specified outcomes of;

heal[ing] the divisions of the past and establish[ing] a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental Human Rights ... [as] ... Education and the curriculum have [has] an important role to play in realising these aims. The curriculum aims to develop the full potential of each learner as a citizen of a democratic South Africa (DoE, 2002, p. 11).

The dominant discourse of victimisation, whilst the most popular in the selected textbooks, is intertwined with several other discourses. Victimisation leads to a discourse of perpetrators (which will be discussed below) as they are polar opposites of one another and one is needed in tandem with the other. Furthermore, both the discourses of victimisation and the discourse of perpetrators are linked to a discourse of Human Rights (which will be discussed later in this chapter). The intertwining of these discourses leads to the idea of a Social Holocaust being foregrounded and thus a revisionism of sorts can be seen in the selected textbooks as part of a global trend in which the Holocaust is taught. This global trend is noticeable for example, at the Durban Holocaust Centre where the integration of subjects is promoted to teach lessons in humanity. Instead of solely focussing on the historical aspect of the Holocaust, Ntuli (2012) argues that Life Orientation teachers could benefit from using the Holocaust to teach lessons in humanity.

### **5.3. Discourse of Perpetrators**

The second dominant discourse - linked to the discourse of victimisation - which emerged from the data analysis, was a discourse of perpetrators. A perpetrator is someone who conducts "harmful, illegal or immoral actions" (Soanes & Stevenson,

2006). Thus, a perpetrator in this study would be the oppressors and villains as noted in Chapter 4 (p.113) the Germans and the Nazis.

It must be specified that a contradiction exists with this discourse whereby the blame for the Holocaust was not squarely placed on the shoulders of either the Germans or the Nazis or even on both. In each of the selected textbooks analysed, the narrative of the Holocaust regarding perpetrators varied and thus the blame fell on different groups whilst individuals for the most part were excluded. Furthermore, the contradiction is intensified as in some of the selected textbooks analysed, Nazis and Germans are used interchangeably and can signify to mean the same thing. Therefore, whilst a discourse of perpetrators or wrong doers exists in each of the selected textbooks, the categorisation of the actual perpetrators proved to be more challenging due to the mentioned contradiction. What is clarified in all the selected textbooks analysed is that the blame for the Holocaust was never placed on individuals but rather on a collective group. The contradiction comes into play when trying to identify who the collective was; either the Nazis or the Germans or both.

In *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* the blame was not pinned on a specific individual such as Hitler but rather on a collective group, in this instance, both the Germans and Nazism as an ideology were blamed. The Germans were blamed as the Holocaust occurred under German rule and that German forces advanced across Eastern European countries which resulted in - as explained in the above mentioned textbook - countless Jews being executed (See Chapter 4, pp. 78-79).

Furthermore, the ideology of Nazism was also blamed for the Holocaust as the selected textbook refers to 'Nazi barbarianism' (See Chapter 4, p.77) indicating that the Nazis were the perpetrators. This indicates that the German people were blameless and rather the ideology of Nazism was culpable. This contradiction in interpretation can clearly be seen as blame, but, was not firmly placed with either the Germans or the Nazis and a blurred sense of the identity of the perpetrators emerges.

The other three selected textbooks analysed displayed a collective guilt of Nazism as an ideology as opposed to placing the blame on a single individual such as Hitler or the Germans' collectively. Wrenn (1987) reaffirms that many texts show signs of repression and guilt projection. The idea that the blame is placed on the Nazis, to an extent, seems to exonerate the German people as a whole and the point is made that they were not 'all' to blame but rather the blame is placed on an ideology of Nazism. This means that the narrative told is from the point of view of what actions the Nazis took through Nazism as perpetrators. Bluntinger (2009, p.269) further notes that, "this perpetrator-based discourse not only mirrors Nazi language, it exacerbates the image of Jews as going passively to their deaths" which further engrains the heartlessness of the perpetrators.

A discourse of perpetrators is further cemented in the narrative of the Holocaust by the concepts such as 'architects of horrific genocide'; 'Nazi barbarianism' and 'factories of death' used regarding the perpetrators (See Chapter 4, p.77); and 'death head units' (See Chapter 4, p.87) characterise the Germans and/or the Nazis as deliberate perpetrators.

The literature promotes the idea that the Holocaust is mostly taught from a German-centred perspective as acknowledged by both Bluntinger (2009) and Firer (1987). Therefore the notion of collective guilt epitomised by the Germans can be examined as all Germans are somehow viewed as being guilty whether they were actively involved in Nazism during the Holocaust or not: their guilt is by association.

As previously mentioned the discourse of perpetrators is intertwined with the discourse of victimisation. In so doing, prejudices can be highlighted and understood as they correspond with the overall objectives of the NCS / CAPS in terms of nation building and transformation of society through the means of education; democracy; equality; Human Rights; and curriculum and use the Holocaust as a vehicle for this.

#### **5.4. Discourse of Human Rights**

The analysis of the selected GET History textbooks revealed that the narrative of the Holocaust reflected a clear discourse of Human Rights. Due to an increase in the awareness of the violation of Human Rights, the Holocaust has increasingly been seen in History curricula globally as a historical blueprint to teach this awareness (Pingel, 2006). As noted by Weldon (2004) in a South African context the Holocaust is paramount in teaching towards transformation and democracy with a deep focus on Human Rights. Therefore, the focus of the narrative of the Holocaust shifts from the historical discourse to a strongly rooted discourse of Human Rights and a related Social Holocaust.

All the textbooks had a distinct Human Rights discourse whereby in various forms, moral transgressions of the Nazis and / or Germans were highlighted and it was emphasised that the Holocaust was a crime against humanity.

In *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book*, the sources used such as the image of piles of Holocaust victim shoes (p.10) was not only emotive but provocative. The caption below the source reads "This picture gives you some idea of the huge scale of this tragedy" (p.10) indicating that the Holocaust was a crime against humanity and thus a Human Rights issue. Furthermore, the activity or assessment in the unit asks users, "what emotions do you feel when you look at these pictures?" (p.13) evoking a response based on feelings and emotions more than on historical facts, indicating that Human Rights issues would be discussed.

A discourse of Human Rights is also seen in *Learning Station Social Science Grade 9 Learner's Book* where the Holocaust is described in the narrative as a crime against humanity (See Chapter 4, p.92). Furthermore, the selected textbook section asks users to imagine surviving a winter's journey in a cattle truck in squalid conditions to a concentration camp which evokes emotions based on Human Rights and prejudices

(p.20). Moreover, the activity further questions users to contemplate whether or not the perpetrators feel any remorse for their actions (See Chapter 4, p.92).

In *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*, the discourse of Human Rights is ever-present as users are required to construct an argument as to how concepts such as 'blame'; 'fear'; 'judge'; and 'inferiority' (p. 105) are linked to prejudice and in turn how these link to the treatment of Jews - unfair treatment, cruel and oppressive treatment, or mass killing (p. 107).

Should the Holocaust and a discourse of Human Rights as expiated by the textbooks be paired together? As far as Eckmann (2010) is concerned this has been a question which has been heavily debated across the world. It is clear from these textbooks that the event, the Holocaust, was used as an extension exercise to promote the understanding of gross violations of Human Rights and therefore to foreground the teaching and learning of and for Human Rights in South Africa. Moreover, the Holocaust does provide a "model of inhumanity" (Bialystok, 1996, p.125) thus espousing that Human Rights are a vital and integral part of the teaching and learning process both globally and in South Africa. This is because the Holocaust is a vehicle to initiate teaching about or for Human Rights (Weldon, 2004; Schweber & Findling, 2007).

Furthermore, it was made clear in the literature that the primary reason for teaching the Holocaust at school level was as a preventive measure to ensure that such gross Human Rights violations, based on discrimination did not recur in the future (Short & Reed, 2004). In the view of Braham (1987, p.viii) "It is widely believed that an awareness of the nature and consequences of anti-Semitism, culminating in the Holocaust, will motivate students to improve the world", a notion to which textbook producers subscribe.

In terms of the post-Apartheid context, the narrative of the Holocaust is 'used' to teach something other than the actual historical Holocaust - in this case, it is to teach for

Human Rights. Thus the narrative of the Holocaust lends itself to Human Rights Education (HRE). Eckmann (2010) further argues that it is obvious that Holocaust Education should be a tool for HRE. She explains that there are three ways in which to view HRE, namely; "learning about Human Rights, learning for Human Rights, and learning with (or within) the framework of Human Rights" (p.11) and examines how the Holocaust can be used as a tool for teaching HRE. She maintains that such a narrative is possible but is not without challenges. In the four textbooks analysed, it is clear that such a discourse has not only been embedded in the textbooks but that the textbooks are an extension of the curriculum itself as prescribed and expected by the DoE / DBE (NCS, 2002; CAPS, 2010). This in turn is influenced by the Constitution of South Africa as well as the Bill of Rights (*Government Gazette*, 1996). Whilst there is some merit in attempting to teach for, about and with (or within) HRE and using the Holocaust to achieve this, there are always some pitfalls as outlined by Eckmann (2012). Such pitfalls include questions such as *how* and *why* the Holocaust is being taught and for what purpose? (Eckmann & Heimberg, 2009)

The Human Rights discourse forms part of what the controversial Norman Finkelstein (2003) terms "The Nazi Holocaust" which is extended and modified by Gouws (2011), amongst others, to mean a Social Holocaust. This 'type' of Holocaust exists due to what society deems important or valuable to know and learn about as discussed in Chapter 2 (p.24). The Social Holocaust is perpetuated through the use of museums and public displays and memorials. This is further compounded by the constant parallel of the Holocaust to South Africa's Apartheid in terms of the gross Human Rights violations. This can be seen in the analysed textbooks as there were other units in the mentioned works which dealt specifically with the above mentioned parallel. Adam (1997) maintains that such parallels can be drawn in terms of discrimination, racism and gross Human Rights violation.

The History curriculum or the foci therefore is the discourse of Human Rights and therefore, the revisionism of the Holocaust narrative as explained above lends itself to a

dominant Human Rights discourse. It must be mentioned that each of these selected textbook sections analysed were found in the chapter entitled, "Human Rights issues after World War II: Nazi Germany" thus indicating the direct link to a discourse on Human Rights. A Human Rights discourse is also directly linked and favoured by the NCS / CAPS and thus the DoE / DBE as well. As previously mentioned there is a shift in the historical use of the Holocaust and it is developing beyond simple knowledge about the Holocaust into rather a utilitarian use emerging where the Holocaust is used for a discourse of Human Rights. This, therefore reinforces the idea of a Social Holocaust and the narrative of the Holocaust undergoes revisionism to fit a particular purpose. The Holocaust therefore becomes a vehicle for promoting a Human Rights discourse.

### **5.5. Discourse of Historical Significance and Inclusion**

Another dominant discourse which emerged from the data was a discourse of historical significance and inclusion. As previously explained in Chapter 4, each selected textbook section analysed displayed a distinct meta or grand narrative of the Holocaust. Each respective textbook attempted to tell the narrative of the event within which, certain topics and themes were foregrounded and therefore deemed as historically significant. What is backgrounded falls silent and thus is either excluded from the narrative altogether or reduced to such an extent it was insignificant which will be discussed later in the chapter. Thus, a discourse of historical significance was found in all four of the selected textbooks analysed. For the purposes of this study, historical significance refers to how prominently an entity features within a text or how much importance is attached to it. Such significance can also be seen in the NCS / CAPS documents as what the DoE / DBE deem significant for learners to know and understand which will find its way into the curriculum documents, which in turn will filter down into textbooks which are the primary tool of instruction. However, in order for something to be classified as historically significant the following criteria according to Partington (1980) need to be met.

Firstly, the importance of the event to the people living at the time is considered in order to establish its historical significance. The eradication of the Jews (which later became known as the Holocaust) was important to the Nazi party at the time as it was their racial ideology policy in order to create the perfect Aryan race. However, the Holocaust was also of cardinal importance to the Jews in the sense that this was a major History in their lives, costing many their own lives as well as losing their friends, family, properties and culture.

In addition to the importance of the event, the profundity of how deeply people's lives have been affected by the event is taken into account. The Holocaust deeply affected the lives of the people in the past, both German and Jewish alike. The Jews were affected by the Holocaust as many died as a direct result of it whilst others not only lost all their possessions but also their families. The Germans were also affected by the Holocaust as many experienced great guilt after the event. This event has also deeply affected the current lives of people, worldwide as the memory of the Holocaust is still very much alive today as survivors and families were affected by the event. This is important as it forms part of western consciousness which is discussed later in this chapter.

The quantity is also analysed; how many lives have been affected by the event? The Holocaust has affected many lives across the globe, politically, socially and economically, at the time and resulted in the deaths of millions of people both Jewish and non-Jewish.

Furthermore, the durability of the event is deliberated - for how long have people's lives been affected by it? The Holocaust is still affecting the lives of people today (hence this study) and therefore it can be said to be a durable event one which will still have an impact on society and the world as a whole.



Finally, the extent to which the event has contributed to an increased understanding of present day life is determined. The Holocaust is used in many instances to explain the wrong doing of the Nazis against the Jews in terms of the gross violation of Human Rights and prejudice. As Counsell (2004) notes the event is able to resonate with people who tend to make analogies with it and ensure possibilities to connect with experiences, beliefs or situations across time and space. Therefore, the Holocaust is still relevant to present day society, for example to compare to other Human Rights atrocities such as Apartheid.

With the above in mind, the Holocaust as an event can be seen as a historically significant event as it meets all of Partington's criteria. However, it must be noted that Partington's model is just one of many models. The Holocaust, as an event, also meets all the requirements of two other models (Counsell, 2004; Philips, 2002) thus it cannot be disputed that the Holocaust, as an event, can be seen as historically significant and thus included in the curriculum.

Within the selected textbooks sections analysed, the characters and events alluded to a certain inclusion and exclusion. The characters which were portrayed in the selected sections indicated that their inclusion was directly linked to their historical significance. Thus, the most prominent characters in all four of the selected textbooks were collectively the Jews as a group (See Chapter 4, pp.78; 88; 95; 104) indicating that the narrative told regarding the Holocaust was one not only from a Jewish perspective but because it was deemed important. Furthermore, the characters included a second group the Germans and Nazis. This alluded to the fact that the narrative was one with two opposing sides; good versus evil; victim versus perpetrator; hero versus villain (Loewens, 1996) which needed to be included in some way.

What also can be seen as historically significant - in terms of the events - are the results of policies of the Final Solution rather than other events (See Chapter 4, pp.81; 89; 98-99; 107). Thus, the selected textbooks presented a fragmented narrative as only

certain events were included and thus deemed historically significant. Thus, 'historically speaking' the events which were deemed important enough to be included were World War II, the Final Solution; and the Nuremberg Laws (See Chapter 4, pp.117-118). Each textbook's focus - whilst telling the meta-narrative of the Holocaust – differs in terms of what is deemed as historically significant.

It must be noted that the different dominant discourses are interwoven (as previously mentioned) by choices made by the stakeholders in the textbook production. Thus, what is chosen has been deemed as historically significant. What is not chosen is undermined and silences and a revisionism of sorts can be seen which leans towards a narrative of a Social Holocaust.

## **5.6. Discourse of Exclusion and Silences**

Closely linked to the dominant discourse of historical significance and inclusion is a discourse of exclusion and silence. Exclusion and silence occur when things are not included in the text and are backgrounded to such an extent that they cannot be noticed and as with inclusion are a historical reality.

Several exclusions and silences were found in the selected textbook sections analysed. These included the exclusion of various characters who were also affected by the Holocaust; political prisoners; gypsies; homosexuals; and religious groups to name a few. Furthermore, characters who were instrumental architects of the Holocaust were also excluded or silenced such as Hitler himself and Mengele. These exclusions or silences can be accounted for as Trouillot (1995, pp.53-54) argues that, "some facts are recalled more often than others; some strings of facts are recalled with more empirical richness than others even in play-by-play accounts." Against this background, it can be seen that if historical narratives are based upon previous understanding, then it stands to reason that what is found 'in' the textbooks is there because it corresponds with the

ideology of the state whilst what is silenced, does not and thus exclusion of events occur by design.

In terms of exclusions and silences, the notion of the 'other' is ever-present in all four of the selected textbook analysed. The narrative that is espoused is one of a battle between the Nazis and the Jews (See Chapter 4, pp.81, 89, 98-99, 107) and that no-one else was involved. However, this was not the case. These 'others' are mentioned in passing and often are not even placed into historical context. Thus, the concept of 'otherness' emerges and it concludes that there is another narrative to the Holocaust which is not explored in the selected analysed textbooks as only the narrative of the Jews, the Nazis / Germans and the Holocaust are investigated. It must be emphasised that one of the four textbooks, *Shuter and Shooter Social Sciences Today Grade 9 Learner's Book*, included the voice of the 'other' in their narrative of the Holocaust. The 'other' included; Soviet citizens; Germans; non-Jewish Poles; gypsies; Jehovah's Witnesses; and homosexuals (p.14). Despite the fact that they were included, the main foci of the narrative was still the Jews and their suffering and thus the notion of the 'other' whilst included was not foregrounded but rather distinctly backgrounded.

For example, it can be concluded that the individuals in the texts are left faceless for the most part in the discourse of perpetrators. A Hitler-less discourse emerges as he is hardly mentioned despite being the architect of the Holocaust (See Chapter 4, pp.85; 96). This refers to a narrative which does not give any prominence to the individual perpetrators or victims but rather focuses on the narrative of the oppressed. The Jews are also frequently left faceless within the selected textbook sections analysed. They are viewed as a collective group rather than as individuals. The exception to this would be the mentioning of Anne Frank in *Learning Station Social Science Grade 9 Learner's Book* (p.21). Within this text, a face is given to suffering and thus something which is far easier with which to relate.

In addition, exclusions regarding events in the selected textbooks were rife in all four of the analysed textbooks. As previously discussed in this chapter, only two events were highlighted in all four selected textbooks; the Final Solution and World War II. Thus, a distinct choice was made by the textbook producers as to what was and what was not included. In Chapter 1 (pp.3-8) a background to the Holocaust was included, illustrating how the historical narrative of the Holocaust unfolded; there is thus a distinct difference between the narrative found in the selected textbooks analysed and the backgrounding discussed in Chapter 1. For instance, in *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*, the First World War is mentioned as well as the Nuremberg Trials (See Chapter 4, p.87) whilst in *In Search of Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*, the Nuremberg Laws and *Kristallnacht* (See Chapter 4, p.95) are highlighted. Whilst the events are mentioned, they are neither explained nor elaborated.

These exclusions are a direct result of the decisions taken by the stakeholders of these textbooks. Loewens (1996) notes that textbook authors' often make omissions and errors that can hardly be viewed as accidental. It is assumed that the publishers and writers of textbooks work on the premise that textbooks are commercial entities. Publishing houses employ authors, usually a panel, to write chapters or units according to themes that can be found in state sanctioned curriculum documents such as NCS / CAPS. These textbooks are then submitted to the DoE / DBE for scrutiny to ascertain whether the publishing house has adhered to the set criteria and the curriculum as prescribed prior to publication. Therefore, the power of the state over what is meant to be excluded and silenced in the textbooks as an official version of History remains paramount. Whilst the state's power is overwhelming, it can also be seen that other stakeholders, such as the publishers and the textbook authors, also play a role in determining the discourses which can be found in textbooks. In the process, textbooks can also fall prey to portraying a 'Disney version' of History as stated by Loewens (1996) (See Chapter 2, p.36). This version merely portrays people as either the victors or the victims in the case of the story of the Holocaust and the extent of the enormity of the oppressors.

In addition to the above, it must be emphasised that in each of the selected textbooks, the narrative of the Holocaust was dealt with in less than three pages, which is totally inadequate in which to explain the gravity of such an event. The inclusion or exclusion of facts or part of the narrative of the Holocaust cannot be solely determined by the available space in the textbooks and deliberate choices are made by the stakeholders in the textbook production process regarding what to include in their 3 pages (Firer, 1987). These choices are made by stakeholders of textbook production and thus "much of History taught in schools has been so selectively chosen, so narrowly interpreted that myth rather truth has reigned in many classroom" Mulholland (1985, p.10). Therefore, the exclusion and inclusion of parts of the Holocaust narrative can be seen as what is deemed as significant and is included as this can be used to promote something else.

The coverage of the Holocaust in the selected textbooks analysed was superficial and insufficiently skimpy (See Chapter 2, p.44). This is not unique to South African textbooks but can also be found in textbooks in the USA (Korman, 1970) and in other parts of the world (See Chapter 2, pp.44-45). This indicates that the Holocaust is taught globally from a social perspective to promote something other than the actual historical event. Thus, textbooks can be seen as a powerful arm of official History which is used by the state for its own agenda to educate users through inclusion and exclusion and to create a specific historical consciousness.

### **5.7. Discourse of Pedagogical Emotion**

A discrete discourse of pedagogy - which is the method and practice of teaching - also emerged in the analysis of the data. The similarities in all the textbooks were the approaches that they took in terms of the Holocaust being a controversial issue. Each textbook made use of the stated commitment approach as a set body of knowledge and was provided with a very specific aim; to convey the plight and suffering of the Jews under the guise of the title "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" Whilst it was implied that the focus would be on finding answers for the questions 'how and 'why'

(which hardly happened), the actual aim was to show the History of the suffering of the Jews and the cruelty of the Nazis (See Chapter 4, pp.110-112) and in so doing affirming the generally accepted ontological truth about the Holocaust.

A discourse of pedagogical emotion of the Holocaust emerged. Baum (1996) asserts that the Holocaust cannot be taught and understood without acknowledging emotions. Learners will be emotionally challenged regarding the Holocaust as it is virtually impossible to 'feel' nothing when learning about genocide. Therefore, a discourse of pedagogical emotion of the Holocaust refers not only to emotions which circulate in the classroom during a lesson but also suggests as Baum (1996, p.46) phrases it "... the cognitive force of these emotions through which we make judgments about ourselves, others, and the culture around us." The Holocaust is evidently a site for emotional pedagogy asserts Baum (1996). Thus, pedagogical emotion is essential to the ways in which learners make sense of the world and how they view people, situations and events. The emotions that the learners are expected to exhibit are termed "obligatory emotions" (Baum, 1996). These obligatory emotions are the expected answers to the questions in an activity in for example *Our World, Our Society Grade 9 Learner's Book* (See Chapter 4, p.82) where users are overtly asked "What emotions do you feel when looking at these pictures?" (p.13). Such emotions experienced by learners taint the historical learning process of the narrative of the Holocaust as Bialystok (1996) notes that History should always be considered a knowledge subject rather than an emotional engagement. Firer (1987, p.178) concurs by suggesting that the "emotional impact caused by studying the Holocaust in the classroom [is a direct result of] ... emotions expressed in extreme, heavily emotionally charged terminology" thus emotions overpower the narrative of the Holocaust as a historical event.

Kant as cited in Vetlesen (1994) ascertains that there are high social stakes involved when dealing with obligatory emotions as there is a moral code-etiquette that users of these textbooks may only display in the appropriate responses to the narrative. As a

result of this, the narrative of the Holocaust is primed for another purpose or use, to teach for example, for Human Rights.

A pedagogical discourse of forming opinions also emerged, especially from the activities found in the selected textbooks. In *Learning Station Social Sciences Grade 9 Learner's Book*, users are required to engage in introspection regarding how they feel about the Holocaust and the historical characters involved (See Chapter 4, p.91). They are asked to ascertain whether or not an Auschwitz officer would or should feel remorse for his actions. Furthermore, in *In Search of Social Science Grade 9 Learner's Book*, users are required to "Suggest why racial discrimination led to the Holocaust" (See Chapter 4, p.100). Suggesting and feeling are not historical skills as no evidence is used to back up such opinion. Hence there are no historical skills being harnessed in the process to enable the users to form opinions based on evidence as this is based on their own personal and emotional preferences.

In the process the genre of writing is linked to all the above mentioned pedagogical discourse. The angle or prerequisites of the revision in this instance, was to make the narrative of the Holocaust more digestible for 14-15 year old Grade 9 learners (DoE, 2002). As discussed in Chapter 2 (p.39) Pingel (2006) queries the inclusion of teaching traumatic events to 14 year olds and, furthermore, whether these learners can grasp the gravity of the event. This is especially the case if learners at the age of 14 are exposed to the Historical Holocaust being underplayed and backgrounded and the Social Holocaust foregrounded to convey a message of victims and perpetrators within a context of Human Rights.

As such the Holocaust is pedagogically used as a vehicle to teach something else and thus the focus was not solely on the event. This concurs with what Gouws (2011) terms the "Social Holocaust" and Finkelstein (2003) refers to as "The Holocaust." Whilst both use different terminology they generally mean an event where the focus is not on the historical value but rather on how it can be used. In the view of Rothstein (2012, p.56)

"the moment we generalize, we strip away the details." The focus thus shifts from the actual Holocaust - or as Finkelstein (2003) calls it the "Nazi Holocaust" - to something else. In a South African context (as previously mentioned in this chapter) a comparison between the Holocaust and Apartheid removes the focus from the magnitude of the Holocaust as an event and rather trivialises it by focussing on Human Rights as stipulated by the DoE (2003).

Despite the fact that the Holocaust is used to teach something else other than the actual event, Bikwana (2011) clarifies that scholars are aware of this practice and furthermore condone it as "the Holocaust provides an ideal backdrop for a study of racism, victimisation and persecution" (p.63).

The pedagogical discourses discussed above are encumbered with emotion and are found in the selected textbooks analysed. Thus, textbooks are powerful teaching tools as they determine what every 14 year old in South Africa will be exposed to regarding the Holocaust and these dominant discourses. Whilst each selected textbook analysed differed in terms of the narrative of the Holocaust presented - and in turn which discourses were espoused from the narrative - each textbook used had similar dominant discourses (such as Human Rights and victimisation) thus confirming the notion that all learners will be exposed, not only to the discourses themselves but also the textbook as a discourse in itself.

## **5.8. Reflection on the Medium of the Textbook**

All textbooks are products of human thought and experience which in turn shapes human thinking and produces certain assumptions on what knowledge needs to be transmitted. As argued by Crawford (2004, p.1) "School textbooks are crucial organs in the process of constructing legitimated ideologies and beliefs and are a reflection of the History, knowledge and values considered important by powerful groups in society." Thus, a textbook can be seen as a standardised book of constructed knowledge used



for a particular subject. The following discussion on textbooks is twofold; firstly the textbooks can be seen as a medium of conveying knowledge to users through the various narratives and discourses which emerge from them. Secondly, the textbook itself can be seen as a dominant discourse on the Holocaust as it is conveying knowledge regarding the Holocaust to the user.

Textbooks are seen as part of official History as they are viewed as legitimised knowledge (Firer, 1998) and thus accepted as historical truth. Furthermore, in a South African context, textbooks are sanctioned as not only part of official History but also as a dominant discourse in the educational landscape by President Zuma who emphasized the importance of textbooks in a 'Triple T Approach' (Teachers, Textbooks and Time) in 2011 as part of his State of the Nation address. It was stated that, "the administration must ensure that every child has a textbook on time" (Zuma, 2011). Thus, if such importance is placed on textbooks by the President - who is elected by the people and has the authority to enforce and sanction policies - it is obvious that textbooks can be used as artefacts to convey and legitimise the ideology of the state but teachers also have agency to question and critique these books. Thus, the ideology which promotes Human Rights, transformation and nation building as prescribed in NCS / CAPS and sanctioned by the DoE / DBE will ensure that the discourses which promote the above mentioned ideology filter down into the textbooks which learners will encounter. Sleeter & Grant (1991) argue that textbooks are symbolic representations of the world and the society in which we live. This prompts learners to think and act in certain ways, and not to consider the alternatives. Textbooks can therefore never be neutral as they cannot disguise their ideological and cultural potency (Foster & Crawford, 2006) and are therefore contentious not only in terms of which content is included but also by design. Therefore, the textbook is linked to society and what the state wants to perpetuate especially in a post-conflict, post-Apartheid state. The textbooks which contain the other discourses are by their nature a dominant discourse on the Holocaust themselves.

Furthermore, History textbooks are even more contentious than other textbooks as the very context is controversial in itself. Thus, the narratives which emanate from History textbooks regarding the Holocaust are theoretically how society views the Holocaust as the History textbook "screens in and screens out certain ideas and realms of knowledge" (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, pp.79-80).

Thus, History textbooks have a major influence not only on how learners think and understand but on how and what they learn. Apple (1992) and Paxton (1999) maintain that textbooks - in this case History textbooks - dominate what learners learn as the textbook is often the only material to which the learners are exposed and are most frequently used in the classroom setting. Textbooks are thus, powerful tools for society as they not only shape thinking but signify particular constructions of reality and reflect the values and aspirations of society (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant, 1991).

Textbooks are also discourses of commerce, culture, ideology and politics. In terms of commerce, Wilkes (n.d.) and Lebrun *et al*, (2002) reiterate that textbooks are part of an economic process in terms of their production and are thus economic commodities. Therefore, the content of the narratives and discourses is directly related to their saleability and thus those narratives and discourses are included due to their financial benefit.

Since History textbooks are political in nature, states will use them to propagate their political ideologies and agendas. Pingel (1999) argues that History textbooks have been manipulated to glorify and justify the existence of certain political parties or ideologies at the expense of others. Furthermore, History textbooks can be manipulated by the state (DoE / DBE) as knowledge found in textbooks can be regarded as official History. This official History is merely a version of the truth the state wants its people via the curriculum and the NCS / CAPS documents to appreciate and understand which excludes and includes events which correspond with the adopted political ideology and

framework (Crawford, 2006; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant 1991). Therefore, it can be seen that textbooks, more specifically History textbooks, are discourses in themselves. Not only are they providing various dominant discourses on the Holocaust as a result of the content but they are also providing a medium through which the knowledge is conveyed which is influenced by culture, commerce, ideology and politics.

History textbooks, as a medium are further influenced by the curriculum. The DoE / DBE has a firm stance on transformation and Human Rights - concepts which lean towards the social perspective. Why is it necessary for textbooks to offer life or moral lessons? History textbooks are there to reproduce already known knowledge (Selander, 1990) and are the primary teaching tool (Husbands, 1996) to which most learners are exposed and from where they learn. Thus, textbooks would be the prime location to teach learners about social aspects such as Human Rights and discrimination.

The discourses of the Holocaust in all of the selected textbooks analysed lent themselves distinctly to a social Holocaust of presenting the narrative as opposed to a historical Holocaust. The most dominant of these was a discourse of Human Rights and victimisation. As previously determined in this chapter, the Holocaust is used to teach for something else; predominantly Human Rights. Similarly, South Africa's Apartheid is also used to teach for Human Rights in conjunction with teaching about the actual historical event. Furthermore, the Holocaust is not only used to teach something else but is also paralleled with Apartheid later in the selected textbooks whose sections were not analysed as part of the study as the scope of the dissertation did not allow it but are worthy of mention. The differences and similarities between the two ideologies are explored (Silbert & Peterson, 2007) in terms of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Nuremburg Trials (See Chapter 2, p.46).

Consequently, the Holocaust is not solely taught as an event but rather is used to teach something else in a very generalised manner so as to apply it to various contexts. It can

be argued that in such instances, the essence of the Holocaust is being lost every time the narrative is revised or retold for a particular purpose. In the view of Rothstein (2012) as the versions of the past change, it seems the Holocaust is becoming more an "ethical imperative of tolerance." It can thus be paralleled with other historical events to create a comparison base for learners.

Therefore, using the Holocaust to teach about Apartheid seems more apt as it "softens the blow" (Short & Reed, 2004, p.4) from a personal attachment for learners living in South Africa. Hence, the Holocaust is used to teach for a specific purpose and not solely taught from a historical perspective but to teach a lesson, grounded firmly in a social rather than historical context. Textbooks are the discourses that assimilate material as they are a dominant discourse in themselves which shapes the discourses in South Africa on the Holocaust as previously explained (pp.142-143).

### **5.9. The Manifestation of the Dominant Discourses in the Selected GET Textbooks**

There are several possible causes for the dominant discourses as discussed. Firstly, a dominant discourse would manifest itself in a textbook if it were the agreed upon truth on the Holocaust. If the DoE / DBE, for instance, did not agree with a particular narrative, it would most certainly not sanction the textbooks. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 2, textbooks themselves stem from political ideologies and thus, if a narrative regarding the Holocaust did not resonate with the accepted ideology, it would not manifest itself as a dominant discourse sanctioned by the DoE / DBE and subsequently the NCS / CAPS.

Moreover, the textbooks allow for the discourses to 'fit' into the South African context as the Holocaust as an event is paralleled with Apartheid to promote Human Rights education. In other words, a discourse will manifest itself in the textbook if there is a niche for it in terms of what the DoE / DBE wished to achieve.

From what has been gathered in the findings and the literature, it is evident that in all four selected textbooks, the most dominant discourses manifested were the discourses of Human Rights and victimisation. Not only do these two discourses fit into the ideology of Holocaust Education in South Africa but they also ensure that the Holocaust can be paralleled with other topics in the History curriculum such as issues of our time (paralleling Apartheid, looking at genocide in Rwanda and Burundi).

The content that is being covered in Grade 9 on the Holocaust is extremely superficial as it seems that the Holocaust as an event is merely being used as a platform to teach something. Therefore, the Holocaust being taught in South African schools would form part of the Social Holocaust as explained in Chapter 2. Perhaps the Holocaust as a Historical Holocaust, to some extent is being taught but from the data analysed, this Holocaust is not at the forefront of the narrative as there are large gaps (silences and exclusions) in historical content in this regard.

Another likely cause for the findings stem from the fact that the Holocaust is seen as a moral touchstone (Salmons, 2003; Kant as cited in Vetlesen, 1994; Firer, 1987) and thus the discourses of Human Rights and victimisation would feature prominently. Dunne and Wheeler (2002) maintain that the Holocaust lead directly to the establishment of the Human Rights regime. With this in mind, it is obvious that the discourse of Human Rights and victimisation was evident in all four of the selected textbooks analysed. This view of the Holocaust concurs with Gouws (2011) and her view on Social Holocaust as a platform for teaching universal moral lessons (Alexander, 2009; Bauman, 2000; Bromley & Russell, 2010) which can be applied to any event for example, Apartheid.

The impact of the Holocaust on western consciousness determines how it is taught and has a direct result on what discourses are espoused. Due to its prominence in Western countries, the Holocaust has been given global relevance by international organisations - both governmental and non-governmental (Bromley and Russell, 2010). The notion of

the Holocaust being viewed as a moral lesson was conceptualised in the western world (Maier, 2000; Gregory, 2000) and has been disseminated to other continents as a shift in thinking regarding the Holocaust. This shifting of consciousness from the western world to other continents (Novick, 1999; Schweber & Findling, 2007), including Asia and Africa, helps to explain why discourses of Human Rights and victimisation can be found in South African History textbooks and why the Holocaust is being taught from a social as opposed to a historical perspective.

The Holocaust being taught from a social perspective corresponds with the theoretical framework of this study and reveals that the historical Holocaust (Gouws, 2011) - The Nazi Holocaust as referred to by Finkelstein (2003) - is drastically underplayed in each of the selected textbooks that were analysed. This is a result of the great ideological shift globally (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Pingel, 2006; Schweber & Findling, 2007) from teaching the Holocaust from a historical perspective to teaching it from a social perspective. Such revisionism is evident as the perspective from which the Holocaust is taught changes constantly as with international trends.

### **5.10. Conclusion**

There are numerous studies on the Holocaust as a historical event but this study has looked at how the Holocaust has been embedded as discourse in the Grade 9 GET South African textbooks. This brings to the fore, the notion that the Holocaust has a deep rooted link to education and the History curriculum in South Africa. Therefore, this study sought to contribute to the body of knowledge regarding Holocaust discourses in South Africa, especially the History textbooks used in schools to teach the Holocaust.

The narrative of the Holocaust can be viewed through three different lenses - three different schools of thought - as discussed in Chapter 1 (pp.8-10). The findings from selected textbooks revealed that two of the three schools of thought could be seen in the narratives of the Holocaust. The first school of thought being the believers who

accept the very official narrative of six million Jews being murdered by the Nazis (Gribetz, Greenstein & Stein, 1993). This can also be referred to as the official discourse of the Holocaust as not only is it the generally accepted narrative of the Holocaust but it is also endorsed by the DoE / DBE and subsequently the NCS / CAPS in South Africa. This is the so-called Historical Holocaust.

This official school of thought regarding the Holocaust is combined in all of the four selected textbooks with aspects of the second school of thought - revisionism. As previously discussed in this chapter, each textbook had, in essence, some part of the narrative revised to convey a narrative that fits into a particular ideology. The revised narrative of the Holocaust is the so-called Social Holocaust. Within the findings of the data, The Holocaust and the Social Holocaust converged into one narrative however, in the process; the Social Holocaust became the dominant discourses. This is therefore evident as the major patterns in the findings indicated that discourses of Human Rights and victimisation, for example were foregrounded. Therefore, the narrative of the Holocaust has moved beyond just knowing about the event historically but rather a utilitarian use of the Holocaust has been foregrounded, with social implications.

In the chapter that follows (Chapter 6), I offer a conclusion to the study as well as reflections on the methods and methodologies and review the study holistically.

# Chapter 6

## Conclusion

### 6.1. Introduction

This study sought to add to the body of knowledge regarding Holocaust Education in South Africa and in so doing address the deficiencies that exist in the current research. It analysed the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in Grade 9 GET History textbooks by selecting a sample of four textbooks widely used in schools. Furthermore, this study aimed to understand how the phenomenon of the Holocaust was recontextualised or translated into textbooks and how it manifested itself in these textbooks via a particular narrative and why such a manifestation occurred. The textbooks under analysis were contrasted, not only in the narrative they portrayed of the Holocaust but more importantly, in the dominant discourses which emerged from each narrative respectively. The focus of the study was to analyse the sections in the selected textbooks entitled "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" and to elicit what were the dominant discourses on the Holocaust.

In Chapter 5 each of the emerging dominant discourses was discussed. Furthermore, it was argued that the narratives of the Holocaust found within each respective textbook section, portrayed a changing perspective on the Holocaust and from that perspective various discourses emerged such as discourses of victimisation; perpetrators; Human Rights; pedagogy; and exclusion and historical significance. In each instance, it was clearly seen that revisionism as explained in Chapter 5, was at the heart of each narrative as the historical Holocaust was underplayed whilst the Social Holocaust was foregrounded whereby the Holocaust was used to teach other messages or something else which is in accordance with international trends in addition to teaching about the Holocaust.



Within this Chapter, the aim is to provide a holistic review of the study to determine whether, amongst others, the outcomes of the study were achieved using the chosen methodology and also to identify the limitations of the study. Each Chapter was briefly reviewed and the three research questions were recapped respectively and the contribution of this study considered.

## **6.2. Methodological Reflections**

Given that my interest for this study was to analyse the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in textbooks, I undertook a methodology which was framed within phenomenological research. Such research aims to understand a phenomenon and deals mainly with the interpretation of the phenomenon. I situated the research in an interpretative paradigm which is exploratory and descriptive in nature and is designed to discover what can be learned about the area of interest.

This study adopted a qualitative research approach which is often used to explore and understand a particular phenomenon. This resonated well with the phenomenological framework and considering the nature of the research questions which underpin this study, the qualitative approach was the most appropriate as this type of research centres around understanding a phenomenon.

The epistemological assumption for this study was that knowledge and reality are socially constructed and that that knowledge is "subjective and inherently political" (Hatch, 2002, p.16). Textbooks in themselves are constructed to suit particular needs and in turn, the discourses within the textbooks are constructed from a specific perspective and thus the epistemological assumption was suitably chosen for this study. The assumption is also anchored in the fact that the data for this study was not generated specifically for analytical purposes but rather prevailed as pre-existing secondary data as, the textbooks through their production had already generated data

which was simply used for the analysis. Thus the analysis was done in an unobtrusive manner.

The methodology adopted for this study used Narrative Inquiry and CDA as a platform for the analysis. At conception the study was methodologically strongly rooted in CDA where Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) notion of empty signifiers and nodal points would have been used to interrogate the data. However, the data would have needed to be analysed from a grammatical perspective as well as a semantics approach which would not fully have elicited the discourses from the data. It was also furthermore, a challenge to comprehend the abstract nature of CDA and how all the inherent aspects combine. Thus, after much deliberation and researching I chose Narrative Inquiry as a more suitable alternative to fulfil the requirements of this study as it interrogated the narrative/s on the Holocaust. CDA was not discarded from the study completely as Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse informed the analysis. The three dimensions of discourse were namely description; interpretation; and explanation. It can be concluded that the methodologies can at any time be adapted to ensure the data analysed can elicit rich and meaningful data.

Using Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse was challenging as Chapter 4 of the dissertation had to be rewritten several times to ensure that the three dimensions were actually adhered to in eliciting the data from the analysis. Furthermore, in Chapter 4, I was compelled primarily to engage with my own ideas as opposed to engaging with other scholars' thinking and arguments in earlier Chapters.

The sample chosen for this study was purposive as it was concerned with detailed analysis and convenience sampling as History textbooks that were readily accessible were chosen. As the analysis was not content driven there was no need to analyse the textbooks throughout and I deliberately chose certain sections of the textbooks to analyse which were themed according to the requirements of the study, "How and Why the Holocaust Happened?" The criteria for the analysis were adapted from Chatman's

(1978) composition of a narrative and a data analysis instrument was designed accordingly.

The sample size was small and this could be viewed as a methodological limitation of the study. At the outset of the study, the anticipated sample size of textbooks was bigger. However, the decision was made to reduce the sample size as it produced unwieldy and repetitive data. Despite the fact that the sample size was reduced, the findings were still trustworthy since all the textbooks are vetted by the same production procedures and the sample size for this study became manageable.

The methodology chosen for this study was both effective and suitable for answering the research questions despite various challenges. Each aspect of the research design was specifically geared towards engaging with a phenomenon whilst the methodology was designed to address the narratives and discourses.

### **6.3. Personal-Professional Reflections on the Study**

The rationale and motivation behind this study, professionally, was to further my career by obtaining a Masters Degree in History Education. Furthermore, since this was a full dissertation it would also enhance my research abilities. Undertaking this research has assisted me in refining my research skills due to the challenges faced by a researcher and has also initiated me into new ways of critical thinking and engaging with material which have aided my transformation into a more proficient researcher. This process allowed me to gain a deeper insight into textbooks in general and History specifically and how they relate to contentious and contemporary events.

The personal motivation for this study was as a direct result of the passion I have for History and the Holocaust has always been an area of interest to me. For example, I am curious as to how people were treated in History and how this manifests itself in texts which are used by both learners and teachers. Whilst much has been written

about this topic, I sought an opportunity to study this phenomenon in the genre of textbooks for reasons as explained above. Furthermore, the study of the Holocaust is always controversial which heightened my fascination and after completion of this study, I intend to undertake further research on the Holocaust.

I have also gained a prodigious amount of knowledge on how the Holocaust is viewed and treated in textbooks globally and how it is presented and used in South African GET textbooks. This study, was however, not obstacle free and presented many challenges. This dissertation was vastly different from my other qualifications as this was the first time where I was confronted with engaging with my own ideas and research. In previous qualifications, it was easier to engage with other scholars' research than to struggle with critical interrogation of my own findings and theories.

#### **6.4. Review of the Study**

Each Chapter of the study was allocated a specific aspect of the study and was crucial to the overall understanding and its success. Below is a review of the study by Chapters which answers each of the three research questions which are also addressed and unpacked.

In Chapter 1 I laid down the foundation of the study by explaining how the study was framed and rooted. In addition the historical narrative of the Holocaust was highlighted, indicating what is known about the Holocaust publically and what has been accepted as the universal truth regarding the topic. Furthermore, Chapter 1 identified the three schools of thought regarding the Holocaust; the believers, the revisionists and the deniers. It was determined that the school of thought to which the textbooks prescribe was the believers and thus the narratives found in the textbooks form part of the official History as they are part of the curriculum. Consequently, Chapter 1 briefly explained and framed the context of how the Holocaust as a topic fits into the NCS / CAPS and

History textbooks. This Chapter set the scene for the study and explained how the rest of the dissertation was to unfold.

Chapter 2 of the study was a literature review where literature was reviewed thematically on textbooks and the Holocaust respectively. The purpose of a literature review was to listen to and report on an intellectual conversation where the available knowledge or literature regarding textbooks and the Holocaust was discussed by leading scholars. Various aspects of textbooks and the Holocaust were reviewed, namely;

- the Nature of Textbooks
- the Intended Purpose of Textbooks
- Getting to Grips with Textbooks in General
- the Role and Importance of History Textbooks
- Holocaust Education
- Holocaust Education and Textbooks
- Holocaust Education and South Africa
- Theoretical Framework of 'The Holocaust' versus the 'Nazi Holocaust'

The focus of Chapter 2 was to provide a solid basis from which to understand the current state of knowledge on textbooks in History as well as their role and importance. In addition to this, the Holocaust in textbooks as well as Holocaust Education was reviewed. The literature review was also used to find a niche for my study and to see where it is located in the debate on textbooks and the Holocaust. From the literature on the Holocaust, the theoretical framework of Finkelstein's (2003) two Holocausts was gleaned; The Holocaust versus the Nazi Holocaust. 'The Holocaust' refers to what Finkelstein (2003) calls the Holocaust Industry - the social aspect of the Holocaust. Similarly, Gouws (2011) extends this notion by referring to 'The Holocaust' as a 'Social Holocaust' which deals with how the Holocaust is used to teach for something other than the actual historical event. The 'Nazi Holocaust' as referred to by Finkelstein

(2003) is concerned with the Holocaust as a historical event which Gouws (2011) terms the 'Historical Holocaust.' The theoretical framework concludes Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 of the study engaged with the research design and research methodology as discussed in the methodological reflections (p.143). The important features related to the methodology include Narrative Inquiry as a branch of CDA whilst the methods employed in this study were explained and the choices were rationalised. Such methods include the analysis tool and features discussed include the data analysis methods, data generation methods, data collection, sampling, and their respective strengths and limitations. Features such as validity or trustworthiness; reliability; and ethical considerations were also reflected on, ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology were thoroughly interrogated.

Chapter 4 analysed the research findings collected from the selected Grade 9 GET History textbooks. The research design and research methodology which informed the research instrument (discussed in Chapter 3) was enlivened in Chapter 4 as the generated data was analysed and explored. What emerged from the data was that various aspects were needed in order to construct a narrative without which, a narrative could not exist. It was observed that each textbook mirrored the same narrative schematic template in terms of the aspects found which constructed the narrative. However, it was the content of each selected textbook that varied thus altering the narrative of the Holocaust in each. Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse, namely; description, interpretation and explanation were used to analyse the data findings. The findings of each were thoroughly discussed before a comparative analysis was conducted to elicit similarities in discourse which resulted in an identification of the different discourses. Subsequently, different dominant discourses emerged from the data findings which were discussed in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 5, the discourses were discussed and explained in detail. The findings from Chapter 5 were related to the literature from Chapter 2 in order to determine which

findings were expected and which appeared to be new knowledge. As a result of these findings, answers were offered to the research questions.

#### RESEARCH QUESTION 1

#### **What are the dominant discourses on the Holocaust in selected Grade 9 prescribed GET History textbooks?**

The dominant discourses on the Holocaust which emerged from the data findings were underpinned by a discourse of revisionism. As clarified in Chapter 5, revisionism entails the reworking and reinterpretation of narratives on particular events - in this case the Holocaust - for a particular purpose or to concur with a specific ideology. To fully comprehend the impact of revisionism, I chose to intertwine this line of argument with the other dominant discourses as revisionism was found to be the overarching discourse as it was prominent in each of the other emerging dominant discourses. The actual historical event of the Holocaust, whilst not denied, is downplayed in these texts and a Social Holocaust discourse dominates where such discourses as victimisation and Human Rights emerges dominant.

The first dominant discourse which emerged from the data was a discourse of victimisation which was primarily concerned with the narrative of the victims of the Holocaust; the Jews. The extent of revisionism regarding the discourse of victimisation was overt as this discourse was prominent in each of the selected Grade 9 GET History textbooks analysed.

A dominant discourse of perpetrators also emerged from the data that was centred on oppressors and perpetrators. Within this discourse it was not always clear who the actual perpetrators were as these could either be the Nazis or the Germans or both. Within this discourse, the perpetrators frequently remain faceless as no specific individual is blamed not even, as mentioned in Chapter 5 (p.126) Hitler himself but rather a collective guilt is bestowed on a group; the Nazis or the Germans or both. The

extent of revisionism within this discourse is covert as it is not always clear who are the perpetrators.

Thirdly, a dominant discourse of Human Rights was evident as the Holocaust was used to teach something other than the historical event, namely against gross violations and prejudices. This discourse was also one of the more overt and dominant discourses as it appeared in each of the four selected textbook sections analysed. The extent of the revisionism was explicit as Human Rights forms part of the ideology to which the DoE / DBE wishes to expose learners through the NCS / CAPS and ultimately through the textbooks they use in the classroom.

Another dominant discourse which emerged was a discourse of historical significance and inclusion. Due to the fact that textbooks are artefacts of economics; culture; ideology; and politics, certain events will be deemed more historically significant than others and will thus be included in these said texts. This is as a direct result of which ideology the state wants to foreground through education. The opposite to a discourse of historical significance is a discourse of exclusion and silence. It is a historical reality that certain events or aspects of such events are either backgrounded, silenced or ignored. The extent of revisionism was overt in the discourses of historical significance and inclusion as well as exclusion and silence because deliberate choices are made by the stakeholders of textbooks production.

In addition, a pedagogical discourse emerged as a dominant discourse from the data. Pedagogy refers to how the narratives were written as well as the emotions attributed to the Holocaust. Within the dominant pedagogical discourse, several other discourses emerged, for instance, a discourse of pedagogical emotion where learners are expected to feel something for the victims (obligated emotions as discussed in Chapter 5, p.139). The extent of the revisionism with regards to pedagogy was covert and formed part of what is called the hidden curriculum whereby, emotions, for example, were utilised to



teach the Holocaust from a moral position however, that was not stated in the NCS / CAPS documents.

Finally, it emerged that textbooks themselves can be regarded as discourses as they are conveyors of knowledge. Moreover, textbooks are symbolic representations of the world and society therefore the narrative which emanates from the textbook regarding the Holocaust is theoretically how the world should view the Holocaust. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, textbooks are seen as not only important but also as powerful ideological tools which have been sanctioned by the state President. Thus, the existence of textbooks which are manufactured articles, are influenced by economics; culture; politics; and ideology and are thus discrete dominant discourses on the Holocaust. The extent of revisionism within this discourse is covert as many stakeholders in textbook production are unaware that textbooks may be considered to be discourses, which is an example of more abstract thinking.

## RESEARCH QUESTION 2

### **How do these dominant discourses manifest themselves in the textbooks?**

Dominant discourses manifest themselves in textbooks if they are viewed initially as an agreed upon truth and if the discourse demonstrates tendencies from the believer school of thought, it can manifest in a textbook. If the DoE / DBE did not agree on a particular narrative or discourse, it would not manifest in a textbook as it did not concur with the ideology purported by the DoE / DBE and would thus not be sanctioned and subsequently not feature in the NCS / CAPS. A discourse would manifest itself if there was a niche for it as prescribed by the DoE / DBE. The ontological truth of the Holocaust has not changed despite revisionism but has insinuated its way into the African context through Western consciousness.

The Holocaust is also seen as a moral touchstone (Salmons, 2003) and therefore as previously stated, taught from a social rather than a historical perspective.

Furthermore, dominant discourses of victimisation and Human Rights manifest prominently in textbooks as they are needed to teach the Holocaust from a social perspective and thus from a moral centre.

Consequently, Western consciousness has greatly influenced how discourses manifest themselves in textbooks and on how the Holocaust is not only portrayed but also taught. The Holocaust has been given global relevance and thus the shift from the Holocaust being taught from a historical to a social perspective is noticeable as, social discourses are increasingly manifested in textbooks.

### RESEARCH QUESTION 3

#### **Why do these dominant discourses manifest themselves in this manner?**

There has been a major shift in how and why the Holocaust should be taught which is evident not only in textbooks but also in museums. Holocaust museums are now geared towards teaching the Holocaust not on a factual or historical basis but rather from a social perspective where users can learn something from the experience. Similarly, so as not to be guilty of Human Rights abuses, the same ideology has been incorporated in textbooks. Instead of the Holocaust being presented as facts or in an historical context, it is depicted in terms of the social impact on victims and perpetrators. In so doing, Finkelstein's(2003) 'Nazi Holocaust' diminishes and prominence is given to 'The Holocaust' or the Social Holocaust (Gouws, 2011) where the focus is on something other than the event itself.

This accentuates the notion that the Holocaust is no longer being taught for enlightenment of the event described as historical but rather used to signify something else. The idea that such atrocities should never be repeated is constantly present in the Human Rights discourse and in the discourse of victimisation. In so doing, the Holocaust is used in parallel with Apartheid in a South African context, so that learners

can relate to it at a superficial level. Therefore, the Holocaust as a narrative is used to teach a particular political ideology.

### **6.5. Limitations**

The limitations of the study as discussed in Chapter 3 were the data analysis instrument, the sample size, and the fact that the research cannot be generalised. The data analysis instrument could never have addressed every aspect of Narrative Inquiry however, for the purpose of this study, the data instrument was effective in eliciting the data required to answer the research questions. The sample size was small and could be viewed as non-representational however; all the History textbooks available for Grade 9 are subject to the same vetting procedure. Despite this research, there is no knowledge as to how the selected textbooks analysed would be used in a classroom and thus, this can be seen as a limitation of this study. The final limitation is the fact that this research cannot be generalised due to the nature of the study and is therefore context-bound.

### **6.6. Implications for Future Research**

Holocaust Education and Textbooks is a complex and evolving concept which still has many dimensions worthy of examination. I would like to use this dissertation as a grounding for a PhD in two possible areas:

- PhD in the benefit of Holocaust Education for learners
- PhD in understanding the political nature of Education about the Holocaust and Holocaust Education and History Textbooks

## **6.7. Conclusion**

In this Chapter, the background to the study was discussed in order to create a context from which the study evolved and to explain initially why it is necessary to undertake such a study. The purpose of the various Chapters was explained and the research questions summarised. Future implications for research were also discussed.

It is my contention that the findings of this study are useful in that it aimed to address the deficiencies in Holocaust and textbook research particularly in an African context. Thus a major event in Western consciousness insinuates itself into African consciousness or scholarship as new findings or knowledge indicated that a certain extent of revisionism is at the heart of the ideological shifting where the historical Holocaust is being downplayed whilst the Social Holocaust is foregrounded. The revision of the narrative of the Holocaust leaning towards the discourse of Human Rights has to satisfy particular prerequisites to make the narrative palatable for Grade 9 learners (14-15 years of age). These prerequisites were determined by the DoE / DBE and subsequently filtered into the NCS / CAPS and ultimately are found in the History textbooks.

No other study has been undertaken, locally, wherein the dominant discourses on the Holocaust have been investigated in a South African context. This study is valuable for the DoE / DBE to understand the importance of a holistic, functional and a multi-dimensional view of the Holocaust and how it should be taught with a balance between social and historical perspectives.

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3 June 2011

Miss M Koekemoer (206519843)  
School of Social Science Education  
Faculty of Education  
Edgewood Campus

Dear Miss Koekemoer

**PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0284/011M**

**PROJECT TITLE: Analysing the discourses on the Holocaust in Grade 9 South African History textbooks**

In response to your application dated 31 May 2011, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol 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 school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....  
**Professor Steven Collings (Chair)**  
**HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

cc. Supervisor: Prof J Wassermann  
cc. Mr N Memela/Miss T Mnisi



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