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Ideology Critique as Decolonising Pedagogy: Urban Forced Removals as a Case Study

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Abstract

After emerging from its troubled past, postapartheid South Africa adopted a democratic constitution and cosmopolitanism as path to a peaceful future. Cosmopolitanism, once a vibrant tradition at the turn of the 19th century, disappeared from the apartheid historical canon and memory due to the colonial practice of forced removals. The apartheid fallacy that forced removals were necessary because of urban slum conditions and public health reasons obscured its ideological and economic reasons. Apartheid narratives and traumatic memories of forced removals continue in the postapartheid era and mitigate against the establishment of a nonracial, cosmopolitan society. Notwithstanding the dominance of negative memories, a productive, decolonised version of forced removals can make a positive contribution to social cohesion. This paper offers a multiple historical case study of three pre-apartheid cosmopolitan spaces that were destroyed by the Group Areas Act as framework to suggest how ideology critique can be employed as a decolonising pedagogy. A critical notion of cosmopolitanism is appropriated, using the notion of *production of space* to explain the role of political and social engineering in the making of place during the colonial-apartheid period. Recommendations suggest how to integrate cosmopolitanism, segregation, and forced removals with ideology critique as decolonising pedagogy in teacher education curriculum spaces.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, forced removals, Group Areas Act, ideology critique, segregation

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Introduction

After 23 years of democracy, optimism to establish a nonracial, cosmopolitan society seems to be on the wane. South Africans have emerged from apartheid as new political subjects of diverse cultural backgrounds. There is a moral expectation to live together according to a civil code. South Africans

enthusiastically adopted a democratic constitution and cosmopolitanism to pave the way towards building a peaceful, postapartheid future. Regrettably, experiences and memories of cosmopolitan living have been overshadowed by the apartheid government's preoccupation with segregation politics and the trauma caused by forced removals. Cosmopolitanism, once a vibrant tradition at the turn of the 19th century in South African cities such as Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, disappeared from the official historical canon and memory as a valuable experience of a significant number of South Africans. The apartheid fallacy that forced removal was necessary due to urban slum conditions and public health reasons, obscured its ideological and economic reasons. This historical misrepresentation is an apartheid-colonial construction in need of reinterpretation and decolonisation. Paradoxically, while the postapartheid Constitution (1996) built on cosmopolitanism as a model for peaceful coexistence, it was forced removals that destroyed its memory. Due to the threat that these integrated, racially mixed communities posed to the doctrine of segregation and apartheid, they were physically erased. Historically, the doctrine of segregation, which culminated in the ideology of apartheid, was used as legitimisation for white supremacy and to create favourable conditions for racial capitalism to flourish (Dubow, 1989).

While cosmopolitanism is lauded to promote reconciliation and tolerance, apartheid memories of racism and forced removals remain dominant in the public domain, posing obstacles for the development of a sense of common citizenship and social cohesion. The current educational system has been criticised for avoiding the particular history of race relations and of extreme inequality (Staeheli & Hammett, 2013). Additionally, the public media report regularly on incidents of racism and xenophobia, which undermine the cosmopolitan project. Xenophobia is a daily occurrence and has become a long-standing feature in postapartheid South Africa (Misago, 2017). The Citizen newspaper reported, for instance, that the University of Pretoria was urged to take a stand against a new residential building that opened for Christian, Afrikaans students only ("UP urged to condemn," 2017). Similarly, the Daily Mail carried a report that a black man had been forced into a coffin by two white men as retribution for a crime committed, and was told he would be fed to snakes and the coffin be set alight with petrol (Flanagan, 2016). The same article noted that in January 2016, the South African Human Rights Commission had received 160 racism-related complaints—the highest monthly figure in its 20-year history—and that nearly 3,000 violent attacks on farms and more than 1,600 farm murders had been committed since 1990. If South Africans, black and white, were to know that South Africans once lived together in city spaces despite their racial and cultural differences, they might be willing to give a cosmopolitan vision of coexistence a chance to animate public life.

Notwithstanding the dominance of negative historical perceptions of forced removals, a productive decolonised version can make a positive contribution to social cohesion. This article argues for the employment of ideology critique in teacher education as a decolonising pedagogy to reimagine a nonracial postapartheid society. To this end, historical material about forced removals was excavated to resuscitate the suppressed memories of cosmopolitan living.

The South African educational system has a definite role to play in promoting cosmopolitanism and good citizenship. Both cosmopolitanism and good citizenship are regarded as essential components of a democratic dispensation. Cosmopolitanism, nonracism, and good citizenship are values enshrined in the constitution of South Africa. The white minority were generally the beneficiaries of colonial-apartheid rule and enjoyed racial privileges, while black people were second class, disenfranchised citizens. Therefore, in a postapartheid educational sector, the introduction of new constitutional values requires an appropriate pedagogical approach to address historical injustices. Needless to say, when engaging sensitive historical issues such as discrimination, social justice, and racism, they should be handled truthfully and thoughtfully. Given that the apartheid educational system produced a heightened racial consciousness and assisted in racially dividing the country's population, an inclusive

and emancipatory pedagogical approach is needed to move towards the establishment of a nonracial, cosmopolitan, and equal society.

Underplaying the seriousness of continued racism and intolerance will not assist the promotion of cosmopolitanism. In contrast to the negative reporting in the media, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) published their survey findings reporting that there are reasons for hope to counter the pessimism of proliferating racism. The report concluded that the views of the overwhelming majority are very different from the vitriol so often evident in the race debate (SAIRR, 2016). The report further asserted that the survey results were fundamentally at odds with the social media view that South Africa is ridden with racism. While the SAIRR study gives hope for a better future, it could be said to be typical of a liberal approach that views the social world as empirically given (Scully, 2011, p. 299).

This paper attempts to offer a plausible, though challenging way to contribute towards peaceful coexistence. A critical pedagogical approach, using ideology critique as method and urban forced-removal cosmopolitan spaces as historical material, is proposed to emancipate students from the effects of institutionalised segregation and apartheid engineering. Ideology critique is a decolonising pedagogy due to its potential to emancipate students from biased colonial teachings. A critical pedagogical approach relates the school/university context to the social context in which it is embedded. It stresses empowering students to think and act critically with the aim of transforming their life conditions (Aliakbari & Faraji, 2011, p. 77; Freire, 1970). A major goal of critical pedagogy is to emancipate and educate learners regardless of gender, class, and race. An uncritical pedagogy would serve as a vehicle for continuing the political oppression and working against liberation or emancipation (Aliakbari & Faraji, 2011, p. 78). Critical pedagogy appropriates the social context of students through the integration of their personal and social realities.

It is regrettable that memories of cosmopolitanism lie buried in the early urban landscape of South Africa, where once vibrant multicultural communities coexisted peacefully. However, a (re)focusing on the current reconstruction and revision of the higher education curriculum towards becoming decolonised and more inclusive of the historically marginalised, will bring new futuristic epistemological perspectives to students. Historical research can develop a counter-narrative to generate empirical evidence to prove that it is possible for culturally diverse people to live together. Bickford-Smith (2001), for instance, asserted that in the 1840s, most of Cape Town's lower-class areas were racially mixed: whites, coloureds, and Africans lived together as neighbours (p. 16). This kind of critical education will elucidate the possibilities of developing alternative forms of living, and potentially disrupt existing colonial ideological positions.

Ordinarily, cosmopolitanism is most recognisable as a term of political governance but recently became associated with social processes (Delanty, 2006). With its origin in ancient Greek philosophy, according to which everyone would be a citizen of the world (Ribeiro, 2001, p. 19), some sceptics of cosmopolitanism argue that its meaning diminishes when used ahistorically. Hence, when the protagonists of cosmopolitanism are promoting it merely for the purpose of reconciliation and human rights, uncritical of a history of oppression, it will lose its effectiveness (Gilroy, 2006). Appiah, a leading cosmopolitan theorist, argued that if people truly try, despite or even because of cultural difference, they will be able to share and communicate in important ways (as cited in Scully, 2011, p. 301). Appiah celebrated heterogeneity and difference as enabling concepts of cosmopolitanism. He argued that negative assertions of culture and difference should not impede consensus reaching (Appiah, 1997, p. 621). The late Nelson Mandela best explained the complex nature of learning and unlearning negative traits when he said, "No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, . . . People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love" (n.d., No. 4). Critical

cosmopolitanism embraces hybridity and anti-racism. It includes Appiah's focus on difference and consensus reaching to enact a vision of building a new world from the ground up (Gilroy, 2006).

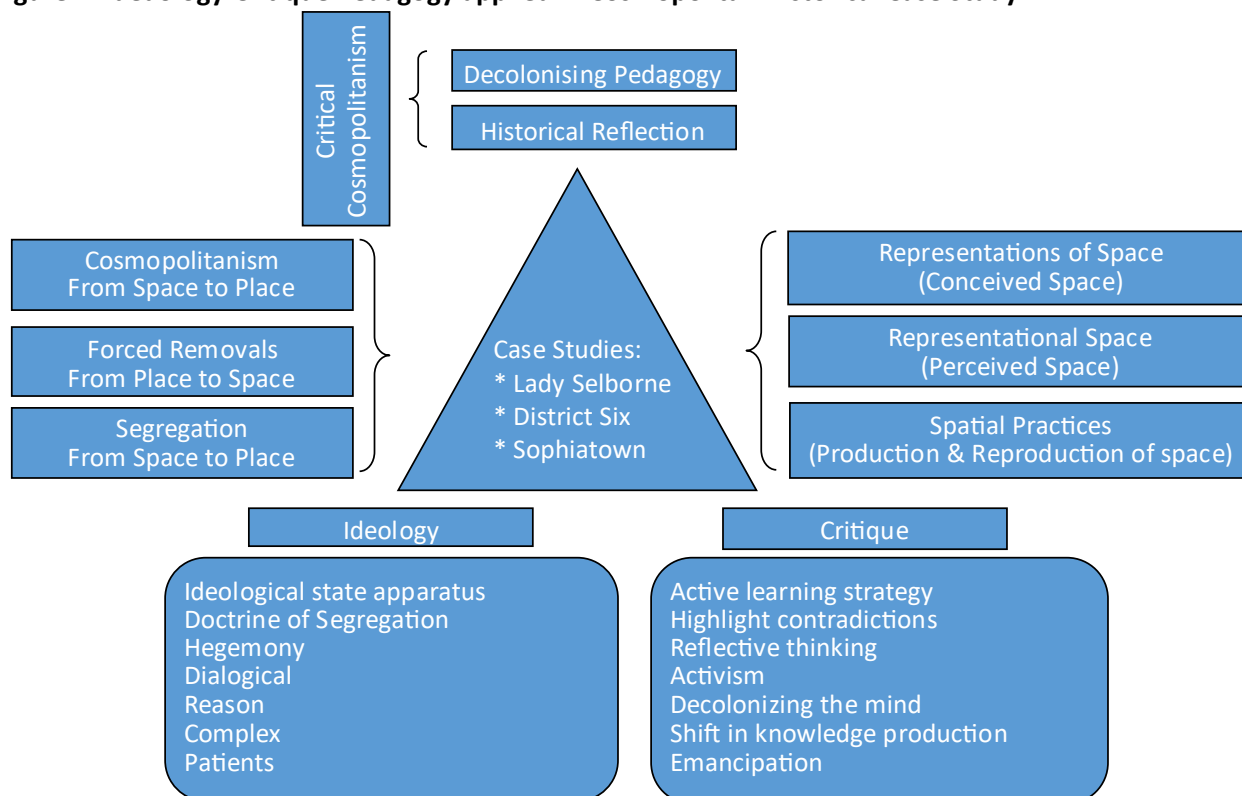
This paper adopts a notion of cosmopolitanism that moves beyond the SAIRR view outlined above. The paper suggests a critical notion of cosmopolitanism that stresses grassroots activism and an ongoing openness to societal transformation and self-creation (Scully, 2011, p. 299). Critical cosmopolitanism recognises the complexity of how technologies of self emerge as new political subjects of diverse ontological and cultural backgrounds, and create a new vision for the future (Ribeiro, 2001, p. 24). Furthermore, this paper engages suppressed historical themes such as segregation, forced removals, and cosmopolitanism and employs the technique of ideology critique as a reflective, dialogical classroom pedagogy to develop democratic subjects. The outcomes of this approach would potentially be the questioning of existing beliefs and ideology, openness towards perspectives of others, and a reimagination of cosmopolitanism in a postapartheid society.

After these introductory comments, the paper unfolds with a note on some methodological issues and theory, followed by a spatial analysis of three urban forced-removal historical case studies and then an explanation of ideology critique as pedagogy. In the conclusion and recommendations section, the research questions are reviewed and reference is made to possible curriculum spaces to integrate critical cosmopolitanism and ideology critique as a decolonising pedagogy.

Methodological Note and Theoretical Approach

To assist the reader to understand the main conceptual and methodological components of the study, Diagram 1 provides a reference point. The diagram consists of the purpose of the study (top), the dialectic between the historical case studies, spatial theory and cosmopolitanism, forced removals, and segregation (middle), and ideology critique as pedagogy (bottom).

Figure 1: Ideology-Critique Pedagogy applied in Cosmopolitan Historical Case Study



Methodology

The research questions set to frame this study are: “What are the historical manifestations of cosmopolitanism in pre-1948 South Africa?” and “How can ideology critique be employed as a decolonising pedagogy in a historical case study?”

The study design takes the form of a multiple historical case study (Amenta, 1991). A multiple case study uses historical texts and sources relevant to the case, which in this study is cosmopolitanism and forced removals. According to Mabry, a case study method requires deep understanding of the case and a researcher's interest (2009, p. 214). A historical case study approach is consistent with constructivist learning and uses “site-generated or related documents” (Mabry, 2009, p. 218). Secondary data for this study were selected from academic books, journal articles, and theses. To answer the first research question, textual sources were finecombed with specific reference to cosmopolitanism.

Ideology critique is suggested as pedagogy to engage the historical genesis of segregation as doctrine in the context of urban forced removals to demonstrate how political manipulation shaped place and space. Given that cosmopolitanism occurred unevenly across the South African landscape, the sample selection for this study is limited but rich in research material. The cases selected are all representative of major South African cities in the early period of industrialisation and urbanisation. While Lady Selborne, District Six, and Sophiatown were selected, forced-removal cases such as Pageview (Johannesburg), South End (Port Elizabeth), or Cato Manor (Durban) would have been equally appropriate.

Theoretical Framework

Social analysis of South African society is contested around a structural focus on race and class and, more recently, a poststructural perspective of space (Lefebvre, 1991) and power/knowledge (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Spatial theory explains how human agency plays a role in shaping space, for example, how empty spaces transformed into mixed living, residential communities, then segregated, and eventually open (nonracial) areas.

Structuralism emphasises the interaction between history, society, and the political economy of which Marxism's economic determinism is one variant (Hart, 1990, p. 14). The historical predominance of race and racism renders economic determinist theory limited in the South African context. An analysis of the motivation behind segregation and forced removals encompasses not only economic but also social, ideological, and political reasons. The multiplicity of reasons calls for a theoretical lens that explains not only the causal relations, but also the contradictory, dynamic and fluidity observable in local contexts. The specificity of space in the case of geographic apartheid and its concomitant processes of segregation, legislation, and forced removals require a theory capable of explaining the changes involved in making space and place over a period of time.

An appropriate lens to explain the complex relations between historical time and space and how space becomes place, is Lefebvre's (1991) notion of *the production of space* (Merrifield, 1993, p. 522). For Lefebvre, space is produced to become place. Space is generative because it produces processes and products (things). To explain the complex interplay between the aspects of process, Lefebvre (1991) used a *conceptual triad*, which incorporates three moments of spacialisation: *representations of space*, *representational space*, and *spatial practices*. Each of these *moments* will be described with reference to their local historical manifestations. Below is a brief description of each moment of Lefebvre's conceptual triad, which is followed by three case study applications.

Representations of space refer to the discursively conceived space constructed by various interest groups. It is dominant and has a specific influence on the production of space. Representational space is the lived space, the space of everyday life. It is experienced, subjective, qualitative, fluid, and dynamic. It is elusive space, which the representation (conceived) space seeks to appropriate. Spatial practices are the production and reproduction of everyday life flowing from perceived space (Lefebvre, 1991). I will illustrate below how, for instance, a space like Lady Selborne was conceived as representation of space, how it became representational space, and how everyday life was produced and reproduced as spatial practices of its inhabitants. Life is place dependent and, hence, the Lefebvrian struggle to change life has to launch itself from a place platform (Merrifield, 1993, p. 525). Place is more than just the lived experiences of everyday life. It is the moment when the conceived, the perceived, and the lived (practices) attain a certain structured coherence (Merrifield, 1993, p. 525).

Lefebvre's people–place dialectic and the political, rather than the economic, provide an inclusive framework to explain the role of ideology and race in the South African context (Hart, 1990, p. 14). The policy of racial segregation resulted in the estrangement and racial socialisation of people based on “skin colour.” By emphasising how race was politically manipulated for ideological reasons, students will, hopefully, through the method of ideology critique, be able to see that racist attitudes emanated from political practices that influenced perceptions towards each other negatively. Lefebvre’s spatial theory explicates how humans conceive, perceive, and reproduce practices (Lefebvre, 1991).

Using Lefebvre's spatial production theory, what follows next is an explication of the literature themes dealing with segregation, forced removals, and cosmopolitanism as revealed in the various texts on Lady Selborne, District Six, and Sophiatown. Diagram 1 places the historical case studies in relation to the theoretical framework and its intersection with cosmopolitanism, forced removals, and segregation. The purpose of ideology critique is to develop critical thinking instead of ideologically and dogmatically minded students (Burbules, 1992).

Spaces Becoming Places: Early Lady Selborne, District Six and Sophiatown

Lady Selborne

Lady Selborne was initially a portion of a farm that was purchased by a group of coloured people in 1906 (Carruthers, 2000). C. M. de Vries took ownership of the farm and 440 plots were allocated for public purchase. Plots were sold to people of different races and the area became racially mixed when Africans and whites also settled there. The area was situated against the southern slope of the Magaliesberg mountains, about 16 kilometres from the Pretoria city centre (Carruthers, 2000, p. 26). The area was surrounded by Daspoort, Hercules, and Innesdale, which were all white settlements. This happened before the promulgation of the Union of South Africa Act in 1910, and the Natives Land Act of 1913. Like all previously declared “white areas,” Lady Selborne has gone full cycle—from mixed to white, and then to nonracial.

District Six

District Six's origins may be traced back to the turn of the 19th century when a few homes were constructed to provide accommodation for officers of the Castle of Good Hope (Hart, 1990, p. 209). Initially part of Zonnebloem and Bloemhof (farms belonging to the first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town), District Six provided space for a growing urban population. In 1840, District Six comprised a clustering of homes concentrated along Hanover Street and Sir Lowry Road. By the late 19th century, it had a racially mixed population of about 29,000 (Hart, 1990, p. 212). The Zonnebloem College was established in February 1858 at a house in Claremont, Cape Town but in 1860 moved to the Zonnebloem estate, which incorporated District Six (Cleophas, 2012, p. 66). Interestingly, between 1858 and 1913 the college had a nonracial student population comprising, among others, white,

coloured, Bechuana, Fingo, and Marolong students (Cleophas, 2012, p. 66). Unlike Lady Selborne, District Six never developed into a white area during apartheid due to strong resistance from anti-apartheid organisations.

Sophiatown

Sophiatown was conceived in 1897 by an investor named Herman Tobiansky who purchased 237 acres of land, which was part of a farm, Waterval. Sophiatown was named after the owner's wife and was only 7.2 km west of Johannesburg. Tobiansky leased the land to the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek for the purpose of a coloured township, which did not materialise. He then planned a private leasehold township on the site. After 1905, large portions of Sophiatown had restrictive clauses against African and coloured occupancy but when those were removed in 1911 and 1912, owners began selling their stands indiscriminately to whites, Africans and coloureds (van Tonder, 1990, p. 20). Sophiatown became a racially diverse space surrounded by Martindale (1905) and Newclare (1912), which also became racially mixed areas.

With time, some residents sold to others and moved elsewhere. When the Johannesburg City Council (JCC) developed a sewage plant near Sophiatown, it discouraged some people from settling there (van Tonder, 1990). This point proves that representational space is also contested space because the JCC's attempt at establishing a coloured area had failed, revealing some hidden town planning segregation tendencies well before apartheid.

All three areas as representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991) were initially conceptualised for residential purposes, and not particularly designated for any specific racial group. All three had been open farmland that was subsequently developed into residential areas. While the landowners were interested in getting their return on investment, citizens were concerned about providing shelter and living a normal life. Evidence abounds that these areas were cosmopolitan and mixed, where people of different backgrounds were eager to settle.

While South African cities developed under the normal impulses of capitalism, the concern of colonial governance was always to uphold white supremacy. Segregation, as previously noted, was used as ideological legitimisation for white domination (Dubow, 1989), leaving the prevention of racial integration during early industrialisation as a major concern to colonial governance.

Significantly, the establishment of cosmopolitanism flourished before the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The establishment of the Union, to the exclusion of black people, signified the amalgamation and supremacy of white English and Afrikaner interest. Forthwith, the Union would use its legal power to enforce racial spatial patterning and obviate the growth of cosmopolitanism. The struggle to establish permanent white control over land intensified after 1910, with the enforcement of further legislation such as the 1936 Land Act, the Natives Resettlement Act (1954) and the 1950 Group Areas Act (Hart, 1990). Needless to say, whites were allocated prime property while Africans, Indians and coloured people were given racially exclusive townships on the urban periphery (Hart, 1990, p. 3).

According to Lefebvre (1991), representational space and spatial practices are descriptive of lived space in the everyday life experiences of citizens (Merrifield, 1993, p. 523). Representational space exemplifies spatial practices that ensure societal cohesion, continuity, and, in the context of this study, cosmopolitanism and forced removals. Below, I explain some of the everyday life activities that were produced and reproduced as cosmopolitan practices. These spaces became places of integration that

manifested cosmopolitan living as an integrated, nonracial form of urban living (Merrifield, 1993, p. 525).

The establishment of Lady Selborne, District Six, and Sophiatown became cosmopolitan places at their earliest conception. I now describe some everyday-life representational spaces and practices that shaped social cohesion amongst inhabitants.

Representational and Spatial Practices: Social Cohesion and Racial Integration

Everyday-life experiences in the three case studies showed the diversity and rich culture that emerged in these communities. Some of the best talent and social capital were to be found there. While being aware of the possible romanticising effects of memory and nostalgia in historical reconstructions of forced removal communities, it should be noted that strife occurs in all communities and those discussed in this article were no exception. However, given the focus on the production of cosmopolitanism in this article, its historical manifestations have been highlighted. A glimpse of each community's social fabric is conveyed in the section that follows.

Lady Selborne

Kgari-Masondo talked about business owners who were prepared to assist people in need, irrespective of their race or creed (Kgari-Masondo, 2013, p. 101). Cosmopolitanism in Lady Selborne was best expressed in the daily interaction of inhabitants. There were no inhibitions about different backgrounds, skin colour, culture, or upbringing. Lady Selborne was also a multilingual space. Mojapelo (2008), for instance, referred to his mother who was Sepedi while her best friend was Shangaan-speaking. Some Indians, coloureds and Chinese spoke fluent Sesotho, which was the dominant language. Some Africans could communicate with Chinese and Indians too.

Mojapelo (2008) reflected upon his upbringing where he socialised with coloured people who lived on his mother's property. The living space was multicultural, where different cultural traditions and practices found expression. The same premises were shared by Shangaans, Batswana, Bapedi, Xhosa, Vhavenda, and Basotho people. Mojapelo (2008) spoke of shared cultural practices such as the Chinese fah-fee (informal gambling game) and the Indians selling atchar and Indian delights such as samosas and curry balls.

Alongside African cultural groups were Europeans as part of the same community. A Jewish bachelor lived in his shop while an Afrikaner stayed a few houses away. A block further, lived some English, Italian, and Swiss. German nuns and Irish priests lived in Lady Selborne for 50 or more years. A black businessperson employed an Italian mechanic and a white woman as bookkeeper. Several white property owners lived in Lady Selborne with their families. An Italian fresh vegetable farmer lived for years on the southern outskirts of the town. There was an Afrikaner woman, married to an Indian shopkeeper, who lived in Lady Selborne for more than 23 years. She lies buried in the Indian section of the cemetery. Africans from the British Protectorates blended with the community and eventually intermarried. Africans from Nyasaland (Tanzania) also settled there. Coloured people were mostly children of English, Scottish, and Irish soldiers who fought in the Anglo Boer War (1899–1902), but some were direct descendants of Cape Malays. English soldiers married African women—from where some black peoples' surnames such as Forbes, Gould, Cartwright, Mount, and Kaufmann are derived (Mojapelo, 2008, p. 7).

District Six

District Six's site ontology has a similar cosmopolitan story to share. Hart (1990) narrated that District Six officially received its name in 1867 when the municipality of Cape Town was divided into six, instead of its previous 12 districts. As representational space (Lefebvre, 1991), the place was in the making long before that. Already in 1840, District Six had a distinct cultural mix (Bickford-Smith, 2001). The "spirit" of the place was often tangibly expressed in, and lived through the social fibre reflected in its unofficial name, Kanaladorp. This name is derived from a Malay (Muslim) word, "kanala," meaning "please." The place meaning of the word conveys a never-say-no or *help mekaar* [help each other] ethic, typically descriptive of a closely knitted community, conveying interdependence and social cohesion amongst its inhabitants (Davids, 2015).

District Six developed into a vibrant, cosmopolitan community and became a melting pot of class, race, and culture. Jewish migrants from Czarist Russia, Germany, and Poland amounted to more than 6,500 (Hart, 1990, p. 212). Schoeman (1994) described the space as a place where various races and cultures lived together in one neighbourhood (Schoeman's cover blurb, 1994). Respect and religious tolerance prevailed amongst its Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and Hindu inhabitants. In their research among ex-residents of District Six, Swanson and Harries (2001, p. 77) quoted a resident who attended Moravian Primary School and regularly attended church despite being a Muslim: "When it was Easter we painted the church, cleaned it and even sang in the choir sometimes. When it came to bazaar time, the churches and mosques supported each other. That is the spirit they can never bring back." Insightfully, another resident remarked that:

District Six had to be destroyed because of the quality of the thinking in the area. The whole cultural mix was something they couldn't handle, this cosmopolitan mix. This kind of East End mix, Jew, Arab and Christian lived in one street. That was their philosophy and that had to be destroyed. (Swanson & Harries, 2001, p. 77)

The cosmopolitanism that grew in District Six, like in many early urban South African spaces, were either located near the central business district or with views of the sea and the mountains. While these areas had the potential to become permanent cosmopolitan spaces, the colonial-apartheid rule not only razed them to the ground, but also destroyed their memory by forcing residents to live in segregated apartheid townships where they had to start building new communities.

Sophiatown

Sophiatown developed into an entirely mixed population, which according to van Tonder (1990, p. 20), led to its reputation for "racial diversity." Hart noted that a distinguishing element of Sophiatown was its socially heterogeneous population that produced the best musicians, scholars, educationists, singers, artists, doctors, lawyers, and clergyman (1990, p. 108). Sophiatown was acclaimed as the "most cosmopolitan of . . . black social igloos and perhaps the most perfect experiment in nonracial community living" (Modisane, 1963). It may be relevant to quote Father Trevor Huddleston as cited in Hart (1990) describing Sophiatown's shopkeepers as a nonracial collective, which was the epitome of integration:

An American barbershop stands next to an African herbalist's store, with its dried roots and dust laden animal hides hanging in the window. You can go into a store to buy a packet of cigarettes and be served by a Chinaman, Indian or a Pakistani. (p. 109)

Huddleston's celebration of life in Sophiatown is similar to that of other culturally rich and racially diverse spaces. In his autobiography (cited by Hart, 1990, p. 104) Huddleston noted: "When Sophiatown is finally obliterated and her people finally scattered . . . South Africa will have lost not

only a place, but an ideal.” Sophiatown produced a rich musical heritage that is internationally known. Traditional jazz, kwela, phata-phata—all forms of music and dance, emerged out of an amalgam of diverse cultural genres described as the fruit of a cosmopolitan environment (South African History Online, n.d.).

The destruction of Sophiatown was not only limited to the loss of property ownership or nearness to the work place, but also represented the tangible loss of an urban culture expressed in many forms. To demonstrate the tragedy of Sophiatown’s destruction, Hart (1990, p. 112) quotes an author who had lived there:

We took the ugliness of life in a slum and wove a kind of beauty; we established bonds of human relationships which set a pattern of communal living, far richer and more satisfying—materially and spiritually—than any model housing could substitute.

From Place to Space: Cosmopolitanism to Segregation

Obsessed with the ideology of racial segregation, the colonial-apartheid rulers used the power of the law to destroy all signs of cosmopolitanism. They left a legacy of destruction of homes, historical buildings, and functional, vibrant communities. Lady Selborne’s black residents were moved to Vlaktefontein (Mamelodi), Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane, and Atteridgeville. In contrast to Lady Selborne with its mountain, fertile soil, and beautiful scenery, Ga-Rankuwa was infertile and dry. Coloured people were sent to Eersterust and Indians to Laudium (Mojapelo, 2008, p. 5). The place became a whites-only area called Suiderberg.

District Six remained a barren piece of land when all its 60,000 residents were relocated on the Cape Flats. They settled in townships such as Lavender Hill, Bridgetown, Mannenberg, Hanover Park, and Mitchells Plain. The Cape Peninsula University of Technology as the successor of the whites-only Cape Technicon inherited a significant portion of the vacant land. Foreign immigrants and white civil servants occupied many of the renovated cottages that were previously owned by black people.

Van Tonder (1990) argued that the removal of Sophiatown, Martindale, and Newclare were first mooted as a major scheme in the 1940s and formed an integral part of the JCC’s postwar reconstruction plans. After Verwoerd assumed the position of Head of Native Affairs Department (NAD), the JCC plan was implemented. Sophiatown’s inhabitants were moved to Meadowlands and later to Diepkloof and other parts of Soweto (South African History Online, n.d.). Sophiatown became a whites-only area ironically renamed Triomf (Triumph) (Hart, 1990, p. 154).

Forced removals brought an end to these vibrant cosmopolitan communities. The ensuing years of apartheid’s social and political engineering gradually buried the memories of these communities—memories that are now being excavated. Ironically, the ideal, so prophetically pronounced by Father Trevor Huddleston, has become the missing page in the country’s history.

To address this epistemological vacuum in the historiographical archive, this study hopes to generate renewed interest in cosmopolitanism by adopting a critical pedagogical approach: ideology critique. Diagram 1 also indicates the interconnection among the three historical case studies, cosmopolitanism, and the dynamism of space and place. The middle left component in the diagram shows space and how it becomes place and vice versa.

In the next section, ideology critique is explained conceptually and pedagogically as a decolonising classroom practice.

Ideology Critique as Decolonising Pedagogy

By adopting a critical approach to cosmopolitanism, it is not enough to engage with history as a knowledge production project. There needs to be a commitment to social transformation and self-creation (Delanty, 2006, p. 39; Scully, 2011, p. 299). Addressing cosmopolitanism, pedagogically, requires a shift from the lecturing, transmission mode of delivery to learner-centredness. Critical cosmopolitanism requires a dialogical methodology that would potentially offer opportunities to students for questioning and self-introspection (Freire, 1970). Students are viewed as active participants in the learning process and their understanding of subject matter relates to their personal experiences and self-expression. Ideology critique is offered as an active learning strategy to engage the far-reaching implications of apartheid forced removals and suggest how to go about changing them.

Schools and higher education institutions form an integral part of the political machinery that reproduces the dominant state ideology (Althusser, 1971). The ideology of racial superiority was engineered by the ruling class. The state's discriminatory policies on educational expenditure resulted in an unequal provision of resources, for example, by spending more money per capita on a white child than a black child. Consequently, the black population was deprived of equal educational opportunities. Another example of how ideology produces inequality was through legislation such as the Group Areas Act (1950). According to this Act, black people were forcibly removed from their original homes and communities, which were mostly located in prime areas near to the coast (South End), mountain (District Six) or central business district (Pageview, Fietas, Sophiatown). Using examples of how social inequalities were politically motivated, ideology critique has the potential to emancipate students' understanding of forced removals as a colonial-apartheid corollary, rather than a slum clearance exercise in the interest of public health and safety, as purported by the authorities.

During the Rhodes Must Fall movement, students demanded a decolonised, quality education. These forms of resistance cannot be ignored and most universities are now thinking how to align their current curricula with the demand for decolonised education. Decolonisation represents opposition to the coloniality of power, knowledge, and being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 261). Coloniality refers to the continuation of apartheid and colonial practices in the postcolonial period. Decolonisation refers to a shift in knowledge production and questions the effects of colonisation on modern subjectivities and modern forms of life as well as contributions of racialised and colonised subjectivities to the production of knowledge (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 262). As abundantly argued in this paper, segregation and apartheid functioned as ideologies to the benefit of the white minority (Dubow, 1989). As an ideology, apartheid left its marks on the psyche and thinking of present generations. Consequently, the educational system requires a critical approach to ideology in order to emancipate students from its negative effects.

Ideology refers to those ideas, values, and beliefs produced within a given mode of production such as the media industry, or education and cultural systems (Macris, 2011). Strinati (1995) added that it is a material force in societies that interpolates individuals as subjects within particular ideologies. For education to serve an emancipatory role, it needs to subject the individual to processes of reflective thinking to see how dominant norms and values of legitimation are reinforced and reproduced as false consciousness.

Ideology critique questions the dominant ideology with the intention to destabilise it. In the context of this study, the historical role of ideology was to conceal cosmopolitanism as an aspect of social and political life through the use of "ideological state apparatus" (Burbules, 1992, p. 8). Social and municipal services in South African urban spaces such as Lady Selborne, District Six, and Sophiatown were neglected and subjected to political and legal pressures until they were physically destroyed. The

Group Areas Act (1950) was implemented to forcibly remove these communities and to resettle their inhabitants in segregated residential areas. Inhabitants had to find their feet before building new (apartheid) communities. Apartheid became a material expression of their existence, which entrenched the ideology of segregation and racial inequality as official doctrine. Consequently, South Africans had to fight against a dehumanising ideology to preserve their dignity.

Ideology Critique as Classroom Pedagogy

The method of ideology critique involves at least five steps. Firstly, the approach is based on dialogue and reasoned discussion, which differs from an authoritative and assertive approach (Freire, 1970). The aim is to provide reasons to induce people to change and abandon certain beliefs and values or modify them to accommodate alternatives (Burbules, 1992, p. 15). In the context of this study, students can be presented with forced-removal historical data structured along Lefebvre's (1991) spatial model to focus on the processes involved (refer to the middle components of Diagram 1).

Secondly, there must be an understanding that belief systems are complex and that some will be more susceptible to change than others. More reasonable students will be willing to change their position, especially if they are being treated with respect and when there are disagreements. The historical evidence can be used to show that cosmopolitanism was a reality and that its destruction was a political act in favour of one group against the others.

Thirdly, the use of educational research, which in this study is the investigation into forced removals, will provide evidence in the form of textual materials to engage in dialogue about the injustices perpetrated against black communities. Students can be engaged to think about alternative methods of addressing the perceived problems that forced removals intended to address. This approach will make it easier to reveal what was concealed and a reformulation of previously held positions may potentially emerge.

Fourthly, the highlighting of contradictions in formulations and an emerging constructivist way of building new understandings are both essential to the method of ideology critique. Leading a person to realise their internal disjunctions is a necessary step in the process of transforming them (Burbules, 1992, p. 10).

In the fifth place, to be ideological is to be resistant to criticism and to defend a position as unchangeable. Contrary to being ideological is to be critical: to accept that one's subjectivity is open for critique and even to critique, depending on the disposition of the student. An ideology critique pedagogy may offer one approach but is itself not immune from criticism. It offers a reasonable and practical way towards a dialogical option for problem solving.

Diagram 1 above also provides a flow chart to show how historical evidence about forced removals can be employed as content in ideology critique methodology to facilitate an openness to cosmopolitanism.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper responded to the research questions by citing, in detail, three historical case studies presented as pedagogical material on cosmopolitanism and forced removals (Hart, 1990; Mojapelo, 2008; van Tonder, 1990). Ideology critique has been presented as a viable decolonising pedagogy, based on the understanding that the doctrine of segregation and apartheid operated as an ideology to preserve white supremacy (Dubow, 1989). This paper demonstrated that cosmopolitanism developed

in those urban spaces that were later destroyed by forced removals to entrench the doctrine of segregation.

The current education system needs to confront the challenge of letting younger South Africans reimagine cosmopolitanism in a postapartheid society. The pedagogical objective of using ideology critique (Macris, 2011) is to reflect upon the hegemonic effect of their socialisation and apartheid on their self-formation. Exposure to authentic historical sources showed that cosmopolitanism was once a vibrant tradition that could be reimagined by students to establish a postapartheid nonracial society.

The educational sector is an important space where cosmopolitan education can be introduced as part of a decolonised curriculum. Critical cosmopolitanism, as opposed to its liberal version, recognises the need to confront issues of social justice and inequality as an outcome of the ideology of segregation and apartheid (Delanty, 2006). In response to students' demand for a quality and relevant curriculum, this paper proposes the use of ideology critique in the (re)construction of an alternative, more inclusive historical narrative.

At the level of initial teacher education topics such as human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice have been prioritised (Department of Basic Education, 2011). During the training of student teachers, carefully prepared lessons can be used to teach cosmopolitanism using the ideology critique pedagogy in modules such as languages, life orientation, history and geography (social science), arts and culture, and inclusive education. There is a wealth of material available on forced removals relevant to these subjects. The intention should be that students be provided with sufficient opportunities for dialogue about their own beliefs and ideologies. With careful intervention, conditions could be created for critical introspection and questioning (Burbules, 1992).

Students at teacher education institutions today will be teaching citizens of the future. Teacher education institutions are therefore vital spaces where an alternative society can be visualised. As South Africa's social transformation was slow over the past 20 years, a more realistic but constructive view of educational social change should be adopted—lest the next 20 years become as wasted as the previous.

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