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PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SENSE OF COLLECTIVE VICTIMHOOD AS IT RELATES TO HISTORY EDUCATION

BY

DOMINIQUE KAMFFER

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Educationis in the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria.

Supervisor: Professor Johan Wassermann

November, 2020

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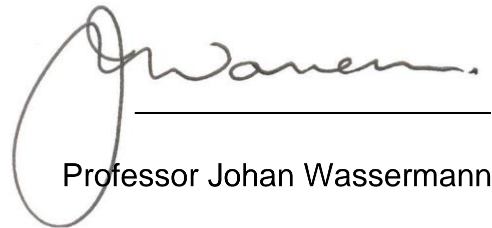
I, **Dominique Kamffer**, declare that this dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree Magister Educationis in the Department of Humanities Education at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.



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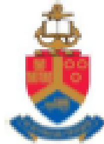

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I got by with a little help from my friends. Acknowledging the people who helped in bringing this master's to life is the closest I will ever come to giving an acceptance speech at the Oscar's.

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Lastly, I am able to do all things through Him who strengthens me.

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ABSTRACT

It has been widely accepted that history education is key in the formation of identity by providing groups with knowledge and understanding of their common past. Historical consciousness is, thus, formed through the transmission of history education. In the context of collective victimhood, official and unofficial historical narratives in this research became the tools for the transgenerational transmission of collective victimisation, resulting in a victim-based identity. The formation of identity which is based on either official or unofficial history is believed to lead to a double-consciousness, where the historical consciousness created through official history interacts with a sense of collective victimhood.

This qualitative case study had the dual purpose of conceptualising and understanding pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness that indicated a specific social identity. Data for this study was obtained using an open-ended question from an electronic survey distributed in 2018 as part of an existing project. A total of 138 narrative responses from the purposively sampled first-year education students at the University of Pretoria in 2018 was analysed using critical qualitative content analysis. Findings from the data analysis conceptualised three social identities, namely South Africanness, rainbowism and Black victimhood. Of these three social identities, the historical consciousness presented through the use of historical thinking skills was different in the way that group-based effects manifested in the narrative responses. The historical consciousness contained within South Africanness manifested in attitudes of civic responsibility and justice. Rainbowism and Black victimhood presented a sense of collective victimhood through hostility and injustice, where rainbowism's sense of collective victimhood was influenced by colour-blind ideology. Historical-thinking concepts were selectively used in the victim-based identities of rainbowism and Black victimhood, suggesting the presence of a double-consciousness. The findings from this study contributed to the broader field of history education and collective victimhood respectively in its understanding and conceptualisation of a pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as historical consciousness indicative of specific social identities.

Keywords: history education; social identity; collective victimhood; pre-service teachers

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Brenda Gouws
Academic Editor

PO Box 51107
Musgrave
Durban
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Sincerely,

Brenda Gouws

BA (English, Psychology), HDE (English, Mathematics), MEd, PhD (History Education)
Certificate - Copy-Editing, University of Cape Town
Associate Member, Professional Editors Guild (PEG)
PEG Membership Number GOU004
Honorary Research Affiliate, Kaplan Centre, University of Cape Town

Email bgouws@iafrica.com
Mobile 0828220600

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This study set out to understand the sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity, whilst focusing on the interplay of official and unofficial history education. This chapter provides the first step towards this understanding by contextualising the formation of a social identity, what a sense of collective victimhood entails, and their respective connections with history education. The contextualisation of the research phenomenon, namely a "sense" of what was achieved, provided a relevant background in order to adequately set the context that the research study took place in. Through the contextualisation of South Africa as a post-conflict society, my own positionality, motivation and rationale played a focal role in the careful consideration of the purpose and focus of the study. The purpose and focus of this study are what drives the whole research process by acting as the base from which my research questions were carefully considered and formulated. The two main research questions introduced the key concepts that needed to be clarified from the outset, namely collective victimhood, a sense of collective victimhood, history education, historical consciousness and pre-service teachers. This concept clarification eliminated any confusion or misconceptions surrounding the study before outlining the theoretical and practical steps that followed in understanding a sense of collective victimhood. This introductory chapter concludes with a forward-looking overview of the study as a whole.

1.2. Background and Context

The background to this study is littered with post-apartheid expectations and born-free disenchantment. As a post-conflict society, South Africans had high expectations of the democratic post-1994 government. Unfortunately, some South Africans, young and old, have been left disenchanted by the empty promises, slow pace transformation and, at times, lack of change, after apartheid ended more than 25 years ago (BBC, 2018; Brown, 2019). It is within the empty promises and largely unchanged circumstances of the majority of residents of the country that collective victimhood gains its strength. Within this disillusionment, racial tensions have increased and

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continue to plague relations between the different ethnic groupings in society.[1] The background to this study sets the scene of a society recently emerged from a prolonged era of collective victimisation. The relevant background information for this study includes South Africa's history of colonialism and the infamous era of apartheid. What will become evident is that much of the background to this study has direct consequences on the context that this study unfolds in.

As overly emphasised in South African history, the Dutch navigator, later turned colonial administrator, Jan van Riebeeck, did not arrive at the Cape with the intention of carrying out a process of colonisation. Being a middle point, or half-way station, between the Netherlands and the resource-rich India, Indonesia and other Far Eastern regions, the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope was first envisioned only to serve the purpose of a refreshment station for Dutch ships (Hamilton, Mbenga, & Ross, 2010; Ross, 2009). Under the guise of a trading post, the Dutch negotiated trade with the indigenous Khoi people. Soon, the reluctance of the Khoi began to impact the sailors' provisions, which led to the decision that under the Dutch-East India Company (DEIC) Van Riebeeck would introduce a permanent settlement at the Cape, and he subsequently established the Cape slave trade and colonialism (Hamilton et al., 2010; Ross, 2009). While slavery was abolished in 1834, in the Cape colonial mentality, racism and victimhood remained.

Colonialism in Africa was fuelled by the ideology of scientific racism and social Darwinism, which stated that Black people were inferior to White people due to their less than human nature (Nyamnjoh, 2016; Rogers, 1972). For the purpose of providing background to the context, I will be focusing on one such case, that is, Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe) under the British colonial rule of Cecil John Rhodes and his British South African Company (BSAC) (Nyamnjoh, 2016; Ross, Mager, & Nasson, 2011). Rhodes gained a "reputation of a 'Colossus', 'White Devil' and 'Grand Imperialist'" (Nyamnjoh, 2016, p. 11). Rhodes's involvement in colonialism in South Africa as well

[1] For example, on 28 December 2018, a group called the Black People's National Crisis Committee staged a protest over the racialisation of Clifton Beach by slaughtering a sheep on its white sand (Chutel, 2019); and, in 2016, an estate agent from KwaZulu-Natal used a post on Facebook to compare Black beachgoers to monkeys. This resulted in Penny Sparrow being ordered to pay a fine of more than R100 000 to various parties involved (Stolley, 2016).

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as in Rhodesia made him the symbol of White colonial imperialism, a beacon of civilisation and superiority.

British colonial rule in South Africa lasted until 31 May 1910 when Britain relinquished (partial) control of South Africa. This move ultimately allowed the Afrikaner population to seize control of a country where racial inequality was entrenched and racial difference promoted. From roughly 1910 to 1948, the Afrikaner dominated and government enforced several measures to ensure the promotion of the Afrikaner nation, nationalism and Christianity (Dubow, 2014; Ross, 2009). This policy was informally called segregation and later turned into the formal system of apartheid which promoted the separate and unequal development of Black and White people whilst enforcing White supremacy. One of the first lucrative legislative measures was the Native Land Act of 1913. This act allowed the demarcation of "White" land and "Black" land. This resulted in the forced removals of Africans from "White" land (Ross, 2009; Ross et al., 2011). This act was further entrenched after the official beginning of the system of apartheid in 1948 with the legislative Group Areas Act of 1950. This, along with the creation of homelands, "allowed the government to 'proclaim' residential and business areas in town and cities for designated race groups" (Dubow, 2014, p. 37; Landis, 1957).

Another act worth mentioning in the context of the social identity of pre-service teachers is the Bantu Education Act of 1953[2], one of the cornerstones of apartheid as introduced by the National Party after 1948. Before the implementation of this act, the education system was the responsibility of the different provinces, with private and missionary education playing a key role. With the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, education was centralised and the curriculum reformed. Black children were exposed to a different curriculum from that of their White counterparts. The curriculum had the sole purpose of enforcing Black inferiority, only providing the necessary skills for them to take part in the labour market and to serve White people

[2] Bantu education refers to the education system put in place during apartheid which disadvantaged Black children and township schools. The curriculum was designed to entrench racial inequality and maintain White dominance. White schools were well-resourced and funded by the state whereas township and rural Black schools were underfunded and lacked the resources. Black children were exposed to a curriculum that would equip them to serve the interests of the White population (Le Roux & Wassermann, 2016).

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(Dubow, 2014; Landis, 1957). In contrast, the schooling provided for White children had the purpose of fostering an Afrikaner identity by basing the teaching on Christian Nationalist principles. Christian National Education was based on Calvinistic notions of separateness. Calvinism endorses the separation of different races based on the premise that God created different nations and races, therefore, if societies are multiracial, then societies are opposing God's will (Le Roux & Wassermann, 2017; Van Eeden & Vermeulen, 2005). Christian National Education had four purposes, namely the indoctrination of White children with notions of White superiority, love for their country, love for their language and love for God (Le Roux & Wassermann, 2017; Ross, 2009). Resources for White schools were plentiful and they had well-trained teachers, whereas Black schools were overcrowded, underfunded and in disarray. Teachers had the sole purpose of teaching a curriculum that would reinforce the discrimination and division between the racial groups of South Africa (Msila, 2007). The curriculum was aimed at championing White Afrikaner identity, love for the Afrikaner culture, as well as the cultivation of Christian values and principles through education (Msila, 2007; Tibbitts & Weldon, 2017). The History curriculum was aimed more specifically at strengthening Afrikaner identity and justifying National Party rule (Tibbitts & Weldon, 2017).

The growing collective victimisation of the Black population, continued entrenchment of racial inequality and the furthering of Afrikaner nationalism culminated in the Soweto Uprising on 16 June 1976. The protest involved thousands of schoolchildren nation-wide, fuelled by the quality of education available to them, but especially the legislation which made it compulsory to use Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. The schoolchildren were met with rubber bullets and a child, Hector Peterson, was the first killed in the crossfire (Davis, 2018; Dubow, 2014). In the case of social identity, Afrikaans as the medium of instruction enhanced the identity of the Afrikaners whilst undermining the identity of the Black learners.

After the fall of apartheid in 1994, the exclusion of races from the economy and political spheres was formally abolished – on paper that is. Contemporary South Africa still sees the existence of entities that foster and champion an exclusive Afrikaner identity. In the Northern Cape, the town Orania is situated in the sparsely-populated Karoo desert (eNCA, 2017a; Fihlani, 2014). The town does not have any other racial

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inhabitants other than mostly disillusioned White people. The existence of the all-White town is defended by notions such as self-determination, not wanting to be dominated by others, as well as preserving the Afrikaner culture.[3] Residency in the all-White Afrikaner town can be achieved through a willingness to integrate into the Afrikaner culture (eNCA, 2017a; Fihlani, 2014). Needless to say, no Black person permanently lives in Orania. These ideas are mirrored in the establishment of an Afrikaner residence. De Goede Hoop Koshuis first opened its doors shortly after the University of Pretoria revised its language policy following the #AfrikaansMustFall protests. On paper, the aim of the residence is to preserve the Afrikaner language and culture and to further Christian values in students at the university, however, in reality, it excludes students based on race and promotes a unified Afrikaner identity (eNCA, 2017b). It does not come as a surprise that a privately-funded Afrikaans Christian higher education institution, Aros, has been built to further Christian values and principles in education. In the context of this study, educational institutions have previously been used as tools to further exclusive identities built on Christian values, culture and language and it would appear South Africa may have come full circle.

This protest over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction returned in 2015 with the #AfrikaansMustFall protests that brought several universities around South Africa to their knees. The University of Pretoria, once a beacon of Afrikaner nationalism and the Afrikaans language, saw the clashing of two protest groups: #AfrikaansMustFall and #AfrikaansSalBly, which translates to Afrikaans will stay. Students who called for the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction cited the 1976 student protest, calling Afrikaans-medium classes unfair and disadvantageous to non-Afrikaans speakers (Masondo, 2015; Willemse, 2017). However, it was not only the language, but the cultural norms too that protesters included in their call to abolish Afrikaans at universities. This is indicative of the victimisation that the Afrikaans language experiences and reminds people of Afrikaans being called "the language of the oppressor". In this comment, many people in post-apartheid South Africa perceive Afrikaans as interchangeable with racial discrimination (Pilane, 2016; Willemse, 2017). However, what provides food for thought with the debate surrounding Afrikaans is that

[3] On a personal note, my uncle recently moved to Orania to build 'Volk en Vaderland'.

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the fall of a language will not be enough to eradicate the poverty that cripples South Africa, but the possible fall of whiteness, corruption and privilege.

#AfrikaansMustFall should be viewed from the perspective of the broader debate on decolonisation, considering its predecessors #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall. Former South African president, Jacob Zuma, was quoted as saying that all South Africa's problems started with Van Riebeeck, and that the root cause of victimisation could be traced back to the arrival of the White settlers in 1652 (Smith, 2015). Thus, when Chumani Maxwele threw human faeces at the statue of the imperialist Rhodes, standing on the University of Cape Town's campus, he was throwing faeces at centuries' worth of Black victimisation within the country and the university itself (Glenn, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2016; Simmonds, Du Preez, & Chetty, 2017). Within the higher education transformation debate, the statue of Rhodes was seen as the externalisation of White supremacy and coloniality and a provocative symbol of colonialism (Simmonds et al., 2017). The #RhodesMustFall movement sparked the beginning of a large wave of student movements calling for the decolonisation of universities and free higher education (Matebeni, 2018; Roussos, 2017). In the same year, the announcement of a fee increase at tertiary institutions sparked further student protests. The #FeesMustFall movement was characterised by a nationwide university shutdown and, at times, police brutality. The movement's success was seen in a no-fee increase for 2016, however, it did not address "deeply rooted structural and systematic problems" (Simmonds et al., 2017, p. 99) within higher education institutions. As an extension of the contextualisation of this study, the bust of a statue of Rhodes was beheaded at a Cape Town monument as another strike in the war against historical statues and colonialism, with the statue of Paul Kruger in Pretoria being next on the hit list (Ebrahim, 2020; Reuters, Shange, & Makinana, 2020). The victimhood from centuries of oppression, subjugation and discrimination directed its anger towards the public memorialisation of the "perpetrator". Statues of the past embody the symbolic actions between victim and perpetrator. The statues of Rhodes and Kruger embody White supremacy and, in the case of Kruger, Afrikaner nationalism.

Where the Rhodes and Kruger statues on a conceptual level were assigned specific physical meanings, the legacy of the Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of

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1950 provided a concrete realisation of victimisation through the remnants of apartheid. There have been recent calls for land expropriation without compensation based on the largely unchanged circumstances of Black people in post-apartheid society. This call finds its justification on the above Acts and in the incompatibility of democracy and the circumstances that many still remain in today. For example, after the collapse of a walkway at Hoërskool Driehoek that killed three White learners, the organisation Black First Land First (BLF) welcomed the "great news" that there were three less land criminals. BLF is a movement that was created around the central theme of land expropriation and the salience of Black poverty in townships and inadequate educational services (Penny & Nqola, 2019). Currently, roughly 4 500 state schools still make use of pit toilets. In 2015 Michael Komape (five years old) drowned in one and in 2018 Limka Mkethwa (five years old) and Omari Monono (three years old) fell into pit toilets and drowned. Pit toilets are holes dug in the ground and covered with rudimentary platforms surrounded by metal. These toilets are clumsily built. These examples are only a small indication of the legacy of apartheid still prevalent in schools today (Fihlani, 2018; Heywood, 2015; Kisoon, 2019).

Apart from the unchanged amenities and mindsets that previously disadvantaged schools still endure, the end to apartheid saw a complete restructuring of the South African educational system. Many teachers and learners were exposed to multicultural classrooms, a curriculum that did not favour one race above another, and new teaching pedagogies (Ebrahim, 2017). The focal change in teaching and learning in post-apartheid society was the use of education to foster a national identity. During apartheid, teachers used the History curriculum as a tool to build Afrikaner nationalism and an exclusive White racial identity. The subsequent curricular revisions following the end of apartheid aimed to use history as a tool to build an inclusive national identity based on the Constitution (Tibbitts & Weldon, 2017; Wassermann, 2018b). Due to the perceived lack of epistemic change within the curriculum and following the calls for the decolonisation of education, the education system came under scrutiny once more.

Much like a buzzword, the term "decolonised education" roughly translates to "academics and students ridding higher education institutions of the procedures, values, norms, practices, thinking, beliefs and choices that mark anything non-European and not White as inferior" (Mutekwe, 2017, p. 143; Wingfield, 2017).

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Answering the call for decolonised education from tertiary educational structures, the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, introduced steps towards the decolonisation of South Africa's education system as a whole (Nyathi, 2019). This policy step had, and still has, a substantial effect on the History curriculum. With decolonised education as a priority, the History curriculum became the field of overhaul. Addressing the demanding calls for decolonised education, steps and decisions were proposed to rewrite the History curriculum, making it more Afrocentric and, ultimately, compulsory from Grades 4 to 12, but these proposals have not yet been realised (Ndlovu, Lekgoathi, Esterhuysen, Mkhize, Weldon, Callinicos, & Sithole, 2018). These are currently promises and there is no certainty of their fruition (Head, 2018; Slamdien, 2018).

To date, there has been little agreement on what history should be taught, why it should be taught and to what end it should be taught (Mail & Guardian, 2017; Williams, 2017). South Africa's legacy of victimisation, as painted with broad strokes in the background and context to the study, sees to a highly contested and controversial debate surrounding belonging, identity and education. Both conceptual and concrete consequences of historical victimisation plague South African society in its formulation of a social identity which may either include or exclude the different groupings within South Africa. It is within the background of a range of socio-political tensions, calls for decolonising education, student protests, changing teacher roles, and intentions of a compulsory History curriculum that the conceptualisation of a sense of collective victimhood as indicative of a social identity finds its strength.

1.3. Rationale, Motivation and Positionality

The rationale, motivation and positionality of this study draws its breath from the background and context outlined above. There are key moments which I draw on that provide the personal, professional, conceptual and scholarly drive for the study. I am what has come to be termed a "born free" for I was born in 1994, which was the first year that South Africa held its democratic elections following apartheid. Born into an Afrikaans-speaking family, I moved from a public Afrikaans-medium school in Grade 4 to a private English-medium school where I stayed until Grade12. This exposure to the English language and culture removed some traces of my Afrikaans-speaking background. My parents, as well as the English 'liberal' school, engendered a colour-

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blind social identity within me. I, however, only later came to find out that being colour -blind is not all that it is cracked up to be. I reached this uncomfortable realisation in 2016 and then again in 2017.

During the #MustFall movements, I found myself indirectly defending my White privilege by denying the very existence of that privilege. Because in my head I was colour blind, the social identity that I enveloped meant that I was not arrogant about what I had and I was not racist, therefore I did not have White privilege. In retrospect, I was hiding my White guilt behind my colour-blind eyes. It was only after a conversation with my sister that I realised that White privilege is not what you currently have but what opportunities your whiteness afforded you in the past. Even with my socialisation in official history up to third-year level at university, I was not given the opportunity to realise what White privilege actually meant because being colour-blind removes more than just race from your vision.

Armed with this new realisation, I entered my honours year in History at the University of Pretoria. I had my newly-formulated social identity which rested on civic responsibility and this felt like a powerful agent. However, this feeling came to a grinding halt at the showcasing of the historical documentaries that the honours students made as part of an elective module. This particular documentary introduced the question as to whether the veterans of the ANC would be proud of where we are as South Africans, and, if I correctly remember, the word euphoria was thrown into the title. Sitting in a roomful of what I observed to be political student activists, I made the apparent mistake of noticing that the documentary only featured interviews with Black anti-apartheid activists. The presenters did not really know what to say and gave a half-hearted response. Later, in the question-and-answer session, these student activists were becoming quite agitated. In light of the #MustFall movements, comments were made surrounding the belonging of White students during the protests against fee increases as well as during political student body meetings. The agency that I felt as a White student was diminished in an instant and the White guilt started settling in again. It appeared that due to my white skin I did not belong in post-apartheid South Africa as an active citizen. The incident that occurred in 2017 during the documentary showcase can be seen as an extension of my defence of my privilege in 2016. However, both these critical incidents provided the personal motivation behind

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this study. I have never experienced any form of victimisation due to the colour of my skin which is most likely due to the era that I was born in. It is noteworthy that even with my extensive exposure to official history, the social identity that I formulated lacked the capacity to see the legacy of apartheid because I had never experienced victimisation and I was supposedly "colour-blind".

Colour-blind or not, I never saw myself as an Afrikaner, even though my home language is Afrikaans. Being White and speaking Afrikaans played into a preconceived idea of who I was as a pre-service teacher, what I should believe and what I should stand for. This became notably difficult when completing my Work Integrated Learning (WIL)[4] at a high-income Afrikaans high school. I was teaching Afrikaner Nationalism to Grade 11s, and the teaching methodology I employed encouraged me to relate the language movement of the 1900s to the University of Pretoria's #AfrikaansMustFall movement as a way to judge the second-order, historical-thinking concept of change and continuity. As the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for Grade 11 dictates, in Term 3 Afrikaner Nationalism is dealt with under the broader topic of nationalism in South Africa, Africa and the Middle East (Department of Basic Education, 2011a). As a "fellow" Afrikaner, I was asked if I protested against the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Disappointed with my negative response, learners called me a soutie[5] and ultimately questioned my identity as a White Afrikaner. My social identity as a pre-service teacher was in contradiction to the Afrikaner identity present in the history classroom. Through my lack of commitment to an Afrikaner cause, I was seen as part of the out-group.

In an attempt to further foster change and continuity, I planned on showing contemporary examples of entities that shaped Afrikaner identity. I was, however, censored by my mentor teacher who feared a parent backlash. Within the history classes, there was a sense of injustice felt by these privileged Afrikaner learners towards the systems put in place after apartheid ended. On more than one occasion,

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[4] WIL refers to the real-life/simulated work experience given to a student to fulfil his/her programme of study. WIL integrates theoretical knowledge and practical work, formerly known as Teaching Practice.
[5] Soutie is a contraction of soutpiel, a derogatory term referring to English-speaking South Africans. This term literally means "salt-penis" and describes those who had one foot in England and the other in South Africa with their penis dangling in the ocean. It also means that the English had divided loyalties, not belonging in South Africa. In this case, I was seen as not having loyalties to the Afrikaner in-group.

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learners would make remarks that referred to perceived Afrikaner victimhood at the hands of the post-1994 democratically elected African National Congress (ANC) government, whether it was based on job appointments or university acceptance. Of significance is that the Grade 11 learners have been exposed to official history for almost the entirety of their school careers. This creates an assumption that through the teaching of official history by history teachers as agents of the state and state-sanctioned CAPS, the learners will have formed a historical consciousness inclusive of civic responsibility and critical-thinking skills. The tension between official and unofficial history has led to the manifestation amongst the learners of a sense of collective victimhood which has an ingrained lack of understanding of South Africa's past and the need for retributive measures in the present. This speaks directly to the interplay of victim consciousness and historical consciousness due to the socialisation from official and unofficial history education. As a history teacher, the successful use of second-order thinking concepts removes the need to censor controversial topics within the classroom even if these topics conflict with unofficial history. Through the censorship of controversial issues in the classroom, the history teacher is essentially facilitating the formation of a sense of collective victimhood by only providing a one-sided and "safe" use of critical-thinking skills.

My professional motivation for the study is interlinked with the conceptual need for an understanding of a sense of collective victimhood (this will be explained under Section 1.6) as a type of historical consciousness which is indicative of a specific social identity. It is widely accepted that history education is a key tool for identity formation (Carretero, Asensio, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2012; Psaltis, Carretero, & Čehajić-Clancy, 2017a), however, what identity is formed based on what type of history education is received, is unknown. In order to achieve successful conflict resolution, a more appropriate conceptual understanding of the construction of a sense collective victimhood is needed when addressing how history education contributes to resolving or renewing conflict. By understanding the relationship between history education, social identity and historical consciousness, this study will contribute to the existing

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knowledge gap surrounding the double-consciousness[6] of learners who have recently left school. There is little known about the historical consciousness of learners who have just left school (Angier, 2017; Wassermann, 2018a), with Angier (2017) labelling the presence of two types of historical consciousness in learners, argued in this study as the presence of a sense of collective victimhood and the historical consciousness formed through official history

The personal, professional, conceptual and scholarly motivation that drives this study provides my own positionality as the researcher. As an individual, my own social identity was initially shaped through my exposure to 15 years of official history, yet I presented a sense of collective victimhood which lacked the understanding of my own privilege that apartheid afforded me. This social identity was also present in the Grade 11 history learners during my WIL where I, as the pre-service teacher, was confronted by the learners' social identity and sense of collective victimhood shaped by unofficial history. The tension that existed between my social identity as a pre-service teacher, the censorship of the use of change and continuity, and the sense of collective victimhood of the learners calls for the need of a conceptual understanding of a double-consciousness and social identity which is formulated through official and unofficial history. The above conceptual understanding will contribute to the knowledge gap that exists surrounding the historical consciousness of learners who have just left school as well as the lack of scholarly output surrounding collective victimhood and history education as a whole. Making use of the motivations outlined in this section, it was necessary to clearly delineate the purpose and focus of this study.

1.4. Purpose and Focus

The purpose of this study has been derived from two assumptions of history education. The first centres around history education as a key medium in the construction of a collective identity, whereas the second is based on the potential of history as a tool for reconciliation or as a weapon for conflict. Thus, this study has a dual purpose – first,

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[6] Double-consciousness refers to the formation of historical consciousness before they encounter official history and the historical consciousness formed through the exposure to official history (Angier, 2017).

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to understand and, second, to conceptualise pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness that is indicative of a specific social identity.

Pertaining to the first assumption, history education, through the development of historical consciousness, constructs a collective identity through narratives of the group's common past, which informs the next generation of the group's origin and provides the framework through which the present and future are understood. This notion goes hand in hand with the second assumption surrounding history education, that is, as a tool for either reconciliation or reigniting conflict. This binary effect of history education may be attributed to the difference between the transmission and internalisation of victim narratives within official and unofficial history. Through the methodological use of critical qualitative content analysis, this study develops an understanding of a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity through the examination of second-order, historical-thinking concepts within narratives, as well as identity-formation processes found within social identity theory (SIT).

From this dual purpose, the focus is thus on the narratives of pre-service teachers and the presence of second-order, historical-thinking concepts found within these narrations of past victimisation. In addition, the exploration of official and unofficial narratives is given focal attention for the importance of these narratives in the formation of a collective identity.

1.5. Research Questions

Throughout the research process, I aimed to engage with and understand pre-service teachers' social identity and a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness within specific social identities. This dual purpose was guided by two research questions. Drawing from the background and context, the literature, as well as the need identified in the rationale and motivation for this study, I formulated two research questions that my study sought to address in order to understand the social identity and the sense of collective victimhood of pre-service teachers as it relates to history education. Therefore, the two research questions that directed this study were:

1. What is the social identity of pre-service teachers in relation to history education?

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2. How does a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness manifest in pre-service teachers' narratives of historical victimisation?

The focus of the first research question rests on the assumption that history education is a key tool for the formation of identity. The first research question not only provides the scope for the conceptualisation of collective victimhood but makes provision for findings on social identity as whole in relation to history education. The second research question rests on the implications of adopting a group-based victim identity and investigating whether this manifests in certain emotions, behaviours, attitudes or beliefs. This aims to meet the purpose of understanding a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness which is inclusive of particular beliefs, emotions, attitudes and behaviours as dictated by an understanding of the past. Furthermore, the second research question places its emphasis on the role that official and unofficial history education plays in the communication of victim narratives and memories which lead to a sense of collective victimhood as evident in the different forms of social identity and historical consciousness.

1.6. Concept Clarification

Drawn from the literature on history education, victimisation and collective victimhood, four key concepts require explanation from the outset to provide the reader with a clearer understanding of what this study entails and further contextualise the research problem.

The United Nations (UN) provides a conceptualisation of "victim" as it relates to international relations. According to the UN's Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power 1985 (United Nations, 1985), victims are people "who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or impairment" (United Nations, 1985). This conceptualisation of victim assigns a relatively clear-cut concept of what a person or group needs to go through to be classified as a victim. Furthermore, it follows a top-down approach when it comes to assigning victim status. In contradiction to the seemingly objective state of a victim that the international body proposes, recent scholarship has attributed being a victim largely to subjective processes, placing emphasis on personal experiences, self-proclamation of victim status and who has the

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power to assign victim status (Druliolle & Brett, 2018; Jensen & Ronsbo, 2014; Shoham, Knepper, & Kett, 2010). The inadequacy of the definition of victim does not stop at defining a victim as a result of direct victimisation but extends victim status to individuals who have not personally been victimised. It is necessary to achieve a conceptualisation of victim by not subscribing victim to a fixed description or statement of meaning (Hornby, 2010), but by examining the abstract idea of the term as it presents itself in different contexts. The subjectivity that accompanies the conceptualisation of a victim has important implications for the understanding of collective victimhood as a whole.

Collective victimhood is seen as a form of group-based identity that may or may not emerge from collective victimisation (Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori, & Gundar, 2009; Jacoby, 2015). For collective victimhood to develop, an act of collective victimisation needs to precede it. However, acts of collective victimisation will not necessarily always develop into a state of collective victimhood (Jacoby, 2015; Noor, Vollhardt, Mari, & Nadler, 2017). Researchers who study collective victimhood examine a group's beliefs, emotions, attitudes and behavioural tendencies that result from direct or indirect victimisation against the in-group (Hadar, 2019; Vollhardt, 2012). These beliefs, emotions, attitudes and behaviours form part of the identity of a group which, in turn, dictates intergroup relations (Noor et al., 2017). Collective victimhood may be best understood through the use of SIT.

SIT is based on the premise that individuals categorise themselves as well as others into groups. This categorisation process is done based on the perceived commonality between individual characteristics and the characteristics of the group. Groups further base their identification process on a common shared past which provides members with stories of the group's origin and continuity over time. With regard to collective victimhood, the in-group's past victimisation is ingrained in the collective memory of the group. Following a trauma or victimising event, an in-group often internalises and develops a subjective construal of the group's traumatic experience. This version of the event is then translated into a victim-based identity which may prove disastrous to future intergroup relations. The narratives of victimisation may contradict the official state-approved narrative of the victimising event, causing a mistrust of the out-group.

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Sense of collective victimhood refers to the cognitive manifestation of certain group-based victim beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and emotions as a result of collective victimhood. This study does not wish to prove a theory or test a hypothesis, therefore whether a participant has a victim-based identity or not, the only manner in which I can ascertain their collective victimhood is through consideration of the content of different manifestations. Within this study, a sense of collective victimhood is equated to a victim consciousness, which is further conceptualised as a form of historical consciousness. Moreover, the intergenerational transmission of collective memories within groups provides members with the knowledge of how the group behaves, feels and thinks, based on their identification with the in-group. A sense of collective victimhood is therefore considered through the different beliefs, attitudes, emotions and behaviours that make up their historical consciousness.

History education takes place in two forms, official and unofficial. Many a time a tension exists between official and unofficial history through the CAPS curriculum in South Africa as well as community. In short, history that has been sanctioned by the state, is evidence-based, and which socialises the population within a curriculum is referred to as official history (Bentrovato, Korostelina, & Schulze, 2016; Kukard, 2017), whereas history that is based on belief and collective memories and that socialises within a generation or small group is seen as unofficial history (Angier, 2017; Seixas, 2004). It has also been widely accepted and argued that history education is a key tool for identity formation (Carretero et al., 2012). Within this distinction, I make a link between the socialisation of historical trauma narratives on a societal level and then on a group level as it relates to the facilitation of a social identity and a sense of collective victimhood.

Through the socialisation and exposure to history education (whether official or not), learners develop a historical consciousness. Historical consciousness in its simplest form is the knowledge of one's past, the understanding of how it shapes the present, and what this understanding means for the future (Rüsen, 1987, 2004). In the context of this study, historical consciousness cannot be seen as a static construct, but rather as an ever-changing understanding based on the content of official and unofficial history. An individual's historical consciousness shapes not only their understanding of the past, present and future, but the way they think, react and feel based on their

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knowledge of the past. Related to this study, the historical consciousness of pre-service teachers are examined based on their exposure to either official or unofficial history education or both (Seixas, 2004; Seixas & Morton, 2013).

The term pre-service teachers refers to students who have decided to study towards a teaching degree at a tertiary institution. These students undergo training which will allow them to go into schools to teach their chosen subjects. Pre-service teachers are equipped with general theories of learning and teaching, subject-specific strategies, as well as strategies for assessing learners. At the conclusion of pre-service teachers' training, it is assumed that they will go into service as fully qualified teachers, utilising and adopting everything they have learnt with regard to teaching and learning (Keirn & Martin, 2012; Westhoff & Polman, 2008). Even though this study focuses on history education, it does not necessitate pre-service history teachers but rather is a general category.

Through the clarification of key concepts in this research, I have ensured that the reader has clarity on how history education, victims, collective victimhood and social identity, and pre-service teachers are conceptualised from the start. Next, by outlining the research design and methodology, I am one step closer to understanding pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity.

1.7. Research Design and Methodology

Researchers make use of several measures to collect, generate and analyse their data in order to draw arguable conclusions. A research study includes a set of plans and procedures that a researcher uses to guide the research process. These plans and procedures range from broad theoretical assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Creswell & Creswell, 2017) and are organised into a research design and research methodology. At first glance, the research design and methodology can be succinctly summarised in Table 1.1.

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Table 1.1 Summary of my research design and methodology

Research Approach	Qualitative
Research Paradigm	Interpretivism
Ontology and Epistemology	Reality is context sensitive, subject to the creation by participants.
Research Methodology	Case study
Research Method	Survey
Sampling	Purposive
Time frame	Contemporary South Africa

This study uses a qualitative approach and employs interpretivism to study pre-service teachers' social identity and sense of collective victimhood in contemporary South Africa (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). In accordance with the characteristics of qualitative research as well as the interpretivist paradigm, the knowledge garnered within this study is assumed to be context specific, subjective and socially constructed. These philosophical, epistemological and ontological assumptions carry through from my research design to the practical methods as described within a research methodology.

Aligning with the research design, I make use of a case study as a research methodology which is "an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary phenomenon within its real life context" (Rule & John, 2011, p. 4). In this research study, the case consisted of purposively sampled, first-year pre-service teachers in 2018 at the University of Pretoria. These participants were assumed to have either been exposed to the official History curriculum or the unofficial history transmitted within group settings. As part of an existing project on collective victimhood, the sample group received an electronic survey that included a series of close-ended questions and one open-ended question (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018; Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). I used the open-ended question that allowed participants to type their own views, thus subscribing to a qualitative approach.

The research design and methodology employed was best suited to understanding the sense of collective victimhood of pre-service teachers that presented a specific social identity. As this chapter nears the end, I will briefly provide a short description of the highlights in the subsequent chapters.

1.8. Chapter Outline

This introductory chapter will be followed by a critical and exploratory review of the literature that surrounds collective victimhood, history education and other related

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concepts. The literature review follows an inverted pyramid structure within specific concepts that allow for the grouping and organisation of related theoretical ideas. Before delving into the literature, the chapter starts with the purpose, nature and necessity of a literature review. This discussion is followed by a conceptual discussion of victims, victimisation, history education and collective victimhood. Within these concepts, I touch on general theories before closely examining the theories related to my research, for example, history education in South Africa. I conclude Chapter 2 by discussing the conceptual framework, which incorporates SIT and key aspects of History education and collective victimhood as found within the literature.

Chapter 3 comprises my research design and methodology. The former is discussed in the first section and focuses on my nature as a qualitative researcher and the way that this influences the process of inquiry, data collection and analysis. Through the use of critical qualitative content analysis, concept coding and thematic coding, I make certain extrapolations in Chapter 4 that are closely linked to the purpose and research questions of this study. These extrapolations are discussed and concluded in Chapter 5 where I bring the whole research process together, concluding with the implications of the research findings on education and the broader body of knowledge.

1.9. Conclusion

This introductory chapter has provided the initial steps towards understanding and conceptualising pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity. By describing the background and context, the scene has been set in realising the necessity for this study in contemporary South Africa. This necessity also stemmed from my own motivation and positionality as an Afrikaans-speaking White woman. However, this study is not a narcissistic endeavour; it addresses different knowledge areas and the lack of studies of this kind within those fields. Using the research questions, this study aims to discuss the literature, procedures, analysis and presentation of findings in the chapters that follow. In the next chapter, I examine the existing literary body of knowledge surrounding collective victimhood, history education and SIT in the hopes of drawing closer to conceptualising and understanding pre-service teachers' social identity and a sense of collective victimhood.

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CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of my study is to understand and explore pre-service teachers' social identity and sense of collective victimhood through the interplay of official and unofficial history. In order to achieve the purpose, I engaged in an embedded literature review, utilising a critical approach towards relevant sources as well as organising the literature conceptually. Literature was selected based on the purpose as set out. Therefore, I examined literature on victim, collective victimisation, collective victimhood, social identity and history education. The study focuses on pre-service teachers who started their tertiary education more than twenty years after the end of apartheid, a period characterised by structural victimisation. Therefore, literature that examined historical victimisation or any form of generational transmission of victimisation in relation to history education was relevant to my study.

For my literature review, I drew on SIT in the conceptualisation of collective victimhood as a group-based victim identity, and history education as a tool for identity formation and conflict transformation. I used literature on social identity and history education as a tool for reconciliation, as collective victimhood impedes the transformative process in post-conflict societies. Therefore, in understanding the formation of social identity within the conceptualisation of official and unofficial history, it can be said that history education allows the conceptualisation of social identity as a victim-based identity which may renew conflict and overhaul the process towards transformation. The literature contained in this chapter culminated in a conceptual framework which conceptualised the creation of a social identity through the socialisation of unofficial and official history. Based on the specific content of official and unofficial history, a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness took form.

2.2. The Literature Review

A literature review is a critical approach to analysing and comparing existing bodies of work in order to fully engage with a research problem (Jesson, Matheson, & Lacey, 2011; Ridley, 2012). A literature review refers to both a product and a process. As a product, a literature review is a comprehensive synthesis of both published and unpublished scholarly work related to a researcher's topic (Efron & Ravid, 2019;

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Ridley, 2012). As a process in a research proposal, dissertation or thesis, the literature review is the section where specific reference is made to research that is related to the researcher's field of study. This type of literature review is characterised as an "embedded" review, which contextualises the study by connecting the research problem with existing studies. Therefore, the literature review for this study is embedded in nature, as this chapter draws connections between a sense of collective victimhood and scholarly output surrounding collective victimhood as a field of study (Efron & Ravid, 2019). Furthermore, a literature review establishes the positionality of a researcher after connections are made between extensive texts and the researcher's own study (Ridley, 2012).

Researchers engage in the review of literature for several purposes. By conducting a literature review, I was able to contextualise my study within the field of collective victimhood and history education by identifying canonical thinkers within the respective fields. Furthermore, the literature review serves to identify areas within the field being studied which have been under-researched, calling for a need for the knowledge that a new study would provide (Efron & Ravid, 2019; Jesson et al., 2011). Existing studies provide the researcher with "tried and tested" ways of conducting similar research. This literature review therefore informed the research design and methodology of my study by allowing me to explore, question and critique existing ways of conducting similar research based on the methodology adopted and results produced (Efron & Ravid, 2019; Ridley, 2012).

Amongst the different purposes of a literature review, Jesson et al. (2011) clarify that a literature review is not a shopping list or a mere summary of different sources, but rather a critical review of relevant sources. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, I chose to engage in both a traditional as well as a conceptual review. A traditional review generally uses a critical approach to engaging with existing studies. I have adopted a critical approach to existing studies that aimed to research collective victimhood, as the majority of such studies pose hypotheses or theories surrounding collective victimhood. What this approach entailed was questioning and acknowledging both the negative and positive features of the study under question with the use of critical thinking and skills (Jesson et al., 2011). This was appropriate, as most of the studies on collective victimhood have been done from a quantitative

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perspective. Thus, by critically engaging and reflecting on the hypotheses and results from these studies, I was able to gain insight into what one should look for when dealing with collective victimhood as well as critiquing quantitative approaches. When engaging with literature surrounding definitions and explanations of collective victimhood and history education, I adopted a conceptual review. This type of literature review aims at understanding and exploring conceptual knowledge, which complemented the qualitative approach of this study. As will become evident in this chapter, collective victimhood cannot be contained by providing a clear-cut definition. Therefore, a broad and thorough conceptualisation was needed. This also applied to literature surrounding history education, as this field of study is ever-changing and evolving based on current trends in education.

For the purpose of this study, I engaged in a literature review which first contextualised pre-service teacher's sense of collective victimhood as it relates to history education by examining literature found on victims, collective victimisation and collective victimhood. From this preliminary round of reading and reviewing, I further narrowed down my research parameters by refining my research questions. However, as I delved deeper into the literature I constantly reflected and made note of insights that had not previously occurred to me. Based on the preliminary round of reading, I was able to identify the relevant research studies to collective victimhood as well as history education. I made use of summary tables to engage with the different studies identified. An example of one of the summary tables I used can be seen in Image 2.1.

Summary tables, like the example seen in Image 2.1, allowed me to "organise and record notes" (Efron & Ravid, 2019, p. 129) on existing studies concerning collective victimhood. By using this critical tool, I was able to critically approach the literature as stipulated in a traditional review. A summary table requires the researcher to state the source of the reading, the purpose of the study, the methodological choices as well as findings. Using this summary table, I also stated the strengths, weaknesses and contribution of the specific study reviewed.

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Title	When collective memories of victimhood fade: Generational evolution of intergroup attitudes and political aspirations in Belgium			
Author/s	Bernard Rimé; Pierre Bouchat; Olivier Klein & Laurent Licata			
Editor/s				
Book	Book Chapter	Journal Paper European Journal of Social Psychology V5	Conference Pro	Http Other
Publisher				
Edition	Year 2015	City	Page Nos 515-532	
Problem	Key Idea	Methodology	Theory/Concept	
• Changing social, political + economic context in Belgian influence traditional memory of Dutch speakers in different generations • Current social psychological factors influence reconstruction of past	• Social context influence collective remembrance which impact intergroup relations, political attitudes + choices • Different generations grew up in diff contexts + it influences collective memories, thus sense of victimhood.	• Survey of 3 generations ↳ 1226 French-speaking 1457 Dutch-speaking • Mannheim's concept according • Categorical predictor (generation) • Questionnaire • Statistical analyses ↳ ANOVAs	Collective memories ↳ Normative function Collective Victimhood ↳ Perceived ↳ Transgenerational transmission of CV Social transmission Francophone domination Younger generations expected to manifest certain hypotheses	

Image 2.1 Example of a summary table used

After an extensive amount of reading within the field of history education and collective victimhood, I was ready to synthesise the conceptual knowledge by using the summary tables as well as the notes made directly on the different articles, books and other relevant sources of literature. In order to do this, I visually represented the different concepts on a mind map (Image 2.2). This colour-coded structuring tool allowed me to visually present the different key concepts of my study: victim; collective victimisation; collective victimhood; and history education.

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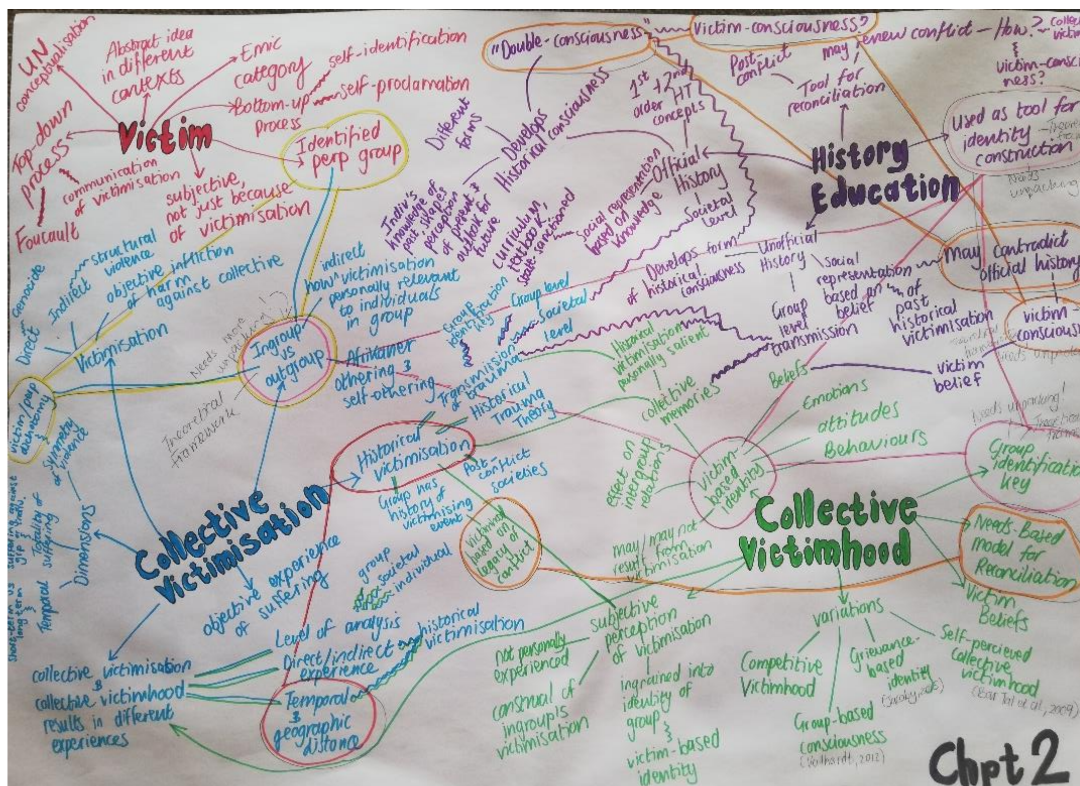

Image 2.2 Mind map of key concepts based on the literature

By using the mind map in Image 2.2, I was able to commence with writing up the literature review for this study. Hence, my literature review was thematically organised, following a funnel structure (Efron & Ravid, 2019; Ridley, 2012). What this entailed was that, first, within each concept, I discussed and critically reflected on a broad conceptualisation of the topic before narrowing down the concept as closely as possible to pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood and social identity as it related to history education. Thematic literature reviews combine both "theoretical writing and empirical studies" (Efron & Ravid, 2019, p. 150) that relate to the research problem. Therefore, the literature review for this dissertation was conceptually organised, first dealing with broader international trends within the themes of victim, collective victimisation, collective victimhood, and history education, then narrowing these down to the context of South Africa, and ultimately to the purpose of the study.

2.2.1. "You are a victim! You are a victim! Everybody gets to be victims!"

Over the past century, there has been a dramatic increase in the field of social sciences, including in the sub-discipline of victimology (Jacoby, 2015; Vollhardt, 2012). This increase can be attributed to post-colonial and post-conflict societies where groups are claiming victim status for past or present atrocities committed

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against them. Central to the study of collective victimhood is the concept of the victim. Based on the conceptualisation provided by the United Nations' Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power 1985 (United Nations, 1985), victims are people "who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or impairment" (United Nations, 1985, p. 214). This conceptualisation of a victim assigns a relatively clear-cut concept of what a person or group needs to go through to be classified as a victim. However, in contradiction to the seemingly objective state of a victim that the international body proposes, recent scholarship has attributed being a victim largely to subjective processes, placing emphasis on personal experiences, self-proclamation of victim status and who has the power to assign victim status (Druliolle & Brett, 2018; Jensen & Ronsbo, 2014). The dated UN definition does not, therefore, adequately encapsulate what it means to be a victim with all its complexities, but rather defines a victim in relation to victimisation. The inadequacy of the definition of victim does not stop at defining a victim as a result of direct victimisation but extends victim status to individuals who have not personally been victimised. It is necessary to achieve a conceptualisation of victim by not subscribing victim to a fixed description or statement of meaning (Hornby, 2010), but by examining the abstract idea of the concept or idea as it presents itself in different contexts (Merriam-Webster, 2019).

The definition and provisions set out by the UN are devoid of subjectivities that are linked with personal experiences and perception, emphasising the need for a critical analysis of victim as a largely constructed identity. Therefore, to reach a conceptual understanding of the meaning of victim, it is helpful to understand the concept or idea from a constructivist perspective. This implies that the term victim should be treated as an emic category which is formed through a variety of factors such as "social norms and customs" (Jensen & Ronsbo, 2014, p. 4) and developed politically, culturally and socially (Druliolle & Brett, 2018; Shoham, Knepper & Kett, 2010). This then begs the question, where can one draw the line when it comes to being a victim? What are we communicating to people about resilience and agency if it is so easy to be a victim? This is addressed later in the literature review in the context of personal differences and victimhood.

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As an emic category, the construction of the concept of victim can be attributed to several factors, such as whether a person was assigned or self-proclaimed victim status. These two distinctions can largely be attributed to top-down or bottom-up processes. For example, assigning victim status to an individual or a group is based on who has the power to make the assignation. The power to assign victim status can largely be attested to Michel Foucault's writings on power and knowledge. Foucault states that what knowledge or truth is does not exist externally to power. Truth breeds the reverberations of power (Foucault & Gordon, 1980). According to Foucault, societies are equipped with "régimes of truth" (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, p. 131) or the politics of truth (Taylor, 2011). This broadly means that victims are recognised and named based on the type of discourse that the society accepts as true; mechanisms or events that enable the society to distinguish and sanction true or false statements; the accepted processes in the acquisition of truth; or the position in society of those who decide on truth (Foucault & Gordon, 1980; Jensen & Ronsbo, 2014). In the case of international relations and the UN, assigning victim status to a group follows a top-down approach that is largely based on the successful communication of victimisation by a group which fits into the discourse of what it means to be a victim and the conditions of victimisation (Jacoby, 2015; Shoham et al., 2010). Truth is not decided by a body that holds authority in a society, but rather it is the knowledge that is recognised as true. This statement translates into self-proclamation of victim status, whether an authoritative body acknowledges the group as victims or not. Therefore, there is a battle for truth or recognition of truth (Foucault & Gordon, 1980; Taylor, 2011). In other words, in subscribing to the Foucauldian notion of power and knowledge, victims are created through the interplay of power, knowledge and discourse (Jensen & Ronsbo, 2014).

To be recognised as a victim, there needs to be an identified perpetrator group. This victim–perpetrator dichotomy highlights the complexity of victim status and the role that politics plays in the construction of victims. The line between perpetrator and victim is blurred or absent; this is especially true in the case of conflicts such as in Rwanda, Israel–Palestine and Sudan where both groups have committed atrocities against the other group (Jacoby, 2015; Simantov-Nachlieli & Shnabel, 2014; Vollhardt & Bilewicz, 2013; Yoshida, 2013). By being recognised as a victim, groups seek various goals that would be afforded to them if they were characterised as

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victims (Jacoby, 2015). Within this goal-orientated context, the bottom-up process of victim status relates to either self-identification and self-proclamation or victim status. This refers to a person labelling themselves "victim" without being assigned the label by a higher authority (Shoham et al., 2010). This statement is corroborated by the research done by Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori and Gundar (2009) in which they examined victim's self-perceived victim status and victimhood within intractable conflicts.

Within the context and purpose of this study, I am critical of the appropriation of a victim label by people who do not live in poverty as a result of the legacy of apartheid (Adonis, 2018) and who have not suffered direct harm whether physically, emotionally materially, verbally or mentally. However, for this study, victim is conceptualised as a person who has been assigned victim status as well as who self-proclaims victim status. Whether self-proclaimed or assigned, a victim can only exist if an act of victimisation has taken place. In the context of collective victimhood, the concept of collective victimisation needs to be further unpacked to reach a conceptualisation of a sense of collective victimhood and its relationship with history education.

2.2.2. All for one and one for all: Collective victimisation

For the purpose of this study, the concept of victim is seen as an experiential state of suffering that is subject to the individual's own perception of suffering, as guided by the literature thus far. This implies that collective victimisation is an objective process of inflicting harm in which the harm or suffering is perceived and experienced subjectively by a group. Collective victimisation, as a result of collective violence, refers to the instrumental infliction of harm on a group by another group to achieve certain economic, social or political goals (Noor, Vollhardt, Mari & Nadler, 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). However, two distinctions can be made in the conceptual understanding of the term. Collective victimisation by an in-group occurs either within structural mechanisms or directly with violence. Structural violence, on the one hand, is the indirect process of harming through societal structures and practices, resulting in gross inequalities of the out-group. On the other hand, direct violence is perpetrated through the use of violence by a perpetrator in-group against an identified out-group (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). Direct violence can be seen in the case of the Rwandan genocide that broke out in 1994 between the majority-Hutu and minority-

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Tutsi ethnic groups. During the violence, Hutu militias as well as Hutu civilians engaged in an ethnic cleansing of Tutsis (Mamdani, 2004; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014)

Direct and indirect victimisation differs in the manner of violence exerted in the victimising event. Other dimensions are worth considering that further provide variation in the conceptualisation of collective victimisation, such as the temporal scope, the totality of suffering and the symmetry of violence (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). The temporality of collective victimisation specifies whether groups have experienced violence on a short-term basis or if the violence was sustained over a long period of time. Temporality of collective victimisation is especially relevant within cases of intractable conflicts (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Noor et al., 2017). The totality of a group's destruction points to the experience of suffering directed against the group or individual members within the group. Symmetry of violence gives attention to the power of groups and whether there is a clear victim and perpetrator group (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). The symmetry of violence can be highly contested in conflicts where both groups are victims and perpetrators, such as in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. This further highlights the dilemma described in the previous section of victim labelling. The distinct kinds of experiences resulting from these different dimensions has a causal relationship to the physical, material and cultural suffering of groups. These dimensions of suffering, resulting from collective victimisation, are key in cases of competitive victimhood where different groups inflate their suffering to legitimise their claim to victim status (Noor, Schnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012; Noor et al., 2017).

Regardless of the different experiences that are elicited from direct and indirect victimisation, for collective victimhood to develop an act of collective victimisation needs to precede it. However, acts of collective victimisation will not necessarily always develop into collective victimhood (Jacoby, 2015; Noor et al., 2017). Psychology scholars (Noor et al., 2012; Noor et al., 2017) have used collective victimisation and collective victimhood to refer to different experiences resulting from "(1) the level of analysis (expressions or consequences of collective victimization on the individual, group, and societal level); (2) whether it was or was not experienced personally and directly; and, in the case of indirect experiences of collective victimization, (3) the temporal and geographic distance to the events" (Vollhardt, 2012, p. 137). In addressing the three experiences mentioned by Vollhardt (2012), this study

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conceptualises collective victimhood as a social identity through the analysis of collective victimisation resulting from (1) the societal, group and individual levels; (2) indirect experience of collective victimisation; and, as in the case of indirect collective victimisation, (3) historical victimisation.

Extant literature exists on the social psychological study of collective victimisation on groups that did not experience victimisation personally, whether or not there is temporal or geographic distance to the victimising events (Nikolić-Ristanović, Radovanović & Popović, 2013; Noor et al., 2017; Palmberger, 2016; Vollhardt, 2012; Wohl & van Bavel, 2011). This provision within the larger concept of collective victimhood is key, as it relates to member identification of an in-group as well as the transmission of trauma narratives. In other words, collective victimisation directly aimed at individual members of a group extends to other members that identify with the in-group (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). However, relevant to my study is the dimension of historical victimisation, which refers to group responses to victimisation that happened before participants were born. These instances include, for example, conflicts in the Balkan states (Jasini, Delvaux, & Mesquita, 2017; Nikolić-Ristanović, Radovanović, & Popović, 2013; Rimé et al., 2015; Subotić, 2012, 2013; Vollhardt, & Nair, 2018; Zemskov-Züge 2016) or the system of apartheid in South Africa (Adonis, 2016; 2018; Gukelberger, 2020; Mari, Bentrovato, Durante, & Wassermann, 2020; Mattes, 2012; Mueller-Hirth, 2017). Historical victimisation may also refer to post-conflict societies where the society has a history of a recent prolonged conflict. Historical victimisation is transmitted through the victim narratives found within a nation's education curriculum as well as through the intergenerational transmission of collective memories within the in-group. It is at this juncture where the difference between collective victimisation and collective victimhood needs to be conceptualised to understand pre-service teachers' social identity and sense of collective victimhood as it relates to history education.

2.2.3. Living vicariously through the victimised

As established, collective victimisation is a process and an objective state which varies along different dimensions that elicit distinct kinds of experiences. Collective victimisation becomes collective victimhood by means of the in-group's subjective construal of collective victimisation perpetrated against the in-group. Social and

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political psychologists most commonly study the individual level of collective victimisation by examining how individuals feel about their group's victimisation, to what extent this is transformed into their social identity and the effect it has on intergroup relations (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Vollhardt, 2009, 2012; Vollhardt & Nair, 2018; Wohl & van Bavel, 2011). For this study, I am using the societal and group levels of analysis. This decision is made on the premise that the social identity of an individual is shaped through the group they belong to. With this in mind, it is, however, important to distinguish, within the framework of indirect victimisation, between collective victimisation that differs across time and space regardless of the level of analysis (Vollhardt, 2012).

In cases of collective victimisation not experienced personally, the trauma and suffering felt by individual members of the in-group can be "transmitted and vicariously experienced" (Noor et al., 2017, p. 122) by other group members (Wohl & van Bavel, 2011). Within the context of post-apartheid South Africa, historical victimisation remains salient and is transmitted and experienced by the next generation due to the legacy of apartheid (Adonis, 2016; 2018) . In a study undertaken by Adonis (2018), qualitative interviews were conducted with 20 children and grandchildren of victims of human rights violations during apartheid. Findings reported that the participants' victimhood is "anchored in their continuing socio-economic marginalisation" (p. 47) as an effect of the structural legacy of apartheid. Furthermore, the victimhood of participants was reported to be due to the shortcomings in responsibility of the new government and the perception of a lack of accountability for apartheid victimisation (Adonis, 2018). Adonis used historical trauma theory as part of his conceptual framework in the study. According to this theory, a population group that has faced a historical trauma will face a legacy of subjugation, discrimination and structural inequalities for generations to come (Adonis, 2018; Sotero, 2006). In this case, Adonis did not ascribe victims of historical victimisation any agency, stating that people would remain victims for many generations.

The Needs-Based Model for Reconciliation (NBMR) states that groups assess themselves along two identity dimensions, namely agency and morality. With regard to agency, victimised groups experience a loss of agency after a victimising event. If a victim group feels that they have regained their agency, they are more likely to

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reconcile with a perpetrator group (Noor et al., 2017; Simantov-Nachlieli & Shnabel, 2014). If these psychological needs are not fulfilled, the identity dimensions may act as barriers to reconciliation, for, if perpetrator groups have not regained their morality, they are less likely to form part of the nation and, if victims feel that they are still being subjugated and discriminated against, their sense of agency is destroyed (Schnabel & Nadler, 2008). Therefore, the loss of agency and the failure of regaining it may lead to the formation of collective victimhood, as well as the failure of restoring morality as a perpetrator may further hinder reconciliation efforts.

An inconsistency that has emerged from the literature is the clarification between self-perceived collective victimhood and collective victimhood that develops from being labelled a victim. This calls for special mention, as it highlights a conceptual gap within the research as well as a critique of victim labelling. From several studies, it can be deduced that the basic understanding of collective victimhood is that a traumatic event is transformed into a group identity (Bouchat et al., 2017; Druliolle & Brett, 2018; Jasini et al., 2017; Yildiz & Verkuyten, 2011). In a study conducted by Bar-Tal et al. (2009), a distinction was drawn in the concept of collective victimhood when they implied that the mindset that emerged from a perceived harm committed against the group was different from when “real” harm was committed. This begs the question whether there is a distinction between the two, for, in work done by Schori-Eyal, Halperin, and Bar-Tal (2014), collective victimhood was defined as a mindset of a group that emerged from a perceived harm. However, in their research, the conceptualisation of collective victimhood equated to that of the self-perceived collective victimhood identified by Bar-Tal et al. (2009), implying that collective victimhood is a social construction that is impermanent and ever-changing (Druliolle & Brett, 2018).

Researchers who study collective victimhood examine a group’s beliefs, emotions, attitudes and behavioural tendencies that result from direct or indirect victimisation against the in-group (Hadar, 2019; Vollhardt, 2012). Affective responses as a result of collective victimisation refers to the emotions that in-groups portray towards out-groups. Many a time, these emotions are portrayed in either negative or positive actions towards the out-group (Vollhardt, 2012). In a study conducted by Jasini et al. (2017), the authors examined the largely unexplored underlying mechanism of

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behaviours resulting from collective victimhood. The research aimed to achieve three objectives:

> (1) to examine the role of collective victimhood in a non-violent conflict
>
> (2) to investigate the mediating role of intergroup emotions in the association between collective victimhood and behavioural tendencies towards the "perpetrating out-group"
>
> (3) to examine whether in-group identification intensifies the impact of collective victimhood on intergroup emotions (p. 102)

These objectives were addressed using a large survey study on the linguistic conflict in Belgium.[7] They therefore proposed that collective victimhood caused intergroup emotions which had an influence on group-based behaviours (Jasini et al., 2017).

Using a seven-point Likert scale, participants had to answer items that measured various constructs. The findings showed that collective victimhood positively predicted intergroup distancing emotions, such as anger, frustration, aversion, contempt and resentment towards out-group members. Furthermore, as predicted, intergroup-affiliated emotions such as respect, sympathy and admiration had a negative effect on exclusion and revenge (Jasini et al., 2017). Therefore, based on these two findings, it is safe to state that intergroup emotions, whether affiliative or distancing, predicted action tendencies aimed at the out-group. Additionally, intergroup affiliative and distancing emotions influenced the relationship between collective victimhood and behavioural tendencies such as revenge, exclusion and fostering contact. Lastly, and in dealing with the last objective of the study, the findings showed that individuals who scored highly on perceived collective victimhood and in-group identification showed lower scores for in-group affiliative emotions and higher scores for distancing emotions. Therefore, this study illuminates the role that intergroup emotions have on behavioural tendencies, but more importantly, the mediating factor of in-group

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[7] The Belgian non-violent conflict is both a political and economic conflict between Dutch-speaking (Flemish) and French-speaking (Walloon) Belgians, which started in 1830. In the northern region, the Dutch-speaking Belgians were controlled by the French-speaking Belgians from the southern region. This power dynamic shifted towards the mid-20th century, however, when Dutch-speaking Belgians still had a strong collective memory of the disadvantage that they had historically suffered, regardless of the prosperity that the northern region now held. As a result of the shift in power, French-speaking Belgians currently feel disadvantaged by the Dutch-speaking group (Jasini et al., 2017).

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identification from collective victimhood to intergroup emotions and behaviours. The work by Jasini et al. (2017) contributes to the existing body of knowledge on collective victimhood by examining its prevalence in a non-violent context. Although the context of my study is in a violent, post-conflict society, the findings of Jasini et al.'s (2017) work were not much different when compared to studies on violent conflicts. It is important to note that collective victimhood was measured with only one item, which leads me to question the accuracy of Jasini et al.'s (2017) measurement to indicate the prevalence of collective victimhood.

A leader in the field of collective victimhood is Vollhardt (2009, 2012, 2013, 2015) and her work on victim consciousness as a specific set of victim beliefs. Inclusive victim consciousness follows the construction of past victimisation in an inclusive way, "acknowledging that other groups also have been victimised" (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015, p. 491). In contrast, exclusive victim consciousness is the belief that one's own suffering is unique and incomparable to other's suffering. In a survey study conducted by Vollhardt and Bilali (2015), the authors examined different understandings of collective victimhood and the results they had on intergroup attitudes within the context of the post-conflict societies of Rwanda, Burundi and the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. Their findings showed that collective victimhood did not conclusively predict intergroup hostility, but the way the experiences of victimisation was construed did. The exclusive construal of collective victimisation of a group projected negative attitudes towards the out-group, whereas the inclusive construal of the group's victimisation saw a positive attitude prediction between groups. Interestingly, age and level of education were not mitigating factors in the results. What is important to note in Vollhardt and Bilali's work is the way that a victimisation narrative is constructed predicts intergroup relations, which is of importance when accepting that victimisation narratives are found within history education and contribute to peace or conflict.

Apart from victim consciousness, Vollhardt (2012) identified another category of victim beliefs, which specified whether beliefs referred to a specific event and conflict or to a more generalised global context. Studies that examine beliefs regarding a single event commonly refer to competitive victimhood. In these cases, groups express the belief that their own group has suffered more than another group during the same conflict (Andrighetto, Mari, Volpato, & Behluli, 2012; Noor et al., 2012). When groups insist on

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the importance and scope of their own suffering in comparison to other groups in violent conflicts, the conflicts generally escalate and peace processes are thwarted. In comparison to this victim belief, victimhood that is anchored in a global and general context is best seen in the work of Bar-Tal on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Conceptualised as "siege mentality" (Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992), Israeli Jews and Palestinians both embedded their collective victimhood in a history of victimisation. Jewish victimhood finds its antecedents in antisemitic actions such as the Holocaust, whereas Palestinian victimhood traces back to Ottoman oppression and British rule (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Burkhardt-Vetter, 2018). Both sides perpetuate conflicting and hegemonic narratives which facilitate ongoing hostilities, implying that both the Israeli Jews and the Palestinians have a siege mentality, believing that an attack is imminent because the whole world has negative intentions against the in-group (Hadar, 2019; Schori-Eyal et al., 2014; Sharvit, Bar-Tal, Raviv, Raviv, & Gurevich, 2010).

As alluded to in the above studies about victim beliefs, the way in which beliefs are constructed in terms of shared narratives has a profound impact on intergroup relations. On a collective level, narratives are the social constructions which incorporate a sequence of events both in the past as well as the present. These narratives are "accounts of a community's collective experiences, embodied in its belief system" (Bar-Tal, Oren, & Nets-Zehngut, 2014, p. 663; Hadar, 2019). These narratives are found within history education, whether in official or unofficial history. Taking into consideration the work of Vollhardt (2012) and Bar-Tal et al., (2014) in the context of history education and collective victimhood, the subjective interpretation and construal of a group's victimisation is referred to as victim beliefs, which are based in collective memories of historical victimisation (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). For the purpose of understanding a sense of collective victimhood, social identity and history education, further exploration is necessitated into history education as a vessel for the transmission of victim narratives.

2.2.4. History education

As a social representation of the past, history can be seen as "shared images and knowledge about the past" which are "elaborated, transmitted and conserved through interpersonal and institutional communication" (Páez, Bobowik, & Liu, 2017, p. 492). This communication happens through the cultural activities that present history in three

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fields, namely public memory, social memory and academic research. Take note, this is only history, not history education. Public memory is seen as the history that is visible because of the memorialisation of events (Ahonen, 2013), such as the Voortrekker Monument, the Colosseum and the Anne Frank Museum. This is what Seixas (2004) referred to as popular history. History as social memory is mediated through vernacular or oral interactions, while history as academic research refers to historians in the academic communities (Ahonen, 2013). History education is therefore conceptualised where these three fields of history, namely popular history, social memory, and academic history, intersect.

Following historical victimising events, education has been used as a mediating factor between conflict and reconciliation. Within a classroom, education is many a time used to facilitate the comprehension of the past in the hope of preventing future conflict. However, history education cannot be assumed to only promote peace; it can be a catalyst for renewed conflict as well (Bentrovato et al., 2016; Davies, 2010; McCully, 2011). The importance of history as a tool for conflict transformation should acknowledge that "social or national identity and representations" are socially constructed (Psaltis et al., 2017a, p. 4). Therefore, the power of history education in promoting peace or renewing conflict is based on the social interaction between educators, content and learners. This is based on the following principles underlying social constructivism: "(1) our beliefs about reality are created through social interactions; (2) social institutions and persons are created through social interactions; and, (3) our beliefs about reality, which are constructed through social interaction, play an important role in the (re)construction of institutions and persons" (Jankowitz, 2018, p. 71).

First, in light of the above, it is essential to distinguish between unofficial and official history and the education thereof. In rudimentary terms, history that socialises the population within a curriculum is referred to as official history, whereas the history that socialises within a generation or small group is seen as unofficial history. As can be noted from the above, both forms of history have an educational purpose. In the chapter "Social Representations of the Past in Post-Conflict Societies", Psaltis, Franc, Smeekes, Ioannou, and Žeželj (2017b) eloquently summed up the two different forms of history in relation to two distinct epistemological orientations. These distinctions in

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orientation towards history education have been at the centre of many history education scholars' work. Lowenthal (1985, 1998) distinguished between heritage and history, whereas Wertsch (2007) referred to collective memory and history, and Seixas (2004) made the distinction between collective memory and a disciplinary approach. Within the context of collective victimhood, I have chosen to focus on the conceptualisation of official and unofficial history that Seixas (2004) makes, by linking it to the work of Moscovici (1998). I have made this decision based on the claim that history education, from an epistemic orientation, has a distinct influence over the communication in the classroom, students' moral and cognitive development, their historical consciousness, but most importantly, the transformation of conflict in society (Goldberg, 2013; Psaltis et al., 2017b). In light of the purpose of my study, the above statement has profound implications for the existence of different historical consciousnesses based on the different epistemic history education orientations.

Moscovici (1998) divided history teaching into two epistemological orientations, namely social representations based on belief and social representations based on knowledge. The social representations that Moscovici referred to is the history curriculum that can either be based on belief or knowledge. In addition, I propose that official history as a social representation that is based on knowledge is what Seixas (2004) coined as disciplinary history, whereas unofficial history as a social representation that is based on belief is the collective memories of a group or society. However, this does not say that history based on belief is false, or that history based on knowledge is necessarily true. Within this epistemic distinction, I propose a link between the socialisation of victim narratives on a societal level and the socialisation of collective memories on a group level as it relates to the facilitation of a victim-based identity. These seemingly complicated linkages are made in the hope of forming a broader understanding of how historical victimisation transmitted on a societal and group level aids in the development of a specific social identity and a sense of collective victimhood (Vollhardt, 2012).

2.2.4.1. Official history as disciplinary history

It is theorised that the history curriculum and teaching based on knowledge is more "fluid, pragmatic and amendable" (Psaltis et al., 2017b, p. 99) based on evidence of successes and failures. This type of history education leaves room for experience and

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the critical engagement and thinking of individuals. Official history as disciplinary history draws on two orientations for which Kukard (2017) coined the terms analytical history and critical history. For the purpose of this study, I have combined features of both the analytical and critical orientations of history teaching under the field of official history.

The teaching of official history therefore strives to base learning on the notion of a disciplinary history. This is done by using a framework when approaching historical narratives to allow learners to make sense of the past from the point of view of the present and how it might shape the future (Fordham, 2012). Within society, official history is seen as the state-sanctioned master narrative of a group's past which is used to socialise the younger generations. This socialisation takes place within classrooms, curricula and textbooks (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Bentrovato, 2017; Crawford, 1995). The interaction with the history curriculum is aimed at promoting the critical thinking and analysis of historical narratives whilst developing civic responsibility (Kukard, 2017). The above conceptualisation of official history describes the ideal purpose of official history. This is, however, not always the case for a state-sanctioned curriculum such as CAPS, which places a strong focus on history as a memory discipline (Kukard, 2017).

Power and ideology have profound effects on what is defined as official history. Many a time what is translated into the master narrative of a country is based on the interests of those in power (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). These sorts of narratives include selected events about the dramatic past of a nation and are chosen based on their concentration around national and heroic events (van Berkel, 2017). In post-conflict societies, these events are often chosen to reflect the reconciliatory agenda of the education system (Bentrovato et al., 2016). A study by Bentrovato (2020) examined how the reconciliatory effort in post-genocide Rwanda led to the "circulation of canonical representations of the past" (p. 530). The official history of Rwanda has been reconstructed to justify the removal of the ethnic labels "Hutu" and "Tutsi" with the aim of portraying the danger of these identities in contemporary society. Aligned with this aim, the Rwandan history curriculum speaks of the history of unity between the Rwandan people, placing the blame of internal conflicts on the colonisers. Therefore, through the history curriculum, the Rwandan government has constructed a national

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narrative which, to a certain extent, absolves the Hutu perpetrators of ethnic cleansing by attributing their actions to Western colonialism. From the perspective of collective victimhood, the official history has been rewritten asymmetrically in the government's attempt to gain moral power in the name of unity and reconciliation (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Bentrovato, 2019).

States such as Rwanda develop a history curriculum with a national narrative which often only produces a single perspective of an event, thus only reflecting a supposedly "true and 'real' character of the past" (van Berkel, 2017, p. 24; Wertsch, 2010). National narratives are thus used as legitimising (or delegitimising) narratives. These narratives serve to legitimise the in-group at the expense of the out-group. This is often done through myth-making, which highlights what Friedman (1992a, p.207), cited in Ndlovu (2013, p.3), called "the politics of identity" which consisted of "anchoring the present in a viable past [and] the past is, thus, constructed according to the conditions and desires of those who produce historical textbooks in the present".

Due to the legitimating characteristics of official history, the curriculum runs the risk of only presenting a narrow, one-sided narrative which does not allow room for alternative accounts of the past (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Psaltis et al., 2017a). This was further elaborated on by Friedman (1992b, p. 837) when he stated that "all history including modern historiography is mythology [because] history is the imprinting of the present onto the past". This implies that groups use the past (historical narratives) in the present to inform the nation about its origins and mission, to define the rights and responsibilities of groups within a nation, and to legitimise current social and political structures. By including social structures in the national identity storyline, history education justifies the domination of certain social groups over others and discrimination against certain groups. Such "legitimisation myths" offer the justification – moral and intellectual – for social practices aimed at increasing, maintaining or decreasing social inequality amongst different groups in a nation.

This process of myth-making can be seen in a study by Subotić (2014) where a narrative analysis was conducted on history textbooks in Serbia (formerly part of Yugoslavia up to 1992) to examine the hegemonic state of narrative and its influence on international relations. The findings revealed that history textbooks reflected the dominant narrative of Serbia as a "victimised nation, of people struggling, in vain, for

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national survival, or engaged in an honourable, but futile struggle to defend themselves against one of the myriad and always powerful enemies" (Subotić, 2014, p. 309). In fact, historical facts contradict the narrative used to socialise Serbian society. Within the history textbook, Serbia's war crimes against non-Serbs and the enthusiastic Serbian militia's extermination of Serbian Jews had no mention within the textbook. Consequently, Serbia's involvement is constructed to fit neatly into the national narrative of a victimised nation, absolved from any claim of victimisation against the nation (Cvijic, 2008; Subotić, 2014).

History education can contain historic narratives which either promote cooperation and reconciliation between groups, or support discrimination and conflict towards out-groups (Korostelina, 2013). Nevertheless, groups and authorities use, in tandem, both legitimising and delegitimising processes that promote the decrease in moral acceptance of one group through certain policies whilst increasing moral acceptance of another group. Furthermore, based on past victimisation, historic narratives define notions of justice by offering accounts of events as just or unjust against a group and subsequently advocate or deny "historical grievances and claims" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 24). Within the South African context, there is currently a call for the expropriation of land without compensation based on the forced removal and relocation of Africans from their land and homes to make place for White areas under the Land Act of 1913. However, not all citizens of the current South Africa feel it is justified that land should be taken without compensation as more than 20 years have passed since the system ended that implemented the removal of Africans from their land in the first place.

National narratives as official history, as seen in the above contemporary South African example, risk the over-simplification of historical knowledge which, in turn, becomes fixed and static (Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014). An example of this over-simplification of historical knowledge was studied in a South African context. Teeger (2015) explored the socialisation process of individuals by race-neutral discourses that denied the existence of present-day racism and the lasting effects of racial oppression. Using South Africa as a case study, Teeger conducted five months of daily observations of 17 Grade 9 History classes, performed a content analysis of class notes, and conducted 170 interviews with both teachers and learners. Although not looked for, the findings pointed to the teachers' fear of instigating racial

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tensions within the classroom as reasons for using race-neutral discourses to teach apartheid (Teeger, 2015). The absence of history textbooks in the majority of the classrooms posed intriguing questions around the influence of a hidden curriculum. The argument in the study by Teeger centred on the pitfalls rather than the successes of using race-neutral discourse, such as the notion of “colour-blindness” in the pursuit of reconciliation and peace. The findings from Teeger’s study implies that the aim – history education for conflict transformation – had a negative effect on the learners within this class, even though the curriculum did not explicitly promote colour-blindness.

As discussed, through Bentrovato’s (2019) and Teeger’s (2015) work, official history cannot be accepted as true or real forms of the past. State-sanctioned history is seen as a method of anchoring the past in a viable present, based on the desires of the in-group. However, official history cannot be the only vessel for anchoring the past in the present; it should be argued that unofficial history similarly anchors the past in the present based on the desires of the in-group.

2.2.4.2. Unofficial history as collective memory

On the opposite side of the history spectrum lies unofficial history. Unofficial history is used interchangeably with collective memories. According to Seixas (2004), “memory studies” have provided a new approach which alters the way in which scholars approach the understanding of the past. Memory studies place the focus on the beliefs of society rather than on the “practices of historians” (Seixas, 2004, p. 5). Therefore, the history that is not a result of the “practices of historians”, namely official history, is unofficial history in the form of collective memories, or, as conceptualised by Carretero, Asensio and Rodriguez-Moneo (2012), as “everyday history”. Unofficial history may also be conceptualised as cultural assumptions, or, as Seixas (2012) terms it, “cultural tools” which are transmitted throughout generations within the collective memory of a group. These assumptions, when faced with official history, may result in tension between the historical consciousness developed through collective memory and disciplinary history. This tension implies that the transmission of collective memories occurs on a group level, such as between friends and family members, and provides the youth with historical understanding before they are exposed to disciplinary history in the classroom (Angier, 2017; Carretero et al., 2012).

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Scholars in the field of memory studies have traced the structures within society that allow the intergenerational transmission of beliefs, the reasoning behind the mobilisation of those beliefs, and how those beliefs change over time given the context in which memories are used. Collective memories communicate the story of a group's past as accepted by the members of a group, implying that collective memory is defined as "representations of the past which are remembered by society members as the history of the group" (Bar-Tal, 2014, p. 5.2; Kansteiner, 2002). These groups, or mnemonic communities, as Zerubavel (2003) called them, are important socialisers of memories shared within the group. In order to conceptualise collective memory, one must consider the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore or transform such artefacts according to their own interests (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 54).

The above statement highlights the dynamic nature of collective memories which accounts for the fact that collective memory is not seen by some scholars as history, but rather as the complete opposite (Kansteiner, 2002). This argument is based largely on the notion that memories are unreliable sources of evidence and that groups remember and forget selectively. This may account for the fact that when collective memory is confronted with official history, tensions may arise. Even though these arguments are valid, the history that states sanction as true and factual is constructed and serves the agendas of ruling parties, leading to the argument that collective memories as unofficial history stand on equal footing with official history as "history is integral to the construction of national memory, and thus both history and memory are complementary modes of relating to the past" (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 55). Palmberger (2016) elaborated on the work of Bekerman and Zembylas (2012) by affirming that "memory is history located in a relatively subjective space; history is memory located in a relatively objective space" (p. 18).

By drawing on the above argument of equality between official and unofficial history, unofficial history is characterised by several features. The first of these characteristics is that unofficial history does not aim to provide an objective narrative of the past, but rather recounts the past in a functional way, highlighting the relevance of the past to the current and future standing of the group (Bar-Tal, 2014; Bekerman & Zembylas,

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2012). Narratives within unofficial history are based on real events, but are (re)constructed around the current needs and interests of the group (Bar-Tal, 2014; Liu & Hilton, 2005). This is exemplified in what Carretero et al. (2012) called "intuitive notions" about history. The acquisition of intuitive ideas surrounding history occurs through the interaction between an individual and others within their immediate social context. These ideas are functional and serve as a practical tool for individuals to relate to the past. Due to the functional nature of these notions, individuals who hold them are resistant to more accurate historical information, as the ideas of history are founded within the social group that the individual belongs to (Carretero et al., 2012). Thus, Carretero et al. (2012) argued that individuals hold onto essentialised views of history based on their need to belong to a group. Secondly, unofficial history is seen as truthful accounts of the past which may be contradictory to other accounts of the same event, but some aspects of the narrative have been selectively excluded or included (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012).

In contrast to a curriculum based on knowledge, unofficial history as history education based on beliefs is founded on the premise that "characteristics of beliefs are homogeneous, affective and impermeable to experience or contradiction" (Psaltis et al., 2017a, p. 99). This implies that the socialisation process of historical narratives is not questioned by individuals, and that the history education based on belief is characterised by essentialism. In the context of a post-conflict society, family memory falls under communicative memory, that is, narratives that recall the recent past. This type of collective memory is based on the shared narratives that are transmitted within the group about events that transpired in the last 80 to100 years. A family provides an individual with a binding relationship, leading collective memories to become essentialist when relatives have one perspective of an event and "command loyalty ties" (Moller, 2012, p. 284).

There is a clear emotional attachment which is attributed to the collective remembering of a group's common past, and it is logical to assume that the individual will trust their in-group's representation of the past above that of the out-group. Nonetheless, whether the representation of the past is seen as official or unofficial, both versions of history develop a group's understanding of the past, and this understanding is termed historical consciousness.

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2.2.4.3. Historical consciousness and historical thinking

History education, whether unofficial or official, aids in the development of historical consciousness. In other words, based on the above conceptualisations of official and unofficial history, historical consciousness develops through the "tools and practices of professional, disciplinary history" (Seixas, 2004, p. 9) and through popular understandings and interpretations of the past. Before embarking on this critical examination into literature in a field that I thought I knew about, the terms "historical consciousness" and "historical thinking" existed in my mind as two synonymous constructs that described teaching and learning history. In the words of many millennials in the 21st century, these two constructs are "the same but different". What follows is an examination of the two constructs to illuminate their differences and to show the way in which they are co-dependent.

Before turning to the literature on historical consciousness, I first want to paint a picture from personal experience to elucidate the notion of historical consciousness. Presently, everything is digitised; movies, photos, music – even the Auschwitz concentration camp. Twenty years ago, places to rent videos and DVDs were everywhere and standing in the Look and Listen queue for the new Dido CD was the highlight of the weekend. With the onset of the 4th Industrial Revolution, Mr Video and similar shops became less and less and the excitement of getting your hands on new music did not have to wait for the weekend, let alone having to join a long queue. The digitisation of media and storage in the cloud sets high expectations for what the future may hold. Questions arise over what can possibly be invented next to top the instant acquisition of movies, photos and music. This example draws on what is implied by historical consciousness, that is, contextualising the present developments of technology based on previous developments on which present technology is built. This contextualisation and knowledge prepares the person for inevitable developments in the future.

Gadamer (1987) contributed to the conceptualisation of historical consciousness by providing an opening to discussions when stating that historical consciousness is "very likely the most important revolution among those we have undergone since the beginning of the modern epoch … a burden". This, he stated, was "the privilege of modern man to have a full awareness of historicity of everything present and the

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relativity of all opinions" (Gadamer, 1987, p. 89). In 21st century terms, the notion of historical consciousness first arose from the onset of modernism, which perceives historical consciousness as resulting from "the pace and profundity of change" (Seixas, 2017, p. 60) hailing from the Industrial Revolution and political revolutions in Europe in the 18th century. From these radical changes, clear conscious breaks brought the realisation that the present is different from the past, and therefore what was expected from the future is different from what it was before (Rüsen, 2004; Seixas, 2017). Returning to the example of the digitisation of music, historical consciousness is knowing what life was like before the digitisation of media in relation to the present, and how this "knowing" shapes the expectation of what may come in the next 10 years in the field of media.

By attributing historical consciousness to modernity and the disjuncture between past, present and future in the era of radical change is not sufficient. To further add to the discussion of historical consciousness, it is necessary to consider tradition in understanding historicity. In this sense, tradition refers to what came before and how it shapes an individual's experience and understanding of their world (Grever, 2012; Seixas, 2017). Drawing from this, historical consciousness is the acceptance and realisation that an individual's thinking is the product of their historical context. In elaborating on the understanding of the past, historical consciousness also functions practically in life, providing a "temporal frame and matrix" (Rüsen, 2004, p. 67). In other words, historical consciousness allows individuals to trace how history has shaped their present world and how it guides their actions. In addition, postmodernism contributes to further conceptualising historical consciousness, by proposing that the "process of acceleration sent culture over a cliff at some point in the recent past, after which the modern triumvirate of nation, progress and history no longer provided a credible framework for understanding human life" (Seixas, 2017, p. 60). Postmodernism poses a threat to modern historical consciousness, noticeable only if the disjuncture between the past and present threatens to collapse. This is chiefly relevant in the context of historical crimes that remain salient in the psyches of victims and their descendants. This relates directly to the discussion of historical trauma theory in explaining the prevalence of collective victimhood for survivors and ancestors of apartheid human rights violations (Adonis, 2016; 2018).

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Drawing the discussion of historical consciousness to a close, it is vital to mention the seminal work of the German philosopher, Jörn Rüsen and the subsequent expansion of his writings in the pedagogical sphere of history education (Seixas, 2017). Historical consciousness has only provided a theoretical description of a historically orientated cultural situation more than a framework that aids in the development of understanding history. What may be seen as an attempt at bridging the gap between theory and practice, Rüsen (2004) proposed a hierarchy of four types of historical consciousness, namely traditional, exemplary, critical and genetic. For this study, I do not discuss these four types since key characteristics of the types of historical consciousness are found in my discussions of historical thinking, and ultimately in the marriage between historical thinking and historical consciousness. In a study done by Duquette (2015), an attempt was made at empirically utilising Rüsen's four types of historical consciousness. Ultimately the author rejected the four types but kept Rüsen's definition of historical consciousness.

Following Rüsen's attempts at bridging the gap between theory and practice, the most successful contribution to the field of teaching and learning history is seen in the development of first- (substantive) and second-order (procedural) concepts (Carretero, 2017b). It is from this framework containing procedural concepts that history is seen as a disciplinary approach (Seixas, 2017). Initially, historical thinking and historical consciousness were seen as two separate approaches to history education, the former concerned with theory and the latter with practice. A conceptual breakthrough was made, however, by Dickinson, Lee, and Rogers (1984) with the creation of a framework that proposed history education as a pedagogical endeavour centred not only on specific data but, above all, on developing disciplinary thinking and reasoning (Carretero, 2017b). These concepts are therefore not what history is about, but rather shape the way in which history is "done" by tracing learner progress through learners' application of procedural concepts in analysing historical topics (Lee & Ashby, 2000). First-order concepts refer to unique and specific concepts used in history such as "apartheid" and "democracy", whereas second-order concepts relate to learners' understanding of the construction of historical knowledge. These concepts include notions of time, significance, evidence and causality (Carretero, 2017b; Seixas & Peck, 2004). The conceptual framework presented empirically shows the interdependence of historical consciousness and historical thinking by arguing that a

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reciprocal relationship exists between historical consciousness and historical thinking, where the former contributes to the latter and vice versa.

In the study by Duquette (2015), the relationship between historical consciousness and historical thinking was empirically tested. This study provided participants with contemporary problems such as immigration and voluntary conscription to examine the ways in which participants used (or did not use) history to explain them. This was done pre- and post-lessons in historical thinking. The findings showed that a correlation existed between the participants' proficiency in historical thinking and level of historical consciousness (Duquette, 2015; Seixas, 2017). The work from the Historical Thinking Project (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, n.d.) empirically presented a marriage between what was first seen as two separate approaches to learning and teaching history (Seixas, 2017).

The Historical Thinking Project (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, n.d.; Seixas, 2017) provided a conceptual model which highlighted the correlation between what was seen as two separate approaches to history education: the theory of history education and the practice of history education. From the project, six second-order thinking concepts were formulated in aiding learners' structuring and sense-making of the past which had a clear connection with historical consciousness (Lévesque & Clark, 2018; Seixas & Morton, 2013). The first concept was that of significance, more specifically the historical significance of events in the past. This concept sparked debates as it directly invoked questions around what was worth knowing and who decided what was worth knowing (Lévesque & Clark, 2018; Seixas, 2017). Currently in South Africa, the CAPS History curriculum has come under scrutiny with calls for an overhaul of what is seen as "colonial" (Angier, 2017). This plays directly into what is perceived as significant and the relationship that perceived historical significance has with broader society. This argument is echoed in the study by Kgari-Masondo (2019) who challenged the transformation of the South African History curriculum. Indicative of the context of decolonisation as outlined in Chapter 1, Kgari-Masondo drew on observation using auto-ethnographical methods during her teaching experience to conclude that what was ultimately deemed as historically significant was Western in nature. This study is noteworthy in its arguments that attribute historical significance to White men and "selected events in history of people in positions of power" (Kgari-

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Masondo, 2019, p. 119), as well as calling for the “un-silencing” of indigenous knowledge with the aim of teaching history that reflects broader society. Notwithstanding, it must be stated that mentioning international histories in the curriculum does not necessarily mean that “the curriculum stories are drawn mainly from a Western milieu” (Kgari-Masondo, 2019, p. 120). Moreover, what the author appeared to imply is that the decolonisation of history will bridge the gap between official and unofficial history. Whether this bridging will occur through disciplinary history is left unaddressed, which is problematic. Nonetheless, through the author’s discussion on historical significance, the relationship between learner agency and representation in the history curriculum is undeniable. There is an implicit claim that through the silencing of indigenous knowledge, Africans experienced a loss of their agentive capability within present society. The denial of the causal relationship between South African history and international powers highlights the absence of the second-order thinking concepts of cause and consequence.

The second concept is that of cause and consequence which refers to how and why certain events occurred and what the aftermath was. In answering questions over cause and consequence, learners have to engage with and analyse historical evidence. Therefore, another concept included in the framework of historical thinking is historical evidence (Ramoroka & Engelbrecht, 2015). This second-order concept includes the use of primary sources to make an argument and provide the evidence to support it. In other words, historical thinking when using evidence includes “making a historical claim that others can justifiably believe, which then requires finding, selecting, contextualising, interpreting and corroborating sources for an historical argument” (Ramoroka & Engelbrecht, 2015, p. 107; Seixas & Morton, 2013). According to Seixas and Peck (2004), the comprehension of change over time and that of continuity is key to historical thinking. Understanding change over time inadvertently considers continuity as well. With this historical thinking concept, certain assumptions are made around the “relatively constant conceptual categories”, that new categories are created for a phenomenon that has changed so drastically (Seixas & Peck, 2004, p. 112). When engaging with change and continuity, challenges may arise in the over-consideration of either aspects. For instance, by foregrounding a certain change, other changes in the same period may be backgrounded (Peck & Seixas, 2008; Seixas & Peck, 2004). This speaks to a certain amount of bias when

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considering change within an era, which calls for the consideration of multiple perspectives.

There is never just one side of past, never just one side of an argument and never just one opinion. Historical perspective-taking and empathy are key historical thinking concepts which take into consideration the contextualisation of events as well as the multiplicity of perceptions and experiences of the past (Lévesque & Clark, 2018). The error that is often made is judging the past based on present belief systems. Taking the perspective of individuals in the past should allow learners to ”see” and “understand” the world from the perception and experience of someone else. This involves imagining oneself in the shoes of someone else (Seixas, 2017). Through the use of multiple perspectives, the moral dimension of history education may be achieved, for to understand and acknowledge the legacy of the past in the present, one must place oneself in other people’s shoes. The next concept touches on a highly controversial issue within history education and the legacies of post-conflict societies.

The ethical or moral dimension of history includes “coming to terms with the past crimes and injustices whose legacies – either benefits or deficits – we live with today” (Lévesque & Clark, 2018; Seixas, 2017, p. 67). The argument put forward by Seixas alludes to the moral dimension of historical thinking and opens a can of worms with regard to the presence of the past in the present of individuals, and the difficulties of “coming to terms” with injustices which still impact the individual. Bentrovato and Wassermann (2018) conducted a textbook analysis to assess textbooks’ “potential dual function as instruments and indicators of broader post-conflict transformation” (p. 336) through the assessment of discourses surrounding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The study speaks to the broader theme of transitional justice in post-conflict societies and education as a mediator of transformation processes. Through a qualitative content analysis, the authors examined the sections of Grade 12 textbooks that dealt with the topic of the TRC. They found that apart from the successes that the textbooks had in avoiding “historical amnesia” and disproving exclusivity in victim status, the textbooks avoided key discussions of change and the continuity of the legacy of apartheid and addressing the beneficiaries of apartheid (Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2018). By The history textbooks failing to address the key issues of change and continuity of apartheid’s legacy as well as the TRC’s disregard

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of the beneficiaries of apartheid, the youth missed a critical opportunity to address the morality of apartheid. Within the context of collective victimhood, the moral dimension in historical thinking has great implications on South African society when taken in conjunction with the final historical thinking concept, historical agency.

Morality, as discussed above, should be explored concurrently with historical agency. With reference to collective victimhood, the moral dimension taken in conjunction with historical agency provides a deeper understanding of the reasons for key decisions and actions, as well as of the actors and decision-makers. When narrating historical victimisation, aspects of victim and perpetrator arise in terms of active agents and passive subjects. Historical agency as a second-order, historical-thinking concept has gained little educational research attention despite its significance in historical understanding (Arias-Ferrer & Egea-Vivancos, 2019; Seixas, 2012). Historical agency refers to an entity that has the power to enact change or produce results (Wangdi, 2017). In past historiography, specific people were worthy of knowing and being given attention for their historical actions. For example, Nelson Mandela is internationally recognised as the reason for the end of apartheid. This example follows the vein of "history is written by the winners". However, recent historiography has started documenting a multitude of historical actors who have previously been marginalised, such as women, ethnic minorities and immigrants. Whilst Mandela was imprisoned on Robben Island, his wife Winnie Madikizela-Mandela ran the day-to-day operations of the then exiled ANC. Yet, it is only recently that Madikizela-Mandela has been acknowledged for her role in the armed struggle (Barton, 2012; Doornbos & Halvorsen, 2017).

Seixas (as cited by Den Heyer, 2003, p. 411) has stated that without historical agency "students cannot see themselves as operating in the same realm as the historical figures whom they are studying, and thus cannot make meaning out of history." Without a notion of historical agency, students are unable to make meaning of history and act as agents in present society. This is supported by Barton (2012) who stated that where there is a limited range of historical actors, this may result in students not seeing themselves reflected in history and as a result, they may believe that they are unable to participate in society. This argument is reflected in a study by Chiponda and Wassermann (2011) who examined the representation (or lack thereof) of women in

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history textbooks. As part of the programmatic curriculum, the history that is found in textbooks is a key socialising tool of the youth. Based on the argument above by Seixas (as cited by Den Heyer, 2003) and Barton (2012), the representation and lack of representation of women in history textbooks sends a clear message to society regarding women as actors. A similar finding was reported in a study done by Angier (2017) in which the historical actors identified in narratives of South African history were all men. Textbook analyses revealed a dominant discourse of women belonging in domestic roles, the exclusion of women in the field of science, and women in roles outside of the home being seen as "exceptional and wicked" (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011, p. 21). These dominant narratives reproduce the belief that women are incompetent and dependent on men, and without any agency in having contributed in the past, and, by extension, to present society. This implies that understanding historical agency is important not only for historical thinking, but for shaping civic action (Arias-Ferrer & Egea-Vivancos, 2019; Barton, 2012).

In a study concerning the development of historical agency conducted by Doornbos and Halvorsen (2017), the authors suggested the use of historical inquiry instead of memorisation of facts in elementary school classrooms. It was argued that through historical inquiries into race, politics and identity, learners were able to develop as civic agents. Teachers encountered that at elementary school level, claiming that learners were too young and lacked the critical thinking skills to handle the reality they lived in. This counter, along with the fear of repercussions from parents, administration and colleagues led to the memorisation of facts and teacher-driven learning. Demers, Lefrançois, and Ethier (2015) engaged in a similar study whereby the historical agency of fifth grade learners developed through active engagement with the Industrial Revolution. The first stage of the research required learners to conduct a field inquiry in an urban centre of western Québec. Learners had to consider the historical significance of industrialisation, and through primary evidence assess change and continuity between the 19th century and the present day. The second stage of the research asked learners to perform a role play based on a character that learners had built, based on their experience of local history from their field inquiry. These characters had to have a social class and were grouped according to this class. Learners were given primary and secondary sources from which learners were able to ascertain their characters' possible interests, actions and role in society. The

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researchers and teachers then proceeded to give scenarios that the learners had to narrate regarding what their characters would have done or how their characters might have responded (Demers et al., 2015). Learners were able to identify aspects of their current lives with the industrial period in Québécois history. In addition, the role play proved most significant in its facilitation of historical agency and empathy as learners assumed the roles of historical figures.

Based on the studies done by Demers et al. (2015), Doornbos and Halvorsen (2017), Nye et al. (2011) and Wassermann (2017), a conclusion can be drawn that historical agency is facilitated by the second-order thinking concepts of historical significance, change and continuity, cause and consequence, and multiple perspectives. These studies showed that through the active engagement with historical content, learners were able to think critically and perceive themselves as actors. These findings present the ideal of history teaching. A superficial understanding of historical agency, however, limits historical knowledge to the "action of heroes" (Arias-Ferrer & Egea-Vivancos, 2019, p. 322) and not the recognition of the roles played by different groups and citizens when enacting change. This is mirrored in Wasserman's study in which history education students fixated on studying apartheid liberation heroes and leaders when asked to design their own "imagined" curriculum (2017), instead of on the moral reasoning behind the study of apartheid, including the sentiments of "learn from the mistakes of the past" with the goal of reconciliation. In addition, when considering not only the historical agency of the in-group but the out-group as well, a deviation occurred from a positive, comfortable image of history to a "complex, contentious ground of conflicts among groups" (Doornbos & Halvorsen, 2017, p. 222). The discomfort which may arise from venturing into an alternative version of history can be attributed to the tension between official history and collective memory. Nevertheless, if excluded from history teaching, the lack of understanding of historical agency may result in the use of "cultural assumptions" when reasoning the motivations and logic behind actions in history (Den Heyer, 2003, p. 413).

In Mkhabela's article entitled "Navigating the tension between official and unofficial history – A teacher's view" (2019), the tension between official and unofficial history was narrated through the author's grandmother's account of apartheid and the official History curriculum. Mkhabela's grandmother and mother were moved to KwaMashu,

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outside of Durban, under the Group Areas Act of 1950. The author came to believe, through exposure to the official history of apartheid, that "all White people were bad, and all Black people endured pain and suffering" (Mkhabela, 2019, p. 113). During an oral history project, Mkhabela interviewed her grandmother who was a domestic worker during apartheid. Expecting a resentment similar to the author's own, the grandmother narrated a story in quite the opposite way to what was Mkhabela expected. The author's grandmother held no anger or resentment towards any of the families that she had worked for during apartheid. What the author had been taught (and teaches) conflicted with the story that the grandmother had told. This conflict between official and unofficial history drove Mkhabela, a history teacher, to always acknowledge multiple perspectives in history (Mkhabela, 2019). It is significant to note that in this study in which the tension between official and unofficial history is narrated, even with the knowledge of her grandmother's experience, the author still struggled to change her initial feelings of anger and resentment. Thus, even though the in-group of the author subscribed to a certain version of history, the author still struggled to come to terms with that specific version of history.

History education, whether unofficial or official, aids in the development of historical consciousness. Based on the above conceptualisations of official and unofficial history, historical consciousness develops through the "tools and practices of professional, disciplinary history" (Seixas, 2004, p. 9) and through popular understanding and interpretations of the past. Furthermore, little is known about the historical consciousness of students who have recently left school. The assumption is that these students have been exposed to official and unofficial history throughout their school careers, contributing to the formation of the youths' historical understanding.

A narrative analysis conducted by Angier (2017) sought to shed light on the historical consciousness and understanding of students who had just written the Grade 12 National Senior Certificate examinations. The participants in the study were 'born frees', a term used to describe the generation of South Africans who were born into a post-apartheid democratic society (Angier, 2017). Therefore, the only exposure to apartheid that these students had was through historical narratives which were taught in multicultural classrooms with the aim of fostering critical thinking and social justice. All participants had studied History as a subject until the end of Grade 12, however,

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within the narratives of South African history, race played a key role in the emphasis placed on events. The most noteworthy differences in the narration of the past by both Black and White students was the emphasis placed on apartheid and segregation. For Black students "South African history is the history of apartheid" (Angier, 2017, p. 163) whereas White students appeared to overlook segregation and apartheid. This conclusion is interesting as both race groups had the same exposure to official history, leading to the appearance of a double understanding of history. Of significance, and similarly mirrored in a study by Wassermann (2018a), race was a dominant factor in which historical events were championed, as well as in the allocation of historical agency.

Although Angier's study is useful in its conceptualisation of how race influences historical understanding and consciousness, the findings are only indicative of students who had been exposed to official history throughout their school careers (Angier, 2017). These findings provided strong evidence of a double-consciousness, yet there remains a gap in the literature surrounding the historical understanding of students who have been predominantly exposed to unofficial history. The studies conducted by Angier (2017), Wassermann (2018) and Mkhabela (2019) provide a small insight into the historical knowledge and understanding of Grade 12 learners who entered tertiary education to study teaching or other degrees. However, there is still a substantial amount of knowledge surrounding pre-service teachers' historical consciousness that is yet to be known and conceptualised.

2.2.5. Pre-service teachers

The rationale of this study, as identified in Chapter 1, provides the statement that there is little known about the historical understanding, knowledge and consciousness of learners who have just left school (Angier, 2017; Nye et al., 2011). In adherence to the purpose and focus of this study, it is necessary to provide an account of the scarce amount of knowledge that exists concerning the historical understanding, knowledge and consciousness of pre-service teachers. Furthermore, the research questions that were developed from the focus of the study seek to conceptualise the social identities of pre-service teachers as they relate to history education. Within this sub-section, literature surrounding pre-service teachers, social identity and history education will

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be dealt with, with a special focus being placed on pre-service history teachers in post-conflict South Africa.

Pre-service teachers are defined as students who have left school and are currently enrolled for a teacher education course at a tertiary institution (Keirn & Martin, 2012). At this juncture it is necessary to distinguish between a social identity and a professional identity. Teacher identity is distinguished from social identity, by referring to an individual's process of "practical knowledge building characterized by an ongoing integration of what is individually and collectively seen as relevant to teaching" (Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004, p. 123 as cited in Timostsuk & Ugaste, 2010), whereas social identity is comprised of "an individual's knowledge that [s]he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Tajfel, 1972, p. 292; 1981). The motivation behind the distinction between teacher identity and social identity is based on the level of teacher education and training that the pre-service teachers have been exposed to. An individual's social identity is based on the social group they belong to, which dictates and prescribes who they are, how they should feel, the belief system they should have and how they should behave (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; McKeown, Haji, & Ferguson, 2016). Therefore, even though social identity looks at an individual's identity, it focuses on how this identity is shaped through belonging to a social group. With specific reference to this study, the pre-service teachers have not had any pedagogical training or undergone professional development. Hence, the participants in this study have a pre-existing identity upon which a professional identity will be built in their subsequent teacher-training years. Social identity will be dealt with in more depth under the conceptual framework of this study, however, for the purpose of this section, I will briefly mention the process of social identity formation as it relates to history education.

The tension between unofficial and official history comes from the development and emergence of what Kate Angier calls a "double-consciousness" (Angier, 2017, p. 169). When learners or students enter the classroom, they are not empty vessels, void of any historical consciousness. These learners have already been socialised by the unofficial history that their community or family transmits. From Section 2.6, it has been established that official history develops historical consciousness through the use of

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historical-thinking concepts, therefore, based on the claims that history education is a tool for identity formation, I make a tentative claim that the identity formed from official history is situated around the historical consciousness of learners. In contradiction to this, the social identity formed from unofficial history is presumed to be collective victimhood. Accepting that unofficial history also forms identity, what sort of consciousness is it centred around? If the type of historical consciousness was the same, then it would not be in juxtaposition to official history's historical consciousness. What is yet to be dealt with in the literature is what sort of historical consciousness develops that creates a double-consciousness? In this study, the sense of collective victimhood refers to the historical consciousness of a group-based victim identity in the form of certain victim beliefs, attitudes, emotions and behaviours that are prevalent in participant responses. Therefore, my study seeks to understand this tension between the types of historical consciousness by interpreting it as the prevalence of a sense of collective victimhood gained from unofficial history. The sense of collective victimhood that emerges from the tension between official and unofficial history is a result of collective victimhood.

This sub-section served as a precursor of the conceptualisation of history education as a tool for the construction of a social identity and formation of historical consciousness. In order to further understand the way in which official and unofficial history education relates to the development of a sense of collective victimhood and collective victimhood as a social identity, I have drawn from relevant literature in order to create a conceptual framework around the formation of a social identity and the subsequent historical consciousness resulting from official and unofficial history.

2.3. Identity Formation Using Narratives of Victimisation

The above sections have all culminated in this conceptual framework, which aims to provide an outline with which pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity can be conceptualised and understood. As previously argued, collective victimhood finds its foothold through the intergenerational transmission of victim narratives. In view of history education as a tool for identity formation and as a tool for transmitting victimising narratives, it is argued that history education forms specific social identities based on the content and strength of identity formation processes. In this study, collective victimhood is

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conceptualised as a victim-based identity (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Jacoby, 2015) which forms through the socialisation of history education. In conceptualising a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness through the formation of a victim-based identity, I have drawn on theories of history education as a key tool for the formation of a social identity.

SIT has antecedents as a "theory of intergroup relations and conflict and cooperation between groups" (McKeown et al., 2016, p. 3). It was first developed in the 1970s by Henri Tajfel (1969) at Bristol University in the United Kingdom. He combined and integrated scientific work on categorisation and social perception with understanding prejudice, discrimination, and intergroup conflict (McKeown et al., 2016; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). An individual's social identity is shaped through two processes, namely cognitive and motivational. The cognitive process of social identity includes the categorisation of individuals into groups, self-categorisation, the assignation of meaning to groups, and the characterisation of out-groups (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). This categorisation of individuals into groups, self-categorisation and the characterisation of out-groups are mediating factors towards collective victimhood (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). The cognitive process of identity formation relies on the content of narratives used to shape identity, whereas the motivational process includes "the desire to differentiate between one's own group and other groups" (David & Bar-Tal, 2009, p. 355) as well as the need for a positive self-esteem derived from in-group membership (Ashmore, Jussim, & Wilder, 2001; Hammack, 2010). In the context of this study, I will be focusing only on the cognitive process.

The cognitive process of social identity relies on the content of narratives used to shape identity. Narratives dictate the content and meaning of in-groups and out-groups, which in turn shape the social identity of the members of the group. The transmission of historical narratives between members of a group and society are integral to the "development, establishment, and shaping of social identity and intergroup relations" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 23); history education, being the socialisation of these historic narratives, cannot be ignored as a tool for identity formation (Carretero et al., 2012).

History education provides the narratives of a group's common past, which emphasise the salience and permanence of a group over time. Therefore, history education

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provides the specific identity content which social groups base their identity on and individual members identify with (Korostelina, 2013; McKeown et al., 2016). For this study, the group that an individual belongs to is characterised as their in-group, and all other groups are the out-groups. William Graham Sumner (1906) attempted the first conceptualisation of in-groups and out-groups. In what he first termed as "we-groups" (Sumner, 1906, p. 12), Sumner conceptualised in-groups as "[a] group of groups [which] may have some relation to each other… which draws them together and differentiates them from others". Without bringing the conceptualisation of collective victimhood and its devastating effects on intergroup relations into the discussion, Sumner states that between we-groups and outsiders-groups, there is "war and plunder". A significant statement is made by Sumner stating that men will belong to the outsiders-group based on their ancestors who waged war on the ancestors of the we-group (Sumner, 1906). In other words, based on Sumner's discussion, the status-quo of outsiders-groups and indirectly we-groups will remain the same across generations. This "social philosophy" proposed by Sumner needs further unpacking, for questions arise over shifts of power between we-groups and outsiders-groups. This supplements the ostensible lack of an explicit conceptualisation of who forms part of the in-group and who forms part of the out-group (Ashmore et al., 2001; David & Bar-Tal, 2009; McGarry & Jasper, 2015; Sumner, 1906; Tajfel, 1981). In other words, the in-group and out-group are conceptualised from the point of view of the individual. Therefore, in-groups and out-groups are subjective in their allocation of "us" and "them", which is key in understanding identity strength.

The strength with which an individual identifies with the group depends on the depersonalisation of the member and adoption of group characteristics, beliefs and norms. Members of the group refer to the in-group through the use of personal pronouns. When referring to the in-group, personal pronouns such as "my", "our" and "us" are used, which signifies a strong attachment to the in-group. This goes hand in hand with the categorisation and classification of the in-groups and out-groups (Korostelina, 2013; Kukard, 2017). By the categorisation of groups and self-identification into a specific group, members increase the strength of their own identification to the in-group. Theories of collective victimhood state that identity strength and content facilitate the development of collective victimhood. The stronger a group identifies with the in-group, the less willing they will be to reconcile. Identity

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strength is related to the temporal continuity of a group over time. If groups have a sense of continuity with the past, present and future, the individual will have a stronger attachment to the collective (Psaltis et al., 2017a; Vollhardt, 2012). Identity content additionally predicts collective victimhood in groups. For example, a group's perceived superiority positively predicts an increase in negative attitudes towards an out-group (Noor et al., 2017). This perceived superiority is facilitated by historical narratives that emphasise the superiority of an in-group. Historical narratives can further depict and emphasise protracted conflict between ethnic in-groups and out-groups, promoting feelings of an in-group's constant suffering and siege mentality (Korostelina, 2013). Siege mentality states that collective victimhood manifests in group members through the belief that the in-group is under constant attack and threat from out-groups (Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992). However, history education has the power to alternatively promote positive connotations by emphasising "peace building initiatives … [and] showing the path to forgiveness and reconciliation" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 24).

History education can contain historic narratives which either promote cooperation and reconciliation between groups or support discrimination and conflict towards out-groups (Korostelina, 2013). In the context of collective victimhood, identity content is found within the transmission of both official and unofficial narratives of collective victimisation. Individuals identify with a group based on the identification of a group's values, norms and behaviours. Therefore, members of a group create the need for specific behaviours, emotions, beliefs and attitudes based on the "rules" of the group (Carretero et al., 2012). Ultimately, the membership of individuals of a group results in the systematic process of depersonalisation where the beliefs and values of a group are adopted and valued above the individual's (Hadar, 2019). Consequently, if the in-group's social identity is based on subjective construal of a historical victimising event, then its members adopt the same identity content as the in-group's. The content of the in-group's identity is shaped through history education. On the societal level, the transmission of collective victimisation includes the sharing of official victim narratives that form part of a master narrative. This master narrative is based on collective memories of a society's past that reside in the minds of group members in the present, and play a vital role in the formation of the society's identity (Bar-Tal, 2014; Rimé, Bouchat, Klein, & Licata, 2015). This master narrative is a social representation formulated around what the in-group or, in the case of education, the government of a

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country decides. This socialisation process is found in history curricula and textbooks which transmit and "communicate narratives about the in-group's past suffering" (Vollhardt, 2012, p. 140). Within post-conflict societies, the programmatic curriculum, or history textbooks, become the disseminators of the in-group's past victimisation by communicating basic facts, making the events salient and providing guidelines on how to transmit the master narrative so that the youth understand the in-group's past victimisation (Hammack, 2009; Vollhardt, 2012). These guidelines are the first- and second-order historical-thinking concepts discussed in Section 2.6.3 which are the tools with which the learners and students can assess collective victimisation contained in official history. Therefore, collective victimisation analysed on a societal level examines the socialisation of the learners and students by means of official history and the consciousness that emerges from this socialisation.

Collective victimisation that is analysed on a group level views collective memory as socially represented in collective trauma narratives. The collective victimisation on this level is translated into a narrative which is used as a socialising tool in all spheres of the group. This process of communication and socialisation refers to the transmission of these collective narratives between members of a group (Bar-Tal, 2014; Vollhardt, 2012). In many ways, collective narratives and memories become the "line of commonality and continuation in experiences across time" (David & Bar-Tal, 2009, p. 5.2; Seixas, 2004), creating the foundation for the formation of a collective identity as well as shaping the consciousness of the group. It is within this interaction with collective memories that collective victimhood may emerge as a collective victim-based identity as well as a form of historical consciousness (Bouchat et al., 2017).

Victimisation narratives, whether contained in official or unofficial history, dictate an anecdote of agency and morality. Within the scope of this study, a person's historical consciousness is formed through tales of agency and morality. Agency is a key identity dimension which groups assess themselves with after the victimisation has taken place. Within official and unofficial history, agency, more specifically historical agency, and morality are found within narratives of victimisation. Historical agency and morality are key in understanding collective victimhood with regard to the NBMR discussed under Section 2.2.3.

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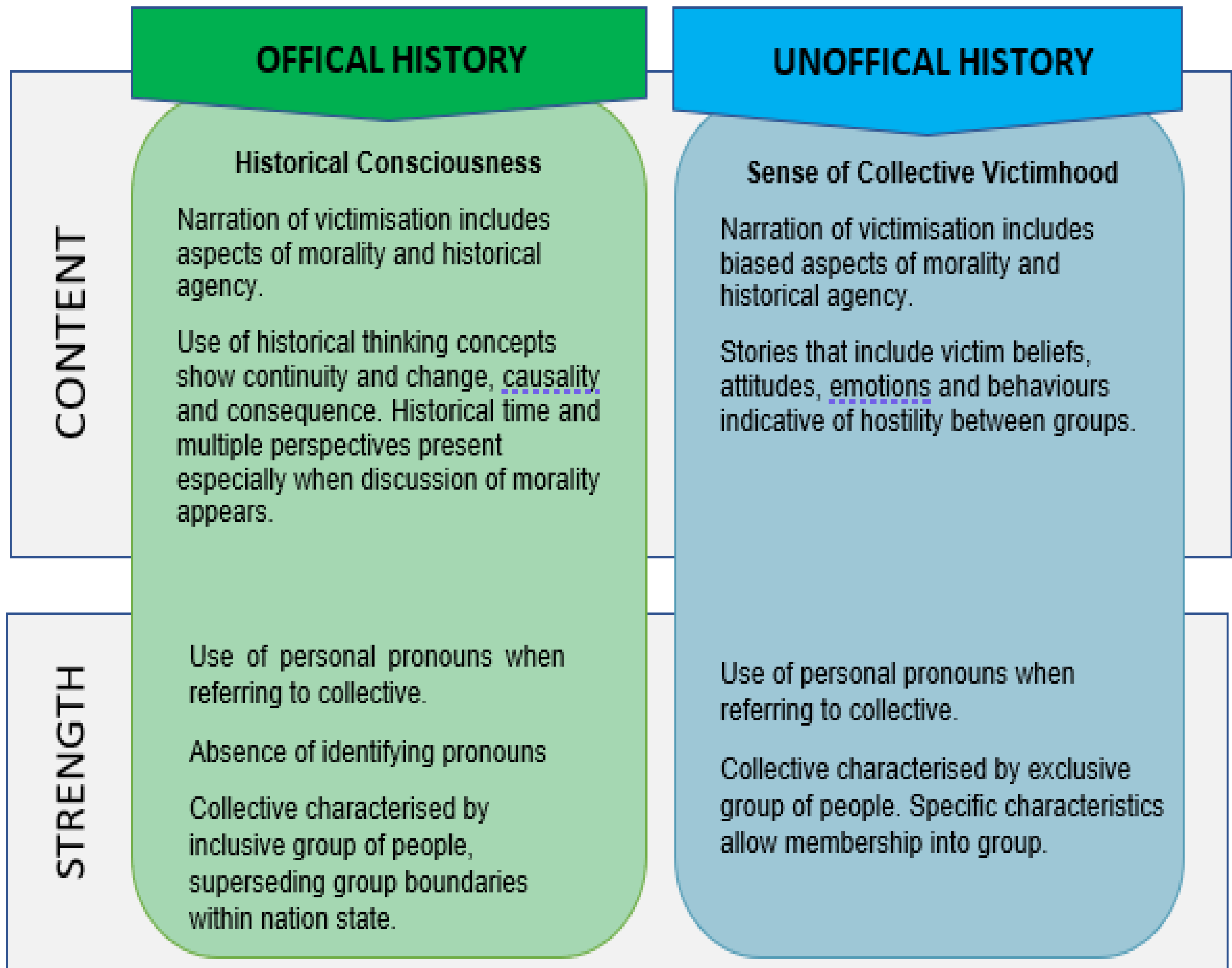

Image 2.3 Conceptual Framework

Where there is a victim, there is surely a perpetrator and their morality. Morality refers to the perpetrator group's need to restore their morality after the atrocities committed in order to form part of the community. Moreover, the failure to meet the psychological need for morality and the effect it has on acceptance into a national identity, means that reconciliation cannot take place (Schnabel & Nadler, 2008; Simantov-Nachlieli & Shnabel, 2014). Narratives of the past are used to justify the present and future. Therefore, official and unofficial history may be used to justify present-day policies which affect the morality of different groups, ultimately promoting the discrimination of out-groups (Korostelina, 2013; Lopez et al., 2014).

The importance of identity and its formation lies not only with the specific content of the identity but the strength with which individuals identify with the content and ultimately the group. Identity strength is developed through an emphasis on the continuity of a group and its future common trajectory (Korostelina, 2013; Noor et al.,

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2017). This process is found in the content of narratives as well. Within the scope of this study, it is necessary to briefly mention different theoretical perspectives in studying conflict. This relates to history education because history education in a post-conflict society includes the socialisation of past victimisation. Bekerman and Zembylas (2012) identified two theoretical perspectives to studying conflict, namely the macro- and micro-perspectives. On the one hand, macro perspectives examine "real realities", such as in this study, and the sources of conflict on an explicit and conscious level which is rational and justified (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012), such as policies within businesses that have a quota to empower previously disadvantaged groups. Micro perspectives, on the other hand, focus on what is "less real", that which resides in the unconscious and irrational. This perspective has close ties with SIT and the explanation of intergroup conflict. However, even with the link to SIT, I position myself towards narrative perspectives on studying conflict. My reasoning behind this decision is that macro- and micro-perspectives of studying conflict provide a binary in studying conflict. In the context of post-conflict South Africa, the "real realities" as well as the subconscious irrational realities are interconnected due to the inequality that plagues society. The narrative perspective argues that one of the contributing influences on groups in a conflict is the group's "perceived histories and memories as tools for building their own collective identities at the expense of delegitimising the "others" (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012, p. 47). The group identity formed may contradict the identity formation agenda of broader society.

History education achieves the formation of a social identity by providing specific connotations of in-group identity (Korostelina, 2013). This entails the way in which historical narratives provide the foundation for the understanding of a social identity's meaning and content, security through its emphasis on historical continuity of a group and defence against threats to the identity of the in-group.

> History provides us with narratives that tell us who we are, where we came from and where we should be going. It defines the trajectory which helps construct the essence of a group's identity, how it relates to other groups, and ascertains what its options are for facing present challenges. (Cole & Barsalou, as cited in Korostelina 2013, p. 23)

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History education provides the continuity of cultural norms and values that distinguish in-groups from out-group by emphasising a common fate through the transmission of historical narratives (Angier, 2017; Clark & Grever, 2018; Rüsen, 2004). This proves to be problematic as in a divided society it is nearly impossible to emphasise a common history of all society members due to diverse historic backgrounds. This internalisation of characteristics may influence the historical consciousness of learners, thus providing justification of the existence of different forms of historical consciousness. The different forms of historical consciousness develop from the transmission of both official and unofficial history. The tension that arises is as a result of a conflict between official and unofficial history, namely the prevalence of a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness and conflicting social identities.

2.4. Conclusion

This study is contextualised within a divided society wrought with the legacy of apartheid. Thus, narratives of the past are assumed to be divided and contradictory. Ndlovu (2013) claimed that identities can be constructed on past events by methods of myth-making. Now, whether official history or unofficial history is seen to be myth-making is not under debate, but what is, is whether official and unofficial history provides positive or negative connotations for social identity. Additionally, the influence of official and unofficial history on identity portrays the controversial nature of history education in a post-conflict society. The controversy lies in whether myth-making is seen as an accurate depiction of past collective victimisation, or as a depiction of collective victimisation based on belief and memory. This yet again highlights the contradictory nature of history education, as, in some instances, memory and fact fit harmoniously together whereas in other cases they contradict like oil and water. As I have come to realise, the field of collective victimhood is as messy as the victimisation itself. One cannot come to fully understand for certain the full workings of a group, identity and personal trauma. However, there is solace in the knowledge that collective victimhood changes due to the context-sensitive nature of human experience and perception, which alludes to the subjective perception of people and what they believe to be true, for that truth cannot be contested.

The purpose of this study and the research questions guided the literature review process. The conclusions and insights gained, as well as the conceptual framework

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that aids in the conceptualisation of a sense of collective victimhood, social identity and history education sets the pace and foundation for the next chapter. In the next chapter, I will extensively outline and discuss the design and methodological processes and procedures I employed to achieve the purpose set out, which will be informed by the literature surrounding previous studies similar to the current study. By engaging in the research design and methodology, I will be yet another step closer to achieving the purpose of proposing answers to the research questions posed in this study.

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CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This study had a dual purpose – to understand and to conceptualise pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness which is indicative of a specific social identity. This purpose was transformed into the two research questions: what is the social identity of pre-service teachers in relation to history education; and how does a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness manifest in pre-service teachers' narratives of historical victimisation? To this end, I outlined the purpose and focus of inquiry in Chapter 1, as well as the literature that informed my conceptualisation of the research phenomenon in Chapter 2. In any research study, the research process entails a set of plans and procedures which range from "broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation" (Creswell & Creswell, 2017, p. 31). In this chapter, I will first discuss the theoretical underpinnings of my study in the research design. Secondly, I will outline the methodological steps taken in line with the qualitative decisions made in the research design. Concluding this chapter, I will discuss key aspects of how I ensured the quality of the findings and ethical guidelines I adhered to with the intention of maintaining academic rigour. In achieving academic rigour, I was cognisant of the fact that all decisions made in the research design had to be carried through the entire research process.

3.2. Research Design

As discussed above, the theoretical underpinnings of research outlined in the research design necessitates the cognisance of the researcher to the purpose of the study. Research is constantly supplementing the growth in bodies of knowledge within the various fields of education. This knowledge production is as a result of tireless inquiries made by scholars within the field; the inquiries are directed by specific questions, issues and problems identified by researcher (Castellan, 2010), which, in my case, were the research questions and the purpose statement as outlined in Chapter 1. Therefore, the specific research questions asked and problems identified determined the type of inquiry that would take place.

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Included in a research design, are the procedures of inquiry that guide the researcher theoretically during the study. The purpose of this study as well as the research questions formulated suggested specific decisions that should be taken to achieve coherence within a study. In gaining a deeper understanding of social identity and a sense of collective victimhood, I approached the research phenomenon qualitatively with an interpretivist lens to achieve coherence between research purpose, questions and procedures of inquiry. Due to the emphasis on understanding and interpretation within the research problem, I adhered to the specific component of qualitative research which aims at gathering rich descriptions of social phenomena (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). In this section, I discuss the principles of interpretivism which accept that reality is context specific and created through the individual's experience with reality.

3.2.1. Qualitative research approach

A research approach, whether qualitative or quantitative, provides the researcher with a theoretical framework inclusive of a set of procedures which are roughly translated into world views (Gelo, 2012). Thus, the research approach adopted in a study outlines the point of view, or the way that a researcher approaches the world and the research phenomenon. As the researcher, I allowed my research questions to guide my decisions as to which research approach would be adopted for the study (Castellan, 2010). As cited in Epstein and Salinas (2018, p. 64), Denzin and Lincoln (2011) defined qualitative research as a "naturalistic approach to the world … meaning researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them". Therefore, as I will discuss in this section, this study took a qualitative research approach as it was the most appropriate approach that adhered to the purpose of my research questions as stated in Chapter 1. I wished to gain a deeper understanding of social identity and the shaping of historical consciousness through official and unofficial history of South Africa. These social identities and historical consciousness were as a result of the participants' experiences of history education and the construction of meaning based on the interplay between official and unofficial history. To this end, a qualitative research approach helped me to understand the experiences had and the meaning attributed by the participants in the context of history education in a post-conflict society (Petty, Thomson & Stew, 2012) .

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Researchers who engage in a qualitative studies wish to explain, explore or describe the phenomenon being studied; unpack and understand participants' individual meaning making of their social context; gain an understanding of the social context; and generate thick descriptions of the participants in their social context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Leavy, 2014; Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). These form part of a set of principles which guide the research process. The principles listed above serve as the reasoning behind its choice. Many researchers try to conceptualise qualitative research by juxtaposing it to its counterpart, quantitative research (Leavy, 2014). However, I shall not be doing this as I believe a discussion of this research approach's merits is more beneficial than discussing what the research approach is not. The above qualitative research principles can be translated into four characteristics, as identified by Merriam and Tisdell (2016): process, understanding, and meaning; the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis; the process is inductive; and the product is richly descriptive (p. 15).

The above four characteristics and the discussion thereof will be integrated where applicable within the various sections of this research design and the research methodology. In the next two sections in my research design, I discuss the philosophical foundations that my research adopted, more specifically, the paradigm, ontology and epistemology (Leavy, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). These philosophical decisions were made to achieve coherence with the qualitative characteristic of my study. Interpretivism served as the most appropriate paradigm for conceptualising and understanding a sense of collective victimhood, social identity, and history education as it relates to pre-service teachers.

3.2.2. Interpretivist paradigm

A research paradigm is conceptualised as the collective understanding of reality experienced by individuals and which offers a lens through which a phenomenon can be studied (Gelo, 2012; Petty et al., 2012). A paradigm serves as a world view through which knowledge filters. The choice of paradigm suggests certain assumptions about how the research process is carried out, in other words, the specific world view that the researcher takes with regard to social realities, which, in turn, guide the actions in the practice of research (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Leavy, 2014). Interpretivism is the most common paradigm that qualitative researchers use to view the world within

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a qualitative research approach (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This philosophical world view aims to interpret and understand social reality by accepting that "meaning is not automatically present in objects or social situations, it has to be constructed, created by individuals" (Petty et al., 2012, p. 270). Through pre-service teachers' experience with official and unofficial history, a social identity is created with a form of historical consciousness. Due to interpretivism's acknowledgment of the construction of individual meaning, it was chosen as the most appropriate paradigm for this study, as the internalisation of official or unofficial history leads to the emergence of a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness.

Qualitative researchers who use the interpretivist lens are concerned with how participants interpret their experiences, the construction of their worlds and the meaning they make based on their experiences. With this in mind, the purpose of qualitative research is to understand the meaning making of participants, unpack the process of knowledge construction (Leavy, 2017) and "describe how people interpret what they experience" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 15). In a reaction against positivism, interpretivism states that reality is socially constructed through an individual's experience with the world and their perspective of reality. Hence, qualitative researchers strive to gain an understanding of the research phenomenon from the perspective of the participant, not the researcher. This is occasionally referred to as the emic or insider's perspective (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In this study, the conceptualisation of "victim" is seen as an emic category, where "victim" is not a label assigned from an outside authority, but being a victim is a result of an individual's construction and meaning making of a past trauma and the current social context (Jensen & Ronsbo, 2014). In order to gain an understanding of social identity, a sense of collective victimhood, and how the experience of official and unofficial history education contributed to a victim-based identity, I used qualitative research to understand the participants' perspectives of their context and the construction of meaning based on their experiences. Interpretivism's acknowledgment of the social construction of meaning creates the implication that knowledge construction occurs within the individual's natural environment.

Adhering to a characteristic of qualitative research mentioned in Section 3.2.1, interpretivists study phenomena in their natural settings, with the goal of making sense of a phenomenon in relation to different meanings that individuals ascribe to it

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(Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). This implies that researchers situate themselves within the context of the phenomenon being studied as the data collector as well as analyser (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). To understand the multiple realities of participants as well as their perception and meaning making, it is crucial for the researcher to "remain inseparable from the individual's experiences that constructs reality" (Sarma, n.d., p. 182). As an interpretivist, an important factor that drove my research was that within the field of social science, social identity and a sense of collective victimhood cannot be objectively viewed as an outsider. Rather, my role as the researcher was to be internally situated within the research and to experience the context from which theories could be drawn in order to achieve understanding (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018; Mack, 2010) .

The acknowledgment of the individual's social construction of knowledge within the natural context that they operate in fulfils the purpose of this study and satisfactorily lays the groundwork to answer the research questions posed. We exist in a world of binaries, hence interpretivism does come with its limitations considering the advantages given above. Critics of this paradigm have suggested that the process that a researcher takes to interpret and define a given situation is in itself a "product of the circumstances in which one is placed" (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 25). Critics have questioned the integrity of findings by criticising them as the product of what the researcher wishes it to be. However, by delineating and conceptualising the context of social identity, a sense of collective victimhood, history education and my own positionality in the introduction and literature review, my own context and the context of the study was transparent. Further criticism of the interpretivist paradigm arises in the lack of objectifiable findings. This is particularly true in qualitative research where the researcher is not guided by a predetermined hypothesis and is directly involved in the research process and context of the participants under study (Mack, 2010; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The solution to this drawback lies in the continuous referral back to the data so that the data, rather than the researcher, explains the processes within the study.

This section aimed at providing a discussion of the paradigmatic approach which guided my qualitative research, whilst insinuating certain beliefs surrounding what is seen as knowledge and truth, and how I as the researcher can know this truth. In the

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next section, I will be exploring the specific ontological and epistemological assumptions that further guided and complemented this qualitative study.

3.2.3. Ontological and epistemological assumptions

Within research, the approach and paradigm chosen by the researcher has its own set of ontological and epistemological assumptions. To this end, ontological and epistemological assumptions are made based on the qualitative approach and interpretivist paradigm of this study. Ontology is described as "the science of being; the science dealing with matters of existence or reality" (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015, p. 63). Moreover, ontological assumptions further delineate what exists, the appearance of this reality, its makeup and how these different units that make different realities interact with each other (Asif, 2013; Mack, 2010). In line with interpretivism, ontological assumptions refer to the nature of social reality or truth and disclose the researcher's own assumptions about social reality (Lincoln & Guba, 2013; Yin, 2016). From a study's ontology stems the epistemological assumption. If ontology concerns what is knowledge, then epistemology is viewed as how can this knowledge be known and disclosed (Mack, 2010; Yin, 2016). Together, epistemology and ontology form a basis for the interpretivist paradigm in their joint assumptions that reality is as a result of social construction based on participants' experiences within their context.

In the past, reality and truth were seen as definite and tangible, as quantifiable, where the process of inquiry undertaken was done thoroughly and in a determinable way, with the belief that reality was concrete and how this reality could be known was objective. However, in recent years arguments have arisen claiming that if an objective reality exists, then "it cannot be determined with finality" (Lincoln & Guba, 2013, p. 38). This study adopted the ontological position that truth is "contingent, contextual, and multiple" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 3), where the construction of reality is viewed as process-orientated. Truth from an interpretivist's perspective is thus not seen as objective and discoverable by the researcher, but rather reality is constructed by individuals, leading to the existence of multiple realities (Leavy, 2014; Scotland, 2012). In this study, the social identity of pre-service teachers was constructed through their experience with official and unofficial history. Reality only exists once meaning is made of experiences within social contexts, hence, reality is socially constructed and dependent on individuals' perception and experience with it (Petty et al., 2012; Tuli,

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2010). Scotland (2012) has stated that "without consciousness the world is meaningless" (p. 11), hence, reality only comes into existence when human consciousness engages with the outside world. In this study, it is argued that an individual's experience with official and unofficial history not only forms their social identity but shapes their historical consciousness accordingly.

If truth and knowledge is constructed through the individual's experience with reality, then the pre-service teachers' individual experiences with history education shape their historical consciousness and social identities. Accordingly, the ontology of this research study accepts that reality is an emic construct, individualised to the experiences of a person. As stated in Chapter 2, social identity studies how an individual's identity is shaped through their identification with a social group. Their membership in the group is based on their internalisation and appraisal of specific historical narratives. The individual's exposure to official or unofficial history dictates their identification with a social group. Within the study, collective narratives were constructed by individuals differently based on their personal experiences with official and unofficial history as well as their adherence to a group identity. The meaning and interpretation of these narratives differed between individuals but did contribute to a sense of collective victimhood. Within this ontology, a sense of collective victimhood as a phenomenon could not be generalised to all participants as different people had different experiences and interpretations of victimisation narratives and collective memories.

As stated above, epistemology grows from the specific ontological assumptions made. The ontology of this study accepts that reality and truth is socially constructed and therefore there are multiple realities based on the individual's meaning construction from experiences (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). As an extension, epistemology is concerned with "ways of knowing and learning about the social world" (Maree, 2016, p. 67), which translates into how things can be known, discovered and disclosed – this is epistemology (Bleiker, Morgan-Trimmer, Knapp, & Hopkins, 2019; Yin, 2016). During the research process, there is constant interaction between researcher, participants, and the social context, suggesting that the construction of reality is seen as a transactional process, where events and contexts are experienced through people's senses (Berryman, 2019; Given, Winkler, & Willson, 2014). Thus, the

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epistemological assumption is that "the relationship between the knower and the knowable is highly person- and context-specific" (Lincoln & Guba, 2013, p. 40).

As this study adopts a qualitative approach, it assumes that reality is socially constructed and inherently subjective. If reality is based on the individual's meaning and construction of it, then how knowledge can be known is consequently subjective (Bleiker et al., 2019; Lincoln & Guba, 2013; Tuli, 2010). Furthermore, interpretivists do not perceive their participants as objects within the natural world as with the quantitative approach, but rather as actors who are co-constructors of reality (Bleiker et al., 2019). Within the interpretative paradigm, knowledge is not objective, as reality is socially constructed by people, thus knowledge is situated and transitory as individuals do not exist independently from the world (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015; Scotland, 2012). This epistemology suited my study as collective victimhood was conceptualised as a victim-based identity, a constructed concept which influenced intergroup relations through its formation of a historical consciousness. Without reality and the interpretation of reality, a victim-based identity and subsequent sense of collective victimhood does not exist. In other words, a social identity and historical consciousness cannot exist without the individual's perception and experiences of history education. The above statement is in line with the argument that history education, whether official or unofficial, contributes to the formation of a social identity inclusive of a historical consciousness. In the next section I will be providing a discussion of the practical enactment of the theoretical guidelines contained within this research design.

3.3. Research Methodology

Following and drawing from the research design, research methodology and research methods provide the narrow practical steps that the researcher uses in conducting their study (Cohen et al., 2018; Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Accordingly, this study followed a case study methodology, inclusive of data collection and analysis strategies and adhering to principles included in the research design. A research methodology is different from research methods in that the latter is simply a component of research whereas the former entails the justification of the former. Throughout the research process, the two research questions acted as guides in the different procedural steps that I took. A single descriptive case study was chosen that included purposively

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sampled, first-year pre-service teachers at UP. Within the boundaries of the case, an electronic questionnaire was sent to the sample group, from which the gathered data was analysed using critical qualitative content analysis.

3.3.1. Matryoshka case study

To pin down a definition of a case study and to determine what constitutes a case is complex and contested (Cohen et al., 2018; Schwandt & Gates, 2018), given that within the field of education a case study has been defined as a process, research design, methodology, strategy, focus and outcome (Stake, 2005; Thomas, 2011; Tight, 2010; Verschuren, 2003). For the purpose of this study, a case study is defined as "in-depth contextual analyses of one or few instances of a naturalistic phenomenon" (Tracy, 2020, p. 61), which makes use of a single data-collection method (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

A case is a unit of analysis, instance or incident which can be an individual, group, organisation or a nation-state (Schwandt & Gates, 2018; Tracy, 2020). The nature of a case study lies in "delimiting the object of study" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 38). I therefore considered the case to be the sense of collective victimhood of first-year pre-service teachers at the University of Pretoria as presented in narratives of historical victimisation. A case study falls within a qualitative research approach (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015) and is defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates [a] contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" (Rule & John, 2011, p. 4). However, this definition is not sufficient to describe exactly what constitutes a case, nor what defines that bounded system (Simons, 2014; Yin, 2018). I argue that by presenting the boundaries of a case, it is implied that the case is separate from the context and environment that it operates in.

Qualitative case studies do not set out to prove theories or hypotheses, but rather to explore, understand and describe phenomena holistically (Schwandt & Gates, 2018; Yin, 2018). To this end, I found the matryoshka approach (Russian doll) (Image 3.1) as argued for by Chong and Graham (2013) to be the most appropriate in the context of my study. The matryoshka approach argues that to understand a case study is to acknowledge its nestedness within the context of the case. In other words, to provide the rich descriptions that case studies are championed for (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015; Schwandt & Gates, 2018), it is necessary to examine the micro-level case by

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considering the meso- and macro- contextual levels in which the micro-level case is nested (Chong & Graham, 2013). A matryoshka case study further provides the opportunity to understand the holism of the case study (Chong & Graham, 2013).

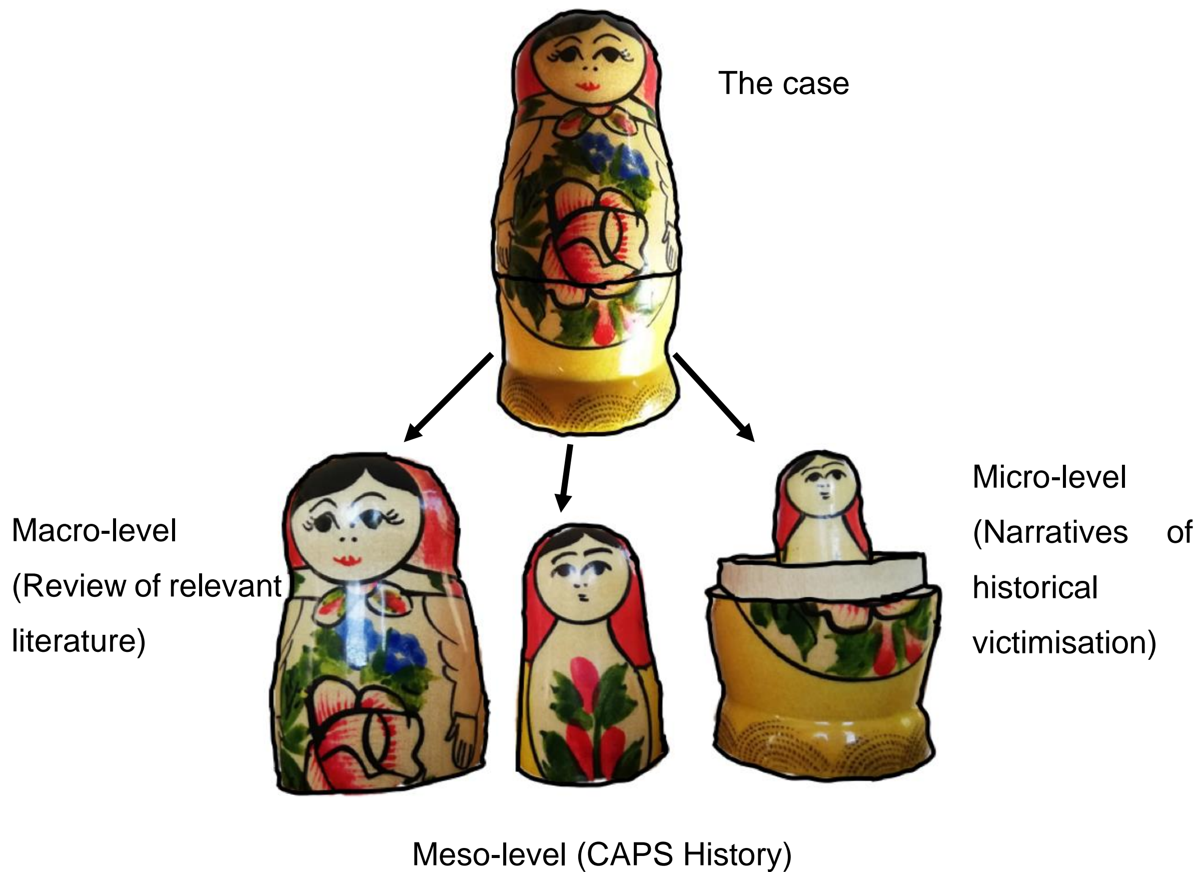

Image 3.1 Matryoshka case study (adapted from Chong & Graham, 2013, p. 30. Russian doll images provided personally by author).

Image 3.1 illustrates the matryoshka case study approach that I adapted to understand and conceptualise pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness which is indicative of a specific social identity. The top doll presents the whole case, i.e. social identity and sense of collective victimhood of participants. To achieve the purpose of my research, I "took apart" the Russian doll. The outer layer, or macro-level, constitutes the background and context of this study, and a comprehensive review of relevant literature in the field of history education, social identity and collective victimhood. The meso-level, as represented by the middle doll, considers the CAPS History curriculum as the form of official history and social identity constructor. The smallest doll represents the micro-level of understanding the case,

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and includes the narrative responses provided by the participants in this study. By employing this approach to my research, I provided a "thick, rich description" (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015, p. 172) of the data which is necessary when employing an interpretivist paradigm as meaning cannot be removed from the context in which it occurs (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Tracy, 2020).

Case studies are valuable in educational research for their use of both quantitative and qualitative methods (Schwandt & Gates, 2018; Tracy, 2020). Data generated from case studies are "strong in reality" due to the rich descriptions stemming from the proximity between participant, researcher and environment, thus allowing for the reader to generalise findings naturally (Cohen et al., 2018). This feature of a case study is complementary to the interpretivist stance that I adopted, along with its underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions which acknowledge the context-sensitivity of cases and the belief that reality is subjective. Nonetheless, a limitation arises from the above feature, questioning the academic rigour and possible bias of case study research (Yin, 2018). Case study research is accused of not being rigorous enough, allowing for ambiguous evidence to influence findings and conclusions. I addressed the above limitation of rigour and bias in my study by meticulously recounting the systematic procedures taken during the research process, outlining the measures taken in attaining quality assurance, and providing the analysis of irrelevant but still significant data (Cohen et al., 2018; Yin, 2018). In contrast to the objectivity and generalisability of quantitative research, case studies are criticised for their inability to generalise findings to a population. In acknowledging the difference in quantitative and qualitative research, the measures of generalisation undertaken in quantitative research are not applicable to qualitative research. Case study research achieves analytic rather than statistical generalisation, as was the case with my qualitative study where the single case was used for theoretical extensions of existing theories.

This section served to define the case as well as discuss the type of case study approach followed. It is now necessary to further discuss the research process by outlining the practical methods used to gather the data of this case study.

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3.3.2. Purposive sampling

Researchers aim to discover characteristics about a population group through data collection, however, they usually collect data from a smaller group or sample. This sample group is carefully drawn from the population and then the findings from the sample are used to make inferences about the population (Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen, & Walker, 2014, p. 399; Cohen et al., 2018). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) have stated that the sample is largely dependent on the research design, purpose and questions that the study wishes to address. In my study, the research questions filtered through into the purpose, which sought to understand a sense of collective victimhood as a form of historical consciousness inherent in a specific social identity. Qualitative research following a case study methodology was chosen to best achieve this purpose. Hence, the sampling technique in this study needed to reflect the context-specificity and subjectivity of subsequent findings in order to provide rich, thick descriptions of the case. To this end, purposive sampling was used as the best sampling strategy for my qualitative case study (Cohen et al., 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Case study research requires the researcher to clearly distinguish between participants that form part of the case, and those that are excluded from it (Yin, 2018). This process is argued as selecting the population, and "unless you plan to interview, observe, or analyse all the people, activities, or documents within the case" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 99), purposive sampling is used within the case. Under Section 3.3.1 and as part of an existing project, the case was outlined as first-year pre-service teachers at the UP with a sense of collective victimhood and social identity present in the narration of historical victimisation. The assumption was that, from this case, the individuals would have had experience with either official or unofficial history education. The case comprised 350 first-year education students at the University of Pretoria. Of the 350 participants, I applied purposive sampling to only include the 138 participants that answered the one open-ended question of the survey (Cohen et al., 2018; Tracy, 2020).

Purposive sampling falls under non-probability sampling, which targets a particular group with the acceptance that this group is not representative of the wider population (Cohen et al., 2018). In accepting that the sample group was not representative, I adhered to the principles of qualitative case study research which state that findings

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provide an in-depth understanding and exploration of a chosen case, not statistical evidence for generalising about the wider population (Schwandt & Gates, 2018; Simons, 2014; Yin, 2018). By choosing only the participants who completed the open-ended question contained in the electronic survey, I worked with a smaller sample size which produced knowledge-rich data specifically related to the research purpose, questions, design and methodology of my qualitative study. If I had included the participants who answered the close-ended questions, I would have jeopardised the integrity of my qualitative study. In Section 1.5, the purpose of my study was to gain a deeper understanding of pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness which indicates a specific social identity. This sample selection allowed me to address the first and second research questions which sought to explore the social identity of pre-service teachers in relation to history education and the way in which a sense of collective victimhood manifests in narratives of historical victimisation. This sampling strategy further provided the opportunity to gain a rich description of the historical consciousness of students who had recently left high school.

In spite of the above-mentioned benefits of purposive sampling, this strategy is also criticised over issues of bias (Tracy, 2020; Yin, 2016). In my study, purposive sampling was only applied to those participants who had completed the open-ended question, implying that there was the presence of researcher bias in selecting the sample. Qualitative research is known for its appraisal of subjectivity, knowledge-rich data, and purpose to explore, understand and conceptualise a research phenomenon. This is only achievable through a smaller sample size and specific criteria dictating the characteristics of the sample.

3.3.3. Research method

Case studies are known for their use of multiple data-collection methods. For my study, I only used a single method of data collection, however, this does not take away from the value and integrity of my research as a case study. In the next section, I will detail the chosen data-collection method used in this study.

3.3.3.1. Survey

A case study, as argued in Section 3.3.1 is a qualitative research approach that is used to study a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context through in-depth

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data collection strategies that produce rich and thick descriptions (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Yin, 2018). Although not generally encouraged when doing case study research, this study only used a single method of data collection, as COVID-19 hindered the use of the planned focus-group interviews.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) have framed a survey as a structured questionnaire because the questions are close-ended, responses can be foreseen, and data is statistically produced. In this vein, the method used in this study was an internet survey questionnaire containing both open- and close-ended questions. Forming part of an existing project investigating collective victimhood, an electronic survey with open- and close-ended questions was distributed electronically to all first-year pre-service teachers in 2018 at the University of Pretoria. A survey as a data-collection instrument is defined as a "a written or printed form used in gathering information on some subject or subjects consisting of a list of questions to be submitted to one or more persons" (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015, p. 248). The electronic survey used in this study was designed using survey software which distributed the questionnaire via email. Surveys generally produce statistical and numerical data from close-ended questions that are typically in multiple-choice format (Cohen et al., 2018; Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). Although a traditionally quantitative data collection, my study included an open-ended question within the survey which produced typed text and allowed for "an honest, personal" (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 475) response where participants could speak freely and authentically.

Using an open-ended question contained in the electronic survey proved valuable for various reasons, such as authenticity, convenience and exportability (Ary et al., 2014; Neuman, 2014). Due to the anonymity of internet surveys and the nature of open-ended questions, participants were more likely to be honest and authentic in their responses without fear of judgement or restrictions. The internet-based format of the survey also allowed participants to complete the questions anywhere and in their own time. As a qualitative study, the convenience aspect of the internet survey provided room for context-specific responses stemming from the acknowledgement that knowledge is constructed from the context that participants are in. Qualitative research is known for being time consuming as a result of the transcription of the interviews or capture of hand-written data. In my study, there was a reduction in the amount of time that it would have taken to capture the data as the data from the open-ended question

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was already in electronic format and therefore readily available to be exported/ imported for data analysis (Cohen et al., 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Although valuable, an electronic survey does have its limitations as a data collection method as a result of sampling problems, vague instructions and computer difficulties (Cohen et al., 2018). As discussed under sampling, based on the participants' access to the internet, there might have been sampling skew, because only the responses from those who had internet or computer access could be included in the data analysis. Lack of internet access ties in with computer difficulties, where some computers were not configured or did not have the right software to open the survey. This limitation was addressed in the study by sending out the internet survey after the first-year education students had had the opportunity to set up their University of Pretoria email addresses in a compulsory academic and information literacy module when they had access to the computers at the library. With the absence of an interviewer or researcher during the completion of the survey, if the questions were ambiguous or vague then participants could have produced responses that were unclear or not relevant to the question. I addressed this limitation by providing an interpretation of the data that presented as unclear or irrelevant. Qualitative research accepts that all data is significant, although they might not be relevant to the specific questions asked.

From the pre-existing data set generated from the survey I analysed the single open-ended question in which the participants were asked to give their opinion on what the most iconic period of historical victimisation in South African history was. I focused specifically on victimisation, victimhood, and historical consciousness (relations between past, present and future). The data produced from the responses were analysed using critical qualitative content analysis.

3.3.4. Critical qualitative content analysis as data analysis

Arguably the crux of the whole research process is analysing the data gathered. Qualitative data analysis is known for being time consuming and, to a large extent, difficult. This is due to the nature of qualitative research. Qualitative researchers seek to gather many sources of data to fully understand the research phenomenon. This research study followed a matryoshka case study design which bases its acclaim on the capability of providing the space for researchers to provide thick descriptions of the research problem. Collective victimhood manifests in specific victim beliefs,

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emotions, attitudes and behaviours. To fully understand this phenomenon and how it relates to history education, I needed to explore not only textual content, but also the underlying processes in how the textual data was expressed. To this end, critical qualitative content analysis suited the research design of this study as it combined the methodologies inherent in both qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis (Ary et al., 2014; Cohen et al., 2018; Schreier, 2013).

Qualitative researchers most commonly employ qualitative content analysis when analysing their data. Bryman (2012) has stated that qualitative content analysis is "an approach to documents that emphasizes the role of the investigator in the construction of the meaning of and in texts" with the emphasis lying on the inductive coding technique as well as "recognizing the significance for understanding the meaning of the context" (p. 714) of the data. I used a combination of qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis which gave rise to what is called critical qualitative content analysis. This analytical tool focuses on qualitative content analysis but considers the discursive tools used to construct the written text (Schreier, 2013). This permutation between qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis has similarly been done in other research studies by Feltham-King and Macleod (2016), Killmeier and Chiba (2010), and Williams (2010) with its antecedents tracing back to German scholars Ritsert (1972), Vorderer and Groeben (1987), and Sommer and Vorderer (1987) (as cited in Schreier, 2013). In this sub-section, I will first discuss qualitative content analysis and then discourse analysis. The main focus falls within the sphere of qualitative content analysis, therefore a greater emphasis is placed on its methodological processes.

Qualitative content analysis forms a sub-category of a broader analytical approach called content analysis. Initially, content analysis emerged as a quantitative method "for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952 as cited in Cho & Lee, 2014, p.3). However, Kracauer (1952) countered that content analysis within quantitative research was inadequate in its simplification of text data into smaller quantifiable units of analysis, as well as through its assumption that meaning was manifest and independent of the researcher (as cited in Drisko and Maschi, 2016). An elaboration of the conceptualisation of qualitative content analysis has been derived from the seminal works of Krippendorff (2018); Mayring (2014), Schreier (2013) and Drisko and Maschi (2016), wherein

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qualitative content analysis is a scientific tool that analyses any form of written text, be it narratives, open-ended survey questions, articles, interview transcriptions or books (Cho & Lee, 2014; Krippendorff, 2018). Moreover, discourse analysis concerns any form of text as data, providing a firm argument for its combination with qualitative content analysis as the analytical tool within this study.

Whereas qualitative content analysis is concerned with the meanings behind text, discourse analysis takes a closer examination of how language is used to express these underlying meanings. In other words, "discourse analysis is concerned with the ways in which language constructs and mediates social and psychological realities" (Willig, 2014, p. 341). Therefore, discourse analysis places careful consideration on the participants' choice of words to express themselves, as well as the way that the words are written (Fairclough, 2003; Willig, 2014; Wodak & Krzyzankowski, 2008). This type of qualitative analysis provides the researcher with a sense of the participants' context and their experience of it. In the post-conflict context of this study, and in response to the question surrounding the most iconic period of historical victimisation in South Africa, it was anticipated that the textual responses would narrate inequalities and power relations as they pertained to past victimisation of the in-group. As similarly done by Schreier (as cited in Flick, 2018), the elements of discourse analysis that I employed in the data analysis process sought to gain insights into how the use of language was employed by the participants to represent their own version of victimisation in South African history. Victim emotions, attitudes and behaviours cannot be captured by textual data alone but require a closer analysis in the way in which these manifestations are expressed and formulated in the construction of a narrative, more specifically the narrative responses of the open-ended question within the electronic survey.

As discussed above, as part of an existing project on collective victimhood, an electronic survey was distributed to all first-year pre-service teachers in 2018. The survey questionnaire produced a large amount of data, with the bulk of the data being in numerical format. By using the open-ended question, as well as a qualitative approach, the data set of this study was reduced by including only the written textual data. The sampling method that was used was purposive and did not produce data indicative of the whole population, but rather a "population of relevant texts" (Krippendorff, 2018). In opposition to the oversimplification and theory-driven

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approach that quantitative studies are criticised for, purposive sampling and the use of the open-ended question is used to further provide the context-specific and subjective knowledge creation which qualitative content analysis is praised for. This sample selection allowed me to address the first research question which sought to explore the social identities of pre-service teachers. This sampling strategy further provided the opportunity to gain a rich description of the historical consciousness of students who had recently left high school. In line with qualitative research, through purposive sampling and by focusing solely on the open-ended question, the textual data gathered became removed from the generalisation of the wider population (Krippendorff, 2018; Schreier, 2013).

As developed from the criticism of quantitative approaches to content analysis, qualitative content analysis addresses quantitative content analysis's pitfalls through various means. Quantitative content analysis prides itself on the numeric description of manifest meaning within textual data, whereas its qualitative counterpart takes into account the latent and context-specific meaning of the data set, providing a more holistic description of the text (Cho & Lee, 2014). Gaining traction through its flexibility, qualitative content analysis affords a holistic description of the insights and meaning of text through the consideration of the manifest, as well as latent content within textual data (Drisko & Maschi, 2016; Mayring, 2014). Therefore, qualitative content analysis is not restricted to inductive approaches but is flexible in its use of deductive coding techniques as well (Cho & Lee, 2014; Schreier, 2013). Qualitative researchers may use deductive methods in the initial stages of the analysis process from which the researcher can then progress to inductive, data-driven analysis (Schreier, 2013). Seen as a deductive approach, the first round of coding in this study used concept coding. Concepts were drawn from the literature surrounding collective victimhood (Noor et al., 2012; Noor et al., 2017; Schnabel & Nadler, 2008; Vollhardt, 2009, 2012; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015; Vollhardt & Bilewicz, 2013; Vollhardt & Nair, 2018), as well as the historical-thinking concepts from Seixas (2004).

Even though qualitative content analysis and quantitative content analysis are two separate, and, to a certain extent, contradicting methods of data analysis, both these approaches do, however, share the characteristic of being systematic (Flick, 2014; Schreier, 2013). This roughly translates into approaching the data using systemic procedures where the data is thoroughly scrutinised for its relevance to the research

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question and clearly defined steps are henceforth followed through the use of a coding frame (Drisko & Maschi, 2016; Schreier, 2013).

To recount the methodological steps taken throughout the research process, I based my four procedural phases on the work of Schreier (2014) and Yin (2016). The preliminary phase entailed deciding on research questions, developing a conceptual framework and coding frame, and selecting material for analysis. The pilot phase entailed what one might call the first round of coding, recoding, modifying the coding frame and – you guessed it, coding again! After the pilot phase, the main analysis phase was the final coding phase where the assumption was that the coding frame had been refined and finalised to such an extent that coding the data twice was seen as unnecessary. From this phase, the coding was then prepared for presenting. During this final phase, codes were not only discussed as individual units, but the relations of these units and categories to each other as well.

3.3.4.1. Preliminary phase

The research questions of a study guide the specific decisions of the researcher in order to conduct a trustworthy analysis. At the base of my research study, are the research questions: What is the social identity of pre-service teachers in relation to history education? How does a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness manifest in narratives of historical victimisation? The conceptual framework included in Chapter 2 provided the initial steps in creating a coding frame. A coding frame is seen as the centre of the methodology, a framework from which the analysis takes place. Developing the coding frame necessitated in-depth knowledge of prior research and theories, as well as an extensive data structuring process from the open-ended question data. For the researcher to develop an accurate coding frame, the main categories needed to be identified with relevant sub-categories (Flick, 2014; Mayring, 2014; Schreier, 2013).

As previously discussed, even though qualitative research traditionally uses inductive-data driven approaches to formulate a coding frame, I created a coding frame prior to analysing the data. This distinction marks the difference between open-coding and concept coding. Concept coding allocates different levels of meanings to the data set. These are the macro- or meso-levels, and they "symbolically represent a suggested meaning broader than a single item" (Saldaña, 2015, p. 119). Concept coding is what

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Yin (2016) called “Level 2 category codes”, which group together the more specific and narrow open codes (Level 1). The concept is comprised of related elements which form the sub-categories of the broader main category (Cohen et al., 2018; Saldaña, 2015). In my coding frame, I started with Level 2 category codes. Category names were derived from relevant literature and the conceptual framework in Chapter 2. Category names included key concepts within SIT, such as self-categorisation; continuity of the group; personal pronouns; and categorisation of the group. Literature on history education dictated the naming of categories based on the second-order thinking concepts, for example, cause and consequence, change and continuity, and significance. These concept codes related directly to the purpose of this study for the concepts were included in the understanding of a sense of collective victimhood, history education and social identity.

Concept coding was adopted for its usefulness when dealing with a large group of participants (Yin, 2016), which, in my case, was 320. Even though most qualitative studies employ the use of an inductive approach, this method was deductive. Nonetheless, critical qualitative content analysis may employ both deductive- and inductive-driven approaches to data analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). It is necessary to disclose that making use of both approaches did not diminish the integrity of the qualitative nature of the study (Schreier, 2013; Yin, 2016). By structuring the data through concept coding, it was easier not only to identify emerging patterns or connections, but to reduce the amount of data to a manageable size without losing complexity (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

With the coding frame established, the next step in the preliminary phase was compiling the data to form a database (Yin, 2016). As part of an existing project, the data was already compiled in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. From the spreadsheet, I created a new Excel file which included only the open-ended question’s responses. In total, these responses amounted to 138 out of a total of 320 participants. After singling out the open-ended question relevant to the study, I proceeded to the pilot phase.

3.3.4.2. Pilot phase

As with the second phase in the data analysis, the pilot phase included the first use of the coding frame on part of the material (Schreier, 2014) whilst invariably adjusting the coding frame (Yin, 2016). Early in the pilot phase I was still using my original coding

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frame to analyse handwritten responses from the data set. One such example is seen in Image 3.2.

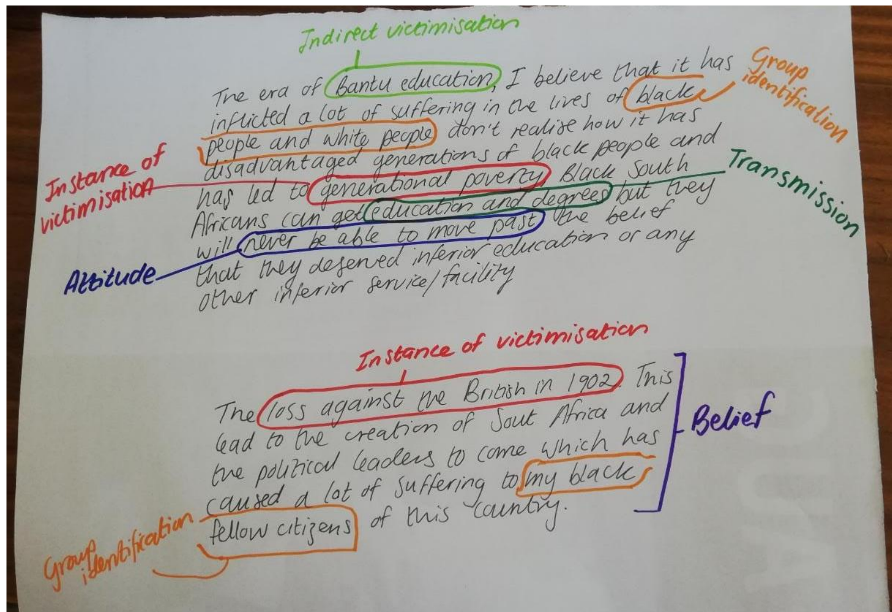

Image 3.2 Responses coded by hand

The method of coding as portrayed in Image 3.2 was time-consuming, but it provided a beneficial overview of the data. After consulting with my supervisor, I acquired a licence for the data analysis software program, AtlasTi. Still using concept coding, I realised that my coding frame was not sufficient to address my research questions. Using relevant literature, I therefore created a new coding frame using AtlasTi to assign the codes in the hope of addressing the research questions. Using Atlas.Ti and the concept codes, I analysed the content of the responses to gain insight and meaning from the narratives. This process allowed me to explore a sense of collective victimhood, social identity and how these related to history education. In the pilot phase, it is common to assign and reassign codes on a trial-and-error basis (Yin, 2016) whilst concurrently adjusting the original coding frame.

After the fourth round of coding and a growing discomfort with each round, I decided to change my coding frame once more. What can only be described as trying to fit a square peg into a round hole, I chose to do a round of open coding on a blank slate – whilst keeping a record of my previously coded responses. My discomfort arose from the concept codes' inability to capture the essence of certain responses, a common criticism of the deductive approach (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2016). The use of

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concept coding was, however, still beneficial in two ways. First, by grouping the data into "concept chunks" or segments, I was able to reduce large amounts of the text. The process of categorisation of irrelevant material and one-word answers is described as segmentation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Schreier, 2014) and it involves "dividing the material into units" so that every unit falls under "one (sub)category of the coding frame" (Schreier, 2014, p. 178). Grouping data under the name of the victimising event, such as colonialism, or grouping the data under a specific second-order thinking concept was particularly helpful, although some of the responses were not relevant to the open-ended question, and, by proxy, not relevant to my research questions.

As an alternative to concept coding, open-coding as an inductive-driven approach (Mayring, 2014) allowed me as the qualitative researcher to be guided by the data instead of trying to force the data to fit into pre-determined concepts (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). To my frustration, the open codes seemed unstructured and disorganised, even if filtered through a data analysis software program. Not satisfied with the open codes, I referred back to literature to refine my conceptual framework for the last time and establish a coding frame which included concepts appropriate and suitable to answer the two research questions. The notion of coding consistency is a key aspect in ensuring the quality of qualitative data analysis (Schreier, 2014). By coding the data a total of six times I was able to ensure the quality and trustworthiness of the assigned codes. Satisfied with the validity of my coding frame, I proceeded into the main analysis phase.

3.3.4.3. Main analysis phase

The final phase of the concept coding examined the manifest and latent content which explored pre-service teachers' social identity and sense of collective victimhood as it related to official and unofficial history. The concept coding provided the means to analyse the manifest as well as latent meaning of the narratives, as dictated by critical qualitative content analysis. Schreier (2014) has stated that it is only in the main analysis phase that the whole data set is coded, based on the assumption that the coding frame has been refined to such an extent that recoding is unnecessary. Although doing this may have saved a lot of time in the pilot phase, by coding the whole data set before the main analysis phase, I was able to refine and finalise my

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coding frame knowing that it was appropriate to the whole data set. The final round of concept coding provided me with the confidence that the coded units were reliable and would accurately address the first research question of what the social identity of pre-service teachers was in relation to history education.

The data units that were coded under the different concepts were reassembled into themes and groupings which related to the first research question (Cohen et al., 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The reassembling of the data units aimed to "ascertain themes that surface[d] as being significant in the narrative of the occurrence" (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015, p. 464). Identified themes found by the researcher either before, during or after data collection are described as "umbrella" terms or constructs (Petty et al., 2012; Welman, Kruger, & Mitchell, 2005). Using discourse analysis within critical qualitative content analysis, I focused on the underlying meaning of the narrative responses within the identified themes with reference to the emotions and attitudes that were communicated using specific discursive processes (Neuendorf, 2017). These included the choice of words, the manner in which these words were presented, and the punctuation used. For example, the use of strong emotive language in capital letters followed by an exclamation mark communicated the emotion anger. Due to the data units leading to the uncovering of themes, the above process followed an inductive approach characteristic of critical qualitative content analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The inductive nature of the approach allowed me to use the detailed descriptions from the discourse analysis to build "abstractions, concepts, hypotheses and theories" (Atieno, 2009). This was based on the assumption that data is context sensitive and cannot be removed from the influences of the physical environment. This further subscribed to the principle of individual meaning-making that encompasses a qualitative approach. As Krippendorff (2018) so eloquently stated, "accepting particular markers as data entails taking them as an unquestionable ground for subsequent conceptualizations" (p. 28). This statement has important epistemological implications in its acknowledgement of the subjective nature and context-specificity of data and meaning making.

Critical qualitative content analysis places more focus on the content analysis than discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is still used as an analytical tool. By focusing on word choice and punctuation through discourse analysis, I addressed the second research question which sought to conceptualise how a sense of collective

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victimhood manifested in narratives of historical victimisation. During the main analysis phase, I made use of critical qualitative content analysis to develop a coding frame, to compile and code the data, and to interpret the data units' meanings, culminating in the final phase of presenting the analysis.

3.3.4.4. Presenting

Under the first three phases, the open-ended question from the survey questionnaire was disassembled, broken down into smaller units and reassembled to make meaning. The two research questions drove this process of critical qualitative content analysis which necessitated the presenting and write-up of said analysis (Cohen et al., 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) have provided five methods of organising and presenting data, one of which groups the data by research question. Organising and presenting the data analysis by research question "draws together all the relevant data for the exact issue of concern" and reminds the researcher and reader of "the driving concerns of the research" (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 468).

3.3.5. Ethical Considerations

It is imperative in any study that the way it is carried out is with integrity and with an ethical stance from the researcher. This is particularly the case as researchers need to achieve a balance in conducting their study between the aspirations and interests of the researcher on the one hand, and the values and rights of the participants on the other (Cohen et al., 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In addition to describing the steps to be taken towards achieving trustworthiness, the ethical considerations in this study had to be disclosed. There were two steps that ensured the ethical consideration within this study, namely institutional clearance and participant involvement.

As a student at the University of Pretoria, it is a requirement when conducting any research under the authority of the university to apply for ethical clearance from the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee. This committee serves as the institutional review board that considers all research applications for any ethical issues such as the infringement of the rights of participants. This is done so that researchers constantly pursue the "highest standards of excellence and ethical behaviour" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; University of Pretoria, 2019). Ethical clearance was obtained by my supervisor, Professor Wassermann, in 2018 to conduct research using an

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electronic survey questionnaire as a data collection instrument (Ref no. UP 17/06/03). To use the data from the existing project mentioned above, I obtained approval to be included as a co-researcher on the 2018 project. What the ethical clearance implied was that the study would not infringe on the code of ethics held by the University of Pretoria nor the rights and values of the participants who were involved.

Ethical consideration in terms of participant involvement included participants signing informed consent letters. The survey questionnaire was electronically sent to them along with an informed consent letter detailing the description of the study as well as assuring them of the confidentiality of their identity and answers. Described as the "bedrock of ethical procedure" (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 52), informed consent allows the participants to make the decision to partake in the research project (Traianou, 2014).

Traianou (2014) discussed three principles that need to be considered when addressing ethics in qualitative research, namely: minimising harm, respecting participant's autonomy and preserving participant privacy. Any research that is conducted should disclose and address if participants will be at risk of injury due to their involvement. This injury could include physical injury, material damage, as well as psychological injury. Participation in research should consider the autonomy of people. Therefore, participants should not feel coerced into taking part in the research project, nor should they be forced into taking part until the end of the data collection phase. In this study, the autonomy of the participants was upheld by assuring them in the consent letters that their involvement was voluntary, did not contribute to the rewarding of any marks (Cohen et al., 2018), and whether they chose to take part or not, there would be no consequences. Furthermore, participants were welcome to terminate their participation in the study at any moment. During research, the privacy of participants is of great importance. This principle deals directly with the confidentiality of the researcher during the data collection phase as well as throughout the research process. Thus, in achieving privacy and confidentiality, researchers should consider the anonymity of their participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Traianou, 2014). Participants were assured of their anonymity when answering the internet survey. Moreover, all the data collected was handled with the utmost discretion, stored in hard copy on CDs and placed in the Department of Humanities Education's safe where it will be stored for 15 years. The processes and steps described ensured that

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the research was conducted in an ethical manner so as to ensure its standing as an academically rigorous research study.

Academic rigour does not only lie in the ethical manner in which the study was carried out, but is also fundamentally determined by the trustworthiness of the research findings (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

3.3.6. Trustworthiness

Quality assurance of a study seeks to develop a level of academic rigour, or trustworthiness in order to uphold the standard of findings (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015; Petty et al., 2012). To assess academic rigour, researchers are required to make certain judgements about the accuracy of their findings with regard to the different applications and appropriateness of the methodological steps followed (Noble & Smith, 2015). Due to the epistemological, ontological and methodological differences of qualitative and quantitative research, it is natural to expect that the same procedures that determine trustworthiness in quantitative studies do not apply to qualitative studies. Within a qualitative study, four steps are undertaken to establish trustworthiness of the findings; these are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Trustworthiness is ensured through crystallisation and peer debriefing, thick descriptions, code-recode strategy and an audit trail (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Shenton, 2004).

As a qualitative interpretivist, a single objective reality does not exist, but rather a subjective reality exists that differs between participants. Therefore, quantitative research's steps in ensuring validity do not apply. Hence, qualitative researchers follow steps that increase credibility and which, in turn, increases "the correspondence between research and the real world" (Wolcott as cited in Merriam & Tisdell 2016, p. 244). Credibility therefore seeks to answer the question as to what extent findings of a study are to be trusted within the given context. In order to ensure the credibility of my study, I made use of crystallisation and peer debriefing (Anney, 2014; Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). Case study research is prized for its triangulation of research methods (Schwandt & Gates, 2018; Yin, 2018). Ellingson (2009, 2014), however, proposed crystallisation as a postmodern form of triangulation. In opposition to a fixed, rigid, three-sided view of the world to prove reality, a three-dimensional prism as an approach to credibility is more useful in ensuring trustworthiness (Ellingson, 2014;

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Richardson & Adams, 2018). Credibility through crystallisation is achieved using a continuum of qualitative approaches, methods and analysis to show that findings are credible and indicative of the study's context. I ensured credibility through crystallisation of analysis by using both inductive and deductive data-driven approaches, as well as combining both content and discourse analysis. In addition to crystallisation, I used peer debriefing as a strategy to achieve credibility. This involved sharing insights, ideas and analyses with my peers or colleagues outside of the context of the study. These debriefing sessions allowed me to refine and modify my arguments and methods, and at the same time eliminate areas of bias or misconceptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This was based on the assumption that I had gained different perspectives of the same phenomenon to "cross check interpretations" (Petty et al., 2012, p. 383).

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research does not seek to generalise findings, but rather argues that its findings are context specific (Leavy, 2014; Petty et al., 2012). Quantitative researchers achieve generalisability in their findings by ensuring controlled variables and probability samples. Human behaviour is complex, unpredictable and unique – not generalisable, but transferable to other settings. Therefore, the extent to which findings can be applied to other participants and other contexts refers to the transferability of findings (Anney, 2014; Cohen et al., 2018). In qualitative studies, the judgement of transferability of a study's findings lies in the hands of the reader. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have stated that providing an index of transferability, as some quantitative researchers have suggested, is not the task of the researcher. The researcher "should provide sufficiently rich data" for readers as well as researchers to judge transferability of findings (Cohen et al., 2018). It is, therefore, the researcher's responsibility to provide thick descriptions in order to give readers a proper understanding of the phenomenon, resulting in their own judgement over the transferability of findings (Cohen et al., 2018; Shenton, 2004). In order to address transferability, I provided rich and extensive details which concerned the different elements that pertained to pre-service teachers, social identity and sense of collective victimhood, and history education in Chapter 2. Purposive sampling further addressed the transferability of findings in this study. In choosing a sample based on specific characteristics (Ary et al., 2014), I ensured that the data that were gathered provided the most authentic information related to the phenomenon under study. The extensive

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description of the case as well as the sample further provided thick descriptions that aided in determining whether the findings were transferable (Anney, 2014). These thick descriptions also included disclosing and describing my own positionality, context and background of the study; the research processes conducted; as well as the findings from the study up to the final production of this report (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). By providing these thick descriptions, it allowed judgment as to whether the study would "fit in with other possible contexts" (Shenton, 2004, p. 70), and therefore increase the trustworthiness of the findings.

Qualitative research is inherently subjective, therefore, to achieve reliability, qualitative researchers refer to dependability as a step towards trustworthiness. Reliability in a quantitative sense deals with the replication and consistency of the results of a study. However, as established, human behaviour is fluid and unpredictable, therefore dependability as a quality measure refers to the stability and consistency of findings over time (Anney, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In order to ensure the accuracy and consistency of the findings, this study used a code-recode strategy (Anney, 2014). This process involved the coding of data twice, on two separate occasions with a gestation period of two weeks between the coding instances. This strategy allowed me to test whether the coding remained the same after a period of time, taking into consideration that observations were tied to specific situations (Anney, 2014; Shenton, 2004).

The collection and analysis of data is a transactional process where the researcher participates and interacts with the context in which the phenomenon is being studied (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Based on this, confirmability is concerned with the extent to which findings can be confirmed and corroborated by other researchers. Therefore, confirmability ensures trustworthiness of data by ensuring that the findings "reflect the focus of the enquiry and not the bias of the researcher" (Petty et al., 2012, p. 381). Crystallisation provided a form of confirmability of findings, however, as an additional step towards confirming whether the findings were authentic and true, I made use of an audit trail (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Shenton, 2004). An audit trail allowed other researchers to track and observe the course of my research step-by-step vis-à-vis the decisions and procedures described. This strategy provided "visible evidence – from process to product – that the researcher did not simply find out what he or she set out to find" (Anney, 2014, p. 279) thus decreasing the bias of the findings.

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By using peer debriefing, thick descriptions, coding consistency and an audit trail, I have ensured that the findings from this research study are trustworthy and uphold an academic standard worthy of contributing to the understanding of pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity.

3.4. Conclusion

The practicality contained in a research design and methodology chapter provides the first concrete steps towards achieving the purpose of a research report and addressing the research questions identified. As a qualitative researcher, I used interpretivism as an overarching guideline, making decisions in line with how I see the world and what I see as reality. The understanding of social identity and a sense of collective victimhood as fluid constructs, as well as individual perceptions regarding what form of history is a true representation of the past, called for a research approach and methodology that would do the research questions justice. With the use of critical qualitative content analysis and the narrative responses from the open-ended question in an internet survey, I will present the analytical procedures and findings in the next chapter in an ethical and trustworthy manner so as to provide the conceptualisation of pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness as indicative of a specific social identity.

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CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

The analysis of data forms the focal point of any research study, and regardless of what the data are, the analysis thereof shapes the outcomes of the study. This study had the dual purpose of understanding and conceptualising both pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness, and how a sense of collective victimhood of pre-service teachers was indicative of a specific social identity as created through the interplay of official and unofficial history. Guided by the above purpose, I focused on the narratives provided by pre-service teachers in response to an open-ended survey question distributed electronically in 2018. Respondents were asked to state the most iconic period of historical victimisation in South African history. The narrative responses were then analysed using two research questions: What is the social identity of pre-service teachers in relation to history education; and how does a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness manifest in narratives of historical victimisation?

To this end, the data was first analysed for the presence of second-order historical thinking concepts through the narration of agency and morality. As explained in the conceptual framework in Chapter 2, these narratives form part of identity content and historical consciousness, which is facilitated through either official and/or unofficial history. The responses to the survey question not only focused on a historical victimising event or events but extended their narratives to include aspects of their present realities as they related to the victimising event chosen. Secondly, identity strength was considered through the respondents' use of personal pronouns and referral to a collective when narrating historical victimisation. Finally, in this chapter, the findings on historical consciousness and social identity will be discussed with the purpose of understanding pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness which is indicative of a specific social identity.

4.2. I Belong, Therefore I Am

As discussed in the conceptual framework of this study, an individual's social identity is formed through two processes, namely cognitive and motivational. The cognitive process involves categorising different people into groups and then assigning these

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groups characteristics and specific meanings. At the base of this process lies the classification of in-groups and out-groups. The in-group is identified as the group which the respondent identifies with and, in the case of collective victimhood, the group which is perceived as the victim group. The out-group is recognised in juxtaposition to the in-group and is perceived as the perpetrator group.

In this sub-section, I will speak interchangeably about the classification of the in-group and out-group, as well as (if present in the narrative) of the identification processes. Respondents presented the categorisation of the in-group and out-group in three ways, namely the in-group as a unified entity, the Black in-group, and a White in-group. To this end, some respondents framed the in-group as unified based on the co-victimisation of members under the apartheid regime and National Party government.

4.2.1. Unified in-group

A small number of the respondents categorised the apartheid government as the out-group which had victimised all South African citizens. Respondent 40 (R40), for example, included all "White, Black, Indian, Coloured and Chinese people" in the in-group in opposition to the apartheid government. R40 further included the personal pronoun "our" which indicates the strength of belonging to an inclusive unified in-group. This sentiment of a unified in-group was echoed by Respondent 10 (R10), who stated that what happened during the apartheid regime was damaging to all ethnic groups in South Africa:

> R10: The Apartheid Regime was the worst time for all South African ethnic groups …

R10's narrative that all South Africans were targeted and victimised was shared by Respondent 38 (R38) in the statement that "… during the Anglo-Boor war [South African War], … ALL South Africans were targeted by the enemy and mistreated". However, the focus on what the victimising event was differed: for R10 and R40 the victimising event was apartheid while for R38 it was the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902. A closer analysis of the discursive practices present in R38's response showed that the emphasis was placed on the co-victimisation of all South Africans and appeared to allude to a deeper meaning in the attitude and beliefs surrounding the victim group. By emphasising co-victimisation of the victim group, R38 implied that only one exclusive group of people was recognised as victims during the South African

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War. By drawing on colonialism, Respondent 4 (R4) was included in this section for framing the in-group and out-group based on the effects of colonialism.

> R4: Colonisation plays a huge role, because it shows how we were decolonised and yield the situation we are in right now as south africans.

> R5: The apartheid era has left far more negative impacts regarding different groups in the society at large

For R4, the classification of the in-group suggested that all citizens of South Africa were unified. This was based on the inclusion of “as south africans” (R4). Initially, by using the personal pronoun “we”, the classification of the in-group seemed exclusive, but by including the collective term ‘south africans’, the respondent might have been suggesting that the in-group was unified based on an inclusive citizenship. The impact that a historical victimising event has on contemporary society is further seen in Respondent 5’s narrative (R5). For R5, the in-group was unified through the effects that the apartheid era had in the present. It was implied that R5 lacked a sense of historical time, as a contemporary example was drawn on to answer the question of the most iconic period of victimisation. The notion of a contemporary example as a response to a historical period of victimisation was furthered by Respondent 30 (R30) and Respondent 33 (R33), who categorised the current ANC-led government in South Africa as the out-group and the perpetrator of corruption against a unified in-group.

> R30: Right now, the government is corrupt and it is affecting everybody. South African citizens are being victimized everyday regardless of their ethnic group.

> R33: What is happening now with our government.

Based on the above responses, the in-group is classified as the citizens of the country. R33 showed a belonging to a unified in-group with the use of a personal pronoun “our”, while R30 stated that government corruption affected all ethnic groups in South Africa. Within the identification processes of R30 and R33, it becomes evident that a sense of historical time is missing even though the question asked for a period of historical victimisation and the respondents drew on contemporary examples.

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For this sub-section, the historical subject was characterised by the victimisation of an inclusive victim group. This inclusive victim group was characterised by the co-victimisation under the apartheid regime, National Party government or the current political dispensation of South Africa. An underlying theme of belonging and citizenship can be detected in the responses. In the next sub-section, the narratives conceptualise the historical subject in terms of Black people as the exclusive in-group.

4.2.2. Black in-group

Using a period of historical victimisation, respondents categorised an exclusive in-group around the Black racial category. When asked to give the most iconic period of victimisation in South African history, respondents centred their answers on the victimisation of Black people. This means that some respondents conceptualised Black people as the historical subject and, thus, as the in-group. Respondent 76 (R76) and Respondent 79 (R79) both conceptualised Black people as the victim group.

> R76: the part where my people were denied the right to education

> R79: Apartheid era, policemen and Boers shootings at Black people…
> Having to still see the scars my family members have…

Even though R76 did not provide specifics surrounding the characterisation of the in-group, the inclusion of the victimisation implies that Black people formed part of the in-group. The use of the personal pronoun ‘my’ establishes a collective continuity between the respondent and the historical subject, as well as indicating a strong identification with the victim group. For R79, a collective continuity was established, not by referring to a historical subject as “my people”, but rather through the personal proximity to members of the in-group who suffered violence. Unlike R76, who did not categorise the out-group, R79 explicitly stated that policemen and Boers were the perpetrators of victimisation against the respondent’s family members. In contrast to R76’s ambiguous characterisation of the in-group, Respondent 74 (R74) explicitly stated who the victims were.

> R74: when lot of black people were killed when they were fighting for
> their rights as human beings.

For R74, Black people were conceptualised as the historical subject. Similar to R24 in the previous sub-section, the perpetrator group was not disclosed in relation to the in-

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group. R74 created an understanding that only Black people were victimised, excluding other groups from claims of victimisation. This exclusive claim to victim status is mirrored in the narrative responses of Respondents' 64 (R64), 66 (R66) and 78 (R78).

> R64: the torturing of black people by whites…
>
> R66: Black people were treated as slaves
>
> R78: …APARTHEID, WHEN BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS WERE TREATED LIKE ANIMALS BY THE WHITE PEOPLE…
>
> R135: The introduction of Afrikaans in our schools where black leaners where forced to learn in a language of the oppressors.

Although R66 did not label the perpetrator group, in the above responses Black people as the historical subject were conceptualised as the sole victims, and, in the case of R64, R135 and R78's narratives, White people were identified as the perpetrators. The use of a personal pronoun in R135's narrative indicates an identification process where collective continuity is established between the schools in the past and the schools in the present, where the historical subject is Black learners. Worthy of mention are the descriptors used (or lack thereof) by the respondents. R64 denied the humanity of the perpetrator group by referring to the in-group as people but only labelling the out-group as "Whites". It is important to mention that R78 referred to the in-group as South Africans but the out-group as only people without assigning citizenship. R78 presented an important belief and attitude surrounding citizenship and belonging of the in-group and the out-group. The notion of citizenship as a describing factor was similarly used by Respondent 100 (R100).

> R100: The loss against the British in 1902. This lead to the creation of [South] Africa and the political leaders to come which has caused a lot of suffering to my black fellow citizens of this country.

It is worth noting that R100 classified Black people as historical subjects who had been victimised, and perhaps were still being victimised. In contrast to some of the respondents in this sub-section, R100 did not juxtapose Black victimisation against White perpetrators, but rather to a more ambiguous statement of "political leaders". This implies that R100 regarded the political leaders and ultimately the political system

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as the cause of "suffering to my black fellow citizens" (R100). Looking back to the beginning of the narrative, R100 seemed to imply that blame should have fallen on the victory of the British in the South African War. From R100's point of view, the perpetrator group was the British, due to what the loss against the British meant for the history of South Africa. It is worth stating that R100 did not frame themselves into the in-group, but rather created the impression that R100 was exempt from the victimisation. However, the use of "fellow" placed R100 in close proximity to the in-group, perhaps through racial membership and not necessarily through the respondent's own victimisation based on group membership.

R100 placed emphasis on the victimisation of the current in-group, not so much the victimisation in the past. In a similar vein, Respondent 103 (R103) and Respondent 113 (R113) also categorised the in-group by mentioning present victimisation in their narratives and how this was related to past victimisation.

> R103: Eurocentric ideologies have harmed Africanism in South Africa, Europeans have exploited the SA community a great deal. The deeds of colonialism still have an impact to today, the African child is still suffering even at the hands of "African leadership".

> R113: The era of Bantu education, I believe that it has inflicted a lot of suffering in the lives of black people and white people don't realise how it has disadvantaged generations of black people and has led to generational poverty …

Both R103 and R113 mentioned a victimising event – R103 mentioned colonialism and R113 mentioned Bantu Education. However, the categorisation of the in-group and out-group was based on the current state of victimisation of the in-group. R103 seemed to frame Africanism and African children as the victims of a colonial legacy due to "Eurocentric ideologies" (R103). In R103's narrative, Europeans were seen as the perpetrators, However, it is worth mentioning that R103 implied that "the African child" was not only suffering from the legacy of colonialism but that this suffering was brought on by their own in-group too. SIT states that groups tend to feel a heightened threat in relation to their identity when the boundaries that make the group distinct are being threatened. For R103, the group's identity was based on their "Africanism" (R103). However, this Africanism was under threat from Eurocentric ideologies left by

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colonialism. There appeared to be the presence of mistrust felt by R103 towards the members of the in-group. This was indicated by the inclusion of inverted commas when mentioning African leadership. In contrast to R103, less emphasis was placed on a historical victimising event in R113's narrative. Even though R113 mentioned Bantu Education as the most important period of historical victimisation, the categorisation of the in-group and out-group was based on the legacy of Bantu Education in the present time. The historical subject was not limited only to the Black in-group during the era of Bantu Education, but also to the generations of Black people since then. R113's narrative implies that the in-group and out-group remained constant throughout time through the intergenerational transmission of victimisation which created a collective continuity between past and present members of the in-group. This implies that White people remain the perpetrator out-group even in the current post-apartheid era. Not focusing on the historical victimisation of the in-group, Respondent 32 (R32) conceptualised Black victimisation in present times.

> R32: Currently because I know most people would say apartheid but now we are facing a different kind of oppression which is our minds, the manner in which we think and see things around our lives endangers us and offers greater suffering than that of the past. … different struggle where black people where fighting white people to be at the same level now we are fighting against each other and those cultural or traditional ideas that once held together a group of people is homogenizing and the Western culture is dominating.

According to R32's response, the in-group was characterised by the similarity in traditions and cultures which remained relatively constant between the past and the present. In the narrative, R32 referred to the cohesiveness of the in-group in both the past and the present. Historically, the perpetrators were White people who unified the in-group but this has changed. Presently, the perpetrator is not seen as White people but as "the Western culture" (R32). Even though the West is historically associated with the White race, for R32 there appears to be a conceptual difference between Western culture and White people during apartheid. There appears to be a contrast in the narrative where R32 suggested that the in-group was unified culturally and traditionally, implying an already homogenous group. However, it is only in the present victimisation that R32 stated that the in-group was homogenising through the

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domination of the Western culture. However, semantics aside, according to SIT, R32 was experiencing a threat towards the distinctiveness of the in-group where the perception was that Western culture threatened the in-group's unique and distinguishable characteristics (Ashmore, Jussim & Wilder, 2001).

The responses under this sub-section framed Black people as the in-group and, to a large extent, White people as the out-group. This classification was done by highlighting the exclusive victimisation of the Black in-group as identification processes towards the collective. The next section gives voice to the out-group described under this sub-section by exploring the narratives that categorised and classified White people as the in-group.

4.2.3. White in-group

Some respondents classified and categorised the in-group based on whiteness. For Respondent 28 (R28), "white woman and children of the boere" were the victims and as the history of the South African War dictates, the perpetrator group in opposition to the Afrikaners were the British.

> R28: Concentration camps for the white woman and children of the boere and also terrorist attacks during apartheid.

The second part of R28's response was most illuminating regarding who the victims and perpetrators were during apartheid. This analysis comes from the saying: "One man's terrorist, another man's freedom fighter", which emphasises perception. By perceiving the struggle during apartheid as terrorism, it can be suggested that R28 was suggesting that the in-group during apartheid was White people and the out-group was the people committing these "terrorist attacks".

Similarly, drawing on specific events to categorise the in-group and out-group, R92 transitioned from initially using history to categorise in-groups and out-groups and ended by drawing on the present to categorise the in-group and out-group.

> R92: It depends on which culture you would ask … The first historical episode is the war between the Zulu's and the San and Coy [Khoi]. The war between England and the Boere. The war between the Boere and the Zulu's.

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R92 seemed to base their answer about the most iconic episode of historical victimisation on the cultural group to which an individual belonged, tying into the work on prototypes within SIT. R92 thus implied that all cultural groups were different and perceived different events as significant based on cultural differences. This notion ties in with the theory of prototypes within SIT where cultural prototypes have specific significant events. According to R92, in-groups and out-groups were categorised around cultural attributes which influenced what historical victimising episode was significant. Within the response that R92 provided, there was a contradiction based on in-group and out-group classification. Based on the above analysis regarding culture, R92 contradicted themselves by self-categorising into a racial group.

> R92: I was born after Apartheid and I made no choice, but I have difficulty getting into some [corporate] companies because I am white, I am also not getting promoted because I am white. I don't like it if government officials are racist towards my group …

From the above excerpt, R92 implied that their group was characterised by race, contradicting their initial statement of cultural group classification. By mentioning “my group”, R92 felt a strong sense of belonging to the White in-group because of self-categorising into the White group. The inclusion of the personal pronoun “my” when speaking about group membership was echoed by Respondent 16 (R16), suggesting a strong belonging to the in-group. Respondent 72 (R72), much like R92 and R16, highlighted a feeling of present victimisation of White people. The classification of an in-group for R72 and R16 was more elusive than for R92. However, it can be suggested that the in-group in R16 and R72’s narratives was associated with the group that perpetrated apartheid.

> R16: I do feel an injustice PRESENTLY towards my group as I am not afforded the same opportunities because of past discrimination. This is a feeble proclamation as the rights of the previously discriminated are furthered in the Constitution … my group will become the disadvantaged…

> R72: A specific ethnic group is being openly threatened, not only by citizens, but government officials such as politicians … The saddest

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> part of this is that 90% of the ethnic group being attacked had no part in apartheid, but yet they are still blamed for this.

From the above excerpt, the in-group classified by R72 was based on ethnicity. One can even go as far as to deduce that the ethnicity of the in-group might have been White, based on the categorisation of the government as the out-group by mentioning that this ethnic group was blamed for apartheid. This deduction can also be applied to R16, based on the statement that the in-group's rights were not being upheld in the constitution because of past discrimination. Therefore, in R92, R16 and R72's responses, the in-group was based on the racial category of White while the out-group's members included citizens (in R72's case) and government officials/politicians. Respondent 17 (R17) did not base their answer on a historical period of victimisation, but categorised the in-group based solely on present victimisation.

> R17: BEE taking white people out of their jobs and putting in untrained and in-trainable 'people' in their positions …

According to R17, the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy was the most iconic period of victimisation, as it victimised White people by discriminating against them and placing "untrained and in-trainable 'people'" into job positions. The use of inverted commas around the word "people" suggests the scepticism around whether the out-group could be classified as people at all. Furthermore, up to this point in R17's response, there was not a classification regarding the membership of the out-group, except that the members of the out-group being described as "untrainable and in-trainable" were regarded as less than human. It is only in the next quote that the categorisation of the out-group becomes clearer.

> R17: …the false victimization in this country has lead to the country plundering into the darkness that the white people took it out of in the first place! Non white people are so easy to feel sorry for themselves and their tears of the past generations that have suffered is also pathetic. The current generation is not looking what is in front of them. they do not see that they, the non whites, are defiling this country. The people who are being victimized are the white people who started the development of this country. The victims in this country are people like

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> the white farmers who are being murdered by the dozen by useless non whites for no reason…

From the above excerpt, it can be seen that R17 categorised everyone who was not White into the out-group. This drew a clear boundary between "us" and "them", where "us" became the White people and "them" became everyone who was not White. It is interesting to draw on the insistence that the real victims were the in-group and not the "non-whites" as R17 labelled the notion of the out-group being victims as "false victimization".

R17 further stated that the perpetrators of White people's victimisation was "the government with their silly little subsidies". Towards the end of R17's response, it can be suggested that, for R17, racial segregation should never have been stopped.

> R17: I could go on for ever, but racial segregation is a good thing and should never have been stopped in the first place. Now instead we have this fake 'rainbow nation'.

In contrast to the respondents who fall under Section 4.2.1, R17 was critical of a unified, non-racial South Africa, going as far as calling the concept of the "rainbow nation" fake. The denial of a unified South African identity was in stark contrast to the first sub-section of a unified in-group. The above sub-sections provided, to a large extent, clear categorisation and classifications of the in-groups and out-groups. In achieving full transparency of analysis, it is necessary to discuss the respondents' narratives which were non-committal and difficult to establish the in-group and out-group.

4.2.4. Non-committal

Unlike the respondents in the above sections fitting into different in- and out-groups, Respondent 11 (R11) and Respondent 23 (R23) appeared to be non-committal in their categorisation and characterisation of the in-group. For R11, the characterisation of the in-group was not done by referring to any in-group, including people who are were not White.

> R11: … when the non-white people had to carry ID documents where ever they had to go, but the white people didn't have to.

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Placing R11 under the section that discussed the Black in-group would have been presumptuous. For R11, the in-group was classified using the term “non-White”, and not exclusively as Black or Coloured. Non-White as a classification is indicative of the way that the apartheid regime divided the different racial groups in South Africa. This ultimately meant that all the people who were not seen as White were discriminated against and seen as non-White. For example, entrances, bus stops and beaches were labelled either White or non-White, and this label dictated which population group could make use of the amenities. By characterising the in-group based on the fact that they were not White establishes White as the norm and dominant racial category. The term in itself is meaningful based on its exclusionary nature and implications on group boundaries. Based on this narrative, all the ethnic groups that were not classified as White have a claim to victim status.

R11 categorised the in-group through what it was not. Similarly, R23’s categorisation was done by referring to the group discriminated against. The conceptualisation of the historical subject as the in-group can be deduced to include the people who were denied social, political and economic rights.

> R23: The most iconic episode is when us south Africans got our liberation, became independent and removed from the [minority] group having social and political including [economic] rights as citizens.

Using the description of what was gained by the in-group after “liberation”, it can be concluded that the group that R23 was referring to is the group which was discriminated against. Although not mentioned, by distinguishing between those who had rights and those who did not, R23 indirectly characterised the perpetrator group. From the narrative, it is noted that R23 identified with the group that was liberated by the inclusion of the personal pronouns “us” and “our”. The use of these pronouns establishes a collective continuity between the past and present of the in-group. By establishing a collective continuity with the historical in-group, R23 presented a strong identification with the collective.

The identification processes and categorisation of in-group and out-groups under this section discussed the identity strength found within SIT. Classification of the in-group and out-group was achieved through the narratives of victim and perpetrator. SIT

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dictates that identity content further dictates the characteristic of a social identity. In the next section I will discuss the identity content of responses through narratives of agency and morality.

4.3. Narratives of Agency and Morality

In this section, the concepts of historical agency and morality were foregrounded as second-order historical-thinking tools when analysing narratives of historical victimisation. With this said, the other second-order thinking tools were also used but to a much lesser extent. Historical agency and morality are the most appropriate conceptual tools for analysing the narratives because of the very nature of victimisation. Individuals experience a loss of agency when they are victimised. This will be dealt with by classifying the type of agent (individual, collective or institutional) as well as examining the characteristics of these agents in relation to historical-thinking concepts such as cause and consequence, and change and continuity (Arias-Ferrer & Egea-Vivancos, 2019). Morality refers to the judgment of actions as essentially "good" or "bad". When discussing historical agency and the actions and decisions of historical subjects, individuals employ moral reasoning to judge these actions. When engaging in moral reasoning, individuals are required to historicise events of the past to place them in context as well as to acknowledge multiple perspectives.

Table 4.1 shows the number of times a specific event in South African history was mentioned by name, or inferred, to give an indication as to what was historically significant to the respondents. Even though this data is presented in the form of a quantitative tally, it does not take away from the in-depth and rich descriptions which this qualitative research aimed to achieve.

Table 4.1 Events of historical victimisation

Historical victimising event	Frequency
Apartheid	73
Bantu Education / Soweto Uprising	28
Colonialism or related events	6
South African War	6
Sharpeville massacre or related events	3

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In some instances, respondents referred to an event without mentioning it by name; these instances are included due to their inference to the main victimising event. For example, R11 stated that the pass system during apartheid was the most iconic period of victimisation.

> R11: …non-white people had to carry ID documents where ever they had to go, but the white people didn't have to. If a non-white didn't carry it, they could be thrown in jail.

Therefore, this response falls under the broader theme of apartheid.

Individual agency is used to refer to an individual historical subject with the power to make decisions and exact change in society. Historical figures are characterised by individual agency, transforming them into heroes and role models. In the data, two different conceptions of historical heroes were presented, one as a hero and the other as martyrs. Respondent 21 (R21) and Respondent 35 (R35) both presented Nelson Mandela as such an individual agent in their narratives and referred to him as historically significant.

> R21: When Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990 after he served a 27 year sentence on Robben Island. That was a very iconic moment which I will never forget about. I always watch Nelson Mandela movies and hear stories about what Nelson Mandela did for our country.

> R35: 1990 when nelson mandela came out from jail and Freedom gain in 1994

In R21 and R35's quotes, Mandela was characterised as a passive subject by their narration of his imprisonment on Robben Island. However, there was a causal link made by both narratives that implied that Mandela's release influenced the freedom struggle to make his contribution to South African history iconic. Therefore, based on the narratives, Mandela was regarded as an individual agent who contributed to the end of apartheid. R21's narrative is quite revealing in its relevance to official and unofficial history. In R21, Mandela's contribution to South Africa is not credited to the official history curriculum, but rather to unofficial history. Emphasis is rather placed on unofficial history in the form of films and stories which disseminate the importance of

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Mandela to the respondent. Stories as communicators of history were echoed in Respondent 75's (R75) narrative where the individual agents were identified as "Bantu Steve Biko[8] and Sandra Laing". In the CAPS curriculum for Grade 12, Steve Biko has a study unit dedicated to his role as the founder and leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (Department of Basic Education, 2011a). However, Sandra Laing's presence in the official curriculum remains invisible. Sandra Laing was born in 1955 to two White parents. At this point in South African history, interracial relations of any kind were against the law. Under the Population Registration Act, Laing was classified as Coloured after she was subjected to the pencil test[9]. Laing's race was changed from White to Coloured and remained so, even after a successful paternity test was administered. For R75, there was significance in the story of Laing as an agent in history, even though she may have been regarded as an ordinary person in comparison to the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement.

In contrast to the manner in which Biko was mentioned by R75, the narrative surrounding him and other key figures shifted. Chris Hani[10], Hector Peterson[11], King Mampuru[12] and Solomon Mahlangu[13], alongside Biko, were mentioned with a focus placed on their deaths.

> R42: … execution of African Leaders like King Mampuru, Solomon Mahlangu …
>
> R58: The death of Steve Biko
>
> R73: i recognize the death of Hector Peterson…
>
> R114: … the killing of the Communist leader Chris Hani.

---

[8] Steve Biko was the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement who died in police custody as a result of police brutality (Macqueen, 2018).
[9] The pencil test was based on scientific racism which stated that people of colour have frizzy hair, thus in determining if a person was of colour they would insert a pencil into the person's hair and if it stayed in the hair then that person was classified as non-white (Uren, n.d.)
[10] Chris Hani was the leader of the Communist party as well as the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe and was assassinated in 1993 (O'Malley, 1993).
[11] Hector Peterson was a learner who was shot and killed during the Soweto Uprising in 1976 (Brown, 2016).
[12] King Mampuru II was the king of the Bapedi Marota and was executed for murdering his half-brother (Department of Correctional Services, 2019).
[13] Solomon Mahlangu was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Mahlangu was found guilty of murder and hanged in 1979 (South African History Online, 2020).

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The above responses found historical significance in the death of key African figures. Theoretically speaking, these figures were classified as passive subjects. However, the implied significance behind their deaths alludes to the importance of their actions when they were alive. The significance of focusing on the execution or killing of these historical subjects reveals the symbolism behind them. Even though these individuals were presented in separate narratives, their deaths have one thing in common: they died for the struggle against oppression. The death of Biko, Hani, Peterson, Mampuru and Mahlangu transformed these agents into symbols of African nationalism, making them heroes and martyrs for the struggle against oppression. There is no question that Chris Hani, Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela and Hector Peterson appear in the official curriculum. However, for some, Solomon Mahlangu only features in public history as representing the road that leads from the east to the west of Pretoria, not to mention who King Mampuru was. This implies that the historical knowledge behind Mampuru, Laing and, to a large extent, Mahlangu is attributed to the socialisation by means of unofficial history.

Changing focus from “great historical figures”, Respondents 28, 38 and 96 (R28, R38 and R96), found significance in the South African War, describing it as the most iconic period of victimisation.

> R28: Concentration camps for the white woman and children of the boere…
>
> R38: during the Anglo-Boor war [South African War] , where ALL South Africans were targeted by the enemy and mistreated.
>
> R96: …Anglo-boer war and the concentration camps…

All three responses above had in common the fact that they found the South African War historically significant. Seen through an interpretivist lens, R28 and R38 had two differing perspectives on who suffered during the South African War: R28 focused on the victimisation of the women and children of the Afrikaners while R38 stated that not only the Afrikaners suffered, but “ALL South Africans”. The simplified explanation of the South African War by R38 presents the past in a teleological manner, that is, stating that the historical subjects were South Africans before the modern nation state of South Africa was established in 1910.

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In the narratives of R28 and R38, the type of agency present is collective agency, as the historical subject is referred to as a whole and not as an individual person. However, the responses did not characterise the historical subject as an active agent, but rather as a passive subject. What this implies, is that "white women and children of the boere" (R28) and "ALL South Africans" (R38) suffered from the actions of the British (Britain was implied as the active agent, but not specified). Worthy of mention is the contrast between the differing groups' rights to claim victim status. For R28, only the White women and children of the Afrikaners were entitled to victim status. Therefore, the victim belief present in R28 and R38's narratives is victim consciousness, where R28 presents an exclusive victim consciousness and R38 presents an inclusive victim consciousness. By emphasising that all South Africans were victimised during the South African War, R38 presented an assertiveness and, to an extent, frustration at the implied exclusive victim-status that Afrikaners from the war against the British.

Similarly, R100 drew on the implied South African War in 1902 but found its significance on the effect that it had on society afterwards.

> R100: The loss against the British in 1902. This lead to the creation of [South] Africa and the political leaders to come which has caused a lot of suffering to my black fellow citizens of this country.

Even though R100 did not provide a specific date, the ordering of events in the narration implies a knowledge of chronology. The narrative provided by R100 stated that the most iconic period of victimisation was when the British won the South African War in 1902. The historical significance behind this loss meant that a new political entity South Africa was created post-war, which handed power to White people – specifically Afrikaners. The type of historical agency presented in the above narrative is that of an institutional agent which frames the "political leaders" who emerged from the Union of South Africa[14] as the active agents and the "black fellow citizens" as the passive subjects. The historical knowledge presented by R100 is indicative of official history as the narrative included an analysis of the consequences that the Afrikaner

[14] The Union of South Africa in 1910 signified the unification of the British colonies of Natal, Transvaal, the Cape Colony and Orange River Colony. This Act signified partial independence from Britain and laid the foundation for racial discrimination and inequality (Brittanica, 2020)

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loss had on South African history, as well as a broad understanding of when the Union of South Africa took place. The Union of South Africa, as inferred to by R100, is present in the official curriculum prescribed for Grade 10s. However, the allocation of importance to this topic is minimal as the prescribed scope only suggested doing a brief overview (Department of Basic Education, 2011a). What this brief scope entailed is a mystery, but it can be assumed that R100 presented a narrative that was evident of a deeper understanding of cause and consequence which official history may have facilitated.

Unlike many respondents that narrated Black victimisation, R100 did not attribute the cause of the suffering of Black people to apartheid and White people, but rather assigned the perpetrator role to the British during the South African War. The implication present in the response was that if the British had lost then there would have been a different trajectory in the historical timeline of South Africa, and the position of Black people could have been different. It is worthy of mention that R100's knowledge of the past is not categorised into specific events, but rather to an overall period of victimisation. This implies that the structural knowledge of whether the period was apartheid or Bantu Education is not of importance because the victimisation was constant from 1902. However, the diction used in the narrative suggests that the suffering is still present. This is implied by stating "has caused" instead of only "caused". Therefore, R100 narrates a continuity between the past and the present without acknowledging the historical changes that have taken place between the present and 1902.

When looking at the official History curriculum in the form of CAPS, the Anglo-Boer War is referred to as the South African War, and is dealt with in Grade 10 (Department of Basic Education, 2011a). The reasoning behind the different conceptualisations of the official name is due to the fact that not only were the Afrikaners (Boere) part of the war against the British, but other ethnic groups were as well. Hence, the presence of inclusive victim consciousness. Therefore, it may seem that by only focusing on the victimisation of Afrikaner women and children (R28), the exclusive victim consciousness within the narrative may be indicative of the presence of unofficial history. In the book by Warwick (1983), the presence of Black concentration camps is documented and discussed alongside the narration of White concentration camps, further supporting the claim of unofficial history within R28's narrative. However, the

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absence of any other victim group apart from the Afrikaners during the South African War is justified to a large extent by the overwhelming number of photographs depicting Afrikaner women and children in concentration camps, which came up when doing a Google image search. The use of the imagery of women and children is an important factor which indicates the moral dimension of the narrative. By focusing on the victimisation of women and children, R28 questioned the morality of the perpetrator by drawing on the innocence of the victims, which is attached to the mental image of women and children.

Moving on from the South African War, for others, the victimisation within the scope of education was more historically significant. The emphasis on the victimisation surrounding schools and education was a recurring theme in the responses, with education being mentioned seven times. This victimisation surrounding education during apartheid was framed around Bantu Education. Within the CAPS document, Bantu Education is not mentioned specifically, however, it may be included in the discussion of main apartheid laws in Grade 9 Senior Phase History (Department of Basic Education, 2011b). Respondent 50 (R50) and Respondent 135 (R135) deemed the introduction of Afrikaans in township schools as a language of teaching and learning to be of importance when considering the most iconic period of victimisation.

> R50: the period where township schools were said that they will be conducted in Afrikaans
>
> R135: The introduction of Afrikaans in our schools where black leaners where forced to learn in a language of the oppressors.

The similarity between the narratives of R50 and R135 is seen in the passive conceptualisation of the historical subject where "township schools" (R50) and schools for Black learners (R135) were victimised. It was implied by R50 that an agent in a position of authority made the decision to implement Afrikaans as a language of instruction in township schools. This is aligned to official history as the implementation of Afrikaans fell within the institutional type of agency where the apartheid government was responsible for enforcing Afrikaans in township schools (Dubow, 2014). However, R135's use of words within the narrative framed the agents of victimisation in a different manner but ultimately referred to the same perpetrator as R50. This may be deduced to the use of the emotive term "oppressors" (R135) which changes the tone

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of response to take on a level of animosity. The difference in emotion that was displayed can be attributed to the subjective construal of the event from two different perspectives. Examining CAPS as the benchmark for official history, the implementation of Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning only occurred in 1976, falling within the prescribed curriculum for Grade 12s (Department of Basic Education, 2011a; Dubow, 2014). However, in both the Senior Phase and Further Education and Training (FET) Phase of CAPS, the topic of Bantu Education and the Soweto Uprising seems highly ambiguous as it is not clearly stipulated as a topic of study in Grade 9 or Grade 12 (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, 2011b). This highlights the semi-autonomous role of the teacher as the communicator of the official curriculum in schools; with the ambiguity of what apartheid laws should be taught, there may be space for varying degrees of content coverage. The conceptualisation of Afrikaans as the “language of the oppressors” does not feature within the official History curriculum. However, there is a possibility that through source analysis, R135 may have been exposed to some of the posters that the youth were carrying during the Soweto Uprising, such as “Away with Oppressive Afrikaans” (Dubow, 2014) and “AFRIKAANS IS A SIGN OF OPRESSION, DISCRIMINATION. TO HELL WITH BOERE” (Gorodnov & Skvirsky, 1988).

Image 4.1 A sign on the entrance of Orlando West school, 16 June 1976

Additionally, taking into consideration that knowledge is context-specific, a deeper investigation into the context of Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning needs to be done to further understand the reality of R135. This deeper understanding presents itself in the student movement #AfrikaansMustFall of 2015 which called for the exclusion of Afrikaans as a language for teaching and learning at universities, and

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comments made by an Economic Freedom Fighters' member of parliament who, on the issue of the Afrikaans lyrics in the national anthem, stated:

> And we maintain our principle that Die Stem must fall. Asking blacks to sing the anthem of the oppressor is the encouragement of self-hate, and the glorification of a criminal regime. It glorifies a regime and system that is responsible for black genocide. (Head, 2019)

Therefore, within the unofficial narratives, Afrikaans was regarded as a language and ultimately the group associated with the language was seen as immoral.

The subjective construal of a victimising event can further be seen in Respondent 28's (R28) text, in which the freedom struggle during apartheid was framed as terrorist attacks and not the fight for democracy and equality as narrated by Respondent 24 (R24) and the official history of post-apartheid South Africa.

> R28: … terrorist attacks during apartheid.
>
> R24: When people started to fight against the apartheid government.

R28 may have been referring to incidents that were framed as terrorism by the National Party government during the height of the freedom struggle in the 1980s. For R28, it was implied that the people who were carrying out these terrorist attacks formed part of a collective type of agency, where the collective was the Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters who engaged in various measures to fight against the apartheid government. An example of such an incident is the Church Street bombing in Pretoria in 1983.[15] The narrative given by R28 indicates a simplistic and superficial level of understanding of the freedom struggle, thus indicating that the historical knowledge presented was as a result of the intergenerational transmission of victim narratives within the in-group. By referring to the actions taken during the freedom struggle as terrorism, R28 framed the out-group as immoral lawbreakers.

In contrast to a conflict-specific event as referred to by the responses discussed in this section, some respondents did not frame the victimising period based on a specific

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[15] The Church street bombing took place on the 20th of May 1983 in Pretoria when a car bomb went off outside the Nedbank Square Building, killing 19 people and wounding 217. The bomb was set by the paramilitary wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (SABC, 2020)

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event, but rather as a general overview of South African history. This was evident in the below narratives.

> R8: it was unfair and does not consider all groups
>
> R12: IS THAT AFRICAN WERE TREATED UNFAIRLY
>
> R13: the suffering of our people and the blood that was shed
>
> R64: the torturing of black people by whites and denying them access to everything that concerned a country as a whole.
>
> R66: Black people were treated as slaves
>
> R68: The most iconic episode would be the victimization of black people during Apartheid. The most important episode would be when people born here was dominated by outside powers.
>
> R74: when lot of black people were killed when they were fighting for their rights as human beings.

For the above respondents, the most iconic period of victimisation was not limited to specific events, but rather to the overall totality of victimisation. These responses present a racial undertone towards the victimisation of Africans, with R64 naming White people as the collective agent in victimisation. When considering historical agency, the responses given above present Africans as a collective, passive subject of victimisation, thereby framing the perpetrators and their actions as immoral. The generality of the victimisation as presented gives the victimisation a temporality of continuous victimisation with no specific time constraints, which the specific naming of an event would provide. Looking at the discursive practices used by R12, R13 and R66, there was a heightened negative emotion through the choice of words where R12's response was in all capital letters. By using words such as "torturing", "suffering" and "blood that was shed", the respondents showed hostility towards the perpetrator group.

In the above responses, the past and the present were collapsed, with no beginning or end given to the suffering of Black people. However, there were slight inklings towards a causal relationship between the victimisation of Africans and the fight against the perpetrator (R74). The implication of continuous victimisation resonates

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with the work of Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori and Gundar (2009) on siege mentality. Siege mentality is a specific victim belief that throughout history the in-group has been a target of victimisation and they have the expectation that the whole world is still "out to get them" (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Vollhardt, 2012). The collapse of the past and the present suggests that a siege mentality was held by the above respondents. Furthermore, the narratives lack substantiation of the continuous victimisation of Black people that a specific naming of an event would have given.

The lack of historical time was echoed by Respondent 77 (R77) who stated that the most important period of victimisation was "the massacre that took place all everyday". R77 further echoed the above respondents in their narratives of continuous victimisation. The uncritical framing of every day in history as a massacre lacks substantiation from official history. The below respondents represent the difference between official history and unofficial history in their framing of massacres.

> R48: THE JUNE 1976 SOWETO MASSACAR
>
> R51: The Soweto Uprising of June 1976
>
> R67: Genocide events for example shapville Massacre,boipatong Massacre and bophuta tsawana episode
>
> R94: The June 16 massacre
>
> R114: The 1976 Soweto massacre…
>
> R124: the Sharpville massacre

The Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 was a peaceful protest during which Africans gathered at the Sharpeville police station to burn their pass books as a sign of resistance against the apartheid state. What started as a peaceful protest ended in the mass shooting and deaths of Black protesters as they were trying to run away. In the official History curriculum, the protest at Sharpeville is labelled as a massacre, and not as a genocide as R67 stated (Department of Basic Education, 2011b). Furthermore, as per the official History curriculum, the student protests against the use of Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning is called the Soweto Uprising, and is not framed as a massacre (Department of Basic Education, 2011b). Therefore, for R48, R67, R94 and R114, the structural knowledge of what a specific event is officially called is flawed.

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It is hard to ignore the use of capital letters that R48 uses to answer. The use of capital letters suggests an emphasis on the event and a feeling of anger behind it. This feeling of anger may have been facilitated by the unofficial framing of the event as a massacre and not as an uprising.

It is worthy to note the difference in the suggested types of violence between the respondents, where some use structural violence to frame the collective victimisation, whereas others frame the victimisation by the direct use of violence. Structural violence is the type of collective violence which is indirect. Hence, the victimisation occurs through societal, political and economic structures, such as restricting specific groups from employment due to their race (known as the colour bar). The system of apartheid is seen as employing structural violence as the discrimination and subjugation of Black people was initially achieved through laws and policies. Direct violence, on the other hand, refers to genocidal events (Vollhardt, 2012).

The direct use of violence which respondents emphasised brought in a recurring theme of humanity, as is evident when R64 and R66 narrated an inhuman picture of the treatment of Africans in South African history. This theme of humanity was evident in Respondent 78's response when they referred to apartheid. Apartheid has been classified as a crime against humanity[16] and it becomes a framework with which apartheid and events during apartheid are viewed. This theme of humanity presented itself in the response of R78.

> R78: …APARTHEID, WHEN BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS WERE TREATED LIKE ANIMALS BY THE WHITE PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN LAND

In research conducted by Bar-Tal et al. (2009), groups engaged in an intractable conflict[17] often focused on the wrongdoing, atrocities and "lack of concern for human life" (p.244) of the other group, framing the other group as immoral and inhuman. This can be seen in R64, R66, R74 and R78's responses which dealt with the victimisation that was committed against Black people with R78 going so far as to compare the

[16] The Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid held on the 30th of November 1973, declared apartheid as a crime against humanity, and any other similar event that segregated and discriminated people based on race (United Nations, 1976).
[17] Intractable conflicts last more than 25 years and are characterised by violence, being seen as never ending. Apartheid can be classified as an example of an intractable conflict (Bar-Tal et al., 2009).

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treatment with that of animals. The use of capital letters in the response yet again places an extra level of importance to the event, showing a strong negative emotion behind it and suggesting that the respondent was feeling incredulous about the victimisation of Africans in their own "land". Note the omission of "South Africans" after "White people", and the inclusion of "South Africans" to refer to the citizenship of Black people in South Africa. The assignation (and lack thereof) of "South Africans" suggests the kind of attitude towards White people held by R78. It is implied that "Black South Africans" had a right to the land and citizenship over the land, whereas the White people were seen as imposing on an area where they did not hold any dominion. For R78, the historical agency lies in the collective grouping of White people as the perpetrators against the passive subjects of the Black South African victims.

4.4. Outliers

The total number of responses amounted to 138 with some responses not being entirely relevant to the open-ended question, hard to read or worthy of special mention. Although not necessarily irrelevant, the responses that were difficult to analyse are still of significance. This section looks at the responses which focused on the teaching of history and those that declined to answer the question.

4.4.1. Teaching history

It is no surprise that some of the respondents, being future teachers, emphasised the teaching of history and not the most iconic period of victimisation. The narratives in this section reflected the purpose of school history on the one side as well as the destructive effect of teaching history on the other. Respondent 2 (R2) and Respondent 26 (R26) echoed the most common and simplistic purpose of school history which states that history should be taught for people to learn from the past and not repeat the same mistakes (Lévesque, 2005).

> R2: injustices that were brought upon black South African's should be learnt from and possibly used to teach people about how real white privilege is and how the past could help shape the way we move forward in our country for a better future for all, learning from the mistakes in the past.

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> R26: I would teach the suffering and the [precaution] measures we can take to not make it happen [again]. Because that is what history is for. To LEARN FROM HISTORY AND NOT REPEAT THE SAME MISTAKES AS IT WAS DONE IN THE PAST.

Both respondents presented historical consciousness as the understanding of the past to learn from it and bring about reconciliation in society. R26 was more ambiguous about what exactly society should learn from whereas R2 stated that society should learn from Black victimisation at the implied hands of White privilege. Using the discursive practice of using all capital letters when iterating the purpose of learning from the past's mistakes, R26 implied a feeling of commitment, urgency and assertiveness towards learning history. The purpose of school history as presented by R2 and R26 essentially provided an idealised purpose of teaching and learning history. Respondent 29 (R29) and Respondent 102 (R102) contrastingly placed less importance on teaching and learning about the recent violent past.

> R29: I feel like people focus too much on a historically suffering episode and I think that yes it should be taught but it shouldn't be emphasized to a point where people who weren't there get so riled up about it. So therefore I don't feel the need to answer that question.

> R102: Apartheid, but should not be taught to children in school as it will bring in more hate then there already is in this country

The exact event which R29 referred to is unclear in comparison to R102, but both respondents agreed that teaching South Africa's recent violent past would have the adverse effect on reconciliation. Both respondents insinuated that the teaching of South African history created intergroup tension, where R102 used the strong emotive word "hate" and R29 used "riled up". Worthy of mention is R29's statement regarding indirect victimisation and history education. R29's statement highlighted the role that history education plays in the transmission of historical victimisation and the effects that it has on future generations. The excerpt is significant in the context of collective victimhood as it implies that through group identification, the generation that did not experience victimisation displays negative emotions. It is unclear to which question R29 referred when stating "so therefore I don't feel the need to answer that question". When looking at it discursively, R29 explained that they did not answer a question

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based on the anger which teaching a historical period of victimisation elicits. Much the same as R29's refusal to answer a question, the next sub-section takes a closer look at similar responses in which participants declined to answer.

4.4.2. Declined to answer

In declining to answer a question by physically typing the abbreviation of the words "not applicable" or using an ellipse, and not merely leaving the question blank gives a small insight into the underlying reasons why someone might not wish to answer a question. Respondents 130, 131, 132 and 133 opted for this response.

R130: NA

R131: N/ a

R132: …

R133: N/ A

At the risk of over-analysing the simple phrase "not applicable", the responses do need a bit of unpacking. By answering not applicable, the respondents implied that providing a period of historical victimisation was not relevant to them for any reason. In the context of collective victimhood and social identity, by declining to answer on the most iconic period of victimisation in South African history, the respondents may not have felt that historical victimisation in South Africa was relevant to their lives or their identity. The underlying meaning of stating not applicable was carried forward by Respondent 1 (R1) who stated, "… not my place to say, [I've] never suffered".

R1 insinuated that to be able to give a period of historical victimisation then one must have gone through a period of victimisation. As an individual, R1 may not have felt that they were worthy of having an opinion because of their implied privilege of never having suffered. The response resonates strongly with feelings of belonging and having enough agency to have a significant opinion. Through R1's response, agency and "voice" is given to those that have suffered, placing the permitted opinion in the hands of those that have suffered.

Even though the question that respondents had to answer was about historical victimisation, not all responses focused on victimisation but rather on empowerment.

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4.4.3. Empowerment

It is important to note here that some responses did not answer the question by giving a historical victimising event, but rather an iconic event. The difference between the two narrative responses is in the acknowledgment of agency to the historically recognised victim. In other words, as can be seen in R24's response, the focus was not on the loss of agency and the framing of victim and perpetrator, but rather on the empowerment of the historical subject. Respondents 20, 21, 25, 34, 35, 40 and 91 (R20, R21, R25, R34, R35, R40 and R91) mirrored the focus on empowerment and agency of individuals and the collective.

> R20: the most important episode was the fact that SA came together as one united nation and the end of racism was put in place

> R34: The fight during apartheid, for us to gain freedom, to be treated fairly and to be able to practice our religions openly

> R91: It has to be the period when women marched to the union building around 1969 fighting for women's rights.

> R40: The suffering caused by the apartheid government on both white, black, indian, coloured and Chinese people who took a stand against the government, who choose to make a difference instead of conform …

The above responses focused on how people in South African history were not victims but agents invoking change. R20, R34, R40 and R91 conceptualised the historical subject as a collective type of agency, where R20 framed the whole of South Africa and its citizens into a collective which actively brought racism to an end. In this narrative, South African citizens caused a change in society which implemented a non-racialised system. R34 was not specific as to who formed part of the collective, but did imply that the collective fought against apartheid, subscribing to the characteristic of active agency. The response included the historical thinking concept of cause and consequence where the freedom gained was seen as a consequence of the fight against apartheid. Furthermore, change is also used in the historical thinking of R34 by acknowledging that the collective could now "practice [their] religions openly", implying that this was not allowed before. The focus on religion is quite out of the ordinary. The assumption is that the end of apartheid would have been most significant

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due to the change it brought in terms of racialised policies and constitutional rights. However, even if not part of official policy during apartheid, discrimination against Muslims did exist during apartheid (Achmat, 2005). However, if this was what R34 was referring to, the presence of the oppression of specific religions during apartheid is not found in the official History curriculum, but rather in unofficial history.

Gender characterised the collective for R91, as women were framed as active agents fighting for women's rights during apartheid. Cause and consequence were present within the response; however, historical time was somewhat flawed and almost insignificant. This implies that the specific event was important and not when it took place. Even though R91 presented a year in which to situate the time period, the date referred to is factually incorrect. The Women's March to the Union Buildings against the pass laws occurred on the 9th of August 1956, not 1969. At first glance, R40 described South African ethnic groups as passive subjects against the institutional agency of the apartheid government. However, this narrative changed to that of a passive agent by conceptualising the South African ethnic groups into collective, passive agents who "took a stand" against the government (R40). The focus on empowerment resonates strongly with literature which states that at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission many people did not testify because "they did not want to be regarded as victims" but rather "as fighters, warriors, and heroes in a liberation struggle" (Druliolle & Brett, 2018, p. 5).

Through the narrative responses of a historical victimising event (and empowerment in some cases), Chapter 4 has thus far followed the analysis of data according to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2. It is now necessary to further analyse and discuss the findings of the data as it relates to social identity, historical consciousness and a sense of collective victimhood.

4.5. Identity and Historical Consciousness

After a victimising event, victims experience a loss of power, resulting in a need to regain what they have lost after the fact, whereas perpetrators experience a threat to their moral identity. According to the NBMR, as outlined by Nadler and Shnabel (2015), members of conflicting groups experience a threat to two identity dimensions, namely agency and morality. After a victimising event, groups assess themselves based on these two dimensions. The responses that will be included in this section focused their

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answers not on a historical period of victimisation, but rather on the impact of the consequences of the victimisation in present South African society. These responses were based on the subjective interpretation and experience of the respondents, providing the rich and context-specific knowledge that qualitative research praises.

The South African context discussed by the participants was not characterised by overt aggression and conflict, but rather by structural inequalities that ultimately resulted in tension between different groups. It can be argued that the current context of South African society is characterised by structural inequalities that are indicative of the legacy of apartheid. However, as discussed in the previous section, apartheid was not the only victimising event mentioned. Respondent 22 (R22) further contextualised present South African society by stating that "[reconciliation] is needed". The NBMR states that groups are less likely to reconcile after a victimising event if the need for agency and morality are not met. Therefore, further exploration is deemed necessary into the responses which present a loss of agency, on the one hand, and consequently a damaged morality on the other.

As previously discussed, the construction of identity takes place through specific narratives which form the content of the identity and identification processes, such as classifying the in-group and out-group, as well as personal belonging towards the in-group. This section will address the type of identity which forms from the identity processes discussed above. Special reference is made to the interplay of official and unofficial history in the creation of the identity types. As per the conceptual framework of the study, the NBMR will be introduced here as an additional tool of analysis. The three types of identity which are prevalent in the data are South Africanness, rainbowism and Black victimhood.

R5 laid the groundwork for this section's analysis.

> R5: The apartheid era has left far more negative impacts regarding different groups in the society at large.

R5 mentioned apartheid but implied that what was worse than apartheid was the impact that it has on present society. What R5, thus, suggests is that even after the victimisation of apartheid, there is still the residue of damage whether it be to the perpetrator group or the victim group. The acknowledgement of the legacy of apartheid serves as the introduction to the first identity, South Africanness.

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4.5.1. South Africanness

Within this study, South Africanness is a type of identity that has key implications for intergroup relations. South Africanness, as presented by the responses, is characterised as an inclusive identity. However, what distinguishes this type of identity from the subsequent two types is the presence of historical-thinking concepts which historicise the past and base group identification on the nation-state. The CAPS History curriculum stipulates the following specific aims of the History curriculum (Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p. 8):

1. an interest in and enjoyment of the study of the past;
2. knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the past and the forces that shaped it;
3. the ability to undertake a process of historical enquiry based on skills; and
4. an understanding of historical concepts, including historical sources and evidence.

The assumption is that by achieving the aims set out by the History curriculum, the national identity that is created will uphold the aims set out by the Constitution of South Africa by supporting citizenship within a democracy.[18] The narrative provided the relation between past, present and the implied future, showing the knowledge of cause and consequence.

> R10: The Apartheid Regime was the worst time for all South African ethnic groups and it has left a considerably large scar in it's history and development both economically and educationally.

Respondent 10 (R10) not only drew on the inclusive victimisation of the in-group but mentioned the consequences of this victimisation on the present in-group. Therefore, the national identity that R10 portrayed includes the use of cause and consequence when accessing the common past of the in-group. R10 achieved the second and third aims of official history education through the display of knowledge and understanding of the victimisation, as well as the use of historical inquiry in acknowledging the legacy

[18] The appropriation of the constitution may have an adverse effect. This will be discussed under the second type of identity: Rainbowism.

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of apartheid. In addition, by using the word "development", reference was made to the prospects of South African society which did not look good as the legacy of apartheid was labelled as a "scar". The acknowledgement of the consequences of apartheid on both the economic and education sectors in the present time indirectly has implications on the agency and morality identity dimensions, as stipulated by the NBMR. By stating that there was a continued victimisation through the legacy of apartheid, R10 implied that the historical agency of the group is still lost, which influences reconciliation when taking the NBMR into consideration. In other words, groups may struggle to reconcile after a victimisation period if the victim group continues to feel a loss of agency and the perpetrator group fails to regain their morality. The acknowledgement of the legacy of apartheid is further echoed in Respondents 5 and 15 (R5 and R15).

> R5: The apartheid era has left far more negative impacts regarding different groups in the society at large.

> R15: we see influences and new generations that are still impacted today on a large scale.

R15 provided an identification word that presented a sense of collective belonging with the past in-group. This contrasts with R10 and R15 who seemed to present a more critical approach to history by seemingly objectively stating the facts of post-apartheid South Africa without disclosing their group membership. To further elaborate on what is meant by objective and subjective statement of facts, R4 narrated a personal belonging to the nation by the use of "we".

> R4: colonisation plays a huge role, because it shows how we were decolonised and yield the situation we are in right now as south africans.

For R4 to understand the current calls for decolonisation in society, South Africa's history of colonialism was drawn upon. There was a sense of nationalism within the narrative of R4 through their inferences to citizenship. This may be seen in the use of "we" as a signifier of personal belonging as well as group belonging through the words "south africans". Therefore, R4 narrated a strong belonging to a unified South African group which upheld the principles of the Constitution and achieved the aims of history education. Historical consciousness was presented through the causal explanation between colonialism and the effect that it had on current society. Furthermore, the

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narrative indicated the acknowledgment of change and continuity by mentioning "decolonised" as an event of change.

Based on the discussion surrounding the loss of agency after a victimising event, an image forms of the context of post-conflict South Africa where respondents' realities are characterised by the residue left after victimisation. This is supported by the narratives of R5 and R10 in which a judgement was made about the morality of apartheid.

> R5: The apartheid era has left far more negative impacts regarding different groups in the society at large

> R10: The Apartheid Regime was the worst time for all South African ethnic groups and it has left a considerably large scar in it's history and development both economically and educationally.

The judgement that R5 and R10 provided about the morality of apartheid is based on the observation and experience of present reality. The presence of a legacy of apartheid suggests that actions would need to be taken as a nation-state to correct these wrongs. In this sub-section, South Africanness as an identity acknowledges the past injustices as well as the impact of these injustices on the present as well as on implications for the future. The historisation of the past is achieved through the use of historical thinking concepts which allow for the multiplicity of opinions and experiences, as well as the acknowledgement of a legacy of injustices that influence current society.

Unlike South Africanness, the second identity, rainbowism, selectively internalises the preamble to the Constitution of South Africa and denies the presence of a legacy of victimisation.

4.5.2. Rainbowism

The concept of the "rainbow nation" is a dominant rhetoric in South African society originating from the end of apartheid in 1994. Rainbow nation refers to the multi-cultural make-up of South Africa. Rainbowism, the second type of identity in this study, is based on an emotional connection to the Preamble of the Constitution of South Africa which states, "We, the people of South Africa, believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity." (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 1248). Furthermore, the curriculum of South Africa is based on the aims of

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the South African Constitution, which specifically mentions the building of a united and democratic society by safeguarding the "rights and privileges of each of its peoples" (Tavernaro-Haidarian, 2019, p. 1). South Africanness and rainbowism are identified as two separate identities based on the growing criticism of the internalisation of the rainbow-nation rhetoric. The characteristics that define rainbowism centre around the defence of whiteness which presents itself through moral disengagement and relative deprivation.

The official History curriculum for the FET phase includes a section that covers the difficulties in post-conflict South Africa by framing it as an unfinished liberation struggle. This sub-unit of Topic 6 in the Grade 12 History curriculum provides the following focus points to address when engaging with the topic (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p. 31):

> challenges of poverty and gross inequality, redress of past injustices, nation building and temptations of a liberation movement in power; the developmental state is one attempt to solve these problems

Based on the above and the exclusion of the unit in the Senior Phase History curriculum, if learners do not take History as a school subject up to Grade 12 level, their historical knowledge might be limited to that which unofficial history can provide. Therefore, it is suggested that the framing of actions to redress past injustices as unfair and as "reverse" apartheid originates and is facilitated by the socialisation of unofficial history. As an example, Respondent 36 (R36) stated that currently "reversed apartheid" is taking place. Taking R36's narrative first, "reversed apartheid" is a term used by many White people in post-apartheid South Africa to frame themselves as victims of affirmative action policies that are aimed at redressing the atrocities committed during apartheid to keep Black people in a lower class than White people. One such policy is the Employment Equity Act which has the "[aim] of rectifying past discrimination and promoting employment equity" (Wambugu, 2005, p. 53). This race-conscious policy guides selection processes in various fields, such as sport and employment. The actions that are taken to redress the wrongs done in the past are morally judged as redirecting the same victimisation towards the perpetrator group. R36 denied the presence of structural inequalities as a legacy of apartheid by stating

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that post-conflict South Africa was discriminating against White people by trying to undo the harm that was done to Africans.

The majority of the respondents identified apartheid as the most iconic period of victimisation in South African history through its relationship with the present. From the outset, there was the presence of historical consciousness for the respondents who used the past to inform and make sense of their present context. However, in contrast to South Africanness, the rainbowism group identity lacked historical empathy. The lack of historical empathy took the form of moral disengagement through defending the in-group's privilege. Respondents named apartheid as the most significant period of victimisation; however, the end of apartheid was used to deny the privilege that the structural legacy of apartheid had afforded their group.

For Respondent 7 (R7), the time that had passed since the ending of apartheid was sufficient for transformation to have taken place.

> R7: I truly believe that the south african society has yet to reconsile for the reason that some ethnic groups still hold on to the past. It's been 24 years since the ending of apartheid and this country is worse off. I most definitely do not support Apartheid beliefs, but I do believe that at some point we should put the past behind us and move forward for a better future for ALL south africans, not just african or white people.

By emphasising the amount of time that had passed since the end of apartheid, R7 placed a timestamp on the victims' healing process. The narrative suggests that R7 was impatient to achieve the transformation and reconciliation process in South Africa. It would seem that this impatience was aimed at the actions in place that only benefitted one group. This can be labelled as what Mueller-Hirth (2017) calls "apartheid fatigue" (p. 198). Apartheid fatigue manifests in the insistence that the past is over and that the time has come to move on, effectively putting up "barricades of 'innocence'" (Müller-Fahrenholz, 1990, p. 89) that serve to deny their accountability (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012).

The historical thinking concept of change and continuity is subjectively used to compare apartheid and post-apartheid society. R7, for example, appeared to idealise the past. However, this idealisation may be as a result of unofficial history. The

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assumed age of the respondents at the time of completing the survey would be roughly 18 to 20 years of age. Therefore, their historical knowledge of what apartheid society was like compared to post-apartheid society would be through the intergenerational transmission of narratives within the in-group that was favoured by apartheid policies. The racial group which R7 belonged to appears to be clouded with ambiguity, much the same as R16 and R72 below. However, R16 and R72 provided racial characterisation of the in-group through identification with the past perpetrator group.

> R16: I personally feel that the most iconic historical episode of suffering and victimisation in South Africa would be Apartheid. However; I do feel an injustice PRESENTLY towards my group as I am not afforded the same opportunities because of past discrimination. This is a feeble proclamation as the rights of the previously discriminated are furthered in the Constitution. If this pattern of bettering the conditions of the previously disadvantaged continues, my group will become the disadvantaged as we are so becoming. I honestly think society needs to be less concerned with the past and focus on the present as well as the ,currently seeming, gloomy future for my group.

> R72: Apartheid definitely falls into first place, but another part of historical victimization is happening right now in today's day and age. A specific ethnic group is being openly threatened, not only by citizens, but government officials such as politicians. What example does this set? The saddest part of this is that 90% of the ethnic group being attacked had no part in apartheid, but yet they are still blamed for this.

Even though R72 addressed the in-group in the third person, there is the presence of an emotional attachment to the “specific ethnic group”. In contrast to the indirect identification with the in-group which R72 provided, R16 demonstrated a strong attachment to the group through the use of the personal pronoun “my”. This contrast may be due to the fact that R72 appeared to assert a break in the continuity of the group. Through denying the involvement of the current in-group in apartheid, R72 denied the accountability and to a large extent the presence of the legacy of apartheid.

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For R16, the inclusion of "the previously discriminated" within the Constitution was sufficient to redress the structural legacy of apartheid, similarly absolving the in-group from blame and denying the out-group's claim to victim status.

Within the above two responses, the morality of the in-group's identity seems to be damaged based on their association with the perpetrator group. However, the respondents appeared to deny responsibility for the atrocities committed, with R16 going so far as to show a feeling of injustice as the "rights of the previously discriminated are furthered in the constitution". For R16 and R72, there was a denial of the privilege that apartheid historically afforded White people. Gobodo-Madikizela (2012) stated that "White South Africans' collective identity is interwoven with the story of apartheid abuses whose evils are now in plain sight" (p. 253). The mere suggestion behind the truth of their inherited privilege invoked emotions of White guilt, leading to the denial and ultimate disengagement with the past.

Apartheid fatigue is further present in the narrative of R92. R92, like the above narratives, placed a timestamp on reconciliation and transformation. There was a selective use of historical thinking concepts which informed the historical consciousness of R92. At first glance, R92 presented knowledge of South African history through the narration of conflicts in South African history, however, these conflicts were presented in a dispersed manner, presenting a static view of history instead of an interrelated occurrence of events.

> R92: It depends on which culture you would ask. Personally I think most people will say Apartheid, but I don't think it is one historical episode but all of them. Most problems comes from the beginning. The first historical episode is the war between the Zulu's and the San and Coy. The war between England and the Boere. The war between the Boere and the Zulu's. There where a lot of other wars from different cultures that still have hostile feelings towards each other. All the wars added up to now, the wars was about power and ground and continous till this day about the same things…

Towards the end of the excerpt, R92 presented a historisation of the past by providing the cause of the mentioned conflicts as well as how these conflicts had changed or stayed the same. Worthy of note is R92's recognition that not only do the reasons

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behind the conflicts continue in the present, but so do the "hostile feelings" between the groups. This recognition supports the claim of an intergenerational transmission of collective memories of conflicts. However, the historical consciousness takes on a different character in the last part of R92's response. A sense of in-group bias appears to cloud the acknowledgement of the transmission of collective memories.

> R92: Apartheid was going on for 47 years, post Apartheid has been almost 24 years. I was born after Apartheid and I made no choice, but I have difficulty getting into some coprate companies because I am white, I am also not getting promoted because I am white. I don't like it if government officials are racist towards my group.My group is only 9% off the population so I do not understand why they are so afraid we will take all the jobs. Our economy is at a weak place the person best equipped for a position should take it, if you are coloured,indian, chinese, black, white or other I do not mind as long as you do your job. I believe peace will come when everyone is equal.

As is characteristic of rainbowism, a timestamp was placed in this narrative on transformation and healing. Apartheid fatigue is present and is shown through the impatience of how much time has passed since the end of apartheid. Similar to R16 and R72, R92 felt an injustice towards the in-group based on the association with the perpetrator group during apartheid. However, there is an undertone of superiority when comparing their group's position as a minority group in relation to the supposed fear "they" [out-group] had surrounding job opportunities. This lack of cause and consequence associated with the out-group implies that based on the small percentage of the population that the White in-group occupies in the country it is almost unfathomable to imagine that the out-group feared the in-group's employment. By stating that the most qualified person should be employed in a job position, R92 was referring to the policies of affirmative action and seemed to imply that White people were the best qualified for job positions. In this narrative, the policies put in place to redress atrocities committed during apartheid were seen as unfair and unjust. Once more, the absence of historical empathy is present as well as not using cause and consequence when assessing the out-group. There was a bias when assessing the in-group's position in society through using what was the cause of the in-group's apparent victimisation and the consequences thereof. The difference between the first

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and the second excerpts of R92's narrative is significant in the different historical consciousness presented. On the one hand, there is the critical engagement and historicity when narrating the past, but on the other hand, in defence of morality, there is an implication that the past and the present are separate entities.

Moral disengagement does not only avert fear and defence of whiteness. In a more covert display of moral disengagement, Respondent 63 (R63) used multiple perspectives to address the significance of a historical victimising event. According to the narrative, the choice of event was dependent on the person.

> R63: There is no such thing as the "most important episode of suffering/victimization" every person in this country,no matter what their ethnic group might be, has been through or are experiencing their own struggle and to each person their own struggle would be the most important to them.The biggest struggle we have in this country is the struggle of listening to others and trying to see each other's point of view , forgiveness and teamwork - working together over all ethnic groups - to benefit the country, not just specific groups.There is also a struggle with trust.If the people can't trust the government, how can they trust each other?

Morally, R63 acknowledged the validity of suffering based on individual subjective experiences. However, this recognition appeared to be superficial through attributing the "biggest struggle we have in this country" to mutual understanding and forgiveness. R63 appears to display sympathy instead of historical empathy. This observation is made based on the implicit denial of a residue of victimisation by stating that working together to benefit everyone and not just one group would solve the country's problems. This apparent selective historical consciousness restores the respondent's moral image by providing a superficial account of different group's experiences. However, there is the absence of cause and consequence of victimising events.

4.5.2.1. Victimised White saviour

As an extension of rainbowism and not as a separate identity, White saviour presents itself as a complete denial of past victimisation and a championing of White superiority. Respondent 17 denied that suffering had ever occurred and inflated the achievements

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of the in-group. The in-group was referred to in the third person. However, there was the existence of an emotional attachment to the in-group which suggests the respondents' membership to the in-group. Echoing the respondents discussed underneath rainbowism, R17 felt victimised by affirmative action policies, namely Black Economic Empowerment (BEE).

> R17: BEE taking white people out of their jobs and putting in untrained and in-trainable "people" in their positions...

For R17, the perception surrounding BEE was that of victimisation against White people, where the replacement of White people in employment positions was done by someone less than human. By placing the word "people" in inverted commas, R17 suggested that their humanity was in question. Diving in deeper into R17's narrative there is the presence of the denial of victim status towards the out-group. The seemingly incorrect assigning of victim status is prevalent in the statement of "false victimisation".

> R17: …the false victimization in this country has lead to the country plundering into the darkness that the white people took it out of in the first place! Non white people are so easy to feel sorry for themselves and their tears of the past generations that have suffered is also pathetic. The current generation is not looking what is in front of them. they do not see that they, the non whites, are defiling this country. The people who are being victimized are the white people who started the development of this country.

An attitude of superiority characterises R17's narrative. There is a denial of any form of victimisation against the out-group; R17 appears to dispel any suffering using the argument that the in-group should be thanked for their role in developing the country. This sentiment mirrors the colonial views of the African continent as being savage and underdeveloped and where the White man introduced civilisation. Members with a strong attachment to the group are often biased towards their group and inflate the achievements of the in-group. The suggestion that the White people brought development to the African continent further highlights the colonial idea of Africans as savages and inhuman as suggested in the first excerpt. The inflation of the in-group's achievements were further discussed in the continuation of R17's narrative below.

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> R17: The victims in this country are people like the white farmers who are being murdered by the dozen by useless non whites for no reason. So ungrateful. These are the people providing jobs and food to people. It is laughable to hear non whites say that they want to be the people to lead this country into an era of prosperity. Just look at the current situation in South Africa at the moment. People all over sitting without jobs and in majority instances its is because of the government with their silly little subsidies that have made those people useless and homeless…

Based on the subjective construal of what the in-group was entitled to have, R17 clearly stated who the "real" victims were. The victims, in R17's opinion, were the White farmers, which is not a baseless statement as South Africa has been experiencing a rise in the murder of White farmers. However, the acknowledgement of White farmers as victims is done in juxtaposition to the denial that there was any victimisation against the out-group in the first place. Just as members of an in-group inflate the achievements of the group, so do the members who criticise and downplay the achievements of the out-group. It seems ridiculous to R17 that the out-group could think of themselves as ever improving the situation in South Africa, as the steps that were being taken to help the out-group were making the members of the out-group dependent. There was a perception that the loss of agency was not the White in-group's fault, but rather that of the out-group. Furthermore, drawing on the assumed age of the respondent, there was conflict between official and unofficial history. This was prevalent in the idealisation of a past into which the respondent was not born.

> R17: If they had just been sensible and the previous white government was still running everyone would have jobs and homes and this country would not be running into the ground. I could go on for ever, but racial segregation is a good thing and should never have been stopped in the first place. Now instead we have this fake 'rainbow nation'.

Through the intergenerational transmission of the collective memories of apartheid and how it favoured the White in-group, R17 appeared to show hostility towards anything contradicted the internalisation of such narratives. It can be deducted from

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the narrative that R17 was experiencing a threat towards their whiteness and the continuity of this collective identity. The perception that your in-group identity has temporal endurance allows for the stronger attachment towards the group. Group members may feel a positive self-esteem derived from their membership in the group. Therefore, groups are more likely to experience animosity towards out-groups if they perceive a threat to their group's continuity. To ensure the continuity of R17's whiteness, there was a longing for apartheid ("previous white government"). This was seen as a mechanism to ensure the continuity of a collective identity. Groups often use past narratives in the present to restore their national identity. This restoration of a national identity is done through what Psaltis et al. (2017b) coined national nostalgia. National nostalgia refers to an affectionate longing for a previous era of a country. For R17, there was a longing for the apartheid era, and the respondent went so far as to label racial discrimination a "good thing" (R17). As a group-based emotion, national nostalgia emerges when the context that groups are situated in is changing and transitioning (Psaltis et al., 2017b). Morally speaking, the actions that R17 described are legitimised based on the subjective perception of the in-group's contribution to society, even if this contribution is inflated and somewhat warped. However, there is a complete denial of moral accountability with regard to past injustices through the denial of past injustices ever existing.

The next section analyses and discusses the final identity type, Black victimhood. This identity is characterised by respondents' internalisation of historical victimisation against Black people and an exclusive claim of victim status.

4.5.3. Black victimhood

Personal proximity to people who have experienced a victimising event increases the strength of an individual's social identity. Respondent 14 (R14) alluded to a strong identification with the in-group by drawing on the Soweto Uprising. Mentioned second to apartheid in frequency, the Soweto Uprising against Bantu Education was bound to feature in this section alongside apartheid and colonialism. For Respondent 14 (R14), the Bantu Education struggle was iconic due to its proximity to the respondent.

> R14: The 1976 Soweto uprising because it's the one that hits closest to home.

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R14's background, context and experience becomes key in understanding the loss of agency felt 44 years since the uprising. The personal proximity suggested by R14 when speaking about the uprising hitting close to home implies that the impact of the uprising is still felt personally or by their group. Elaboration on the personal proximity of the impact of a victimising event was also given by R79.

> R79: Apartheid era, policemen and Boers shootings at Black people in the name of segregation for "law and order". Having to still see the scars my family members have on their bodies as they tell me the tales that many dead friends and family members never lived to tell hurts my feelings a lot!

The narrative presented by R79 illustrates an emotive picture by providing more information in terms of personal proximity to the impact of a victimising event. By stating that the knowledge of apartheid was gained through stories from family members, R79 indirectly disclosed that what they knew of apartheid was through unofficial history and that they did not experience the victimisation personally. It would seem that regaining the agency of R79 was near to impossible as the loss of agency was seen in the prevailing physical scars and absence of friends and family as a result of apartheid. There is a sense of disbelief and cynicism in the first part of R79's narrative illustrated by them placing law and order in inverted commas, thereby indirectly commenting on the alleged truth behind the reason for the violence. From this response, if scars and the absence of people were constant physical reminders of victimisation, would reconciliation be possible if the loss of agency could not be regained? This question becomes even more important with the last respondent's response which I discuss in this sub-section. For R113, the impact of Bantu Education was so great and far-reaching that nothing could be done to regain the agency lost due to inferior education.

> R113: The era of Bantu education ,I believe that it has inflicted a lot of suffering in the lives of black people and white people don't realise how it has disadvantaged generations of black people and has led to generational poverty ,Black South Africans can get education and degrees but they will never be able to move past the belief that they deserved inferior education or any other inferior service/facility.

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The impact of Bantu Education on Black people, according to R113, resulted in generational poverty. The poverty was attributed to the administering of inferior education during apartheid which limited Black people's education to that which enabled them only to serve the needs of White people. However, the narrative that R113 presented was that even with the educational reform that had taken place, and access to equal education in South African society, the agency lost from inferior education could not be regained. Furthermore, R113 claimed a lack of understanding on the part of White people when it came to the legacy left from Bantu education.

Colonialism featured as a key event (as seen in Table 4.1), where R103 mentioned the impact of it on current South African society.

> R103: Eurocentric ideologies have harmed Africanisim in South Africa, Europeans have exploited the SA community a great deal. The deeds of colonialism still have an impact to today, the African child is still suffering even at the hands of "African leadership".

According to the narrative presented by R103, the Eurocentric ideologies that were entrenched in colonialism were still affecting present-day society. The blame for the exploitation of the South African people, more specifically Africanism, was given to Europeans. The inclusion of "the African child is still suffering even at the hands of 'African leadership'" (R103) suggests a visual of a suffering child who is betrayed by people of the same ethnic grouping. It is worthy to note that there is a mistrust between the respondent and the in-group through assessing what has changed between the era of colonialism and the present time. The imagery created through a child suffering evokes a sense of emotion attached to the suggested plight of Africanism within society. This narrative implies that there is a current threat to the existence of the in-group, as well as the future of the in-group. Perceived threats toward the saliency of the in-group's identity results in heightened emotions towards out-groups. The implied siege mentality that R103 suggests is further expressed through R32's narrative.

> R32: Currently because I know most people would say apartheid but now we are facing a different kind of oppression which is our minds, the manner in which we think and see things around our lives endangers us and offers greater suffering than that of the past. The past has come and is gone but what is important is what is yet to come

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> and what we do to get if we get the at all. The struggle may seem to over but yes a different struggle where black people where fighting white people to be at the same level now we are fighting against each other and those cultural or traditional ideas that once held together a group of people is homogenizing and the Western culture is dominating.

In the narrative, R32 referred to the cohesiveness of the in-group in both the past as well as the present. According to R32, historically the perpetrators were White people whom the in-group unified against but presently this has changed. Based on the response, R32 described a threat against the security and well-being of the in-group. The apparent threat that R32 mentioned is used to justify the strengthening of group membership. In the narrative, historical consciousness is present through the historical knowledge of the group's common past. However, the past is not seen as an area for critical enquiry, but rather is invoked to rally support against the loss of "cultural or traditional ideas".

The above discussion provided a small prelude to the discussion of the data. The identity types as presented in this section laid the groundwork for a discussion of findings as they relate to the research questions and purpose.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter analysed the data from an open-ended question asking for the most iconic period of victimisation in South African history. Guided by the purpose, focus and research questions outlined in Chapter 1, I embarked on a critical qualitative content analysis of 138 narrative responses. The subsequent discussion of the findings followed the guidelines of the conceptual framework which included key ideas on social identity, history education, historical consciousness and collective victimhood. The findings suggested the presence of three social identities, (1) South Africanness; (2) rainbowism; and (3) Black victimhood. These social identities utilised varying degrees of agency and morality through the use of historical-thinking concepts. South Africanness presented a historical consciousness which historicised the past and based group identification on the nation-state. The dominant historical-thinking concepts which were employed through narratives of morality and agency were multiple perspectives, change and continuity, cause and consequence, and empathy.

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Rainbowism-based group identification on the subjective construal and internalisation of the Preamble to the South African Constitution. By denying collective continuity with the historical perpetrator group, respondents disengaged from feelings of guilt and discomfort in an attempt to restore their morality. The historical-thinking concepts of time, multiple perspectives, and change and continuity were selectively used to alleviate feelings of guilt or historical accountability. Black victimhood was characterised by hostility, anger and feelings of injustice towards White people. This specific social identity was predominantly formed through the transmission of unofficial history and, in certain cases, fuelled by the continued victimisation through the legacy of apartheid. The findings discussed in this chapter provide the first attempt at addressing the purpose and research question of this study. In the next chapter, I will draw together the research study by conceptualising a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity.

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CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

This study rests on the argument that history education is key in constructing social identities and thus, in turn, shapes historical consciousness. Consequently, the dual-purpose was formulated to understand pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness indicative of a specific social identity. What followed was the systematic and procedural inquiry into the topic of history education, social identity and collective victimhood. Using a qualitative case study, the open-ended question contained in a survey was analysed using critical qualitative content analysis. The research questions, as determined in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, have guided the inquiry and subsequent analytical processes, and have culminated in the final instalment discussions and exploration of the findings from Chapter 4. Findings from the data allowed for the conceptualisation of three social identities and the respective sense of collective victimhood as inherent historical consciousness. What follows is the discussion of the different manifestations of historical consciousness through the exploration of group-based emotions, beliefs and attitudes as a result of specific social identities. This chapter is organised around prevailing themes and the subsequent emotions, beliefs and attitudes that are indicative within the narratives. Aspects of citizenship and belonging became important themes which indicated a sense of collective victimhood through victim-consciousness and group-based attitudes.

5.2. Citizenship and Belonging

The categorisation and characterisation of the in-group and out-group have important implications for attitudes of belonging and citizenship. Whether a person is regarded as belonging to the group or as an outcast directly affects intergroup relations for it situates who is the "other" that should be treated differently and excluded. Carretero, Asensio and Rodriguez-Moneo (2012) outlined two dimensions regarding national master narratives. These dimensions are: (1) exclusion–inclusion as a logical operation contributing to establish the historical subject and (2) identification processes that function as both cognitive and affective anchors. The first dimension dictates the classification of the in-group and out-group in which a historical subject is

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defined by the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others. The in-group is seen as homogenous and internally unified against the opposing out-group. In the context of collective victimhood, the in-group is seen as the victims, whereas the out-group are seen as the perpetrators. In terms of the second dimension, identification processes that were present in national narratives made use of the plural pronouns "we", "us", "them" and "my". These pronouns indicate a depersonalisation of the individual and a strong attachment to the in-group and acceptance of the group identity. Furthermore, the personal affect and value attributed to group membership allows for a shared identity, a timeless identity which links the present individual to the past group identity (McKeown, Haji & Ferguson, 2016; van Alphen & Carretero, 2015). In this section, I will be discussing belonging and citizenship as attitudes of inclusion and exclusion as they emerged from the data analysis in Chapter 4. To this end, I need to provide a short overview of the South African past as it relates to citizenship and belonging.

From roughly 1652, with the arrival of the Dutch settlers at the Cape, the events that unfolded can be summarised into the economic, political and social exclusion of the indigenous population, culminating in the repression of different racial groups under the White-dominated apartheid regime. Between 1652 and 1994, race played the defining role in dictating citizenship, human rights and inclusion (Tshishonga, 2019). Following South Africa's first fully democratic election in 1994, the politics of citizenship and belonging were redefined in conjunction with the newly established democratic South Africa. Politically speaking, the South African Constitution assigns citizenship by stating that South Africa belongs to all people that live within its borders (South African Constitution, 1996). The conception of citizenship found within the preamble to the Constitution is strengthened by the rainbow-nation rhetoric as first popularised by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Largely political, the words found within the Constitution and those spoken by Tutu are not enough to adequately convey citizenship. Citizenship goes hand-in-hand with agency and the perception of feeling worthy of inclusion (Tshishonga, 2019). This specific notion is highlighted by Sumich (2013) through the distinction between a citizen and an authentic national subject. The attitude to belonging, as presented by Sumich, may be largely attributed to social representations of citizenship through historical narratives (Kadianaki, Andreouli, & Carretero, 2016). It is assumed that the historical narratives within official history perpetuate an attitude of inclusion based on the identification with the nation-state. In

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juxtaposition, unofficial history may present narratives of the past that further an exclusionary attitude to belonging and citizenship.

Findings from the data present a correlation between the in-group; inclusive and exclusive victim-consciousness as victim beliefs; and attitudes of belonging. In Chapter 4, I identified three in-groups: a unified in-group, a Black in-group and a White in-group.

The unified in-group presented an inclusive victim-consciousness, which correlated with an attitude of inclusivity of all groups. In this regard, the dominant historical-thinking concept that was used included multiple perspectives. Citizenship was assigned based on the common victimisation of all ethnic groups under the apartheid regime by considering different role players and the unofficial history of apartheid. Although not victimised to the same extent as Black people, other ethnic groups were victimised through their activism and the roles they played in the liberation struggle, but they are not explicitly mentioned in official history (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, 2011b). The Black in-group portrayed an exclusive victim-consciousness whilst focusing on the victimisation of black people throughout South African history. By only focusing on the victimisation of Black people, there was a hostility created towards the identified White outgroup. The notion of citizenship was present within the narratives, where the White out-group in many cases were denied the title of “South Africans” as opposed to “Black South Africans”. The White in-group presented an exclusive victim-consciousness based on current perceived victimisation. For the White in-group, citizenship meant political and economic rights. The findings suggest that an inclusive victim-consciousness predicted positive intergroup attitudes whereas an exclusive victim-consciousness predicted negative intergroup attitudes. These findings are supported by studies done on the correlation between victim-consciousness and intergroup attitudes (Vollhardt, 2009, 2012; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). In a study done by Vollhardt and Bilali (2015), the correlation between inclusive and exclusive victim-consciousness and intergroup attitudes were tested in the cases of Burundi, Rwanda and eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Citizenship, in the case of this study, is conceptualised as having its foundation based on economic and political rights (Tshishonga, 2019). As indicators of citizenship, political and economic exclusion as intergroup attitudes strongly correlated with an exclusive victim-consciousness (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). Furthermore, Vollhardt and Bilali (2015)

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reported that exclusive victim-consciousness predicted that people would make sure that their group gained the advantage in society.

By comparing the Black in-group with the White in-group, there were contrasting views of citizenship and belonging. A stark difference was observed between the time period of victimisation that the two groups referred to, as seen in the narrative of Respondent 68 in contrast to Respondent 72. Based on the Black in-group's loss of agency through their historically denied citizenship, there was a hostility and attitude of exclusion towards the White out-group. By contrast, the White in-group did not deny the out-group of citizenship or belonging, but presented a diminished agency based on their perceived lack of political and economic rights. The observation of the Black in-group and the White in-group centred on the relationship between agency and citizenship. The White in-group perceived a loss of agency at the hands of the post-1994 democratic policy makers. There was an emphasis on the economic agency of the members of the White in-group, as seen in the narratives of Respondent 16 and Respondent 92. In a study conducted by Tshishonga (2019), economic citizenship was linked to the agency of people when realising their "socio-economic rights" (p. 172) and their own capabilities in contributing to the country.

Underlying the responses of the White in-group was an essence of superiority, which has been reported as relevant when considering exclusive victim-consciousness (Bilali, 2012; Noor, Schnabel, Halabi & Nadler, 2012; Vollhardt & Bilali 2015). An example of this was found in the narratives of Respondent 17, Respondent 72 and Respondent 16. In-group superiority is seen as a means to uphold a positive image of the in-group and increase the in-group's morality. In the next section, I will discuss in-group superiority as part of the morality dimension when considering agency and morality.

5.3. Social Identity and Sense of Collective Victimhood

Tales of historical victimisation narrate the actions of different groups. These actions are judged based on the morality and agency of both victim and perpetrator. The NBMR states that groups assess themselves along two identity dimensions, namely agency and morality. With regard to agency, victimised groups experience a loss of agency after a victimising event. If a victim group feels that they have regained their agency, they are more likely to reconcile with a perpetrator group. (Noor et al., 2017;

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Simantov-Nachlieli & Shnabel, 2014). If these psychological needs are not fulfilled, it may act as barriers to reconciliation, for if perpetrator groups have not regained their morality, they are less likely to form part of the nation and if victims feel that they are still being subjugated and discriminated against, their sense of agency is destroyed (Schnabel & Nadler, 2008). Therefore, the loss of agency and the failure of regaining it may lead to the formation of collective victimhood, as well as the failure of restoring morality as a perpetrator may further hinder reconciliation efforts. In Chapter 4, the nature of the historical victimisation was discussed, thus, in this section, a deeper discussion of the common themes and their meanings is necessitated. Table 5.1 highlights key extrapolations from this section's findings.

Table 5.1. Social identity and historical consciousness of pre-service teachers

Social Identity	Schematic Narrative Template	Historical thinking concepts	Sense of Collective Victimhood
South Africanness	Civic responsibility template	Historical agency Moral dimension Empathy Cause and consequence Change and continuity Multiple perspectives	Inclusive victim consciousness Citizenship Justice
Black victimhood	Black victim template	Cause and consequence Change and continuity	Exclusive victim consciousness Mistrust Anger Perpetual victimisation
Rainbowism	White victim template	Time Cause and consequence Change and continuity	Moral disengagement Injustice Apartheid fatigue Relative deprivation

Throughout the responses, a common trend occurred with regard to victim–perpetrator labelling. By labelling who the victim was (or in some cases still is), a judgment is made regarding the victimisation and who is responsible. Respondent 78's narrative I indicative of this victim labelling by clearly stating that Black people were the victims of White oppression. Carretero (2017b) has stated that narratives apply basic moral features when legitimising the actions of a nation-state and those living within its boundaries. Both official and unofficial history provide repeated moral judgements towards the reasoning behind important acts within a nation. There is an overarching idea that joins the moral dimension of identity contained in the NBMR and the dimension of historical master narratives that contain moral orientations. In

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understanding the underlying processes of narratives found in official and unofficial history, research by Wertsch (2004; 2007; 2012) provides a useful foundation for discussion.

Schematic narrative templates provide a theoretical basis for the prevalence of popular discourses within narrative responses. Described as a "cookie cutter" (Wertsch, 2012, p. 175) plotline, schematic narrative templates are a generalised structure of narratives which are devoid of historical facts and which are used by groups to interpret historical events by arranging them in a "schematic plotline" (Wertsch, 2012, p. 175). Such templates are especially prevalent in the transgenerational transmission of victim narratives in post-conflict societies, with my study and case being a prime example (Wertsch, 2004).

Throughout this study, and, as argued by history education scholars (Carretero, 2017a; Carretero et al., 2012; Korostelina, 2017), narratives of the past are key in identity construction, as they establish a collective continuity with a historical in-group and inform the current in-group of their common past. This inherent historical consciousness through narratives forms part of an interpretive framework of current and possible in-group trajectories (Rüsen, 1987; 2004). At this juncture, a correlation between schematic narrative templates and historical consciousness is made in that an individual's schematic narrative template is informed through the historical consciousness of the social group they belong to. Findings from the open-ended survey question on the most iconic period of historical victimisation provided a schematic narrative template which dictates the victim, the perpetrator and the action. Iconic is defined as something widely known or acknowledged for its importance (Merriam-Webster, 2020). In Table 4.1. apartheid surpassed all other events by a considerable margin. The overwhelming mention of apartheid in the narratives mirrors findings from research conducted by Angier (2017) and Wassermann (2018) which state that apartheid still remains the most important historical event, even to generations that were born after the fact.

The narratives of victimisation followed the plotline of Black oppression under White rule, whether the event be colonialism or apartheid. The civic responsibility narrative template found with the South Africanness identity – an exception to the above plotline – avoided the victim–perpetrator binaries common in victimisation narratives. Instead,

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it focused on populating a narrative template using moral judgements, multiple perspectives, cause and consequence, change and continuity, and empathy. In the context of collective victimhood, I will focus of the moral dimension, empathy, multiple perspectives, and cause and consequence.

In the responses, there was an acknowledgment of present society inequalities that were a consequence of past racial oppression, as implied in the narratives of Respondent 10 and Respondent 15. The sense of collective victimhood manifested in attitudes of inclusion, citizenship and justice, where multiple perspectives were used to view past and current group perspectives. When considering the NBMR, apologies and acknowledgement of perpetrator wrongdoing give voice to victims, their experiences and their harmed identities, resulting in a greater willingness to reconcile (Nadler & Shnabel, 2015; Noor et al., 2017). The acknowledgement and expression of empathy towards victims of the remnants left after apartheid is a topic of the History curriculum that Grade 12 learners are exposed to (Department of Basic Education, 2011a), implying that South Africanness, the civic responsibility template and the accompanying historical consciousness can be attributed to the socialisation of official history.

Black victimhood as an identity included the narration of victimisation following a "Black victim template". The template provided the basis for the interpretation and analysis of victimisation in history education where the common narrative placed Black people as the sole victims of historical victimisation. Events that fit into the Black victim template ranged from apartheid to colonialism (R48; R51; and R67), where some narratives suggested a perpetual victimisation of Black people (R12; R66; and R74). The Black victim template dictated a loss of Black agency and negative White moral judgement, whether through narratives of colonialism or the perpetual victimisation of the Black in-group. Such narratives had underlying negative emotions and beliefs regarding the victimisation of Black people. For example, Respondent 78 made use of capital letters, while Respondnent 113 mentioned that White people will never understand the impact of apartheid on current society. A sense of collective victimhood manifested in exclusive victim-consciousness, with underlying discourses of mistrust, anger and hurt, even though the respondents did not experience the victimisation personally. In terms of SIT, collective continuity through self-categorisation and a common in-group past is key to understanding the emergence of a social identity and

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collective victimhood (Korostelina, 2013; Noor et al., 2017; Tajfel, 1972, 1981; Vollhardt, 2012). In most of the narratives of Black victimisation, a collective continuity was established between the respondent and the Black victim group using personal pronouns such as “my” when alluding to the transmission of victimisation throughout the generations. Through the establishment of a collective continuity with the in-group’s common past, individuals strengthened their identification with the Black victim in-group. Change and continuity was thus used selectively to identify with the historical victim group through the establishment of a collective continuity. The lack of use of historical time in the narratives of victimisation presents the belief that the Black in-group was victim to a perpetual onslaught of victimisation throughout South African history. The lack of ordering of events suggests that Black victimhood was based on unofficial accounts of the past and the subjective internalisation of such victim narratives. The collective victimisation appeared to have no beginning and no end. The Black victim template was populated using simple causal explanations of Black victimisation, ignoring any possible staying of the accepted narrative. In this regard, historical narratives tend to be a simplistic causal explanations, often ignoring the plight of other victims during the time (Carretero, 2017a), supporting the exclusive victim consciousness manifested in Black victimhood. Focusing on apartheid as the major victimising event, albeit in an unequal manner, all racial groups suffered under apartheid, but it can be argued that the legacy of apartheid and the prevailing racial inequality in society (Adonis, 2018) perpetuates the idea that Black people were the only victims. The argument to present both sides of the apartheid victimisation story is opposed by Teeger (2015) in a study which found that teaching methods that utilised multiple perspectives of apartheid victims led to the proliferation of colour-blindness and ignorance of the legacy of apartheid in contemporary South African society. Teeger’s finding certainly supports findings under the rainbowism identity of this study but suggests that an exclusive victim-consciousness should be taught. To avoid straying from the purpose of this study by discussing teaching pedagogies, it can be argued that the internalisation of official history and the socio-economic status of Black people influences the belief that Black people were the only victims during apartheid.

Turning the focus to official and unofficial history, the CAPS History curriculum as official history narrates the victimisation of Black people during apartheid, however, it is through unofficial history that one comes to learn about Neil Aggett, Denis Goldberg,

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Ruth First and other White anti-apartheid activists. Locating the above statement within the decolonial debate, it is necessary to briefly mention that decoloniality is the practice of decolonisation where dominant practices and knowledge is critically examined (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Decoloniality is relevant as it implies that all knowledge has to be included instead of favouring and oppressing narratives above others. In the absence of White anti-apartheid activists in the history curriculum, the debate surrounding decolonising knowledge comes to the fore as CAPS is required to offer a balanced history (Kgari-Masondo, 2019). With this said, by only highlighting the Black anti-apartheid activists, it is difficult to comprehend that not all White people were in favour of the apartheid regime. In terms of perceptions and beliefs, the absence of a balanced history in this regard creates a belief that all White people were bad. In this study, the historical actors that were present centred around Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlungu, with Nelson Mandela surpassing them in frequency of mentions. The prevalence of national narratives and the focus on "great historical figures" was highlighted in the research of Carretero (2017a), and the prevailing image of Nelson Mandela as the father and hero of the nation was supported by findings from Wassermann (2017; 2018a), Kukard (2019) and Angier (2017).

Wertsch (2012) argued that schematic templates differ between groups, accounting for the different narratives from the respondents. In contrast to the Black victim narrative template, a White victim template also emerged as found in rainbowism identity. The historical consciousness that populated the narrative of the White victim template manifested in an overall moral disengagement. As discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 2, after a victimising event, the perpetrator group suffers damage to their morality. In attempts to reassert the group's positive moral image, perpetrating groups either try to undo the harm that was done, try to avoid negative emotions or try to morally disengage. Moral disengagement includes the belittling of the consequence of victimisation on the victims, avoiding the responsibility of victimisation or dehumanising the victims (Nadler & Shnabel, 2015). The evidence of how perpetrator groups go about restoring their moral image was presented in the participants' narrative responses. The moral disengagement present in the rainbowism identity and inherent in its historical consciousness was accompanied by apartheid fatigue. Apartheid fatigue was classified in this study as a victim belief as a result of collective victimisation. There was a popular belief narrated in the White victim

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template that apartheid had ended and that South Africans should, for a lack of a better phrase, "get on with their lives", as implied in the narratives of Respondent 16 and Respondent 72. A qualitative study conducted by Mueller-Hirth (2017) highlighted the concept of time in studying post-conflict societies and is important to the aforementioned. Through interviews with survivors of human rights violations, it was apparent that "experiences of violence and suffering do not belong to an (increasingly distant) apartheid past but were rather part and parcel of the supposedly peaceful and democratic post-conflict state" (Mueller-Hirth, 2017, p. 197). Mueller-Hirth (2017) argued that even though the apartheid past has ended, communities are still being victimised by the legacy of violence. Through interviews with the broader public, an apparent time limit was set on apartheid victims' needs and retributive measures, emphasising an apartheid fatigue based on the temporal gap between 1994 and the present. The victimisation through a legacy of apartheid, which centred around the generational transmission of victimisation from victims of apartheid-era atrocities to the grandchildren of these victims, was supported by Adonis (2016; 2018). Evidence supporting the continuous victimisation of the historical victims of apartheid, moral disengagement and apartheid fatigue ran throughout the White victim narrative template.

Claims of collective victimisation against the in-group becomes a mechanism to restore the group's damaged moral image. However, claims of victimisation are based on relative deprivation and the change in privilege that their in-group was historically afforded. Black victimhood and rainbowism stand in contrast to each other, with competing claims of victimisation against the in-group, where Black victimhood based its victimisation on past and present events, and rainbowism based its victimisation on present events.

Described as a comparative victim belief, competitive victimhood aids in the discussion and understanding surrounding the contrasting narratives of victimisation originating from the different narrative templates. Narratives from some of the participants suggested the presence of the continued victimisation of the Black in-group through the legacy of apartheid. It was accepted that in contemporary South African society, previously disadvantaged groups, as a result of the structural violence during apartheid, still suffer from the consequences of apartheid. The assumption of the continued victimisation of the previously disadvantaged was supported by Mueller-

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Hirth (2017) and Adonis (2018), however, there was no definitive and explicit claim of Black in-group victimisation. Although, what may have had small inklings to the presence of competitive victimhood between the White and Black in-group, competitive victimhood could not be claimed with full certainty without turning to the literature. In light of this, the related yet distinct concept of relative deprivation provided more insight into the process behind the claims of victimisation of the White in-group. In a recent study conducted by Mari, Bentrovato, Durante, and Wassermann (2020a), collective victimhood in the context of structural violence was examined, focusing on different inclusive and exclusive victim beliefs as they related to structural violence. A distinction was made between relative deprivation and competitive victimhood. Relative deprivation is defined as the social comparison of an in-group regarding what the in-group has in contrast to what they believe they should have (Mari et al., 2020a; Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012).

Feelings of relative deprivation predict negative intergroup emotions, based on the assessment that the discrepancy between in-group and out-group is unfair. Competitive victimhood is similar in this regard, however, the comparison occurs not only with an out-group, whose social standing in society is above that of the in-group, but may be with an out-group, which has a lower social standing than the in-group (Kahalon, Shnabel, Halabi, & Simantov-Nachlieli, 2019; Mari et al., 2020a). The White in-group reflected a comparative victim belief based on the perceived deprivation of the out-group. This comparison was made on the basis of the measures put in place that aimed to uplift the disadvantaged Black out-group at the perceived expense of the White in-group. Rainbowism as an identity type acknowledged the importance of transformation and reconciliation but only to the extent to which it maintained privilege. Therefore, deprivation became a key benchmark with which the White in-group assessed themselves. This meant that members of the White in-group felt victimised over the subjective perception of what the in-group had, in contrast to what they perceived they were entitled to have (Kahalon et al., 2019). This comparison is often made based on historical narratives which dictate what the group used to have compared to what they currently have. This analysis is subjective and determines the collective continuity between a past national identity of a group and its current identity. The NBMR, as previously stated, argues that following a victimising event, the perpetrator group engages in acts to rebuild their moral image. By denying the

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continuation of the White in-group identity with that of the historical perpetrator identity, the White in-group sought to maintain their moral image. The agency dimension of the NBMR has largely been reserved for the victim group, stating that victim groups engage in activities that would restore the victim group's agency. There is little known about how agency also becomes a key dimension with which perpetrator groups assess themselves after the victimisation has taken place and after measures are put in place to restore the victim group's agency (Kahalon et al., 2019; Mari et al., 2020a). The White in-group felt a diminished agency at the hands of retributive measures, which resulted in the comparative victim belief based on relative deprivation. The maintenance of privilege and defence of morality resulted in the manifestation of a sense of collective victimhood which claimed present victimisation of the in-group.

The defence of the White in-group's moral image and maintenance of positive self-image is based on the notion of colour blindness. It is interesting to note that even though change and continuity as historical thinking skills were employed in the White victim template, change was used to assess the difference in privilege, but continuity was not established with the historical White in-group. This implies that the White in-group sought to cut ties with the White perpetrator group but wished to maintain the privilege that the perpetrator in-group afforded them. The White in-group emphasised their White innocence by detaching from the current in-group identity with the historical White perpetrator. In this regard, White innocence is defined as insistence of innocence and denial of responsibility for contemporary victimisation as a legacy of the past (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017). When taking the NBMR into account, White innocence as a mechanism to maintain a positive self-image aimed to restore the morality of the White in-group. There was also a lack of empathy towards the victims of apartheid and the existence of the legacy of apartheid. Rainbowism as an identity type was distinct from South Africanness in this regard. The civic responsibility template found within South Africanness narrated historical victimisation and the legacy of apartheid using morality and empathy as benchmarks. The moral dimension and empathy were identified as historical thinking concepts as included in the socialisation of official history. It is assumed that in order to engage with narratives of historical trauma and the influence of historical trauma on contemporary society, the historical thinking concepts need multiple perspectives, as well as cause and consequence.

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This section used existing studies and literature to support the findings from the open-ended survey question. The three types of social identity that were identified included South Africanness, rainbowism and Black victimhood. Each of these identity types included a certain form of historical consciousness and a specific schematic narrative template. A sense of collective victimhood was conceptualised as a form of historical consciousness, which dictated the narration of narrative templates. The subsequent narrative templates indicated the manifestations of emotion, attitudes and beliefs as produced through the interplay between official and unofficial history.

5.4. Reflections on the Study

The strength in a research study relies on the researcher's ability to act reflectively. Reflecting on one's study is not only undertaken at the conclusion of research but throughout the whole process. Reflection regarding the methodological choices, as well as the personal and professional influences that this study had, needs to be considered.

5.4.1. Methodology

By reflecting on the chosen methodology and methods for this study, I have to consider the suitability and effectiveness of the interpretivist case study that I employed. This study formed part of a broader project on collective victimhood which my supervisor was part of and presented its own merits and challenges. The merits of working on an already existing project reduced the amount of time it would have taken to receive ethical clearance as well as collect data. In terms of ethical clearance, I was added to the original clearance certificate as a co-researcher. As a co-researcher, I inherited a largely pre-determined methodology and method of data collection. Initially the plan was to conduct focus group interviews in addition to the survey data so as to achieve methodological triangulation, which case studies are known for. What could not be predicted was the COVID-19 pandemic which derailed any plan of conducting interviews. From a qualitative research perspective, a survey was not the ideal choice of data collection. Surveys have the foundation of quantitative research because of the large sample size and generalisability of findings. The survey was sent electronically, so I was not able to provide clarity on the question or ask participants to elaborate on their answers to the question. I addressed this challenge by providing all possible interpretations of the data set, which produced thick descriptions of the

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case. These thick descriptions were effective in ensuring crystallisation and context-specific interpretations.

To generate thick descriptions of the data and in opposition to the generalisations, qualitative researchers work with a smaller sample size. The smaller sample is purposively chosen because of the specific characteristics of the group, but the time that it takes to analyse the data is far more than with quantitative data. The survey produced a large amount of data which I then analysed according to critical content analysis. If not for Atlas.Ti, the data analysis would have taken longer and, even with the bigger sample size, the survey would have produced a richer larger pool of data. However, the time consumption was relationally less than what it would have taken to manually analyse the responses.

Inheriting an established and pre-conceived research project may have presented its challenges (minus COVID-19), but I was able to use these to my advantage. Although surveys are known for statistical data and positivist-driven analysis, the larger amount of text data aided me in fully conceptualising pre-service teachers' social identity as well as gaining a deeper understanding of a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness.

5.4.2. Personal–professional

I would not describe myself as schoolbook smart. I did not achieve great results at the end of my matriculation year, with my final History mark being in the mid-60s. During my undergraduate degree, I was told that some people were just 60 "per centers" and not to get too anxious to do well. I started believing that I was only capable of achieving 60% in whatever I did. This was until I discovered research in my History honours year which then carried through to my Masters. Throughout the research process, I built more and more confidence in my own capabilities. However, this confidence taught me much needed humility. The more I read about collective victimhood and history education, the more I wanted to read. I started fantasising about getting my master's upgraded to a PhD. Thank goodness for my supervisor who brought me back to earth with a few slices of humble pie.

The supervision sessions frustrated me in their use of constructivist learning theories. At times I did not know if the sky was blue or black or green, but I had to get to the answer one way or another. I realised that my supervisor did not use vague comments

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because he wanted to see me struggle, but rather to see me grow. In hindsight, not having the correct answers immediately allowed me to grow beyond anything I could have imagined. I learnt to be independent and take the initiative when it came to this study. I also learnt how to read hieroglyphics every time my supervisor made handwritten comments. Doing this master's did not come without its sacrifices. There were long nights in the research commons, unanswered WhatsApp messages, and tears right before I left for my first wedding anniversary getaway. But it was worth it because in the end I am able to say that it did not kill me but made me stronger.

When I embarked on this research, I was already critical of the colour-blind ideology and the internalisation of the rainbow nation as a means to deflect negative emotions or feelings regarding apartheid atrocities. This does not, however, negate my history of defending my own privilege and subscribing to the fallacy that is colour blindness. I came to realise the disastrous effects of colour-blind ideology not as a means to reconciliation but as a tool to ignore racial inequality and maintain privilege. As a qualified teacher, through this study, I am able to highlight the controversial nature of teaching about a recent traumatic past, based on possible conflicting narratives found in the classroom. As History pedagogy encourages, teaching learners to use historical thinking skills when engaging with the past does not necessarily mean that learners will develop as critical thinkers. Historical thinking skills can be used and appropriated in subjective ways to suit the learner's social identity and the in-group's accepted narrative. As a part-time lecturer, I was made aware of the intergroup relations that existed in first-year education classes. I was made cognisant of how to approach lecturing that would not nurture colour blindness, but rather critical thinking. This research study has strengthened the danger of the naïve acceptance of what freedom and democracy means post-1994. The end of apartheid and advent of democracy did not mean that Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk pushed a reset button on centuries of racial tension and race-based discrimination, it meant that the proverbial "game" went up a difficulty level.

Coming from an undergraduate and postgraduate degree outside of education I had to learn the correct writing style and methodology of education research. This allowed me to broaden my scope of academic research and exposed me to a wide range of methodologies and topics. I was equipped with this whole new world of conducting research which has been brought together in five chapters.

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5.5. Review of the Study

This study had the dual purpose of understanding and conceptualising pre-service teachers' sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness which indicated specific social identities. Chapter 1 contextualised the study and established the motivations behind it. Based on the purpose outlined, the research questions were identified as guideposts for the subsequent research process. Using the research questions and purpose of the study, the literature review explored existing knowledge in the fields of social identity, history education and collective victimhood. The literature review further contextualised the study, as well as highlighted the over- and under-researched areas within the respective fields mentioned above. Drawing from the existing body of knowledge, a conceptual framework was created which informed the creation of the coding frame in Chapter 3. Constantly referring back to the research purpose and questions identified in Chapter 1, decisions were made regarding the research design and methodology. In Chapter 3, I established that this study would be a qualitative case study which formed part of an existing project. Procedural steps were thus outlined regarding the method of data collection and analysis, culminating in 138 narrative responses. The 138 narrative responses were analysed using critical content analysis combined with elements of both discourse and content analysis. Using the coding frame created in Chapter 3, as well as the conceptual framework contained in Chapter 2, I embarked on analysing the data using Atlas.Ti. Chapter 4 detailed the analysis and discussion of the findings using the conceptual framework as a guidepost. The analysis of data in Chapter 4 sought to establish the in-group and out-group, explore the narratives of agency and morality in narratives of collective victimisation and tentatively discussed the social identity conceptualised, based on the responses. South Africanness, rainbowism and Black victimhood were conceptualised as social identities prevalent in the narrative responses of the purposively sampled pre-service teachers at the University of Pretoria. Using interpretivism as my chosen paradigm in Chapter 3, I engaged in the discussion of the findings in Chapter 5 so as to provide context-specific and rich descriptions. Chapter 5 was not only dedicated to the discussion of the findings, but also to the overall conclusion of the dissertation, bringing together previous chapters. In the conclusion of the study, I have reflected on the research process by considering methodological, personal and professional aspects that were influenced by the study. The chapters contained in the dissertation

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all lead up to how this study contributes to my field of knowledge. The contribution of the study was dedicated to addressing the research questions identified in Chapter 1, namely, what was the social identity of pre-service teachers and how did a sense of collective victimhood as a form of historical consciousness manifest in the narratives of historical victimisation.

5.6. Contribution of the Study

"So what?" is the question that plagues all researchers at the end of their studies. The question speaks directly to the value of findings and the contribution of the findings to the field of research. In Chapter 1, I explored the conceptual and scholarly motivation behind this study, paving the way to possible contributions that this study may provide. At the conclusion of my study, I draw on those motivations, as well as the shortcomings of existing literature identified in Chapter 2, in addressing the value of the findings and contributions that my study may provide. This study provides a wider conceptualisation of social identity, historical consciousness, and collective victimhood by bringing together theories of social identity, historical consciousness, and collective victimhood in the contextually new setting of post-conflict South Africa.

History education and the construction of identity is a widely researched field (Friedman, 1992a; Goldberg, 2013; Haste & Bermudez, 2017; Korostelina, 2013, 2017; Kukard, 2019; Subotić, 2014), making use of SIT and the transmission of narratives. As discussed in Chapter 2, history education consists of both official and unofficial narratives, meaning that there are two streams of narratives, one founded on disciplinary history and the other on the collective memory of the group, with both contributing to identity construction. The findings from this study provided the conceptualisation of different identities for prospective teachers through the interplay between official and unofficial history. In an ideal world, the identity formed through the socialisation of history and use of historical thinking concepts is based on civic responsibility and critical thinking. In an ideal world, only one narrative of the past would exist. Alas, this is not an ideal world and multiple narratives of the past exist. Through the 138 recorded narratives for this study, three types of identities were conceptualised and the interplay of official and unofficial history discussed. Based on the unique context of post-conflict South Africa, South Africanness, rainbowism and Black victimhood were conceptualised as social identities through the socialisation of

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official and unofficial narratives of historical victimisation. The conceptualisation of the above three identities provide a valuable contribution to the existing field of history education in South Africa, as it adds to the understanding of how different narratives form conflicting social identities, leading to a breakdown of conflict resolution. Such narratives of the past not only form social identities, but also shape the historical consciousness inherent in these identities.

Historical consciousness was first theorised by the seminal work of Rüsen (1987) and further elaborated on by numerous history education scholars worldwide (Anderson, 2017; Angier, 2017; Clark & Grever, 2018; Duquette, 2015; Gadamer, 1987; Mazabow, 2003; Peck & Seixas, 2008; Rüsen, 2004; Seixas, 2017; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Zanazanian, 2010). At face value, the findings regarding historical consciousness from this study may get lost in amongst the masses. When considered in conjunction with collective victimhood scholarship and existing literature on pre-service teachers, however, this study provides valuable input. Angier (2017) and Wassermann (2018) identified the under-researched topic of the historical consciousness of learners who had recently left school, where Angier (2017) suggested the presence of a double-consciousness. A sense of collective victimhood as a form of historical consciousness separate from Rüsen's typology of historical consciousness was conceptualised, based on the negative manifestations present in the narrative. Scholars that study collective victimhood study the different victim beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and emotions as a result of the internalisation of collective victimisation narratives (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt & Nair, 2018). Thus, negative manifestations in the narrative responses alluded to a double-consciousness, with a sense of collective victimhood interplaying with the historical consciousness of the preservice teachers and not the other typologies of historical consciousness.

The theorisation of different forms of historical consciousness is not new (Rüsen, 2004; Seixas, 2017; Seixas & Peck, 2004), but the conceptualisation of a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness in prospective teachers is. This study establishes an important link between scholarship surrounding historical consciousness and collective victimhood, where traditionally in the field of collective victimhood history education has been seen as the transmitter of victimisation and nothing more (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). Theories of collective victimhood identify the transmission of victim narratives as key in understanding the prevalence

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of collective victimhood in post-conflict societies (Noor et al., 2017; Schori-Eyal et al., 2014). Accepting that history education constructs a social identity by providing a group with a common past and collective continuity (Korostelina, 2013, 2017), the victim narratives passed down throughout the generations form a victim-based identity. Teachers, as one of the many socialisers of a curriculum, are key in shaping the identity of learners. A sense of collective victimhood as indicative of a victim-based identity may influence what and how the teacher transmits the national curriculum, but more importantly, the History curriculum.

The social identities mentioned previously in this section had different inherent historical consciousnesses. In terms of collective victimhood as a victim-based identity, rainbowism and Black victimhood were conceptualised as having a sense of collective victimhood. This sense of collective victimhood manifested in negative group-based emotions, attitudes and beliefs present in the different narrative responses. The appropriation of different historical thinking skills within the narratives displayed a selective knowledge of the past. The use of historical thinking skills alluded to a historical consciousness as facilitated by official history, but the subjective use of such skills and the absence of criticality in the narratives presented a double-consciousness. The double-consciousness conceptualised in the rainbowism identity followed the notion of competitive victimhood based on the internalisation of colour-blind discourse found within unofficial history. Competitive victimhood as a comparative victim belief was in contrast to the existence of the continued victimisation of Black people through the legacy of apartheid.

In answering the “so what?” question asked at the beginning of this section, my study contributes to the existing fields of history education, identity construction, collective victimhood and historical consciousness. The findings conceptualised three separate social identities constructed through the socialisation of official and unofficial history. South Africanness, rainbowism and Black victimhood were inherent in each of the different forms of historical consciousness, where rainbowism and Black victimhood included a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness. The sense of collective victimhood in rainbowism and Black victimhood manifested in negative group-based emotions, beliefs, and attitudes. These negative manifestations presented a double-consciousness through the selective and subjective use of

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historical thinking concepts, indicating the presence of the interplay between official and unofficial history.

5.7. Conclusion

In drawing the study to a close, this chapter has aimed at situating the findings in the current literature of historical consciousness, social identity and collective victimhood. The findings were the product of systematic and procedural steps directed by two research questions, first, what was the social identity of pre-service teachers as it related to history education, and secondly, how does a sense of collective victimhood as a historical consciousness manifest in narratives of historical victimisation. The focus was, thus, on the 138 narrative responses of pre-service teachers at the University of Pretoria, and the use of historical thinking concepts in these narratives. Critical qualitative content analysis allowed for the conceptualisation of three distinct social identities, namely South Africanness, rainbowism and Black victimhood respectively. The historical consciousness which characterised South Africanness populated a civic responsibility narrative template using empathy and morality. The manifestation of historical consciousness within this specific social identity presented attitudes of justice, civic responsibility, and reconciliation. South Africanness was in contrast to the conceptualisation of rainbowism and Black victimhood as victim-based identities. Rainbowism was characterised by the internalisation of colour-blind ideology, where a sense of collective victimhood manifested in moral disengagement, competitive victimhood, apartheid fatigue and hostility towards the out-group. The sense of collective victimhood populated the White victim narrative template using selective historical thinking concepts which maintained the positive moral image of the in-group and denial of a legacy of apartheid. The sense of collective victimhood inherent in the Black victimhood identity populated the Black victim narrative template with tales of perpetual victimisation, exclusive victim consciousness, mistrust and injustice. Similar to rainbowism, Black victimhood appropriated and selectively used historical thinking concepts which portrayed a continued victimisation and loss of agency of the in-group.

The overall sense of collective victimhood was contrasted with the historical consciousness which employed the critical use of historical thinking concepts. This double-consciousness proves troubling as, even with the understanding of South

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Africa's apartheid past and use of historical thinking skills, narratives of victimisation are selectively appropriated and used by social groups. Underlying themes of citizenship and belonging paint a somewhat harrowing picture of current intergroup relations, where the civic responsibility narrative templates were trumped by that of the Black and White victim templates. The selective use of victim narratives as the formation of a victim-based identity could not only be attributed to the socialisation of official or unofficial history, but by the socio-economic status of groups. A sense of collective victimhood which is not only facilitated by history education, but by the socio-economic status of groups within society paints an unsettling picture for South Africa's road to reconciliation. The knowledge that pre-service teachers presented a sense of collective victimhood raises concern over the transmission of victimisation not only through narratives but through teaching. Thus, the enduring question prevails, can future professional identities be removed from current social identities or will tomorrow's teachers nurture a sense of collective victimhood as influenced by their own victim-based identity?

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APPENDIX A

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Pre-service teachers' social identity and sense of collective victimhood as it relates to history education

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