

## Un-performing Racial and Ethnic Prejudice in Tertiary Institutional Spaces in South Africa

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### Introduction

What happens when different racial and ethnic groups emerging from a cataclysmic experience such as apartheid confront each other in the same educational space? What kind of memories do these racial groups bring to the institutional space? Are such memories disruptive or conducive to learning? What can be done to deal with the clash of rival memories affecting the different racial and ethnic groups? To answer these questions requires an understanding of what constitutes 'knowledge in the blood'. This term was first coined by the Irish poet, Macdara Woods, (2007) to refer to the sum total of what people learn from experience in terms of love or hate, happiness or suffering, hope and disillusionment. Woods likens such knowledge to 'diseases' that are ingrained inside people's bodies. In the case of tertiary institutions such as universities and colleges, Jonathan Jansen (2009) has extended the term 'knowledge in the blood' to refer to the received knowledge embedded in students' minds and hearts through intergenerational transmission. In this paper, I argue that 'knowledge in the blood' has triggered nostalgic memories that appear to be hindering university students from moving towards a truly non-racial and non-xenophobic South Africa. The paper draws illustrations from a practice-based research project focusing on racial and ethnic prejudice among students at the University of the Witwatersrand (alias Wits University). The narratives that have emerged from interactive drama and conflict management workshops carried out among the different racial groups at Wits University campus seem to demonstrate what Jansen (2009) describes as 'the clash of martyrological memories'.

The students' narratives carry received knowledge of past oppressions that appear to be triggering what Loren Kruger (1999) calls 'an anti-post-apartheid' syndrome. The narratives reflect undying memories of a traumatic past that seems to be holding students from moving into the future. The paper seeks to posit possibilities for subverting and transforming the authority of such intergenerational knowledge through the agency of interactive drama interventions.

### **Nostalgia and the anti-post-apartheid syndrome**

In his seminal article dealing with the effects of nostalgia on university students in a post-conflict classroom space, Jansen (2009) argues that black and white South Africans came into democracy carrying traumatic memories of the apartheid past. Even if such memories were in the form of received knowledge, past events continued to exercise influence in the form of monuments, holidays, songs, theatre performances and other memorials. The second generation's relationship to such memory is being defined by its very 'post-ness', that is by mediated forms of intergenerational knowledge that have followed the events as an aftermath. Eva Hoffman (2004) points out that the paradox of such knowledge is that even though it is indirect, it nonetheless remains intense, emotionally charged and often destructive.

To demonstrate the negative effects of received knowledge on students' memories, Jansen (2009) gives the example of a bus tour by University of Pretoria undergraduate students to two rival monuments representing different struggles in South African history. The first visit was to the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria which commemorates the Anglo-Boer War (1902), a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism and struggle for racial supremacy. The second visit was to the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, representing the African nationalist struggle for liberation from apartheid. During a feedback session with the students after the tour, Jansen singles out the comments of a white Afrikaner female student asking the Afrikaner lecturer, "It was well and good taking us to the Apartheid Museum; now tell me, when will they build a museum for all the whites who died in farm murders in South Africa after 1994?" (in Jansen, 2009:149) The student's question was evidently difficult to answer under the circumstances. It demonstrated the power of the student's memory of a glorious past filled with Afrikaner nationalist conquest. The Apartheid Museum was therefore an anti-thesis of the things she still held dear in her memory. Her anger and rage appeared to reflect an anti-post-apartheid feeling of what she had lost in the name of democracy. However, for the black students, Jansen (2009) notes that they reacted to

the Voortrekker Monument with feelings of indifference and contentment. Apartheid was no longer in power therefore the monument had lost its representational authority since blacks were now in control.

The collision of memories in post-conflict societies speaks to questions of racial inequality, ethnic intolerance and social injustice. What role can higher education institutions play in perpetuating or subverting such nostalgic memories? How can rival groups emerging from traumatic experiences be empowered, or be given a voice, to assert their rights in institutional education contexts? Jansen (2009: 151) points out that post-conflict institutional space are divided sites where contending histories and memories are embodied with indirect knowledge that creates deeply complex challenges. The first task of those in authority is to understand the social, psychological and emotional effects of the nostalgic memories carried by the different racial and ethnic groups. The second task is to create safe spaces within which both groups can speak openly without fear of dismissal, reprisal or censorship. This paper posits an alternative post-conflict pedagogy for creating dialogic spaces that enable students to identify, engage and interrogate their troubled knowledges. The use of interactive drama as an intervention strategy, unlike legalistic and other formal disciplinary procedures, creates space for interpersonal engagement than direct confrontations that are likely to fuel antagonism, aggression and fear. Through play as a core medium of interactive drama, nostalgic memories of the apartheid past can be acknowledged, confronted and debated.

### **Drama as a Conflict Mediation Strategy**

The construction of binary oppositions such as gender, race, class and ethnicity has been the subject of much scholarly contestation. According to the feminist theorist, Judith Butler (1988), gender is not a biological given but a social construct. It is an identity instituted through performative acts such as language, gesture, movement and other symbolic enactments. Butler further argues that if gender identity is instituted through performative acts, then the possibilities of gender transformation are to be found in the subversive dismantling of such acts. In other words, gender identity is capable of being constituted differently. The same argument can be extended to race, class and ethnic identities.

Using arguments drawn from race theory, Daniel Banks (2006) asserts that race arises from a discursive process where ideology hails and names individuals as constituted subjects. The institutional apparatus polices the named individual's internal and external sense of self. As an ideological system, race structures, organizes and polices other people's cultural

frames of reference by setting up a false fixity in an otherwise fluid existence (Banks, 2006:187). Like gender, race is institutionalized through performative acts that present themselves as truths. Thus race too is a phenomenon that can be deconstructed and reconstituted differently. As Banks argues:

What needs to be done to disrupt ... racialisation is to substitute an alternative organizing mode, to demonstrate the disjunction between signifier and signified. ... In other words, the chain of representations that concretize fictions or partial truths into fixed racial identities must be unperformed (2006:188).

Banks opts for a new system of representation that has a vocabulary specific to the experiences of the performing subjects, allowing for multiple possibilities and creating spaces for inclusion rather than exclusion.

Drama in its interactive mode or applied form is 'a system of representation' with the capacity to create space for 'performing subjects' to engage with conflicts such as racial and ethnic prejudice. By itself, conflict can be a constructive force for change when it offers people an opportunity to respond to challenges, search for alternatives and explore new ways of being. However, it is when conflict degenerates into a destructive force that it creates misunderstanding, dispute, hostility and violence. If placed in the context of binary opposites such as self and other, us and them, centre and margin, superior and inferior, right and wrong, conflict fuels prejudice and antagonism as individuals fail to accept or recognize the rights and interests of the other.

Drama itself is better placed to enable people to understand the mechanisms of conflict. As the drama educators, John O'Toole, Bruce Burton and Anna Plunkett have pointed out, drama deals with, "the clashes and conflicts of personality, of values, of attitudes, of emotions, of interests both internal (and external), of philosophy and ideology, of ethics and morals" (2005:23). By playing with models of human conflict, drama confronts the contours of human behaviour and social relationships. O'Toole, Burton and Plunkett conclude that there are close parallels between drama and conflict management. Both make use of similar terminology such as protagonist and antagonist, facilitation and mediation, tension and escalation, simulation and role play, participation and negotiation, climax and crisis, denouement and resolution. In spite of these similarities, however, one cannot ignore the differences between drama and conflict mediation such as the real and the fictional as modes of representation, the use of empathy and distance, and of direct engagement and 'third party' involvement. The linking thread that runs

through these convergences and divergences tends to be the *creativity* required in understanding and managing conflict. As the conflict theorist, Howard Gruber (2000: 356) noted, exposure to diverse experiences, receptivity to metaphor and analogy, the capacity to make remote associations, independence of judgment and the ability to play with new ideas are some of the factors that characterize creative problem solving in matters of conflict.

### **Un-performing Racial and Ethnic Prejudice**

The year 1994 marked the rebirth of South Africa as a democratic state. The new South Africa was dubbed the 'rainbow nation' by its iconic first president, Nelson Mandela, due to the expected shift from apartheid segregation to an inclusive constitutional democracy. But, despite the onset of national independence, the new South Africa's transition to democracy has been plagued by racial and ethnic prejudice, intermittent civil protests and violent crime. The shift in political power has not been accompanied by concomitant transformation to a truly non-racial democratic state. In his most recent book entitled, *We Need to Talk*, Jonathan Jansen poses the following provocative questions:

Why are South Africans so angry? [...] Where does this deep-seated anger come from? Why are we so prone to what appears to be spontaneous combustion? (2011:5)

As the vice-principal of the University of the Free State, Jansen (2011) singles out the institutional racism that has continued to corrode the social fabric of the nation in schools, colleges and universities. More importantly, he admits that direct confrontation does not work nor do performances of truth and reconciliation narratives.

To engage with race, for instance, requires a post-conflict pedagogy that can bring together the 'perpetrators' and 'victims' in the same dialogic space. The Acting Against Conflict project, working in collaboration with the Transformations Office at the University of the Witwatersrand, has been making use of Augusto Boal's 'theatre of the oppressed' strategies (which I would prefer to call, 'theatre of liberation') to create an aesthetic space for university students to engage with matters such as sexual harassment, racial and ethnic prejudice. I have selected one of the interactive drama workshops that the project team facilitated with students from the School of Human and Community Development in March, 2011. The idea was to find out how students relate to the

apartheid past, and how they can deal with the racial and ethnic prejudices affecting them.

The workshop was part of an ongoing collaboration between the Division of Social Work and the Acting Against Conflict project. All the thirty students in attendance were taking a course called Psychosocial Approaches to Human Rights taught by Linda Smith and Peace Kiguwa. From my email correspondence with Peace Kiguwa (2011), she pointed out that this course aims to challenge students to think critically about human rights within the broader context of the political struggle for social justice. To do this, students are exposed to theorists from the critical pedagogy movement such as Frantz Fanon, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal. The workshop was meant to enable the students to not only bridge the gap between theory and practice, but also to act out the 'human rights' themselves. As Banks (2006:190) has argued, performance interventions can alter participants' perception of previously articulated identities. What emerges can be the substitution of a reimagined sense of identity for previously inscribed identities.

After preliminary warm-up games and exercises to allow the student participants to break away from familiarity and build belief in the fictional world, they were divided into two groups. The two project facilitators then made them to share stories based on either personal experiences or observations of racial and ethnic conflict. Jan Cohen-Cruz (2006) regards the power of storytelling as rooted in the authority of experience and the capacity to place even the least powerful individuals in subject rather than object positions. The very act of telling one's story in public is a move towards agency, power and authority. Each group was then required to either choose one appealing story or combine their shared stories and prepare to perform it for the other group. The stories became the building blocks for a forum theatre-based dialogue in which spectators were to be transformed into actors, what Boal called 'spect-actors'. When personal stories are enacted, they no longer belong to the original teller but become the object of identification for others. Boal (1995:45) asserts that theatre is the domain of the first person plural. Though it may begin with an individual story, it acquires a symbolic character by becoming a matter of public concern.

The workshop performances presented by the two groups illustrate how forum theatre operates as an alternative medium for 'performing' and 'un-performing' racial and ethnic prejudice. The undoing of race and ethnicity can reveal the contradictions and complexities in such ideological constructs enabling students to come to a new understanding of received knowledge. The groups enacted scenarios from which significant themes emerged such as whiteness versus blackness, mutual

vulnerability, reverse racism and linguistic xenophobia, to mention a few. I will focus on the two themes of *whiteness versus blackness and mutual vulnerability* since they tended to be more overriding than other themes.

The politics that informs 'whiteness' as an ideology of supremacy was revealed by General Jan Smuts, one of the founding architects of apartheid, in an address entitled, 'The White Man's Burden' presented in London as early as 1940 (see Magubane, 2007). He asserted that black and white races were different not only in colour but also in mental capacity. He therefore advocated for the separation of political institutions that governed the different races so that each race could develop according to their own capacity. By the time the Afrikaner National Party came to power in 1948, the policy of apartheid had become synonymous with white supremacy. In contrast, blackness was equated with enslavement, exploitation and oppression. Bernard Magubane (2007) concludes that the idea of white superiority (or whiteness) and black inferiority (or blackness) has continued to be re-created and actualized in everyday practice.

As already mentioned, most South African university students belong to a post-apartheid generation that has inherited what Jansen calls 'knowledge in the blood' (2009:170). The story performed by the first workshop group clearly demonstrated the power wielded by such knowledge. The performance opens with two black children seated on a bench in a chemist shop. The children are queuing for medication when two white women arrive on the scene. The first white woman (Woman 1) orders the children to move to the back of the queue. Two black women then enter the dispensary and one of them (Woman 2) asks the two children if they are in the queue. The scene proceeds to unfold as follows:

*(Scene taking place in a chemist's dispensary)*

**Woman 2:** *(asking the kids):* Hello, are you girls in the line?

*(Kids gesture to the seats next to them)*

**Woman 1:** *(interrupts):* You know what, I don't mean to interrupt. It's just that these kids can clearly see that people need to be in the line.

*(Kids roll their eyes at each other)*

**Woman 2:** It's ok, let the kids be ... we've just arrived

**Woman 1:** No... no...no, you blacks will just be blacks ... incompetent – its actually so inconsiderate.

**Woman 2:** *(surprised):* Excuse me! What does incompetent have to do with anything?

**Kids:** *(to each other)* What does incompetent mean?

**Woman 1:** You know it took 27 years ... and still black people don't ...

**Woman 2:** What? Just take black out of it ...

**Woman 1:** I've been working in this field since forever. You can't tell me anything. I've seen all sorts of people. It's the incompetence that bothers me. I'm racist of course you would say, that's fine but I'm certainly not changing my life

*(Extract from video clip)*

The above scene epitomizes the habitual nature of 'knowledge in the blood' as it affects how the second generation understands and relates to the other. Jansen (2009) argues that no matter how deeply rooted such knowledge can be, it should be subject to interrogation. Augusto Boal (1979) coined the term 'spect-acting' to describe the technique where spectators transform into actors or protagonists in forum theatre. The oppressed characters undergo a process of transformation that can eventually be extended to the larger society. To this end, the performance of the oppression lays the basis for a theatrical dialogue in which the participating audience can intervene to try and change the outcome of the forum scene. The performance thus acts as an aesthetic space for changing the images of oppression by debating and experimenting with alternatives. The facilitator, called 'joker', manages the forum theatre process by engaging with the spect-actors and encouraging them to break the oppression and liberate the oppressed character.

In the example shown above, two spect-actors came onto the 'stage' to replace the oppressed character in a bid to 'un-perform' the images of 'whiteness' displayed by the first woman representing the oppressor. The first participant's (Participant 1) intervention was aggressive and violent as follows:

*(Participant goes onto the stage. The facilitator explains to the actors that they're going to run the scene again. The participant-turned-actor takes the place of the black woman)*

**Woman 1:** I'm sorry to interrupt but I told these kids to move earlier. Ah!  
Blacks are blacks and they will always be incompetent

**Participant 1:** What? What do you mean black? Hey, these are kids!

**Woman 1:** Well, in my 27 years of experience in the medical field ...

**Participant 1:** You just stop right there *(she physically approaches Woman 1)*  
Who the hell do you think you are? *(pointing and prodding Woman 1's chest)* You don't have a right to say that to me or anyone! In fact just get out of my face *(she continues to push Woman 1)*

**Woman 1:** – Excuse me? *(getting flustered and pushing back)*

*(Extract from video clip)*

If the ultimate goal of forum theatre is to stimulate a theatrical debate, to change spectators into protagonists who can change oppression into liberation, the first participant's intervention was a clear negation of dialogue. Boal's idea of the spect-actor was that of a creative subject who could look at the world and act on it by breaking its oppressive structures. The spect-actor's primary task is that of restoring the oppressed's capacity for action, to replace the culture of silence with a renewed sense of self-consciousness. This was evident in the second participant's (Participant 2) intervention as follows:

*(The joker calls up the participant to take up the position of the black woman, and the scene is re-played)*

**Woman 1:** – These kids are so incompetent they can't understand a simple instruction. Ah! Blacks will just be blacks!

**Participant 2:** What do you mean when you say blacks will just be blacks?

**Woman 1:** They're incompetent!

**Participant 2:** Are you telling me that I'm incompetent?

**Woman 1:** Are you as highly experienced as I am? Do you have 27 years in the medical field?

**Participant 2:** What I do is irrelevant. What you are saying now is unconstitutional. You don't have to like it but we have to learn to live together. I accept you. I don't have to like you but I accept you.

*(Extract from video clip)*

The Brazilian adult educator, Paulo Freire (1970), who was also Boal's mentor, argued for liberatory pedagogy as the panacea for the humanization of both the oppressor and the oppressed. To recover their lost humanity, the oppressed need to affirm the virtues of freedom, justice, hope and peace. The oppressor too needs to discard the fear of freedom, the unwillingness to come to terms with the new reality. When the second participant says, 'we have to learn to live together' and 'I don't have to like you but I accept you', she not only demonstrates the desire to break with the traumatic past but also affirms the mutual recognition and destiny that binds both the perpetrator and the victim.

In addition to the theme of whiteness versus blackness, the first workshop group also dealt with the closely related theme of mutual vulnerability. According to Kwenda (2003), mutual vulnerability occurs when opposing parties begin to share the effects of past conflicts within a neutral rather than divided space. It is a humanizing process where the contending parties recognize that they are all affected by feelings of anxiety, resentment and prejudice as reflected in the previous theme of

whiteness versus blackness. Through mutual vulnerability, parties in conflict are made to open up and render themselves vulnerable by confronting their fears in order to explore ways of transcending them. As Andre Keet, *et al* (2009) have argued, the advantages accruing from such a pedagogical transaction far outweigh the risks as differences are exposed and made accessible to critical interrogation and reflection.

For instance, during the reflection stage of the first workshop group's intervention, the facilitator gathered all the participants together and made them sit in a circular formation. The reflection process proceeded as follows:

**Facilitator:** We are now going to explore the whole scene and I'm going to ask you a few questions. What do you think about racism? Do you think it's learnt?

**Participant 3:** Well it's when you're a young person and you are living in Soweto and you see a white person. It's like – oh my God, it's a white person! ... Even at school, people start saying things like black and white, and you can't get this because you are black, and then that's where you start getting more conscious around these issues ...

**Facilitator:** I'm going to stop you there and highlight important points that you are raising. This notion of learning about race, how can it be swayed in the present?

**Participant 4:** Well, it became too personal. ... I think it was like you attack me and I attack you. Even the white lady was getting [more mad]. That's not going to change her mind towards black people. It will probably make it worse if it does anything at all because it's personal.

**Facilitator:** So what are we saying? What could be done differently?

**Participant 5:** Well, as a black person, maybe if we come together (as blacks and whites) and talk to each other. Maybe we need to know that this is the new South Africa and it's unacceptable (to be violent with each other), so maybe just repeating and repeating.

*(Extract from video clip)*

In his argument for the primacy of praxis in critical pedagogy, Freire asserts that, 'the act of knowing involves a dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action into new action' (1970: 31). The above critical reflections on race not only show how students' performative actions enabled them to confront unequal relations of power but also to reflect upon how such power relations are fueled and maintained by the racial prejudice that the students carry as

part of 'knowledge in the blood'. As students begin to realize and share each other's vulnerabilities, they also begin to demystify the hidden contradictions behind such indirect knowledge. Thus the black student (Participant 3) acknowledges that she became conscious of her 'blackness' while she was growing up in the poverty-stricken and overcrowded township of Soweto in Johannesburg. The second black student (Participant 4) also notes that violence cannot solve the problem of 'whiteness' but can only make it worse. Both blacks and whites are prone to anger, being united by a common humanity. As the third black student (Participant 5) demonstrates, the new South Africa needs people who can 'come together' and 'talk to each other', and continue dialoguing in spite of their differences. Hence, it is through sharing their mutual vulnerabilities that students can begin to understand the counter-productive influence of received knowledge.

McLaren and Jaramillo (2007) have argued for a more humanizing pedagogy that is rooted in the material social relations affecting parties in post-conflict situations. The peculiar identities, histories and experiences of both perpetrators and victims, whites and blacks, oppressors and oppressed, will inform the nature of the pedagogy to be adopted. In the case of post-apartheid South Africa, for instance, it's an open secret that some blacks collaborated with the apartheid regime while some whites also collaborated with blacks during the liberation struggle. Hence, the complexities inherent in such systems of oppression need to be acknowledged.

A telling example was the racial incident that took place at the University of the Free State in 2008 when four white Afrikaner male students wanted to express their opposition to the integration of university residences. The students took urinated food and gave it to black workers at the university. To add insult to injury, the students took a video clip of the incident depicting the workers kneeling down and eating the urinated food. An editorial in one of the local newspapers commented that when Nelson Mandela was released from Robben Island in 1990, these students were less than three years old. They had learnt to disrespect, detest and fear black people from their parents. Racial prejudice had become part of the knowledge the students still carried in their blood.

The challenge confronting the university authorities was to find ways of resolving such an abominable racial incident that had aroused such a heated national outcry. In his capacity as Vice Chancellor of the University of the Free State, Jansen (2011) came up with the controversial decision of re-admitting the four white Afrikaner students who had been suspended from the university. While the workers had come through the dehumanizing experience of eating urinated food reminiscent of the

apartheid past, Jansen's argument was that the students were also victims of the intergenerational transmission of Afrikaner racist discourse. The option was therefore to recognize the mutual vulnerability that bound both the victims (workers) and the perpetrators (students). Thus, in order to deal with the thirst for revenge and retaliation, the institution needed to set an example of what was possible when the language of condemnation was countered with the language of conciliation; when justice was tampered with grace; and when retaliation was replaced by restoration. For Jansen (2011), this was a decision that recognized and transcended the limits of legal reasoning in resolving deep-seated human problems, especially those associated with racial and ethnic prejudice.

However, Andre Keet, *et al* (2009) assert that mutual vulnerability should not be taken as an equalization of vulnerability between perpetrators and victims, but as the re-creation of a new set of vulnerabilities. As Freire (1970) once argued, those who work for liberation must not take advantage of the dependence (or vulnerability) of the oppressed, but must exercise their 'knowing' by acknowledging, confronting and transcending their power. Kwenda (2003) adds that the notion of mutual vulnerability implies a shared burden of self-awareness and shared responsibility as an ethical imperative. Thus as students open themselves up to become vulnerable, they simultaneously question their 'knowledge in the blood' and begin the process of subverting what they had previously taken for granted. It is in their shared vulnerabilities that the familiar is rendered unfamiliar as the students not only come to learn more about themselves but also the other.

### **Implications for institutional transformation**

Questions have been asked by skeptical critics who doubt the efficacy of interactive drama and theatre as agents of transformation. For instance, some scholars regard forum theatre's separation of the oppressor and the oppressed as artificial (Burton, 2006), while others have criticized Boal for individualizing social change through the self-liberation of the spect-actor (O'Sullivan, 2001). In spite of these criticisms, however, Boal's forum theatre has continued to appeal to those who believe in the essential goodness of human nature, that it is the socio-economic and political institutions that dehumanize the individual rather than personal choice. The capacity of forum theatre to effect transformational learning has been aptly captured by Linda Smith after participating in several interactive drama workshops with her Social Work students:

I have personally found important realizations through my own participation – and challenges to my own assumptions ... on the ways in which power dynamics can be inverted through the use of different forms of learning. Students who usually take the lead and dominate discussions are silenced and those who usually withdraw become more vocal due to the non-verbal and projective nature of the experience. (Email interview, 21 July, 2011)

Through empathy and distance, identification and projection, interactive drama creates a safe space for participants to cross the border from received knowledge to self-knowledge, from passive objects to active subjects, and from false consciousness to critical consciousness.

The act of transforming not only transforms the one who acts but also the one who decides to be the change he or she wants to see in the world. Although people may not be easily changeable, they are made aware that even the most intractable conflicts can be managed, if not resolved. As Boal (1979) himself once argued, if the oppressed can perform an action, rather than the artist in their place, the performance of that action in theatrical fiction will enable them to activate themselves to perform similar actions in real life. Rustom Bharucha (2011) adds to say that improvised performances enable us to expose the habitus of everyday life, and in the process, to produce a jolt of the real.

There are far-reaching implications in the application of interactive drama pedagogy in matters of institutional transformation such as race, class, ethnicity, gender and other diversity related questions. In an apparent answer to the question about what can be done when memory continues to trigger racial and ethnic prejudice, Jansen (2011) says that the worst thing that can be done is to pretend that such problems do not exist and hope that time will heal the traumatic past. The failure to act may even imply institutional complicity in producing students with polarized racial or ethnic attitudes, values and beliefs. The option is to find ways of disrupting the negative memories through 'pedagogic dissonance' (Jansen, 2009: 154) . In the same way that identities are 'performed' through lived experience, they too can be 'unperformed' through embodied modes of representation. Thus, while affording the space for students to voice the injustices of the past, interactive drama simultaneously disrupts that past to enable the students to question and interrogate what they have come to accept as a given.

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