CACEE HOYER

Centering African Voices: An Approach for Teaching African History with Primary Sources

When I was about 12 years old, I took a drawing class where we were learning how to draw comic strips and cartoons. I was struggling to draw a particular cartoon and my instructor advised me to turn the model image upside down. At first, I did not understand how turning the image upside down would make drawing it any easier to copy. In fact, I thought it would be more difficult because it was hard to make sense of it. Actually, though, my instructor was right—instead of focusing so much on the larger picture, and what I was *supposed* to be drawing, I focused on the individual shapes and how they connected together. The result was an incredible likeness to the original image that I simply could not have achieved without flipping it on its head. I find that this experience is a great metaphor for my approach to the pedagogy discussed in this paper. Rather than providing students with the content and context and showing them how they connect, I suggest we should flip the image on its head and let them make the connections themselves. I have found that what you end up with are students with a much clearer understanding of the larger picture. While this pedagogy integrates various methods that are becoming more commonplace, I believe centering primary sources over secondary texts is a useful way to approach potentially more challenging curriculum, such as African history for American students.

African Sources for American Students

I teach at a small, regional, public institution in the United States. Most of my undergraduate students have virtually no understanding of African history, culture, or geography, despite being upper-level history majors. They primarily have learned about Africa through misinformation and harmful stereotypes propagated by the American media. I first implemented this pedagogy to counter misconceptions about Africa in an upper level undergraduate
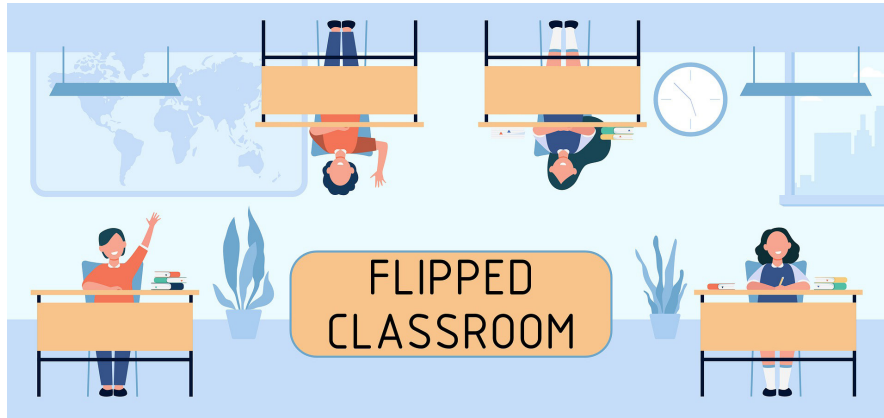
Image 1: Flipped Classroom, Photo by Pizieno. Source: Public Domain at https://pixabay.com/photos/flipped-classroom-education-class-6499171/

South African history course. My three main goals were to get my students to understand the complexities of South Africa's rich history, to be able to explain the various transformations (political, economic, cultural) throughout the region's history, and be able to synthesize what they learned into a final project that makes a historical argument. To do this I designed the course as a modified 'flipped classroom' where students would be required to read and annotate *only* from a primary source reader rather than a secondary text.[1] We would then use class time to discuss, clarify, examine, and contextualize what they had read. By requiring students to use an active reading strategy to engage directly with African voices, they were able to participate in classroom discussions at a significantly more critical level. This format encouraged open discourse and discussion, where students were not afraid to ask even the most basic or complex questions. Perhaps most importantly, because students were interacting with African perspectives before completely understanding the secondary interpretations, debates, and historiography, they were able to critically evaluate and decolonize the sources on their own in our class.

Primary Sources as Pedagogical Tool

Using primary sources is a valuable approach to addressing the colonial legacies of those in the Global North writing about Africans, while engaging in student-centered learning that promotes 21st-century skills of source analysis. This study began as a presentation at a conference titled "Decolonizing the Classroom," with the explicit intent of exploring how current debates surrounding Africanist teaching, scholarship, and knowledge production informs the undergraduate classroom.[2] The conference recognized that "Africanists' teaching and scholarship has long fought to bring African voices to the center of scholarly debate. However, structural inequality and prejudice has also allowed colonial hierarchies within

the academy to remain."[3] My positionality as a white, Western scholar has forced me to reflect on these debates and the praxis in my classroom. This pedagogy, and this study, is the beginning of this process for me.

Current debates of World History curriculum, and specifically within African Studies,[4] urge practitioners to center non-western voices as one means towards achieving the goal of addressing the colonial hierarchies that persist in the academy.[5] While these conversations are increasing across academia, they seem to only be beginning to trickle into our classrooms. So, my goal with this pedagogy was to prioritize the voices of Africans and African scholars so my students can gain more authentic perspectives in an engaging way.

The pedagogy suggested here fits within other innovative approaches to student-centered learning that incorporate African voices and perspectives. One example of such an innovative pedagogy that I considered for this class was the use of (auto)biographies and historical fiction. I have long used (auto)biographies and historical fiction in my World History classroom and have witnessed students drawing connections and understanding non-western perspectives in a new light. For this course I considered incorporating Jacob Dlamini's *Native Nostalgia*, Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*, Don Mattera's *Memory is the Weapon*, or Mamphela Ramphele's *Across Boundaries*.[6] However, due to time constraints and accessibility/affordability issues for my students, I decided to use the primary source reader alone in this class to achieve the goal of sharing African narratives firsthand rather than an (auto)biography.

Since the publication of *Abina and the Important Men*, graphic novels have grown tremendously in their use in World History classrooms.[7] This innovative approach gets readers to think in a very different way, and *Abina* in particular, centers African voices and perspectives that have historically been silenced. Additionally, graphic novels can use the "power of illustration to convey important themes in world history and to reveal the processes by which history is made."[8] *Abina*, and graphic novels in general, is a useful tool that is incorporated into my African and World History survey courses but did not relate to the topic (South African history) of this particular course. As of yet, there is no graphic novel set in South Africa.

Reacting to the Past (RTTP) is another creative pedagogical approach with the potential to de-center western perspectives and engage students in critical analysis.[9] RTTP are role-playing games developed and supported by the Reacting Consortium, which is made up of a wide variety of academics and instructors.[10] The games go through rigorous planning and testing. They have been demonstrated to be very appealing to students, while encouraging deep historical and critical thought.[11] Indeed, Kyle Chong has argued their "subversive potential" of developing soft skills of civil engagement.[12] There are, however, not very many non-western/non-US games and only a handful of African topics. Additionally, RTTP games take several weeks of class time for students to complete. The time

factor was my primary reason for not including RTTP in this particular course. Most RTTP games take several weeks, or longer, to implement. While this allows great depth in understanding the issues and developing important critical thinking skills, I wanted to devote that time to the primary sources and expose my students to the wide variety of issues in South African history.

Virtual Reality (VR) is an exciting new tool for the World History classroom.[13] Currently utilized more at the secondary level, it shows tremendous potential for centering non-western perspectives in the undergraduate classroom as well. While VR is relatively new, student responses leave little doubt to their interest in this learning platform.[14] Scholars have begun to evaluate the implications for VR in teaching critical thinking skills and as a component of the Digital Humanities in closing the gap in access to knowledge and knowledge production worldwide.[15]

In this paper, I provide the roadmap for another innovative pedagogy that suggests the 'flipped classroom' centered on African primary sources to be a beneficial approach to student-centered learning and a contribution to decolonizing the World History classroom.

Course Design: Centering the Sources

Although I believe the pedagogy presented here to be transferable, it was helpful for me to pilot this format in a topics course because it focused the selection of sources, themes, and content—for both my students and me. The African continent is incredibly diverse and complex, which proves challenging for preparing instructional materials and the selection of primary sources. Which stories are told? Whose narrative are we going to focus on? What themes will drive the course? These are things to consider when selecting sources and become more problematic in a course with a wider scope.

The broader goals for this course are the same as they are for all my courses on Africa: for students to understand the diversity, complexity, and richness of the continent, with a particular focus on analyzing how historical legacies influence contemporary perceptions and events. To meet this goal, I decided to spiral the curriculum around a series of themes: land, power, religion and/or missionaries, racism and racialism, resistance, diversity and confrontation, violence, cultural understandings (or misunderstandings), identity, "frontiers" (conceptually, not geographically), source bias and writing history (historiography). We began our class discussions by sourcing the authors of the documents assigned for that day. We would discuss the author's background and how their level of education or social class might have contributed to their works' preservation.

This format helped students make sense of the array of material they were examining. It provided a roadmap by which they could process the sources they were reading. We would not focus on all themes each class session, but rather examine a series of sources that connected two or three themes in common sense ways. Students would then synthesize these thematic discussions into a comprehensive midterm and final essay.

Using this thematic approach, the course was organized chronologically, thus allowing students to make connections to continuity and change over time. For example, by spiraling the theme of "land" periodically throughout the course, my students were able to understand that current land issues in South Africa have a very long and complicated past and that a contemporary "common sense" solution is quite difficult, and problematic based on past legacies and claims to land. Each class period readings were centered on one or two themes.

The course was structured in a modified 'flipped classroom' model. Students were assigned daily readings from a primary source reader. I chose to assign readings from a primary source reader, based on my students needs and access to materials. The reader seemed the most concise and efficient way for students to access primary sources, without overwhelming them. Many archives across the continent are not fully digitized and freely accessible to American students. Additionally, many African archives are still rife with colonial legacies that compound these issues. To use a reader seemed more equitable and provided more diverse sources in a much more palatable, and affordable, way for my students.

In this course, I used Craig Crais and Thomas McClendon, *The South Africa Reader,* because it was the most comprehensive primary source reader specifically focusing on South African history.[16] There are several good primary source readers on African history, however, with a much broader scope than this course required.[17] Aside from its affordability, I liked the structure and formatting of the reader. The sources were divided chronologically into thematic units, with an introduction for each unit. Additionally, each primary source included its own introduction, so students were provided a bit of historical context prior to interacting with the source. Perhaps the best feature of this reader, however, was the authors' selection of sources that prioritized African voices and perspectives. For example, Chapter One: African Worlds, African Voices included two poems by //Kabbo which were a part of a collection of the earliest recorded South African stories, an excerpt from an interview of Ndukwana kaMbengwana about Zulu religion from the James Stuart Archive in which the authors italicized the material that was originally written down in Zulu, a selection from *The Black People and Whence They Came* by Magema Fuze which is the first book-length work in Zulu by an indigenous author, and a selection of *Mhudi*, by Solomon Plaatje, a founding member of the African National Congress and African novelist.[18] Clais and McClendon emphasize their aims in their introduction:

The readings are not statements of how things "were." In each case, the powerful invention of ethnicity that unfolded across South Africa during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which we cover in part III of the *Reader*, shaped the author's understanding of the world. They are cultural texts about identity and worldviews. In these stories we learn of Khoisan beliefs and colonial oppression; Nguni ideas about God, ancestors, and

Image 2: Magema Magwaza Fuze, December 1920. Source: Public Domain at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Magema_Magwaza_Fuze,_December_1920.jpg

early history of the Zulu Kingdom; and African intellectuals interpreting South Africa's rich oral traditions for a new generation.[19]

 All readings were required to be annotated. I held students accountable for their annotations by grading them each day. Practically speaking, I used a spreadsheet and a check+, check, check- system based on the quality and quantity of annotation. This was completed during the first 10–15 minutes of class, with students alternating between writing responses on the dry-erase walls and showing me their annotations for their grade. I offered verbal feedback if I felt more annotations were needed (i.e., "more questions in the margins here" or "need to clarify these ideas", etc.) To get full credit I required students to highlight keywords and/or phrases, make margin notes, and have a minimum of three discussion questions. The annotations served three purposes: 1) they helped me quickly evaluate students' initial (mis)understandings of the readings, 2) see the type of questions students had generated while reading, 3) to track participation and attendance. Since the class was essentially 'flipped' much of the active learning occurred in class. Without requiring attendance, this method was useful in ensuring students would prioritize class time and thus their learning.
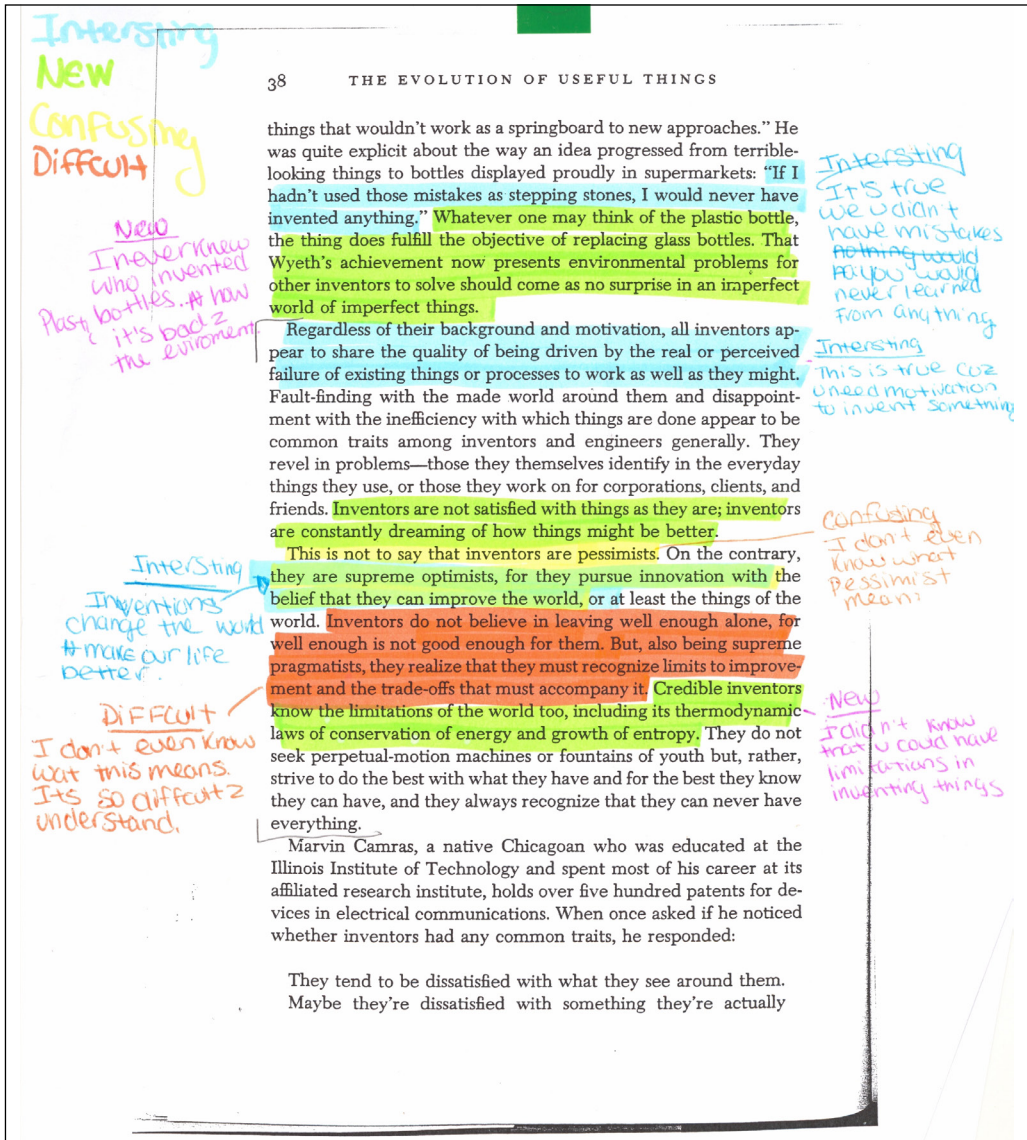
Image 3: Sample Annotation. Source: Henry Petrosky, *The Evolution of Useful Things: How Everyday Artifacts-From Forks and Pins to Paper Clips and Zippers-Came to be as They are*. (Vintage/ Random House, 2010). Used with author's permission.

While I checked their annotations, students would fill up the dry-erase walls with information from their annotations, using the following three categories: Timeline, Questions, and Things to Consider. Initially, we used only the last two categories. I added the Timeline category when it became clear that students were struggling with chronological order because of the thematic approach. I found that it worked as a great review tool where students could connect the previous day's discussions to their current reading, since the
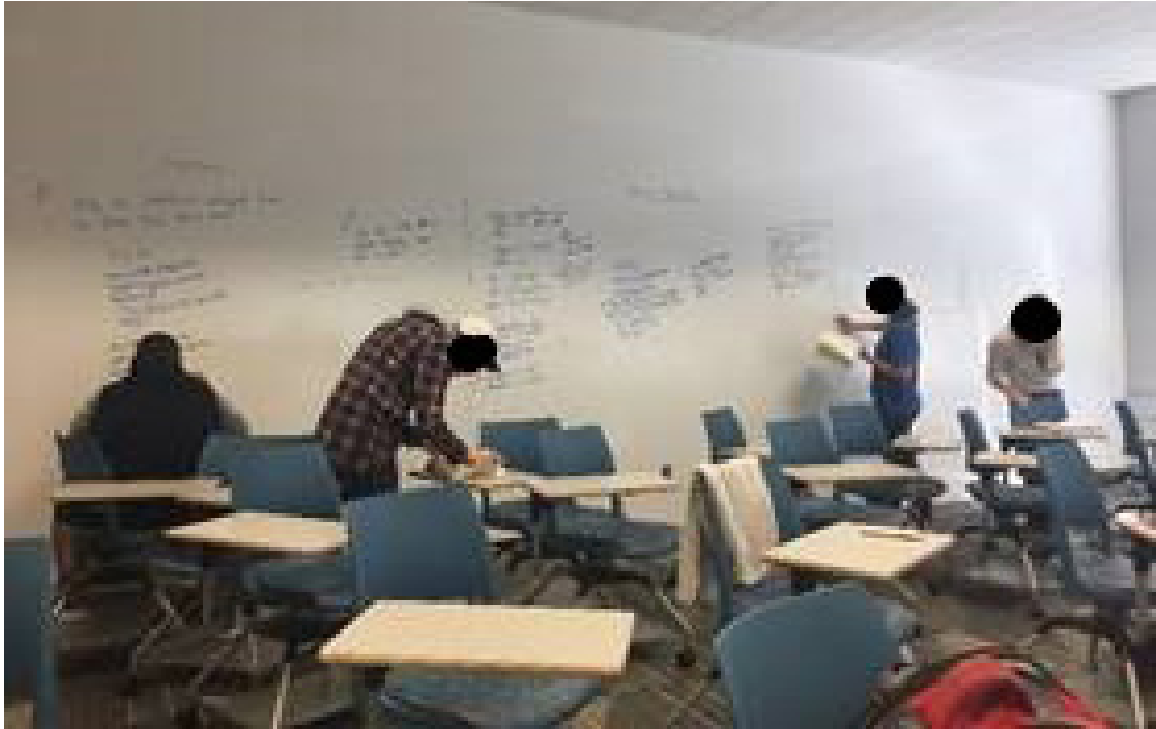
Image 4: Filling up the Dry Erase Walls: Class Photo, South African History Class, University of Southern Indiana, Evansville, Indiana, Fall 2018. Source: Photograph by Kristalyn Shefveland, used with permission.

timeline events often overlapped. It reinforced this previous knowledge, helped clarify and organize events, and connected the course discussions in a simple and effective way. I was also able to introduce important new material this way that provided essential context to students that they might not have gotten from the primary source readings.

We would spend the remainder of the class time bouncing around the items the students had placed on the dry-erase walls. Typically, we would start with a quick review or clarification of the timeline. I would add information here as pertinent. Then we would often proceed to the 'Questions' section next, starting with questions regarding clarifications of the readings and proceed onto the more analytical questions. Students were allowed the freedom to write any type of question they needed to. Often students were quite confused by parts of the readings, which was evidenced in the contextual type of questions that appeared frequently. However, the discussions we had about these questions were typically not just factually based, but often illustrated the complex context required to understand these materials. For example, in our discussion of Afrikaner Nationalism students struggled with understanding Afrikaner identity and nationalism. I had prepared discussion points that included a TED Talk by Sethembile Msezane, who is an artist that critiques constructions of history and monuments. This led us into a discussion of Cecil

Image 5: Portrait of Sethembile Msezane. Source: Author Sethembile Msezane, 13 December 2018. Used under the licensing provisions of conditions at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sethembile_Msezane-_Portrait.jpg.

Rhodes and Afrikaner Nationalism, which led us to #RhodesMustFall, which led us to a discussion of the history of South Africa's education system, which problematized African Nationalism as a tool for South African identity. At this point, we looped back to Msezane's TED Talk that "disrupts and deconstructs the process of commemorative practice in South Africa, demanding space next to colonial-era statues for her country's, and her gender's, erased histories."[20] Students understood the basic issues from the sources but were able to problematize it further when we tied their readings to the class discussion points.

Such conversations inevitably oscillated between the various columns on the dry-erase walls as students made connections between their quotes and the discussion points and their questions and back again. Students were able to see these connections and I was able to provide a more organic background to facilitate and guide these discussions. This student-centered approach allowed students to come to their own conclusions, because the readings, discussions by students, and my in-class support scaffolded their analysis.

Reflections on Course Structure and Design

It is important that purposeful reflection on the course design occur prior to its commencement. The themes and readings need to be scaffolded in a way to support student

comprehension. It is important to anticipate where students may struggle with the sources. I made a very conscious, deliberate selection of the sources students were required to read, despite the reliance on a primary source reader. I found that centering the order of the assigned readings around themes to be an essential component to improve student comprehension. Perhaps the most important support required from instructors is an ability to "work backwards" from students' questions to their African contexts. Frequently students would come to class having done a great job reading and analyzing the text, but coming to unanticipated or unusual (i.e., inaccurate) conclusions due to their lack of historical context. I capitalized on this as a great learning experience by facilitating a discussion of the historical (also cultural/social) context and was frequently greeted with "Oh! That makes so much more sense!" The students were able to confront their own conclusions (and stereotypes) in a critical way, adjust them according to our discussions, and thus learn in a more authentic way that, I believe, gave a much richer learning experience than if I had just lectured and told them the information. However, this means the instructor must be flexible and ready to discuss a wide variety of potential topics on the fly.

The focus on primary sources in this course did not come at the expense of secondary sources. Throughout the course I endeavored to expose the students-organically through our class discussions-to African scholars. This further centered African voices, allowing African academics to provide the expertise on the continent. Often this was done simply through TED talks and YouTube videos, because it was a quick way to allow African academics to respond to my students' questions.[21] For each class, I prepared discussion points that included the perspectives of African academics on that day's topics. For example, during our discussion on current land issues I included discussion points from scholars Sam Moyo and Olusegun Akanbi.[22] Similarly, during our discussion of *Mhudi* by Solomon Plaatje I incorporated current scholarship by African academics who have evaluated his work.[23] My students found this aspect refreshing because it seemed like a more authentic study of the topic. I did not see my job in this classroom to be the authority on knowledge, but rather the expert on bringing together the collection of sources that facilitated a more genuine understanding of the continent.

Historiography and discussions of who writes history were themes that were continuously woven throughout the course. As a part of these daily discussion points, I endeavored to incorporate African academic work and points of view with the goal of working to de-center western forms of academic writing, so students would come to understand the systems at play in scholarly production. South African education systems, and who had access to them, became a consistent talking point. By the end of the class, students realized the importance of centering African voices, both scholarly and primary sources, as essential to writing African history.

Conclusion

I have found immense benefits in structuring my African history courses with this methodology of prioritizing primary sources over secondary sources. It centers African voices, letting them tell their stories to my students. It's student-centered active learning, where students lead the direction of the discussions that in turn increased student engagement. Informal feedback from students convinced me that this methodology promoted critical thinking and increased student understanding. Student evaluations indicated deeper learning and higher satisfaction with the course. While students often would complain about the amount of reading required, all of them understood why it was essential to hold them accountable for this reading and preferred this methodology to the traditional lecture style.

Perhaps most importantly it helped my students develop historical empathy and a much-improved contemporary awareness of the complexities of South Africa and its people. We often discussed why people would have particular ideas or interpretations of the past based on the types of histories that were prioritized and produced (historiography) and how they related to the sources they had read. The students were able to recognize the dissonance and became quite critical of how African sources are collected, interpreted, and archived. According to Pailey, "foregrounding the discussion about where the 'African' is in African Studies as an ethical dilemma raises the stakes, forcing African and non-African scholars alike to remain self-reflexive, humble, and accountable to the continent and its people."[24] I believe this is equally as essential for our students to learn as well. I am continuing to develop this pedagogy, including its transferability to the World History classroom, with the hope to truly remain "self-reflexive, humble, and accountable to the continent and its people."[25]

Cacee Hoyer teaches African and world history at the University of Southern Indiana, specializing in 20th century South African race relations, specifically focusing on the Indian South African population. She teaches World History survey courses, as well as undergraduate courses in African history. Her most recent publication is, "Contested Allegiances: Indian South Africans, Passive Resistance, and the 1947 Royal Visit to South Africa," *Historia* 64, no. 1 (May 2019): 91–110. She would like to thank Anthony Edwards and Jason Morgan for their indefatigable ability to critique my work and their continued friendship. She can be reached at choyer@usi.edu.

NOTES

1 For a description on a more traditional use of the flipped classroom in a World History class, please see Judy E. Gaughan, "The Flipped Classroom in World History," *The History Teacher* 47, no. 2 (2014): 221–44.

2 Conference Program Introduction, "Decolonizing the Classroom," The Africa Network Biennial Conference, Smith College, Northampton Massachusetts, September 27–29, 2019.

3 Conference Program Introduction, The Africa Network Biennial Conference, September 27–29, 2019.

4 For more information on decolonizing African history curriculum, please see: Jean Allman, "#HerskovitsMustFall? A Meditation on Whiteness, African Studies, and the Unfinished Business of 1968," Presidential Lecture, African Studies Association Annual Conference, 2018, accessed June 23, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=%23herskovitsmustfall; Robtel Neajai Pailey, "Where is the 'African' in African Studies?" *African Arguments* June 7, 2016, accessed June 23, 2019, https://africanarguments.org/author/robtel-neajai-pailey/; Amina Mama, "Is it Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom," *African Studies Review* 50, no.1 (2007): 1–26; John Henrik Clarke, "Confrontation at Montreal: The Fight to Reclaim African History," *Negro Digest* 9, no. 4 (February 1970): 10–15, 59–64. See also, "Our Vision: AHSA History," *African Heritage Studies Association*, accessed March 12, 2020, https://ahsa50.org/our-vision; Marius Kothor, "Race and the Politics of Knowledge" *Black Perspectives*, April 8, 2019, accessed June 23, 2021, https://www.aaihs.org/race-and-the-politics-of-knowledge-production-in-african-studies/?fbclid=IwAR17pobIR-IKzuikewgQ2kqE5HT1fgjj4F1yuQl3Xfzg10LUtveLwrpRiu0; Ryan C Briggs and Scott Weathers, "Gender and Location in African Politics Scholarship: The Other White Man's Burden?," *African Affairs* 115, no. 460 (July 2016): 466–489; Pryah Mahabeer, "Curriculum Decision-makers on Decolonising the Teacher Education Curriculum," *South African Journal of Education* 38, no. 4 (November 2018): 1–13; J. Nyoni, "Decolonising the Higher Education Curriculum: An Analysis of African Intellectual Readiness to Break the Chains of a Colonial Caged Mentality," *Transformation in Higher Education* 4 (2019): 1–10.

5 For a great discussion on decolonizing World History sources, topics, and curriculum please see: Priyamvada Gopal, "On Decolonisation and the University," *Textual Practice* 35, no.6 (2021): 873–899. See also: Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London: Verso Books, 2019).

6 Example Biographies or Autobiographies that I considered for use in this course: Jacob Dlamini, *Native Nostalgia* (Independent Publishers Group, 2010), Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (Back Bay Books, 2013), Don Mattera, *Memory is the Weapon* (Johannesburg: African Perspectives Publishing, 2010), Mamphela Ramphele, *Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman* (New York, New York: Perseus, 1999).

7 Trevor Getz and Liz Clarke, *Abina and the Important Men: A Graphic History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). Oxford University Press' Graphic History Series currently includes eight graphic novels. See more at https://global.oup.com/academic/content/series/g/graphic-history-series-ghs/?view=Grid&sortField=1%0A%09%09%09%09&resultsPerPage=100%0A%09%09%09%09&start=0&lang=en&cc=us

8 "Abina and the Important Men: A Graphic History," accessed October 18, 2021, www.abina.org.

9 Reacting to the Past, Barnard College, Columbia University, 2021, accessed October 29, 2021, https://reacting.barnard.edu/about-reacting. Criticism of experiential learning, such as RTTP, do problematize this pedagogy. For criticisms of experiential learning, please see: Steven Edelson, Kevin D. Lo, Terry Nelson, Gary Stark, Micheal T. Stratton, and Chantal van Esch, "From the Shadow of Overconfidence Into the Light of Humility: Reflections on Experiential Learning Activities Gone Awry," *Journal of Management Education* 43, no. 2 (April 2019): 200–211; Amy Lawton, "Lemons to Lemonade: Experiential Learning by Trial and Error," *The Law Teacher* 55, no. 2 (2021).

10 The Reacting Consortium, 2021, accessed October 29, 2021, https://reactingconsortium.org/.

11 Marie Gasper-Hulvat, "Active Learning - Reacting to the Past," Kent State University Center for Teaching and Learning, 2019, October 29, 2021, https://www.kent.edu/ctl/reacting-past; See also, Kathryn Lamontagne, "When the Past is the Classroom: Merging 'Reacting to the Past' and Experiential Education," *Impact: The Journal of the Center for Interdisciplinary Teaching and Learning* 9 no 2, (summer 2020): 9–16.

12 Kyle Chong, "Playful Practice: the Democratic Potential of Reacting to the Past as Experiential Learning," *Race and Pedagogy Journal: Teaching and Learning for Justice* 3, no. 2, (2019), Article 3, accessed October 29, 2021, https://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/rpj/vol3/iss2/3

13 Tiou Maggie Masenya, "Development of Innovative Pedagogy Strategies and Decolonization of Curriculum in Higher Education Institutions in the COVID-19 Era," in *Curriculum Development and Online Instruction for the 21ˢᵗ Century* eds.Tamara Phillips Fudge and Susan Shepherd Ferebee (IGI Global): 242–267.

14 Andrew Lawlor, Cassandra Smith, Patricia Steele, Elizabeth Anne Johnston, and Sonja M. Lamppa "Virtual Reality Considerations for Curriculum Development and Online Instruction," in *Curriculum Development and Online Instruction for the 21ˢᵗ Century* eds.Tamara Phillips Fudge and Susan Shepherd Ferebee (IGI Global): 20–37.

15 For more information on Virtual Reality (VR) as a pedagogy tool, please see Kajsa Hallberg Adu, "The Promise of Digital Humanities Pedagogy: Decolonizing a Diverse Classroom in Ghana," Digital Scholarship in the Humanities 36, no. 1 (June 2021): i37–i42; Solomon Zane, Ajayi Nurudeen, Raghavjee Rushil, and Ndayizigamiye Patrick, "Lecturers' Perceptions of Virtual Reality as a Teaching and Learning Platform," in *Communications in Computer and Information Science* eds. S. Kabanda, H. Suleman, and S. Gruner (Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2019), 299–312; Sasha Newell and Katrien Pype, "Decolonizing the Virtual: Future Knowledges and the Extrahuman in Africa," *African Studies Review* 64, no. 1 (2021): 5–22.

16 Craig Crais and Thomas McClendon, *The South Africa Reader* (Duke University Press, 2013). If considering gendered/women perspectives from the region, please consider M. J. Daymond, Dorothy Driver, Sheila Meintjes, Leloba Molema, Chiedza Musengezi, Margie Orford, and Nobantu Rasebotsa, eds. *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region*, (New York: City University of New York Press: 2003).

17 African history primary source reader I have used in my survey courses include: Robert Harms, *Africa in Global History with Sources* (Norton: 2018); Nancy Jacobs, African History Through Sources, Vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 2014); William Worger, Nancy Clark, Edward Alpers, eds. Africa and the West: A Documentary History (Oxford University Press, 2010). I did recommend two secondary texts to my students, but their purchase and use was optional: Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (Yale University Press, 2014); Nigel Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

18 Crais and McClendon, *The South Africa Reader*, 8–32.

19 Crais and McClendon, *The South Africa Reader*, 10.

20 Sethembile Msezane, "Living Sculptures that Stand for History's Truths," TEDGlobal 2017, August 2017, https://www.ted.com/talks/sethembile_msezane_living_sculptures_that_stand_for_history_s_truths?utm_campaign=tedspread&utm_medium=referral&utm_source=tedcomshare

21 Example TEDtalks I used in this course are: Sethembile Msezane, "Living Sculptures that Stand for History's Truths," TEDGlobal, August 2017,

https://www.ted.com/talks/sethembile_msezane_living_sculptures_that_stand_for_history_s_truths?utm_campaign=tedspread&utm_medium=referral&utm_source=tedcomshare; Gus Casely-Hayford, "The Powerful Stories that Shaped Africa," TEDGlobal, August 2017, https://www.ted.com/talks/gus_casely_hayford_the_powerful_stories_that_shaped_africa?utm_campaign=tedspread&utm_medium=referral&utm_source=tedcomshare. A recent TED talk I will incorporate in the future is Jim Chuchu, "Why are Stolen African Artifacts Still in Western Museums?" TEDMonterey, July 2021, https://www.ted.com/talks/jim_chuchu_why_are_stolen_african_artifacts_still_in_western_museums?utm_campaign=tedspread&utm_medium=referral&utm_source=tedcomshare.

22 Akanbi, Olusegun Ayodele, "The Growth, Poverty and Inequality Nexus in South Africa: Cointegration and Causality Analysis," *Development Southern Africa* 33, no. 2 (March 2016): 166–85; Sam Moyo, Praveen Jha, Paris Yeros, eds. *Reclaiming Africa: Scramble and Resistance in the 21st Century* (Springer: Singapore, 2019); "Prof. Sam Moyo: Political Economy of Agriculture in Southern Africa," #StopTheBleedingAfrica Campaign, YouTube, September 10, 2015, https://youtu.be/q-Y6iBl3BOE.

23 Tidiane N'Diaye, Tidiane and Guillaume Vallet, "Sol Plaatje: an Intellectual Giant in the Twentieth-century History of Black South Africa," *Inequalities and the Progressive Era*, (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020); Phaswane Mpe, "Orality, Mediation and Subversion in Sol Plaatje's *Mhudi*," *African Studies* 57, no. 1 (1998): 79–91.

24 Pailey, "Where is the 'African' in African Studies?"

25 Pailey, "Where is the 'African' in African Studies?"