CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING THE STUDY: MEMORY, IDENTITY AND CURRICULUM IN TWO SOCIETIES EMERGING FROM CONFLICT

The purpose of this study is to understand how societies (Rwanda and South Africa) with a past of internecine (ethnic) conflict resulting in gross human rights abuses, re-invent or re-imagine themselves as they emerge from conflict; and the ways in which the curricula, in particular history, both reflect and assert such struggles for reinvention. In examining the national processes that contributed to curriculum renewal in the two countries, I draw on my personal experience as a participant researcher of curriculum development within South Africa, not only for an analysis of change within this country, but to inform the analysis of curriculum development within Rwanda.

Rationale

During a seminar at *Facing History and Ourselves* organisation in Boston, USA in 2003, questions were raised in a session by an academic, Henry Theriault, working in the area of genocide denial, that set me thinking deeply about societies in transition and the history curriculum after conflict. He asked what happens to a society that commits genocide and/or gross human rights violations. He wondered how such societies transformed and how they could prevent a repeat of the cycle of genocide or gross human rights abuses. Theriault did not provide answers, but pointed to research being done by psychologists on trauma resulting from genocide and the trans-generational transmission of trauma, that was opening up productive research focusing on the psychological legacy of mass violations of human rights. At the time, I was a member of one of the working groups involved in the revision of the South African curriculum. We were operating within a top-down, politically motivated and driven, human rights framework that had not been discussed or debated at the levels of curriculum construction or implementation. Every member of the working group came with an inherited set of attitudes and values that had been shaped by the apartheid experience. These were not explicitly addressed but were implicit in the

contestations that occurred during the curriculum writing processes. Theriault's questions had a deep impact on my thoughts about conflict and transitional societies, sparking the initial interest for this research in South Africa. I could not find the answers I sought in the preliminary reading of the academic research literature.

The preliminary research for this study was comparative within the wider context of genocide in Europe in the Nazi era and in the Balkans in the 1990s. A comparative African dimension emerged after participation in a Rwandan-South African dialogue in 1998, organised jointly by the Cape Town Holocaust Centre and the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. A number of speakers from Rwanda claimed that the colonial past had a key role in the making of genocide. In particular they highlighted the construction of the ethnic identities of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa within a Social Darwinist and eugenics framework, that had informed white colonial attitudes towards Africans, and on which a hierarchical colonial society of privilege in Rwanda had been constructed. It was further claimed that school history in Rwanda entrenched these imposed identities and was manipulated to create division and hatred and prepare the way for genocide. Was this a just perception? This belief was so firmly held that a moratorium on the teaching of history in schools was declared after the 1994 genocide. What, I wondered, does a country do with history education in the aftermath of genocide, particularly when perpetrators and victims have to co-exist in such close proximity? More than ten years later, the moratorium on the teaching of History in Rwanda was being lifted. *Facing History and Ourselves*, a Boston-based non-profit organisation, which is involved in a professional development project with the Western Cape Education Department and Shikaya, a Cape Town-based NPO, was invited to run similar teacher workshops in Rwanda. These workshops were to introduce new history materials that had been developed by local writers under the facilitation of the University of California, Berkeley. This provided me with an opportunity to become involved in Rwanda and opened the way to developing a comparative study of memory, identity and the curriculum in South Africa and Rwanda, two developing countries, both African, and both emerging from a violent past.

The construction of curricula in post-conflict societies is an under-researched facet of the research in the field of curriculum development and education policy. While there are studies on the curriculum of transition from socialist to post-socialist states[1] or colonial to post-colonial regimes[2] or routine changes of government in capitalist democracies,[3] there are very few, if any, studies which examine societies that have experienced the transitional trauma arising from internecine racial conflict that was culturally embedded at all levels as the focus of curriculum analysis – and how in such societies issues of memory and identity are both reflected and contested through what is taught.[4] The concept of conflict in this study is that of gross human rights abuses, genocide in Rwanda and crimes against humanity in apartheid South Africa. It is perhaps useful for the purposes of this study to refer to these societies as emerging from **violent** conflict or de facto civil war. The historical legacy is the ongoing tensions and conflicts within these societies that are a legacy of the violent pasts, and the racialised and ethnic identities imposed by the oppressive regimes.

This study could make a significant contribution to the understanding of this process and the interaction between the history curriculum and the political process of re-imagining the post-conflict state. As internecine conflicts intensified during the 1990s,

---

[1] Freedman, S.W. et al. (2004) Public education and social reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in Stover, E. & Weinstein, H. (2004) *My neighbour my* enemy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Pingel, F. (2005: November) *Textbook revision in Bosnia – a path to minimum consensus.* Paper delivered at a conference, *Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies emerging from violent conflict.* An International, Inter-Professional Conference organised by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs and the United States Institute of Peace

[2] Woolman, D.C. (2001) Educational reconstruction and post-colonial curriculum development: A comparative study of four African countries. *International Education Journal,* Vol. 2, No, 5 WCCES Commission 6 special 2001 Congress Issue, http://www.flinders.edu.au/education/iej; Jansen, J.D. (2003) What Education Scholars write about Curriculum in Namibia and Zimbabwe in Pinar, W.F. (ed) *International Handbook of Curriculum Research.* New Jersey/London: Laurence Earlbaum Associates; Pandey, S.N. & Moorad, F.R. (2003) *The Decolonisation of Curriculum in Botswana* in Pinar, W.F. (ed) *International Handbook of Curriculum Research.* New Jersey/London: Laurence Earlbaum Associates

[3] Hess, F. (1999) *Spinning Wheels: the politics of urban school reform*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; Hill, M. & Hupe, P. (2002) *Implementing Public Policy: Governance in Theory and in Practice*. SAGE publications; Kingdon, J.W. (2003) *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies.* 2nd edit, Longman.

[4] In 2008 a volume of articles investigating the potential relationship between history education and reconciliation after conflict, highlighting the findings of truth commissions was published. However, none of the article engages with the intersection of the political and educational processes of post-conflict construction of memory and identity. Cole, E. (ed) (2008) *Teaching the violent past: history education and reconciliation.* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

a growing body of research has tried to understand the link between education and conflict and the potential contribution to post-conflict reconstruction that education can make. However, none of this research has provided an in-depth analysis of the processes of political and educational construction of memory and identity and the engagement with traumatic knowledge in history education, once violent conflict has ended. This study has relevance to countries emerging from conflict around the world, but perhaps particularly to countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Research focus and questions

The central focus of this thesis is on how collective memory and identity are reflected and asserted in curriculum in societies emerging from internecine conflict. The main research question for this study is how post-conflict societies re-conceptualise or re-imagine themselves through the medium of the curriculum. Ancillary questions raise issues of how memory and identity are constructed in the conflict and post-conflict states and to what purpose; how societies emerging from conflict deal with the traumatic knowledge of an abusive past; and how curriculum reflects and asserts the new identities after the violent phase of conflict has ended.

Framework, perspectives and concepts

While recognising that education can contribute to conflict, governments of societies in transition nevertheless consider education to be a crucial arena for positive change, with education policy signalling that change. When the transition is from a past of gross human rights abuses, the transition takes on a traumatic dimension, bringing together the politics of memory, power and emotion that needs to be dealt with politically and educationally. The struggles over memory in the new society raise issues of remembering or forgetting and of the construction of appropriate new memories and identities, all in service of the new regime. A critical issue is what happens to the 'old' memory in the new state. Memory and identity are located within individuals, families, groups and 'nations' and are dynamic rather than fixed, particularly when they have political intentions, such as legitimising a regime. For example, in societies emerging from conflict, the once dominant national memories and identities, potentially become Foucauldian counter-memories located in group

identities that could work to undermine the new state - particularly when a minority memory was imposed on the majority such in South Africa.

- **What is memory?**

An understanding of memory and identity and the ways in which these inform this study is an important context for the examination of the construction of memory and identity in South Africa and Rwanda. Memory, defined in various ways, has become a central issue in the contemporary understanding of what it means to do history.[5] Memory operates on many levels within society: individual, group, wider community and is deeply associated with individual and social identity, nation building, ideology and citizenship.[6] Collective memory is the socially shared representations of the past, usually measured by the yardstick of the 'nation' – 'collective' because it is national.[7] However, smaller identity-based groups within a 'nation' can also have shared collective memories. Collective memory can further be defined as:

> an interaction between the memory policies – also referred to as 'historical memory' and the recollections – 'common memory', of what has been experienced in common. It lies at the point where individual meets collective, and psychic meets social.[8]

Various realities can be taken on by the concept 'memory', such as commemoration, monument, political use of the past, personal memories or handed-down experiences.

---

[5] Zembylas, M. & Bekerman, Z. (2008) Education and the Dangerous Memories of Historical Trauma: Narratives of Pain, Narratives of Hope. *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 38 Issue 2: 125-154; Winter, J. (2000) The generation of Memory: Reflections on the 'Memory Boom' in contemporary Historical Studies, *GHI Bulletin* 27, http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/bu/027/bulletin27.html Accessed 2006 . For example: Memory has been used to denote the contents of the past as they become present and the process that brings the past into the present. King, R.H. (2002) *Reflections on Memory, Identity and Political Action.* Robert Penn Warren Centre for the Humanities, Online newsletter, Vol. 10, No 2, www.vanderbilt.edu/rpw_centre/Is02a.htm. Accessed, 25 May 2005; as a substitute for history (Nora: 1978); and as complementary to history. Boodry, K. (2005) *The Crossroad of History and Memory: Histories of Collaboration and Narratives of Resistance in Post-colonial Korean History and Memory.* New School for Social Research
http://www.newschool.edu/nssr/historymatters/papers/KathrynBoodry.pdf Accessed 25 May 2005. A distinction has also been made between social and historical memory (Halbwachs, M. (1980) *The Collective Memory.* New York: Harper & Row) with social memory regarded as the memory of things that one has experienced personally (or the group to which a person belongs has experienced) and historical memory that which has been mediated, by films and books and schools and holidays.
[6] Santos (2001) quoted in Zembylas & Bekerman (2008): 126
[7] Lavabre, M-C. (2005) *For a Sociology of Collective Memory* Interdisciplinary study of Memory, http://www.cnrs.fr/cw/en/pres/compress/memoire/lavabre.htm Accessed 25 January 2006
[8] Ibid

History and memory influence and shape one another through a complementary process[9] and have political and well as a cultural functions. The meanings given to terms such as memory, remembering and history have differed widely and are still far from clear. Memory has been used to denote the contents of the past as they become present and the process that brings the past into the present;[10] as a substitute for history;[11] and as complementary to history.[12] A distinction has also been made between social and historical memory. Social memory in this context is regarded as the memory of things that one has either experienced personally, or the group to which a person belongs has experienced. Historical memory is that which has been mediated, by films, books, schools and public or religious holidays.[13] For most people in most countries, national experience is overwhelmingly based on such represented memories.

However, this does not help us to understand what happens to memory and identity in societies that have been involved in violent internecine conflict. A number of historians writing about Eastern Europe refer to the concept of 'traumatic memory'.[14] This was a subject that received increasing attention in the 1980s and 1990s when *post-traumatic stress disorder* became more widely acknowledged with the acceptance that among us, within our families, there are men and women

---

[9] Boodry, K. (2005) The Crossroad of History and Memory: Histories of Collaboration and Narratives of Resistance in Post-colonial Korean History and Memory. *New School for Social Research* http://www.newschool.edu/nssr/historymatters/papers/KathrynBoodry.pdf Accessed 25 May 2005

[10] King, R.H. (2002) *Reflections on Memory, Identity and Political Action.* Robert Penn Warren Centre for the Humanities, Online newsletter, Vol. 10, No 2, www.vanderbilt.edu/rpw_centre/Is02a.htm. Accessed, 25 May 2005

[11] Nora, P. (1989) Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire. *Representations,* Issue 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, Spring, http://www.jstor.org/ Accessed 6 December 2005

[12]Boodry, K. (2005)

[13] Halbwachs, M. (1980) *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper & Row. However, what Halbwachs misses is that all memory is socially mediated.

[14] Lavabre, M. (2000: August) Politics of memory and living memory: the case of postcommunism. A paper delivered at a conference: *Remembering, Forgetting and Forgiving in the life of the Nation and the Community,* Cape Town 9-11 August; Leggewie, C. & Meyer, E. (2002) Shared Memory: Buchenwald and Beyond. *Transit-Europäische Revue*, Tr@nsit-Virtuelles Forum, Nr. 22/2002); Maier, C.S. (2002) Hot Memory … Cold Memory: On the Political Half-Life of Fascist and Communist Memory. *Transit-Europäische Revue,* Tr@nsit-Virtuelles Forum, Nr. 22/2002); Rupnik, J. (2002) The Politics of Coming to Terms with the Communist Past. *Transit-Europäische Revue*, Tr@nsit-Virtuelles Forum, Nr. 22 All accessed in January 2006

overwhelmed by traumatic recollection or memory.[15] Trauma in the psychology of suffering is the way in which the personal aftermath of atrocity and abuse is understood. The concept of traumatic memory is currently most closely associated with the psychological damage experienced by survivors of the Holocaust.

The notion of traumatic memory is particularly relevant to Rwanda and South Africa as each is coming to terms with a violent past and with the tensions between remembering and forgetting that go with it. The genocide in Rwanda left both survivors and perpetrators with deep emotional and psychological scars and continuing deep identity-based divisions. The challenges of reconciliation are mistrust, suspicion, and fear of revenge.[16] The genocide in Rwanda was particularly traumatic with victims and perpetrators coming from the same neighbourhood, sometimes living under the same roof, as members of families turned on one another. Genocide was accompanied by wide-scale rape and infection with the HIV virus. Theriault in his seminar session referred to this as continuing the genocide through rape and HIV/AIDS. When having to come to terms with crimes of such magnitude, how does a country begin to build a common memory and new identity? There is the need to rebuild hope and confidence at all levels, not only in government but also between neighbours and family members. There is a need to mend the deep divisions and tensions between Hutu and Tutsi, victims and perpetrators and the returning refugees, some of whom left Rwanda during the conflicts of 1959 and 1972. What are the implications for the emerging curriculum?

The post-1994 traumatic and painful memories in South Africa are the legacy of over 40 years of institutionalised racism and oppression, preceded by 300 years of colonial segregation and oppression. The evidence of the trauma might not be as dramatically

---

[15] Winter, J. (2000) The generation of Memory: Reflections on the 'Memory Boom' in contemporary Historical Studies. *GHI Bulletin* 27. This is the condition known as 'shell shock' suffered by many soldiers during and after the First World War. Eva Hoffmann notes that it was only in the mid-1950s that notice began to be taken of the many Holocaust survivors who were demonstrating symptoms of psychological trauma. Hoffmann, E. (2004) *After Such Knowledge: A meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. London: Secker & Warburg

[16] Ndangiza, F. (2005) Talk given at the Transitional Justice Conference, *Transforming Conflicts: options for reconciliation and reconstruction*, Cape Town, 10-14 October organised by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and Globalitaria. Author's notes.

widespread as in a country such as Rwanda, but the psychological scars for **all** South Africans are deep and at times difficult to identify, confront and challenge. For many of those who experienced the brutality of the regime first hand, the trauma of torture, murder and rape have not been given closure. For all South Africans, racialised identities need to be confronted in order to challenge and turn around the continuing legacy of apartheid.

Part of the process of 'moving on', is creating a common national identity, which reflects memories that acknowledge the trauma of the past in a way that prevents denial:

> The first element…is the need to transform the memory of trauma, the closed memory, which obsessively sends us back to the trampoline memory... once it is established that the past was really true, that it was not a nightmare, that it pervades our skin and that we recognize and accept what happened, we will know that it can be overcome. It is the awareness that it really happened and that we are not willing to let it ever happen again.[17]

However, when a collective memory is traumatic, there is the tension in societies emerging from conflict between those who feel it is better to forget a traumatic past than remember it, and those who feel that it should be remembered. The work of Simon, DiPaolantonio and Clamen is particularly useful to understanding memory and identity in post-conflict societies in relation to education.[18] In a number of articles they raise questions about the ethical, pedagogical and political implications of

---

[17] Pureza, J.M. (2002: November) Legal Mechanisms in Peace Processes, in *Refugees and Post-conflict Reconciliation,* proceedings of the Second Seminar, Humanitarian crisis, post Conflict Reconciliation, Lisbon-Sintra, 21-23 November.

[18] DiPaolantonio, M. & Simon, R.I. (2002: September) Re-Staging Public Memory in the Space of the Spectacle: The Project of an Historiographic Poetics. Paper delivered at a conference, *History in Words and Images* University of Turku, Finland, 26-28 September http://vanha.hum.utu.fi/hisotira/2002/ Accessed 14 January 2007); Simon, R. (2001) *Public Memory and the Ethical and Pedagogical Implications of Remembrance as a Social Practice.* Paper presented at Canadian Historical Consciousness in an International Context: Theoretical Frameworks, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC http://www.csjc/ibc/ca/pwias/viewpaper.php?1 Accessed 14 January 2007; Simon, R., DiPaolantonio, M. & Clamen, M. (2002) Remembrance as Praxis and the Ethics of the Interhuman. *Culture Machine* No. 4 (The Ethico-Political Issue) http://culturemachine.tees.ac.uk/frm_f1.htm Accessed 14 January 2007.

various practices of historical remembrance contained in documents, images, testimony and public memory. In particular they argue that public practices of memory not merely contribute to knowledge of the past, but can have a 'testamentary, transitive function', bearing an 'educative legacy to those who come after'.[19] Ethical practices of remembrance are particularly important in the context of legacies of trauma, raising the critical issue of what the second generation should do with the knowledge of the horrors of the particular conflict.[20]

Eva Hoffmann, in her personal reflections as a second generation survivor of the Holocaust in her book, *After Such Knowledge*, asks:

> What are the specific agents in conditions of collective violence, of deep psychic damage? It may seem indecent even to ask such questions, or to look for nuances among modalities of violence. And yet, the questions need to be asked if we are to think about actual forms of human behaviour – including war – and about our moral and emotional responses to them.[21]

'Forms of human behaviour' and 'our moral and emotional responses to them' are critical issues to be considered in history education in a society emerging from conflict.

- **What is the link between memory and identity?**

Identity is not just rooted in our group, but also in the history of our group. Group identity, fed by national or group myths, can become 'a bloody business' that directs individual behaviour and overrides cool, logical, rational empirical thinking making people 'do unspeakable things to one another'.[22] As with memory, identity is

---

[19] Simon (2001)

[20] Bernhard Schlink in his book, *The Reader*, wrote: 'At the same time I ask myself, as I had already begun to ask myself back then: What should our second generation have done, what should it do with the knowledge of the horrors of the extermination of the Jews?' This is a key question for all societies that have experience internecine conflict that involved gross violations of human rights. Schlink, B. (1997: English Translation) *The Reader*. London: Phoenix House: 120

[21] Hoffmann, E. (2004) *After Such Knowledge: A meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust* London: Secker & Warburg: 37-38

[22] Buruma, I. (2002) The Bloodlust of Identity. *The New York Review*, January 17

constructed on many levels: from individual, to societies and nations. Any one individual lays claim to a number of identities at any one time.

Memory has a political as well as a cultural function – pivotal to the creation of group identity. As official history, collective national memory is a means of legitimating the nation state, as well as of a particular form of government.[23] Memory is also the means of creating and identifying 'the other', the 'enemy' that needs to be eliminated in order for the group to survive. Therefore, the concepts of collective identity and its linked memory can be problematic, because collective identity has been so closely associated historically with notions of racial, ethnic and gender stereotypes.[24] Identity politics based on race and ethnicity, feed into traditions of exclusionary nationalism, even genocide. In a divided society, curriculum becomes one of the tools of division and oppression.

Collective memory and identity can operate on a number of levels within a society. Within a divided society, there are competing group identities. All have associated collective memories that can become 'imagined communities' within the larger nation state and in conflict with the state and its national narrative. Such group memories and identities are located within vernacular cultures and can be formed in relation to other groups within the larger 'national' community. Murphy in her study on *Reconstructing the Nation* in the United States refers to the work of Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, who argues that for black Baptists in the United States, the 'imagined community' was racially bounded and its sovereignty perceived as being free of white control. Higginbotham's understanding of the formation of a nationalist consciousness as a process of interaction among multiple discourses, including race, gender, religion and race – as a dependent, contradictory and dynamic discourse that gains meaning in relation to other discourses – is particularly useful in trying to understand the way in which racialised identities were formed in South Africa.[25]

---

[23] Boodry: 2005
[24] King: 2002
[25] Murphy, K.L. (1996) *Reconstructing the Nation: Race, Gender and Restoration, the Progressive Era*. Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Minnesota: 4

- **How does the memory/identity bond inform this study?**

In many countries throughout the world, governments have used the history curriculum to reinforce their perceptions of national ideologies and identities. But just as history can be used negatively to incite conflict, it can also become a means of building a positive memory and identity and of supporting democracy. In societies emerging from conflict, the notion of a collective memory and identity that will bring about social cohesion within the new 'nation' becomes critical when mediated via the political process.

Collective memory is generally a contested terrain on which competing groups self-consciously struggle to shape and reshape a version of the national past to suit their present political views of the future. The official arenas of contestation include education policy and curriculum, as well as the claiming of public ideological spaces in commemorative events and the construction of memorials. In societies emerging from violent conflict, there are additional layers of tension in the search for a national identity. These emanate from the political negotiations that take place in forging a new political society. Once memory debates become politicised, critical questions are raised: which past should be admitted and which should be rejected; and who has the legitimacy to decide? What is at stake in the debates is not merely the explanation of the past, but its transformation into a reference point for current individual identification with the national polity in the present.[26] In post-conflict societies, in which the colonial past is relatively recent, the transformation of explanations of the past are fraught with issues of oppressor and oppressed; superiority and inferiority; of internalised oppression; of former dominant narratives; and of the legacy of trauma and pain. History education becomes the terrain on which these competing narratives and emotions intersect.

Historiography, the way historians interpret the past, plays a key role in the construction of a common memory. Those who control images of the past can shape

---

[26] Levy, D. (1999) The Future of the Past: Historiographical Disputes and Competing Memories in Germany and Israel. *History and Theory 38*, No. 1, 51-66

the present and possibly ideas of the future,[27] making historians important players in the shaping of collective memory and therefore identity, by connecting past and present in particular ways. By extension, history education is a crucial arena for perpetuating national notions of memory and identity, both positive and negative, placing particular responsibilities on curriculum developers in post-conflict societies.

However, curriculum developers do not work in isolation from the political processes that bring about an end to the conflict. The way in which the conflict ends has particular implications for an emerging curriculum. The construction of education policy after a negotiated settlement is more likely to be contested and result in compromises, than a conflict that ends with a military victory. Victory presupposes the right to impose a new vision of national identity and a linked new national narrative on those who have been defeated. However, the implications here include the danger of unfinished business when the past is not dealt with in a way that both victors and defeated can engage in the traumatic legacy of that past together. The new ruling elite may construct a single, politically acceptable, new dominant narrative that can become, in Foucault's terms, a new regime of truth, equally as oppressive as that of the previous regime.

While there is a growing body of research on the link between education and conflict and rebuilding education after conflict, there are few studies that focus more specifically on history education and the construction of curriculum, in the traumatic aftermath of identity-based conflict.[28] The studies on traumatic memory relating to Eastern Europe cited previously, focus generally on traumatic memory and political processes; memory and transitional justice; and academic questions relating to traumatic memory and the reinterpretation of history. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent collapse of communism, opened the way in Eastern Europe

---

[27] Levy (1999):51

[28] For example, Bush, K. & Saltarelli, D. (2000) *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a peace-building approach to education.* UNICEF Innocenti Centre; Smith, A. & Vaux,T. (2003) *Education, conflict and International Development*. London: DfID; Tawil, S. (ed) (1997) *Educational destruction and Reconstruction in Disrupted Societies.* Final report of meeting, Geneva 5-6 May 1997 Geneva: International Bureau of Education; Tawil, S. & Harley, A., (eds) (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*. Geneva: International Bureau of Education

for a re-evaluation of national narratives in school textbooks. This began the process of breaking down the varying degrees of ideological control that the USSR had had on history narratives in communist bloc countries. Research has focussed on the debates generated by the conflicting national narratives between Eastern European countries and Russia and the moves towards reconciling the histories within school texts,[29] rather than locating these debates within a wider context of the dynamics of curriculum change in transition societies. Studies relating to post-Third Reich Germany tend to focus on the political processes of memory or on curriculum, but seldom bring the two processes together. Nor do the studies of German education after the Third Reich provide insight into societies in which victims and perpetrators need to continue to work out new forms of relating to one other in a newly imagined 'nation', articulating new values that were diametrically opposed to those of the former state.

Research on school history, nationhood and identity, particularly in Britain, has highlighted the various interpretations of national identity. A particular example is that of Welsh nationalism, which has resulted in revision of regional history textbooks in terms of a new 'national' identity that draws on foundational myths of past Welsh history.[30] In countries such as Northern Ireland and Israel, research has underscored the barriers to teaching a common history in countries that have emerged from violent conflict, but are still divided and still within a situation of conflict if defined in its broadest sense.[31] What all of these researchers into history education have in

---

[29] For example, Kujawska & Skórzynska (2000) *Truth - Memory - Reconciliation : On the Cultural Context of the Activities of the Polish-Eastern -Central Europe Secondary School Textbook Commissions.* Paper delivered at a conference, Memory and History: Remembering, Forgetting and Forgiving in the life of the Nation and the Community, Cape Town, 9 - 11 August.

[30] For example: Morgan and Phillips (2003) Wales! Wales? Britain! Britain? Teaching and Learning about the History of the British Isles in Secondary Schools in Wales. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* Vol.3, No. 1, January

[31] Naveh, E. (2005) '*What is your Story? Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative in an Israeli-Palestinian Textbook.* Paper delivered at a conference, *Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies emerging from violent conflict. An International, Inter-Professional Conference* organised by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs and the United States Institute of Peace, November; Gallagher, T. (2005) *Teaching History in Northern Ireland: a consideration of patterns and problems.* Paper delivered at a conference *Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies emerging from violent conflict. An International, Inter-Professional Conference* organised by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs and the United States Institute of Peace, November.

common, is the view that 'history and history education becomes a live political issue and concern within nation states at points of evolution or transition'.[32]

These studies do not make the link between political processes and curriculum change explicit. Furthermore, none examine the changing education systems and curriculum in the context of the legacy of traumatic memory, or the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, which is the inheritance of the second generation in a post-conflict society. The way in which this knowledge is deeply and often unconsciously internalised by children of victims, is movingly described by Eva Hoffman.[33] A growing body of research has also revealed that children of perpetrators internalise the damaging 'knowledge' of the actions of their parents.[34] Research in the field of education policy in post-conflict societies needs to take the effects of trauma into account in attempting to understand the trajectories of education policy renewal in these societies. This is the critical context for this study, providing the lens for examining not only the curriculum changes and the linked construction of memory and identity, but also the associated political processes that influence the trajectory of change.

The two national contexts for the enquiry

South Africa and Rwanda are both societies still suffering from the legacy of traumatic conflict. While it is not within the scope of this study to examine the conflicts, it is useful to have a brief overview of each as a context for understanding post-conflict political and educational change and the re-imagining of the state. Post-conflict has been described as those societies undergoing a 'simultaneous reconstruction and reconciliation'.[35] If this definition is taken in its broadest sense, then South Africa and Rwanda can be regarded as post-conflict. However, at times I prefer to regard them as societies in transition rather than post-conflict, as although

---

[32] Nichol, J.D. (2000) Editorial: Old Wine, New Bottles: National Identity, Citizenship and the History Curriculum for the 21st Century. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* Vol 1. No.1, December :2
[33] Hoffmann (2004)
[34] For example Sichrovsky, P. (1988) *Born Guilty: The Children of the Nazis*. I.B. Taurus & Co
[35] Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (2003) *Post-Conflict Transition, the State and Civil Society in Africa* http://www.nai.uu.se/research/areas/archive/postconflict/ Accessed 10 May 2009.

there has been a political change from one regime to another, the societies are still grappling with the legacies of the past.

- **South Africa**

Apartheid South Africa was a society based on legalised and institutionalised segregation that was a continuum of development from the 17th century. When the National Party won the general elections in 1948, they had put before the mainly white voters, a vision for the country based on white supremacy and the separation of races. Once in power, legislation was introduced that systematically entrenched the power of the National Party and placed the laws that formed the building blocks of apartheid on the statute books. The Population Registration Act classified people as belonging to different 'races'; the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act banned marriages across the racial divides; the Group Areas Act identified separate residential areas; and the Separate Amenities Act, in theory, provided equal separate amenities such as park benches, beaches, toilets for the different 'races'. Apartheid's authoritarian system of racial domination and ethnic segregation permeated all aspects of life, resulting in deep-rooted racialised identities. But underpinning this was a view of identity that had strong historical links.

The implementation of the apartheid policies tore families apart, resulting in large-scale forced removals and 'resettlements', which in rural areas, led to deep-seated poverty and widespread malnutrition among children. The policing of free movement of black South Africans led to the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of men and women, for not having the necessary identity documents that permitted them to be in a particular place at a particular time. Resistance to apartheid was brutally suppressed. The scale of repression, including states of emergency, banning, house arrest, detention without trial, imprisonment, torture and murder, increased with the increasing scale of resistance. In 1973 the United Nations General Assembly declared apartheid a 'crime against humanity'.

Segregated education reinforced inequality and the racialised identities, which lowered the self-esteem of the majority of South Africans and enhanced the self-

esteem of the minority. Thus, education during apartheid was an instrument of division and oppression. The institutional ethos of the education departments was highly authoritarian. The vast majority of those within the top level of all bureaucratic hierarchies were white Afrikaner males, and virtually all bureaucrats supported the apartheid system or would not challenge it. The education system deliberately set out to inculcate notions of superiority and inferiority; of those born to rule and those born to follow (delineated along racial lines).[36] Apartheid education was Christian and National. It was ostensibly a policy for white Afrikaans-speaking children, but also spelled out the features of education for black South Africans that clearly articulated the racist ideology nurtured in the 1930s of the ruling National Party. This was clearly expressed in a pamphlet distributed by the National Party during the 1948 election campaign:

> The white South African's duty to the native is to Christianise him and help him culturally. Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's way of life, especially that of the Boer [Afrikaner] nation, which is the senior trustee…Native education should not be financed at the expense of the white…

In this view 'the native' was in a state of 'cultural infancy' and 'the sacred obligation' of the Afrikaner was to base black education on Christian national principles.[37] In 1953 the Bantu Education Act formalised the system of unequal education for black South Africans, who were to be educated to the level of manual labour. Bantu Education resulted in unequal teacher education programmes. Black colleges of education provided inadequate training; there were too few schools; and classes in black schools were large, with sometimes up to 100 learners in a class.

---

[36] The well-used quote of Hendrik Verwoerd when he introduced the Bantu Education Act in 1953 illustrates this point: 'There is no place for [the 'Bantu'] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour…What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?' Quoted in Morris (2004)

[37] Michael Ashley (1989) in his publication, *Ideologies and Schooling in South Africa* (SATA. Cape Town) gives a full description of Christian National Education.

Christian National Education was supported by a South African version of fundamental pedagogics developed in the 1950s.[38] Fundamental pedagogics viewed education as a science, able to establish universally valid knowledge about education. In any education system that aims to develop conformity and obedience it is not only what is taught that is critical, but also how it is taught. In fundamental pedagogics there was no culture of problem solving, free enquiry or active learning – content was delivered to be rote learned.

History was also considered to be a science, consisting of verifiable, indisputable, objective 'facts'.[39] As an uncontested body of knowledge, it became a major tool for legitimising the apartheid state. The dominant 'conflict' narrative[40] was that articulated by Afrikaner nationalist historians, with the central theme being the triumph of the Afrikaner 'volk' or people, chosen by God to rule South Africa.[41] Afrikaner nationalist history included a number of 'foundational' myths, presented in history texts as 'facts'. For example, one of the central myths of Afrikaner nationalist history, the myth of the 'empty land', appeared in a Grade 12 history textbook that was used until very recently:

> The most significant of [the major tribal wars] was the Mfecane, initiated by Shaka in the region between the Drakensberg and the Limpopo River in 1818. Large numbers of Blacks were put to death, tribes were annihilated or so disintegrated that they became part of other Black groups. Large parts of the country were depopulated as a result of the Mfecane and several White pioneers settled in these areas.[42]

---

[38] Enslin, P. (1984) The role of Fundamental Pedagogics in the Formulation of Educational Policy in South Africa, in Kallaway, P. (ed) 1984, *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press provides an in-depth analysis of fundamental pedagogics.

[39] The idea that history is a science and can be objective is still a firmly held belief by some Afrikaner academics and South Africans, white and black, who had Afrikaner nationalist history lecturers at university.

[40] By 'conflict' narrative I mean the dominant national narrative in textbooks that was considered to have contributed to the identity-based conflict in each country.

[41] Leonard Thompson in his book, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* published in 1985, identified the vow taken before the 'Battle of Blood River' as the defining moment in the perceived favoured relationship with God and a central foundational myth.

[42] Lintvelt, H.G.J. et al. (1987) *Timelines.* Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman: 181

Supporting the claim to the legitimacy of land occupation, was the myth that all peoples of South Africa were immigrants, arriving more or less at the same time from various directions. This included Africa and Europe. In this interpretation of the South African past, no one could be said to have a prior claim to the land; *ipso facto* no one was displaced during the Boer migrations into the interior from the Cape Colony. This was the privileged historical narrative that was taught in all state schools in one form or another. The histories of the majority of South Africans were marginalized or distorted.

However, at the height of apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s, radical or revisionist academic historians such as Shula Marks, Colin Bundy, William Beinart, Peter Delius and Charles van Onselen to name but a few, became influential in reshaping the understanding of the South African past as a counter to the apartheid narrative.[43] Revisionism is used here in the sense of reassessing old and new evidence. These historians provided South Africans with a usable past in the deliberations about the history curriculum immediately after 1994, as well as during the construction of the Revised National Curriculum Statement for General Education and Training and the National Curriculum Statement for Further Education and Training: History, from 2001.

By 1994, the year of South Africa's first democratic election, the education system was divisive, unequal and fragmented. There were 19 different education departments based mainly on race and ethnicity. Many schools were dysfunctional as many black schools became sites of mass struggle, resisting and rejecting apartheid. There was high dropout rate among black school children. This was the inherited context for educational change in post-apartheid South Africa.

---

[43] For example, Bundy, C. (1979) *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry.* London: Heinemann; Peires, J.B. (1981) *The House of Phalo,* Johannesburg: Ravan Press; van Onselen, C. (1982) *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914 New Babylon (Vol 1) New Nineveh (Vol 2).* Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Delius, P. (1983) *The Land Belongs To Us The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Marks, S (1986) *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa, Class Nationalism and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Beinart W. and Bundy, C. (1987) *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape 1890-1930.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

- **Rwanda**

Rwanda had a much shorter period of colonialism than South Africa. It became a German sphere of interest in 1980 and in 1897 German administrators arrived in Rwanda. The country was taken over as a mandate by Belgium after the First World War. While South Africa could be described as a settler colony, Rwanda experienced indirect rule. Colonialism entrenched ethnic identities in Rwanda, although there is considerable debate among historians about the extent to which these identities had been formed or were forming before colonial rule.[44] Longman argues that the concepts of ethnicity developed by the missionaries, fed into German and Belgian colonial policies and that after independence, leaders trained in church schools, exploited ethnic identities to gain support, helping to intensify and solidify, ethnic divisions. Colonial education in Rwanda was largely controlled by Catholic missionaries. It first favoured Tutsi and then Hutu. Ethnicity was incorporated into the curricula of the schools[45] and was also used to limit access to education.

History and history education in Rwanda reinforced notions of inequality. First German and then Belgian colonial rulers drew on pseudo-scientific notions of the hierarchy of races which gained popularity in the late 19th century. Constructing a mythological version of the Rwandan past, they ranked the 'Hamitic' Tutsi, supposedly later immigrants to the region, above 'indigenous' Hutu, ascribing to them a biological and cultural superiority as a group. Colonialism brought the first written histories of Rwanda in the 1950s. Most influential was the collaboration between the Rwandan intellectual, Abbé Alexis Kagame and the colonial ethnographer and anthropologist, Maquet. Their work conflated the ruling Tutsi dynastic court history

---

[44]Longman, T. and Rutagengwa, T. (2004) Memory, identity, and community in Rwanda, in Stover, E. and Weinstein, H.M. (eds) *My neighbor, My Enemy*. Cambridge University Press, 162-182; Newbury, C. and Newbury, D. (2000) Bringing the Peasants Back In: Agrarian Themes in the Construction and Corrosion of Statist historiography in Rwanda. *The American Historical Review* Vol. 105, Issue 3, presented online in association with the *History Cooperative,* http://www.historycooperative.org, Accessed 8 November 2005; Des Forges, A (1999) *Leave none to tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. New York: Human Rights Watch; Paris: International Federation of Human Rights http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1999/rwanda/Geno4-7-03.htm Accessed 29 August 2005
[45]Longman, T. (1997) *Christian Churches and Genocide in Rwanda*. Paper presented at a Conference on Genocide, Religion and Modernity, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, May 11-13

with the colonial history of Rwanda.[46] This became the substance of the 'conflict' narrative. Under the Hutu-led government in the 1950s, this narrative was manipulated within history education to demonstrate Tutsi abuse of power. [47] Some decades later, in the 1990s the state media used the narrative to fuel the hate speech that contributed to genocide.

Current official (equally mythological) versions of Rwanda's past constructed by the ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), simplify and romanticise the pre-colonial past and deny post-independence academic research, particularly by Francophone scholars.[48] A number of academics have challenged this revisionist version of Rwanda's past, demonstrating a far more complex history than the official RPF version.[49] Revisionism here refers:

> to the systematic attempt to discredit and obliterate all post-independence research in order to reinstate Kagame-Maquet's functionalist account of pre-colonial Rwanda…[going] beyond the RPF's own use of the term, which denotes disagreement with the view that ethnicity is the 'creation of colonialism.[50]

Pottier claims that the Anglophone 'instant experts' on Rwanda, who have little deep knowledge of Rwandan history, have uncritically espoused the RPF version of the past.

There is still no general agreement on the causes of the genocide. Lemarchand, in a recent review on the state of research in Rwanda, highlights the enormous volume of diverse literature that the Rwandan genocide has spawned, and the lack of consensus among researchers on the genocide and its causes.[51] Certainly, the official emphasis

---

[46] Fujii, L.A. (2001) *Origins of Power and Identity in Rwanda.* Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, 20-24 February, Chicago, Illinois, 2

[47] African Rights (2001) *the Heart of Education: Assessing Human Rights in Rwanda's Schools.* Kigali: African Rights: 23. An interview with a teacher

[48] Pottier, J. (2002) *Re-imagining Rwanda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

[49] Newbury, C. & D.: 2000; Des Forges: 1999; Longman: 1997; Pottier: 2002

[50] Pottier (2002): 222

[51] Lemarchand, R. (2007) Scholarly Review: Rwanda: The State of Research, *The Online Encyclopaedia of Mass Violence*. http://www.massviolence.org/ Accessed 10 May 2009.

on ethnicity created by colonial regimes as a major cause ignores a range of possible contributing factors. These include: economic collapse; pressure on land; the determination of the Habyarimana government to remain in power in the face of international pressure to negotiate with the RPF-led invasion forces in the early 1990s; the consequent transformation of the youth group of the governing party, the *Interahamwe*, into a real militia[52]; the power struggle among the Hutu and the effect of fear and intra-ethnic intimidation, as major contributors to the genocide.[53] Ultimately, according to Des Forges, the genocide resulted from the deliberate choice of modern elite to foster hatred and fear to keep itself in power, carried out by people who chose to do evil.

In the months leading up to the genocide, the discourse that legitimated the genocidal actions was spread across the country in the media and in numerous political speeches. In propaganda reminiscent of Nazi Germany, the Tutsi 'enemy' were identified as cockroaches (*Inyenzi*), as the enemy within, as Hamitic immigrants who had oppressed the Hutu for centuries and who needed to be sent back from where they came or 'exterminated'. In May 1994 a radio broadcast went out:

> Let me congratulate thousands and thousands of young men doing their
> military training to fight the Inkotanyi.[54] At all costs, all Inkotanyi
> have to be exterminated, in all areas of our country.[55]

The genocide was carried out with a speed and thoroughness attributed to the use of the well-established hierarchies of the military, administrative and political systems.[56] Soldiers, national police, former soldiers and communal police directed the major killing in many areas, but all over Rwanda, for a complex range of reasons, the local population joined in. The Catholic Church has also been heavily implicated in the

---

[52] Newbury, C. & Newbury, D. (2000); Des Forges (1999)
[53] Straus, S. (2008) *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power and War in Rwanda.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
[54] This was a term used to identify the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) army or RPF sympathisers.
[55] Quoted in Temple-Raston, D. (2005) *Justice on the Grass.* New York: Free Press: 231
[56] Des Forges (1999) See the section on the genocide.

genocide.[57] In a matter of three months some 800 000 Tutsi and Hutu who resisted participation in the genocide, were murdered, some by members of their own families.

The genocide was brought to an end by the defeat of the government by the invading RPF military forces. At the same time, its troops committed grave violations of international humanitarian law, attacking and killing unarmed civilians.[58] General Paul Kagame who led the RPF forces, is currently President of Rwanda. He has consistently denied that the RPF has committed human rights abuses.

As a result of the genocide and war, the country lost most of its middle class. In 2003 over 50% of Rwandans were children and more than 40% in the 10 – 14 year age group had lost one or both parents.[59] The 'exile factor' has become significant in Rwanda today. Returning exiles, mostly from Uganda, have filled top government posts and alleviated the skills shortage left by the death of so many educated middle class Rwandans in the genocide.

Legacy of trauma

For both countries in this study, the conflict has left a legacy of trauma that has continued beyond the formal cessation of the conflict. What sets this study apart from other studies of societies in transition, is the recognition that this legacy has an influence on the way in which the new society is imagined, both politically and within education policy. In accepting that an analysis of the conflict itself helps to inform the understanding of the construction of post-conflict education policy, an analysis of the legacy of the conflict is equally critical to understanding the ways in which memory and identity are engaged with in the transitional and post-conflict state. Ariel Dorfman in the foreword to *My Neighbor, My Enemy* wrote of the crucial efforts to 'deal with the unspeakable' actions that had happened during the violent internecine conflict.[60] He also recognised the 'dilemmas that flood societies' after these events, when

---

[57] Longman (1997)

[58] Des Forges (1999) See the section of the report on the Rwandan Patriot Front

[59] The World Bank (2004) *Education in Rwanda: Rebalancing Resources to Accelerate Post-conflict Development and Poverty Reduction.* Washington D.C.: World Bank: 4, 23

[60] Dorfman, A. (2004) in Stover, E. & Weinstein, H.M. (2004) *My Neighbor, My Enemy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press: xiii

survivors have to find a way of living with those who have killed their families, and trust has to be restored to communities. As a Rwandan headmistress told African Rights researchers in 2001:

> Most of the teachers are widows of the genocide. At our school we have a widow whose husband and nine children all perished in the genocide. She is the only surviving member of a family of 11. I know she has tried really hard to find another job but had had to content herself with remaining a teacher. Imagine how she must feel standing in front of a class containing children of the génocidaires and having to teach them.[61]

These are the ongoing 'unspeakables' in post-conflict societies of which the literature on large group trauma, intergenerational transmission of trauma and the notion of 'chosen' trauma help to provide some understanding and insight.

There cannot be comparisons of trauma, but in examining the legacy of violent conflict some have made a distinction between traumatic and painful memories. In this view, all traumatic experiences evoke painful emotions, leaving behind both distressing emotions and memories, but not all painful emotions mean that the person has experienced trauma.[62] Relating that to this study, it could be argued that many Rwandans, including school children, are experiencing the devastating effects of trauma, while in South Africa a significant number of people experienced the trauma of torture, imprisonment and murder of family members, but many more are suffering from deeply painful memories rather than trauma. However, this may be too fine a distinction to make. Though he acknowledges that it could possibly be problematic, the historian LaCapra does distinguish between traumatising events, the experience of trauma, memory, and representation. But he also argues that one may experience aspects of trauma or undergo secondary traumatisation without personally living through the traumatising event to which such effects are ascribed. Secondary

---

[61] African Rights (2001): 73

[62] Field, S. (2007) 'No-one has allowed me to cry': Trauma, Memorialization and Children in Post-genocide Rwanda in L. Purbrick, J. Aulich and G. Dawson (eds.), *Contested Spaces: Sites, Representations and Histories of Conflict.* London: Palgrave Macmillan – emailed chapter.

traumatisation may even occur in those reacting only to representations of trauma.[63] The 'painful memories' may indeed be traumatic memories, or become traumatic memories triggered by 'representations of trauma', such as media photographs or television reporting.

The emphasis in this research is on historical trauma - on the events in the past that have either left groups traumatised or with the collective memory of a traumatic event. For an event to be traumatic it must seriously disrupt how a person understands, remembers and feels, to such an extent, that the event is usually forced from memory and symbolic understanding.[64] Although the trauma is forced from consciousness, it however, often returns in the form of physical symptoms. One of the first to use trauma as a sociological concept was Kai Erikson, who shifted the notion from an individualised context towards the analysis of 'traumatised communities'. He suggested that 'trauma can create community'.[65] Alexander, in linking trauma theory to broader issues of collective, rather than individual, identity, used the concept 'cultural trauma'. This 'occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in

---

[63] LaCapra, D. (2004) *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 115. This phenomenon was demonstrated in a teacher workshop on the xenophobic outbreak in August 2008, held soon after the publication of images in South Africa, of a man burning to death during an incident of xenophobic violence.. It became evident that a teacher who had witnessed a brutal 'necklacing' during the 1980s was re-traumatised by the image, and other teachers, without that personal experience, were traumatised by the image and by their colleague's pain. One participant shared his feelings: 'So I felt very sick and disgusted when I saw that child burning that human being last week because really it's not human to do something like that. I think I'm still asking myself today what happened to us that led us to believe that these things should happen and I'm asking what happened to these people that led them to burn a foreign national, what got into us that led us to not see a human being anymore, just see something that needs to be destroyed? And I believe our humanity was taken away, we were dehumanized as people and I think part of what I do now is to reclaim that humanity.' Transcript of a *facing the past* teacher workshop, August 2008.
[64] Berger, J. (2008) Trauma Theories, Traumatic Histories, and the Middle East. *Tikkun* http://www.tikkun.org/archive/backissues/xtik0301/culture/030154.html :1. Accessed 19 January 2009
[65] Erikson, K. (1994) *A new Species of Trouble: Explorations in Disaster, Trauma and Community*. New York: Norton, quoted in Levy, D. & Sznaider, N. (n.d.) The Politics of Commemoration: The Holocaust, Memory and Trauma. http://www.sunysb.edu/sociol/faculty/Levy/levy%20sznaider%20routledge%20(December).pdf :2 Accessed 16 January 2009

fundamental and irrevocable ways'.[66] The events of September 11 are a recent dramatic example of how a society can experience collective trauma.

Trauma as a cultural phenomenon implies that choices are made and that trauma is constructed by society. A shift in the language of trauma towards a symbolic and institutional context becomes essential for collective and moral identification. This is a highly contested process and as Alexander points out, 'events are not inherently traumatic. Trauma is a socially mediated attribution'.[67] Sociological investigations of trauma focus on how political communities deal with the construction and representation of trauma in collective rather than individual terms. Through commemorating events, trauma becomes part of a 'collective consciousness'. According to Levy and Sznaider, to ensure that an event is perceived as trauma, it requires a degree of 'institutionalisation and routinisation'. The proliferation of museum exhibits and memorial sites representing traumatic events, to them, indicates the centrality of negative foundational moments.[68]

While there is a growing body of research by psychologists and sociologists on the traumatic legacy of the Holocaust, including the intergenerational transfer of trauma, there is a certain lack of interest and even resistance, from historians to using the research in trauma and its effects, as a way of explaining traumatic events in history. Dominick LaCapra, reflects in his book, *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*, that:

> One would think that in the light of the relation of trauma to extreme or limit events such as the Holocaust, other genocides, terrorism, slavery, aspects of colonialism and so forth, that trauma and its aftermath would be of marked interest to historians. But with some exceptions (for example, Saul Friedlander and myself), the interest in trauma and,

---

[66] Alexander, J.C. (2004) Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma, in Alexander, J. et. al. (eds) *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, quoted in Levy, D. & Sznaider, N. (n.d.) The Politics of Commemoration: The Holocaust, Memory and Trauma: 2

[67] Alexander, J.C. (2004) Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma, in Alexander, J. et. al. (eds) *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 8, quoted in Levy, D. & Sznaider, N. (n.d.):2

[68] Levy & Sznaider (n.d.): 3

perhaps even more so, in dimensions of the post-traumatic, has thus far not been pronounced in the work of historians and there has even been some suspicion of attempts to conceptualise trauma and its aftermath.[69]

LaCapra criticises an overly positivist approach to historiography, for which the 'sufficient conditions of historiography' is 'gathering evidence and making referential statements in the form of truth claims on that evidence'.[70] He argues that in this approach, there is a tendency to:

> exclude affect (notably empathy) from understanding and to protect a restricted idea of reason and rationality from contact with what might upset it and the self-image of those basing their own identity on it, notably trauma, its aftermath, and its possibly unsettling effects on those who inquire into it.[71]

He suggests that while 'truth claims' are necessary, they are 'not sufficient conditions' of historiography. Questions need to be asked about how they do, and ought to, interact with other factors or forces in historiography, in other genres, and in hybridized forms or modes.'[72] Historians, when writing the history of a traumatic event, need to have a consciousness of how the effects of the trauma continue to be felt and may affect the historian's own work. [73] The concepts of post-memory, 'the acquired memory of those not directly experiencing an event such as the Holocaust or slavery' and the intergenerational transmission of trauma, 'the way those not directly living through an event may nonetheless experience and manifest its post-traumatic symptoms', are important to understanding traumatic legacies.[74] In LaCapra's view, history has powerful emotional consequences for succeeding generations. LaCapra draws on the work of psychoanalyst Vamik Volkan, whose research on large group identity, the intergenerational or transgenerational transmission of trauma and chosen

---

[69] LaCapra (2004): 107
[70] LaCapra, D. (2001) *Writing History, Writing Trauma* JHU Press: 1
[71] La Capra (2004): 111
[72] LaCapra (2001): 1-2
[73] Ibid
[74] LaCapra (2004): 108

trauma, informs this study. According to Volkan, an investigation of these concepts and phenomena necessitates the collaboration of psychoanalysts and historians.

Volkan is interested in the indirect traumatisation of the descendents of people who as a group have been subjected to some defeat, shame or humiliation. He locates the transmission of trauma in the connection between the parents/caregivers and the child. It is not about mimicking the behaviour of parents or hearing stories of the events told by older generations, or even sympathy, but the end result of mostly unconscious processes by which children's core identities are 'flooded with and therefore influenced by the injured self- and internalised object-images and associated affects that rightly belong to the original victims, their care-givers or parents'. [75] Unlike historians, Volkan does not believe that the traumatic memories can be handed down inter-generationally. For him, memory belongs to the survivor of the trauma. What is transmitted - he calls it deposited - to the next generation are the damaged self-images of the parents who have been unable to mourn the damage done to their individual and group selves.[76] The cumulative effect of this self-image deposit, based on the same event or narrative, at the level of a population of millions means that large-group identity is affected. This becomes the chosen trauma.

Chosen traumas are the 'mental representations' of past shared historical events that have caused a large group to face drastic losses, to feel helpless and victimised by another group and to share a humiliating injury. Volkan argues that understanding chosen trauma is key to discerning the process of transgenerational transmission of past historical events. Though a group does not consciously choose to be victimised or suffer humiliation, like an individual, a large group can be said to make unconscious choices. Thus the 'chosen trauma' reflects a large group's unconscious 'choice' to add

---

[75] Volkan, V.D. (2006) *Large Group Identity and Chosen Trauma*. Keynote address at Memory, Narrative & Forgiveness – Reflecting on ten years of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, University of Cape Town, 23 – 27 November; also Volkan, V.D. (2005) Large-Group Identity and Chosen Trauma. *Psychoanalysis Downunder*. The online journal of the Australian Psychoanalytical Society, Issue #6
http://www.sydneypsychoanalysis.asn.au/downunder/backissues/6/427/large_group_vv (Accessed 1 September 2007)
[76] Ibid

a past generation's mental representation of a shared event to its own identity.[77] A chosen trauma also reflects a traumatised generation's incapacity for, or difficulty with, mourning losses that are connected to the shared traumatic event, as well as the failure to reverse the humiliation and damage to the group's self-esteem inflicted by another large group.[78] The chosen trauma becomes part of an individual's core identity which is inextricably intertwined with the large-group identity and history, and both consciously and unconsciously passed on to the next generation. Because of the enormity of the trauma, survivors are left with psychological wounds and humiliation that they will pass down from one generation to the next. This intergenerational transmission of trauma keeps the sense of injury and desire for revenge alive and if groups do not go through a mourning process, there is a high chance of ongoing cycles of violence.

Much has been written about the trauma of the victims, but there is a further dimension to trauma resulting from violent internecine conflict. Perpetrators may also suffer from trauma, in particular those who were drawn into killing unwillingly. Furthermore, as Sichrovsky's work on the children of Nazis has revealed, the trauma can similarly be handed down to the next generation.[79] Psychological studies on perpetrators that included Rwanda, found that many people who engage in intense violence against others are deeply affected by their own actions – the act of killing results in psychological and spiritual woundedness [80] and for many, a deep sense of humiliation. Lindner, a psychologist, suggests that the most painful form of humiliation is when you are forced to become a perpetrator and you are too weak to resist, too much of a coward to say no (and face death) and too ignorant to even understand being duped into committing atrocities.[81] Those who killed family members find themselves in an even worse place. Their families had died at their own

---

[77] Volkan (2005) Pages unnumbered.
[78] Volkan (2005)
[79] Sichrovsky (1988)
[80] Staub, E., Pearlman, L.A., Gubin, A., & Hagengimana, A. (2005) Healing, Reconciliation, Forgiving and the Prevention of violence after Genocide or Mass Killing: an Intervention and its Experimental Evaluation in Rwanda. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology,* Vol. 24, No. 3: 300
[81] Lindner, E.G. (2006) The classroom as a place for humiliating indoctrination or dignifying empowerment, in Ganesan, D. R .& Engler, A. A. (eds) *Humiliation in the Academic Setting: A special Symposium Issue of 'Experiments in Education.* S.I.T.U. New Delhi: Council of Educational Research

hands; they lost honour, pride and self-respect; they were humiliated not once, but on many levels. They were coerced into becoming perpetrators. The fact that they did not prefer death to succumbing to the pressure to murder their families was deeply humiliating to them.[82]

LaCapra distinguishes between the traumatic 'event' and 'experience'. A traumatic experience, in contrast to the event, constitutes a past that will not pass away, 'a past that belatedly invades the present and threatens to block the future'. The event may be 'history' in the sense that it is over and in the past. However, the experience is not 'history' in this sense, particularly with respect to traumatic memory. This includes not only the Holocaust, but also other genocides, slavery and apartheid all of which carry, in his words, an 'intense affective and evaluative charge'.[83] Attitudes and actions in post-conflict South Africa and Rwanda in many instances only make sense in relation to the legacy of trauma, humiliation and painful emotions resulting from a brutal past. Too many researchers write of changes in these countries without recognising the significance of such a legacy.

Organisation of the thesis

In Chapter One I introduce this research and set it within the current memory and identity debates and the legacy of trauma that is a significant factor in the post-conflict states. The brief analysis of the conflict in each of the countries under study, provides the context for the analysis of the construction of memory and identity in the post-conflict curriculum.

In Chapter Two I deal with the education policy context, the research design and methods and set out the conceptual framework that informed the analysis of the data, which emerged from the research. This chapter also summarises the significance of the enquiry.

---

[82] Lindner (2006)
[83] LaCapra (2004): 124

In the literature review in Chapter 3, I assemble and assess the current research on state, memory and identity in relation to history education in societies emerging from conflict. My purpose was to understand how societies emerging from violent internecine conflict attempt to re-imagine themselves through the powerful medium of curriculum. Curriculum is understood as the set of government curriculum policy documents containing official intentions, as well as policy-in-practice. History education, and therefore curriculum, is set against the wider issue of vernacular history and the record of the past that is culturally transmitted to young people and which filter the way the official curriculum is received in schools.

Chapter 4, the first chapter of the South African case study, examines the historical construction of the conflict narrative, providing the historical context for the examination of the post-apartheid construction of memory and identity in the following two chapters. It introduces the concept of 'chosen trauma' as a consciously constructed interpretation of the past in order to construct a particular group identity, in this case, white Afrikaners. The chapter also examines the process whereby this narrative, and expression of vernacular culture, became the official narrative in history education after the National Party took over power in 1948, and the way in which the history education community engaged with the narrative when it became increasingly clear that a transition to a democratic state was imminent.

The second South African chapter, Chapter 5, examines how this conflict narrative of the apartheid years is engaged in the post-conflict curriculum. More specifically, it analyses the way in which the new state took charge of the inherited narrative of conflict, how it sought to change it, and what choices were made in that process. To this end, the curriculum changes during the first phase of transition is examined, particularly the construction of Curriculum 2005 that resulted in a denial of memory, at a time when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was engaged in a memory process that brought the brutality of the South African past into the public arena.

Chapter 6, the third South African chapter examines the second curriculum change with the appointment of a new Minister of Education after the second democratic

elections. Under a changing political discourse which enabled the emergence of a different policy network, a more direct approach was taken to reinserting history in the school curriculum. This chapter explores how and why this restoration of history education took place, how far it could go and with what consequences.

Chapter 7 introduces the Rwandan case study, placing the South African story in comparative relief. It examines the construction of the conflict narrative during the colonial period and how it was appropriated in post-colonial Rwanda, to what purpose and with what effect. This, as with the South African case study, provides the context for understanding how this narrative is engaged in the present.

Chapter 8 examines how the Rwandan state is dealing with the conflict narrative in its recent history and how this grappling with the past emerges in the school curriculum. A moratorium was placed on teaching Rwandan history in schools in 1994 and though this has been lifted, there are no new teaching materials and many teachers are reluctant to engage with the genocide. At the same time, however, there is an aggressive official discourse of the unity of all Rwandans, support by an official narrative of the Rwandan past which has been widely disseminated in alternative education sites and public spaces of memory.

The final chapter, Chapter Nine, provides a synthesis of the data, highlights the key findings and significance of the research, suggests a theory of change, and indicates a major area for possible future research.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The key research question focuses on how the school curriculum provides a window onto the political processes of re-inventing the 'nation' in societies emerging from internecine violent conflict. In developing the comparative case studies, I focus on the process of the construction of memory and identity in South Africa and Rwanda, particularly national memory and identity, in the creation of new political visions. I further examine the interface between official and vernacular memories and identities. Critical insights are gained through the analysis of the ideologies and interests of those involved in the curriculum processes, including the internal policy networks that gained ascendancy in South Africa, at various moments of curriculum construction. I have used a range of intersecting approaches to inform my research.

The policy context for this study

This research will investigate the construction of curriculum as a window onto the reinvention of nation in transitional societies, as it emerged in Rwanda and South Africa, in national dialogue and in practice. The focus will not be on history curriculum itself. Rather, it is the view of what the curriculum is about in the educated, political nation as part of the evolving collective identity that will provide the insight into collective memory and identity. Given that nationalisms and distorted histories in school curricula have contributed to oppression, gaining some insight into the ways in which memory and identity are constructed and the manipulation of both for negative ends, is crucial to the process of curriculum construction for prevention if we are to learn anything from the past. But, it also begs the question of what the curriculum means in reality.

In societies emerging from conflict, changing the education system not only signals a new national identity, it is also regarded as a means of reducing societal violence and creating a democratic society. Understanding the changes that take place in curriculum is linked to the broader framework of understanding the bargaining or

exercise of power and influence that took place during political settlements after conflict. This process of negotiation and social dialogue about the way in which a national school education system needs to change is context-specific.[1] The assumption is that processes of curriculum change reflect the ways in which society has changed as a result of violent conflict, or needs to change in order to bring about or reinforce the vision and values of the new society. Curriculum for the purposes of this study will include curriculum as a product or set of government curriculum policy documents containing official intentions, analysed within both an educational and political framework (the formal), as well as informal and non-formal aspects of curriculum that inform history education.

Relevant conceptions of curriculum include those of a society-oriented curriculum, in which the purpose of schooling is to serve society[2] and social reconstructionist-oriented curriculum in which the purpose of schools is to become agents of social change.[3] However, useful as these conceptions may be, they do not go far enough in helping us to understand curriculum in societies emerging from a violent and traumatic past. In these societies, curriculum is as much part of a political as well as educational discourse with curriculum and education policy changes in general, needing to signal a break with the violent past, needing to make choices about how to work with the traumatic knowledge of the conflict, as well as constructing a workable vision of the future. Options open to history curriculum developers in terms of dealing with the violent past, ranges from denial (leaving it out of the curriculum) at the one extreme to confronting the violent past and incorporating it into the new curriculum at the other. If inclusion is the option followed, further choices need to be made in terms of finding ways of working with the past for a positive future. Perhaps this could be termed a transformation-oriented curriculum, the purpose of which is re-envisioning a democratic nation in contrast to the past, with the school curriculum as an agent of change. Such a curriculum would incorporate aspects of both the society-oriented and

---

[1] UNESCO (2003) Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in conflict-affect societies. Colloquium Report, UNESCO:IBE Colloquium, Geneva 3-4 April

[2] Longstreet, W.S. and Shane, H.G. (1993) *Curriculum for a new millennium.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Quoted in Marsh, C.J. (1997) *Key Concepts for Understanding Curriculum.* London: The Falmer Press: 7

[3] Eisner & Vallance: 1974 quoted in Marsh 1997:7

social reconstructionist oriented curricula, but would expand the understanding of both, including an analysis of the interaction between political leadership and bureaucracy in curriculum construction after violent conflict. Education policies in Rwanda and South Africa show that the political vision of the new society informed the curriculum process, articulating a new social and educational order that stands in sharp contrast to the ideologies and pedagogic practices of the past. Curriculum policy is, in general, expressed in the language of human rights and democracy.

Education policy is increasingly constructed within the context of global policy networks and policy borrowing.[4] In South Africa the curriculum changes after 1994 were influenced by the formation of internal policy networks that produced specific policy outcomes in the various phases of post-apartheid curriculum development.[5] There was also significant policy borrowing from New Zealand and Australia, with Canadian advisors shaping the final version of Curriculum 2005, South Africa's first curriculum change after 1994.[6] In a country such as Rwanda, and to some extent South Africa, the global policy networks of development organisations pressurize governments to meet various targets such as Education for All (EFA) or the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which results in greater focus being placed on education policy for economic development.

Sutton and Levinson's analysis of curriculum policy as negotiated (political) meaning[7] provides further valuable insights for understanding the development process in the context of the specific societies included in this study. This approach demands researching the powerful and examining the specific social arenas of curriculum negotiation, including the role of values, beliefs and identities in policy formulation and implementation. The shortcoming in Sutton and Levinson's analysis in relation to developing countries is the underlying assumption, that those involved

---

[4] Wells, T. (2005) Education Policy Networks and their Role in Policy Discourse, Action and Implementation. *Comparative Education Review* Vol. 49, No. 1: 109-117

[5] Fataar, A. (2006) Policy networks in recalibrated political terrain: the case of school curriculum policy and politics in South Africa. *Journal of Education Policy* Vol. 21, No. 6: 641-659

[6] See Chapter 4.

[7] Sutton, M. & Levinson, B.A.U. (2001) *Policy as Practice: towards a comparative sociocultural analysis of educational policy*. Westport, USA: Ablex Publishing: 1-17

in policy and curriculum development form a more or less homogeneous group in terms of background, of knowledge and of ability. In developing countries, and particularly societies emerging from violent conflict, one simply cannot assume that everyone in education is at the same level, or able to exercise effective agency. Nor can one ignore the experiences of a traumatic past.

Education policy, as with history education, is political and ideological. Policy characterised as an authoritative allocation of values that projects images of an ideal society[8] provides further useful insights into curriculum development processes in developing countries, where the political and educational interests are possibly more closely aligned than in developed countries. Policies cannot be divorced from interests, conflict, domination and justice, and even more so in countries in the process of re-inventing themselves. Ball argues that policy might best be understood as responding to a 'complex, heterogeneous configuration of elements' including ideologies that are residual, emergent and currently dominant. Within the context of this research, policy formulation must also be understood with relation to the political debates and negotiations that took place to end the conflicts. Ball, aligning himself with Foucault, suggests that power is invested in discourse, with discursive practices producing, maintaining and playing out power relations. He poses the crucial question: How does the state exercise and impose its power in part through the production of truth and knowledge about education? Within a transitional context, bureaucracies that survive the change of political power, provide yet a further level of competing interests that need to be analysed.

And finally, the notion of curriculum as conversation is particularly useful when engaging with history education and the construction of a history curriculum.[9] Applebee suggests that curriculum should be knowledge-in-action constructed around the particular disciplinary traditions of knowing, with pupils learning to enter into the

---

[8] Ball, S.J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London: Routledge: 1-13
[9] Applebee, A.N. (1996) *Curriculum as Conversation: Transforming Traditions of Teaching and Learning* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

'culturally significant traditions of knowing and doing' of each subject.[10] In his view, a curriculum provides domains for conversations, and the conversations that take place within those domains are the primary means of teaching and learning. In learning to participate in the traditions, pupils are taking on a dynamic set of tools for being in and making sense of the world.

History is itself an ongoing debate between the present and the past: and history education an ongoing conversation between the formal curriculum (school knowledge), public history (including public testimony, commemorations and memorial sites) and vernacular histories located in the vernacular cultures of family and community. In divided societies, vernacular histories influence the way in which teachers and pupils make sense of the formal curriculum. Visits to sites of traumatic memory by teachers and pupils and the way in which these sites are mediated, inform what is taught and how it is received, in class. As DiPaloantonia, Simon and Clamen argue, in societies with a past of human rights abuses, history in the form of public testimony such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, and official programmes of public memory, have a transitive function, an educative legacy that requires ethical remembrance and critical learning.[11] In societies in transition from violent conflict, the boundaries between these sites and the formal curriculum are fluid. History education, therefore, needs to be understood in its broadest sense to include all forms of memory.

The dilemma for history education in post-conflict societies is recognising the way in which the representations of trauma have been shaped by the politics of memory. Levy and Sznaider write of 'witnessing trauma' as the 'modern means against the old fear of suppression or forgetting'.[12] This refers to the voices of the survivors and the collecting of eye-witness accounts of atrocities, the stories that Simon and DiPaloantonia suggest, require ethical remembrance and critical learning. Personal

---

[10]Ibid: 36

[11] Simon, R.I., DiPaolantonio, M., & Clamen, M. (2002) Remembrance as Praxis and the Ethics of the Interhuman, *Culture Machine* No. 4 (The Ethico-Political Issue) http://culturemachine.tees.ac.uk/frm_f1.htm Accessed 14 January 2007

[12] Levy and Sznaider (n.d.): 6

and collective consciousness of trauma merges in memorials and monuments. Questions that need to be asked at these sites of memory are: whose perspective is represented and how the witness perspective has been institutionalised and become politically consequential?

Conceptual framework

- **The intersection between vernacular, official and public histories**

Bodnar's work on the construction of public memory in America and the relation between official, public and vernacular memories, provided a valuable conceptual framework for the case studies in this research.[13] Bodnar differentiates between 'official' history (what state institutions want to transmit, embodied in school history and children's books), 'vernacular' history (what people experience as members of communities), and 'public' history, which he considers to be a compromise between official and vernacular histories. The articulation between vernacular, official and public history in post-conflict societies, provides the particular focus for the case studies in this research. Vernacular cultures, according to Bodnar, represent an 'array of specialised interests' that are 'diverse and changing and can be reformulated from time to time', by the formation of new social units which share similar experiences. 'Defenders' of particular vernacular cultures are:

> intent on protecting values and restating views of reality derived from firsthand experience in small-scale communities rather than the 'imagined' communities of a large nation...normally vernacular expressions convey what social reality feels like rather than what it should be like. Its very existence threatens the sacred and timeless nature of official expressions.[14]

A South African example of a community memory space that expresses what social reality felt like, rather than what it was, is the District 6 Museum in Cape Town. District 6 was a multi-racial suburb close to the city centre, from which the residents were forcibly removed in the 1960s. The museum was constructed in consultation

---

[13] Bodnar, J. (1994) *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Thank you to Keith Barton of Indiana University for alerting me to the work of Bodnar as well as of Applebee's Curriculum as Conversation.
[14] Ibid: 14

with former residents. However, it privileges a particular memory and identity – that of the 'coloured' community – over the others.[15]

In discussing the debate over the Vietnam memorial in his opening chapters, Bodnar highlights the expressions of official and vernacular interests in attempting to dominate public memory, and the concerns of national political leaders in safeguarding the nation-state. The concept of public memory as emerging from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions, is helpful in understanding the emerging programmes of memory in South Africa and the official commemoration events in Rwanda which, in Rwanda's case, express the official interests to the exclusion of vernacular memories. Further, in examining the stages of the development of public memory in the United States from the early 19th century and the relation between public memory and the changing nature of structures of power, when the power of a new nation is tenuous, Bodnar provides an entry into thinking about the way in which vernacular memories in relatively new states compete for dominance when there is a change of government and how these narratives become official histories. This occurred in South Africa with the construction of an Afrikaner nationalist narrative in the 1930s and 1940s which became the dominant version of the South African past when the National Party, the political expression of Afrikaner nationalism, came into power in 1948.

I have applied Bodner's categorisation of vernacular, official and public history to the analysis of the construction of the conflict narratives, as well as to the examination of the post-conflict construction of memory and identity, in both South Africa and Rwanda. However, while this provides a particularly useful conceptual framework, I have extended his concepts of vernacular and official history. Bodner's analysis applies to a western context and does not sufficiently provide for a more complex, African post-colonial and post-conflict analysis of memory and identity that is rooted

---

[15] The District 6 Museum in Buitenkant Street, Cape Town is on the edge of the former Cape Town district. It is an excellent example of an expression of community, constructed with the involvement of the former residents of District 6. It is also an interesting example of the mediation of memory. Overwhelmingly the identity of former 'coloured' residents, the memories are generally romanticised as the happy times of a caring and united community.

within a pre-colonial past. Within Africa, what constitutes vernacular and official history needs to be conceived of more broadly than Bodnar has done, to include oral histories of families and communities, and the more formal oral traditions which are the official histories of the African ruling elites. Oral histories and oral traditions at times become interwoven with colonial histories to serve various purposes. In Rwanda, royal oral traditions informed the emerging 'conflict narrative'.[16] A South African example was the construction of Zulu history and the 'invention' of Shaka that found expression in school textbooks.[17] The language used for Shaka was invariably of power, chaos and destruction – an image that suited Shaka at the time:

> [At that time] pandemonium had raged among the Bantu of South-eastern Africa...The storm-centre lay between the Mkusi and Tugela rivers. There Chaka [Shaka] the Zulu had succeeded his overlord, Dingiswayo...[Shaka] first drove the neighbouring Angoni and Shangaans northwards to carry desolation through the Eastern coastlands...and then stabbed his way through and through Natal...Behind this whirling mass of tribesmen a few scattered European settlements clung to the south-east coast.[18]

Oral histories and family traditions also become sources of counter-memories to fuel resistance to authority.

- **The power of emotion**

Boler's study of emotions as forms of social control and of resistance has provided critical insights into the politics of memory, identity and emotion in both Rwanda and South Africa.[19] In a western context, emotions have traditionally been deemed inappropriate in the 'hallowed halls of academe'.[20] This has been alluded to in relation to historians in the section on traumatic legacy. Challenging this, Boler's first premise is that within education, as in the wider culture, emotions are a site of social control

---

[16] This will be addressed in depth in the first chapter of the Rwandan case study.
[17] See for example, Hamilton, C. (1998) *Terrific Majesty. The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. Cape Town: David Philip
[18] Walker, E.A. (1947) *A History of South Africa* London: Longmans, Green and Co.:182-3. Walker was a prominent historian and his work influenced the way Shaka and the mfecane were depicted in generations of textbooks and fed into the myth of the empty land.
[19] Boler, M. (1999) *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* New York: Routledge
[20] Ibid (1999): xvi

and she is interested to understand emotions as they are embedded in culture and ideology. She defines emotions not only as actual feeling (sensational or physiological), but also as 'cognitive' or 'conceptual': shaped by our beliefs and perceptions.

For Boler, emotion is both about control and resistance. Feeling *power* is about how we learn to internalise and enact roles and rules assigned to us within the dominant culture. We learn the emotional rules of a society, systematically designed to enforce acceptance, that help to maintain a society's particular hierarchies.[21] On the other hand, *feeling* power is the power of *feeling* as a basis of collective and individual social resistance to injustices.[22] Foucault's studies of subject and power offer concepts useful to an historicised approach to the study of emotions and discipline in education. In particular, his pedagogy of discomfort, which entails engaging in the discomforting process of questioning our learned values and assumptions and examining how our modes of seeing have been specifically shaped by the dominant culture of our historical moment.[23]

I have made use of Boler's analysis in examining the discourses of the politics of memory and identity in South Africa as well as Rwanda. However, it has been particularly useful in relation to Rwanda's political and educational discourses which attempt to shape the nation with images of a pre-colonial unity of all Rwandan set against the threats of action against divisionism and genocide ideology.

Data collection

- **Autobiographical referencing**

As someone who was fully, professionally involved in the curriculum processes in South Africa, I had a depth of knowledge and understanding that I could not achieve as an outsider observer in relation to Rwanda. As someone situated within the change processes, I was applying the theory of situated learning, acquiring knowledge in

---

[21] Ibid (1999): xx
[22] Ibid (1999): xxi
[23] Ibid (1999): xxiv

action within, it could be argued, a community of practice constituted by the history writing groups, but also those who were developing other Learning Areas and subjects.[24]   The concept of 'standpoint theory' has been also used to consider the position of 'insider-outsiders' who seek to cross boundaries between different worlds and knowledge. Standpoint theorists argue that we need to see the world from diverse perspectives, across groups and within individual selves.[25] This is not simply a matter of accumulating different knowledge, from different standpoints, and composing a more diverse mosaic, but attempting to understand a complex set of power relationships between different identities and between what is culturally 'inside' and what is 'other'.

There is a growing trend for autobiographical referencing in research, and declaring a personal position in terms of the research is important. Chisholm suggests that this is particularly so when the subject being researched is a process connected with the state and policy. She notes:

> autobiographical referencing has become relatively common in academic writing on the grounds that the relationships between subject and object, or researcher and researched, are intimately linked. In the interests of greater transparency of the relationship between writer and subject, the obligation is on the researcher to profess their connection with and understanding of the events being described and analyzed.[26]

---

[24] Situated learning is a theory developed by Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1990) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

[25] Hart (1998) quoted in West, L. (2000) *A gendered Edge: Auto/biographical Research into Doctors and Lifelong Learning in the Inner-city* www.edst.educ.ubc.ca/aerc/2000/westl1-final.PDF Accessed 16 December 2007

[26] Chisholm, L. (2005a) The politics of curriculum review and revision in South Africa in regional context. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education*, Vol. 35, No. 1, March 2005: 80

Foucault offers a rationale for self-study work: 'if one is interested in doing historical work that has political meaning, utility and effectiveness, then this is possible only if one has some kind of involvement with the struggles taking place in the area in question'.[1] Autobiography challenges the fiction of the detached, objective researcher of others' histories and the idea that a researcher's own history and identity play little or no part in constructing the 'other's' story.[2] Fine further argues for the reflexive and self-reflexive potential of experience, in which the knower is part of the matrix of what is known, and where the researcher needs to ask her/himself in what way has s/he grown in, and shaped the process of research. This is a process that strives to surface power relationships, discomforts, dead ends and uncertainties and rather than an absence of rigour, or truth, such auto/biographical methods ask much of the researcher, in terms of self-awareness, social and emotional intelligence, sensitivity, integrity, courage and openness.[3]

My position when writing of South African history education is that of an insider reflecting on a number of 'moments' in post-apartheid curriculum construction in which I was to a greater or lesser degree involved. In the period of transition from a racially-organised conflict state, race continues to be important in negotiating the relations between those working on a curriculum. Being white, English-speaking and a woman has very particular connotations in a South African context. I was a history teacher in the independent school system during apartheid, which meant that I had a little more freedom in what I taught than most teachers in the state system. I was involved in the progressive history debates between 1990 and 1994 and in the revision of the apartheid syllabus in 1994. I joined the Western Cape Education Department as the curriculum specialist for history in 1997, and was intimately involved in the last phase of curriculum writing from 2001. In 2002 I became part of the South African

---

[1] Quoted in Bullough, R.V. & Pinnegar, S. (2001) Guidelines for Quality in Autobiographical Forms of Self-Study Research. *Educational Researcher* Vol. 30, No. 3: 132 http://www.aera.net/uploadedFiles/Journals_and_Publications/Journals/Educational_Researcher/3003/AERA3003_Bullough.pdf Accessed 8 March 2008.

[2] West (2000)

[3] Fine (1992) Passions, politics and power, In Fine, M. (ed), *Disruptive voices: the possibilities of feminist research* : 205-231 referred to in West, L. (2000)

History Project (SAHP), a national history project set up by the Minister of Education. My portfolio in the SAHP was that of curriculum development.

Though my position as an 'insider' has contributed to my understanding of the education processes in South Africa, it needs also to be said that the view from my 'window' varies, at certain times becoming relatively limited, and at all times shaped within particular historical social contexts. My wide-ranging personal experiences and contacts and involvement in activities across racial barriers had given me a deeper understanding of the realities of apartheid than most of my white compatriots. However, I essentially had an academic understanding of the inequalities in South African schools. This changed when I began visiting a wide range of schools as part of my job in the Western Cape Education Department. So living under apartheid and, in fact, within the continued legacy of a post-apartheid divided society, an insider is always in certain respects, at the same time an outsider.[4] Understanding the 'frames of meaning' in a racially divided society, as both insider and outsider, requires a complex analysis, taking into account the 'layers and multiplicity of influences'[5] which provide the researcher with deep challenges.

While I was able to bring some of the insights from my work in South Africa, as the country emerged from the apartheid conflict, to the research I conducted for the Rwanda case study, my perspective in Rwanda remained that of an outsider with the constraints and perspectives that this brought with it, as I attempted to make meaning of the complexities of a post-genocide society. In thinking about this dilemma, I found the approach to anthropology of Clifford Geertz particularly helpful: to think about the study of other peoples' cultures as involving 'discovering who they think they are, what they think they are doing, and to what end they think they are doing it'.

---

[4] Clifford Geertz provides a useful framework for understanding outsider roles in research. He wrote: 'To discover who people think they are, what they think they are doing, and to what end they think they are doing it, it is necessary to gain a working familiarity with the frames of meaning within which they enact their lives. This does not involve feeling anyone else's feelings, or thinking anyone else's thoughts, simple impossibilities. Nor does it involve going native, an impractical idea, inevitably bogus. It involves learning how, as a being from elsewhere with a world of one's own, to live with them. Geertz, C. (1999) *A Life of Learning*, Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 1999, American Council of Learned Societies, Occasional Paper No. 45

[5] Chisholm, L. (2005b) The Making of South Africa's National Curriculum Statement, *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* vol. 37, No. 2: 193-208

In order to do this it is 'necessary to gain a working familiarity with the frames of meaning within which they enact their lives'.[6] This is about attempting to develop an empathetic understanding, extremely difficult in any situation. In the process of seeking to understand the legacy of genocide, I also drew on work of the psychologists mentioned previously in the section on traumatic legacy.

- **Historical research**

The methodology I used for this doctorate was grounded in my training as an academic historian. I argue strongly that I am creating an archive, using as many techniques for data collection as possible. The archive is then interrogated in relation to answering the research question.

Historical analysis is gaining recognition in the field of comparative education[7] providing a depth to research that is not always provided by theoretical approaches that 'are not conducive to understanding historical subtleties'.[8] Developing an historical consciousness involves making linkages between past and present and understanding how the problem under consideration originated and developed. This, in turn, provides insight into the nature of the present problem. In particular it is built on the awareness of an individual's own place within the context of historical time. By comparing events, ideas and attitudes within one period or between more than one, a researcher is able to reach reasoned conclusions about such matters as continuity, change and development. The researcher is also able to create explanatory narratives that provide a coherent analytical account to explain the contemporary situation.

Sweeting makes a compelling argument for using an historical approach in comparative education, arguing that the significance of the historical dimension is regaining recognition by workers in the field.[9] The role of historical research within

---

[6] Geertz, C. (1999) *A Life of Learning*. American Council of Learned Societies Occasional Paper No. 45, Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 1999.
[7] Sweeting, A. (2005) The historical dimension: a contribution to conversation about theory and methodology in comparative education. *Comparative Education* Vol. 41, No. 1: 25-44
[8] Martin, T.J. (2003) Divergent Ontologies with Converging Conclusions: a case study comparison of comparative methodologies. *Comparative Education* Vol. 39, No. 1: 105-117
[9] Sweeting (2005)

the comparative discipline enables that work to trace the conceptualisation of ideas and the formation of knowledge over time and space. Quoting Yariv-Mashal, Sweeting argues that one could picture such a theoretical framework for comparative studies as a multidimensional process, in which research is grounded in 'local histories', but is based and embedded in different forces, connections, times and places.[10] Historical analysis goes beyond a narrow focus to find connections between the subject under study and the broader political, social, economic, religious and other cultural developments. While this research is based largely on historical research and analysis, it is also interdisciplinary in that it draws on insights from psychology, sociology and anthropology.

This study uses analytical narrative to present the findings of the research. There is a growing interest in the possibilities inherent in narrative inquiry in the field of education research for connecting curriculum development, professional development and educational reform. [11] Narrative enquiry is a form of qualitative research located within the family of reflective practice; it reflects the interest of a community of educational researchers interested in narrative ways of knowing. Narrative understanding is an important, if not *the* major, cognitive tool through which all human beings in all cultures make sense of the world, being predisposed to organising experience into a narrative form.[12]

- **Education document research**

I examined both political and educational documents. For this research, education policy documents were considered to be political and ideological texts, constructed within a particular historical and political context. The analysis of this context was critical to the understanding of the language and symbols of the education documents in both countries. The documents were analysed in terms of ideology and pedagogy. This provided insight into the articulation between political vision, memory, identity and the construction of curriculum. For South Africa, the analysis of the education

---

[10] Yariv-Mashal (2003): 435 in Sweeting (2005): 27
[11] Lyle, S. (2000) Narrative understanding: developing a theoretical context for understanding how children make meaning in classroom settings. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1: 45-63: 53
[12] Ibid

policy documents also included the process of the production of the text. The discourse embedded in the education documents was compared with the political vision in the Constitutions of both countries and in selected political speeches: the President of the Republic of Rwanda, President Kagame; the President of the Republic of South Africa, President Mbeki; and the speeches and addresses of the South African Minister of Education, Prof Kader Asmal.

In South Africa, documents relating to education included general policy documents such as the *South African Schools Act* (DoE: 1996); curriculum framework documents such as *Curriculum Framework for General and Further Education and Training* (DoE:1996); and curriculum documents such as the *Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools) Policy, Social Sciences* (DoE: 2002) and *National Curriculum Statement Grades 10 – 12 (General) History* (DoE: 2003). A key set of reports prepared by the Ministerial Committees set up by the Minister of Education after the general elections of 1999 to investigate the state of education in South Africa, provided the framework for the reintroduction of history into the national curriculum after 1999. These included: *A South African Curriculum for the Twenty First Century: Report of the Review Committee on Curriculum 2005,* presented to the Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal on the 31 May 2000; *Values, Education and Democracy: Report of the Working Group on Values in Education* (DoE: 2000); and the *Report of the History and Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education* (DoE:2000).

In Rwanda, the vision for post-genocide education was set out in the Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (November 2002) document, *2020 Vision, Draft 3* (English Version). While a moratorium had been placed on the teaching of Rwandan history in the primary schools, there was a revision of the senior history curriculum after 1994 and senior schools could choose whether or not to teach history. The main curriculum documents consulted were the Ministry of Education: National Curriculum Development Centre (1998) *Ordinary Level History Programme* Kigali: NCDC and the Ministry of Education: National Curriculum Development Centre (1999) *History programme for advanced level section: languages*. In mid-

2008 a new history curriculum was at last published by the Curriculum Development Centre in Kigali: *History Programme for Ordinary Level* (2008). History was also embedded in a political or civic education programme that appeared in 2003: Republique Rwandaise : Ministere de l'education, de la Science, de la Technologie et de la Recherche Scientifique (2003) *Programme d'education politique: tronc commun et second cycle* Kigali : Centre National de Développement des Programmes.

- **Workshops**

Data was gathered from professional development workshops for teachers in South Africa and Rwanda. The link between the workshops, which made the data comparable, was the United States-based organisation, *Facing History and Ourselves* (FHAO). In South Africa, a partnership between the Western Cape Education Department, Facing History and Ourselves, and the Cape Town Holocaust Centre,[13] led to the development of the *Facing the Past – transforming our future* teacher development programme. In Rwanda, FHAO runs workshops for teachers, college lecturers and government employees in the National Curriculum Development Centre. While the United States course has been adapted in each country, both programmes follow *Facing History's* 'Scope and Sequence' which includes engaging with individual and group identity; examining human behaviour in relation to the Holocaust and apartheid in South Africa and the Holocaust and Rwandan history in Rwanda; judgement, memory and legacy; and choosing to participate.

The *Facing the Past* programme consisted of a series of five-day introductory workshops which were held annually between 2003 and 2006. This was changed to two three-day workshops in 2007 and 2008. There are a number of one-day follow-up workshops during each year. An Advanced Teacher Programme developed out of *Facing the Past* and runs concurrently with *Facing the Past*. An invitation was sent out to teachers to join the project when it was launched. After the first workshop teachers were recruited by their colleagues who had been on the project or by sending

---

[13] The Cape Town Holocaust Centre is no longer a formal partner. A non-profit organisation, Shikaya, was set up to manage the *Facing the Past* programme on behalf of the remaining partners. Shikaya is now the third partner.

out a general invitation. The project manager handled the recruitment of teachers. A total of 105 teachers have attended the *Facing the Past* workshops between 2003 and 2008 and, of those, 50 teachers continued beyond the initial year. Of the 50, 18 teachers are part of the Advanced Teacher Programme. All workshops are multi-racial. One three-day workshop in 2006 was triangulated. Extensive notes were taken during two of the longer workshops, one in 2007 and one in 2008, by an independent observer. I co-facilitated all of the workshops.

In Rwanda I observed a five-day workshop in 2005 which I recorded and transcribed. There were 30 participants. Teachers and teacher educators were recruited by the in-country project officer. *Facing History and Ourselves* conducted an international teacher workshop in London in July 2008 and invited me to co-facilitate. There were 4 teachers from Rwanda and 4 from South Africa attending the workshop and this afforded me the opportunity for further data gathering.

While both countries draw on the approaches of FHAO, there is an essential difference. South Africa has adapted the scope and sequences and embedded it within the existing history curriculum; while Rwanda follows it more closely, making appropriate connections to their own past. This will be explained more fully later.

- **Observation**

Data was gathered through observation in workshops. In both South Africa and Rwanda, the research was explained at the beginning of the workshop and there were no objections to recording and taking notes. In Rwanda this was done in English, French and Kinyarwanda. Observations were of large and small group interactions. The small group participant observation provided an opportunity of 'thinking with others' and 'giving participants a voice' in the research[14] and an opportunity for the

---

[14] Winter, R. (1998) Finding a Voice – Thinking with Others: a conception of action research. *Educational Action Research,* Vol. 6, No. 1: 54. Winter critiques the 'theory-practice' link and the literature survey for 'gaps' in the context of action research. He uses the phrase 'developing a theoretical interpretation' rather than 'linking practice to theory' contending that the latter embodies an 'inert' conception of the relationship between practice and 'theory'. Although this study is not fully grounded in action research, there are a number of conceptions, such as this one, and approaches that I believe will be extremely useful in providing insight into the dynamics of societies undergoing change.

researcher to put informal questions to the groups at appropriate times during discussions. Observation of whole group sessions allows the researcher to be an 'outside' hopefully 'invisible' observer of the interactions between the groups and individuals within the groups, the body language of participants towards one another and when interacting with the source material provided for the workshops.

- **Workshop sessions as data-gathering**

A session in each of the workshops was used as a method of data gathering. Within each of the *Facing the Past* introductory workshops, a session called 'Silent Conversation' provided participants with the opportunity of engaging in written response and conversation to a number of appropriate historical sources and to one another's written comments. The sources covered a range of personal experiences of ordinary people during apartheid. These sessions elicited deep thoughts and responses that participants might not otherwise have felt confident enough or emotionally prepared to voice aloud, and gave an indication of the depth of identity dilemmas and psychological legacy of an oppressive system. After everyone had had an opportunity to engage with all of the sources, discussions were held in groups. Finally all participants came together in a circle with the papers in the centre to discuss their responses. All participation in the open discussion was on a voluntary basis.

- **Interviews and written evaluations**

I originally planned to conduct a number of interviews with teachers and education officials. Being acutely aware of the limitations of an 'outsider' researcher in Rwanda, I read widely and the more I read about research in that country, the more uncomfortable I became about one-on-one interviews because of the personal dangers this could pose to respondents. Two passages in Lindner's thesis, *The Psychology of Humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda/Burundi, and Hitler's Germany* graphically highlighted the ethical issues of research in Rwanda. In the first, she quotes Michael Patton who wrote in his publication *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*:

> The high esteem in which science is held has made it culturally
> acceptable in Western countries to conduct interviews on virtually any
> subject in the name of science. Such is not the case worldwide.

Evaluation researchers cannot simply presume that they have the right to ask intrusive questions. Many topics may be taboo. I have experienced cultures where it was simply inappropriate to ask question of a subordinate about a superordinate. Any number of topics may be taboo, or at least indelicate, for strangers – family matters, political views, who own what, how people came to be in certain positions, and sources of income.[15]

His caution is even more pertinent to a country such as Rwanda in the aftermath of genocide.

The second passage is the advice that Lindner got before embarking on her research from someone doing research in the Great Lakes region:

Meet for interviews at neutral places; Hutu can be put in danger when you talk to them. Never talk about your topic on the phone. Never ask a person whether he or she is Tutsi or Hutu. Better ask: What is your background? Where were you in 1994? When did your family leave Rwanda? You can then deduct the background because those who left between 1954 and 1960 (or their fathers) are Tutsi; those who left 1994 and were back 1996 are Hutu. Be prepared that nobody will talk to you…Be also prepared that Tutsi are hostile to whites because the UN soldiers just took the Western people out of the country and allowed the massacre to happen; the Hutu are afraid to talk about their suffering...[16]

As the latter was not an isolated piece of advice[17], I felt that it was important to take cognisance of what was being said. I took the decision to work with published interviews, the workshop observations and the open journaling and evaluations filled in by the workshop participants. The anonymity of the participants was of the utmost

---

[15] Lindner, E.G. (2000) *The Psychology of Humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda/Burundi, and Hitler's Germany*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oslo: 104 quoting Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods.* Second edition. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
[16] Ibid: 104
[17] See also, for example, Freedman et.al. (2008) Teaching History after Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience. *Comparative Education Review* Vol. 52, No. 4: 665

importance and no-one was identified at any point in the evaluations, the journaling or in my observation notes. Two publications were a rich source of interviews with teachers: African Rights (2001) *The Heart of Education, Assessing Human Rights in Rwanda's Schools* Kigali: African Rights and Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (2006) *History and conflicts in Rwanda*. Kigali: IRDP. I also participated in one small group discussion with teacher trainers during the workshop.

Written evaluations were received from the 30 participants in the workshop in Rwanda and four from the Rwandans at the London workshop. I used qualitative methods to analyse the data. I read through the data sets several times looking across all sources for themes related to what counts officially as the history of Rwanda, to the correlation between the teachers' discourse about the past and the official narrative, for what was said or intimated about Rwandan identity in the past and the present and the tensions that emerged around what should be taught as official history and the way in which it should be taught.

The South African data has been gathered over the years of the *Facing the Past* programme from 2003 to 2008. There were participant evaluations from all of the workshops and open journaling from two workshops. The evaluation forms used in South Africa and Rwanda are very similar. I used external evaluations of the programme compiled in December 2004 and in 2005. Seven teachers were interviewed for the 2006 external evaluation of the programme. I was able to use the recordings of the interviews. Three further interviews for internal evaluations in 2006 were also made available. I looked across all sources for themes relating to what should be taught as official history and the way it should be taught, but also memory, individual and group identity and the apartheid legacy.

One class of pupils in Cape Town was filmed giving a presentation to parents on the work that had been done when their teachers implemented the *Facing the Past* programme of teaching.

- **Validation**

Validation occurred on a number of levels. Firstly, through the use of multiple sources of information such as document analysis, workshop observation and analysis, individual and group interviews. Secondly, through triangulation of workshop sessions at which there was a presenter, researcher and observer. There was always at least one person in the triangulation sessions who knew the local situation intimately. Discussions before the workshop clarified the modus operandi during the workshops, including the particular aspects of the interaction during the workshop to be observed and the framework for the discussions after the workshops.

Significance of the Enquiry

This study breaks new ground in a number of significant areas:

Firstly, it is the first comparative African case study research on how societies emerging from violent conflict engage with the traumatic past, and how the construction of memory and identity is reflected and asserted in the history curriculum in the process of re-imagining the nation. There are a growing number of societies in and emerging from conflict and not enough attention is given to curriculum issues, particularly when development organisations are involved, in the reconstruction of education systems after conflict.

Secondly, it is the first study to take the legacy of trauma after identity-based conflict into account in an analysis of trajectories of political and educational change. This is a crucial element that adds to the complexities of educational change in post-conflict societies. The legacy of trauma is generally acknowledged by psychologists and NGOs working in countries such as Rwanda, but not seen as a context for understanding educational change.

Thirdly, what has again been underlined by this study, are the complexities of educational change and the fragility of a post-conflict society. Donor agencies link funding to evidence of the democratisation of educational practices. However, not only does this ignore the disparities in capacity that is the legacy of a divided society, but it also ignores the real fears of, for example, a society such as Rwanda, in which

the perpetrators were drawn from the majority community and those who overthrew the previous regime are from the minority community. Fully free and fair elections may well return a Hutu government and with it, renewed conflict.

Fourthly, this study has also raised questions about the ways in which identities formed within a conflict society, filter curriculum knowledge. Education bureaucracies and teachers shaped during the conflict are expected to deliver new knowledge and values in the post-conflict classroom. While some attention is generally given to orientating teachers to a changing curriculum, little attention is given to supporting them in personal change.