

“People’s Power” in the Age of Human Rights: Victims’ Contributions to Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Since South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994, the country’s transitional justice process has been criticized for inadequately addressing the race-based historical and structural injustices entrenched under colonialism and apartheid, which have left the country with one of the highest levels of inequality in the world today.¹ This chapter looks at the links between the transition and ongoing socioeconomic exclusion from the perspective of education, arguing that post-apartheid education reforms illustrate how the institutional reforms that have accompanied the global rise and dominant practice of human rights and transitional justice in the post-Cold War period do not fulfil their potential for enabling social transformation. Concentrating on the transitional preoccupation with mainstreaming human rights culture, the chapter contrasts human rights education as expressed in South Africa’s post-1994 formal curriculum and as reflected in the informal educational activities of the national apartheid victims’ organization, Khulumani Support Group.

Khulumani is a membership-based organization established in 1995 to inform victims and provide assistance when engaging with the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). With a national membership of more than 100,000 victims and branches in every province of South Africa, the organization continues to this day to advocate for accountability, truth recovery, and reparations for past abuses, while also fostering self-empowerment, solidarity, and healing among victims and their families and communities. While education is not stated as a primary aim of the organization, Khulumani engages

1 See, e.g., Colin Bundy, “The Beast of the Past: History and the TRC,” in *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, edited by Wilmot James and Linda van de Vijver (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001). The election of Nelson Mandela to the presidency in 1994 ended more than four decades of apartheid, a system of segregation that institutionalized the racial hierarchies initiated under colonialism. Using the ideology of white supremacism, the apartheid government classified the population according to race – native/Bantu/black, coloured, Indian/Asian, or European/white – and ensured the political, economic, and social subjugation of the majority, with lasting effects.

in a range of informal educational activities that have received little scholarly attention.² This chapter suggests that Khulumani's educational activities draw on the example of apartheid-era struggles for alternative and inclusive education as articulated in the concept of "People's Education." It argues that these activities go further than the post-apartheid education system in supporting active citizenship and social transformation. The activities indicate that victims' groups like Khulumani are in a position to fill a gap in national transitional justice processes by highlighting and addressing structural injustices of the past and their legacies in the present.

The chapter begins with a brief history of education reform in South Africa in relation to human rights and transitional justice in the 1990s in the context of the TRC, including Khulumani's engagement with formal education in this period. It then discusses the influence of the concept of a political, community-led, and empowerment-based People's Education as an alternative to apartheid education on the development of human rights education in the post-apartheid curriculum, as well as the failure of human rights education in South Africa to live up to its transformative promise to date. It discusses Khulumani's educational activities with the public broadly and with youth specifically beginning in the 2000s, showing how they come closer to fulfilling the goals of People's Education by dealing with historical and structural injustices in response to the "unfinished business" of the TRC after its closing. The chapter concludes with reflections on the potential role of victims' groups in education reform, with a view to bringing a more transformative agenda into transitional justice efforts to deal with past abuses.

2 For more information on Khulumani, see <http://www.khulumani.net>. As the national victims' movement in South Africa, which is considered a global "model" for transitional justice, Khulumani and its activism over the years have inspired an extensive base of scholarly literature, focusing on victims' experiences and perceptions of the truth commission (e.g., Richard Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), experiences and discourses around psychological trauma (e.g., Christopher J. Colvin, "Shifting Geographies of Suffering and Recovery: Traumatic Storytelling after Apartheid," in *Borders and Healers: Brokering Therapeutic Resources in Southeast Africa*, edited by Tracy J. Luedke and Harry G. West (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), and contributions to transitional justice practice, including a groundbreaking lawsuit seeking corporate accountability for apartheid collusion using the United States Alien Tort Statute (Rita Kesselring, *Bodies of Truth: Law, Memory, and Emancipation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

Human Rights and Education Reform during Political Transition

Education was central to the apartheid government’s efforts to entrench the discriminatory practices initiated under colonialism and to institutionalize the political, social, and economic marginalization of the majority black population. In a 1953 speech on the Bantu Education Act, which effectively created a parallel education system for black South Africans, then Education Minister H. F. Verwoerd asserted,

The school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands which the economic life will impose on him. ... There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. ... What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?³

Apartheid-era education policies ensured that black South Africans had less access to schooling and received an inferior education in under-resourced institutions with poor facilities.⁴ They also promoted the myth of white superiority and black inadequacy, teaching, as post-apartheid Education Minister Naledi Pandor noted, “white learners to see themselves as part of a larger world, while black learners were taught to accept the confines of their racial and ethnic enclaves.”⁵

Although the TRC found that the deprivation of adequate education was a cornerstone of apartheid and itself a human rights violation, the commission did not address the education system in depth. This is largely because the TRC focused on gross violations of civil and political rights, particularly relating to bodily integrity, rather than on violations of social and economic rights or the historical injustices that characterized apartheid. The commission viewed itself as but one of a number of government and civil society institutions established to address the legacies of past oppression.⁶ As a result of its resource and time constraints, the TRC made general recommendations regarding the need for transformation in education and for a human rights culture to be built through the mainstreaming of human rights education in schools.⁷ It left the detailed

3 Quoted in A. N. Pelzer, ed., *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches 1948–1966* (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966), 83.

4 Each racial group had its own education system under apartheid, with “white” students having access to high-quality and compulsory schooling, “coloured” and “Asian/Indian” students to compulsory schooling of a lesser quality, and “Bantu” students to inferior and non-compulsory schooling.

5 Grace Naledi Pandor, “Educating the Nation,” in *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, edited by Wilmot James and Linda van de Vijver (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), 187.

6 Madeleine Fullard and Nicky Rousseau, “Uncertain Borders: The TRC and the (Un)Making of Public Myths,” *KRONOS: Southern African Histories* 34, no. 1 (2008): 215–239.

7 This focus on human rights education is common among truth commissions. See Clara

thinking on education reform to other institutions, as it did with most structural issues.

The commission has since been criticized for not including the education sector in its institutional hearings, which – in order to complement public hearings where individual victims and perpetrators gave testimony – were designed to encourage institutions working in sectors such as health, media, religious communities, and business and labor to acknowledge the extent of their collaboration with the apartheid regime. The argument is that a special hearing on education might have highlighted the structural inequalities engendered by apartheid, provided insight into victims' experiences, and led to more specific recommendations, an implementation plan, and partnerships among bodies involved in implementation, including the Department of Education.⁸ As it was, little testimony was heard regarding education, with most participants in the victims' hearings focusing on loss of schooling as a result of events or traumas of apartheid, rather than on the failures and injustices of the education system itself.⁹

Already in 1998, members of Khulumani Support Group, then focused on following the work of the TRC, identified education as one of the areas the commission must address. Among their recommendations to the TRC as it drafted its final report, members included the following:

Human rights education: We recommend that the history of South Africa be presented by school textbooks in such a manner that the suffering of victims across the political spectrum be recognised. The horrendous impact of both the system of apartheid, as well as the violence that destroyed communities, should be sensitively portrayed. In this regard, the TRC should write recommendations that fit in with current re-structuring of the Education Department and ideas for a new curriculum. Similarly, we recommend that programmes that provide intensive human rights education to the general public be encouraged and institutionalised within our schools and universities. Human rights education should start at as an early age as possible.¹⁰

While Khulumani members at the time noted the need for apartheid to be recognized as an abusive system beyond individual rights violations, and stressed the need for specific recommendations on education, their demands in

Ramírez-Barat and Roger Duthie, *Education and Transitional Justice: Opportunities and Challenges for Peacebuilding* (New York: ICJT and UNICEF, 2015).

8 Veerle Dieltiens, *Learning Anew: Truth and Reconciliation in Education* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2005).

9 Ibid.

10 Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Khulumani Support Group, "Survivors' Perceptions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Suggestions for the Final Report," 1998, <http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php/publications/1705-submission-to-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-survivors-perceptions-of-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-and-suggestions-for-the-final-report.html>, accessed 17 January 2018.

this respect were limited to the mainstreaming of human rights education in the curriculum. They did not recommend that the TRC push for victim participation in education reform, nor did Khulumani publicly seek to work with the Department of Education on developing the new curriculum. Having acknowledged the importance of education, Khulumani, much like the TRC, left the specifics of education reform to post-apartheid government institutions and civil society organizations that specialized in the field. Given its focus on reparations, and in response to victim testimonies before the TRC, Khulumani began lobbying the government to provide financial assistance to victims and their family members to gain access to educational opportunities.¹¹

As the TRC was doing its work, the Department of Education was already in the process of developing a new curriculum “infused” with human rights as articulated in the new South African constitution. After being critiqued for adopting a future-oriented curriculum that was, as Linda Chisholm argues, “a compromise between old and new forces [in which] new values to which all could subscribe were articulated [and] the social content of the curriculum was underplayed,”¹² the department revised the curriculum to engage more directly with the human rights abuses of the past and their legacies, starting in Grade 4. This included the introduction of lessons on apartheid history and the TRC in Grade 9 and, in more detail, in Grade 11.¹³ While victim testimonies were used in these lessons and in various supplementary teaching resources on the TRC produced in a civil society context, Khulumani was not directly involved in the development of this educational material.¹⁴ Khulumani undertook a variety of informal educational activities that evolved over time, as will be detailed below, but its engagement with reforms in the formal education system was largely limited to the above-mentioned call for human rights mainstreaming.

The emphasis on human rights displayed by the TRC, victims, and the De-

11 Oupa Makhalemele, *Southern Africa Reconciliation Project: Khulumani Case Study* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2004). This was also one of the TRC’s recommendations.

12 Linda Chisholm, “The State of Curriculum Reform in South Africa: The Issue of Curriculum 2005,” in *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003–2004*, edited by John Daniel, Adam Habib, and Roger Southall (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2003), 272. This included avoiding the crisis in the subject of history, which previously had been used to promote colonial and apartheid ideology, by integrating it into a general Human and Social Studies learning area.

13 For an analysis of truth and reconciliation in education in South Africa, see in particular Dieltiens, *Learning Anew*. Also see Penny Enslin, “Citizenship, Identity and Myth: Educational Implications of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” *Change: Transformations in Education* 3, no. 1 (2000): 80–90.

14 For example, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, *Truth Justice Memory: DVD and Teacher Guide* (2008); Choices Program, “Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa’s Struggle,” <http://www.choices.edu/resources/detail.php?id=35>, accessed 17 January 2018.

partment of Education following the end of apartheid reflects the increasing reliance on human rights discourse that accompanied, and to some extent grew out of, political transitions as the Cold War came to an end. Human rights discourse was a way to grasp and discuss the complex shifts in values, social relations, and notions of citizenship that attended these changes in the local and global political order. As Paige Arthur has argued, human rights gained currency globally in the context of the decline of left-wing political movements and thought with the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the attendant increase in the relevance of democratic systems, preference for rapid legal-institutional reform over theories of long-term socioeconomic “modernization,” and move from structural analyses of social change to an emphasis on agency and choice.¹⁵ In the South African transitional context, the idea of a human rights culture suggested a decisive break with the abuses of apartheid and the advent of a new order consisting of active citizenship, social transformation, reconciliation, and a common political identity.¹⁶

Yet, in its connection with transitional justice, the human rights discourse has proved inadequate in addressing historical and structural injustices that hinder real transformation, given both its historical focus on civil and political rights and its post-Cold War application as a tool of abrupt legal-institutional reform. In addition, human rights discourse in transitional contexts, combined with the increasing emphasis on individual agency over structural change noted by Arthur, legitimizes not only political liberalization but also economic liberalization.¹⁷ In this context, human rights and transitional justice as practiced in most countries, while containing the potential for enabling social transformation and greater equality, have become instrumental to the spread of the neoliberal free market paradigm and its focus on individual competitiveness, as well as its attendant increases in socioeconomic inequality and tendency to deepen historical and structural marginalization.¹⁸

Although education in transitional justice contexts has received limited attention,¹⁹ education reform is a site where the conservative implications of the interaction of transitional justice, human rights, and liberalization are visible. As is demonstrated in the next section, the rapid institutional reform that accom-

15 Paige Arthur, “How ‘Transitions’ Reshaped Human Rights: A Conceptual History of Transitional Justice,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 31 (2009): 321–367.

16 Enslin, “Citizenship, Identity and Myth.”

17 Rosemary Nagy, “Transitional Justice as Global Project: Critical Reflections,” *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2008): 275–289.

18 Paul Gready and Simon Robins, “From Transitional to Transformative Justice: A New Agenda for Practice,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 8, no. 3 (2014): 339–361. See also William Davies, *The Limits of Neoliberalism: Authority, Sovereignty and the Logic of Competition* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2014).

19 Ramírez-Barat and Duthie, *Education and Transitional Justice*.

panies political transitions often fails to take into account the socioeconomic legacies of the previous period, and as a result the change is often more symbolic than actual, a nod to international norms rather than a response to local specificities. This approach prioritizes what Paul Gready and Simon Robins describe as “the creation of institutions over a contextualized engagement with the welfare of the population, creating ‘empty’ organizations paralyzed by a lack of capacity rather than responding to the everyday needs of the new state’s citizens.”²⁰

Discussing the South African education system, Jonathan Jansen has similarly argued that the state after the political transition was preoccupied with “settling policy struggles in the political domain rather than in the realm of practice,”²¹ which accounts for much of the disconnect between educational policy and implementation. As the following brief history of curriculum reform demonstrates, this is particularly clear in regard to human rights education in South Africa.

Human Rights Education, Curriculum Reform, and New Citizens in South Africa

Post-apartheid educational reform was a response to the country’s “transitional moment” but also emerged from long-standing efforts to challenge the apartheid education system. In fact, education was long a site of struggle in South Africa, with examples including resistance to segregated schooling under colonialism, the establishment of alternative schools for black workers in the early twentieth century, the establishment of independent schools for black students in the 1940s, and frequent unrest after the passing of the Bantu Education Act that culminated in the 1976 Soweto student uprising and massacre, today commemorated as Youth Day.²² Subsequent school boycotts around the country led educationalists, activists, politicians, and other stakeholders into a public debate regarding the future of education in South Africa that by the mid-1980s coalesced into a broad-based movement for People’s Education.

People’s Education as a concept was characterized by an emphasis on collective experience and a “culture of sharing”; knowledge arising from organization and action; education being political; respect for ordinary people’s knowledge and skills; and education being empowering and leading to trans-

20 Gready and Robins, “From Transitional to Transformative Justice,” 341.

21 Jonathan Jansen, “Political Symbolism as Policy Craft: Explaining Nonreform in South African Education after Apartheid,” *Journal of Education Policy* 17, no. 2 (2002): 199–215.

22 Peter Kallaway, ed., *The History of Education under Apartheid, 1948–1994* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); Rehana Muhammad, “The People’s Education Movement in South Africa: A Historical Perspective,” MA thesis (Rand Afrikaans University, 1996).

formation.²³ Although participants disagreed on whether the movement was an effort to design a new education system, an approach to encouraging critical thinking and dialogue on the meaning of education while acknowledging everyday realities in marginalized communities, or even a method for political mobilization,²⁴ People's Education was generally understood as "education that puts people in command of their lives" to the extent that "every initiative must come from the people themselves and must advance the broad mass of students, not just a select few."²⁵ This gave rise to the movement's slogan: "people's education for people's power." While it very much emerged from South African responses to exclusionary education, People's Education was also influenced by Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.²⁶

As André Keet and Nazir Carrim argue, the principles of People's Education shaped the post-apartheid understanding of human rights education. They note that "constructions of [human rights education] within curricula across the world are determined by particular historical, social, economic and political trajectories and encompassed by the idea of a human rights culture."²⁷ In South Africa, this meant a focus on reconciliation, active citizenship, equality through social transformation, and the construction of a common political identity. Human rights education, with its promotion of social change and reference to Freire's work, seemed like an organic and legitimate outgrowth of apartheid-era attempts at inclusive education. Human rights education was also, like transitional justice, an increasingly accepted international norm that signalled a state's "maturation" into a democracy and that was applied particularly in countries undergoing political transition.²⁸

While the rationale for including human rights education in the new curriculum had clear links to the past in South Africa, the fact that human rights education as a subject is not clearly defined, either conceptually or in practice, allowed it to be implemented in a manner that in many ways fell short of the principles of People's Education. As outlined by Nancy Flowers, this is an issue endemic to human rights education globally, as different stakeholders have different understandings of what it actually means and what its role in social

23 Linda Cooper, "The Implications of the National Qualifications Framework for Emancipatory Education in South Africa," in *Reconstruction, Development and the National Qualifications Framework* (Johannesburg: Centre for Education Policy Development, 1998).

24 Glenda Kruss, *People's Education: An Examination of the Concept* (Bellville: Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape, 1988).

25 Zwelakhe Sisulu, quoted in *ibid.*, 18.

26 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Ramos (New York: Continuum, 1968).

27 André Keet and Nazir Carrim, "Human Rights Education and Curricular Reform in South Africa," *Journal of Social Science Education* 5, no. 1 (2006): 91.

28 Felisa Tibbitts and Peter G. Kirchsclaeger, "Perspectives of Research on Human Rights Education," *Journal of Human Rights Education* 2, no. 1 (2010): 8–29.

change could be. According to Flowers, while governmental definitions of human rights education tend to center on the role of the state and on preserving order and continuity, interpretations within civil society tend to be more varied and to stress transformation, critical thinking, and grassroots experiences and solutions, at times in opposition to the state order.²⁹ This dynamic can be seen in education as well as other policy areas in South Africa, where most assumed that the post-apartheid government and other institutions would follow through on transformative agendas outlined during the struggle period, particularly as many anti-apartheid activists entered the government in the 1990s. As noted above, this expectation certainly informed the TRC’s work. After the political transition, however, the negotiated settlement and governmental interests gave rise to conservative interpretations of reform that once more rendered education policy formation and implementation sites of contestation.

Human rights education and the development of a human rights culture in education encompass many elements, including policy formation, curriculum and educational materials development, management, budgeting, ensuring access to schooling, and taking into account teacher and student capacities. Each of these elements comes with a host of challenges,³⁰ the most salient of which for the purposes of this chapter is the tension created by the combination of political and economic liberalization that attends transitional justice, and how it manifests in education.

On a practical level, the South African government has been attempting to address apartheid-era inequality by guaranteeing access to quality education for previously marginalized communities. At the same time, however, it has also adopted a neoliberal framework that demands budget cuts as part of a smaller role for government, the establishment of independent school-governing bodies which in an effort to ensure high-quality education set school fees that exclude many students, and the adoption of an international model of outcomes-based education that has faced implementation problems, for example due to teacher and student capacity emerging from apartheid-era inequality.³¹ Although improvements have been made overall to the education system, the socioeconomic make-up of most schools and the communities in which they are based has not changed since apartheid.

With regard to a human rights culture, the government has reformed the

29 Nancy Flowers, “What Is Human Rights Education?” in *A Survey of Human Rights Education* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Verlag, 2003), 107–118.

30 For more on education reform in post-apartheid South Africa, see Kallaway, *The History of Education*; Dieltiens, *Learning Anew*; Linda Chisholm, “The State of South Africa’s Schools,” in *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004–2005*, edited by John Daniel, Roger Southall, and Jessica Lutchman (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2005), 201–226.

31 Chisholm, “The State of South Africa’s Schools.”

curriculum so as to teach post-apartheid citizens reparative values based on reconciliation, equality, and solidarity in commonality, while simultaneously teaching individual competitiveness and productivity in the South African and the global economy that promotes the image of “pulling oneself up by one’s bootstraps.”³² As noted in Daniel Hammett and Lynn Staeheli’s study of citizenship education in South African schools, students in well-resourced schools see little direct evidence around them of the inequality that must be addressed, while students in historically under-resourced schools must reconcile discussion of human rights and economic opportunity with their lived reality of struggling to pay school fees and the low likelihood of finding employment even in the event of graduating.³³ Although the curriculum acknowledges apartheid-era oppression, it is forward-looking to the extent that the continuities between past and present inequalities are masked and the onus of both ensuring and embodying human rights while also creating economic opportunity for oneself is individualized.³⁴ Rather than being taught to accept the confines of their racial and ethnic enclaves as they were under Bantu Education,³⁵ most post-apartheid black students are taught that their inability to access the job market and improve their family’s living conditions is more a result of individual failure than of structural constraints,³⁶ and in fact that structural constraints are no longer a sociopolitical issue.

The Department of Education linked values and market readiness in its 2001 *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy*, noting that

being educated for “meaningful participation in society” means being educated for the marketplace as much as for good citizenship and that, indeed, productivity and responsibility are interdependent. ... We educate young people not only for the market but for good citizenship, too.³⁷

The Manifesto thereby both asserts the relationship and acknowledges the potential tension between the two. While the Manifesto outlines very broad strategies for incorporating values, good citizenship, and human rights into education, it offers little specific guidance on how to actually teach these, particularly as human rights are not a separate subject but rather are intended to be “infused” throughout the curriculum.³⁸

32 Keet and Carrim, “Human Rights Education.”

33 Daniel Hammett and Lynn A. Staeheli, *Citizenship Education in South Africa: A Report to Schools* (Swindon: Economic and Social Research Council, 2009).

34 Salim Vally, “From People’s Education to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa,” *Review of African Political Economy* 34 (2007): 39–56.

35 Pandor, “Educating the Nation.”

36 Vally, “From People’s Education.”

37 Department of Education, *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (2001), 11.

38 For example, the document cites previous research on infusing human rights into the cur-

In 2005, the Department of Education attempted to concretize human rights education with a guide on *Values and Human Rights in the Curriculum*, which offers direction on how to use a variety of teaching materials to illustrate and encourage critical thinking about human rights. The guide recommends using materials such as apartheid-era newspaper clippings and post-apartheid images of townships to generate discussion of, for example, inequality, discrimination, and exploitative practices in business.³⁹ While issues of social justice are raised, the guide is an example of the governmental approach to human rights education, highlighting the role of the state, the importance of order, and approaches to social justice that focus on mutual tolerance, common political identity, individual responsibility, and reform, as opposed to substantive redress and transformation.⁴⁰

This brief discussion of human rights education suggests how the post-apartheid government adopted educational policies that did not take into account the socioeconomic realities of South Africa or how these would undermine the reforms, creating another largely “empty” institution along the lines argued by Gready and Robins, as noted above.⁴¹ These socioeconomic realities emerged from apartheid, but they have become more entrenched through the free market paradigm and its focus on individual competitiveness in the democratic period. While the inclusion of human rights education symbolically signals a break with past abuses and the government’s commitment to transformation through the incorporation of international norms, the way in which it has been implemented in the transitional context undermines the principles and efforts towards social change from which the human rights education approach emerged. In contrast, the next section shows how Khulumani members have used their positionality as victims, activists, and members of marginalized communities to raise public and youth awareness of increasing social inequality and of the continuities between apartheid-era and post-apartheid socioeconomic exclusion. They have thus adopted an approach to human rights education that is closer to the transformative principles of People’s Education.

riculum, stating, “In the natural sciences, students will be encouraged to understand environmental issues and allied human rights concerns that go with them,” but without specifying how this would be operationalized. *Ibid.*, 26.

39 Department of Education, *Values and Human Rights in the Curriculum: A Guide* (2005).

40 This orientation is prevalent throughout the document (*ibid.*). An example is the guide’s approach to geography, which focuses on increasing students’ “critical awareness of issues of fairness, equity and justice” (128), with specific reference to socioeconomic rights and sustainable development. The guide fails to link the legacy of apartheid-era segregation and forced removals to the socioeconomic marginalization of areas previously earmarked for populations classified as “non-white,” and also neglects grassroots efforts to address this marginalization.

41 Gready and Robins, “From Transitional to Transformative Justice,” 341.

Khulumani's Contributions to (People's) Education

As described above, Khulumani's engagement with the formal educational reform process in South Africa has been limited to lobbying for financial assistance for education as a form of reparation and recommending the mainstreaming of human rights education in the curriculum. While Khulumani did not participate in the reform process, it did begin engaging in public education campaigns soon after its formation. Over time, this evolved into informal educational activities – ranging from mentoring youth arts groups and organizing youth dialogues to offering training in “citizen journalism” – with an increasing focus on socio-economic exclusion as a legacy of apartheid. While Khulumani's educational work calls for further research, this short chapter offers a close reading of Khulumani's public statements in order to demonstrate the organization's links to People's Education, which has implications for human rights education in the South African and other transitional contexts.

Khulumani's early public education campaigns took the form of demonstrations and submission of demands to the government, raising awareness through the media, and the recruitment and mobilization of new members. In time, the organization developed two memory projects, the 1997 performance piece “The Story I Am About to Tell,” which saw founding members of Khulumani participating in the writing and performance of a play about their experiences under apartheid, and the 2004 exhibition “Breaking the Silence: *A Luta Continua*,” which presented artwork by Khulumani members depicting the effects of apartheid-era traumas on their bodies and lives. The projects had both developmental and dialogic elements, encouraging the sharing of experiences among members through storytelling with a view to building solidarity and facilitating healing as well as promoting dialogue in their audiences on the often hidden realities and legacies of apartheid.⁴² A later showing of “Breaking the Silence” explicitly stated the organization's educational goals, noting that the exhibition aimed “to give the unacknowledged heroes and survivors of the struggle against apartheid a chance to remember and express their experiences, and to create a record that might honour their sacrifice and educate future generations.”⁴³

42 See April Sizemore-Barber, “Stages of Complicity, Stages of Healing: A Look at Two Theatrical Responses to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” and Kay Schaffer, “Memory Work and Memorialisation in the New South Africa,” in Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Chris Van Der Merwe, eds., *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness: Perspectives on the Unfinished Journeys of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

43 Khulumani, “Breaking the Silence: *A Luta Continua* – An Exhibition of Memory and Healing Work,” 10 June 2011, <http://www.khulumani.net/component/k2/item/484-breaking-the-si>

In the mid-2000s, after the closing of the TRC, Khulumani decided to expand its work beyond “apartheid atrocities” and engage with current human rights issues, including socioeconomic rights.⁴⁴ In 2009–2010, this evolved into a strategic focus on promoting “socioeconomic transformation” in victims’ lives.⁴⁵ Khulumani’s public education activities accordingly began to engage with post-apartheid realities and the challenges of poverty and inequality faced by members in their families and communities. Acknowledging the intergenerational impact of apartheid-era oppression as well as post-apartheid marginalization, Khulumani also began working explicitly with youth, including children, adolescents, and people in their early 20s, engaging in informal educational activities that emphasized intergenerational dialogue and learning. These new activities have highlighted Khulumani members’ awareness of the continuities between past and present exclusion as well as their own resilience, solutions to problems, and roles as educators for young people.

Khulumani’s national director Marjorie Jobson acknowledged this shift in the organization’s approach, noting that, in the late 2000s, members increasingly asserted “their perspectives and contributions to the continuing struggle to build a society based on ‘*democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights*’ in which the quality of life of all citizens is progressively improved.”⁴⁶ In a personal essay published on the organization’s website, Khulumani’s national coordinator NomaRussia Bonase went further in articulating the shift:

In my community, we see inequalities which stand at the roots of our lives: the poverty of information, the poverty of justice, the poverty of skills; all of these inter-relate with the poverty of fundamental needs – we lack food, water, housing, even a clean environment. These poverties build upon each other. Even if you have food and water, if you do not have information and skills and access to justice, you cannot come up with ways to create a better life. ... We fought apartheid to create a system where our people can discuss and debate, and vote for our own government. Now, we need forums and structures which create space to explore ideas and possibilities to work through to completion. ... Our vision is that in ten years time poverty should be alleviated. But this will depend upon what we do, whether we can implement our strategies and tactics, and make fundamental changes in our lives.⁴⁷

lence-a-luta-continua-an-exhibition-of-memory-and-healing-work.html, accessed 17 January 2018.

44 Khulumani, “Resolutions: National Steering Committee Meeting,” internal document (2006), 3.

45 Email communication, Khulumani national director, 1 August 2017.

46 Khulumani, *Annual Report, 2012–2013* (2013), 4. Emphasis in original, referencing the Preamble to South Africa’s constitution.

47 Khulumani, “Exploring My Thinking on Poverty – An Essay,” 16 August 2010, <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/511-exploring-my-thinking-on-poverty-an-essay.html>,

Khulumani has employed a range of strategies in addressing post-apartheid socioeconomic exclusion, such as working with a community in Eastern Cape Province on accessing clean water and supporting the widows of striking miners killed by police at Marikana through memory projects and advocacy aimed at improving living conditions.⁴⁸ However, much of Khulumani's work in this regard has consisted of informal educational activities with young people. Examples include mentoring youth arts groups, involving youth in arts and crafts projects aimed at capacity building and income generation, training community-based "citizen journalists," organizing youth dialogues on apartheid legacies, and holding workshops with secondary-school students on issues such as active citizenship, community organizing, and healthy sexual relationships.⁴⁹

More specifically, in 2010, Khulumani began working with Officially Offside, a group of young community activists in Grahamstown in Eastern Cape Province who use art forms such as music, performance, and comics to encourage "social interaction and political conscientising" and to support young people to, as activist Xolile Madinda notes,

find our freedom in our art to take back the capacities that seem to have been taken from people and communities. Apartheid caused the destruction of our communities and also the capacities of people to think for themselves and to direct their own lives. Finding the stories of Khulumani Support Group has been a blessing to us as the youth.⁵⁰

In 2012, the organization formed the Khulumani Forum Theatre Group, training young people in Soweto in Gauteng Province to develop performance pieces based on dialogue with Khulumani members and addressing topics such as reparations, identity, and the effects of HIV/AIDS. This form of community interactive theatre is informed by Augusto Boal's theatre of the oppressed, itself influenced by Paulo Freire's thinking. It aims to educate young people, draw on Khulumani members' experiences as victims and as community-based activists, and to encourage dialogue in the communities where the pieces are performed.⁵¹

accessed 17 January 2018. In 2017, Ms. Bonase received the Anne Klein Women's Award from the Heinrich Böll Foundation for her women's rights activism.

48 See Khulumani.net.

49 Khulumani, "Some Examples of Khulumani's Active Citizenship," 16 July 2010, <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/394-some-examples-of-khulumanis-active-citizenship.html>, accessed 17 January 2018. See also more examples in the "Active Citizenship" and "Truth and Memory" archives on Khulumani's website.

50 Quoted in Khulumani, "Acoustic Soul Presents: Freedom Express!" 23 April 2012, <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/650-acoustic-soul-presents-freedom-express-25-april-makhayas-lodge-fingo-township-grahamstown.html>, accessed 17 January 2018.

51 Khulumani, "Appreciation for Mouhamadou Diol's Work at the Khulumani Forum Theatre Group," 26 July 2012, <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/676-appreciation-for->

In 2014, Khulumani organized a Youth Day PhotoWalk with students based in Soweto to examine the extent to which young people understand what happened during the Soweto uprising and identify gaps in the teaching of history in schools.⁵² In 2017, Khulumani began designing a research-based advocacy project to improve the education, healthcare, and housing situations of victims’ families in Western Cape Province, which includes intergenerational dialogues with an educational bent between elderly Khulumani members and their younger family members.⁵³

These examples demonstrate ways in which Khulumani’s informal educational activities link the past and the present, emphasizing the value of members’ experiences as apartheid-era victims and as post-apartheid activists, as well as encouraging youth and their communities to use their knowledge to effect change. In particular, they are rooted in ordinary people’s lived experiences, with initiatives designed and implemented by participants based on their stories. Here, Khulumani members are seen as embedded in their communities, both empowered and empowering others, particularly youth, to address immediate and structural problems and to see themselves as collectively instrumental in social transformation. As such, Khulumani follows firmly in the tradition of People’s Education.⁵⁴

In line with Flowers’ argument that state approaches to human rights education tend to be more conservative than those from civil society,⁵⁵ Khulumani’s educational activities demonstrate a more transformative vision of human rights education than that displayed in the formal curriculum, encouraging critical thinking, learning from ordinary people’s experiences, and validating grassroots solutions while explicitly using and connecting the language of human rights and social transformation within the framework of intergenerational exchange and learning.⁵⁶ The organization’s educational activities often stress autonomy from

mouhamadou-diols-work-at-the-khulumani-forum-theatre-group.html, accessed 17 January 2018.

52 Khulumani, “Report on the Khulumani National Youth Day Photowalk in Soweto on 16 June 2014,” 4 July 2014, <http://www.khulumani.net/truth-memory/item/978-report-on-the-khulumani-national-youth-day-photowalk-in-soweto-on-16-june-2014.html>, accessed 17 January 2018.

53 Yanelisa Sishuba, Sindiswa Nunu, Nompumelelo Njana, Agnes Ngxukuma, Brian Mphahlele, and Jasmina Brankovic, *Conducting Participatory Action Research with Apartheid Survivors: Lessons from “Addressing Socioeconomic Drivers of Violence in Khulumani Communities”* (Cape Town: Khulumani Support Group Western Cape and Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2017).

54 See Cooper, “The Implications of the National Qualifications Framework.”

55 Flowers, “What Is Human Rights Education?”

56 For example, Jobson has noted that “central to [Khulumani’s] advocacy efforts is the focus on measures for socioeconomic transformation of the lives of victims through efforts to facilitate access to equal rights, resources and power. ... Khulumani is committed to remem-

the state, which, in combination with its demands for redress from government – frequently through adversarial tactics such as demonstrations and challenges in the media – question the state order as it currently stands. Demonstrating the impact of this approach to human rights education, a Grade 12 student, Pretty Masombuka, at the 2011 Khulumani Mpumalanga Victim Empowerment for Active Citizenship Workshop asserted, “We are born free and equal. We all have the right to freedom of expression. This means that we are free to think and to share what we think.”⁵⁷

Victims’ Groups and Education in Transition

Khulumani Support Group’s informal educational activities are part of its work of addressing the “unfinished business” of the TRC and highlighting that South Africa’s transition is ongoing. After the TRC closed in the early 2000s, Khulumani decided to expand its work on redress for past abuses to current human rights issues, as well as to engage with young people. Both decisions point to its increasing concern with the persistence of historical and structural injustices after the shift to democracy and with the intergenerational effects of socio-economic marginalization on victims and their families and communities. With these decisions, the organization demonstrated an awareness that apartheid-era struggles for inclusion and transformation would not end with the change in government or with the legal-institutional reforms that accompanied the transitional justice process, despite expectations to the contrary shared by most South Africans in the 1990s.

Khulumani in effect queries the ways in which human rights and transitional justice are practiced in most transitional contexts, including their contribution to the rise of economic liberalization and a culture of competitiveness, which do not address, and in fact often exacerbate, historical injustices and structural inequality. This chapter has argued that educational reform in countries undergoing political transition is a site where the conservative implications of the interaction of transitional justice, human rights, and economic liberalization

bering and honouring the committed actions of its members and to creating opportunities for intergenerational exchanges to inform understandings of the present with this knowledge and experiences.” Quoted in Khulumani, “Living with the Past: Remembering Dis-(re)membering and Ideals of Justice,” 11 June 2011, <http://www.khulumani.net/truth-memory/item/489-living-with-the-past-remembering-disremembering-and-ideals-of-justice.html>, accessed 17 January 2018.

57 Khulumani, “Grade 12 Learner Speech at Active Citizenship Workshop, Mpumalanga,” 1 April 2011, <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/446-grade-12-learner-speech-at-active-citizenship-workshop-mpumalanga.html>, accessed 17 January 2018.

become visible. The discussion of Khulumani’s informal educational activities, specifically as an example of a civil society-driven approach to human rights education that stands in contrast to state-driven efforts and that questions state order in its current form, has attempted to show an alternative engagement with human rights and transitional justice that has more transformative potential.

The chapter invites the question as to whether state institutions and reforms necessarily stress order and continuity, and whether it is therefore the role of civil society, social movements, and ordinary citizens to push a more transformative agenda, at least in today’s global economic and political environment. Do the latter need to be on the “outside” in order to promote and effect substantive change? Looking at education reform in transitional contexts, could victims’ groups like Khulumani push a transformative agenda if they worked with the government to develop new curricula, particularly within human rights education?

To date, victims have been included in curricula primarily in the form of their stories. Victims’ experiences as articulated in testimony before truth commissions or courts, in media accounts, or in civil society knowledge products, are used to root lessons in real experience and to promote dialogue among students, as well as to represent human rights abuses. While victims’ stories are valuable as an educational tool – and Khulumani accepted this by recommending in 1998 that victims’ experiences be “sensitively portrayed” in school textbooks⁵⁸ – this approach places victims in the familiar position of passivity. In most teaching materials, victims are frozen in the moment of their victimization or in the moment of first articulating their experience of victimization in public. Their experience in other roles, particularly as agents of change, is eclipsed by their positionality as subjects of transitional justice policies.⁵⁹ In addition, abuses are framed as occurring in the past and not the present, while transition is portrayed as a time-bound event rather than an ongoing process with stakeholders negotiating political, social, and economic realities long after the moment of political transition from authoritarianism or conflict. The context of victims’ experiences and stories is not provided by the victims themselves.

Victims’ groups are in a position to frame and present victims’ stories in a way that highlights a holistic view of human rights and challenges pre-transition historical narratives, as well as emphasizing continuities between the past and present. In most transitional contexts, they are in a position to demonstrate the relevance of socioeconomic rights and to challenge hierarchies of victimhood

58 CSVR and Khulumani, “Survivors’ Perceptions.”

59 For insights into agency and victimhood, see Gudrun Dahl, “Sociology and Beyond: Agency, Victimisation and the Ethics of Writing,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37 (2009): 391–407; Tessa Lacerda, “‘Victim’: What Is Hidden Behind This Word?” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 10 (2016): 179–188.

promoted by the traditional emphasis on civil and political rights violations, providing a broader view of who suffered pre-transition harms. They can show the importance of addressing historical and structural injustices through ongoing transitional justice efforts and through government institutions and policies in order to prevent their reoccurrence. This approach could place victims at the center of ongoing transitions rather than on the periphery of transitional justice.⁶⁰

The choice between collaborating with government on formal education reform or working on informal educational activities may be a false one, as victims' groups could work with government while at the same time undertaking independent educational activities, collaborating with other civil society groupings on supplementary teaching materials, or taking another route. In any case, the role of victims' groups in education as well as the relationship between transitional justice and education call for additional research given that education throws into relief many of the challenges of political transition in the age of human rights.

Bibliography

- Arthur, Paige. "How 'Transitions' Reshaped Human Rights: A Conceptual History of Transitional Justice." *Human Rights Quarterly* 31 (2009): 321–367.
- Bonase, NomaRussia. "Exploring My Thinking on Poverty – An Essay." 16 August 2010, <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/511-exploring-my-thinking-on-poverty-an-essay.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Bundy, Colin. "The Beast of the Past: History and the TRC." In *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, edited by Wilmot James and Linda van de Vijver. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001.
- Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Khulumani Support Group. "Survivors' Perceptions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Suggestions for the Final Report." 1998. <http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php/publications/1705-submission-to-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-survivors-perceptions-of-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-and-suggestions-for-the-final-report.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.

60 See Simon Robins, "Towards Victim-Centred Transitional Justice: Understanding the Needs of Families of the Disappeared in Postconflict Nepal," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5 (2011): 75–98. Clearly this would be a simpler project with a unified national victims' group, such as Khulumani. Many transitional contexts have multiple and at times contesting victims' groups with varying demands as a result of different cycles of violence and their effects on different population groups. The line between perpetrator and victim is frequently blurred. The relationship between the state and victims' groups is also often adversarial. Finally, the urge to romanticize or overburden victims' groups must be acknowledged.

- Chisholm, Linda. "The State of Curriculum Reform in South Africa: The Issue of Curriculum 2005." In *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003–2004*, edited by John Daniel, Adam Habib, and Roger Southall. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2003.
- Chisholm, Linda. "The State of South Africa's Schools." In *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004–2005*, edited by John Daniel, Roger Southall, and Jessica Lutchman. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2005.
- Choices Program. "Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle." <http://www.choices.edu/resources/detail.php?id=35>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Colvin, Christopher J. "Shifting Geographies of Suffering and Recovery: Traumatic Storytelling after Apartheid." In *Borders and Healers: Brokering Therapeutic Resources in Southeast Africa*, edited by Tracy J. Luedke and Harry G. West. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Cooper, Linda. "The Implications of the National Qualifications Framework for Emancipatory Education in South Africa." In *Reconstruction, Development and the National Qualifications Framework*. Johannesburg: Centre for Education Policy Development, 1998.
- Dahl, Gudrun. "Sociology and Beyond: Agency, Victimisation and the Ethics of Writing." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37 (2009): 391–407.
- Davies, William. *The Limits of Neoliberalism: Authority, Sovereignty and the Logic of Competition*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2014.
- Department of Education. *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy*. 2001.
- Department of Education. *Values and Human Rights in the Curriculum: A Guide*. 2005.
- Dieltiens, Veerle. *Learning Anew: Truth and Reconciliation in Education*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2005.
- Enslin, Penny. "Citizenship, Identity and Myth: Educational Implications of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission." In *Change: Transformations in Education* 3, no. 1 (2000).
- Flowers, Nancy. "What Is Human Rights Education?" In *A Survey of Human Rights Education*. Hamburg: Bertelsmann Verlag, 2003.
- Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Trans. Myra Ramos. New York: Continuum, 1968.
- Fullard, Madeleine and Nicky Rousseau. "Uncertain Borders: The TRC and the (Un)Making of Public Myths." *KRONOS: Southern African Histories* 34, no. 1 (2008): 215–239.
- Gready, Paul and Simon Robins. "From Transitional to Transformative Justice: A New Agenda for Practice." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 8, no. 3 (2014): 339–361.
- Hammett, Daniel and Lynn A. Staeheli. *Citizenship Education in South Africa: A Report to Schools*. Swindon: Economic and Social Research Council, 2009.
- Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. *Truth Justice Memory: DVD and Teacher Guide*. 2008.
- Jansen, Jonathan. "Political Symbolism as Policy Craft: Explaining Nonreform in South African Education after Apartheid." *Journal of Education Policy* 17, no. 2 (2002): 199–215.
- Kallaway, Peter, ed. *The History of Education under Apartheid, 1948–1994*. New York: Peter Lang, 2002.

- Keet, André and Nazir Carrim. "Human Rights Education and Curricular Reform in South Africa." *Journal of Social Science Education* 5, no. 1 (2006): 87–105.
- Kesselring, Rita. *Bodies of Truth: Law, Memory, and Emancipation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Kruss, Glenda. *People's Education: An Examination of the Concept*. Bellville: Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape, 1988.
- Khulumani. "Breaking the Silence: A Luta Continua – An Exhibition of Memory and Healing Work." 10 June 2011. <http://www.khulumani.net/component/k2/item/484-breaking-the-silence-a-luta-continua-an-exhibition-of-memory-and-healing-work.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Khulumani. "Resolutions: National Steering Committee Meeting." Internal document. 2006.
- Khulumani. *Annual Report, 2012–2013*. 2013.
- Khulumani. "Some Examples of Khulumani's Active Citizenship." 16 July 2010. <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/394-some-examples-of-khulumanis-active-citizenship.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Khulumani. "Acoustic Soul Presents: Freedom Express!" 23 April 2012. <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/650-acoustic-soul-presents-freedom-express-25-april-makhas-lodge-fingo-township-grahamstown.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Khulumani. "Appreciation for Mouhamadou Diol's Work at the Khulumani Forum Theatre Group." 26 July 2012. <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/676-appreciation-for-mouhamadou-diols-work-at-the-khulumani-forum-theatre-group.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Khulumani. "Report on the Khulumani National Youth Day Photowalk in Soweto on 16 June 2014." 4 July 2014. <http://www.khulumani.net/truth-memory/item/978-report-on-the-khulumani-national-youth-day-photowalk-in-soweto-on-16-june-2014.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Khulumani. "Living with the Past: Remembering Dis(re)membering and Ideals of Justice." 11 June 2011. <http://www.khulumani.net/truth-memory/item/489-living-with-the-past-remembering-disremembering-and-ideals-of-justice.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Khulumani. "Grade 12 Learner Speech at Active Citizenship Workshop, Mpumalanga." 1 April 2011. <http://www.khulumani.net/active-citizens/item/446-grade-12-learner-speech-at-active-citizenship-workshop-mpumalanga.html>. Accessed 17 January 2018.
- Lacerda, Tessa. "'Victim': What is Hidden Behind This Word?" *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 10 (2016): 179–188.
- Makhalemele, Oupa. *Southern Africa Reconciliation Project: Khulumani Case Study*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2004.
- Muhammad, Rehana. "The People's Education Movement in South Africa: A Historical Perspective." MA thesis. Rand Afrikaans University, 1996.
- Nagy, Rosemary. "Transitional Justice as Global Project: Critical Reflections." *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2008): 275–289.
- Pandor, Grace Naledi. "Educating the Nation." In *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, edited by Wilmot James and Linda van de Vijver. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001.

- Pelzer, A.N., ed. *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches 1948–1966*. Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966.
- Ramírez-Barat, Clara and Roger Duthie. *Education and Transitional Justice: Opportunities and Challenges for Peacebuilding*. New York: ICTJ and UNICEF, 2015.
- Robins, Simon. “Towards Victim-Centred Transitional Justice: Understanding the Needs of Families of the Disappeared in Postconflict Nepal.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5 (2011): 75–98.
- Schaffer, Kay. “Memory Work and Memorialisation in the New South Africa.” In *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness: Perspectives on the Unfinished Journeys of the Past*, edited by Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Chris Van Der Merwe. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.
- Sishuba, Yanelisa, Sindiswa Nunu, Nompumelelo Njana, Agnes Ngxukuma, Brian Mphahlele, and Jasmina Brankovic. *Conducting Participatory Action Research with Apartheid Survivors: Lessons from “Addressing Socioeconomic Drivers of Violence in Khulumani Communities.”* Cape Town: Khulumani Support Group Western Cape and Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2017.
- Sizemore-Barber, April. “Stages of Complicity, Stages of Healing: A Look at Two Theatrical Responses to South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission.” In *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness: Perspectives on the Unfinished Journeys of the Past*, edited by Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Chris Van Der Merwe. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.
- Tibbitts, Felisa and Peter G. Kirchsclaeger. “Perspectives of Research on Human Rights Education.” *Journal of Human Rights Education* 2, no. 1 (2010): 8–29.
- Vally, Salim. “From People’s Education to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa.” *Review of African Political Economy* 34 (2007): 39–56.
- Wilson, Richard. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.