# THE CURRENT RELEVANCE OF POPULIST HISTORY IN SCHOOLS: THE ATTITUDES OF CAPE TOWN YOUTH TO HISTORY

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### **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is m	13
own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part	
submitted it at any university for a degree.	

Signature:.. Date: ...

### **SUMMARY**

This thesis examines whether the historical consciousness of grade 10 youth would increase should there be an intervention facilitated for this purpose, that is that they would show a heightened consciousness of the relation between school history and current affairs, politics and other societal issues. This intervention comprises the *My New World* text produced within the populist historiographical tradition in South Africa. The notion of historical consciousness is defined as the complex relation between an interpretation of the past, a perspective of the present and expectations of the future Rüsen (1989; 1994).

The investigation comprised a theoretical and empirical component. The theoretical component is informed by the theories of epistemology, knowledge, schooling and curriculum. The empirical component is based on the *Youth and History Survey* conducted on historical consciousness amongst youth in Europe in the early 1990s. Both this study and the European study were conducted during periods of political transition.

The chosen research methodology was that of triangulation, combining quantitative with qualitative methods. The quantitative component was based on the measurement used in the European study, and comprised an experimental pre-test and post-test research design, measuring "inside school" and "outside school" historical consciousness. The study was conducted in 8 grade 10 classrooms at 8 schools in Cape Town, representative of class, race, language and gender. The teachers acted as facilitators of the intervention.

The conclusion reached in the research is that although the intervention resulted in an increased enthusiasm amongst individuals for school history and interest in political issues and an understanding for the present as in evidence from the qualitative data, this was not reflected in the quantitative data which showed no significant increase in the "inside school" nor "outside school" historical consciousness amongst youth of average 15 years in grade 10 history classrooms in Cape Town. It can therefore not be empirically concluded that when youth are exposed to populist history over a *limited* period that they

would show an increased "outside school" or "inside school" historical consciousness even though an intervention might aim to increase such a consciousness. A significant finding is that the case for an already existent historical consciousness related to the variables of class and gender holds. Instead of increasing the levels of historical consciousness, the intervention resulted in a surfacing of long-held attitudes, perceptions and beliefs of people, society, the past, the present and the future. The intervention succeeded in bringing these complex layers of variables and related factors that impact on perceptions and attitudes to the surface. Given this complexity, it was also concluded that an empirical study of historical consciousness amongst youth through an intervention over a limited period of time is risky, if not of little value.

### **OPSOMMING**

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die vraag of die historiese bewussyn van graad 10-leerders sal toeneem indien daar vir hierdie doel 'n intervensie sou plaasvind, met ander woorde of hulle 'n verhoogde bewussyn van die verhouding tussen die vak Geskiedenis op skool en sake van die dag, die politiek en ander gemeenskapsake sal aantoon. Die tersaaklike intervensie behels die teks van *My New World* wat daargestel is binne die raamwerk van die populistiese historiografiese tradisie in Suid-Afrika. Die begrip 'historiese bewussyn' kan omskryf word as 'n komplekse verhouding tussen die interpretasie van die verlede, 'n perspektief oor die hede, en verwagtinge oor die toekoms (Rüsen 1989; 1994).

Die ondersoek bevat 'n teoretiese sowel as 'n empiriese komponent. Die teoretiese komponent is gebaseer op epistemologiese, onderwys- en kurrikulumteorieë. Die empiriese komponent vind sy grondslag in die *Youth and History Survey* ondersoek oor historiese bewussyn wat in die vroeë 1990's onder Europese jongmense geloods is. Beide hierdie studie en die Europese navorsing is in tye van politieke oorgang onderneem.

Die navorsingsmetode wat gebruik is, is dié van triangulasie wat uit 'n kombinasie van kwantitatiewe en kwalitatiewe metodes bestaan. Die kwantitatiewe komponent is gebaseer op die meting wat in die Europese studie gebruik is, en bestaan uit 'n eksperimentele voor- en natoets navorsingsontwerp wat die historiese bewussyn "binne" en "buite" skoolverband meet. Die studie is geloods in agt graad 10-klaskamers by agt skole in Kaapstad wat klas, ras, taal en geslag verteenwoordig het. Die betrokke onderwysers het as fasiliteerders vir die intervensie opgetree.

Die gevolgtrekking waartoe in die ondersoek geraak is, is dat, alhoewel die intervensie tot verhoogde entoesiasme vir Geskiedenis as skoolvak en tot belangstelling in politieke kwessies en 'n begrip van die hede onder individuele leerders gelei het (soos afgelei kon word uit kwalitatiewe data), hierdie tendens nie weerspieël is deur die kwantitatiewe data nie: eersgenoemde het nie 'n beduidende verhoging in die historiese bewussyn "binne" of "buite"

skoolverband onder leerders met 'n gemiddelde ouderdom van 15 jaar getoon nie. Daar kan dus nie empiries tot die gevolgtrekking geraak word dat wanneer leerders vir 'n beperkte tyd aan populistiese geskiedenis blootgestel word, hulle 'n verhoogde historiese bewussyn "binne" of "buite" skoolverband sal aantoon nie, selfs al sou so 'n intervensie dit wel ten doel hê om so 'n bewussyn te verhoog. 'n Beduidende bevinding is dat daar 'n saak uitgemaak kan word vir 'n reeds bestaande historiese bewussyn wat in verband staan met die veranderlikes van klas en geslag. In plaas daarvan om die vlakke van historiese bewussyn te verhoog het die intervensie die gevolg gehad dat lank bestaande houdings, persepsies en oortuigings oor mense, die gemeenskap, die verlede, die hede en die toekoms, na die oppervlak beweeg het. Die intervensie het dus daarin geslaag om hierdie komplekse lae veranderlikes en verwante faktore wat persepsies en houdings beïnvloed, na die oppervlak te bring. In die lig van die kompleksiteit hiervan, is daar ook tot die gevolgtrekking geraak dat 'n empiriese studie van historiese bewussyn onder jongmense oor 'n beperkte tyd deur middel van intervensie riskant is, indien nie van min waarde nie.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the current South African educational context, the term "learner" is used instead of "student".

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#### LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC African National Congress

APDUSA African Peoples' Democratic Union of South Africa

APLA African Peoples' Liberation Army

BC Black Consciousness

COSAS Congress of South African Students

DET Department of Education and Training

HC Historical Consciousness

HOA House of Assembly

HOR House of Representatives

HSRC Human Sciences Research Council

ILRIG International Labour Research Information Group

MK Umkhonto We Sizwe

NAWC National Access Consortium Western Cape

NEUM Non-European Unity Movement

NP National Party

R&B Rhythm and Beat

RAU Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit

SABC South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACOS South African Council on Sport

SADTU South African Democratic Teachers' Union

SASHT South African Society for History Teaching

SOYA South African Students of Young Azania

TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UDF United Democratic Front

UNESCO United Nations Education and Scientific Council

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UNISA University of South Africa

WCCES World Congress on Comparative Education Societies

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### CHAPTER 1

#### INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. The debate on the role and place of school history

The role, place and purpose of history in society have been a hotly contested debate internationally (in Europe and the United States of America) over the last few decades (Giroux 1997; Novick 1988; Tosh 1984, 1991; Rabb 1982; Rogers 1979; 1987, Angvik and von Borries 1997, van der Leeuw-Roord 1998). The international debate centers primarily around issues of relevance (Rogers 1987; Giroux 1997; Rabb 1982; Burke 1991; Angvik and von Borries 1997; van der Leeuw-Roord 1998), education for productivity versus education for critical thinking and purpose (Tosh 1984, 1991; Giroux 1997) and alleged declining youth interest in the Humanities (Giroux 1997). Jeismann (1992)<sup>1</sup> calls this newly focussed subject, "historical consciousness". Of particular significance is the *Youth and History Survey* conducted in Europe in the 1990s which entailed a study of 32 000 teenagers in about 27 countries who were asked to reflect on the question of what history means to young people - to reflect on historical consciousness and youth.

The South African situation presents its own complexities. Whilst the 1980s saw a populist campaign for a "true" and "relevant" People's History back into schools through the People's Education Movement, the post-1994 Outcomes-Based Education Curriculum Framework has effectively marginalised the once popular subject amongst South African youth of the revolutionary era. Until recently, history as a field of study hardly existed in the General Education and Training Band. The present Ministry of Education has therefore embarked on a curriculum reconstruction process to strengthen history in schools in both the General Education and Further Education and Training Band. Protagonists are making a strong case for a curriculum informed by historical consciousness, building on the People's History tradition of the 1980s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Anvik and Borries, 1997

The local debate regarding the place and role of history in schools is reflective of the international debate (Chisholm 1981; Kallaway et al 1990; Bam 1993; Kros 1987; Rees 1990/91; History Education Group 1993; Kapp 1990; Trumpelmann 1990). Several national history conferences held during the late 1980s and 1990s have attempted to contribute to the debate. Of particular significance was *The Future of the Past Conference* held at the University of the Western Cape in July 1996. There have also been several responses in South Africa (informed by the populist historical consciousness tradition of the 1980s) to the call for a more relevant and "purposeful" history for schools over the last two decades.

### 1.2. The My New World Project

The My New World Project initiated by the University of the Western Cape has been a response for a more "purposeful history" for schools. This project has been conceptualised in the course of 1995 and 1996 in consultation with historians and educators who generally align themselves with a radical historiography in South Africa. Writers of the project include school educators, historians, heritage educators, university educators and community activists. The project was conceptualised within the critical social science theory and was therefore informed by the notion of praxis: It provided an opportunity to rewrite school history, by including such "deafening silences" as the controversial land issue in school history texts. By promoting historical consciousness, it also provided an appropriate historical base for emancipation through school education. The assumption of the writers of the My New World texts is firmly grounded in the critical social theory. For them, an engagement in explicit controversial issues in the history classroom (such as land issues) would promote a historical consciousness necessary for the inculcation of a positive attitude to society and a subsequent understanding of the role of history in society.

Participants in *The My New World History Project* regard themselves as critical educationists and espouse the theories of critical pedagogy of Giroux (1997) and others. McLaren (1995:232) describes critical pedagogy as assisting students to interrogate the formation of their subjectivities and thereby generate pedagogical practices that are non-racist and non-sexist, aiming further at the transformation of the larger social order in the interests of greater racial, gender and economic justice. This encapsulates the main purpose of the *My New World* project.

Collins (1991: 222) contests the issue of reality as "predetermined" as implicit in the arguments of Tosh, Giroux and McLaren. She asserts that the way we think of the world is the way in which we experience that world. Because experiences differ, it stands to reason that "realities" would differ. She argues further that it is therefore through the provision of new ways of knowing that subordinate groups are given the opportunity "to define their own reality". Reality is therefore not "fixed". Smith (1988) contends that one of the major critiques of radical historiography is "excessive present-mindedness", a preoccupation with the present that diminishes to some extent the value of history as an instrument of effective social analysis. Williams, a secondary school history educator on the Cape Flats, claimed not so long ago (Cape Argus, 25 February 1999) that learners do not find history interesting because they do not see its purpose to their own lives and future.

### 1.3. The Youth and History Project

The notion of school history as directly related to historical consciousness and attitude to self in society is also imbedded in the *The Youth and History Project* implemented in Europe which reflected the assumption that history education develops democratic attitudes in young people; that history educators have been able to arouse the interest of young people for topics like politics and the development of democracy. One of the main aims of the European project was to compare the historical consciousness of students from different countries and regions.

Angvik and von Borries (1997:19) point out that we know very little about the attitudes and feelings of school-going youth when it comes to history. (We know more about their attitude towards sex, alcohol and drugs.) They further point out that for every 100 researchers engaged in obtaining new empirical knowledge about history about 1 or 2 researchers are engaged in educational research within history. We therefore know very little about the results of history teaching and less about the correlation between political and social attitude of youth and their engagement in controversial issues in the history classroom.

Presently there is a general interest amongst policy makers regarding the research problem relating to youth, political interest and its relation to knowledge, particularly school history. Such interests have specifically proliferated with the collapse of borders, such as in the case of a

unified Germany and the establishment of a demographically integrated democratic South Africa during the past decade of the last millennium. The *European Youth and History* survey has its roots in this historical context, when in the early 90s scholars across disciplines were asking how questions of historical consciousness have relevance to youth attitude to politics and other issues in society.

# 1.4. School history and the promotion of values

The interest amongst history practitioners in many different parts of the world is not only about history and its correlation to political attitudes, but more specifically about the link with values. Concern has recently been expressed by German education policy makers that a lack of a national syllabus for history divides the youth, leading (amongst others) to a rise in right wing activity (Cape Times, 27 October 2000). In fact, German policy makers and scholars draw a positive correlation between political attitude and the place and role of school history. School history is perceived as relevant to the attitudes of youth, which invariably (it is maintained) impacts on national unity, tolerance, identity and values. School history can play a reconstructionist role in society; predominant perceptions of its place in society are informed by positivist, instrumentalist notions of agency. And if we do not learn from the past, it is believed, then we are bound to repeat it. It is said that since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the "thorny issues" of German history (relating to the atrocities of the secret police and the Wall shootings) are ignored (Cape Times, 27 October 2000). A parliamentary commission was set up in Germany in 1991, which made recommendations for a "standardised national history" in 1995. However, these recommendations were rejected. Second attempts were made in 1996, but these were once again rejected because of the controversy surrounding the issue of a national curriculum. The increase in far right sentiments is said to be found amongst the youth of eastern Germany where adults were never "de-Nazified" and where unemployment is rife. German educators contend that "the longer the vacuum in knowledge exists, the more dangerous it is for the country." The debate is said to remain unresolved (Cape Times, 27 October 2000). And in Japan, the debate centers around the issue of amnesia, of Japanese history textbooks avoiding writing about atrocities committed during the Second World War. Likewise in Chile there is an avoidance of teaching about the "missing".

Similarly, in South Africa the place and relevance of history is once again under the spotlight. The education ministry has recently commissioned a panel of historians and educators to investigate the state of history in schools, as it is believed that history "can promote tolerance, reconciliation and values" (James Report, May 2000). Like in Europe, the perception is that school history can make a difference; that historical consciousness in schools is important and therefore that teaching about controversial issues such as racism will highlight the relevance of history and will make an impact on the political and social attitude of youth by promoting key democratic values, resulting in a more tolerant society. Hence, school history has been specifically highlighted in the context of a promotion of an African awareness and the need to uproot racism among youth and to combat the rise of xenophobia among South Africans.

A review committee as recommended by the Chisholm Report on "Values in Education" (May 2000) has therefore been appointed to streamline the curriculum and to specifically address the teaching of history for the strengthening of the South African democracy. The recent national conference on "Values, Education and Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" held in February 2001 in Cape Town, sought to address the link between school history, democracy and values. The South African History Project established by Professor Kader Asmal in August 2001 is charged with the national task of implementing a history that will promote democratic values, tackling the warts of racism, sexism and xenophobia in our society. Research output regarding school history and values would be one of the project's aims.

### 1.5. School history and historical consciousness

Hence there have been serious attempts to "reconstruct" the South African nation through school history as promoting historical consciousness. An educator more recently warned that apartheid had not died but that it had just gone into hiding (Cape Times, 8 December 2000); it is therefore important to keep the historical memory of apartheid atrocities alive in order to assist the next generation in building an anti-racist society.

Of great concern, therefore, is the evidence emerging from research that shows an increased political apathy and indifference amongst South African youth. A survey conducted in 1999 by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa has shown that the 18-19 year age group trailed

significantly behind all other groups who registered to vote in the 1999 election. Just more than half of this age group is said to have registered for the local elections of December 2000 (Weekend Argus, 2-3 December 2000). A recent survey by the media found that there was hardly any knowledge amongst youth about the *Freedom Charter* of the 1950s.<sup>2</sup> Efforts to mobilise youth around political awareness and action are said to have failed. One educational psychologist attributes this apathy to "a general feeling of insecurity due to crime and poverty", "influences by parents" and also to "global trends in fulfilling personal needs" (Weekend Argus, 2-3 December 2000).

The debate is about whether this political indifference is peculiar to white youth or whether it is a general youth trend irrespective of race or class. A South African politician working amongst youth remarked recently that "mobilising the youth in the white community has been significantly more difficult than before"; that "it seems inherent in a black person's make-up to play a role in the country's politics"; that the attitude of white youth is "that this country is not worth the effort" (Weekend Argus, 2-3 December 2000). Yet a politician from another political party argues differently, attributing the indifference to generational issues, stating that "younger people today aren't those who were forced to experience the horrors of days like June 16<sup>th</sup> (1976)"; that they (the adults) "were mobilised then to fight for democracy; the youth don't have the same challenges or causes to fight for" (Weekend Argus, 2-3 December 2000). Hence, perhaps the concern and panic amongst policy makers, politicians and educators to "save" the South African nation through instrumentalist means, using schools and curricula as sites of agency.

Central to the debates (both national and international) is the notion of the perceived relevance of "historical consciousness" to the political and social attitude of youth. Jeismann (1985; 1990) and Rüsen (1989; 1994) define historical consciousness as the complex connection of interpretations of the past, perceptions of the present and expectations for the future. The result being highly relevant for a "collective identity" rooted in historical orientation for present life. This, it is said, is the main goal of history as informed by perceptions of the present and expectations for the future. Interpretations of the past are therefore said to be closely linked to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> SABC news, 25<sup>th</sup> June 2001

political attitudes and identity. In other words, historical consciousness relates to "relevance", to examining controversial issues in the present that have their roots in the past.

### 1.6. The Research Question

This notion of historical consciousness (as historical orientation through dealing with controversial issues) and its relation to youth attitude to self, politics and society informs the hypothesis of this research project.

The hypothesis of this study is that 15 to 16 year old school youth who are exposed to an explicitly controversial populist history would show an increase in historical consciousness (i.e. interpretations of the past, perceptions of the present and expectations for the future). Put differently, this research aims to establish how relevant the populist historical tradition of the My New World project (imbedded in historical orientation through engagement in explicit controversial issues) would become to learners if introduced into secondary school curricula.

The research intervention to investigate this research question took place at selected schools in Cape Town from July to August 2000 over a period of 6 weeks (similar to the average time used to conduct the Youth and History survey). The test comprised a pre-intervention and post-intervention analysis of learners' attitude to history and related attitudes to politics and social issues in a controlled experimental situation. A research design drawing on both qualitative and quantitative social research methods was implemented. The quantitative research design (experimental research) component comprised questionnaires adapted from the Youth and History Project to test the historical consciousness of subjects and their educators.

The research site comprised 8 grade 10 classrooms at 8 high schools: 1 experimental group each at 5 of the schools and 1 control group each at 3 of the schools - representative of diverse historical and sociological experiences in Cape Town. The intervention comprised My New World texts on South African history 1600s to 1800s (activities, research projects etc.) entitled "Land: a most important resource". (The texts are specifically designed with clearly stated political and social purposes.) The target group was similar in terms of average age (15 – 16 year olds) to those in the Youth and History project.

The experimental group engaged in discussion of explicit controversial issues in terms of their relation to the past, present and future while the control group did not. In other words, the control group did not consciously reflect on the controversial issues in the present and relating them to the past and the future. One example of engagement in explicitly controversial issues: How does the phenomenon of squatters relate to the wars of dispossession? (interpretation of the past); do squatters have rightful ownership to the land? (perceptions of the present); how should the land be divided? (expectations of the future). The educators acted as facilitators of the intervention. The qualitative component of the research intervention comprised learner and educator journals as well as post-experiment focus group interviews.

This thesis explains the research question and findings in six chapters dealing primarily with two components: theoretical and empirical. Chapters 2 deals with the theoretical context of and background to the research question; chapter 3 deals with the research design methodology and chapters 4, 5 and 6 comprise the empirical component of the thesis.

#### 1.7. The Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 is titled "Review of the Literature" and provides a theoretical context to this study through a discussion of related issues of political economy, hermeneutics, epistemological debate, youth culture, the complex notion of "attitudes" and identity politics.

Chapter 3 is titled "Research Theory, Method and Design" and explicitly explains the research theory (assumptions of the real world), the type of research (both descriptive and explanatory), its rationale, the research methods employed (interpretive and critical social science) and the collapse of their frameworks into a "multiparadigm research design" (informed by principles of causal law, social context and praxis). It sets out to first explain the research theories implicit in the formulation and conceptualisation of the research question (e.g. structural functionalism and conflict theory) and how this has impacted on the type of investigations employed by the researcher. It explains how the theories fit into the research process and clarify underlying constructs and concepts of the research design. The chapter therefore describes why the researcher has chosen the combination of quantitative research design (surveys and

experimental) and qualitative research design (e.g. triangulation through journals, observation and interviews) to investigate the research question and how the various aspects of the research design have been operationalised. A detailed description of the research process is outlined, explained, discussed and evaluated in terms of what was intended for measurement, how this was operationalised, the research problems and the attempts through which such problems were solved.

Chapter 4 is titled "Profile of the Learners and Teachers" and provides a detailed description and explanation of the qualitative and quantitative ethnographic data obtained of the subjects (both learners and educators) in the pre-test, through observation, educator and learner journals and post-experiment interviews. These units and levels of analysis (educators, schools, race, language, socio-economic background, and parents) are clarified and explained. Macro and micro level concepts relevant to the research question are described and explained. The chapter explains how the researcher intends to use units and levels of analysis (school type, language, gender and class) to assist in the analysis of the research question; how these profiles assist in explaining the perceived change in attitudes as shown in the quantitative data between the pre-test and post-test. These units and levels of analysis are used as the intervening variables.

Chapter 5 is titled "Research Report" and provides an overview of the problems encountered by the researcher in the field and how these may impact on the findings of the empirical study.

Chapter 6 is titled "Identifying historical consciousness" and operationalises the research question and hypothesis on historical consciousness and Cape Town 15 – 16 year old school youth. The chapter presents both a description and explanation of the quantitative data (pre-test and post-test) and the qualitative data (observations, journals and post-experiment interviews). The method of triangulation is employed, using the qualitative data to supplement interpretations of the quantitative data. Data are presented, analyzed and explained through the use of comparative tables on the pre-test and post-tests as well as to illustrate differences in attitudes where relevant between the pre-intervention and post-intervention tests. The relation between the data and research question is explained. The research question is operationalised through the analysis of data on a set of questions in the questionnaire adapted from the *Youth and History* survey. It would be expected that subjects in the Experimental Group (those exposed to historical

consciousness by engaging in explicitly controversial issues in South African history) would show an increasingly positive response to questions relating to historical consciousness.

Engagement in explicitly controversial issues is set up as the independent variable; the units and levels of analysis are the intervening variables (school type, language, class and gender); the dependent variables are: interest in South African history, interest in the usefulness of history, interest in current affairs and interest in politics. The research question is analyzed and the hypothesis is verified. The link between the independent variable, dependent variables and units and levels of analysis as intervening variables (school type, language, class and gender) is explained.

Chapter 7 is titled "Conclusion" and captures the main research findings on the research question. The researcher reflects on the research design, its limitations and theoretical and empirical contributions to the research problem and the implications for policy and debate.

The Appendices comprise tables, case studies, a schedule of the visits to the schools and the excerpts from journals. Appendix 1 provides tables of the detailed statistical results of learner surveys per school. Appendix 2 comprises the case studies of selected schools in the experimental group (the ethnographic context, the learners' voice, the teachers' voice and relevant anecdotal excerpts from both experimental and control groups). Appendix 3 provides relevant excerpts from the teachers' journals of selected schools. Appendix 4 comprises selected evidence from learners' class work in the form of anecdotal material. The interview schedule at schools providing full dates of meetings with teachers at the schools, dates of pre-tests and post-tests and dates for the monitoring of research is outlined in Appendix 5.

The Annexures consist of the questionnaires used in the pilot test, the pre-test and the post-test as well as the journal template and correspondence from the Western Cape Education Department.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter discusses the various interpretations of epistemology: how knowledge relates to identity, to consciousness, to experiences and to power relations in society. The theory is placed in both its international and its local context. Issues such as the global crisis in epistemology, youth culture, identity politics, the impact of globalisation and the notion of an African Renaissance are explored. Different theories about knowledge and its relation to epistemology, issues of power, consciousness and identity are mentioned as having a direct bearing on theories of youth culture within an increasing globalised world, while the African continent experiences its own process of anti-colonial cultural revival.

### 2.1.Knowledge and epistemology

Habermas (1971: 187) distinguishes modes of knowledge according to the social interest or goal they serve: *technical interest* of successful prediction and control; *practical interest*: of human understanding and communication, hermeneutics and *emancipatory interest*: concerned with critique of ideology and liberation from social and individual pathologies.

Collins (1991) speaks about "knowledge consciousness" and "self knowledge" rather than "historical consciousness"; "self-affirmation" and "self-definition" (1991: 106) and their concomitant link to empowerment. Like Apple (1997), Collins contends that knowledge relates to power. Bell hooks (1994:90 – 91) speaks about the unique mixture of experiential and analytical ways of knowing which cannot be acquired through books or even distanced observation, the "passion of experience" and the "passion of remembrance" as she terms it – a particular knowledge that comes from suffering.

In contemporary discourse, therefore, epistemology is viewed (in different ways) as directly linked to notions of reality which, in turn, point invariably to post-modernist articulations of power relations, memory, consciousness, identity and experience.

As Young (1976) asserts, that knowledge does not have "a life of its own"; our concepts of knowledge are related to our ideas about teaching and learning about the world. Therefore, according to Young (1976) to say "I teach history" implies erroneously "a body of knowledge to be transferred"; the "worthwhile" is presupposed. Instead, (Young maintains) "knowledge" is accomplished in the collaborative relationship of teaching and learning in a classroom.

Theorists such as Aronowitz and Giroux (1975: 141) argue that because knowledge is negotiated or mediated in various socio-political contexts, the partisan nature of human learning must be acknowledged. Accordingly, educators must examine their own histories, their connections to the past and to particular social formations, cultures and "sedimented" experiences, that, in part, define who they are and how they assimilate everyday experiences (1975:142). Hence, the cardinal question to be asked of epistemology and its link to studies on youth is: whose interests are served by the production and legitimation of school knowledge (1975:145).

It follows that one of the key concepts imbedded in epistemology is the construction of "legitimate", "worthwhile" or "useful" knowledge. Such concepts were developed in industrialised nineteenth century England among radical working class educational associations of which the central message is that really useful knowledge is knowledge that draws from popular education, knowledge that points to "more human and democratic social relations and cultural forms" (Aronowitz and Griroux 1975:158). In other words, conceptual frameworks for knowledge as "legitimate" and "valid" emerged out of a particular set of historical and economic relations in the context of a European proletarianised popular culture and its associated emancipatory ideals. Such frameworks are historically located within Marxist terms of reference, an analysis which claims that power relations in society and knowledge production are pivotal to the formation of such relations. According to this intellectual tradition, what counts as "valid", "worthwhile" or "legitimate" is therefore closely linked to the question of hegemony: who is in power and how that power is articulated in the cultural form of knowledge production.

Theorists such as Apple (1990) see epistemological issues as much more intricate and problematic than (what came to be termed) "reductionist" nineteenth century notions of cultural reproduction. According to Apple what counts, as "legitimate knowledge" is the result of a set of

complex relations and struggles among identifiable groups. Knowledge is not the result of simplistic, uncritical reproduction of cultural forms of control, but involves a struggle amongst social groups identifiable along the lines of predominant categories of gender, sexuality, class and race. There is therefore always a struggle for "legitimate knowledge" to include the historical experiences and cultural expressions of labour, women and people of colour.

Because knowledge construction is perceived as related to various social, political and cultural contexts, it is essentially "partisan" and therefore not "value free". In this regard Gramsci (1971) noted the need for intellectuals to develop the potential to engage with and transform dominant theoretical traditions by challenging the allegedly value free neutral nature of intellectual activity. Furthermore, Gramsci (1985) critiqued the notion of the intellectual as "obligated to engage in value free discourse"; one that necessitates that he or she refuses to take sides in different issues. Gramsci asserts that intellectual labour (and hence, knowledge) cannot be objective, "free floating" or apolitical.

Inherently related to the discourse on knowledge production, power relations, cultural reproduction and legitimacy; is the pertinent epistemological question of knowledge *for which purpose*? Here the debate centers on the limitations and possibilities of reconstructionism (i.e. knowledge for a particular social and political purpose).

Habermas (1979) notes that it is not sufficient to understand the world; we must also change it according to normative foundations. Following on McNeil (1977:31), such reconstructionism is appealing because of its faith in the ability of humankind to form a more perfect world. More recently, Seidman (1991) appeals for a post-modernist, "pragmatic" sense of judgement of "truth" and social discourse; assessing our discourses in light of both their own aims and their moral implications. Seidman maintains that such pragmatism would contribute to expanding the "discursive character of sociology" beyond a "narrow empirical and analytical cognitive focus". Accordingly, social discourses need to be evaluated not only by their own aims but also by their external and social effects. The questions to ask (amongst others) are therefore (Seidman 1991:188): What are the social consequences and therefore what is the moral significance? What values, identities, normative orders, social hierarchies are promoted? What constructions of self and society are projected in it and what kinds of social entanglements does it entail?

However, the discourse (of whatever form and shape) remains related to the kind of society we want (1991:189). Seidman speaks about a "postmodern consequentialist culture" (1991:189); if pressed to justify particular social norms and ideals, we can reply only in an "ethnocentric mode" (i.e. the promotion of the kind of society we value and want to perpetuate, ultimately because it is our society) (1991:190). There remain no "compelling reasons" beyond saying it is "our society", that its "history", "traditions", and "conventions" have given us a sense of "identity", "coherence" and "purpose". Even this pragmatic, postmodernist consquentialist culture (Seidman asserts) is also "perhaps susceptible to being manipulated for narrow self-interested ends" (1991:190).

Our sense of ourselves, our perceived roles in the present and their "purposes" are therefore central to our judgement of "legitimate", "valid" or "worthwhile" knowledge. Arbib and Hesse (1987) assert that this is particularly the case in social sciences where topics are selected and structured by relevant values; knowledge is for action.

In this regard, Pollock (1974) focuses on the construction and purposes of "historical knowledge" made possible through memory, because the past is past and as such, "beyond our means". More distant facts that we know, we know second hand, from things such as reports of other people, history books, old newspapers and documents (1974:175 – 176). Hence, historical knowledge can only be justified "inductively" on the basis of memory (1974:176). None of these other sources can be more than contingent reasons for judgements about the past. We make use of prior reasoning for thinking what is probably true or false, from people we consider "reliable" (1974:176). Inductive reasoning is therefore not possible unless we have an independent reason to trust our memory of the past (1974:176) through observing several particular instances that confirm the generalisation; checking of sources is done in terms of our own experience (1974:177). In order to check reliability, we must have historical knowledge (1974:177). Pollock therefore maintains that reductionism is analogous to phenomenalism (and positivism), because statements about the past are entailed by statements about the present (1974:179).

Similarly, Gadamer (1975)<sup>3</sup> argues that tradition and prejudice (prejudgement and preunderstanding) cannot be eliminated from the individual's perspective on the world; hermeneutics (interpretation) underlie our objectification of the natural world. Hermeneutics is a theory of interpretation not only of textual and oral communication but also of culture in general, of the whole sphere of the objectifications of inner life (Snyman 1997:158).

Arbib and Hesse (1987:174) speak about the assumption of the premise that "knowledge" of the historical and natural are possible and indeed exist in "uncontroversial" but distinct forms; that *Verstehen* has been used to indicate the type of understanding a human observer can have of human action – an understanding "from the inside" in contrast with the external objectifications of the natural sciences.

McLaren (1995:230) argues that all knowledge is fundamentally mediated by linguistic relations that are socially and historically constituted; that individuals are synechochically related to the wider society through traditions and mediation (family, friends, religion, formal schooling, popular culture etc.). Meaning is therefore not self-generated; it is not wholly available to the active consciousness of autonomous agents; nor does it reside in a self-referencing universe (1995:231). Knowledge is not removed from history, nor is it above politics, nor immune to ethical questioning.

Because knowledge is essentially constructed for a purpose and within the context of perceptions of the present and their relations to a range of issues pertaining to experience, memory, agency, identity, conflicting group interest, politics, morality, ethics, values, prejudgment and pre-understanding, it cannot be viewed fixed, essentialist, uncontested, unproblematic nor given. It stands to reason then, that the nature of all forms of knowledge should essentially be inherently and necessarily controversial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Arbib and Hesse, 1988.

### 2.2. Schooling and knowledge

Epistemology and the related study of youth are inevitably and inextricably linked to our perceptions of the social and political role of schooling.

Apple (1990) contends that there are two main perspectives on the social and political function of schools. For some groups of people schooling is seen as a vast engine of democracy (the school as a site of constant mediation and dialogue where knowledge is problematised); for others, it is seen as a form of social and political control (the school as agent of uncritical social reproduction).

Reproductive theorists such as McLaren (1995) note that capitalism's socially reproductive effects on schooling are linked to the "devastating victory" of the New Right (1995:264). Schools have become reactionary sites for social and character engineering of youth of good "moral fibre" (subjectivities are policed and ethics are "dispensed") to expedite capitalist production (1995:264). Schools have become agents and laboratories of a technocratic culture (hence the increased emphasis on the importance of the Natural Sciences), serving as vigorous mechanisms for the reproduction of dominant race, class and gender relations and the imperial values of the dominant sociopolitical order (1995:229). In the process of reproduction, students are inevitably treated as objects of consumption (1995:231).

Similarly, Aronowitz and Giroux (1975) argue that schools are "political sites that repress and produce subjectivities", which (they assert) are produced and maintained through language, knowledge and social practices and also through specific ways of experiencing and making sense of the world. In other words, experiential knowledge<sup>4</sup>, and self-knowledge<sup>5</sup> are negated through the school culture. The active forms of cultural capital that learners from subordinate groups bring to school that express and affirm their histories, languages and social practices are marginalised in the process (1975:139). Schools therefore disable rather than enable critical learning and social transformation by legitimating forms of school knowledge; a form of social

<sup>4</sup> Bella hooks' notion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Notion of Collins

control that repress possibilities for struggle and resistance (1975:139). The dominant school culture functions not only to legitimate the interests and values of dominant groups, it also functions to marginalise and disconfirm knowledge forms and experiences that are extremely important to subordinate and oppressed groups (1975:147).

Although Smyth (1987) recognises that a positivist culture detaches students and teachers from their language, customs, rituals, experiences and histories causing students to become confused about the legitimacy and potency of their own lived practical experiences in the light of hegemonic management pedagogies (1987:161), there is recognition that schools are socially constructed realities in which there is continuous struggle among contending groups to have their particular lived reality recognised (1987:159). Because schools and their realities are perceived as socially constructed, it is perhaps more sensible to ask *whose* knowledge is of most worth rather than *what* knowledge is of most worth (Apple 1990).

Furthermore, Young (1976) asserted that much of what we hope can be realized in education, will not take place in school. In other words, schools have a limited role and influence on relations in society and forms of reality construction and social reproduction. It can be deduced, therefore, that if students are to be empowered by school experiences, they must (as Aronowitz and Giroux 1975:158 assert), "acquire mastery of language" as well as the "capacity to think conceptually and critically".

However, there is a sense that schools are not essentially deterministic in their function and role. As Apple (1990) indicates that learners bring their own classed, raced, and gendered biographies with them into schools. Learners are not "passive" recipients and uncritical "producers" of knowledge as "given" and "fixed" entities. Learners accept, reinterpret and reject what counts as "legitimate knowledge". Having a Freirean<sup>6</sup> sense of pedagogy as dialogue, learners are active (rather than passive, uncritical) constructors of the meanings of the education they encounter. Hence, schools are sites of contested knowledge informed by various social experiences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Referring here to well known Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire's thesis of "Critical Pedagogy"

# 2.3. Curriculum and knowledge

Reductionist theorists generally view the curriculum as the sub-agent of schooling; it is through the curriculum that knowledge forms are legitimated and validated. Perceptions of the curriculum and its influence, function and role in schools and the wider society are therefore also largely informed by the theories of reconstructionists.

Young (1976) argues that if we present curriculum as a reality to which the language of cause and effect, resistance and change, is appropriate, then we are no different from politicians who talk of 'the National Interest' or 'the Economy', in which ideology is mistaken for a set of social relations it seeks to legitimate.

Greene (1971)<sup>7</sup> views the curriculum as a "possibility" for the learner as an existing person mainly concerned with making sense of his "own" life-world, as "external" and embodied in syllabuses and textbooks. In the phenomenological view of knowledge, the curriculum is viewed as unproblematic "fact".

Social reconstructionists stress societal needs over individual needs (McNeil 1977:1), expecting that the curriculum can effect social reform and engineer a better future for society. Social reconstructionists believe that the curriculum can act as agent of change by fostering critical discontent and thereby equipping learners with the skills needed for conceiving new goals and effecting social change (McNeil 1977:19). An example of this perception of the curriculum is the argument put forward by Aronowitz and Giroux (1975:156) for inclusion of the "cultural capital of students from subordinate social categories" into curricula that teachers develop or mediate, to the questions raised in classes and to the problems that are posed in such settings. They assume that the prime purpose of the curriculum is to confront the learner with the array of severe, ominous disturbances that humankind faces (McNeil 1977:21). Hence, learners are expected to identify and select strategies for effective change by considering various options in political practices (McNeil 1977: 22). With this particular perception of the curriculum in mind, social reconstructionists attempt to overtly relate national and world purposes to the students' goals, 8 by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Giroux, 1975

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Brazilian educationist, Paulo Freire, is considered as a leading social reconstructionist based on his widely acclaimed thesis of cultural action for conscientisation (McNeil 1977:24).

encouraging learners to analyse concrete contradictions of democracy in the school and community and to devise actions to combat anti-democratic aspects (1977:26).

Apple (1990) critiques the reconstructionist-positivist view of the school curriculum as "the gateways to adult competence" for the world they are supposedly being prepared for. Apple therefore argues that the curriculum does little more than "re-describe" a world that teachers and pupils "already know", while textbooks play a key role in "re-describing" this world in accordance to hegemonic knowledge conventions.

Because textbooks are integral to curriculum and therefore central to construction of knowledge (and hence, also of reality), they should be subjected to critical appraisal. Texts are said to be important epistemological artifacts, resultant of complex political, economic, and cultural processes (Apple, 1990). These processes are not only shaped by compromises (markets, agendas of publishers, profit margins, curriculum guidelines and approval boards) but also sociopolitical agendas (e.g. reconstructionist ideals).

Aronowitz and Giroux (1975) assert that texts are one of the dominant "cultural forms" (influenced and shaped by interests in the larger society) that infiltrate schools; Textbooks are a most dramatic and representative instance of cultural influence in the school (1975:150) as they purport to be a distillation of the accumulated knowledge of the discipline. Their tone is "objective" just as their style is authoritative (1975:150); they are control devices not only on content but also on what counts as knowledge (1975:151); students learn class specific behaviour for both understanding and for adapting to the world of work and other aspects of the larger society, acquiring a specific form of symbolic capital (1975:153).

Texts therefore signify particular constructions of reality; they embody someone's selection, someone's vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital disenfranchising another (Apple 1990). They help set the canons of truthfulness; they set the curriculum (Apple 1990). It is therefore not surprising that the text can easily become the centre of ideological and educational conflict such as in the case of Japan,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The same would apply to a subject-ordered curriculum (such as the existence of school history) which only exists because of conventions laid down by those in power to construct curricula.

where the government approval of a right-wing history textbook that retold the story of the brutal Japanese invasion and occupation of China and Korea in a more positive light has stimulated widespread international antagonism and controversy (Apple 1990).

The issues of the text also involve our diverse expectations of the future, about our expectations of society, about our vision of our country's future. Hence what texts mean and how they are used are fought over by communities with distinctly different commitments (Apple 1990). Accordingly, therefore, conflicts over texts are often proxies for wider questions of power relations; they involve what people hold most dear (Apple 1990). The textbook often represents an overt attempt to help create a new cultural reality. Texts are also, then, subject to controversy, interpretation, mediation and negotiation.

A further critique of the reconstructionist paradigm is their concern with the relation of curriculum to society as it should be as opposed to society as it is (McNeil 1977:31). It is also recognised that curriculum development along reconstructionist lines often emerges whenever there is a need for resolving value conflict where there are different interpretations of history (McNeil 1977:32).

The reconstructionist notion of text and curriculum assumes that knowledge and concomitant notions of meaning are fixed. The meaning of a text is not necessarily intrinsic to it as meaning is the product of a system of differences into which the text is articulated (Apple 1990). Thus, there is not "one text", but many as any text is open to multiple readings (Apple 1990) nor can we assume that what is "in" the text is actually "learned" (Apple 1990). Social reconstructionists, ironically suggest a certain "social consensus" for cultural change, implying a monolithic construction of reality.

In referring to the "long history of mediating and transforming text material" by teachers when they employ it in the classroom, Apple (1990) lists the three ways in which people can potentially respond to a text: dominated (accepting messages at face value), negotiated (dispute particular claims and accept overall tendencies) and oppositional (reject overall tendencies).

Hence Apple (1990) puts forward a Freirean model of texts, suggesting that audiences construct their own responses to texts; that they read them based on their own experiences. Apple (1990) therefore calls for research on how learners mediate and negotiate meaning in texts; about whose knowledge it is that students are learning, negotiating or opposing and what the socio-cultural roots and effects are of such processes. In this regard, he states that we must take seriously the way students read texts as members of social groups with their own particular cultures and histories (Apple 1990).

## 2.4. Knowledge and Identity

The process of construction of reality and knowledge as integral to that is a complex process involving various factors. Such factors include the process of identity construction and the various associated notions of agency (texts, teachers, experience, self-knowledge, consciousness, mediated meaning, community, family, peers and media).

Questions of national identity became highly salient in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of nationalism and regionalism as a manifestation of this (McCrone et al 1998). How and under what conditions identity is constructed, by whom it is constructed, its fluctuations and its various meanings are in themselves questions that are subject to debate.

Identities are made and received in various ways (McCrone et al 1998); they are negotiated in both local and national contexts and for various purposes.

McCrone et al. (1998) point out that there are few studies of the ways in which people order and negotiate their national identities. They also highlight the problematic and negotiated nature of national identity in a changing political and cultural context; the "raw materials" of national identity include birth, residence and ancestry. Identity has to do with "claims" rather than fixed descriptions. A person's national identity, as presented to others, is not only socially constructed, but sensitive to context. Identity is analogous to the game of "playing cards", using history to make a point, a question of legitimating control (McCrone 1998). In Scotland, for example, in the struggle for sovereignty identity is affirmed through the local land, and hence with the national "land".

Triandafyllidou (1998) explores the role of others in the (re-) definition of national identity stating that the existence of the "other" is an implicit assumption made by most scholars. National identity is not only defined from within, but also from without and only becomes meaningful through contrast with others; the existence of "own" presupposes the existence of "other" (1998). National identity expresses a feeling of belonging that has a relative value and may be conceived as a double-edged relationship: on the one hand, inward-looking (the belief of common descent, shared public culture, common historical memories etc.) and on the other hand, implying difference (not belonging) (1998). Triandafyllidou (1998) adds that the history of each nation is marked by the "threatening" presence of significant others (i.e. the in-group and the outgroup); the threatening group is the "significant other". National consciousness, in other words, renders both commonality and difference meaningful; involving self-awareness and awareness of others; in other words, national identity has no meaning *per se* (1998).

Johnston and Lio (1998) contextualise discourse on identity construction within today's postmodern trends, which they argue, are marked by increasing consumerism and affluence, individualism, demographic complexity, ideological diversity, global migration, and constant innovations in communications technology. These, they believe, have proliferated new social identities and deconstructed social identities imposed by the "other". They therefore refer to "postmodernity's complexities" which are multiplying the number of small, diverse, and diffuse groupings defining themselves in challenging ways outside the corridors of politics. They argue further that the world is "disordered by globalisation" and has become "a world of emergence, contingency and flux" characterised by "oppositional subcultures" (1998:4). These subcultures play a vital role in distinctly "postmodern forms of challenge", replacing structuralist notions of resistance and collective action. Both globalisation and postmodernism (they argue) have led to the eruption of new identity claims articulated along the axes of race, gender, sexuality, nationality, class and religion. Postmodern fragmentation and globalisation are occurring simultaneously. Collective identity (as opposed to "collective action") is conceptualised by new social movement theorists, as group membership shared by adherents based on interaction in "submerged networks" and "emergent through the dialectical and dialogical process of reality construction" (Johnston and Lio 1998). They assert that because group formation is not interestdriven, not a constant, we cannot assume that identity always derives from group interests

(1998:462). The basis of group formation remains an empirical question rooted in the groups and communities where the active creation of identities occur: observable practices such as spoken and written discourse, symbols, gestures, dress etc. by which members affirm identities, connect experiences and delineate group boundaries (1998). The basis of identity formation (in the post modernist sense) is a social network where identity construction takes place in "face-to-face gatherings". Johnston and Lio (1998) note these to be manifested in things such as Punk lifestyle. nasty colours, body piercing and dreadlocks; believed to be post-modernist challenges to the "dominant, mainstream, and bourgeoisie culture". Fashion functions as markers of identity, challenging dominant codes of society. Although oppositional, these forms of resistance to the dominant culture risk losing their counter-hegemonic character to consumerism (Johnston and Lio 1998). Unlike youth resistance movements of recent decades (1960s to 1980s), the emphasis is on youth "collective behaviour" rather than "collective action"; there are also not "collective interests". They refer to the "more-difficult-to-quantify realm of identity" distributed through networks of friends and acquaintances and loosely linked by the mobilisation structures of music groups, fan magazines and labels. In the New Social Movements, the close link between identity and grievances is said to be not so apparent, but that "extra institutional challenges" exist which do suggest that "something else might be going on outside the accepted channels of influence and challenge", "outside politically-oriented movements" (1998).

How are these post-modernist notions of identity articulated amongst youth in classrooms? McLaren (1995) argues that classrooms are "complex cultural sites" and possess the "potential for transgressive practice" where "identities are constantly negotiated". McLaren asserts that classrooms are places of "counterpressure" and "counternarrative" (1995), but maintains postmodern identity formations are not any different to any structuralist socio-cultural process; they are formed through new modalities of social regulation which do not construct individuals but rather *subjects* (1995). The manifestations are new, but the process of reproduction is no different. According to McLaren, "abstract individualism is replaced by concrete, empirical subjects that have differentiated needs and desires produced through new machines of production and consumption". We thus inhabit a new world of postmodern modalities of social regulation grounded in new global technocratic machineries of production and consumption. McLaren therefore posits the reconstructionist question: What does it mean to educate students who are no longer individuals in the modernist sense of being co-extensive with the sphere of civil politics

but rather subjects produced by an autonomous economy? (1998:238) McLaren speaks of new forms of the articulation of social discontent, manifested no longer in "active evidence of victimisation" or any other intelligible, coherent shape, but "silences" which are clues to "displacement" and the new evidence of imperialist oppression. McLaren (1998) speaks of both cultural "hybridity" (1998:240) and the "myth of identity" (1998:264).

#### 2.5. South African realities

South Africa's re-entry into the world since the structural fall of apartheid in 1994 has brought on new economic and cultural challenges. These challenges impact directly on youth, schooling and knowledge. South Africans are presently negotiating different forms of national and local identities, while coming to terms with issues of the past (memory, experience and consciousness) and expectations of the future (economic production, development and international competition<sup>10</sup>). Related to this, South African academic Muller (2000:10) draws our attention to the "conspicuous absence" of discourse about curriculum in society in academic circles in South Africa at the start of the 1990s and explains this in terms of the reality that practitioners are "locked into urgent practical tasks with very little time left for sober reflection and analysis."

#### 2.5.1. Globalisation

Muller (1997)<sup>11</sup> contends that globalisation means simply that an increasingly extensive field of knowledge and information is deployed in an increasingly intensive, specialised sector of practice. Curriculum transformation in the new global order is therefore not simply about the insertion of some local or global content, but involves a rethink of citizenship and the identity of the learner; a careful understanding of the way that knowledge is produced, organised and distributed.

Literacy is central for economic advancement in an increasing globalised world, while the possession of information will become a major component in global struggles for power and competitive advantage (McLaren 1995: 230).

11 See Johan Muller in N.Cloete et al (eds.) 1997

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The respective failed bids for the Olympics (1997) and the World Cup (2000) are two cogent examples of South Africa cutting its teeth on the international cultural level, as an "equal" partner.

Like all developing countries, South Africa grapples with serious levels of illiteracy. According to Taylor (1993: 139) literacy is primarily about communication in the power-knowledge relationship in the modern world defining who controls the means to reproduce knowledge. Literacy relates directly to economic development. The ratio of per capita income of the developed world (e.g. USA) compared to African countries (e.g. Mozambique) is 1:337. This has important implications for literacy development in Africa where the computer co-exist with the ox-plough and donkey cart level Chung (1998) refers to knowledge being "technologised" in highly developed countries compared to mass learning in developing countries, creating an even greater technological divide. She adds that the educational and technological gap is one of the most menacing; a child born in Mozambique will soon be competing with a child born in the United States or one born in Malaysia in the global market. The educational differences are stark and the technological gap is a critical one to bring greater equity and to assist in social and technological transformation. In Africa less than 20% of its age group (14 years and older) accesses secondary education. Africa less than 20% of its age group (14 years and older) accesses secondary education.

The reality is even starker for South Africans as revealed by a recent national study on the literacy levels of primary school learners. Two studies conducted by the Joint International Unesco-Unicef Monitoring Learning Achievement Project which focussed on grade 4 pupils (average 10 year olds) in 12 countries on the continent, have shown that South African pupils have among the worst numeracy, literacy and life skills in Africa<sup>15</sup>. South Africa scored below 30% for numeracy and below 50% for literacy<sup>16</sup> compared to Tunisia that scored just below 80% for literacy and 60% for numeracy. In comparison to her counterparts in southern Africa, South Africa did not fare well either. For example, Botswana (generally considered to be economically less developed than South Africa) scored just below 50% for literacy (at least 20% higher) and 50% for numeracy. Worse still, South Africa scored the lowest numeracy level. Nationally literacy rates in the Western Cape were the highest at 60,7% (on par with the second highest score which was that of Morocco's). The region's numeracy score was also the highest with an

<sup>12</sup> Fay Chung (Head of Education, UNICEF), 1998

Fay Chung (Head of Education, UNICEF) 1998.
 Chung 1998

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See Sunday Times of 16 July 2000 (Report provided by South African Department of Education in conjunction with UNESCO and UNICEF.)

alarming low of 37,93% on par with Zambia and far lower than Botswana's 50%. In 1996 South African grade 7 and 8 pupils came last out of 40 countries that participated in the Third International Mathematics and Science Study.

Reflecting on the general literacy crisis in South Africa, Strauss<sup>17</sup> (2000) noted that although this country has of the best education policies in the world, it does not become "reality" in the classrooms. This crisis has forced the South African Education Ministry to plan on how to combat the growing crisis in Maths and Science, a situation the country and continent can barely afford in an increasing globalised world order.<sup>18</sup> Some believe that, in an ever increasing globalised world, South Africa can ill afford a curriculum promoting the social sciences or Humanities with their explicit focus on values rather than market-driven incentives.

#### 2.5.2. The African Renaissance

Closely connected to South Africa's battle to survive the economic dictates of global markets, is her own affirmation on the African continent. McLaren (1995) notes with concern the prevailing "Africa-pessimism" that still plague the "Developed World". He contends that Africa is still demonised as a land uncivilised, corrupt, savage, divided, not evolved enough to govern themselves without Western guidance and stewardship; a land of jungle, wildlife, famine, poachers and fierce fighting (1995:265) that is populated by helpless and history-less victims. Africa is mainly "othered" by the First World who also continue to see themselves as the "rescuers" of the "Developing World" (1995:266).

"Othering" of Africa is both an internal and external phenomenon in South Africa. Within this context (perhaps) a renewed look at Africa, an African identity and the role of both Africa and

<sup>17</sup> Johann Strauss, an academic from the Free State, conducted the South African leg of the most recent study on the grade 4 learners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> More than 10 000 grade 4 pupils participated in the South African study of which only 2% scored in the 75 - 100% range.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Professor Khan, Maths adviser to Ministry proposed amongst others, an in-depth look into factors which are influencing teachers' motivation; incentives to boost the number of maths and science teachers by 50% over the next three years; encouragement of pupils to study physical science and maths. (See Sunday Times, 16 July 2000)

Africans in the world has emerged just over a year ago with the launch of the first African Renaissance Conference held in Johannesburg.<sup>19</sup>

Key challenges addressed by the conference were<sup>20</sup>: Firstly, how dislocated are we from our reality and consciousness as Africans? In this regard Mamdani refers to the alienation of the South African intelligentsia from Africa, as foreign and "somewhere else"<sup>21</sup>, reflecting notions, which are products of the period of the Dark Ages, slavery and colonialism. It is therefore, he asserts, this new sense of self, born of a different sense of history and one's place in it, that we call the African Renaissance (Mamdani, 1999). 22 Secondly, where is the memory of our history located today? This remains a burning and most relevant issue. Notions of heritage and culture (though important for identity and public history purposes) fail to adequately address the past as an inclusive critical African consciousness. Thirdly, in what ways do these (culture, history and consciousness)<sup>23</sup> elevate the African to equality in a rapidly globalising environment?<sup>24</sup> Whilst redefining ourselves and locating our memory, our history and ourselves, we find ourselves at a crossroads at the end of the millennium. Ntuli (1999)<sup>25</sup> describes this tension as the continuation of the past, reinscribing itself in the present, while struggling to reconcile the two moments and two worlds - of being both Western and African. As Diop (1999)<sup>26</sup> points out that Africa is already under threat of marginalisation within the global market and the "recolonisation" by "the new masters of the changing world".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The conference held 28 – 29 September 1998, dealt with key questions which inform the philosophy of the emergent African Renaissance: Who are the Africans? Where do they come from? What is their history? Where are they going? What constitutes the African Renaissance – globally and nationally? Makgoba (1999) makes the point that Africa is not alone in its search for an identity and a redefinition of its place in the world. Similar struggles are taking place in Britain and elsewhere, for example. He points out that (similarly) modern Australians have accepted that their identity and future are located in the Pacific and not in Europe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See introductory chapter of W Mokgoba, (ed) African Renaissance, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See Mahmood Mamdani, "Teaching Africa at the post-apartheid University of Cape Town", Seminar presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 22 April 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See Mahmood Mamdani, "There can be no African Renaissance without an Africa-focused intelligentsia" in Makgoba (ed) 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See introductory chapter of W Mokgoba, (ed) African Renaissance, 1999.

<sup>24</sup> ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> See Pikita P. Ntuli, "The Missing link between culture and education: Are we still chasing Gods that are not our own?" in Makgoba (ed.) 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See Dialo Diop, "Africa: Mankind's past and future" in Makgoba (ed.) 1999.

The vision that emerged from this conference represents an evolution from Pan Africanism<sup>27</sup> (Africa for Africans) to an inclusive Africanism<sup>28</sup> informed by a creative worldview that balances Pan Africanism with globalisation (Africans for Africa and for the global community); a fine balance between an "inward-looking" and "outward-looking" Africa-focussed intelligentsia.29

Protagonists of the African Renaissance argue for a creative global vision emanating from within Africa. An Africa-focussed intelligentsia (Mamdani, 1999) has an important role to play in the process of creating this vision. Africans have to define themselves and their agenda according to their own realities and have to be agents of their own destiny and have to have the distortions of the history of their country corrected (Makgoba, 1999). Those that lead the African Renaissance process must therefore be a historically conscious and Africa-focussed leadership within the continent (Makgoba, 1999). The definition of who is African today is based on the three elements of history, culture and consciousness of being African in the world in an everincreasing nonracialising and creolising global context (Makgoba, 1999).

President Thabo Mbeki<sup>30</sup> (1998) asserts that the intelligentsia has a role to play in ending (amongst others) ignorance which should be inspired by the fact that Africa were in some instances thousands of years ahead in civilisation. 31 Historical understanding is, therefore, a key component in the process of breaking the shackles of enslavement of the African mind and soul, contributing to the recovery of African pride and confidence (Mbeki, 1998)<sup>32</sup> - the cornerstone of the African Renaissance.

African Education should wrestle with questions such as the recovery of languages, cultures and histories while inventing our future in the technological era and our link with the rest of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Mamdani (1999) defines the African Renaissance discourse as having evolved through ongoing debate from Pan Africanism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Africans as including Afrikaner Africans, European Africans, Arab Africans, Indian Africans etc.
<sup>29</sup> Africa-focussed intelligentsia (Mamdani, 1999)

<sup>30</sup> Then Deputy President

<sup>31</sup> The African Renaissance Statement by the Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, SABC, Gallagher Estate, 13

August 1998

32 Speech of President, Thabo Mbeki, at the African Renaissance Conference, Johannesburg, 28 September 1998 (The conference was held 28 - 29 September and was attended by 470 delegates which included intellectuals, academics, practitioners and politicians.)

# Stellenbosch University http://scholar.sun.ac.za

world, enhancing human development (Mugo, 1999)<sup>33</sup>. African orature has a great deal to teach the world in its proverbial ubuntu language of unity, collaboration, co-operation and interdependence (Mugo, 1999)<sup>34</sup>. Odora-Hoppers et al (1999)<sup>35</sup> point out that knowledge should help us to regain what we have lost by generating counter-hegemonic discourses.<sup>36</sup>

In short, it is argued by Africanists that historical understanding is the key to finding ourselves as Africans and asserting with confidence our place in the new world order.

Omotoso warns us, however, against an exclusivist Africanist notion of identity as Africans when he states that we must be careful in pursuing "redefinitions"; we must not define ourselves outside of those people with whom we share citizenship, as the politics of this can be very dangerous.<sup>37</sup>

Yet the African Renaissance ideal is far removed from on-the-ground reality. As Serote<sup>38</sup> notes, Africa still stirs up a lot of fear among those people in South Africa where Africa is popularly "othered". Marks remarks that there are lots of "others" who mapped Africa in different times and different contexts and this should lead to an important recognition of the process of "othering" in both its colonial and post-colonial contexts.<sup>39</sup> She further adds that South Africans are still living the boundaries of apartheid South Africa.

# 2.5.3. Identity

Mc Eachern (1998:48) asserts that South Africa's culture and politics of memory since the first democratic elections is irrevocably intertwined with the other preoccupation with identity, both self and country. For this reason, Mc Eachern argues that South Africans are faced with nothing less than rewriting society and people and in this process they invariably refer back to the apartheid past for both purpose and meaning. They rework the past in terms of their present in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Micere Githae Mugo, "African Culture in Education for Sustainable Development" in Makgoba (ed.) 1999

<sup>34</sup> ibid.

<sup>35</sup> See Catherine A. Odora Hoppers et al "Making This Our Last Passive Moment" in Makgoba (ed.) 1999

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> As understood within both a national and international context

Speaking at Parliament's African Millennium Workshop, July 2000
 Speaking at Parliament's African Millennium Workshop, July 2000

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Speaking at Parliament's African Millennium Workshop, July 2000

order to establish divergence. This reconstructionist act is manifested in public acts of memory (museums and heritage sites) and remembering is central to the process of establishing a new social and political order. The construction of memory and of the past is very much about the present; its agendas are directed towards problems and questions in the "new South Africa"; challenging past official versions of history, and seeking to understand and represent the authorities who generated that history. This, McEachern asserts, is in many ways the essence of post-colonial politics.

According to Geyer (1996) the rationale for the Holocaust memory in Germany is to remember so that the past can never be repeated. The key question informing this kind of rationale is: what kind of work is the past made to do in the present (1996:48)? In South Africa, remembering as a way of understanding the present and the future emerges as a central problematic - both generally and in the lives of ordinary South Africans - generating tensions between national and local levels (1996:49). Constructions of memory and ways of remembering are intensely involved in critiques of both past and present (1996: 49). Storytelling is the main form of such constructions; apartheid is the major context of such narratives. The need to remember is stressed as part of the objective to forge a national identity based on inclusivity and difference (1996:66). The TRC's national construction and articulation of memory is met by the local and communal; a dialectical movement between local and national, at the same time challenging some of the boundaries of memory established by the national culture and politics of memory (1996: 66 - 67).

Seidman (1991) questions such assumptions of knowledge, consciousness and emancipation as an associated ideal; contesting a whole series of assumptions central to the tradition of Enlightenment modernism. These assumptions relate to "millennium notions of human liberation", the course of history as an odyssey from repression to emancipation - all seemed to be crumbling faith (1991:183). Seidman remarks that challenging modernism was not easy. If we abandon truth as the standard by which to judge our social perspectives, how do we evaluate them? Are we left with the mere proliferation of stories, with no normative standards beyond social and political self-interest? Are we abandoning discursivity and surrendering to a narrow realpolitik (1991:188)?

McLaren (1995) notes that postmodernism are "a conflicting and contradictory sphere of ideological and cultural manifestations"; contains both socially reactionary and socially emancipatory strains in its theories (1995:261). McLaren speaks of the "noncontestedness within the ideological formation of today's youth"; in postmodern culture youth exists within the space between subjectification (boredom) and commodification (1995:262) where the television screen symbolises a new era of recycled reality in a narcissistic era (1995:262). Subjectivity becomes terrorised into political inaction (1995:262). These are referred to as "postmodern pathologies" manifested in "narcissistic character disorders" such as schizophrenias and depressions provoking a deluded complicity with an oppressive consensus reality. Thus the structural contradictions of capitalism help us to construct needs, mobilise desires and then deny all of these (1995:262).

For South Africa, McLaren's question (1995) on the alleged "political noncontestedness" and "commodification" of post-modern youth is perhaps of most relevance.

# 2.5.4. The Crisis in Epistemology

McLaren (1995) views Western capitalism as having become the most successful claimant of the right to determine the New World Order (against the economic collapse of the Soviet Union). He notes further that cultural apparatuses of the West represent this as the triumph of individualism over the hegemony of the totalitarian state. While radical theoreticians like McLaren recognise the conceptual limits of Marxian analysis for reading certain aspects of the postmodern condition, they maintain that the "main pillars of Marxian analysis remain intact" in their assertion that the new global order remains determined by "the primacy of economics" (1995:230). This condition has grave implications for knowledge development (e.g. curriculum construction along information literacy and technology) as well as an increased emphasis on the economic and mathematical sciences in South Africa. The popular point of departure is that schools are important sites for preparing the nation for the new economic and epistemological challenges presented by globalisation.

#### 2.5.4.1.Do the Humanities matter?

Given the magnitude of crises South Africans face on various fronts (especially in economics) in an increasingly globalised world order, it is perhaps a most pertinent question to ask whether the Humanities really matter? For example, does History have a place in schools?

For South Africans the problem is compounded by the internal expectations of emancipation (for example, attainment of Human Rights, implementation of democracy in all spheres and the attainment of reconciliation). In short, while South Africans are grappling with finding a place in the global world of markets for productivity and "outcomes" they are simultaneously facing the task of nation building and healing.

This situation has led to its own internal paradox marked by denial of conflict and its concomitant promotion of what one can perhaps term "tunnel-vision consensus". Though not necessarily conspiratorial, the preoccupation with the important political tasks of nation building and reconciliation inevitably leads to the suppression of a critical consciousness and, more specifically, the suppression of historical consciousness. And perhaps in more powerful ways than in the revolutionary apartheid era when the nurturing of historical consciousness for transformation in schools was the most natural reaction to racist repression.

In this instance, the South African situation is similar to the American crisis in epistemology. Giroux expresses his skepticism with the "loss of interest in history among American students and the public at large" (1997: 4). Along with fellow critics, he terms this as a "deplorable social phenomenon"; as "a crisis in historical consciousness" and as a crisis in the ability of the American people to remember those "lessons" of the past that illuminate the developmental preconditions of individual liberty and social freedom (1997:5). Furthermore, Giroux points out that "the irrelevance of history" argument contains conservative implications such as that it is not history that has become irrelevant, but rather that historical consciousness is being suppressed. Implicit in this analysis is the assumption that history provides a vehicle for the development of "a collective critical consciousness" (1997:5); without history, there can be no critical engagement with issues. It is through developing historical consciousness that those who study history are enabled to highlight the contradictions in a given society (1997:5). The emphasis on

science and technology in a curriculum represents therefore a shift toward positivism (1997: 7) – in other words, toward a reactionary conservatism, which fosters an undialectical and one-dimensional view of the world (1997:13). Accordingly, those economic, political and social structures that shape our daily lives are left unquestioned (1997:13). Tosh (1991:1) argues for "the uses of history" in the development of a sense of identity and future prospects. He states that the "raw material" for historical consciousness is almost unlimited (1991:2), and therefore argues that the work of historians is important, since it forms the basis for critical discussion of current issues (1991:6). Tosh emphasises the purpose of history as training the mind, enlarging the sympathies and providing "a much-needed historical perspective on some of the most pressing problems of our time" (1991:29).

The South African debate in favour of the Humanities over the last five years<sup>40</sup> (and particularly, for the inclusion of History at both school and university levels) is marked by notions of increased rather than decreased relevance of the Humanities in a country still reeling from apartheid. The key argument is also that the Humanities are central to economic development and democratic reconstruction.

Shula Marks<sup>41</sup> notes that there can be little doubt that the traditional disciplinary boundaries are being (and in many cases need be) dissolved by the new questions confronting us. She states further that numbers in the Humanities in South Africa seem on a slippery slope. While it is true that 49% of all students in tertiary education are engaged in a study of the Humanities, increasing numbers of these are in distance learning programmes, more effective for the acquisition of knowledge than the inculcation of critical understanding. It is therefore not surprising that many young people in South Africa have turned their backs on the Humanities for obviously material reasons, given high levels of black unemployment; students are hoping for lucrative jobs in government, the corporate sector and the professions. Middle class white youth are also looking for the safe option in business and accountancy degrees. Marks believe that South Africa has notoriously failed in the past to educate its young people (of whatever colour) in the sciences and technology.

<sup>41</sup> Paper presented by Shula Marks at the Centre for African Studies, UCT, July 2000

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The battle for History in South Africa has emerged since 1995 under the Education Ministry of Bengu.

Do the Humanities therefore matter for South Africans? It is said that even economists at the World Bank are arguing that what will be required of graduates in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are generic problem solving skills such as computer literacy, knowledge re-configuration skills, information management, team building, networking, negotiations/mediation competencies and social sensitivity. In South Africa there is a need to think beyond rigid categories of racial and ethnic boundaries, tolerance and understanding of difference. These are said to be attributes needed if South Africa's fragile democracy is to become "less fragile". It is in the Humanities where we are able to ponder where we have come from and where we are going, that we come to reflect on what it means to be human, where we develop complex notions of identity and citizenship. Hence it is argued that even scientists and technologists (perhaps especially them) need cultural understanding and a sense of history, their issues raise direct questions for society. Nevertheless, as Marks points out, the Humanities in South Africa have also emerged from a specific history, a specific set of power relations; for example, things that whites "may have to unlearn" - for black scholars no less than white, the past is another country.

Inherent in the notion of progress and its underlying technocratic rationality is the source of logic that denies the importance of historical consciousness (Apple 1990: 8). The culture of positivism provides no conceptual insight into how oppression might mask itself in the language and lived experience of daily life. This form of rationality prevents us from using historical consciousness as a vehicle to unmask existing forms of domination and therefore the flight from history is, in reality, the suppression of history (Apple 1990:12), thereby uncritically supporting the status quo and rejecting history as a medium for political action (Apple 1990:13). Positivism is the fundamental myth of our time, fostering an undialectical and one-dimensional view of the world, denying the world of politics and lacking vision of the future; it denies the possibility that human beings can constitute their own reality and alter and change that reality in the face of domination (Apple 1990:13). American people are taught to approach problems as if they existed in isolation, detached from the social and political forces that give them meaning; creating a form of tunnel vision in which only a small segment of social reality is open to examination (Apple 1990:13). The Humanities which provide the critical edge for understanding society and

43 Marks quoting Coetzee and Bunting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Paper presented by Shula Marks at the Centre for African Studies, UCT, July 2000

contributing to society through the application of the many generic skills that it offers, is therefore believed to be of ongoing relevance.

#### 2.5.4.2. Controversial Issues

With the onset of reform in South Africa in the early 1990s, it became apparent that in order to lay firm foundations for a non-racial democracy, South Africa had to first of all deal with its past. For this reason, in the year following the elections, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established with the explicit purpose to focus on gross human rights violations (albeit a tiny period of that past) - using March 1960 as the benchmark. Through starting its hearings in April 1996 and facilitating at least 20 000 statements from victims, the TRC had hoped to assist in the complex process of getting South Africans to deal with "history within themselves": giving voice to the voiceless and tongues to the displaced – providing a space for ordinary people to shape the rewriting of South Africa's most painful past. The spiritual, historical, educational and political significance of this process cannot be overemphasised.

The TRC hearings made an interesting populist contribution to South African historiography: oral testimony of both victim and perpetrator, post-modern conceptions of the "truth" – the "truth" for reconciliation; rewriting South Africa's history not only for nation building<sup>44</sup>, but also for the world as an audience. South Africans have attempted to confront the apartheid ghost through this process; they have tried to (and they still attempt to) deal with the grief, guilt, humiliation and pain of its very own Holocaust.

More importantly, South Africans have started the process of debating and grappling with the "relevance" of the past to our present and future. This was most apparent at the Biennial Conference of the South African Historical Society held in Cape Town (11 – 14 July 1999), titled Secrecy, Lies and History. <sup>45</sup> An observer from the media noted that local historians at the

45 Prominent national and international scholars participated in this conference.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The role of history as a vehicle for nation building has been hotly contested at the *Future of the Past Gonference* in Cape Town, July 1996. South African historian, Colin Bundy, asserts that the study of history should not be for a particular political purpose. This viewpoint was reiterated during a discussion led by Bundy on the TRC as "history" at the *Truth and Reconciliation Conference* held in Cape Town in August 1999.

conference appeared more in search of a redefinition of their own relationship with the country's recent apartheid past which continues to haunt the present and the process of constructing history; this reflects the difficulties academics face in traversing the old and new South Africa – and themselves "teetering at the top of a slippery slope" (Phylicia Oppelt, Sunday Analysis, Sunday Times, 18 July 1999).

But the challenges academics, historians and educators face are much more complex than the proverbial "slippery slope". At the heart of these issues is the question of the relevance of historical consciousness and its place in society. The key question is whether if incorporated in school history, as an essentially controversial component of the curriculum, the promotion of such a past would lead to an increased historical consciousness amongst youth. Would it make a positive impact should today's youth debate and grapple with the relevance of the past to our present and future? What happens in real classrooms when the TRC process is taken beyond its limited brief into classrooms when teachers facilitate a process of investigating and dealing with a controversial past which predates the TRC history (i.e. pre 1960)?

The <u>first aspect</u> of these challenges relates to power and transformation. There have been various interpretations of what exactly is meant by "historical consciousness": as being the relationship between interpretation of the past and understanding of the present and perspectives for the future – a basic human condition. <sup>46</sup> Giroux (1997) refers to Foucault's (1977) notion of countermemory as similar to historical consciousness; as the practice which transforms history from a judgement on the past in the name of the present truth to a "counter-memory" that combats our present modes of truth and justice, helping us to understand and change the present by placing it in a new relation to the past. This represents a critical reading of how the present reads the past and allows people to speak from their particular histories and voices (1997:152 – 153). Giroux therefore explains counter-memory as a pedagogical and political practice, which attempts to alter oppressive relations of power and guide to transform such relations (1997:155).

The issue of selection is central to how we construct reality and how we impose a reality on others. We are trapped in socialisation (Aronowitz and Giroux: 1975). We therefore need to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Henrik Skovgaard Nielsen in "Historical Consciousness – the concept and possible consequences for history teaching" (unpublished paper)

critically engage the experiences that students bring to the school, such experiences have to be interrogated critically, becoming the referent for understanding what students need to learn outside of their experiences; the pedagogical moment translates into a political process that helps students to begin the process of breaking the chains of domination and subordination (1975:157). In doing so, it is maintained that students are provided with the skills and courage they will need in order to transform the world according to their own vision; one major precondition is that students will have to learn how to critically appropriate the codes and vocabularies of different experiences; they will have to learn how not to be imprisoned by their worst dimensions of their sedimented histories and experiences (1975:157).

Studying history thus becomes critical to the process of empowerment and it follows there is great concern for the growing assumption among many educators that history is not a very practical subject, because - as Apple (1990:15) contends - that what is meant by "practical" appears problematic. Teachers are urged to make history more practical by placing a stress on positive rather than negative aspects of the American past, to eschew conflict as a theme and to inculcate pride in the accomplishments of the nation.

Apple (1990: 22-23) cites findings from a textbook study by Jean Anyon about people pictured as easily getting on, discussing their differences and rationally arriving at decisions; moreover everyone accepts the decisions; conflict and dissent among groups is presented as inherently bad. In such a "consensus" approach to school history, problem solving is either ignored or stripped of any viable, critical edge (Apple 1990: 23). It is argued that this is how technocrats co-opt and domesticate educational thinking and discourse within outcomes-oriented managerialist ideology (Smyth 1987:164) forcing teachers into a "situation of epistemological consumerism". 47

# 2.6. Summary of the chapter

This chapter provided the theoretical context for the research project, highlighting the complexities involved in studying historical consciousness as it relates to a complexity of levels such as identity, power relations, notions of knowledge and epistemology. There are various realms of identity, knowledge, power and meaning. These notions must also be understood

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Colin Bundy, TRC Conference, August 1999, Cape Town

within the contexts of post-modernist articulations of meaning, such as pertaining to the role and purpose of knowledge. Economic factors need also to be considered as an important context, locating the emergent youth cultures within the political economy dictated by an increasing globalised world while South African politicians find rescue in the anti-colonial cultural revival of the African continent. There is therefore a concern for the "ideological non-contestedness" of today's youth, a time at which knowledge has become "commodified" in a "narcissistic era of recycled realities", possibilities become illusions and the very promises that the economic world purports to offer, disappear. It is a time of contradiction and illusion, magnified by the power of mass media in an increasing globalised world. In a post-1994 South Africa, the challenges for educators extend therefore beyond counter-hegemonic discourses, when many South Africans affirm themselves through the anti-colonial resistance culture of storytelling and narrative, using apartheid as a reference point. The preoccupation is with the present and its link to the recent past, forming the foundation for predominant South African historical consciousness. This reflects the challenge of resolving the necessary tension between memory and history<sup>48</sup> and its undefined relation to the notion of "historical consciousness".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Citing Mamdani in conversation with the researcher, 13 August 2001

#### CHAPTER 3

## RESEARCH THEORY, METHOD AND DESIGN

This chapter explains the research theory (assumptions of the real world), the type of research and the research methods employed in a "multiparadigm research design" informed by the principles of causal law, social context and praxis. It sets out to first explain the research theories implicit in the formulation and conceptualisation of the research question and how these theories have impacted on the type of investigations employed by the researcher. It explains how the theories fit into the research process and clarify underlying constructs and concepts of the research design. The chapter therefore describes why I have chosen the combination of quantitative research design (surveys and experimental) and qualitative research design (e.g. triangulation through journals, observation and interviews) to investigate the research question and how the various aspects of the research design have been operationalised. A detailed description of the research process is outlined, explained and discussed.

# 3.1. Research Design

There are different ways of looking at social reality, of asking questions about that social reality and of measuring what we want within what we perceive as valid for measurement within that social reality. My research is informed by an approach, which borrows from triangulation, interpretive social science and critical social science. The use of questionnaires with closed questions as adapted from the *Youth and History Survey*, is informed by a quantitative research approach which uses a hypothesis, quantitative data and statistics to measure social reality such as the possible causal law between variables (class, gender, language, school type, text) and increased historical consciousness. The qualitative component of the research design (asking questions in focus group interviews, teachers' and learners' journals, case study observations) is informed by both the interpretive social science and critical social science approach. I have used various techniques in these two approaches to attempt to verify and to try to explain the findings attained through the empirical research design component of this research project. The research design is therefore also a hermeneutic approach, informed by a theory of interpretation and meaning based on the assumption that true meaning is rarely simple or obvious on the surface

(Neuman 1997: 68). I have therefore spent time in the field (see Appendix 5 on the school visit schedule) and had personal contact with those being studied (see the case studies in Appendix 2) - noting for example how the subjects were interacting. The key question for my research relates to meaning and relevance and its impact on historical consciousness and I was trying to measure this through triangulation, drawing on a quantitative and qualitative research design and methodology which were aimed at understanding details of the context in which learners and teachers were operating in their social reality of the schools they were at. In this way, I attempted to understand or to try to explain the social context of the attitudes of youth to populist controversial history and how this might explain their level of historical consciousness. By doing this, I had hoped to counter the positivist assumption of the "monolithic" nature of meaning and social reality and in so doing explore the many complex and rich layers of what constitutes the social reality for school going youth in various social, economic and cultural lived realities. It is so that people might be exposed to the same intervention, but yet experience and interpret it very differently; there are multiple interpretations of human experience (Neuman 1997: 70). Hence, in many ways, the research report reads biographical, like a story, capturing nuance and subtleties that verify and at times contradict the quantitative research findings. Because of my own closeness to both the intervening text and the research field, I had hoped to reflect on and examine my own feelings on the research conducted and of those being studied. This was inevitable to the research design as I am cognisant of the fact that social research is not value free. The text used in the intervention is informed by a critical social science approach, so this became an inevitable component of the research design. The My New World text is informed by a dialectical materialist, class analysis and structuralist approach, leaning heavily on the principles of Paulo Freiere as a leading critical social scientist in education<sup>49</sup>. As a researcher and as co-author of the text, I take a strong value position on history and its meaning and role in society as part of the process of getting learners to use history to become more historically conscious and politically aware and thereby acting on that awareness to promote democratic values. This notion of research as not value free was integral to the qualitative research component and implicit in the actual research design. The research was therefore controversial and sensitive, attempting to demystify through the application of a multiple research design, the relation between school knowledge and historical consciousness. I had hoped that the research design would empower those being studied, liberating them intellectually and thereby providing

<sup>49</sup> See Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1970.

them with the cognitive skills to critically understand the present and its relation to how social, political and economic relations are organised in the past and future and thereby being "liberated" from a "false consciousness". Historical orientation through investigating social and historical context of school type, teacher biographies and learner profiles was therefore used as part of the research design to investigate below the surface reality provided by the questionnaires and statistics. Schools, teachers, learners and the text were through the research design placed within a larger historical context, which provides them with either constraints or possibilities for social action. The challenge for me as researcher (acting in this instance from the critical researcher approach applying the principle of praxis) was therefore to enable learners to develop "new ways of seeing", helping them to see themselves within the context of history and thereby enabling them as "agents" to change social reality by promoting and adopting democratic values. The chapter proceeds to describe the research method as informed by these principles of research design.

#### 3.2. Research Method

# Research Question:

Is there a positive correlation between the engagement of school youth (average 15 to 16 years in grade 10) in the Cape Metropole in explicitly controversial issues of the past and their link to the present and their attitude to South African History (1600s - 1800s)?50

The research is explanatory: it seeks to explain the attitude of youth to South African history that makes an explicit<sup>51</sup> link to controversial issues in the present South Africa. <sup>52</sup>

This is one of the hallmarks of populist historiographical methodology.

<sup>50</sup> Long (1986) and Gregg (1989) argue that a "theory then data", rather than "data then theory" approach is more efficient and rational.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Many teachers teach with a particular present-mindedness, which might at times appear controversial, depending on how the teacher has been socialised politically in South Africa. There is, however, a distinct difference between an approach that makes explicit links to controversial issues in the present to one which promotes critical thinking of issues in the past or present without necessarily being controversial. This is the distinct difference between the New History Movement skills-based historiographical method and the populist historiographical methodology.

## Hypothesis:

There is a correlation between the engagement of school youth (average 15 to 16 years in grade 10) in the Cape Metropole in explicitly controversial issues of the past and their link to the present and their attitude to South African History (1600s - 1800s).

The *objective* of the research is to determine if grade 10 learners<sup>53</sup> who engage in activities (such as discussion and debate) on South African history which makes explicit links to controversial issues (for e.g. land issues) in their present South Africa, would have a greater interest in the subject and its relevance to the present than those learners who study South African history without engaging explicitly in discussion and debate on such controversial issues.

The research intervention took place in 2000 over a period of 4 - 6 weeks<sup>54</sup> at schools selected in Cape Town.

The test comprised pre-intervention and post-intervention analysis of learners' attitude to history<sup>55</sup> in a controlled experimental situation.

A research design drawing on both qualitative and quantitative social research methods was implemented.

# 3.2.1. Quantitative Research Design (Experimental Research Component)

# 3.2.1.1. Research site<sup>56</sup>:

8 grade 10 classrooms of mixed ability at 8 schools (1 classroom per school; 3 control groups at 3 of the schools including 1 Hawthorne Control Design at 1 of the schools).

Schools in the experiment are representative of diverse historical and sociological experiences in the Cape Metropole. The Control group was selected on the same merits regarding ability of both

<sup>53</sup> This target group would be similar to those selected for the Youth and History survey in Europe.

<sup>54</sup> The average time period for the fieldwork for the Youth and History Survey was a total of 6 weeks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Cohen and Manion (1985) agree that surveys are the most commonly used descriptive method in educational research (Nunan 1993:140)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> A purposive strategy for survey sampling was adopted: subjects were handpicked by the researcher on the basis of his or her own estimate of their typicality (Cohen and Manion, 1985)

teachers and learners as equal to those in the experimental group. Tuckman (1994:123) notes that changes might occur not because of treatment, but because of differences in groups (i.e participant-bias factors). In other words, the outcome may be a function of initial differences between groups rather than of the treatment being evaluated.

Because of the current status of History in the school curriculum (as a marginalised subject) I had difficulty locating schools with 2 grade 10 history classes of mixed ability. Control groups could therefore not be selected at schools where there were experimental groups. Tuckman (1994:133) notes that teacher effect can be controlled by assigning the same teacher for both treatment and control classes; this would equalise teacher effects across groups.

# 3.2.1.2. Experimental Group

- A predominantly working class, co-ed historically African school (English and Xhosa)
- A predominantly middle class, co-ed historically "coloured" school (English)
- A predominantly working class, co-ed historically "coloured" school (Afrikaans)
- A predominantly middle class, co-ed racially integrated, historically "white" school (English)
- A predominantly middle class, boys' historically "white" school (English)

# 3.2.1.3. Control Group

- A predominantly middle class, co-ed integrated historically middle class "white" school (Afrikaans)
- A predominantly working class African school (English and Xhosa)

# 3.2.1.4. Control Design for Hawthorne

• An integrated, upper middle class to working class private girls' school (English).

Tuckman (1994:128) notes that a control group must be made up of people who are as nearly as possible in terms of idiosyncrasies as the experimental group subjects in order to minimise selection invalidity; that is that the outcome of an experiment is as much or more a function of

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uncontrolled individual differences as of the treatment. However, Tuckman (1994:129) also notes that the use of "intact classes" at schools poses a particular problem to internal validity (students are placed in classes by management for curriculum and other organisational reasons). Researchers do not have control over the research design with regard to individual subject selection. Intact classes are not randomly assigned groups.

## 3.2.1.5.1. Step 1

## · Pilot Test<sup>57</sup>

A pilot test of the surveys was conducted in order to formulate the questionnaires for both learners and teachers appropriately. See Annexure 1. According to Tuckman (1994:235) pilot testing is also important to determine whether questionnaire items possess the desired qualities of measurement and discriminality (1994:235).

#### 3.2.1.5.2. Step 2

#### Pre-test for Learners

A survey to ascertain the ethnographic context (i.e. relative social, cultural and political background) of the research site and the learners was conducted in May - June 2000. See Annexure 2. The purpose was twofold: one, to know who the learners are (language, gender, race, class, family background) and how these factors correlate to interests and attitudes (e.g. interests in current affairs and political events etc.) and two, to ascertain their level of historical consciousness before the intervention. An appropriate measuring instrument was therefore designed to assess learners' attitudes to South African History (1600s to 1800s) and on related matters<sup>58</sup> such as political interests and the usefulness and importance of studying such history.

# 3.2.1.5.3. Step 3

#### Pre-test for Teachers

A survey to ascertain the ethnographic context (i.e. relative social, cultural and political background) of the research site and the teachers was conducted in June 2000. The purpose was to know who the teachers are (gender, race, qualifications, teaching experience) and how these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> According to Nunan (1993:145) all research should be pilot-tested.

Tuckmann (1994: 235) states that social responsibility bias can be minimised by not revealing the true purpose of the questionnaire prior to its completion by including items that measure a variety of aspects of a single topic or by including "filler items".

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factors correlate to interests and attitudes (e.g. interests in current affairs and in political events and in teaching of the subject etc.)

An appropriate measuring instrument was designed to assess teachers' attitudes to South African History (1600s to 1800s) and on related matters such as political interests, the usefulness and importance of teaching such history as well as attitude of colleagues to the subject. See Annexure 3.

The 8 teachers<sup>59</sup> who are responsible for the teaching of the 8 classes in the research complete a pre-test questionnaire similar to the learners' to ascertain their attitude to the teaching of history.

## 3.2.1.5.4. Step 4

#### Intervention

The total number of subjects who participated in the research totaled 228 at the time of the pretest<sup>60</sup> in May 2000. Of these 71,5% were in the Experimental Group and 19,3% were in the Control Groups and 9,2% in the Hawthorne Control Group.

The My New World texts (activities and research projects) titled "Land: A most important Resource" were used over a period of 4 to 6 weeks (July to August 2000) in 7 classrooms of 207 (comprising Experimental and Control Groups) of grade 10 history learners.

The teachers of the Experimental Group engaged the learners in activities which were marked with an \* which engaged them in explicit controversial issues in South African History (1600s to 1800s) and their link to the present.

The Teachers of the Control Group covered the same content as the Experimental Group but omitted the activities marked with an \*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> The sample is adequate in relation to the number of learners. In the *Youth and History Survey* the Arab learners totalled 356 and the teachers 8 (i.e. very similar to this study).

<sup>60</sup> Numbers at schools are known to fluctuate during the course of a year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> These texts are specifically designed with a social and political purpose, clearly defined for both learner and facilitator. For example, each activity has a stated outcome such as "Learners would be able to ..."

# 3.2.1.5.7. The two indicators that were developed

Two indicators of historical consciousness were developed. These were developed through the method of convergence, whereby associated variables were combined to test consistency in data.

The following keys for the measurement of the two indicators have been developed:

High consciousness on indicator 1 (HC1)

Low consciousness on indicator 1 (LC1)

High consciousness on indicator 2: other consciousness (HC2)

Low consciousness on indicator 2: other consciousness (LC2)

The following questions were used in the method of convergence:

Indicator 1 for historical consciousness outside the school (HC1 and LC1):

How strongly are you interested in politics?

Which kind of programmes on television and radio do you enjoy the most?

Indicator 2 for "other historical consciousness" (HC2 and LC2):

Why do they study history? Is South Africa's past 1600 to 1800s important? Can South African history 1600s to 1800s be used outside of the classroom?

Why were these questions selected?

These questions were selected for convergence (through the method of cross tabulation) and to measure historical consciousness for two reasons: one, they were adapted from the questions aimed at measuring historical consciousness in the Youth and History Survey (1999); two, these questions measure in the closest possible way the complex relation between interpretations of the past, perceptions of the present and expectations of the future. With the exception of the questions discussed below, the remainder of questions were demographic and ethnographic pertaining to gender, age, race, place of residence, religion and its meaning, family composition, income group, parents' education and employment, reading resources in the home, type of

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newspapers being read at home, topic most often discussed at home, family's attitude to the new South Africa and parents' attitude to history.

How were these questions combined?

Table 3.1.

Indicator 1: "Outside school" historical consciousness (HC1)

Political interest; TV & Radio Programmes you enjoy

# Crosstabulation

	TV	& Radio pr	rogrammes	you enjo	оу			
			Current Affairs	Music	Talk Shows	religious	educat -ional	Total
Political Interest	Extremely	% of total						
	Very	Yes			•			
	Interested							
	Not really							
	Not interested							
Chai	Will not							
	answer							
Total	% of total							1

High percentage score for political interest ("extremely", "very" and "interested") with associated high interest in current affairs = High HC1

Low percentage score for political interest ("not really", "not interested" and "will not answer") with associated low interest in current affairs = Low HC1

Table 3.2.

Indicator 2: "Inside school" historical consciousness (HC2)

# Is SA history 1600s to 1800s important? Can you use this information outside of school? Is South African History Important?

## Crosstabulation

a seletion to	sing commo			Can you	Total
tion were be	Is SA	change at	policies de la constitución de l	use this	
	History	Significant series		information	
	1600s to	perment. W		outside of	
their singul	1800s	r benivious	Normal I	school?	
debrinsfed as	important?	Yes	% of total	Yes	
	620	No	% of total	No	
Is SA	d the more			Treates and the second	
History	7 Did the tea			and D. the treet.	
Important?	Stem to see	the threvas in	of Masses	and head houses	
Yes	es halp fren	to per the re		49-11	
No					
Total					

High HC2 = yes + yes + yes

# 3.2.1.6. Focus Group Interviews<sup>62</sup>

Neuman (1997:151) speaks of the method of triangulation by which different types of measures for data collection are used; i.e multiple indicators. Measurement improves when diverse indicators are used; confidence in the measurement grows and implies greater validity. I had discussions with the learners and teachers in the experimental group within a week after the post-test survey had been conducted. The discussion included the findings of the attitudinal survey.

A validity-testing component was facilitated through questions such as "Did you like the fact that you were being studied?" Anecdotes and observations were recorded.<sup>63</sup> According to Neuman (1997) it is important to debrief subjects in the post-experiment interview; subjects must be told the true purpose of the experiment: What were the subjects thinking? How did the definitions of their situation affect their behaviour? Neuman (1997) notes further that subjects should be debriefed and informed of the true purpose of the research.

#### Questions asked:

Did you find the issues marked with an \* controversial? Which issues were particularly controversial? Did the teacher influence their opinions? Do they think that discussion of these issues helped them to see the relevance of history to their lives? In which ways did the discussion of these issues help them to see the relevance of South African History (1600s to 1800s) to their lives?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Neuman (1997) describes this method as a special kind of interview whereby the researcher gathers 6 to 12 people in a room with a moderator to discuss one or two more issues for one to two hours; the moderator ensures that no one person dominates. The moderator is flexible, keeps people on the topic and encourages discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> The researcher is cognisant of the fact that possible corruption could occur due to learner enthusiasm etc. (i.e. Hawthorne weakness)

#### 3.2.1.7. HOW PRECISELY DID MEASUREMENT TAKE PLACE?

TABLE 3.3.

#### **GRADE 10**

# [2 EX DET<sup>64</sup> / 2 EX HOR<sup>65</sup> / 3 EX HOA<sup>66</sup> / 1 PRIVATE]

SC1	SC2	SC3	SC4	SC5	SC6	SC7	SC8
X	X+	X+	X	X	X	X	+H
HOR	HOA	DET	HOA	HOR	DET	HOA	Pı

#### Hawthorne

#### TREATMENT

X: Experimental Group: The schools receive treatment over the 4 - 6 week period on South African History that makes an explicit link (through activities, discussion and debate) to controversial issues in the present South Africa. The My New World material is provided. Controversial activities are marked with an \*.

X+: Control Group: The schools do not receive treatment over the 4 - 6 week period. They do the same content from the My New World material, but they omit direct engagement in controversial activities (marked with an \*) on South African History. No activities that get learners to make explicit links to controversial issues in the present South Africa are included in the teaching of this group.

+H: Control for Hawthorne Effect Design: The school receives an irrelevant treatment over a 4

- 6 weeks period. The teacher teaches Film Studies on unrelated themes, play the learners'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Department of Education and Training (ex-African)

<sup>65</sup> House of Representatives (ex-Coloured)

favourite CDs in the history class at least once per week. I also visit the learners in their classroom at least twice during 4 - 6 week period to say "hello". Learners in this Control Group get a sense that they are being studied. I conduct the pre-test and post-test with them. They identify the researcher as someone who is studying them and who has an interest in them.

# Treatment in Experimental Research Design

Table 3.4.

Experimental Group	Control Group
4 -6 weeks South African History	4 - 6 weeks South African History
My New World material	My New World material
SA History (1600s to 1800s)	SA History (1600s to 1800s)
Explicit link to controversial issues in the	No explicit link to controversial issues in
present	present SA

#### RESEARCH DESIGN PER LANGUAGE AND CLASS

Table 3.5.

	Working Class	Middle Class	
	School 3	School 1	
	(Ex DET) Control	(Ex HOR)	
English		School 4	
	School 6 (Ex DET)	(Ex HOA)	
		School 7	
		(Ex HOA)	
		School 8	
		(Private)	
		Control	
Afrikaans	School 5	School 2	
Marie Marie In June 1	(Ex HOR)	(Ex HOA)	
	(	Control	

<sup>66</sup> House of Assembly (ex-White)

#### 3.2.1.8. CONTROL FOR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL VALIDITY

How will the Hawthorne Effect be controlled?

- □ All the teachers involved are experienced teachers (average of 8 years experience in teaching history)
- All the teachers are familiar with the skills-based history teaching method and have practised this method with the learners. The learners will not be responding to a radically new teaching method (for e.g. from rote learning to skills-based learning).
- All the subjects would have been exposed to the teacher's teaching methodology and his / her teaching style / personality for at least 6 months at the time of intervention. The chances of learners changing their attitude to a subject due to the personality / teaching style from someone they do not know is minimal.
- The researcher observes the control group (for Hawthorne control design) at least twice during the intervention. In this way, this control group receives an irrelevant treatment (an observer without the treatment). The researcher interviews the control group after the intervention to ask whether they had enjoyed being studied and what they thought they were being studied for.
- ☐ The content is part of the existing curriculum; so teachers are not overwhelmed and influenced by the "novelty" of new content.

How will other biases be controlled?

Expectation: Teachers will not be informed of the exact purpose of the study, but rather that the researcher is investigating the attitude of youth to South African History. The focus is therefore away from the teacher's role. The teacher is not expected to perform, but only to intervene with a set number of activities. The teachers would therefore expect the focus to be on the learners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Many studies in which an experimental treatment in a school system is compared to a no-intervention condition may result in differences based not on the specifics of the intervention, but on the fact that some intervention took place. However, the researcher is also cognisant of the fact that all experiments do

- □ History: Both the experimental and control groups are exposed to the same external experiences / events at the school and in the community. The journal is designed to control this bias. (Both the teachers and learners are required to complete weekly journals.)
- Participants: Of same average age (16 years); of same ability levels (those who were put in history streams because of ability in associated subject streams); selected groups are representative of race, class and language in Cape Town.
- □ Maturation: The experimental and control groups must be of the same maturation levels. The period of intervention should therefore be short (4 6 weeks). A flexibility of 2 weeks allowed because of the differences in school management (late arrival of pupils after holidays in ex-DET schools etc.) in the different schools. Tuckman (1994:124) asserts that maturation might become a bias factor if experiments with adolescents take place over a long period of time due to developmental changes in learners. This might be the reason for the change in attitude rather than the experimental treatment. Post-experiment Focus Group Interviews were conducted 3 weeks after the intervention.

How will the internal validity be controlled?

- The experimental group receives the treatment (activities, discussion and debate on controversial issues); the control group does not. The control group has all the same experience as the experimental group (average age, ability levels, average teaching experience of teacher, same learning content, time of intervention) other than the experience of the treatment / intervention itself (i.e. explicit links to controversial issues in the present South Africa through activities, debates and discussions).
- The experimental group should not be brighter than the control group; the two groups of classes must be of the same performance levels. The teachers of the respective experimental groups must not be more effective and successful teachers than those of the control groups.
- ☐ The pre-test will be administered 2 months ahead of the intervention<sup>69</sup> as to prevent bias in the intervention.

involve some form of superficiality as subjects are exposed through experiments to situations they are not normally exposed to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> It is recognised that adolescents undergo rapid physical and emotional development. The aim of the research is to ascertain their attitude at a particular maturation level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Pre-test in May; intervention in July - August. Post-test in late September (cannot be done in October for three reasons: maturation factors, departmental regulations and examination pressure).

- This journal is for the weekly recording of the teacher's "private" conversations<sup>71</sup> with herself / himself and records for both the experimental and control group: how the lesson went; how the learners responded; which issues she/he feels uncomfortable with; interesting anecdotes. This research design should provide evidence of the teacher as agent of change, expectancies, the possibility of threat to internal validity e.g. Hawthorne effect and other related biases. Tuckman (1994:128) speaks of "multiple treatment interference".
- The learner's journal: Learners complete a journal which provides answers to the following questions: What they found interesting in the discussions; what they did not find interesting; what they discussed at home / amongst friends during break; what they found uncomfortable.
- A pre-test and post-test measuring attitude (and similar to the learners) is also administered to the teacher. This would provide evidence of possible influence on learners' attitude and vice versa.
- Instrumentation bias: The attitudinal measurement for the pre-test and post test (i.e. the questionnaire) was pilot tested<sup>72</sup> at 4 high schools with grade 10 history learners representative of the population in Cape Town. (The changes that were made to the questionnaire based on the pilot-test are discussed later.)

The post-test (which will be the same as the pre-test) will be administered a month after the intervention (i.e. September 2000); that is 5 months after the pre-test to control for internal validity by minimising the possible gain on the post-test due to the experience on the pre-test which may reduce internal validity.

How will the external validity be controlled?

□ The intervention will entail sufficient activities that are *explicitly controversial*. This will ensure a control that will enable a conclusion that should differences in attitude occur, it happened as a result of the experimental treatment.

<sup>71</sup> Teachers will be informed that the journals must be handed in around the end of August when the post-test has been completed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Journals are a form of "introspective data collection". Although they are of themselves not valid or a reliable means of doing research, they have the strength in capturing data that cannot otherwise be collected. See Nunan (1993: 123). (Also for triangulation purposes)

The teachers' expectancies<sup>73</sup> will be controlled regarding what they expect of the learners (i.e. reactive effect)<sup>74</sup>. The teachers will not be informed regarding the exact aim of the research, i.e. the effect on attitude of youth to South African History that makes explicit links to controversial issues in the present South Africa.

### The Pilot-test: March 2000

Researchers R and K of the University of Copenhagen administered the pilot-test<sup>75</sup> with grade 10 history learners at 4 selected schools in Cape Town during March and April 2000<sup>76</sup>. The 4 schools<sup>77</sup> are representative of the population in Cape Town in terms class, language and race.

School A is situated in a squatter community in Khayelitsha<sup>78</sup>. The learners are African and Xhosa-speaking.

School B is situated in a working class to lower middle class coloured residential area in Mitchell's Plain. The learners are English and Afrikaans -speaking.

School C, a historically white school, is situated in a lower to middle class racially mixed suburb in the Southern Suburbs. The learners are English-speaking.

School D, a racially mixed private school, is situated in a middle to upper middle class suburb. The learners are English-speaking.

The total number of learners who did the pilot totaled 120 altogether, approximately 30 learners on average per class. The average time that learners took to complete the questionnaire was 16 minutes.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Teachers see themselves as agents of change who must give effect to the outcome in a particular direction. This can create a "reactive" effect, rather than a "true" outcome of the intervention.

aware that this is what is being tested.

The questionnaire which measures attitude, is adapted for South African youth from the measurement used in the Youth and History Survey in Europe (1997).

<sup>76</sup> School A and B completed the questionnaire on 22 March; school C on 23 March and school D on 18 April.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Administered by History Masters researchers (Kamilla and Rasmus) from the University of Copenhagen in March 2000. They will be referred to hereon as "researchers K and R".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Teachers are generally uncomfortable with controversial issues themselves, so would most likely not encourage a positive attitude towards things they themselves find uncomfortable. More so, if they are not aware that this is what is being tested.

According to correspondence to the researcher from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), schools may not be identified by name.

How did R and K administer the pilot-test?

They first introduced themselves and told the learners what a pilot-test was; that it was to test the researchers and not those who complete the questionnaire. The learners were asked to first read the questionnaire and to ask questions regarding clarity and understanding before proceeding to answer. They then proceeded to hand out the questionnaire. Before collecting the completed questionnaires, R and K enquired again whether they understood every question. They also asked the respondents whether they found any question offensive. (No respondent answered in the affirmative to the latter.)

Rationale for amendments to the questionnaire based on the findings in the pilot -test:

- Language must be simpler. Xhosa-speaking learners were struggling to read certain questions. As K said, "Their lips were moving as they read aloud and thought real hard as if they did not want to get an answer wrong." This is also one of the reasons why School A took 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire compared to the average 16 minutes. School A had more queries about the questionnaire than schools B, C and D.
- Question 2: A few African learners did not indicate their age. Should add "Would not answer".
- Question 3: Add "Will not answer". 80
- □ Question 4: The question does not cover a sufficient group of areas. Researchers R and K suggested that an option "Other (specify)" be added.
- Question 5: "To which religious community does your family belong?"

Learners expressed the view that the words "family" and "community" are problematic; that the question should be separated into two: "To which religion do you belong?"; "What is your family's religion?"<sup>81</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Researcher R noted that the school's lights were not working and this was unpleasant in wet, rainy, dark weather. When one looks out of the window there are just shacks. The teacher commented to the researchers while pointing at the shacks: "This is where they (the learners) come from."

School A (30 minutes); B (15 minutes); C (10 minutes); D (10 minutes)
 A few respondents at school A were reluctant to choose "African". Interestingly, in conversation with R and K they used the term "black", asking them "Are there any black people in Denmark?"

- Question 6 relating to religion: "Will not answer" to be added.
- Question 11: If both parents work, then the question is problematic. Must ask separately about mother and father. Some fathers are unemployed or they do the housework, while the mothers are the breadwinners.<sup>82</sup>
- Question relating to the education of parents, seems sensitive. "Don't want to answer." Must be added as an option. 83
- Questions 12, 13, 14 and 16: Many African respondents chose not to answer these questions relating to whether the family buys books or newspapers<sup>84</sup> and whether they are satisfied with the New South Africa.<sup>85</sup>
- Question 16: Researchers R and K suggest "comfortable" rather than "satisfied".
- Question 21: The teacher at school A had to jump back and forth in Xhosa and English, trying to explain what the question asked. Although respondents at school B indicated that they did not have a problem with this question, their answers indicate that they did not understand the question. Learners at all four schools struggled generally with carrying out the instructions; they did not seem to understand what is meant by rating from 1 to 5.
- Questions 22 24: Reformulation required. "Only tick an answer if you answered No" instead of "If no, provide a reason."
- Question 25: Some respondents ticked all answers. Should be for which "three categories" rather than the choice to select an unlimited number.
- □ A "Thank you" to be added at the end.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Researcher K indicated that one girl at School A found this question awkward. She giggled nervously and when explained what the question meant, she deleted "Christian" and ticked "Muslim" instead. Religion-questions seem sensitive questions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Especially evident from completed questionnaires and remarks from schools in poorer communities such as schools A and B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> A girl at school C responded to this question: "Strange that you want to hear about the education of parents. History is about the past not the present."

These could be examples of culturally biased questions, but they are necessary to obtain data as evidence to explain attitudes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> This might also have been influenced by the fact that the researchers were white or perhaps because they were foreigners. Specific questions may cause a respondent to become cautious or guarded and to give a-less-than-honest answer (Tuckman 1994: 217). Factual questions do not always elicit factual answers.

Necessary improvements<sup>86</sup> on the administration of the questionnaire:

- The questionnaire should be handed out before interval. Although the learners at school A struggled with the questionnaire they took it much more seriously and read the questions more carefully. Learners at school B were more confident with the language, but did not take the time to read the instructions carefully. They did the questionnaire after returning from interval and their handling of the questionnaire was described by researchers R and K as "They were really eager; joking and laughing."
- The teacher rather than a "visitor" should administer the questionnaire to prevent "frivolity" or artificial responses to the questionnaire.87
- Learners should be asked not to discuss the answers with their friends. This happens especially at overcrowded schools when there are 2 (or at times 3) learners in a desk.
- Respondents want to have some sense regarding the "purpose" of the study. A short introduction should be added for this purpose. For example, some white learners responded "aggressively"88 to the questionnaire as if the researchers were "probing too much". The questionnaire should also very clearly indicate that the questionnaire is not a "witch hunt", but perhaps an attempt to understand history learners better. 89 They also need to know that there is no "right" or "wrong" answer to the questions. According to Tuckman (1994:235) social desirability answers can be minimised by not revealing the purpose of the questionnaire prior to its completion.
- Teachers need at least a week's notice in advance of the pre-test. 90

<sup>87</sup> Researchers R and K indicate that the learners were more interested in probing them about their (the

researchers') attitudes to history than doing the questionnaire.

<sup>89</sup> This is especially the case for historically white and middle class schools where learners seem more critical and aware of "rights".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> According to Jaeger (1988), the more intrusive a survey, the lower the chances that it will accurately reflect real conditions. (See Nunan 1993:140).

<sup>88</sup> Although the researchers R and K were also white, the white respondents seemed suspicious of the questionnaire. R and K referred to "aggressive body language" and "hostility" and frowns shouting, "Why am I doing this?" Their teacher (school C) was coloured and "indifferent" about the questionnaire as he still had "homework to mark"; it is therefore unlikely that their attitude is affected by the teacher's attitude.

<sup>90</sup> R and K noticed that the learners at school C whose teacher had two days' notice of the questionnaire were all a little unsettled and confused, though not all aggressive.

## 3.3.1 Qualitative Research Design

## 3.3.1.1. Step 1: Teacher's Journal

Each teacher keeps a weekly journal to record anecdotes, significant statements, written comments, classroom discussion and her/his own experiences (views, perceptions) as learners engage with the texts, with her/him<sup>91</sup> and each other on a daily basis. The journal is used to record developments in both the experimental and control groups. Because teachers do not know the real objective of the study, the risk of internal validity is minimised. Bailey (1990:124) asserts that when subjects have to provide a retrospective account, this will influence the performance of their task; subjects should not be influenced that they will be required to retrospect after they have completed the task.

## 3.3.1.2. Step 2: Learner's Journal

Each learner keeps a weekly journal to record their feelings, views and perceptions as they engage with the texts, with the teacher and each other on a daily basis. The journal is used to record developments in both the experimental and control groups.

### 3.4. Summary of the chapter

This chapter discussed the research design that the researcher has employed, explaining how this is informed by the three approaches in social science: triangulation, interpretive science and critical social science. The researcher has borrowed from all three approaches to verify the findings from the quantitative research design component. The research method has been explained detailing every step in both the quantitative and qualitative components.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> It is believed that teachers exert a significant influence on learners' perceptions and their attitudes to subjects. This was also one of the important findings of the *Youth and History Survey*.



#### **CHAPTER 4**

#### PROFILES OF THE LEARNERS AND TEACHERS

This chapter explains the social, political and economic context of the research sites. The quantitative data of the learners (race, language, age, gender, parents and residential area) are provided. Moreover, the chapter starts with a description of each school site and teacher as these aspects provide a key context to the research. This information was attained from both the quantitative and qualitative components of the research (i.e. through questionnaires and interviews). This provides a background to the identification of the intervening variables of school type (race), class, language and gender which are later used as units of analysis in this study in helping to explain possible changes in historical consciousness (where relevant) in the learners who are exposed to the intervention.

## 4.1. Schools selected for the study:

(The schools have been randomly numbered in accordance to the numbering system applied to the questionnaires in order to protect their identities as instructed by the Western Cape Education Department. Pseudonyms are provided to protect the identity of the teachers.)

## 4.1.1. Experimental Group

School 1 (ex-HOR, middle class, English, Cape Flats)

This school is situated in the oldest coloured township on the Cape Flats; ranging from lower to middle class income groups. The area in which the school is located is internationally known for the Trojan Horse incident of 1985<sup>92</sup>. This particular community, its learners and teachers have been very active in the anti-apartheid struggle during the populist eighties and they are associated with political militancy. It was often the place of meetings and a site for mobilisation during the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> An incident during the period of unrest when the apartheid South African Defense Force disguised themselves on a truck and killed several young boys in a residential area.

turbulent eighties, especially of the "non-racial" SACOS Movement and the United Democratic Front. The learners are English-speaking. Ms Swartz lives in the Southern Suburbs and is over 45 years. She holds a post-graduate qualification in history. She rates the problems in the community of her school as race conflict, unemployment, crime, gangsterism and lack of recreational facilities. She indicates her racial classification during apartheid as "coloured". She indicates that religion is an important part of her life. Ms Swartz has been teaching at the school for about 15 years and is a respected teacher at the school. She says that their history teachers "try hard" to get learners to remain interested in history, but things are not as easy as in the eighties. She speaks with nostalgia and emotion of the days the army invaded the school in the eighties and how they beat up the principal in front of the learners, parents and staff. She also recalls her most frightful moment when she hid herself away from the army under a classroom table (behind desks) with a group of anxious learners clinging on to her.

School 4 (ex-HOA, middle class, English, Northern Suburbs)

This school is situated in a middle to upper middle class white northern suburb. The learners are English-speaking and predominantly white. Ms Ainslie lives on the Atlantic Coast and is just younger than 34 years. She rates crime as the problem in the community of her school. She indicates her racial classification during apartheid as "white". She has received graduate university education in history and has completed the UNISA "History Enrichment Certificate". Ms Ainslie has been teaching history for over 11 years and she is familiar with the range of skills-based history texts on the market. She describes herself as a very "committed" history teacher, always trying out "something new". She also regularly invites outside speakers to the school to speak about their experiences. In its foyer, the school displays brochures on the history of the school commemorating "Founders Day" in the late 1970s when it was established. The school makes use of a wide range of resources. Ms Ainslie is very curious to know why coloured kids in her class do not want to be associated with the Khoisan culture. She relates matter of factly that there is a "Hotnotjie" teacher at the school (he fits the physical description, talking about his small ears and "Boesman-holletjie" but why is there such denial about being Khoisan, she enquired from me. The learners mix freely outside in the playground. The coloured

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> A derogatory word used during apartheid which referred to coloured people or those of Khoisan descent.
<sup>94</sup> The word "holletjie" is a colloquial Afrikaans word referring to buttocks

kids seem confident, boisterous and relaxed. Luxury cars line up in the afternoon to pick up the coloured kids.

School 5 (ex-HOR, working class, Cape Flats)

The school is situated in the northern suburbs in a working class coloured township known for gangsterism, violence, and unemployment. The school is situated less than 8 kilometres from the University of the Western Cape previously known as the "populist struggle institution", or "freedom college"; a place and community known for its history in education and politics. This community was one of the very active struggle communities in the 1980s and had an established youth and civic structure which formed part of the Western Cape civic and youth structure of both the UDF and the NEUM. Mr Plaatje, the history head and grade 10 teacher, has taught at the school for over 15 years, lives in the northern suburbs and is over 45 years of age. He rates the problems in the community of his school as unemployment, crime, gangsterism, lack of recreational and library facilities. He indicates his racial classification during apartheid as "coloured". He has completed a Masters degree in History. The school teaches in the Afrikaans medium. At the first meeting, Mr Plaatje indicated to me that the learners "dislike" history, but that they (i.e. the history teachers) make sure that "history remains part of the curriculum". He also had colourful history projects on display which he proudly shared with me. Mr Plaatje shared stories of how mothers often came to see him early in the morning in their night clothes to discuss history lessons, the ones regarding Khoisan history and identity which they were not comfortable with. They would demand from him, "How can you teach our children that they are Khoisan?!" Furthermore, Mr Plaatje said it was hard to teach in the township where "children are porn actors and actresses for sex trade agents over weekends and after school"; history was "far away" from their "real lives".95

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Mr Plaatje is also in charge of the discipline of the school. While we had our meeting in his office on the morning of Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup> April, a number of teachers brought "disruptive" learners to him. One particular case involved a group of learners who were stuffing each others' mouths with used condoms, confirming the rampant sexual activity of the learners at the school.

School 6 (ex-DET, working class, English and Xhosa, Khayelitsha)

This school is situated in a working class area in Khayelitsha. The school is fairly new. The learners are English and Xhosa speaking. Mr Mbeki lives in the False Bay region and is between 35 and 39 years of age. He rates the problems in the community of his school as unemployment, crime, and lack of recreational and library facilities (no gangsterism). He indicates his racial classification during apartheid as "African". He has received graduate university education in history. Mr Mbeki has been teaching history for close to 10 years. Mr Mbeki is an experienced history teacher with a good reputation in the community, but he says he struggles to get learners interested in history. He has been teaching for a number of years "outside of the curriculum". He is also deputy principal of the school. He is referred to by SADTU teachers in Khayelitsha as "comrade" and as a "powerful man" because he spent a few years in solitary confinement during the eighties. He struggles with today's learners he noted. He had a much more successful teaching session at a well known and successful school nearby (school 3) when he taught there for a number of years before accepting the promotion post at school 6. The learners at school 6, he says, just don't have the same drive and conceptual understanding as the ones he had in earlier years. He also mentions the influx of learners from the former Transkei which now makes teaching in English and with a particular established methodology more challenging. One of his favourite teaching methods is to get learners to dispel myths in history textbooks. He cites exciting research projects on current affairs that he gives his learners to do.

School 7 (ex-HOA, middle class, English, Southern Suburbs)

This school is a single sex, historically white male school situated in a leafy suburb in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town. The school is considered as one of the "best" in the country. The school has a "colonial" character<sup>96</sup> and is over 100 years old. The boys are from middle to upper middle class homes. The school was one of the first to vote on whether to open its doors for other "race" groups in the early 1990s. Mr Smit is a sporty, English-speaking male who is also eloquent in Afrikaans. He lives in the Southern Suburbs and is between 40 and 44 years of age. He holds a graduate degree in history. He indicates that there are no social problems in the community of his school. He indicates his racial classification during apartheid as "white". He

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Boys wear hats and school suits.

has received graduate university education in history and has been teaching history for 5 years. He mentioned to me that he is a direct descendant of the Voortrekker leader, Pretorius. He appears very relaxed and shares stories with humour and enthusiasm. The head of the department indicated that Mr Smit was particularly "keen" to participate in the research project. He was quick to share with me how challenging he found teaching at present. Like in the case of Ms Ainslie and Ms De Klerk (control group), he found that the "kids" were "not worried about race issues"; in fact, he said that they dosed off in history lessons and preferred to raise their hands to ask about "the-match-for-this-afternoon". Mr Smit says that he enjoys reading about the biographies of Trekker leaders, those "seedy details" about their character that are not really known. He also related his own trauma of dealing with identity issues in the new South Africa. But, somehow (he noted), these are not the issues the "kids" are dealing with. They seem, for now, to be "adult issues".

## 4.1.2. Control Group

School 2 (ex-HOA, middle class, Afrikaans, City Centre)

This school is situated in the city centre. The school boasts a colourful mural of a painting of one of the European "founders" of Africa. This painting faces the main road and "marks" the school's historical identity. It is an integrated school. The learners are middle class Afrikaans - speakers. The school also has a hostel for learners from other parts of the country. The teacher has at least 15 years' teaching experience. Ms De Klerk lives on the Atlantic Coast and is over 45 years. She holds a graduate degree in history. She indicates that there are not social problems in the community of her school. She declined to indicate her racial classification during apartheid on the questionnaire. She has received graduate university education. Ms De Klerk says that she is always prepared to try anything new in her history classroom. A colleague of Ms De Klerk relates that a parent went a bit crazy in a parent meeting one day because he never knew that his child was learning about Mandela at school. It is said that the history department is "open" and always gets learners "to look at different perspectives." Ms De Klerk describes the average learner as extremely affluent (she calls them "snobs"). They are very materialistic and race is therefore a "non-issue" to them. When they do discriminate, they discriminate on social "class".

They love to study capitalism and to discuss how to make money - even in the history classes. The staff is female-dominated (only five men, unusual for a high school).

School 3 (ex-DET, working class, English and Xhosa, Khayelitsha)

This school is situated in a working class area in Khayelitsha. The learners are English and Xhosa speaking. The school has a good academic record and is one of the "established" township schools in Cape Town. The school is known for its good management practices and good matriculation results. Mr Kamteni lives in Langa and is between 35 and 39 years old. He holds a graduate degree in history. He rates the problems in the community of his school as unemployment, crime and lack of recreational facilities. He indicates his racial classification as "Black", not "African". He holds a university degree in history. Mr Kamteni has been teaching history for 6 to 10 years. Mr Kamteni is described by colleagues as a "dynamic" history teacher. He explains to me that he is despondent about the old textbooks that are still in the township schools; it is a very "embarrassing" situation for a teacher as the learners are in "a different world" to the time when these old texts were written. He also complains that because of rationalisation, there is no subject leader. The current head is a Geography teacher with no formal training in school history. However, their department sticks together and they explore as many teaching resources as possible. The school is therefore also active in the recent founding of the Khayelitsha History Teachers' Network.

# 4.1.3. Control Design for Hawthorne Effect

School 8 (Private, English, working class to upper middle class, City Centre)

This school is a single sex girls working class to upper middle class English-speaking private school situated in the City Centre. The school population includes children of domestic workers from areas such as Mitchells Plain and Langa who receive church bursaries as well as children of ambassadors and judges. The school is fully integrated. A white colleague describes the school as "snooty". The school has its own curriculum, boasts a wealth of resources and also has its own archaeological slave site. The school is well acquainted with the new History methodology.

<sup>97</sup> Resultant of the History for Democracy Symposium, University of Stellenbosch, Feb - March 2000

Classrooms are decorated with smart and colorful projects, evidence of a wealth of resources, hard work and good teaching. The school specialises in quiz games on factual knowledge of well-known historical figures (men and women). The kids like to catch the teacher out with "mymother-told-me" stories of Malan and other characters in history. Ms Fairhead lives in the southern suburbs and is between 25 and 29 years of age. She indicates that there are no social problems in the community of her school. She indicates her racial classification during apartheid as "white". She holds an Honours degree in history. Ms Fairhead has been teaching history for 5 years.

#### 4.2. The Universe

The Universe comprised 228 subjects: 71,5% in the experimental group and 28,5% in the control group.

## 4.2.1. Racial groups

A total of 95.2% of subjects indicated their "racial" classification: 31,8% African; 31,3% coloured; 26,7% white; 1,8% Indian. A total of 8,3% of respondents were not comfortable with indicating their racial group. The majority of those who did not indicate their racial group are girls (66,7%).

#### 4.2.2. Language Groups

The subjects are predominantly English-speaking (46,9%), followed by Xhosa speakers (29,2%) and Afrikaans speakers (23,9%).

### 4.2.3. Age

The majority of subjects (69,6%) are 15 to 16 years of age. A considerable percentage of subjects (29%) are over the age of 16 years. These subjects are predominantly from the African population group: 47,8% of population. A small percentage of subjects (1,4%) are 13 to 14 years of age.

#### 4.2.4. Gender

Of the 220 (96,5%) subjects who responded to this question, the majority are girls (52,3%) compared to boys (47,7%).

#### 4.2.5. Residential Area

The largest majority lives in the African and coloured townships with a small minority in the predominantly white southern and northern suburbs and in the city centre.

## 4.2.6. Social Class 98

About 47,3% lives in traditional working class<sup>99</sup> areas, 30% lives in traditionally lower middle class<sup>100</sup> areas and 22,5% of them live in traditionally middle class<sup>101</sup> areas.

#### 4.2.7. Parents

Though the information provided by the learners of their parents is not necessarily reliable, it does provide a picture very consistent with what was expected of the social and economic context of the research sites. The biggest majority of unschooled and unemployed parents are at school 5 (coloured working class school). Only a total of 15,1% of subjects indicated that their mothers have university education and of these the majority are at historically white schools. A majority of 70,7% of white respondents' mothers have post-matric qualifications. The majority of subjects whose fathers have university education are at historically white schools. An overwhelming majority of white fathers have post-matric qualifications (86,2% of the group)

Working class refers here to categories of maintenance worker, domestic worker, industrial worker etc. Also linked to working class residential areas on the Cape Flats.

Lower middle class refers here to categories of trades people, teachers, nurses, small business, office workers, middle management etc.

Middle class refers here to categories of owners of big business, legal professionals (judges), medical professionals (e.g. surgeons), senior academics etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> This was ascertained on data on residential areas. The question which required an indication on "average income as compared to the average income of families in Cape Town" did not produce the desired nor reliable results. The poorest area, rife with unemployment (school 5) had results on par with school 7, a middle class school in the wealthy southern suburbs. The data were therefore treated as invalid.

compared to much lower percentages in the African and coloured groups. The majority of fathers in business are white (63,2%). An interesting finding is that the majority of those who did not want to disclose their parents' education and employment are girls.

## 4.3. The teachers and school type

Dryden's ethnographic study of history teachers in Cape Town (1999) noted that there is little sense amongst history teachers of where we are to go in a period of transition in the teaching of history; that the public debate lacks knowledge of the current state of affairs in diverse schools, of what teachers and learners are trying to do differently, of how they are attempting to build futures for themselves and their schools. The question of dismantling and rebuilding school history is therefore contentious, pertaining especially to *how* the teaching of history must change. Dryden's study therefore examines history classes in their ethnographic context, as a "mirror of a nation in transition". The following data provides information as obtained in this study (through the questionnaires) from the surveys on the teachers' attitudes to history.

# 4.4. The teachers' attitude to school history

School 1 (ex-HOR, middle class, English, Cape Flats)

Ms Swartz judges her political interest as moderate. She is a regular reader of the *Cape Times*, *Cape Argus* and *Mail and Guardian*. She finds news on current political events, social and economic issues most useful for her teaching. She describes herself as "comfortable with the New South Africa". She considers "facts" as "not very important" in history teaching. She is "extremely interested in South African history" and considers "Conflict over Land" as the "most interesting" of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. She has taught history in the turbulent eighties and she is familiar with the populist history materials of that time. She has used this material in class and still uses them today (examples: *Upbeat* and the bound copy of *New Nation*). She finds resources from libraries, newspapers, television, the Internet and the local community most useful. The three most important categories of South African History for her teaching are Apartheid History, The Land Wars (1600s to late 1800s) and the South African War (1899 – 1902). She considers South African History to have an important meaning to learners' lives and thinks that they can use this history outside of the classroom in work, relationships and organisations. She thinks the subject

is useful for all jobs. She considers her learners as well as other learners at the school to provide a low rating for the importance of school history, while she rates her colleagues in other departments, senior management at school, the school governing body and the local community to consider the subject as of the least importance.

## School 2 (ex-HOA, Afrikaans, middle class, City Centre)

Ms De Klerk judges her political interest as "very interested". She is a regular reader of Die Burger. She finds news on current political events most useful for her teaching. She describes herself as "comfortable with the New South Africa". She considers "facts", heritage and conservation, democratic and empathy skills as "not very important" in history teaching while she considers multi-perspectives, understanding the present and enquiry skills as "most important". She is "extremely interested in South African history" and considers "History of the ordinary people" as the "most interesting" of the 19th century. Her main frustration with teaching this history is that that there is not enough time for preparation. She has taught history in the turbulent eighties, but she is not familiar with the populist history materials of that time. She has not used this material in class and indicates that she does not need to. She finds resources from the Education Department, newspapers, television, the Internet and the local community most useful. The three most important categories of South African History are in the following order: Apartheid History, the South African War (1899 - 1902) and Constitutional History 1910 - 1948. She finds the Land Wars 1600s to 1800s of least importance. She considers South African History to have an important meaning to learners' lives and thinks that they can use this history outside of the classroom in work, relationships and organisations. She thinks the subject is helpful for all jobs. She considers her learners at the school to provide an average rating for the importance of school history, while she rates the other learners to consider school history as of less importance. Her colleagues in other departments and school management consider history as of significant importance while the local community would give it a very poor rating.

School 3 (ex-DET, working class, English and Xhosa, Khayelitsha)

Mr Kamteni indicates that he is "very interested" in politics. He is a regular reader of the Cape Times; finds news on "social issues" most useful for his teaching. He is "not sure" how he feels

about the new South Africa. He finds the "consideration of multi-perspectives" and "democratic skills" not very important in the teaching of history. He is "interested" in South African history and most interested in conflict over land and the history of ordinary people. His main frustration is that there are too few teaching resources. He has not taught history in the 1980s, but is familiar with populist materials of this time – although he has never used them in his teaching. He finds material from the Teachers' Centres and the Education Department most useful. He rates "Apartheid History" and "Negotiation and the TRC" as of least importance. He thinks that South African History (1600s – 1800s) has an important meaning to people's lives today and that learners can use this history outside the classroom, that it will help them in life. History is most useful for careers in the tourism industry, Arts and Culture and for historical workers. He rates his grade 10 learners as having a neutral interest in history and the other learners having no interest at all in the subject. His colleagues, senior management and the school governing body would give a very poor rating to history as an important school subject, while the local community would consider history "most important".

## School 4 (ex-HOA, middle class, English, Northern Suburbs)

Ms Ainslie indicates that she is "very interested" in politics. She is a regular reader of the Cape Argus. She finds current political events most useful for her teaching. She describes herself as "comfortable with the New South Africa". She did not indicate her judgement of the importance of "nation building" and "democratic" skills in history teaching. She is "interested in South African history" and considers "History of the ordinary people" as the most interesting of the 19th century. She indicates her main frustration with teaching 19th century South African History as "lack of interest from learners". She has taught history in the turbulent eighties, but she is not familiar with the populist history materials of that time. She has not used this material in class due to lack of access. She finds resources from libraries, newspapers, television and the Internet the most useful. For her, the three most important categories of South African History are in the following order: Apartheid History, Negotiation and the TRC 1990 - 1998 and Constitutional History 1910 - 1948. She finds the Land Wars 1600s to 1800s of least importance. She does not consider South African History 1600s to 1800s to have an important meaning to learners' lives, because of "the content of the syllabus and the official point of view". She adds that should the content change, so would the interest. She does not think that learners can use this history outside of the classroom, because it is boring. She thinks that history is not helpful for any particular job.

She considers her learners and colleagues in other departments to provide an average rating for the importance of history, while the other learners at the school would judge it as of much lesser importance. She considers the management at her school to consider school history of significant importance, but was not sure what the local community would judge it as.

## School 5 (ex-HOR, working class, Cape Flats)

Mr Plaatje judges his political interest as "extremely interested". He is a regular reader of the Cape Argus, Rapport and Sunday Times. He finds news on social issues most useful for his teaching. He describes himself as "comfortable with the New South Africa". He does not give preference to any particular skill in his aims for teaching history. He is "extremely interested in South African history" and considers "Conflict over Land" as the "most interesting" of the 19th century. He rates his main frustration with teaching 19th century South African history as "lack of interest from learners". He has taught history in the turbulent eighties and he is "very familiar" with the populist history materials of that time. He has used this material in class and still uses them today (examples: Let us Speak of Freedom, Hifa Labantu, Chalkline, Drum Magazine and Constitutional Talk). He finds resources from the Mayibuye Centre, museums, heritage sites and libraries most useful. For him, the three most important categories of South African History are in the following order: Apartheid History, Negotiation and the TRC 1990 - 1998 and Constitutional History 1910 - 1948. He considers South African History to have an important meaning to learners' lives, but does not think that they can use this history outside of the classroom because it won't get them jobs; it is not relevant to the learners' lives (i.e. for work, relationships and organisations). He considers his learners, the other learners at the school, his colleagues in other subjects, senior management and the local community to provide a very low rating for the importance of school history; in fact, they would consider the subject of no importance.

# School 6 (ex-DET, working class, English and Xhosa, Khayelitsha)

Mr Mbeki judges his political interest as "extremely interested". He is a regular reader of the Cape Argus and City Press. He finds current political events and social issues most useful for his teaching. He describes himself as "very comfortable with the New South Africa". He is "extremely interested in South African history" and considers "Conflict over Land" and "History

of the ordinary people" as the "most interesting" of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He has not taught history in the turbulent eighties, but he is familiar with the populist history materials of that time. He uses this material in class (example: the bound copy of *New Nation*). He finds resources from the Mayibuye Centre, Museums and heritage sites, the Education Department, newspapers, television, and the Internet most useful. The three most important categories of South African History are in the following order: Apartheid History and Negotiation: the TRC 1990 – 1998 and the Land Wars (1600s to late 1800s). He considers South African History to have an important meaning to learners' lives and thinks that they can use this history outside of the classroom in work, relationships and organisations. He thinks the subject is helpful for all jobs. He considers his learners to judge history as of significant importance as a school subject, while other learners at the school, his colleagues in other subject departments, senior management and the local community would consider it of least importance.

## School 7 (ex-HOA, middle class, English, Southern Suburbs)

Mr Smit judges his political interest as "very interested". He is a regular reader of the Cape Argus, Mail and Guardian and Sunday Times. He finds news on current political events most useful for his teaching. He describes himself as "very comfortable with the New South Africa". He considers skills to understand the present and democratic skills as most important in his aims in history teaching. He is "extremely interested in South African history" and considers "Conflict over Land" as the "most interesting" of the 19th century. His main frustration with teaching 19th century South African History is "lack of interest from learners". He has not taught history in the turbulent eighties and is not familiar with the populist history materials of that time. He has not used this material in class and comments "Never thought of it!" He finds resources from the Education Department, libraries, newspapers, television and the Internet most useful. His three most important categories of South African History are in the following order: Apartheid History, The South African War (1899 - 1902) and Negotiation and the TRC (1990 - 1998). He considers South African History to have an important meaning to learners' lives and thinks that they can use this history outside of the classroom in work, relationships and organisations. He thinks the subject is helpful for all jobs. He considers his learners, his colleagues in other subjects, senior management and the local community to judge history of significant importance as a school subject, while other learners at the school would not see it as that important.

School 8 (Private, working class to upper middle class, English, City Centre)

Ms Fairhead judges her political interest as "very interested". She is a regular reader of the Cape Argus, Mail and Guardian and Sunday Independent. She finds news on current political events and social issues most useful for her teaching. She describes herself as "comfortable with the New South Africa". She considers heritage and conservation skills as "not very important" in history teaching. She is "extremely interested in South African history" and considers "Conflict over Land" as the "most interesting" of the 19th century. (But she adds, she does not teach 19th century South African history, only 20th century history). She has not taught history in the turbulent eighties and she is not familiar with the populist history materials of that time. She has not used this material in class. She finds resources from libraries, newspapers, television, the Internet and the local community most useful. To her, the three most important categories of South African History are: Apartheid History, Negotiation: the TRC (1990 to 1998) and the South African War (1899 - 1902). She does not consider 19th century South African History to have an important meaning to learners' lives; 20th century South African history is more relevant. she says. She does not think that they can use this history outside of the classroom in work, relationships and organisations because it is not relevant and can't get them jobs. She considers her learners as well as the rest of the school community and the local community to consider the subject as of importance.

## 4.5. Summary of the chapter

This chapter provided the ethnographic context of the research sites, focusing specifically on the individual school environments, the biography of the teachers and their attitude to school history. This, I believe, provides the historical context within which the curriculum and research operate. The chapter explained and described the schools selected for the study and how these formed part of the empirical research design (experimental and control groups). The chapter highlights the complexities of the research site as a historical, political, economic and social environment compounded by the biography and individual attitudes of teachers to history. A description of these complexities provides a background to the identification of the units of analysis in the study: school type (race), class, language and gender which are discussed and explained further in chapter 6.

#### CHAPTER 5

#### RESEARCH REPORT

This chapter discusses the various problems encountered in the field in deploying the research design and method. These problems range from low response rates, interference in the research and contamination within the control group. I also expound on my own difficulties and personal stress in the field as a critical researcher associated with the populist history tradition. I explore how the boundaries of "empirical research" were threatened with teachers earnestly trying to manipulate the research towards a desired outcome, thereby problematising the issue of "history" bias in research as an inevitable and integral component of any research dealing with historical consciousness.

## 5.1. Lower response rate in post-test

The response rate for the pre-test was 94,3% compared to 86,4% in the post-test. There were a total of 21 responses missing from the post-test sample, an average of 2,6 respondents per school (as including both the experimental and control groups).

Schools are sites of flux where learners drop out mid-year which could have been the case as the research took place over the two mid terms. These learners could also have been absent from school or they could have bunked class on the day that the post-test was conducted. The post-test and post-experiment focus group interviews could not take place in the fourth term as the education department did not allow this. The post-test took place during the second last week of the third term, i.e. three weeks to one month after the intervention and a little more than four months after the pre-test. The participants responded less enthusiastically than in the pre-test. Some questions were not answered. It was also the last week of term and there were many distractions such as in the case of school 5 where the whole school was feverishly involved in raising much needed school funds and at school 4 where learners were involved in organising a school dance for their fellow learners in grade 11. Although teachers were asked to ensure that

the same learners who had taken the pre-test were to take the post-test, the teachers did not account for the missing respondents.

#### 5.2. Individual case studies could not be traced

It is the Education Department's regulation that all research must observe the confidentiality code. The researcher was instructed to make sure that no student could be identified through the questionnaires or interviews. (See Annexure 6.) Questionnaires were therefore anonymously completed making it difficult to organise the focus group interviews around certain interesting individual cases. This limited the depth of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the research.

#### 5.3. Low numbers in schools 2 and 4

Very interesting dynamics were at play at schools 2 and 4 as obtained from the qualitative research. However, the low number of participants (an average of 17 and 18 respondents respectively compared to an average of 30 in the other schools) could have distorted the findings of the quantitative data to some extent. The crisis in history teaching in schools in South Africa (e.g. low numbers of learners taking history at certain schools in grade 10) consequently impacted negatively on the selection and samples. I had to recruit white teachers at ex-HOA schools who were willing to be part of a sensitive and controversial research project. Permission from school management had also to be sought. There were a very limited and small number of representative schools to choose from. These practical limitations could have impacted on the findings.

## 5.4. Limitations of closed questions

The questionnaires were modeled on the closed-type questions used in the European study to ensure responses from less motivated and less able learners<sup>102</sup> across a wide range of schools in present day Cape Town. However, though a questionnaire comprising closed questions was ideal for the diverse groups of respondents in the study (e.g. language use and class background), the closed questions could have led to something important being lost through forcing respondents to

<sup>102</sup> See Youth and History, A42

give simplistic responses to complex questions (Neuman, 1997) pertaining to the uses of history. A rich tapestry of qualitative data relating to historical consciousness emerged from the qualitative research which could not be captured in the quantitative research.

## 5.5. Uneven responses to the journals

Ms Ainslie, Mr Plaatje and Mr Mbeki were more enthusiastic in getting learners to compile journals than the other two teachers (Ms Swartz and Mr Smit) in the experimental group. The qualitative data to support the quantitative data was therefore uneven in some respects. Some teachers found them cumbersome; others completed them comprehensively. Ms Swartz noted, "I preferred talking to you than doing the journal. I did not have time to fill in the incidents at school. Talking with you helped remembering things. I knew it was happening, but to sit down and write..." The qualitative data to support the quantitative data was therefore uneven in some respects.

## 5.6. Aggression and stress in the field

The content of the *My New World* text was not only controversial, but also within a "new" writing tradition (black authors on South African History, a woman as lead author and the passionate style). The reaction was therefore not only to controversial issues, but also to the researcher as "author" of the intervention-text. Teachers at former HOA schools (both experimental and control) responded not only strongly to the text, but also more strongly to the researcher. This resulted in even further corruption in the control group in the case of Ms De Klerk. A similar situation unfolded in the European study where a headmaster was afraid that the results could be misused to expose his school and in another case where a teacher feared having the learners questioned on his teaching method.<sup>103</sup>

Certain teachers tend to have a sense of being "under attack" when research in schools is conducted. White teachers seemed more reactive to the author than the text - hostile body language and tone when the researcher visited sites during the experiment in the month of August. While the male teachers (across racial categories) were friendly and cooperative towards

<sup>103</sup> See Youth and History, A28

me as a woman in the research field, white female teachers (control and experimental) seemed aggressive and became even personal towards me: "Would you let your child study this? Your children are at elitist schools, so they are no different to other privileged kids. Would they, therefore want to do your history that you write?" (Ms Ainslie); "I carry enough guilt. Do I need more of this?" (Ms De Klerk). I felt interrogated by white teachers; "othered", challenged on the "ethics" of teaching and experiments that "provoke hate". Furthermore, teachers at ex-HOA schools displaced their anxiety with the controversial history by complaining about their pressure "to produce results". They were concerned that the intervention interfered in the normal way in which they would assess the learners: "Where are we going to get the marks from for these kids?" (Ms Ainslie and Mr Smit)

In contrast, I was welcomed by participants at black schools (former DET and HOR); there was a kind of camaraderie. Teachers at ex-HOR and ex-DET schools seemed to have coped well and were excited by the many assessment opportunities compared to the teachers at ex-HOA schools as in the case of Ms Ainslie and Mr Smit who were clearly frustrated, wanting to call an end to the research much earlier in order to "get on with real work". As Ms Ainslie commented, "discussion of controversial issues is good and well, but at the end of the day we have to have marks." There were obviously many innovative ways that teachers could employ for assessment purposes as were evident from the projects produced by the learners taught by Ms Swartz, Mr Plaatje and Mr Mbeki. Ms Swartz commented, "I find that it actually gives me much more than I need. I can be selective. It deals with the subject broadly and comprehensively. I like the controversial questions. I enjoy using the book."

In discussing ethical and political issues in social research, Neuman (1997: 446) notes that social researchers may place people in stressful, anxiety producing situations. Although the researcher had taken great care in trying to avoid such a situation, the very controversial and sensitive nature of our recent painful past drew knee-jerk anxiety responses from the white teachers. Mr Smit displayed an eagerness to be "politically correct" while Ms Ainslie and Ms De Klerk blasted the emotions in the *My New World* text and its preoccupation with struggle, apartheid and racism. Yet Ms Ainslie also made every effort to show the researcher that she does the "right" things in her classroom, such as inviting victims of the Group Areas Act to speak to her learners, organising visits to Khayelitsha and to the Holocaust Centre. This came as a surprise to the

researcher as she said this at the end of an hour long talk on "history is not about weepy stories; ons is nou klaar uitgehuil (we have already cried our eyes out). The children do not need all this emotional stuff." She indicated that these things were scheduled for after the "boring, struggle-history experiment." She talked constantly (on each visit by the researcher) about her maid 104 who did not benefit from the New South Africa and the "persistent crying" of her coloured colleague whose family lost their land during apartheid. White teachers seemed stressed by the research, their own "closeness" to current issues and the researcher's role in writing the "close to the bone" text from a perspective other to theirs. It was difficult for me to structure questions for the interviews as I had to inevitably play the role of "passive listener" as the white teachers spoke incessantly, letting off "new South Africa" steam on me.

White teachers were clearly emotionally stressed by the intervention – more so than their black and coloured counterparts perhaps because they had to teach learners of different socio-historical backgrounds and they had at the same time their own biography to deal with. Even Mr Plaatje himself rooted in a populist historical tradition noted that, "Dis baie gevaarlik want jy maak dinge los wat vas was!" (It is a very dangerous history, because you open things that were tight and closed before!) The black and coloured teachers had "history on their side" and also had classes that were fairly monolithic in their demographic compositions. Dealing with controversial issues was therefore perhaps less challenging and stressful.

Pollock (1974) asserts that statements about the present entail statements about the past. Gadamer (1975) stresses the importance of prejudgement and preunderstanding in our attitude towards the past and present. Hence, perhaps of relevance here is Gramsci's (1985) critique of the notion of the intellectual as obligated to engage in value free discourse; one that necessitates that he or she refuses to take sides; intellectual labour as not value free. As Ms Swartz noted, "I censored an issue that I did not want to discuss. My learners were different. They were prepared, comfortable...I lost control...I acted out of character [shows dismay, puts hand on her chest]..."

<sup>104</sup> maid - derogatory term for domestic worker

## 5.7. Exposure of the author as researcher

Researchers are supposed to be in the field to learn, not to be experts, as non-threatening persons who needed to be taught, indicating no inclination to evaluate the activities of the teachers (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973). I found it difficult to retain a scientific distance from my own work, especially when there was strong reaction to the writing style of the text from white teachers. White teachers (control and experimental) seemed at pains to try to explain away "their guilt" regarding South Africa's past and colonialism. Teachers at the black and coloured schools (both experimental and control) seemed, on the other hand, to have wanted to "please" me as a researcher and "comrade". They seemed excited about teaching "our" history and came short of treating me as some "heroine" whom they had to assist in a "mission" or impress with their "transformative vigour". It was stressful sitting through "verbal attacks" from white teachers, being "othered", exercising "scientific discipline", and distancing myself from text that I have written (believed in as a writer, as an educationist). I was often placed "on the spot" in white schools. White teachers seemed suspicious and anxious about what the "research question" was, more so than their black and coloured counterparts, who seemed more "vindicated" by the intervention.

## 5.8. Teacher Expectancy

History teachers in countries undergoing political changes feel them sharply in their work. <sup>105</sup> It is said that during revolutionary times, teachers are preoccupied with the *meaning* of history and with transition, they have to find a new orientation. Surprisingly, also, it was found that teenagers in countries such as Germany showed the maximum "alienation" from history. <sup>106</sup> The teachers in the European study provided a remarkably accurate judgement of their learners' interest in history. <sup>107</sup> However, it is also mentioned that the teachers in the European study overestimated the learners' interest in democracy issues. <sup>108</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Youth and History, p.165

<sup>106</sup> Youth and History, A66

<sup>100</sup> Youth and History, A80

<sup>108</sup> Youth and History, A80

In the Cape Town study teachers displayed more a concern and anxiety regarding their learners' interest in history; they were not optimistic. But like in the European study, teachers allowed their own expectancies, anxieties and interests to interfere in the study. 109

Because of the controversial and sensitive nature of the study, white teachers seemed more interested in the motives of the researcher. They persistently questioned me regarding the hypothesis and the research objective, wanting to get the answers "right". For example, Mr Smit urged the researcher, "If we know the research question, then we can help you in getting what you are after". Teachers at ex-HOA schools seemed to anxiously focus on the research question rather than the text. Because of their own strong personal feelings towards the text, Ms Ainslie and Ms De Klerk assumed that they had to make sure that the book is not approved for schools: "Will the research validate this book for use in schools? I am very worried about that! This book is in need of severe editing; the issues must be removed; the emotive language must be edited out." (Ms Ainslie) "It must only give the facts, true history." (Ms De Klerk)

The white teachers seemed suspicious, always anxious to find out what I was thinking of them? Some seemed to have treated the research as a witch-hunt on teachers' attitudes to the new South Africa rather than as objective research. Ms Ainslie indicated that she was frustrated by the interviews because she never knew whether her answer was right or wrong; whether I had agreed or disagreed with her.

# 5.9. The factor of History as a threat to external validity

The research took place at a time when history was placed on the national agenda in South Africa. There were the public recommendations of the Curriculum 2005 Committee (May 2000); the South Africa / Denmark History for Democracy Symposium (February / March 2000) and the launch of the Khayelitsha – Cape Flats History Network (August 2000). Teachers seemed to have had an expectation that the findings of the research will impact on curriculum policy and that they could perhaps be agents impacting on national policy. They seemed morally obligated to steer the "findings" into their kind of idea of a good history curriculum for South Africa and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> See Youth and History, A28 on how head teachers actually proposed another class than the one selected by the researcher because of the teachers' own interests in the project.

therefore expressed very strong feelings regarding the kind of history and issues that should or should not be in the new history curriculum in schools.

The research also took place at the time of Mugabe's land invasions in Zimbabwe. I could not avoid this as research in schools has to be planned well in advance in consultation with the education department, teachers and schools. Materials also had to be designed, printed and translated by a publishing house well ahead of time. Designing new material and translating it into Afrikaans would have been very costly and time consuming, delaying the research by at least another two years. A similar research problem is described in the European study as research on historical consciousness is invariably linked to the current political situation and political events can and do influence answers provided in the questionnaires and even in interviews. This is an inevitability in any research on historical consciousness. Because of the intervention research design visits to the schools could not be kept as short as possible as in the empirical research design of the European study. However, it is perhaps important to mention that while it is very difficult and almost impossible to ascertain the impact of political events on answers provided in questionnaires, the same cannot be said regarding the evidence selected in the qualitative data. The European study showed that major political events, taking place in Germany and Israel at the time of the field research with a lot of news coverage, did not influence the answers to the type of questions asked<sup>111</sup>. While the quantitative data did not show evidence of the impact on the land invasions in Zimbabwe, this emerged explicitly (without probing) in the open-ended interviews at school 5 (coloured working class) and school 7 (predominantly white middle class). See case study 1 and journal excerpt of school 7 in Appendix 3.

<sup>110</sup> Youth and History, A29

<sup>111</sup> Youth and History, A30

## 5.10. Interference at schools 3, 6 and 7 (control and experimental)

#### 5.10.1. Student teacher at school 7

The school allocated a young female university practicing teacher student to the one experimental group, to "observe". Although Mr Smit taught the text material (and controversial issues), he did so while being observed by the student.

## 5.10.2. Arrest of teacher at school 3

Mr Kamteni was arrested at school for alleged murder on Friday, 26 August (during the last week of the research). I could not interview him on progress regarding the control group, but had to visit the class instead to talk to them in order to find out whether they were doing the work as prescribed. Although two colleagues from the history department assured me that this was the case (as Mr Kamteni reported regularly in subject meetings on his progress with teaching from My New World), I still felt obligated to verify this with the learners. The nature of the impact of the arrest on the quantitative findings is difficult to ascertain.

## 5.10.3. School boycotts at school 6

As mentioned earlier, a full-scale school boycott against school management with accompanied violence and intimidation of learners who wanted to attend classes erupted at school 6 during the last week of August. Mr Mbeki (who was also part of school management as a deputy principal) seemed severely distressed. The extent to which these circumstances impacted on the quantitative findings cannot be ascertained. A similar event disrupted research in the European study when a school strike occurred in Iceland in the middle of the field period. It is important for any educational researcher to be cognisant of the political life of schools and its inevitable impact on research, and more significantly, on historical consciousness. While the researchers in the European study made a careful note of these, this study not only attempted to compare the empirical data, but also investigated the qualitative data (interviews and journals) for evidence of a significant impact on the findings.

<sup>112</sup> Youth and History, A29

# 5.11. Possible contamination of the control group (school 2)

Ms De Klerk felt so strongly about the text that she handled it as intensely controversial. This bias permeated the attitudes of learners as reflective in her journal when she noted that the learners at this ex-HOA school (now integrated) agreed that, "We only have one country to live in! Why must we pay for actions of our forefathers? We must look ahead and live in peace!" She expressed her own discomforts with the text as, "I felt too strongly about the unnecessary referrals to apartheid texts and images. That is not what history is about. I did not discuss it in class." (See Appendix 3, journal excerpt of school 2).

## 5.12. Possible contamination of the experimental group (school 5)

Two boys noted in their journals that Mr Plaatje had stopped administering corporal punishment during the intervention as he perhaps enjoyed teaching from a new book: "All I miss is Jakob, the cane... we used to get hidings." "Ons proe nie meer vir Jakob nie." ("We do not taste Jakob anymore." "Jakob" referring here to the cane.) (See Appendix 4, school 5.) However, Neuman (1997) notes in his discussion on qualitative research methods that checks need to be made on such evidence which should be treated with care; that the researcher has to check whether the learner's feelings or self-interest would lead him to lie, e.g. that the learner might dislike Mr Plaatje for other reasons. Unfortunately, this evidence surfaced in the learners' journals after I had left the field and had formally closed the research with school 5.

#### 5.13. The researcher's own closeness to the field of study

I was close to the field not only as text writer, but also as a former practicing teacher who had taught for a number of years on the Cape Flats at an ex-HOR school. As Neuman (1997:354) notes that it is hard to recognise what we are very close to. We therefore fail to see the familiar as distinctive; we are blinded by the familiar which could have been the case in the observation of the middle class ex-HOR school (school 1) which was close to my own teaching experience in terms of environment and type of school.

## 5.14. Teachers in the experimental group selected their own "controversies"

Classroom teaching throws up unexpected dynamics for curriculum practice. Each classroom is different with its own school environment context, school community, set of learners and teachers. There is therefore no guarantee on how a lesson or a research intervention would unfold. Many agencies and variables interact in the classroom and in the school. As noted earlier, teachers also adopt different strategies depending on their own attitude and what it is that they encounter at a particular moment in the course of their teaching. This complexity was supported by evidence gained from the teachers' journals. For example, teachers chose certain controversies above others. The controversial issues for Ms Swartz were the role of the Catholic Church in conquest (Ms Swartz is a devout Catholic) and the archaeological excavation on holy Muslim grounds at a school in Cape Town (there is a strong Muslim community amongst the learners). For Ms Ainslie, the controversial issue was the role of the missionaries in conquest (the learners expressed strong leanings towards Christianity as ascertained in the interviews and Ms Ainslie who indicated that religion "was not that important" for her personally, played on this). Mr Plaatje got stuck on perceptions of "decency" and "beauty", and poverty (the community is impoverished, alienated and still locked in a demographic apartheid past while Mr Plaatje is in the process of passionately affirming his Khoisan ancestry; he is also struggling to raise school funds from an already impoverished community). For Mr Mbeki, it was about African culture and identity, xenophobia, and squatter areas (Mr Mbeki comes from a black consciousness tradition and the community is feeling increasingly threatened by the influx of other African people into their residential and economic space). For Mr Smit, the controversial issue was about patriotism and economic investment as well as third world debt (Mr Smit and many of the learners' parents fought on the South African border in the 1970s; many of the fathers are businessmen grooming their sons for a future career in a similar field). See Appendix 3.

However, it could not with certainty be ascertained to which degree teachers themselves were responsible for dominant views expressed in groups. The European survey found that a considerable number of teachers were responsible for partiality and prejudice. It is so that teachers are more interested in certain issues than their learners as most of them are university

graduates and are therefore more interested in political issues than teenagers. <sup>113</sup> Evidence of teacher influence emerged in the qualitative data on schools 4 and 5 where learners "echoed" their teachers on history as "opinionated" (Ms Ainslie) and the "pavement story" (Mr Plaatje).

Nussbaum (1986)<sup>114</sup> notes the complexities involved in the nature of teachers' work. Lyon (1990) therefore considers the ways to interpret teachers' practical choices, especially the ethical conflicts they see and try to resolve in their professional lives, the ways in which they get learners to encounter knowledge, the moral dilemmas they face in imparting this knowledge and reflecting on their own values and strategies. Any given dilemma is likely to emerge in its particularity because of who the teacher is - the biographical, the professional, the expertise involved, the teacher's own perceptions of the context of the school in its community, the lives of the learners and their needs, and the values of the teacher (Lyon, 1990). This is often the case in history teaching, as Lyon demonstrates, when teachers have difficulty in polarising young people racially and politically - it involves their families and themselves. Teachers therefore strategise, finding ways to get learners to identify with certain ideas and views that they themselves hold. Because teaching involves close human interactions, ethical and epistemological issues therefore merge in the web of teachers' work; there is a remarkable absence of good descriptions on how knowledge and values are involved in teachers' lives and in their growth and learning (Lyon, 1990).

Aronowitz and Giroux (1975) assert that educators must examine their own histories, their connections to the past and to particular social formations, defining who they are and how they assimilate knowledge and experiences. How do teachers' political and professional identity legitimate knowledge, which knowledge and for which purpose?

Gadamer (1975) notes that prejudgment and preunderstanding cannot be eliminated from the individual's perspective on the world which one could conclude would include attitude to history (values and political attitude, history and morality, emphasis on recent history, history and tolerance).

<sup>113</sup> Youth and History, p.150

When teachers were asked to reflect on these aspects in the journal in a sort of action research method, they were keen to do so, but conversely delivered sketchy descriptions of how the learners responded. Almost all of them were inclined to remark in their journals that "there was nothing I was uncomfortable with". Perhaps if the journal had been more open ended, more useful information in terms of their own professional growth and its impact on the learners could have been ascertained. See Annexure 5.

Because of the many difficulties encountered with teachers in the field during the intervention the post-test for measuring teachers' attitudes was abandoned.

## 5.15. Summary of the chapter

This chapter explained and described the complexities of the school as a research site compounded by the very nature of history as a factor threatening external validity given the nature of studying historical consciousness as essentially related to political events in the present. The difficulties experienced in the research field were also aggravated by the current crisis in history teaching in South Africa with many high schools offering history to a small number of learners while others could have large numbers of learners in classes (for example 17 versus 38). This leads to uneven responses and could impact on both the quantitative and qualitative research design. The chapter also explores the difficulties in doing research on sensitive and controversial issues in schools in the post-1994 period when the preoccupation is with consensus rather than with conflict. A controversial research project would therefore automatically draw knee jerk responses from those who feel "witch hunted" by such research as in the case of the white teachers. Furthermore, the chapter illustrates the complexity of factors operative in the school environment, the many agencies at play over a 4 to 6 week period - especially regarding teachers - all of which impact on the research method, design and findings on youth and historical consciousness in Cape Town schools.

#### **CHAPTER 6**

#### IDENTIFYING HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

## 6.1. Purpose and structure of this chapter

The aims of this study are to establish historical consciousness among learners of average age 15 years in Cape Town and to establish in how far intervention using new historical material over a limited period of 6 weeks affects this consciousness. The researcher used quantitative and qualitative research techniques and experimental methodology to assess the effect of intervention. Given the complexity in the school environment as discussed in the previous chapter, such research may be considered risky, if not of little value. The first reason for tackling the research in this way was the European study on *Youth and History* conducted in the mid-1990s. The research design was developed from this study.

Accordingly, the structure of this chapter is first to introduce the notion of historical consciousness and then two dimensions of this idea – historical consciousness "outside school" and "inside school". The complexities of empirical research in schools will then be listed with a view of identifying key variables. Subsequently, the European study and its comparative value will be introduced before a short summary of the research design used in Cape Town. This will be followed by a discussion of the following aspects of the research:

- Operationalising and measuring historical consciousness in Cape Town schools
- Historical consciousness and its variation
- Attempts at influencing historical consciousness

The main conclusions and recommendations for policy and future research are discussed in chapter 7.

## 6.2. Complexities of empirical research in schools

In ascertaining and measuring historical consciousness in South Africa, it is important to be cognisant of the complexities involved in establishing such consciousness. Some of these complexities have been explored in chapter 5 as part of the research report. This complexity relates to factors that presumably influence historical consciousness and some of these will be used in this study to analyse the quantitative data.

Teachers' methods and curriculum also profoundly influence such consciousness. Noting further, that we all have some knowledge of the past, which may have been formed in many different ways such as through social and political experiences (Nielsen, Youth and History)<sup>115</sup>.

Young (1976) noted that much of what we hope can be realised in education, will not take place in education; schools have a limited role and influence on forms of reality construction. Nielsen (1998) has also demonstrated that historical consciousness of youth is not confined to the formal curriculum in school education, but is generated and formed outside the parameters of the formal schooling system such as through mass media, family, religion, politics, art, culture and public history.

Complexity arises essentially from the nature of education in schools, and the growing up process of teenagers. Numerous studies have also highlighted the range of factors outside of school that impact on the "cultural capital" that learners bring with them into schools. For example, Bowles and Gintis (1976)<sup>116</sup> emphasised the links between school, family and the economy. Bordieu and Passerson (1977)<sup>117</sup> coined the term "cultural reproduction theory". Halsey (1978)<sup>118</sup> and Harker (1984)<sup>119</sup> focus on how the family determines status and culture by providing learners with language and environments for learning, a perception of self, a level of confidence, a set of values and expectations. The family is also part of a wider network of social relations of values and attitudes (Clark and Ramsay, 1990). It is also recognised by social

<sup>115</sup> See Youth and History, A401

<sup>116</sup> See Clark and Ramsey, 1990

<sup>117</sup> See Clarke and Ramsey, 1990

<sup>118</sup> See Clarke and Ramsey, 1990

scientists that perceptions of and attitudes to reality are developed very young through the early socialisation in the family, neighbourhood and community, religion, family discussions and the political attitudes of family. The concept of "intergenerational transmission of values" (Mannheim and Seger, 1993) is of relevance here indicating that values and perceptions of gender roles in society are well formed by the end of adolescence.

Other theorists posit the notion of the school as a central agent for transmitting political information (Lister, 1982)<sup>120</sup>. Ehman (1980)<sup>121</sup> asserts that the impact of the school on the shaping of political attitudes and behaviour has been minor. An explanation for this has been given as the increased focus of the school on knowledge rather than attitudes (Warren, 1988)<sup>122</sup>. Schlaefli, Rest and Thoma (1985)<sup>123</sup> have shown that academic courses in the Humanities and social studies tend to have little impact on the development of moral judgement and values as opposed to dilemma discussion and psychological development programmes. Schools are also places where learners can be made to "feel" supported.

As part of "cultural capital", the home is seen to exert influence on adolescents from birth. Hence, values, needs and interests formed at home continue to influence adolescents through school life, exerting significant influence on their educational aspirations (Wilson, Wilson, 1992). The home-school interface is therefore central to the attitudes, values and perceptions of knowledge that adolescents might have. Children's values would be similar to those of their parents (Bengston, 1975<sup>124</sup>; Mannheim, 1988).

In short, learners bring their own classed, raced and gendered biographies with them into schools (Apple, 1990).

<sup>119</sup> See Clarke and Ramsey, 1990

<sup>120</sup> See Shechtman, 1993

<sup>121</sup> See Shechtman, 1993

<sup>122</sup> See Shechtman, 1993

<sup>123</sup> See Shechtman, 1993

<sup>124</sup> See Mannheim, 1993

## 6.3. The European study and its comparative value

The study and research design were based on the European Youth and History Survey (1999). Questions were selected for convergence and to measure historical consciousness as they were adapted from the questions aimed at measuring historical consciousness in the Youth and History Survey.

Though (as mentioned earlier) it is problematic embarking on empirical research on ascertaining the historical consciousness of youth because of the range of complexities involved, the issue of historical consciousness remains fundamental to education – especially in a country undergoing political transition where memory of a painful and damaging past is still so fresh and volatile. The recent study in Europe attempted to quantify precisely these fundamental issues in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the forging of a common European identity. The European researchers worked from the premise that the educational system is an important arena for imparting knowledge about history and that we do not know very much about what takes place when this knowledge is disseminated in history lessons at school. 125

Like in Europe (1990s), this study took place at a time of substantial and fundamental changes in South Africa (post-1994). Also like in Europe, South Africa consists of various political, economic, social and cultural "worlds" resultant of the legacy of close to four centuries of racial segregation and various forms of colonialism, still prevalent and still having a profound impact on the country in the present and presumably expressing itself in variables of school type (race), language, class and gender.

In both cases the average age was 15 years, although in South Africa a considerable number of township youth in grade 10 fall within the 16 to 18 age group. (It must also be noted that the average ages in the European sub-samples were not really identical.) While middle class former white schools are closer to Iceland and Scotland in terms of average age in grades 9 and 10, township working class schools in South Africa are closer to Palestine 126. However, the numbers of older youth in the Cape Town study were similarly not too significant to impact on the

126 See Youth and History survey, A403

<sup>125</sup> See Youth and History, A19

research findings. The reason for this target group in the European study was that the average 15-year age group would have spent the longest possible time in compulsory historical and (perceived) political education<sup>127</sup>. Like in the European study, intact classes were used. 128

The European study also compared certain answers to assist in explaining and describing the historical consciousness of students. <sup>129</sup> Indicators were developed to measure historical consciousness as based on the theory of Rüsen (1983) and Jeismann (1984) that historical consciousness pertains to the complex correlation between interpretation of the past, perception of the present reality and future expectations. <sup>130</sup> This theory uses anthropological and epistemological reasons as a point of departure. <sup>131</sup>

As in the European survey, an attitudinal measurement for measuring historical consciousness was used. An experimental design was developed with an experimental and control group representative of class, school type (race), language and gender in Cape Town.

This study took the form of a pre-test and a post-test after an intervention aimed at increasing historical consciousness. As indicated by the researchers in the European study indicated that we know little about the consequences of historical knowledge among those who are "exposed" to it. 132 Unlike the European study, this study incorporated qualitative research methods (i.e. the learners' and teachers' journals and interviews). The European researchers acknowledge that the questions and answers in the quantitative study do not tell us anything about the "contents" of the students' consciousness. 133 The researchers in the European study note that given the numerous problems they had encountered in their empirical research design, future projects would have to use qualitative methods together with quantitative methods, complementing and supporting each other. 134

<sup>127</sup> See Youth and History survey, A27

<sup>128</sup> See Youth and History survey. A27

<sup>129</sup> See Youth and History survey, A404

<sup>130</sup> See Youth and History survey. A20

<sup>131</sup> See Youth and History, A68

<sup>132</sup> See Youth and History, A19

<sup>133</sup> See Youth and History survey, A403

<sup>134</sup> See Youth and History, A42

Nor did the study look at historical knowledge of learners, as in the case of the European study, as this would have delivered seriously distorted empirical data given the complexities of the legacy of apartheid education, the language issue, teacher attitudes and knowledge, teaching methods, and the intervention with its own text and constructed meanings in various contexts. Because of the inclusion of questions pertaining to historical knowledge, the European study ended up with a questionnaire that was "unavoidably very general and abstract" for 15 year olds and also an "unfairness" in respect of certain communities <sup>135</sup>. The European researchers therefore suggest regional studies that "concentrate on issues that really move, separate or unite people, which are more relevant to identity" <sup>136</sup>.

A total of 228 respondents participated in the research. The My New World texts (activities, research projects etc.) entitled "Land: A most important Resource" were used over an average period of 6 weeks (July to August 2000) in 7 classrooms of 207 (comprising Experimental and Control Groups) of grade 10 history learners. The group for Hawthorne control did not use the My New World text.

The teachers in the Experimental Group engaged the learners in explicit controversial issues in South African History (1600s to 1800s) and their link to the present. The teachers of the Control Group covered the same content as the Experimental Group but omitted the controversies that made links between the past, present and future. The teachers acted as facilitators of the intervention.

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were employed. The quantitative data were verified through a qualitative research methodology such as focus group interviews, teachers' journals and learners' journals. Case studies of individual schools in the experimental group were also compiled to verify the quantitative data. Case studies help researchers connect the micro level to the macro level (Vaughan, 1992). They raise the boundaries and defining characteristics of a case (Neuman, 1997). The interpretive approach is applied in the case study by using various methods to get inside the ways others see the world (Neuman, 1997). The value of heterogeneous

<sup>135</sup> See Youth and History survey, A232

<sup>136</sup> See Youth and History survey, A232

<sup>137</sup> These texts are specifically designed with a social and political purpose, clearly defined for both learner and facilitator. For example, each activity has a stated outcome such as "Learners would be able to ..."

observation such as triangulation lies in providing stronger evidence than one form of measurement (Neuman, 1997). But as Oakley (1998) notes that triangulation can be a good deal more complicated than it sounds, because interpretations can be mixed which may be at odds with one another, leading to a mass of paradox and downright contradictory evidence (Sidell, 1993). The case studies present qualitative data on the ethnographic context of the school, a brief description of the teacher's life story, the open interview with the teacher, the teacher's attitude to the text and history (how they mediated the text) and the dynamics at play in focus group interviews with the learners who received the treatment.

# 6.4. Operationalising and measuring historical consciousness in Cape schools

The study was based on the assumption that learners in school develop historical consciousness through an exposure to populist history in schools. It is possible to conceive of this consciousness as "outside school", i.e. addressing society-wide issues (HC1) and as "inside school", that is more "focused" on the past (HC2). This dual notion of historical consciousness pertains to an understanding of education as not only school-based, but involving wider agencies in the community as a social and historical unit.

Through the method of convergence, composite indicators were developed, i.e. a new indicator integrating a number of others into a single measure of the concept operationalised. The questions converged in this study for indicator 1 (HC1) were aimed to test this level of consciousness. The second set of questions used in the convergence for the measurement of indicator 2 (HC2) were aimed at measuring what is assumed as a consciousness generated within school through the implementation of the formal curriculum. This is termed "inside school" consciousness as its exact nature and roots are not that easily explained as schools are complex socio-cultural and political sites and the epistemological process is subject to the interplay of a complexity of factors. It is also assumed that historical consciousness relates to individual and collective identity, our values and interests – these influence our attitudes and actions. The indicator for "inside school" historical consciousness (HC2) has therefore been developed on the basis of "associations" with certain aspects of South African history.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> See discussion of Rüsen's notion of historical consciousness and such associations (Youth and History survey, A110)

## 6.5. Developing indicators

The following keys for the measurement of the two indicators have been developed:

High consciousness on indicator 1 (HC1)

High consciousness on indicator 2 (HC2)

The following questions were used in the method of convergence:

Indicator 1 for historical consciousness outside the school (HC1):

How strongly are you interested in politics?

Which kind of programmes on television and radio do you enjoy the most?

Indicator 2 for inside the school (HC2):

Why do they study history? Is South Africa's past 1600 to 1800s important? Can South African history 1600s to 1800s be used outside of the classroom?

#### 6.5.1. Indicator 1

The first indicator pertains to historical consciousness outside the school: interest in politics and current affairs programmes on television.

For example, it was established that enjoyment in music shows and talk shows was not a good indicator of historical consciousness. A total of 3 youth out of 5 chose music and talk shows when they were asked to indicate which television and radio stations they enjoy the most. The data on political interest as an indicator of HC outside school were recoded:

Historical consciousness levels were categorized into "high historical consciousness" (High HC) and "low historical consciousness" (Low HC).

Political interest (extremely, very, interested) = high HC1

Political interest (not really, not interested, will not answer) = low HC1

#### 6.5.2. Indicator 2

Questions to measure this composite indicator ('inside school historical consciousness') (HC2) were put positively rather than negatively. It has been noted in the European study that the negative formulation of statements on the meaning of history drew negative responses from the majority of respondents; they have negative overall means. The students in nearly all the countries in the European study showed that they disagreed more intensely with such negative statements on the broader meaning of history ("outside school" historical consciousness) than with the reduction of history to a school subject ("inside school" historical consciousness).

Only certain questions were selected for convergence. The instructions for the questions related to historical consciousness such as questions 14.3, 14.4 and 15 in the pre-test (questions 7, 8 and 10 in the post-test) in Annexures 2 and 4 respectively pertaining to news interest and frequency of watching the news, listening to the radio or reading the newspaper were ambiguously stated (respondents were asked to tick the answer and to write in the appropriate letter). Respondents also had difficulty in answering 19.2 and 22 in the pre-test (questions 14 and 17 in the post-test) where they had to respectively use scales to rate periods in South African history in order of their interests and indicate the usefulness of history for categories of jobs. Question 23 in the pre-test on the importance of history as a school subject could not be processed statistically and was therefore not included in the post-test. The data on these questions were therefore not useful for convergence. (For HC1 see questions 7 and 14.5 of the pre-test measurement (Annexure 2) and questions 5 and 9 of the post-test measurement (Annexure 4.) For HC2 see questions 8, 19.1.1., 20.1 and 21.1 of the pre-test measurement (Annexure 2) and questions 6, 13, 15 and 16 of the post-test measurement (Annexure 4).

## 6.6. Classification of levels of historical consciousness

Historical consciousness of learners for both indicators by relevant variables were classified into high, middle or low:

High = 67%+ of learners in the selected category would show high consciousness on "outside school" historical consciousness (HC1) and 'inside school historical consciousness' (HC2)

Middle = 34% - 66% of learners in the selected category would show high consciousness on "outside school" historical consciousness (HC1) and 'inside school historical consciousness' (HC2)

Low = 33% - of learners in the selected category would show high consciousness on "outside school" historical consciousness (HC1) and 'inside school historical consciousness' (HC2)

## 6.7. Variables identified and used

Given the complexity of the school as a research site, the complex notion of historical consciousness and the expected legacy of apartheid and colonialism on this consciousness, the variables of class, language, school type (race) and gender were identified and used to operationalise the measurement of the two forms of historical consciousness. These variables were used in the Cape Town study as it is assumed that historical consciousness would be influenced by them:

- Class (income group): It is expected that historical consciousness is closely linked to economic experiences of communities (Apple, 1990);
- Language: It is expected that there is a close correlation between language and historical consciousness in South Africa: Afrikaans being the language of the former oppressor and of the coloured working class in the Cape; English being the language of the liberal white middle class and middle class coloured and the African group;
- School type (race): It is expected that historical consciousness is closely linked to schools traditionally associated with former race groups as classified by the apartheid regime (ex-HOR, ex-DET, ex-HOA) whereby a tradition of alternative history is assumed to be established at former African and coloured schools compared to former white schools where apartheid history was presumably taught. Historical consciousness relates to sociological and historical experience (Apple, 1990);
- Gender: The differences between boys and girls and their attitude to values, knowledge and the Humanities have been well-documented in previous studies. Women have been found to vote less than men, to participate in political parties less than men, to know less about politics than men and have less interest in political matters. These differences are said to have pre-adult roots, related to the expected roles of women in the work place in industrialized societies (Robert et al, 1971).

#### 6.8. Historical consciousness and its variation

The data was coded for transferal for statistical analysis on computer and presented in tables to summarise its features, to facilitate interpretation and to give theoretical meaning to the results. The data was arranged through cross-tabulation; that is the cases are organised in the table on the basis of two or more variables at the same time.

There were no low percentages on both 'outside' and 'inside' historical consciousness, supporting the theory that youth of average 15 years studying history in grade 10 in Cape Town already have an existent middle to high historical consciousness.

#### 6.8.1. Class

The empirical data indicates a correlation between class and historical consciousness.

Working class youth showed a high consciousness for both "outside school" (HC1) and "inside school" (HC2), while middle class youth showed a middle consciousness for both forms of consciousness.

The correlation between class and historical consciousness is demonstrated particularly clearly in the case of the two ex-coloured (HOR) schools where the middle class school showed middle "outside school" consciousness compared to the working class school's high "outside school" consciousness. See tables A.1 and A.5. The data illustrates the articulation of HC1 along class lines rather than school type. School 5 (former coloured school) with a relatively high percentage on "outside school" historical consciousness (HC1) at 75,7% compared to the HC1 score for school 1 at 47,5%, is a working class school in a working class neighbourhood compared to the stable, merchant community in which school 1 (former coloured) with a middle percentage on "outside school" historical consciousness (HC1) is situated. The huge contrast between the two percentages with school 1 scoring consistent with the average of the middle class schools (See tables A.2, A.4 and A.7) and school 5 scoring consistent with the average of the working class

<sup>139</sup> See Neuman, 1997:295

schools (See tables A.3 and A.6), confirms the theory that class might increasingly become an influencing factor in HC1 (relating to broader or generalised consciousness) rather than exschool type. See table 6.2.

In the European study it is claimed that youth who are more focused on the past (such as in the case of working class youth in Cape Town), have a stronger interest for politics (in this case, they would have a middle to high percentage on HC1). This could hold for working class youth in this study in terms of high percentages on both HC1 ("outside school" historical consciousness and HC2 "inside school" historical consciousness. (See tables 6.1 and 6.2.) The high consciousness of working class youth pertaining to "outside school" could perhaps confirm the theory of the "passion of experience and the passion of remembrance" (Bell hooks, 1994); a particular knowledge that comes from political and economic suffering.

Lesko (1996) notes that individualism is historically associated with middle class white males and largely alien to the experiences of black people. This could perhaps help to explain the exceptionally low percentage for the pre-test "outside school" historical consciousness (HC1) at 28,6% in school 7 (a former white, male school). See table A.7.

#### 6.8.2. Language

It was difficult to reach simplistic conclusions on the impact of the variable of language in the study although the empirical data indicates a correlation between historical consciousness and language group.

The Afrikaans-speaking learners showed a high historical consciousness both 'inside' and 'outside' school. The English-speaking learners showed a middle historical consciousness both 'inside' and 'outside' school. Both groups comprised racially integrated populations.

However, the Afrikaans-speaking group comprised a predominant group of working class coloured respondents. This could account for the high historical consciousness along class lines within the Afrikaans group in Cape Town. The English-speaking group in Cape Town is

predominantly middle class, suggesting a tendency towards a middle consciousness. See table 6.2.

#### Table 6.1.

(This table was constructed by using the detailed statistical data per school. See tables A.1 to A.8.)

Comparison between different variables regarding "outside school" and "inside school" historical consciousness.

	Outside	n=	Inside	n=
1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -	historical		historical	
a submitted and loss	consciousness		consciousness	
	(HC1)		(HC2)	٠
All learners	Middle	218	Middle	217
All boys	Middle	105	Middle	104
All girls	Middle	113	High	113
Afrik medium	High	54	High	54
English medium	Middle	164	Middle	163
Middle class	Middle	117	Middle	116
Working class	High	101	High	101
Former white	Middle	56	Middle	56
Former coloured	Middle	77	High	77
Former African	High	64	Middle	64
Private	High	21	High	20

# 6.8.3. School type (race)

The empirical data indicates no correlation between school type (race) and historical consciousness.

Given the legacy of a racially segregated school system and the township schools as traditionally "struggle schools", it would have been expected that the consciousness of former black schools would be consistent with that of former coloured schools and that the level of consciousness of former white schools would be closer to that of Private schools. The consciousness of the Private school (predominantly white) is high for both HC1 and HC2 (over 80% and 60% respectively) in both the pre-test and post-test suggesting perhaps the positive correlation between gender and historical consciousness rather than school type (race).

The former coloured schools are high on "inside school" consciousness (HC2) rather than consciousness "outside school" (HC1). (See tables A.1 and A.5). This is not consistent with the scores at former black township schools (See tables A.3 and A.6.), further illustrating the point that historical consciousness is not necessarily correlated to school type (race). These two types of schools are historically closely linked in terms of an expected historical consciousness and association to populist history. It would have been expected that both these schools would have percentaged high on "inside school" consciousness (HC1) given this school-based struggle tradition and the biography of the teachers.

## **6.8.4.** *Gender*

The empirical data indicates a correlation between gender and historical consciousness.

The European study found that boys' sense of achievement within school was higher than those of girls. This was not the case in the South African study with girls in fact showing a high historical consciousness 'inside the school' suggesting a strong sense of the meaning of history taught within the school. This high percentage for historical consciousness amongst girls is further supported by the high percentages for both "outside school" and "inside school" historical consciousness at the all girls Private school. (Compare tables A.7. and A.8.)

Studies on the emotional maturity of girls as opposed to boys are well documented. Girls also display a higher humanism than boys - history is part of the study of humanity in the past and its link to the present.

6.9. Attempts at influencing historical consciousness

It was expected that the intervention would lead to a further increase in both forms of historical

consciousness in the experimental group along the following lines:

Both forms of consciousness of the experimental group would increase from middle to high;

The "outside school" consciousness of the girls in the experimental group would increase

from middle to high;

Both forms of consciousness for the boys in the experimental group would increase from

middle to high;

Both forms of consciousness would remain high for the working class experimental group;

Both forms of consciousness would increase from middle to high for the middle class

experimental group;

Both forms of consciousness would remain high for the Afrikaans-speaking experimental

group;

• Both forms of consciousness would increase from middle to high for the English -speaking

experimental group;

Both forms of consciousness would increase for the former white schools in the experimental

group;

• The "outside school" historical consciousness would increase from middle to high for the

former coloured school; their "inside school" historical consciousness would remain high;

The "outside school" historical consciousness would remain high for the former African

school in the experimental group; the "inside school" historical consciousness would increase

from middle to high.

6.10. The Intervention: Changes

6.10.1. Class

The intervention confirmed the correlation between class and historical consciousness.

The working class experimental group's percentage remained high for both "inside school" and

"outside school" historical consciousness. It can be concluded that their high level of

consciousness was further reinforced by the intervention. See tables 6.1. and 6.2. While the percentage for the middle class experimental group remained constant, the "inside school" consciousness of middle class control group dropped from high to middle. The correlation exists between class as a variable and an already existent historical consciousness rather than with the intervention. Both the learners and teachers at township schools 5 and 6 (normally associated with high political awareness in South Africa) appear to share an interest in school history (i.e. high percentages for "inside school" historical consciousness). See tables A.1 and A.5 The "inside school" historical consciousness percentage for school 5 remained high after the intervention (See table A.5) although the "inside school" historical consciousness for school 6 decreased. (See table A.6.)

The following gained from the qualitative data confirms the difference in class and relations to historical consciousness. Working class learners assert, "Vir ons gaan dit oor brood op die tafel...Ons moet kinders grootmaak...Daar is nie tyd (vir die omgewing) nie. Dit gaan oor dagtot-dag sake." (For us it is about bread on the table; we must raise children...There is no time for the environment...). (See case study 1.) Middle class youth (both black and white) respond very differently to populist history – seeing it as some consciousness to share with others during interval, of being able to confront racist parents, of becoming a more "fulfilled" person grounded in debating skills. To working class youth, it is a history that might help them to become "shooting stars", rescuing them from poverty and despair. See the particularly high scores of school 5 (table A.5).

The teacher and the boys in school 4 displayed a response very much consistent with what Apple (1990) describes about texts as "particular constructions of reality"; as the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital, thereby disenfranchising another. Their very strong reactions over the text involve therefore what they perhaps hold most dear, i.e. their white middle class worldview and reality which were clearly being threatened by the *My New World* text. However, the enthusiastic and positive response from the girls at this school was interesting. Could a new cultural reality be created for these learners thereby leading to a heightened historical consciousness? While the working class learners seemed to have been dominated by the text, the middle class learners seemed to have negotiated the text (the girls in the focus group) and in some cases (like in the instance of the boys as reported by their classmates in the focus group interviews) they perhaps took an oppositional stance to it (Apple, 1990).

Table 6.2.

(This table was constructed by using the detailed statistical data per school. See tables 4.1 t

(This table was constructed by using the detailed statistical data per school. See tables A.1 to A.8.)

BEFORE intervention			AFTER intervention						
	'outside school' historical consciousnes (HC1)	n =	'inside school' historical consciousness (HC2)	n=	'outside school' historical consciousness (HC1)	n=	'inside school' historical consciousness (HC2)	n =	
All exp	Middle	154	Middle	153	Middle	145	Middle	142	
All con	High	64	High	64	High	54	Middle	53	
Girls exp	Middle	69	High	69	Middle	68	High	67	
Girls con	Middle	44	High	44	Middle	34	Middle	33	
Boys exp	Middle	85	Middle	84	Middle	76	Middle	75	
Boys con	Middle	20	Middle	20	High	20	Middle	20	
Work c Exp	High	75	High	74	High	75	High	74	
Work c Con	Middle	26	Middle	27	High	25	Middle	25	
Middle c Exp	Middle	79	Middle	79	Middle	70	Middle	68	
Middle c Con	High	38	High	37	High	29	Middle	28	
Afrik exp	High	37	High	37	High	38	High	38	
Afrik control	Middle	17	High	17	Middle	15	Middle	15	
English exp	Middle	117	Middle	116	Middle	107	Middle	104	
English con	High	47	High	47	High	39	Middle	38	
Ex-HOA exp	Middle	39	Middle	39	Middle	36	Middle	34	
Ex-HOA con	Middle	17	High	17	Middle	15	Middle	15	
Ex-HOR exp	Middle	77	High	77	High	72	High	72	
Ex DET exp	High	38	Middle	37	Middle	37	Middle	36	
Ex DET con	Middle	26	Middle	27	High	25	Middle	25	
Private	High	21	High	20	High	14	Middle	13	

The qualitative data confirms this correlation between class and historical consciousness. For example, the case of black learners at former white schools who assert that they find it difficult to empathise with victims of apartheid, while at working class black schools the memory of apartheid is still alive, such as stories of families being affected by the Group Areas Act. And even though parents at such schools might not support what teachers say, they show a keen interest in (as related by Mr Plaatje at the ex-coloured school) what history their children are being taught and how this relates to identity. This was not reported by teachers at middle class schools (both former white and black - including the former coloured "struggle" schools).

Marks (2000) noted the increased relevance of the Humanities and historical consciousness in the face of the AIDS crisis, disease, alcohol, drugs, gangsterism and crime. The critical researcher says that people have a great deal of unrealised potential and that they can therefore change the social world, but that delusion, isolation and oppressive conditions in everyday life often prevent them from realising their dreams. The world people live in limits their options and shape their beliefs and behaviour. Critical theory seeks to provide people with a resource that will help them understand and change their world by teaching them about their own experiences. helping them to understand their historical role (Neuman, 1997: 76 - 77). Although I had attempted to bring the cultural capital that these learners have into the curriculum to affirm their histories, could it have been that these were marginalised in the process through the school as a political site that represses possibilities and produce subjectivities (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1975)? Did the intervention fail to act as an agent of change by equipping learners with the skills needed to conceiving new goals and affecting social change (McNeil 1977)? Or was it only effective in the sense that it did little more than "redescribe" a world that teachers and pupils "already know", i.e. poverty, unemployment, discrimination etc. (Apple, 1990)? These questions remain unanswered.

Researchers therefore conclude that the adolescents identify with the "national identity" of the past in an effort to upgrade its present status (Dragonas and Frangoudaki, Youth and History). This therefore supports their theory of the relationship between an ethnocentric attitude and the striving for positive self evaluation – reflected (amongst others) in the scores of German, Israeli and Palestinian and Israeli Arab youth. Dragonas and Frangoudaki conclude that adolescents belonging to threatened or marginalised groups (who are not viewed positively) experience a threat to their self-esteem as members of such groups and thus seek positive distinctiveness by reference to a "valued past". 141

6.10.2. Language

The empirical data confirmed the correlation between language and historical consciousness.

<sup>140</sup> See Youth and History, A419

<sup>141</sup> See Youth and History, A423

This relates directly to the history of the Western Cape, where Afrikaans has traditionally been the language of the coloured working class group. The levels of consciousness for both "inside school" and "outside school" consciousness remained high for the experimental Afrikaans group (which included the large coloured working class school), suggesting that the intervention further reinforced an already high consciousness. The levels of consciousness for both "inside school" and "outside school" consciousness remained a constant middle consciousness for the English experimental group. See table 6.2. The intervention did not lead to an increase in consciousness. The correlation exists between language as a variable and an already existent historical consciousness rather than with the intervention.

#### 6.10.3. Gender

The correlation exists between gender as a variable and an already existent historical consciousness rather than with the intervention.

The percentages for both "inside school" and "outside school" consciousness remained constant for both girls and boys in the experimental group; girls retaining a high "inside school" consciousness pertaining to the meaning of history and boys retaining a middle consciousness for both "inside school" and "outside school" consciousness. See table 6.2. The intervention did not lead to an increase in these forms of consciousness. The higher consciousness of girls was confirmed through the qualitative data, with girls being very dominant in-group discussions, correcting the boys on historical facts and interpretation and showing a greater sensitivity and understanding regarding racism and xenophobia. In one particular case, the boys at a former white school did not turn up for the interview and their hostility to the text during lessons was observed. See case studies 1, 2 and 3. See also confirmation of this alienation to history in the quantitative evidence (table A.4 in Appendix 1): the boys of school 4 scoring 0% on HC2 ("inside school historical consciousness") in the post-test.

The significant increase in the "outside school" historical consciousness of school 7 with the intervention from 28,6% to 55,6% was unexpected and interesting as this was not reflected in the qualitative data. (See table A.7.) One cannot conclude that this accounted for the attitude of all

boys as related to the intervention as increases are only evident at schools 1 and 5 of the experimental group. (See tables A.1 and A.5.) The scores for boys on HC1 dropped at schools 4 and 6, suggesting that other variables might have been operative in the experimental group, resulting in an increase in HC1 amongst boys at certain schools. (See tables A.4 and A.6.) In spite of the intervention the HC scores of the boys at school 7 remained relatively low compared to the girls of school 8 where there was in fact no intervention to increase their consciousness. (Compare tables A.7. and A.8.)

The European study found no average differences worth mentioning between the genders; historical knowledge being significantly but only marginally correlated with gender  $(r = .10)^{.142}$ Boys displayed better historical knowledge of aspects such as technology. However, there were also peculiarities related to gender in different countries. For example, while significant differences might exist in a country like Czechia, the differences might not be as significant in Denmark. The boys are also said to be "better informed" in all countries. But the exact nature of this "informedness" is not clear, except a mention of the "chronological ordering of ships". However, the differences between the percentages of girls and boys were smaller in the European study when knowledge pertained to the "ranking of economic structures". 143 Numerous other studies have indicated the differences in responses between boys and girls on a variety of social issues. For example, Harter (1990)<sup>144</sup> theorises on how girls construct self-views in more life domains than do boys. The studies of Dusek and Flaherty (1981)<sup>145</sup> explored girls' attitude to subjects as compared to boys. Block and Robins (1993)<sup>146</sup> highlight the interpersonal correlation of girls as opposed to the self-orientation of boys. Knox et al (2000) assert that boys are psychologically less mature than girls and therefore less able to generate explicit feared possible selves.

The Cape Town study was delving into deeper forms of historical knowledge pertaining to issues peculiar to debates and attitudes to controversial issues in the South African context, such as the land question and therefore generated more rich data.

<sup>142</sup> See Youth and History survey, A110

<sup>143</sup> See Youth and History survey, A110

<sup>144</sup> See Knox et al, 2000

<sup>145</sup> See Knox et al, 2000

6.10.4. School type (race)

There is no correlation between school type and historical consciousness.

The contradictory percentages for the township schools in the experimental group in terms of the same type of consciousness could suggest the existence of a hidden variable responsible for the decrease in "outside school" historical consciousness amongst learners from former African schools where political consciousness has traditionally been high and would have expectedly been higher given the intervention. Interestingly, they started off with a high score on "outside school" historical consciousness before the intervention. The unexpected thus happened. See table 6.2.

Although the levels of consciousness remained constant for former white schools in the experimental group indicating no influence by the intervention, this was contradicted by the individual scores of the school suggesting more-than-on-the-surface complexity. School 7 showed significant increase on "outside school" historical consciousness while there was a disappointing drop in scores for school 4. See tables A.4 and A.7.

While the percentage for "outside school" consciousness increased for former coloured schools (for possible reasons explained above), the percentage for former African schools in the experimental group decreased unexpectedly. See table 6.2.

Both the learners and teachers at township schools 5 and 6 (normally associated with high political awareness in South Africa) appear to share an interest in politics (i.e. high percentages for HC1). The HC1 percentage for school 5 remained relatively high after the intervention although the HC1 percentage for school 6 decreased to middle consciousness percentage. (See tables A.5 and A.6.)

Ex-coloured schools in the experimental group (schools 1 and 5) showed an increase in "outside school" historical consciousness from middle to high. (The score for school 5 remained fairly constant and the score for school 1 increased significantly.) See tables A.1 and A.5. This could

146 See Knox et al, 2000

be explained in terms of teacher influence (displaying a high historical consciousness themselves) as well as the authors of the text (being historically and politically rooted in the populist history tradition predominant at former coloured schools). What was also interesting were the various approaches to the teaching of history that the teachers had. Black teachers in the study focussed on storytelling and memory as a main form of construction of this recent past and apartheid as the major contexts (Geyer, 1996). In contrast, white teachers emphasised a "future" approach. The black teachers focussed on a "past" approach. But this finding cannot be generalized to school type per se as there was no supporting evidence at school 6 (a township school) where there was an unexpected drop in both "outside" and "inside" school historical consciousness. See table A.6.

Case studies 3 and 4 illustrate how the learners at former black and coloured working class schools differed in their approach to discriminating terminology during the intervention compared with learners at the middle class former coloured school. Both groups were exposed to the intervention as part of the experimental group, illustrating that integrated schools (school 1) were dealing very differently to issues than those who were still essentially living the realities of "apartheid" (Marks, 2000) at schools in terms of demographics and language (school 6), but there was no supporting evidence for tracking historical consciousness along school type in the quantitative data.

#### 6.11. Summary

This chapter described and explained how the research design was operationalised to measure historical consciousness as related to an intervention amongst learners of average age 15 years studying history in Cape Town in grade 10. The researcher is cognisant of the complexities operative in schools and the many variables outside of the school that are said to influence historical consciousness as relating to the growing up process of teenagers, socialization within the family and community, the school environment, the role of teachers and so on. The researcher explained how the data was cleaned up and organised to facilitate interpretation and analysis of data generated from a complex environment. Two indicators were therefore developed to measure both "outside school" (HC1) and "inside school" (HC2) consciousness. Given the complexity of the school as a research site as reported in chapter 5, the researcher identified units of analysis in measuring historical consciousness in such a complex and dynamic

environment where many agencies and hidden variables are operative. Though basing the quantitative research design on the European study, the researcher identified and explained the use of the units of analysis of school type (race), class, language and gender. These units of analysis are used to identify and explain possible patterns showing a correlation between school type (race), class, language and gender and historical consciousness. The levels of consciousness are categorized into "high", "middle" and "low" and changes are evaluated against fluctuations within these levels. The impact of the intervening variable (the intervention to increase historical consciousness) is also analysed in terms of these units of analysis. In both the operationalisation of the research design and the analysis of the findings, the researcher draws on the European study.

The main empirical conclusions are that there is an existent positive correlation between historical consciousness of youth of average 15 years studying history in grade 10 in Cape Town schools pertaining to class and gender. There is no existent correlation between historical consciousness and school type (race). The existent level of historical consciousness as relating positively to class and gender does not change with an intervention aimed at increasing the level of historical consciousness, but further affirms it. Hence the positive correlation that remains after the intervention relating to class and gender. Unexpectedly, there is no change in historical consciousness as relating to school type (race) after the intervention. It is difficult to ascertain the correlation as pertaining to language group, given the close historical link between class and language in South Africa.

#### **CHAPTER 7**

## CONCLUSION

# 7.1. Confirmation of existent forms of historical consciousness

The intervention brought about no significant increase in the "inside school" nor "outside school" historical consciousness amongst youth of average 15 years in grade 10 history classrooms in Cape Town. The percentages for "inside school" and "outside school" historical consciousness remained constant in the experimental group.

While the percentages for the experimental group remained constant, they did not increase as expected as the intervention was set up precisely for this purpose. The percentages for the experimental groups for these variables remained constant, suggesting that possible hidden variables could account for a decrease in historical consciousness in youth who are not exposed to a populist history intervention.

It can therefore not be empirically concluded that when youth are exposed to populist history over a *limited* period that they would show an increased "outside school" or "inside school" historical consciousness even though an intervention might aim to increase such a consciousness. A significant finding is that the case for an already *existent historical consciousness* related to the variables of class and gender holds. Instead of increasing the levels of historical consciousness, the intervention resulted in a *surfacing* of long-held attitudes, perceptions and beliefs of people, society, the past, the present and the future. The intervention succeeded in bringing these complex layers of variables and related factors that impact on perceptions and attitudes to the *surface*. Given this *complexity*, it was also concluded that an empirical study of historical consciousness amongst youth through an intervention over a limited period of time is risky, if not of little value.

# 7.2. High historical consciousness is not necessarily related to action in the present

Those learners who showed high levels of historical consciousness in the experimental group were unexpectedly not necessarily "acting" on this consciousness as observed within the school and as reported by their teachers. Case study 1 of the former coloured working class school (school 5) is a case in point. Though the learners at this school displayed a very high level of "outside school" consciousness in both the qualitative and quantitative data (see case study 1 and table A.5), they still seemed trapped in apartheid past - materially, culturally and psychologically. This was in contradiction to the qualitative findings where they spoke with deep insight on the relevance of the My New World text with regard to self-affirmation, the Truth Commission and racism. Furthermore, to these learners Africa remained somewhere else and they still demonised its people as "uncivilised". As the teacher observed, "[Hulle sê] Meneer, swart mense is violent. Ons mag nie meer Betties toe gaan oor die brug nie [waar Uganda plakkerskamp nou is]". 147 ("Sir, black people are violent. We may no longer cross the bridge to Betties, where Uganda squatter Camp is.") These learners were definitely "dislocated from their reality and consciousness as Africans" (Mamdani, 1998). Though they have been exposed to an intervention which exposed colonialism and racism, they (except for a few individuals) seemed imprisoned in an apartheid perspective of communities and people in South Africa. These learners were not seeing themselves as Africans, but as people with an identity in the local context, "We find our identity in 'die bult se mense' (the people of the hill) or 'in die gat se mense' (in the people of the hole) in our neighbourhood..." (Teacher's journal, Appendix 3, school 5) This case study illustrates that there seems much sense in the claims of Serote (2000) on the fears that Africa still stirs up fear in people and that of Marks (2000) on South African communities that are still living the boundaries of apartheid. This case study also illustrates the impact of economic factors on the capacity of working class learners to "act" on a historical consciousness, to become "agents of change", to actively uphold values associated with such a consciousness. The teacher at this school (Mr Plaatje) indicated that it was hard to teach in the township where children are porn actors and actresses for sex trade agents over weekends and after school; history was perhaps far away from their real lives, their lived experience, their need for survival. The younger generation is exposed to the economic experiences (and hardships in this instance) of their elders (Mannheim and Seger, 1993). Hence, understandably, the youth of

<sup>147</sup> Interview, teacher at school 5

this community were protecting their survival measures against poverty such as when 1 challenged them on the notorious "yards" that breed crime and which are counter to the values promoted in the My New World text. It could not be ascertained with certainty that they were using the skill of judgement and the values acquired in the history classrooms to be critical of these yards. This drew silence and tension from the group. They seemed to have found it difficult to make a connection between South African history and exploitation and abuse of young women within their own communities. There is perhaps no perceived connection between tackling the controversies related to colonialism and apartheid and practices of exploitation in their own social context. Yet these girls showed a high level of consciousness. See table A.5 and case study 1. As Cross (1993) points out that "survival techniques" such as gang culture are responses to socio-economic systems to fight poverty. Yards and gangs provide therefore what society fails to give; they are attempts at resolving contradictions of unemployment and poverty in society. Perhaps in a new democracy they become an even more rational and urgent choice for solving societal problems in the immediate present, rather than focusing on a perhaps "elusive" present.

# 7.3. The impact of various levels of identity amongst youth on historical consciousness

There are various levels of complexity associated with how youth see themselves and their place in society - an emergent sense of identity as related to "others". Unexpectedly, amongst African subjects there is no evidence of a sense of "sharing" space, of African communal ownership. Interestingly, they find strong identity in place and ownership. Cross (1993) draws our attention to the emergence of a different youth culture in South Africa that has to be understood beyond resistance terms. He speaks of youth "subcultures" that can save us from the tendency to "romanticise" black South African youth as historical conscious "soldiers". Youth culture is much more complex, he maintains. He warned of the "unexpected outcomes" in the long run once the political crisis has been resolved. Kroger (1993) speaks about the impact of changing historical circumstances on the process of identity formation, how historical epoch might affect the psychosocial components that are viewed as important to one's ego identity as well as the mode that one uses to address identity defining roles or values. "Learners' attitudes are

# Stellenbosch University http://scholar.sun.ac.za

influenced by the influx of foreigners in their areas especially from the countries north in Africa."148

It must also be noted with regard to perceptions of identity and history in both working class township schools 5 and 6 (See case studies 1 and 3) that historical consciousness can be shown not only positive but also negative as social groups see themselves as "belonging to a group" with a common memory and opposing perceptions of the meaning and significance of history. This could also mean a hostility towards other communities, also defined as "conflicting levels of consciousness", which expresses itself in turning mainly against immigrants and other cultures; enemies are explained by using history - but "without coming to terms with the past". <sup>149</sup> The cardinal question therefore remains to what extent were the learners at schools 5 and 6 still in the process of coming to terms with the past? It was also difficult to ascertain whether learners at the "polite" and "politically correct" middle class schools were identifying themselves in the same hostile way.

Interestingly, although the learners at school 6 struggled with expressing themselves, they did speak with confidence and used language to label people who they considered as "other" in South Africa. (See case study 3.) Therefore, an interesting outcome of the intervention, is the strong link that learners at black working class schools make between language, history and "who they are", perhaps also illustrating language and construction of meaning as indirectly related to both historical consciousness and identity. The impact of the parents' attitude on the historical consciousness of the respondents has not been established.

## 7.4. The "silence" of girls in different social contexts

In general, the findings of the Cape Town study contradict the theory of girls "losing voice" as they enter adolescents, when they are said to exhibit a reluctance to speak about their thoughts, when they are more willing to trust the knowledge and experience of others; when the avoidance of conflict is firmly rooted and the bold expression heard in the younger girls is gone - the time when women go "underground" with their voices and knowledge (Dorney, 1995). This kind of

<sup>148</sup> Teacher's journal, school 6149 Youth and History, A21

silence was only noted amongst coloured girls in the former white schools in both the experimental and control groups (schools 2 and 4) as noted in the interview with the teacher journal of school 2 (see case study 6) and the focus group interview of school 4 (see case study 2). They were silent on the Group Areas Act (school4) and the "Hotnot" question (school 2). Collins (1991) speaks of a "dual consciousness" of marginalised groups, especially women in predominant white contexts - of "deafening silences". Habermas' (1971) speaks of the "ideal argument" situation which can only occur in an "ideal social situation", while Lewis (1993) notes that although silence can be oppressive and repressive, it can also be a form of resistance. McLaren (1995) identifies such silences as one of the new forms of articulation of social discontent, manifested no longer in active victimisation, but perhaps signaling displacement. While this silence might be peculiar to girls in certain social contexts where they might feel marginalised (such as in previously white schools), the theory cannot be generalised for all adolescent girls. For example, evidence is found in the qualitative data of working class girls as being confident and vocal (such as correcting the boys on historical facts and issues of judgement as in the case of township working class schools 5 and 6 as well as those girls who are taught by confident female teachers as in the case of the former white school 4 when the girls turned up for the interview and the boys stayed away). See case studies 1, 2 and 3.

Furthermore, even though the working class girls at the coloured school showed a high level of consciousness in both the quantitative and qualitative data, they did not act this out in real life such as in the case of the girl who disappeared with the gangsters to join activities in the notorious yard, confirming the theory of the school as a site for social and cultural reproduction where working class children are marginalised. See table A.5 and case study 1.

### 7.5. Recommendations for further research

What this study illustrates is the need to generate further research questions on the possible hidden variables operative in historical consciousness amongst youth in South Africa through setting up research designs that would be able to identify and examine such variables more closely. Such variables could include teacher attitudes, teaching method, school environment, language, generation and school type (race). Moreover, comparative studies on youth and history

<sup>150</sup> Derogatory and racist term used during apartheid referring to coloured people

as relating to countries in transition might prove more useful than superficial comparisons as in the European-wide study. The variables and factors that could be considered for future studies on the question of youth and historical consciousness in South Africa are discussed below.

# 7.5.1. Teachers as a key variable

The study did not succeed in ascertaining the exact nature of the impact of teacher attitudes and perceptions of the past, present and future on the levels of consciousness of the learners. What was interesting was that all the teachers in the study emphasised in the questionnaire the study of South Africa's most recent past (apartheid, negotiations, the TRC) as important for meaning and purpose in their own teaching, confirming the theory of the essence of post-colonial politics (McEachern, 1998) - as relating to history teaching. Yet, when the experimental group encountered the intervention there was a very strong reaction from white teachers to this kind of history for the classroom, questioning its legitimacy as "worthwhile knowledge". These were the teachers who wanted to stress the positive rather than negative aspects of South Africa's past or avoid it altogether - similar to what Apple (1990) describes as "rescuing history" from the political (i.e. a "consensus history"). See case study 2. Nor did the teachers reflect on how they were learning from the learners, i.e. Vygotsky's (1978)<sup>151</sup> notion of the social nature of learning whereby development occurs only in and through the social interactions between people. This was especially not reflected in the journals of former white schools where there was in fact a wealth of opportunities for "interacting epistemologies" (Lyon 1990) which could have impacted on the findings. Historical consciousness is in fact not "linear". (See Appendix 3, teachers' journals of schools 4 and 7.)

Interestingly, there was a huge drop in the "inside school" historical consciousness at school 2 (the control group where the teacher acted strongly to the text as "hate driven"). The score of the girls dropped from 85,7% to 14,3%. The particular "silence" of the coloured girls in this former white school (as noted by the teacher) was interesting and could have accounted for this significant drop. The teacher (a fellow woman) was tense and anxious. See table A.2. and case study 6.

<sup>151</sup> See Shechtman, 1993

Furthermore, in the European survey it was found that the stated political interest of teachers is not the same as their learners'; teachers being more interested in these issues than their learners. Teachers tend to give socially acceptable answers or they could simply be more interested in political issues than 15-year-old teenagers. However, the extremely high political interest among Near Eastern students is not fully shared by their teachers<sup>152</sup>, illustrating the complexities involved in the relationship between teacher and students.

Are South African teachers also perhaps in search of their own redefinition of their relationship with the country's recent past which continues to haunt the present? (Oppelt, 1999). Ms Swartz observed that "history is about relationships with people; the way we understand people and the way they view the future; no other subject can do it; it's about one's identity [touches her chest], about us as persons, about where we fit in...into the whole scheme of things." However. Aronowitz and Giroux (1975) point out the naïve assumption that social change is synonymous with a change in individual consciousness. Teachers therefore had varied views on the purpose of history in relation to post-1994 South Africa. Dryden's study (1999) highlights the confusion regarding what teachers are expected to teach in the post-1994 period. As Stein, Smith and Silver (1999) point out that teachers filter information about new ways of teaching through their prior knowledge of being a student, as well as through cultural images of what teaching should look like; that their prior knowledge and experiences assume greater weight given the lack of wider shared visions of what new teaching practices would entail. In this situation, Stein, Smith and Silver (1999) point out that teachers naturally fill in the gray areas with knowledge of their past experience. Hence, Muller (2000:19) begs: "What is to prevent the poorly trained teacher from straying from the intentions of the curriculum, or the politicized teacher from subverting these to her or his own political agenda?"

The tensions and confusions around the teaching of history in the new South Africa were not reflected in the quantitative data (the teachers all seemed progressive and "comfortable with the new South Africa"), but the opposite emerged during field visits to former white school sites.

Teachers clearly wanted to talk about their lives, frustrations, depressions and experiences – both the experimental and control group. The researcher was there to listen to teachers providing them

<sup>152</sup> See Youth and History, p.150

with an opportunity to "pour out". I had to often watch the clock and call an end to the "talk" at all schools. Teachers spoke endlessly right into the car park when I was leaving and all the time assured me that "there was over enough time, we can talk" - even when the siren wailed for the next period. The teachers were developing a relationship with me, either one of camaraderie (as in the case of black teachers) or a polite, cautious, antagonistic, suspicious stance (as in the case of white teachers)<sup>153</sup>.

It was clear that the strong perceptions and prejudgments of the teachers' sense of "history", their individual biographies, their sense of "facts" and truth" were racially determined and transcended the intervention in the experimental design. White teachers seemed over eager to be "politically correct" as "agents of change". Even when they were showing strong opposition to the text, they wanted to illustrate that they were "compensating for their guilt". The white teachers were responding racially and drew "us" and "them" lines, showing anxiety about a history that they saw as "emotional" and "hate-driven". The same emerged from the European study regarding teacher expectancy and interest; teachers and headteachers praised the project and judged it to be important and interesting.

Teachers were seemingly grappling with new issues regarding youth they were teaching who essentially had very different worldviews and realities to them. This proved to be more stressful for both the black activist-generation (learners do not share in all instances passion for the past and issues) and the white – professional – generation (who found issues too close to the bone, who were haunted by guilt, who thought that the issues were hate-driven, that they were not teaching history, that the history was not factual, that the history was too emotive). An even strong, unexpected response came from the control group (school 2), which was very similar to white teachers in the experimental group. (Compare case studies 2 and 6.)

# 7.5.2. The influence of classroom atmosphere

Schechtman (1993) says that it is likely classroom climate that may affect attitudes, as expected by educators for processes like democracy and social transformation. The inculcation of these values might therefore have a lot to do with climate of the classroom and school such as an open

<sup>153</sup> This was not the case for the teacher in the Hawthorne control group.

classroom atmosphere in which learners can freely express themselves, can openly discuss controversial issues and political issues rather than the curriculum (Boyer, 1990; Wood, 1988). As noted by Ms Swartz in the experimental group during the intervention, "... its exciting. I'm learning all the time. They [the learners] are actually thinking. You can see on their faces. They were bringing up these controversial issues; they commented freely. I liked that. We always had that, but the tension stayed. It's the ...approach that got them going. They get the sense that they can talk without inhibitions. There were no tensions, only healthy argument." (Teacher's journal, school 1)

Hence, in a similar experimental research design intervention in democracy education in six high schools in a major city in northern Israel, it was found that in discussing controversial issues in a democratic atmosphere enhanced the students' sense of belonging (Schechtman, 1993). It was a combination of the classroom atmosphere and the intervention itself (in terms of curriculum content) that influenced attitude and values.

This seemed to be the case for the relatively low "inside school" (HC2) and "outside school" historical consciousness (HC2) for school 4 (See table A.4.) where the teacher was very conscientiously engaged in a more Socratic style of teaching. Yet, interestingly, this was not the case for school 1 (with its middle "outside school" historical consciousness and high "inside school" historical consciousness) where a similar teaching style was employed. (See table A.1.) This indicates that other variables were also operating at school 1 which (combined with the Socratic method) resulted in a higher historical consciousness.

Teachers also (against their self-characterisation) seem to be more conservative than progressive. This could clearly impact on learner attitudes to a subject. Unlike their European counterparts who indicated their main frustration with history teaching as "shortage of teaching aids and materials" the majority of Cape Town teachers who participated in the study indicated "a lack of interest from students" as their main frustration. This was even the case for school 5 which showed a very high level of historical consciousness. (See table A.5.) European teachers did not feel that "lack of students' interest" in history was very important. Surprisingly, the "lack of

<sup>154</sup> Youth and History, p.161

<sup>155</sup> Youth and History, A105

students' interest" as the main problems of a history teacher ranks amongst the highest amongst Arab communities in Israel, 156 while political interest amongst their teachers is also of the highest. This could indicate that history teachers in countries in transition show a particular anxiety regarding the interest of their students in school history. There was also no significant difference between the motivation for history between the "post-socialist" East and the West 157 For example, the scores of teenagers on the relevance and meaning of history being almost similar for teenagers in Russia, Portugal and France. 158 Similarly, the fluctuations within "outside school" historical consciousness (HC1) and "inside school" historical consciousness (HC2) in the Cape Town study are general and not particular to any type of school. (See table 6.2.) This could be in huge contrast to studies that might have been conducted amongst youth on the Cape Flats and in the townships during the 1970s and 1980s in Cape Town. Interestingly, the overt political association with history as evident in the qualitative data of the township schools. is also found in sub samples of former socialist countries and the Arab and Palestinian communities; history teaching in all socialist countries was related to a strong theory about what history means - typical for countries in transition. 159 In the Cape Town study, the evidence was in the quantitative rather than qualitative data.

# 7.5.3. Investigating the text as a variable of meaning

The concepts of "text" and meaning also need to be investigated as a central agent in this research intervention. Apple (1990) notes that texts have various meanings for various communities with very different experiences of social reality. Communities with such distinctly different experiences therefore contest texts; they are therefore essentially subject to controversy, interpretation, mediation and negotiation as students read texts as members of a social group with their own particular culture and histories. The meaning of text is not necessarily intrinsic to it; there is not "one text", but multiple readings of a text nor can we assume that what is in a text is actually "learned" (Apple, 1990). Audiences construct their own responses and dialogue based on the text; they read them based on experiences (i.e. the Freirean notion of pedagogy). There could therefore be varied responses to the same text. Meaning is not self-generated; it is not

<sup>156</sup> See Youth and History Introduction, graph 41

<sup>157</sup> Youth and History, A105

<sup>158</sup> Youth and History, A105

<sup>159</sup> Youth and History, A105

wholly available to the active consciousness of autonomous agents. It is not removed from history, nor is it above politics, nor immune to ethical questioning (McLaren, 1995). The extent to which the attitude to the My New World text might have impacted on the attitudes as measured in the historical consciousness indicators has not been ascertained. Adolescents are not "passive" recipients and uncritical "producers" of knowledge as "given" and "fixed" entities. This has shown to be particularly the case (as derived from the qualitative data) in both working class and middle class schools (in the experimental group) regardless of race. Learners in the experimental group (regardless of class, former school type or language) were engaged in contesting each others' views, confirming the theory that schools are sites of contested knowledge (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1975). It is assumed that schools are laboratories for the attainment of values and associated consciousness (Schmuck and Schmuck, 1990). Lesko (1996) asserts that adolescents participate in multiple registers of meaning in social, cultural, and economic life. These factors and their impact on historical consciousness require further investigation.

# 7.5.4. Investigating the language question and its impact on measuring historical consciousness

The European study showed that the teenagers in Germany, Palestine and "Arab Israel" did not score significantly high on the questions relating to the meaning and relevance of history – contrary to expectations. However, the score for teenagers in Scotland was much higher which could perhaps indicate to some extent the importance of language (in this case English) as a variable in a quantitative study – given the fact that Germany, Palestine and Scotland would similarly be expectedly high on the historical consciousness scale.

Similarly, it must be borne in mind that language is a more complex rather than simple variable in the South African context. The European study encountered problems similar to this study in the sense that language lends itself to a *purpose* of studies themselves as learners might hold different connotations of words and concepts in their languages. This presents significant problems for applying "scientific research methods" in "cross cultural" societies. <sup>161</sup> For example, though the researcher made every effort to minimise the impact of the language question given

161 See Youth and History survey, A232

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> All three countries are politically volatile given present or past divisions

the problems with English in African schools through a pilot-test of the questionnaires (unlike the European study where there were complaints of complicated terms and expressions such as in the Ukraine 162), the impact of the language question was still significantly felt during the intervention and teaching process. Hence, the language problem posed a huge crisis to the intervention at the African township school 6 (See case study 3.) As Strauss (2000) notes that because of South Africa's general crisis in literacy (and further compounded by the language question), this country might have the best curriculum policy in the world but it does not become "reality" in the classroom. The qualitative data also supports the relevance of the theory of the "language of possibility" and "ideal speech situation" (Habermas, 1971). If students are to be empowered by school experiences, they must "acquire mastery of language" as well as a capacity to think conceptually and critically" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1975). Unlike the opinion of the researchers in Europe, it cannot be concluded that the language problem is part of the everyday life of teachers and therefore does not bear significant implications for the findings 163. The language question in South Africa remains a central variable and component of both empirical and qualitative research on historical consciousness in South Africa. We express our sense of the past, present and future and the way they interrelate through the use of language.

## 7.5.5. Investigating generational differences in historical consciousness

The studying of a particular age group has its limitations as the adolescent period is "fragile", with biological and psychological changes occurring rapidly within a short space of time, making it therefore difficult and risky to measure historical consciousness amongst youth of average age 15 years in a reliable way. According to those who conducted the European study, "historical consciousness" covers a complex concept central to our individual and collective identity; it has a bearing on our values and interests and it influences our attitudes and actions. <sup>164</sup> Some of these attitudes and concepts take a longer time to develop and have more sources of influence than just the school instruction. <sup>165</sup> Future studies could, for example, consider the period of intervention (for example, perhaps longer than 6 weeks) or tracing individual cases from teenage to adulthood. Hence, there seems more sense in conducting studies on historical consciousness

<sup>162</sup> See Youth and History, A31

<sup>163</sup> Youth and History, A22

<sup>164</sup> Youth and History, A22

<sup>165</sup> Youth and History, A30

involving generations of youth over longer periods of time and within various historical contexts. One example could be a comparative study of the youth generation of 1986, compared to 1990 and 1994 – given these to be very significant periods in South African history. A research focus could be their perceptions of the past, present and future South Africa (in terms of how historical consciousness relates to values) and the changes that have come about. This should involve surveys and triangulation through in-depth case studies in order to provide a good foundation for recommendations for policy.

## 7.5.6. Comparative studies with countries in transition

For any meaningful in-depth research on historical consciousness amongst youth, it might prove to be very useful to narrow comparisons down to case studies involving countries that are similar, such as countries in transition or those dealing with deeply divided communities such as South Africa compared to Rwanda, or to Northern Ireland, or to Chile, or to the Middle East. This study found much common ground with the initial findings on youth and history in Palestine / Israel and former Eastern Europe. For example, in nearly every European country the "present" was seen as more important than the "future" for teenagers with an exception of countries such as Poland and Palestine. 166 The historical consciousness of South African youth seems closer to those of youth in regions or countries such as Palestine and Poland, still working towards transition. The South African respondents showed a middle historical consciousness on both "inside school" and "outside school" consciousness, the one not outweighing the other. This could indicate that teenagers in a country in transition attach perhaps value to their sense of history in terms of both the society they are striving for as well as their present situation. The low interest in politics and democracy shown by teenagers in the European study is explained in terms of a "situation of a generation and an age group", an outline of youth style, as specific to "youth culture". 167 The Cape Town study shows that this is more complex; that youth themselves are diverse in perceptions of society, culture, identity and politics depending on social, economic, cultural, political and historical experience. Closer comparative studies of Rwanda, Northern Ireland, Chile and the Middle East might prove useful in this regard.

<sup>166</sup> See Youth and History survey, A68

# 7.5.7. Concluding remarks

This study shows the risks involved in conducting empirical research on such a complex notion such as historical consciousness amongst youth of average 15 years in a society undergoing transition. Smaller in-depth studies and comparative studies delving into the various layers of complexity might prove more useful than an empirical research design adapted from the European study. It might be more useful to examine how these complexities impact on youth consciousness of the past, present and future and concomitant values than on the question of how historical consciousness and associated values can be impacted on in an experimental research design. Schools as research sites are too complex, with various agencies and a range of factors operating on the curriculum, on the school environment, on the teachers and on the texts. In short, variables and forms of agency differ necessarily from one research site to the next.

For this very reason, it would therefore make sense to locate case studies on historical consciousness and youth through the method of triangulation within the broader quantitative methodology. As Metz (2000) points out that survey research seeks to understand social processes underlying complex behaviour by aggregating individual attitudes and behaviour and studying their correlation with social characteristics of the actors, seeking to identify and measure the magnitude and direction of broad social influences; groups both form social systems and cultural patterns of their own and accommodate their lives to the diverse groups around them and the larger societal systems of which all are a part. Metz emphasises, therefore, that the social world is far too complex to be captured by a single methodology.

Lather (1991) explores what it means to do empirical research in an unjust world, asserting in the Freirian sense, that just as there is no neutral education there is no neutral research, promoting therefore the notion of research as "praxis". Emancipatory research approaches involve both the researcher and researched becoming "the changer and the changed" (Lather, 1991: 56). This involves "passionate scholarship", as a response to the "needs of oppressed people" (1991:63).

This is where I started as a critical social researcher when I embarked on this research project, coming from a working class family as a black woman schooled in Freirian pedagogy as a teacher activist and an academic on the Cape Flats. These sociological factors inform the cultural

capital that I bring to my research and writing as teacher, researcher, academic and professional. I have therefore come to reflect on my research methodology and findings in a reflexive way. Yet, I remain a passionate scholar finding the many truths in the complexity of the real world which provide many possibilities of interpretation.

Lather (1991) asserts that there are no absolute scientific truths; truth is an increasing complexity; there are therefore different possibilities of making sense of the human experience. And, furthermore, Muller (2000:13) alerts that this "domain of everyday life" is seldom total or hegemonic.

Whilst this research shows that an intervention does not in itself directly produce an increase in historical consciousness amongst Cape Town youth if such an intervention takes place over a limited period of time, it neither provides evidence to disprove the relevance of a school history rooted in values and in the populist historiographical tradition. However, it alerts policy makers to the need to examine more closely through a more integrative research methodology (than what the limited European survey offers) on the development of teacher training programmes, on the design of curricula, on the implementation of curricula as pertaining to language policy, on assessment policies on values, on gender issues, on identity issues, on school environments and on the language question.

As Muller (2000: 140 – 141) explains that we do not and cannot say to ourselves, "now I will fall in love", because at a certain moment, I find myself in love 168; that perhaps empowerment is such a state, something we have to find ourselves in rather than actively pursue in and of itself. He expounds that a direct outcome expected might not be produced (own emphasis), but rather frustration at its non-production, which might by its very nature provide the conditions, which the original innocent intention could not do. Empowerment (or the desired outcome) becomes therefore the by-product rather than product itself. We should therefore be more mindful about the complex personal and social dynamics involved when we embark on "social missions" in unequal societies (2000:141).

<sup>168</sup> Referring here to Elster (1982).

# **APPENDICES**

#### **APPENDICES**

#### APPENDIX 1

#### **TABLES**

# Detailed statistical results of learner surveys per school

Please note: % refers to proportion of learners scoring on HC1 or HC2 where applicable.

#### Table A.1.

# School 1 (Experimental)

(Ex HOR, middle class, English, Cape Flats)

	BEFORE		AFTER			
	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2		
Boys	47,8%	65,2%	55,6%	55,6%		
Girls	47,1%	70,6%	68,8%	93,8%		
All learners	47,5%	67,5%	61,8%	73,5%		

#### Table A.2.

# School 2 (Control)

(Ex HOA, middle class, Afrikaans, City Centre)

BEFORE

Ex-HOA Control

	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2	
Boys	70,0%	70,0%	75,0%	62,5%	
Girls	42,9%	85,7%	42,9%	14,3%	
All learners	58,8%	76,5%	60,0%	40,0%	

AFTER

#### Table A.3.

# School 3 (Control)

(Ex-DET, working class, English and Xhosa, Khayelitsha)

# **BEFORE**

#### **AFTER**

	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2	
Boys	60,0%	50,0%	83,3%	41,7%	
Girls	62,5%	70,6%	53,8%	46,2%	
All learners	61,5%	63,0%	68,0%	44,0%	

# Table A.4.

# School 4 (Experimental)

(Ex-HOA, middle class, English, Northern Suburbs)

#### **BEFORE**

#### **AFTER**

Alaska	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2
Boys	60,0%	20,0%	20,0%	0,0%
Girls	53,8%	53,8%	25,0%	45,5%
All learners	55,6%	44,4%	23,5%	31,3%

#### Table A.5.

# School 5 (Experimental)

(Ex-HOR, working class, Afrikaans, Cape Flats, Northern Suburbs)

#### **BEFORE**

#### **AFTER**

	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2
Boys	68,2%	86,4%	78,3%	91,3%
Girls	86,7%	93,3%	66,7%	100%
All learners	75,7%	89,2%	73,7%	94,7%

#### Table A.6.

# School 6 (Experimental)

(Ex-DET, working class, English and Xhosa, Khayelitsha)

# **BEFORE**

#### **AFTER**

	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2	
Boys	100,0%	46,2%	83,3%	54,5%	
Girls	79,2%	54,2%	56,0%	40,0%	
All learners	86,8%	51,4%	64,9%	44,4%	

# Table A.7.

# School 7 (Experimental)

(Ex-HOA, middle class, English, Southern Suburbs)

#### **BEFORE**

#### **AFTER**

	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2	
Boys	28,6%	38,1%	55,6%	44,4%	
Girls	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
All learners	28,6%	38,1%	55,6%	44,4%	

#### Table A.8.

# **School 8 (Hawthorne Control)**

(Private, working class to middle class, English, City Centre)

#### **BEFORE**

#### **AFTER**

Alberta Lorenza C	HC1	HC2	HC1	HC2	
Boys	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Girls	85,7%	75,0%	85,7%	61,5%	
All learners	85,7%	75,0%	85,7%	61,5%	

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**APPENDIX 2** 

**CASE STUDIES** 

Case Study 1

School 5 (ex HOR, Afrikaans, working class)

Ethnographic context of the school

I drive to this school on a winter's morning via a bordering township with its name of Dutch origin. Many middle-aged men are standing around, leaning over fences, standing in groups – obviously unemployed. It is a bleak Monday morning. I spot a few men pushing the disabled in wheel chairs down the road. The township is quiet. A depressing atmosphere hangs in the air. Taxis drive recklessly. Passengers stare blankly. Women stand waiting for public transport. The men seem to have nowhere to go on a Monday morning. The notorious "yards" are clearly visible; heads of suspicious-looking unemployed men pop over high sheets of corrugated iron fences with every passing vehicle. The men seem empty eyed, idle. There is a noticeable absence of women on the streets. The atmosphere is quiet, yet tense. The school is strangely protected from its own community – barbed wire and two vigilant security guards who question every visitor and who keep the gates tightly locked. Visitors' cars are not allowed to be parked in school grounds, but in a demarcated area separated by a high wire fence from the staff's parking area. Visitors' movements are closely monitored. The school's secretary is alert and interrogates all visitors. The school's entrance is "hidden away" from public access. The school is clearly under attack from outsiders or the community itself.

Mr. Plaatje's voice: Finding a place in the sun

"Ek weet self van rassediskriminasie! Ek het Boesman en Khoisan in my! [hits fist on the table]. Ek moes Kaap toe kom na die enigste universiteit vir kleurlinge. Ek kon nie by Wits en RAU studeer nie...Dit was die eerste keer dat ek toe Kaap toe kom, na UWK toe in 1974. Ons het

Theal en die setlaar historici gedoen. Dit was net 'n witperspektief, 'n totale vermorsing van tyd. Jy moes vat wat hulle jou gee, net om te slaag. My skoolonderwyser het 'n geweldige indruk op my gemaak. Hy was van Pretoria en as jy destyds van Pretoria was, en jy was "bruin" dan was jy progressief - die akademici van die bruingemeenskap - die Eersterus Intellectuals. En veral my eie ervaring van apartheid...Ek kan nie my antwoorde kry in 'n ander vak nie. Dit gaan oor menswees. Ek het derde klas gery. Ons was in die laaste klas. Dit was vir my vernederend om te gaan na die coach met die "3" op. Segregasie het by my vasgesteek veral met betrekking tot ontspanning. Ek onthou sterk die wedstryd by Ellis Park. Daar was 'n klein draadkampie vir die nie-Blankes. Daar het ek een keer gesit, want ek wou graag rugby speel. Dit was so ommenby 1972. Ek het karre gewas buite by Ellis Park vir bioscope geld en het nooit geweet wat binne aangaan nie...

\*[Mr Plaatje relates that he has experienced racial discrimination; this is his biography. He is coming to terms with his Khoisan ancestry, finding affirmation in that as part of his healing process to restore his own human dignity. He was forced to attend a university for "coloureds", the University of the Western Cape where he was taught a white perspective on history. He travelled third class as a "non-citizen" in apartheid South Africa. He remembers not being allowed to watch white sport at Ellis Park in 1972. He has a vivid recollection of dates, places and experiences of apartheid. He talks with passion and anger, hitting his fist on the table.]

"Tot op gister het ek by my joernaal gehou. Ek het begin by die huis, by Triomf. Ek het gesê gaan huis toe en vind uit wie van julle ouers besit hulle grond...Meneer, ons bly op die jaart by ander mense. Die mense by ....(die koophuise) kyk neer op die mense van huurhuise; daar is 'n gesindheid as gevolg van eienaarskap. Nee, nee, meneer ons is nie van die blikdeure nie... Meneer, hoekom moet ons rent betaal, maar mense in Uganda-kamp betaal nie rent nie? Hulle sit net huise op! Ek weet ons kinders is so [emphasises by making gesture with hands indicating "narrow"]. Daar was emosie [emphasis]. Dis hoekom my ouma nie wil praat oor die Goodwood verskuiwings nie. Vir ons gaan dit oor brood op die tafel. Vir ons gaan dit nie oor voëltjies nie. Die witmense is op yachts. In die lokasie is daar baie mense. Ons moet kinders grootmaak. Daar is nie tyd (vir die omgewing) nie. Dit gaan oor dag-tot-dag sake. Meneer, my ma het gesê die swartes gaan die huise afvat met geweld. Ons kinders het baie pro-wit gesindhede. Meneer,

swartmense is baie violent. Ons mag nie meer Betties toe gaan oor die brug nie. Ons bly van geslag tot geslag in council huise. Meneer, daar was mense wat drie weke uit hulle werk gebly het om pikkewyne te was! [disgust]. Aanvanklik was Saartjie vir hulle 'n snaakse verskynsel. Meneer, is dit waar? [suggestive of enlarged genitalia]. Hulle het 'n neiging om te gaan kyk hoe lyk swartmense. Hulle vra of dit waar is dat swart girls se genitalia buitensporig groot is. Hulle praat oor die 'ander' in 'n seksuele sin. Vir hulle, as gevolg van die media, is swart groter en beter."

\*[Mr Plaatje relates how the children discriminate in terms of the kind of doors they have; iron sheet doors as looked down on. These working class children are not concerned about the environment which they see as white people's concerns; to them it is about day-to-day issues, about bread on the table. But these children are also fearful of people that they associate with Africa; these people from Africa as "violent", as "other". They are scared to pass through the local squatter camp where "the people from Africa" live. They even see the Khoisan woman, Saartje Baartman, as "other" and they display an intense curiosity for the size and shape of the genitalia of black people."]

[On the next visit I meet Mr Plaatje during interval at the same place, his office. Students, teachers and maintenance staff members walk in and out to consult with him and to complain. In one case, a grade 8 class was complaining of used condoms being stuffed in their mouths by fellow students. Mr Plaatje deals with all complaints.]

"Ons kom agter, witmense oor die algemeen het houdings teenoor swartmense. Hulle besluit wie is mooi, perfek, volmaak, skoon...Die Khoisan-tesis is baie openbarend in die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis...om dit te verstaan. Die Sterkfonteinse ontdekking was onlangs, ook op gisteraand se televisie gesien die ontdekking in die Karoo van 15 miljoen jaar...Die leë land argument is 'n liegkwessie. Ook word daar nou geopenbaar dat die witmense het sekere goed geskryf om apartheid aan die lewe te hou. Hulle wil hê ons moet glo dat die grond nie beset was nie. Ons het gepraat van beledigende name. Ons het baie gepraat oor die term 'hotnotte'. Die kinders sê, swartmense sê ook vir ons 'maBoesman'. Hulle sê, Ja, name word gebruik om af te kraak, te verneder. Ons wou wit wees. Hulle praat toe van mense wat oorspronklik in Triomf gebly het,

wat lang blonde hare het en lig was, die 'Play Whites van Triomf' – wat toe uitgetrek het en in Sea Point gaan bly het. Hulle ken nou nie hulle familie in Triomf nie ... Vir ons was dit mos altyd reg en goed om wit te wees. Sodra dit wit is, is dit mooi. Wit is rein. Duiwels word as swart voorgestel, as wreed en barbaars. As jy mens wil wees, moet jy word soos die witmense. Anders is jy wreed, bloeddorstig en skelm. Hoe word swartmense geskilder, vra ek? As jy swart is, is jy skelm. Ons het gepraat van Judge Mohammed wat onlangs oorlede is en hoe daar vir die Vrystaat gevra is om aan hom verskoning te doen omdat hy nie as 'n Indiër in die apartheidsjare daar kon oornag nie. Ek vertel hulle toe van die pavement storie. Daar was niks waarde aan ons geheg nie. Jong boerseuns was aangemoedig om swartmense te slaan! [emphasis] want daar waar hy (die swartman) vandaan kom het hy kwaad aangedoen en slaan hom want dan is hy ook miskien op pad om weer kwaad aan te doen!

\*[Mr Plaatje displays strong feelings about white perceptions of civilization and beauty; that everything that is beautiful and decent is associated with "whiteness"; black is associated with that which is "ugly", "violent", a "thief" and "from the devil". He finds therefore a lot of meaning in teaching about the origins of people, such as the Sterkfontein archaeological excavations, things that teach about our common ancestry as people. He relates that his learners are concerned about derogatory terms for "coloured" people such as being called "maBoesman" by black people and also being referred to as "hotnotte". His learners relate stories about their families who have played "white" because they had long hair and fair skin; they moved into white areas like Sea Point. He speaks about apartheid experiences and stories in class such as the fact that he could not walk on a pavement in Pretoria and the story of the late Judge Mohammed who could not stay over in the town. He describes to learners in very vivid ways how blacks were beaten up by whites on the street for no reason as it was often assumed that they had done wrong in any case and would be on their way to do more harm, so they might as well be punished.]

(Hierdie geskiedenis)... gee menswaardigheid aan mens terug. Somewhere vir my is daar nou 'n plekkie onder die son. Dis 'n openbarende geskiedenis wat dinge oopmaak; dit maak dinge duidelik wat onduidelik was. Dis 'n tipe geskiedenis wat lankal overdue is. Ons moet baie meer hierdie geskiedenis doen; dit bring trots en eiewaardigheid.

\*[To Mr Plaatje, teaching populist history is about restoring human dignity; about finding a place in the sun. It is a revealing kind of history that demystifies issues. It is a history that is long overdue. It restores pride and self respect.]

Dit gee onmiddellik 'n ander kleur aan die vak. Ons het 'n obligation teenoor die kinders. Ons bou dan aan *nasietrots*. Ek weet nie hoe hulle kon gedink het om geskiedenis uit die kurrikulum te haal nie! (stamps fist on table) Hierdie benadering maak van geskiedenis nie meer 'n vak nie, maar 'n "meelewing". Ons het geskiedenis gedoen al die jare, maar as 'n weggooivak. Ek het vroeg in my loopbaan geskryf oor geskiedenis by hierdie skool as 'n ashoopvak. Dit het 'n baie negatiewe beeld gehad. Ek glo met *My Nuwe Wêreld* se benadering verander alles."

\*[To Mr Plaatje, teaching history in South Africa is part of the process of nation building. He is therefore disturbed that there were attempts to remove history from the curriculum shortly after 1994. The subject is in need of a revamp, and he thinks that My New World succeeds in doing this.]

#### Voice of the learners: We want to become shooting stars

"Die geskiedenis het ons bewus gemaak van goed wat ons nog nooit van geweet het tevore nie".

[girl]

[Girls more vocal / confident]

Die mense het sommer baie gelieg [emphasis] ...baie gelieg in die ou geskiedenisboeke. Die boek het vir ons bewus gemaak van goed, goed wat ons nie sou van geweet het as ons nie self uitgevind het nie. [dominant girl; very confident]

Vir my was dit ook 'n wonderlike experience...Ek het van geskiedenis gehou, maar dit was nie so interessant nie. [boy] Toe ons begin met die werk toe sien ek uit om na die geskiedenisklas toe te kom. Elke keer is dit lekker want ek kan my menings lig. Almal kan saampraat.

Vir my was dit baie lekker want elke dag het ek huis toe gegaan om met my uncle hieroor te gesels en dan sê ek vir Meneer...en my uncle het begin lees daarvan [girl] [others agreed, except one girl]

My suster het my gevra van die boek. Toe sê ek vir haar die boek het dinge na vore gebring...en het my laat dink, want ons was kleurlinge [emphasis]...ons was nie toegelaat om vir onsself te dink nie, ons het net die goed geleer soos die witmense vir ons die goed gegee het en die boek het vir ons laat weet, nee daai was verkeerd [girl]

Alles speel voor jou af, soos dit daai tyd was...soos 'n rolprent. [girl] So was dit vir my gewees. Jy kon jouself voorstel, vir jou verbeel om in daai tyd te wees.

Ja, in die boek hulle vra vir jou hoe sou jy gevoel het as jy in daai situasie was. [boy]

[Excitement from group; speak simultaneously]

Die boek is lekker "gemix", alles regdeur die wêreld wat gebeur het, nie aparte geskiedenis nie. [girl] Die boek het vir ons laat verder vat.

Ons het altyd gedink dis net ons se land wat veg oor grond, maar nou het ons uitgevind dat Amerika wat so "groot" is [raises eyebrows] hulle het ook geveg oor grond! [girl] Die Europeërs...nou verstaan ons Suid-Afrika beter. Dit is regoor die wêreld.

\*[To these learners this history is also revealing, telling them about things they have never known of before. It is an "experience" to know the truth and not lies. They are practicing empathy skills. It has given them the confidence to talk, to give their opinions. They are motivated to share their knowledge with their family members. They also realize that they are not alone in their struggle in South Africa; that dispossession issues are worldwide issues.]

Dis maar net ...ek het vir myself gesê ek kan myself uitskiet met die...ek kan na beter hoogtes gaan met die...ek kan betere word, want apartheid het net vir ons op 'n sekere vlak gebring en nie hoër nie tot waar ons wil wees...[particularly poor looking boy]

[Silence from girls]

[Another boy jumps in] Eintlik was die geskiedenis vir ons om vir onsself te dink en uit die dop uit te lig en om inligting te soek en om met mense te praat; dit is nie net enige geskiedenis nie. Dit is 'n geskiedenis wat daagliks gebeur in ons land. [boy]

In die apartheidsjare was die witmense eerste [emphasis], ons moes alles gedoen het wat hulle gedoen het...ons het nie eintlik 'n sê gehad nie, want hulle het regeer...en daai mense wat daai ou [emphasis] geskiedenis geskryf het is ook witmense...wie was in die prente? Witmense. Wie was die heroes? Witmense. Dit was net wit. Oral wat jy gesien het was wit. Ons kan nie in 'n

restaurant gesit het nie - "Whites Only". Hulle was basically eerste klas gewees. 'n Goeie ding van die boek is dat dit vir ons laat besef het dat ons is ook mense, alhoewel ons nie so gesien was deur hulle nie. (girl)

\*[To these students, this history helps them to become like shooting stars; they can go to "greater heights"; they can become "better", much higher than where apartheid has brought them. They can come out of their shells and speak about daily experiences in this country. During apartheid, whites were "first"; they were the heroes. Everything was white. They could not go to restaurants – it was "whites only". Whites were "first class". This history has helped them to realize that they are also people even though whites never saw them as such.]

[Boy interrupts] Die waarheid kom uit...

[He continues confidently] Ek voel gereed al om 'n standpunt in die lewe te neem [Girl interrupts, a chorus from the rest] Ons voel selfversekerd!

\*[This history has given them confidence in themselves because the truth has come out.

They can now take a position in life.]

Daar is baie baie werkloosheid in ons dorp [chorus, they look despondent, shake their heads...]

[Silence, discomfort. The researcher asks them about the "jaarts"; they shift uncomfortably...as if the researcher is invading]

[Then a simultaneous response as they correct the researcher] *Taverns!* [Discomfort with derogatory term "jaart"]

[How would they see the yards now that they are so "self assured"? Would they still feel pressured to go? Girls shift uncomfortably.]

[Silence]

As jy selfversekerd is dan sal jy nie gaan nie...Wat soek sulke jongmense soos ons op sulke plekke? [This girl avoids looking at the rest as if she is attacking someone in the group. A moment of tension sets in...] Dis deurmekaar [emphasis]. Hulle maak enige iets met die kinders...Daar is mense onder ons wat daar gaan; jou naam raak sleg as jy daar gaan...Dit laat

my sleg voel dat hulle toelaat dat sulke dinge met hulle gebeur [almost reprimanding the rest of the group]. Hulle dink ons dorp het nie 'n future vir hulle nie, nou vang hulle sulke dinge aan...omdat hulle nie verder dink nie, omdat hulle nie glo in hulleself nie...

[Another girl adds] Hulle dink nie verder as ons dorp nie...[uncomfortable silence in group]

Daars 'n jaart net agter ons; dis 'n steurnis vir my en my suster, veral sy wat in standerd tien is...Hulle maak geraas...My ma het gesê sy gaan vir die polisie bel, maar die polisie sê hulle kan niks daaraan maak nie...'n mens kan nie so leer nie (boy)

[Will it help with the "jaart " story...uncomfortable silence from whole group]
[Whole group avoids answering this question. Tension]

\*[There is tension around the discussion of the notorious "yards". The learners speak about unemployment in Triomf. The one girl attacks the group on frequenting these yards, stating that they must find faith in themselves and see some future in their town then they would not visit the yards. But the whole group takes offence to the term "yards", correcting the researcher to call it "taverns" as a more decent term. The "yards" is obviously an issue causing distress as it plays a double role, providing income as well as being the source of disturbance of the peace at night as well as of crime and child abuse in the community.]

[Noise] [Girl shouts, evades the question] Die meeste witmense is nog altyd verkramp; hulle is nog altyd dieselfde. Ek het al baie die ding oorgekom... gaan ek winkel toe na die witplekke soos Bellville...daai is mos nou die wit [emphasis] plekke, staan in 'n ry daar. Vir wie help hulle eerste? Die witmense! Ek het al baie daai ding oorgekom al. Dan se ek liewerste niks nie...

[Chorus as discomfort eases] Dit gebeur nog baie! Ons is mos die hotnotte, volgens hulle...

[Girl] Vir my persoonlik gee ek nie om vir rasse nie.

[Another girl] Die issue van die wit boer wat die swart werker agter sy bakkie gesleep het...Dit het my baie laat dink...die apartheid is nog daar; daai het my rêrig baie kwaad gemaak dat hulle nog altyd so lewe met die swartmense.

[Another girl] Daai meisie wat hulle gepaint het...daai was nie nodig gewees nie...daai was nie nodig gewees nie [repeat] [group agrees]

\*[The learners relate that they are still experiencing apartheid. To them white people are still prejudiced (verkramp). Whites still come first in the world that they experience. They talk with anger about the racist incidents reported in the media such as the case of the black girl being painted white for stealing in a shop and the black man being tied to the back of a van by white men and being dragged to his death.]

[Boy] Dis omdat hulle nog altyd dink aan die dinge van die verlede, die kwaad tussen wit en swart...

[Another boy, group gets excited] Daais ook nog 'n punt wat ek wil lig, die van die hoe se naam...?

[Girl assists him] Truth Commission

[He continues] ...daai is nie eintlik nodig nie; hulle moet dit net so los. Wat in die verlede gebeur het moet hulle daar los. Ons moet kyk vorentoe. Daar waar hulle nou sê hulle straf die mense...sal daai geld die geliefde terugbring wat doodgemaak is? Dit gaan niks maak nie. Daai geld is vir nou ...môre oormôre is daai een nie daar nie, dan is jy maar weer hartseer. Jy moet maar net sê kyk hier dis oraait ons sal nie weer daarna kyk nie; ons gaan almal saam; ons wil 'n nuwe toekoms bou...

[Girl interrupts] Daai kwaad sal daar bly maak nie saak hoeveel geld nie; as die mense bitter is, die geld kan niks doen aan die saak nie.

[Boy] As ek kyk die nuus- dood gaan nog altyd aan, maak nie saak nie ...

[Girl] De Kock wil nou voorkeur kry in die tronk, maar hy is 'n criminal net soos die ander, omdat hy wit is wil hy voorkeur hê...kyk hoeveel mense het met die Sharpeville massacre doodgegaan. Kyk wat moes die swartmense verda het...as jy vir hom so en so 'n tyd op die pad kry, slaan hom...daai was nie nodig nie...[refers to teacher's pavement story]

\*[The conversation turns to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. They debate on whether it had any value as people are still dying and maybe South Africans should forgive and forget. The TRC provides no compensation for death. South Africa must build on its future. They

quote the teacher's pavement story and express views that De Kock, who had to appear for apartheid crimes, is a criminal.]

[girl] Die boek het my baie laat nuus kyk. Ek kyk elke aand die nuus. En ek het nooit (emphasis) belanggestel in die nuus nie [talks without being probed]

[Another girl] Eers een keer 'n week gekyk, maar deesdae baie.

\*[They are watching the news; there is an increased interest.]

[What about the use of the word "kaffir"?]

[Girl] Die woord "kaffir" se betekenis het ek uitgevind; dis iemand wat nie in God glo nie. So ek weet nie waar kom die mense aan die woord vir swartmense nie [Boy interrupts] Dit is baie degrading [another girl]; dis asof jy vir hulle laat daal as jy dit sê [girl interrupts] want ons word hotnotte genoem, daai weet ek [boy interrupts] elke swartmens het ook sy eie godsdiens. [Girl interrupts] 'n Mens kry in elk geval different swartmense. Ek weet nie hoe die mense vir almal dieselfde sien nie.

[Very quiet girl comes out. Silent up till now] My ouma-hulle praat mos Xhosa, my ma-hulle almal. Hulle kom van Transkei, maar hulle is wit met groen oë en lang hare dan sê die kinders vir my ja julle gaan na julle kaffirfamilie toe. Dan voel ek so sleg en al daai dinge, dan voel ek nie so lekker nie...

[Girl] Ek wil ook swarttale leer... Gewoonlik as my ouers gepraat het van "kaffirs" het ek ook saamgeluister en gepraat, dan sê ek "ja, daais die kaffirs" (whispers). Ek het nie gesien nie, maar my oë is nou oopgemaak. Maar nou sê ek hulle is verkeerd as hulle so praat.

\*[The researcher challenged them on the racist term "kaffir" often used in Triomf to refer to black people. They defend themselves by referring to the use of "hotnotte" by black people referring to "coloureds". Then a discussion on the meaning of the term "kaffir" erupts. One boy says there are in any case "many types of black people", so why use one term? A girl speaks with emotion about her family who speaks Xhosa and who lives in the former Transkei and the humiliation and insults she has to endure in Triomf when she speaks about visiting them. However, she highlights the fact that they "have green eyes and long hair".]

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There are very extreme, racist views of Africa and black people within Triomf as could

be ascertained from the teacher's journal and the interview with the learners: A learner says of

the land invasions in Zimbabwe, "My mother says that is their problem, let them kill one another.

The same is going to happen here, in any case."; "If you see a black man, then you get scared.

We must not trust them." Parents say, "where did you hear a black man can rule a country?";

"We rather vote NP because the blacks want to take over." The parents say, "There will always

be a baas and a klaas and the white people must be the baas."

[As I depart from the school, I notice three toothless gangsters manning the gate. The vigilante

security guards have disappeared from the gate. The gangsters open the gate for a group of

schoolgirls. It was clear that the gangsters had an appointment with the group of girls. The girls

simply vanished into one of the notorious "jaarts" neighbouring the school. The gangsters did a

quick security check, opened the gate for me, gave me a "knowing" look, flashed toothless

smiles at me and pulled their caps over their faces. One of the girls who joined them was the one

who was confident, bright, assertive and vocal in the group interview. But she was also the one

who was getting restless towards the end of the interview. This left me puzzled and disappointed.

Now I understood the sensitivity around the "yard" issue.]

Case Study 2

School 4

(Ex HOA, English, middle class)

Ethnographic context of the school

The route to this school leads me past major shopping complexes nestled in a posh suburb on the

outskirts of the city. The streets are lined with oak trees and there are huge parks for children to

play in. A few people are pushing babies in prams, older citizens are jogging and others are

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walking their dogs. This is a white middle class community – not much has changed since apartheid. Public transport is hardly visible. Residents live on large estates that provide panoramic views of the city and the False Bay coast. The school is situated on a hilltop, surrounded by mansions. The school can be easily accessed. Black parents wait in large luxury cars for their children in the afternoon. There is no gate, only a wide open entrance. There is no security at the door. Visitors simply walk into a large foyer where they can relax on a sofa while they wait for their appointment with the teaching staff. There are three friendly, efficient-looking secretaries at reception and the school intercom sounds busy. Nobody seems suspicious of visitors or outsiders. The secretaries seem to be managing the staff, providing the necessary professional and administrative support. The school is large, boasting several administration and consultation offices. Impressive art murals done by students adorn the corridors. The kitchen staff is friendly and over eager to clean up, picking up litter as it falls.

#### Ms Ainslie's voice: Take the emotion out of history

"I was born in East London, then we moved to Cape Town. I attended Simon Van der Stel and Valsbaai and studied at Maties. I came to teach here. I originally went to Maties to do a "hockey cum laude", you know that standard Matie-joke on "rugby cum laude"? [laughs] I had to choose Human Movement Science. I must say I ended up becoming a passionate history teacher. I cannot see myself doing a different job. I enjoy what I'm doing. I think I've grown into it."

"The year 1990 was the biggest non-event for our school. Kids are kids. Our standards never dropped; it was no earth shattering experience. The kids we have are literate, and income wise, they are very suited for our school. Not the Bristol [working class] kind of problem. Our experience and that of King Edward would be similar. I also ask the coloured children on identity and culture. They say no, not really. Perhaps with food and music (R&B) there is a difference, but no real sense of a difference, of being different people; they are just here, fulfilling their roles as students. We had a coloured head girl, coloured kids as prefects. They are there because they are liked and they are able. There is no issue of 'other'; it is about 'who' they are as people; not 'what' they are. Our staff changes happened about four years ago."

"I adapted the work. My students are bright. We listed everywhere we could think of where there was possibly conflict over land. We asked why are they fighting etc. [Shows me colourful, comprehensively done projects on land conflict in Kashmere, Ireland, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Sierra Leone.] I was identifying feelings about land at the end of the first week. I decided to make up my own research project. I was thinking about evaluation. The first project challenged them on the role of the Catholic Church and its disqualification as Christian because of activities during colonisation. The other project challenged them to think about colonisation and the 'survival of the fittest' thesis. I do not allow them [the learners] to make emotional assertions. They must back up with facts. This is how I assess them. I have a question for you, as researcher [sighs heavily]....As teachers we need marks. How do I set an examination question on this? This is not suitable length of content for a 50-mark essay. We have done enriching [emphasis] things. All of this is about my-opinion- and-what-I-think. From a social studies point of view, it is wonderful, but for History, it is very difficult, even in the new South Africa. I am all for people having opinions, but are we giving enough fact-foundation so that pupils form valued opinions of certain events? What is the task of an historian, I ask you? If you are a successful historian, what is your job? My own answer is: the facts and leave people to make their own opinions. If that theory of mine is true, then your textbook is completely unacceptable! [The researcher then asked: Now what is "real history" to you? A bit unnerved...] I don't like your term "real history". My New World makes us very good radicals, but flimsy historians. We are taught to be very emotional about events. There needs to be a balance. Your book is a reaction to geskiedenis-van-Van-Tonder. But are we not doing the same injustice? Are we not replacing the one bias with the other? My task is not to brainwash my pupils in any way. This book is so soppy and so drippy with emotion. It is going to be very often the case that you'll lose the students. I am writing this off as reliable in what you want to achieve. I would edit the book and change the content so that pupils do have factual argument; so that students do have an informed opinion and I would also water down the emotion. History is also about how and what had happened. I would not prescribe your book; it is far too emotional. You are doing exactly what Christian National Education did; exactly what Van Tonder did! We need a more middle-of-the-road kind of approach. Some of the activities are a bit elementary, but maybe not for pupils at Steve Biko High School. I like the issues (importance of land, values around land and how land is used). But there is not enough content for our school's grade 10s. The issues are fine, but not the content. The kids enjoy the not-so-dead content. In my own way, I try to beef up the content. They enjoy the controversial issues, but I think that we don't need to be controversial all of the time! Yes, we need to stimulate thought. Dit is afgesaag; ons het ons nou genoeg gehuil. Maybe where we are in society, we are not emotional about land. These kids are not different to yours [referring to researcher's children]. They are at the King Edward schools and they have smart cars and live in Newlands. A Sipho will be far more emotional about the issues in the text. Your target market needs to be taken into account. Children I teach, do not have that baggage. But there are things that we just can't be emotional (emphasis) about! We are killing the struggle-issue; the kids will say not-that-again. It is like the Great Trek during the apartheid years. Do we have to link things to South Africa? The struggle in South Africa does not have to link with everything. That is overkill."

[On the next visit, Ms Ainslie gives me a warm welcome in the reception area of the school. She seems happy to see me, more relaxed than the last time. Her journals had been completed. She had journals from her learners and some projects on land which she handed over to me. We sat in the staffroom. Her attitude was more positive towards me than the previous time.]

"South Africa is now boring after America... I must say, I'll do America and so forth, but I won't do South Africa, that is 'killing the horse'. If I were you, I'd edit it now. I'll add more substance. I'll take out the emotion...people will say no.... What are the other teachers saying about your work?!"

# Voice of the learners: on becoming a more fulfilled person

[Interview with a group of 6 learners. Only one boy turned up for the interview; others said they were "too busy" to do the interview. The boys also refused to participate fully in the lessons. They were unaware that the researcher was the author. The one who did turn up for lessons was very quiet and only responded to questions on anger and controversial issues.]

"We like really know what's going on." [white girl]

"It was about what we thought." [white girl]

Were there any moments that you were angry?

"No, I was not angry, but I felt bad about people who lost their land and things." [white girl]

"Yes, when we had discussions...and you would think, no ...like angry..." [white girl]

[Researcher prompts quiet coloured girl to talk]

"Me, I feel sorry for the people who lost their land and stuff. But I don't know. It does not really affect me much now. It was in that time." [coloured girl]

"Ma'am got us to think about if we'd lost our land, what would we do to get our land back. That argument to me was impossible." [white girl]

"There is so much to be thought about. Like *District Six*, the issues of the Technikon that was built on the land." [white girl]

"I was battling to understand...it is like the whites took this and the whites took that...you think how was that possible?...how could people have thought that way...and that is like relating back to Hitler, the Nazis and all of that...how on earth [emphasis] could that be justified? I don't understand how a human being could do that. I don't see it. And how you can class another human being as inferior? I don't understand. For me it was interesting on the psychological side to try and understand what was going on in those people's minds. How they could possibly [emphasis] differentiate so greatly between people. I just did not understand." [white girl]

[Silence]

Was there any tension in the class?

"Steve is not here unfortunately. He did not agree with anything Ma'am said. He just went on his own, like I don't care about this, I don't like this work." [white girl]

Is that so? He should have been here.

[Asks the boy who turned up how he felt. He laughs.]

"Uhm, I don't know." [silence] "I feel that people tend to generalise on what the white people did, like the colonisation. Most of the people who actually went there, who said we must colonise and everything was the government, who said go take it, its yours." [white boy]

"And also like we discussed that history was an unreliable thing, books are sources that you have to work from." [white girl]

"History tends to be opinionated. You learn about somebody's opinion." [white girl]

Do you think it is a dangerous kind of history?

[Boy responds, mumbles. Girls talk loudly. Eruption.]

"In the controversial issues?" [white girl]

"You must really put your mind to it when you say something." [white boy]

"Yes, like when you might defend someone." [white girl]

"Religion and race!" [white girl, echoed by group]

"Yes, stuff like that you have to be really really careful not to offend somebody. "And not to challenge them. [group agrees] Yes, Ma'am actually put me on the spot and she said because I'm deeply Christian you know and she'd be like the missionary did this and that and then she'd actually say outright that this argument is for you and then I have to defend my own religion, you know and that I think is a very sensitive spot because it was fine, you know I don't mind stuff, but if it was someone else I cannot imagine the fear that they would be feeling. It attacks my entire religion. What am I going to do, you know?" [white girl]

"We are at that point where we are really at peace with our religion. And they don't have the answers, you know..."

[Group agrees]

"And then they think maybe I am not strong enough in my religion and then they start questioning themselves." [coloured girl]

"You can be very confused." [white girl]

Do you think historical understanding helps you to defend your religion?

"Oh yeah, definitely." [white girl]

[Silence, group seems unsure]

"We don't do this in any other subject. Maybe in Biology. It is a growing process. You actually become a person and not just someone who knows stuff." [white girl]

"Yes, you just don't have to follow everybody else. You know what you want to say." [white girl]

"You know the facts and you know why they are the facts. And you know the story behind it. And for the first time you can actually explain it to somebody. It is not just like OK somebody asks you a question and you sit and write it down. You can actually say people felt this and can you just imagine [emphasis] what that had been like and actually put them in that situation and make them understand and not like this is [sic] the facts, that is the answer, you just know that, you are

actually learning something from it. And you know one day you'll be...it actually sounds cliché, but seriously (emphasis) you'll be a more fulfilled person at the end of a history course with Ma'am as far as I am concerned...I know some people can't stand it when she asked them for their opinion! They love the subject, but they don't like being asked their opinion, don't know why." [white girl]

"It is about being put on the spot, scared to be wrong." [white girl]

[Group erupts]

"You cannot be in a class and feel like what if I say this and its not right...there isn't a right and wrong answer and that is what Ma'am is doing. She is trying to look...you have to give your opinion...and you have to be able to do that, like life itself, that is what history is teaching us. But they'll learn that eventually. They are just battling with it at the moment, because they have to like give up their old brain...like in matric they'll then be able to argue and stuff." [white girl] "If they just sit there and listen to us argue...they are learning through that. I don't know. Maybe I am being biased now. I am actually awe-struck by what I am learning this year, no not this year, this term." [white girl]

[Agreement in group]

How do you see yourself after such a course?

[Enthusiasm in group to answer]

I think you feel like we just don't learn facts...you don't feel you walk out the end of the year, oh I know more now...you know I feel more grown up because of this, you have actually formed your opinion, you have said something...I have really found a ground for myself somewhere...and you can walk out and feel that you have actually gained knowledge, you feel like well now I can actually sit down with an adult and have a conversation and defend myself. Just regurgitating facts will never give you this. It makes you feel I am actually being educated. Uhm...I mean when I go out there I know for a fact that I will not be able to say what Shakespeare's mother's name was, I'm really not...[group laughs]...the stuff that we are learning now about controversial issues, I have an argument (emphasis) you know...and you'd be able to teach people stuff...I mean I don't remember what I learnt in standard 6, because it was that stupid Mr Z did this and I mean now I find myself going out at break and talking about what we just learnt and telling people and they get enriched by that...my buddies, I go out onto

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the field and start speaking to my friends about it. That's like a continuation of the enrichment because they get beneficial stuff out of that." [white girl]

"This history you know is kind of representative. It is not only then, it is now. You put on the news and it is there! You walk around and its there! You feel you can deal with the issues now. You can face them in what you are learning." [white girl]

"I mean this history actually made me remember the stuff more. Like we just said we don't remember anything about standard 6. The fact that we have to argue our points makes us actually remember it. You are actually thinking about it." [Group agrees]

"You take it home with you and that's it. Because I have a racist father and I go home now and I have arguments. I just don't say feebly dad racism is wrong. I tell him about stuff you know. I have an argument to base it. And you know that is world [emphasis] changing! I can understand what went on so many years ago and to see that that is wrong. I mean that is prevention of history repeating itself." [white girl]

Case Study 3

School 6

(ex DET, English and Xhosa, working class school)

#### Ethnographic context of the school

To find this school from the direction of a main highway that links Cape Town to the Helderberg region, one has to navigate a jigsaw puzzle of dirtroads lined with shacks, spaza shops and markets selling live chickens, fruit and vegetables. There is a busy buzz in the township despite the evident poverty and unemployment. A group of about two dozen men of all ages stand waiting for work, for a passing truck or car that might offer cheap employment for the day. Overloaded taxis drive recklessly with drivers hanging out of the windows loudly advertising destinations into the city – a costly journey about 30 kilometres away. Many small children play in the small patches of dirty sand outside the multitude of shacks. Women are seen hanging the washing, men are smoking and chatting on the road. The school is sandwiched between two

neighbourhoods (an older sub-economic housing estate and an ever-growing squatter camp) in Ivenkile township. A security guard mans the locked gate. It can take up to fifteen minutes to negotiate your way past the security guard as tight security measures are applied at the gate. The gate is locked with a huge, heavy steel chain and a giant lock. The security guard has to first report to the office when visitors arrive, the office then checks on the credibility of the visitor (whether he or she has an appointment), and the visitor is eventually allowed in after verification checks with the office. A queue of parents and departmental officials sit on a bench in the foyer waiting to see the school management staff. The school is new yet poorly resourced, filled to capacity with students, busy and clean.

# Mr Mbeki's voice: We must teach not to forget the past

"I am chairperson of Ivenkile's Teachers' Union, also secretary and chairperson ... It makes me feel sad. I have developed because [emphasis] of the struggle. I was young when I joined the struggle. I was 16 years old in grade 10 at Kulati High in Cradock. I was politically trained under the guise of "karate". I was at the 1975 meetings addressed by Steve Biko. I was only fourteen. (It) was by 1977 that I realised it was him (Steve Biko) with his death on 13<sup>th</sup> September. The BC people became my mentors. I went over from BC to ANC...underground. Became involved in COSAS, caught in 1981...solitary confinement...caught 22 November 1981 and sentenced on 12 August 1982. Sentenced to two years. We were all tortured. I was in Victor Verster (prison), King Williamstown's [inaudible] and Leeukop in Gauteng. I had supper at one o'clock (in the afternoon). I missed four years of my schooling, but I am proud of that sacrifice. We were different [referring to today's youth]; we were supposed to be enjoying ourselves, but we did not [emphasis]. In a few years' time our children are going to forget about apartheid. (This is) different to the Jewish people and the Holocaust...we will be failing ourselves...we should not teach them hatred, but we must teach them that this happened and it was wrong...We'll definitely make a mistake (sighs)...

"I have a problem with my learners, they don't debate; they don't question. This makes it difficult to make them talk. Last year I had learners who challenged me but they were grade 12 that I taught for three years, getting them to debate and challenge what I am saying. The issue of

land: I look at what is taking place right now – land claims...They know nothing. They don't know what is District Six! I don't know whether their parents are not exposed to District Six [sighs]...This is the first time [emphasis] that they hear about District Six! It becomes very difficult for me as a teacher because I always work from what the learners know to what they don't know. Fortunately, somebody is coming to do a newspaper workshop next week. They [the learners] do not get a passion for land and what land do for us. They made poems...I gave them an assignment on making poems on land. [Shows the researcher the poems inserted in nicely decorated plastic sleeves]. I tell them, don't look at the houses; look at the land, what it means to us; look over the roofs to the vacant land on the other side. They did these poems in pairs. We looked at land claims and the environment. They did debate, but not what I really wanted them to do. There were four girls that said that colonisation was good; that it brought civilisation! [shows disgust]. Two boys challenged them. The rest of the class made a noise, like howling. I could see that the majority was in support of what the boys were saying. They said [the girls] that we would not have cars and education without whites."

"English is not their [the students'] language. This is problematic. I try to encourage them to talk in English. I say, I want you to say what you want to say. But it is always difficult. I say, speak in Xhosa and we'll translate. This hampers debate in our classroom. Nobody wants to make a mistake. English gives access to resources. Forty-one of the learners got G and E symbols for English in the June examination, yet for Xhosa they got C symbols. English has an impact on thinking skills; they have to think in Xhosa."

[On the next visit we meet in his office. There is constant interference by the principal, who keeps on reminding me that he is also a history teacher. "I might be principal now, but I remain a history teacher. You must invite me to your history conferences. Why am I left out?" During our conversation the noise continues unabated at school. The principal requests that Mr. Mbeki cut the day with one period to allow management to address a crisis issue. There is conflict at the school regarding claims of poor management. Students had protested a few weeks earlier and had broken down the huge steel gate. Therefore the strong security presence at the school to control the students.]

"The students are embarrassed about the Saartjie Baartman issue. They have watched the programme on her on television on Women's Day, after we had done it in class. There was an influence. They say that this [display of people] would not have been done to whites, this subhuman thing. I gave them a project on Baartman. Here is my marksheet [shows comprehensive mark sheet]. These marks were submitted for their assessment for the term.

Researcher: Is there a problem with assessment with the issues that you are teaching?

No problem! I have marks for them. They did very well.

[Mr. Mbeki shows me a display of projects on land models in the passage on how land is used.] [He continues.]

I have a problem with the students from Transkei and the language issue. They always speak in Xhosa in class. We did a simulation exercise on the Xhosa Cattle Killing of the 1850s. I ask them would they have killed the cattle if they had lived at the time? They felt that the Xhosa were stupid. I had to try to correct them regarding historical context. These students are different. They are interested in Kwaito music and soapies such as The Bold and the Beautiful and Days of our Lives and talk shows of Felicia Shuttle-Mabuza. Very little is done through school and the mass media to teach them (the students) about the importance of not forgetting about our apartheid past. The learners know almost nothing about the struggle against apartheid. I do not sleep. I worry about the quality of our learners."

[On 28 August I get a phone call around mid-morning from Mr. Mbeki. He is clearly stressed and speaks in a hushed tone. "We are back in the eighties. The school is in chaos. *The students are damaging cars and singing freedom songs*. They are damaging the cars of teachers they don't like...The teacher's union is intervening in the crisis. The Education Department visited the school yesterday. They threatened to close the school for at least a week. We are teaching those who want to be taught. No visitors are allowed at the school, but you can try...*The students are monitoring the gate*."]

Voice of the learners: No clan name, no history

How would you describe me? [researcher]

"I think you are a coloured." [laughter from whole group]

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"No, a Muslim" [boy]
    What is a coloured?
    "White people!" [boy]
    "No, you are mixed...yeah! I think so." [girl]
    "Maybe your father is from black people and your mother is a coloured." [boy]
    [Lots of laughter from whole group]
    [Quiet one in group]: "No comment..."
    Are you uncomfortable about this?
    "Uh...yah...because they say you are coloured." [girl]
   Why?
    "I don't think that I have to judge other people...I just have to understand my own colour
where I'm coming from. Not to tell the other people who you are. You must say who you are."
   "Now I am going to tell you I am a black African." [boy]
   [Laughter]
   [Silence]
   Are there any ideas about other people in Cape Town in the community? You know the way
people talk about each other and they use terrible words to describe people? There was an
example in your book with the word "banned" over it.
   [Silence]
   Do you know the word gong-ga?
   [Silence]
   What is it?
   "No, it is gongo" [girl]
   [Silence]
   [Group erupts. Lots of noise and whispering.]
   [Boy responds]: "It is white people. The coloured people used to call people kaffirs and now
we as a black people [raises voice angrily] we used to say amagongo!"
   Now what does that mean?
   "I don't know." Rest of the group is quiet. "Coloured makes sense of gongo..."
   [Girl interrupts.]
   "They don't have clanning...no clan names...nothing" [girl]
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Tell me more about it. This is very interesting.
    "Like I have a clan name. It is Ngonji. OK. And you don't have one." [Group laughs.]
    "Yes, gongo!" [group]
    [Group tries to assist researcher with the pronunciation.]
    Oh, so you all know it?
    [Whole group laughs heartily.]
    "I just know the name, I have never called somebody that name." [boy who spoke on
judgement]
    Where did you hear this name?
   "Townships" [girl]
   Agreement in group [nodding]
    "It is not that they are...angry, it is like if they see you [referring to the researcher], they are
going to say that gongo, that gongo" [points finger at the researcher and speaks in Xhosa]
   [Silence in group]
    "The one without a clan" [boy]
   Do you think it is as bad as all the other words? Do you think it is a fine word?
   "It is a fine word." [boy who called researcher 'white']
   [Group erupts.]
   "I don't think so!" (Girl shouts loudly.)
   [Lots of noise and disagreement] [inaudible]
    "No, I don't agree it's a fine word." [boy who spoke about judgement]
    "Yes, they call us kaffir and we call them gongos!" [boy who called researcher 'white']
   [Group erupts again. Lots of disagreement from girls and boy who spoke on judgement.]
    "No, they don't call us kaffir! That were the apartheid names! So he says it again again
again [referring to gongo], so I feel bad now." [girl, emotional and emphatic]
   [Silence from group]
   "Those were the apartheid names." [she repeats]
   "We must be one." [boy who spoke about judgement]
   [Silence]
```

The following excerpt illustrates how the students at school 6 differed in their approach to discriminating terminology during the intervention compared with students at school 1. Both groups were exposed to the intervention as part of the experimental group, illustrating that integrated schools (school 1) were dealing very differently to issues than those who were still essentially living the realities of "apartheid" schools in terms of demographics (school 6).

Case Study 4

School 1

(ex HOA, now fairly integrated in terms of coloured, Indian and African composition)

As told by Ms. Swartz: Moving beyond Nat forms of prejudice

"I want to tell you something. It was particularly interesting. This hotnot- question. I want to share it with you. Some heard of it, some did not. I asked them, do they know which other words are used in a derogatory way to describe people in South Africa? They came out with the "k" word and "slamse" and you know we have a way of doing this [lifts hands up to make sign of inverted commas with two middle fingers]. Their latest catch phrase is "brain washing". We did the Nat-the-magician-joke of grouping people into splintered groups [shows with body movements]. But then the kids said, but we do the same as the Nats. Then one of the Xhosa students said, "I know another word, gong-go". He says this word was used by indigenous black people for coloured people. He did not know the meaning, but promised to go home to find out from family members. Only his granny was prepared to talk about it, he said. The rest of the family avoided the issue. His granny confirmed that it was meant to refer to coloured and it means "low, without self-respect". The class said, yes, we know all about the "k" word, "hotnot" and so on and the Nat government, but never knew about these other things, because of our different languages...sort of hidden prejudice. At that point I stopped the class. I said, what is happening here now? I usually do this to get them to reflect. They said "more people spoke". I pointed out that now we can eventually talk openly with all these "gong-go" words, openly talk

about it, without anybody feeling bad. We were moving beyond Nat forms of prejudice. There has been definite growth in my students, in their attitudes.

Case Study 5

School 7

(ex HOA, English, middle class)

8 August: visit to school 7

[We meet in the staff room. Two other teachers are present. We had met for our first meeting in the head of department's office in the presence of a white Afrikaans-speaking male, the head of Afrikaans who chimed and chipped in here and there on the issue of identity. This time, we were discussing privately. Mr Smit sits opposite me, but stares ahead away from me and speaks in a monotonous tone. Mr Smit seems stressed, but very keen on co-operating with the researcher.]

"I don't care being named in this research.

It's going fine. I have a student teacher from UCT with me. She is from Gauteng. She has been taking out old grade 10 history textbooks to make comparisons to yours. We have tackled the notion of looking at physical features as "history". It has been very hard to find any controversy in class. There has been no debate, no hot issue. Every time they say "Gee, that's not fair!". I find that irritating. I have tried to play devil's advocate, but when I try to fuel controversy, nothing happens. In the Cape the [the students] are unpoliticised. When I taught in Pretoria it was different, controversial. The Xhosa kids [in the province] come from Transkei. A lot of our boys are Tswana and so on. There is not that political tension. They do not come out of a history of feeling "dispossessed". We need that [this feeling of being dispossessed] for controversy to take place. They accept the fact that the colonists have no rights. I tried to say what about the rights of colonists? There was this question of how far back one has to go. This land belongs to the Taung child. There has been a whole sequence of possession, colonisation. We [the teachers] are going to challenge their own little security. I am going to try and hit them personally with the property issue. Maybe that will work. They are not really politicised, my kids.

I spoke to them about the Aboriginal people, the Sunday Times article of 6 August. We had a nice discussion on fighting and dying for their country. They would fight to defend their household, but not for their country. One boy says that he feels that for the amount he is putting into the country, he is not getting a good return. In that way, he would not fight for the country. I am putting in more than what I get out, he says. The parents want nothing to do with the military. They are different [to the previous apartheid generation of parents]. The generation of boys who went to the border returned as enemies of their own country. I was called up for two years in 1978 / 79. I was in the navy. In 1976 we went into Angola. I was a diver. The current lack of loyalty to the country is interesting given the increase in nationalism [worldwide]...Scottish, Irish...so much nationalism and ethnic kind of identity. A huge percentage of boys would tell you that they are leaving South Africa. An amazing number of old boys are in Australia and the rest of the world. About over 50% of our boys graduate from UCT. I am not much sure how much they are going to hang in here...why never stay in South Africa ....(inaudible) ....screw the rich (shifts)...People are nervous about rates and value. There is a scare regarding rates. We also did the "People in Museums" theme...an interesting discussion. No matter how hard we tried [the student teacher and I] they kind of thought that it was absolutely fine, as something educational. They did not see it [display of indigenous people] as "subhuman" with animals etc. The physical picture is part of the story [to them]. It's like wax dolls...like Madame ....(inaudible)...They are just showing what dentists do; it had nothing to do with prejudice...could not see why there was a controversy. On Saartije Baartman's genitalia; they thought that was appalling. We spoke about the myth of sexuality of the black man. (Laughs) Everyone looked at Temba!

Researcher: How do you think did the presence of the student teacher affect their response?

She did not feel phased. Absolutely no influence. She is used to this, she says. We try to see things in the context of the time. I keep telling them don't moralise all the time. This is not educational. We talk about the "other" all the time. It must have been very easy to shoot a couple of Bushmen if you were executing people in mass in Europe, for example the executions during the French Revolution. We had a wonderful discussion on what is "civilised". One boy said, we measure the level of advancement with our own culture. I asked, are there universal civilisations, universal ethics? Are some civilisations more civilised than others? ....complexities versus simplistic. We are now doing the clash of the Xhosa on the frontier. Some repetitive, the whole

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thing can be repetitive. It is possible to go through it quite quickly. They are writing an essay today comparing South Africa and Australia. [I] have to see how to structure the tests...not many facts...(hesitant, then continues while scratching head)...we are thinking of including in our syllabus the section on land. I have a problem with the journal. I do not have things to put in...this thing about elections 1994...ancient history for the kids...

Case Study 6

School 2

(ex HOA, Afrikaans, middle class)

31 August: "Dit gaan nie so goed soos ek dit wil hê nie. Ek weet nie of die kinders iets leer nie. Hulle soek langvrae vir eksamens. Hulle soek kennis, feite. Hulle fokuspunt is kennis. Ek dink nie hulle neem hierdie material ernstig op nie. My kinders werk gereeld in groepe, so dis nie anders nie. Ek het nooit vir die kinders gesê ek het probleme met die boek nie; ons werk net deur, normaalweg. Kyk, 'n kind is mos 'n oop ding. Maar een kind (nogal 'n witkind) het wel gese die trekkers was 'n klomp "onnosele, mal goed, 'n klomp vuil mense wat die binneland ingetrek het." Ons het dit net daar gelos. Ek wou nie...Ek het gesê, "'n Mens kan kyk daarna..." Gaan dit oor apartheid sleg te maak of om vrede in die land te bring? Ons kan nie geskiedenis so opdis nie!

\*["It is not going so well. I don't know whether the children are learning. They are looking for essays for the examinations. They are looking for facts. They are not treating the material with any seriousness. I have not told them that I have a problem with the book, because a child is an open thing. But one child (and a white one, mind you) did say that the trekkers were a bunch of stupid, mad things, a group of dirty people who moved inland. But I left it there. I said that we can look at it again. Is it about making apartheid bad or about bringing peace to this country? We cannot dish history up in this way."]

"Ek wil dit rêrig beklemtoon dat dit gaan oor apartheid. Sekere van die oorkoepelende idees is goed, maar sekere dele is negatief. As ek anderkleurig was, sou ek sê die boek is goed. Hierdie is leerlinge wat nie eers in apartheid gelewe het nie. Hulle gaan uitstap en se "Julle bloody whites!" Soos die Saartje Baartman storie, dit was mos iets wat in Europa gebeur het, nie hier nie..."

\*[I want to emphasise that this book is about apartheid. Some of the themes are good, but some parts are negative. If I had been other than white, I would have said it is a good book. But these are children who have not lived through apartheid. They are going to walk out and say, 'You bloody whites!' Like the Saartje Baartman story; that was something that happened in Europe, not here..."]

Navorser: Dink jy dat geskiedenis 'n rol het om te speel in die Nuwe Suid-Afrika?

"Beslis! As 'n mens kyk na die struggle van swartes...'n mens moet weet dat apartheid was daar en dit was verkeerd. Dit kom nou eers uit met die Mbeki-kongres oor rassisme en dit pop ook uit in skole. Ek is met jou ernstig, sulke boeke [soos hierdie] gaan nie die situasie verbeter nie.

\*[In response to the question on whether she thinks that history can play a role in the new South Africa, she answered: "Definitely! One must know that apartheid was there...if you look at the struggle of black people. Racism came out with the Mbeki Congress, and it has also emerged from schools. I am serious with you, such books are not going to improve the situation."]

Sê vir my, waarvoor is hierdie navorsingsprojek? Waaroor gaan dit? Is dit om te besluit of die boeke gepubliseer moet word? Ek glo nie die navorsing gaan 'n invloed het nie; die boeke is klaar geskryf...En in elk geval daar gaan nie meer geskiedenis in graad 10 wees nie...!

\*[Tell me, what is this research project about? Is it about a decision on whether the books will be published? I don't believe that the research will have an influence; the books have been written already...And in any case there is no longer going to be history in grade 10!]

[I told her that I could only disclose the research question after the post-test for research methodology purposes. She seemed anxious.]

[She invites me for coffee to the staffroom, while we chat casually. Then she remembered that the learners had no reaction to terms such as "kaffir" and "hotnot".]

"Ons het nie daaroor gepraat nie, maar hulle het hard gelag daaroor. Dit was soos niks, nie 'n issue nie. Selfs die kleurlingkinders het gelag. Ons het dit net so gelos, maar ek was verbaas dat hulle dit snaaks vind. Hulle het meer belang gestel in die uiteensetting in die boeke, die tegniese goed. Nie die issues nie. Ek het rêrig gevoel ek kom nêrens met hulle nie. Ek is nog ongemaklik oor die goed, maar nie die kinders nie." Ek moet sê die kleurlingkinders is nogal stil in die klas. Hulle praat nie oor die goed nie."

\*[We did not talk about it. But they laughed aloud about it. It was like nothing, not an issue. Even the coloured children laughed. We left it there, but I was surprised that they found it funny. They were more interested in the design of the book, the technical stuff, not the issues. I really felt that I was getting nowhere with them. I am still uncomfortable with these thing, but not the children. I must say the coloured children are quiet in class. They do not talk about these things."]

#### **APPENDIX 3**

#### TEACHERS' JOURNALS

#### (Selected Excerpts)

\*(School 3 did not hand in a journal. School 8 was not required to hand in a journal.)

#### School 1

Week 1: The controversial issue was apartheid's legacy regarding land ownership. There were no tensions, only healthy argument. Links were made to Northern Ireland, the Middle East and Zimbabwe. "The learners have materialistic attitudes to land. They would fight for money, but not land issues."

Week 2: The controversial issues were squatting and stereotypes. Links were made to the careless selling of school land.

Week 3: Columbus and how it is taught in primary school was the controversial issue. Links were made to the use of terminology such as "Khoisan" and "Blacks".

Week 4: The controversial issues were the display of people in museums and the Pope's acceptance of atrocities. Links were made to the current battle between the Muslim community and St Cyprians school over excavations on sacred burial grounds.

Week 5: The controversial issue was the attitude of the government to land usage. Links were made to natural areas being used for purposes other than recreation and conservation.

Week 6: The controversial issue was Saartje Baartman and the extermination of indigenous people. Links were made to current attitudes to "races" and signs of "inherent racism". The use of the word "gon-go" came up.

#### School 4

Weeks 1 and 2: No tension when discussing dispossession. Links were made to the Land Claims Commission. "Some parents commented to pupils especially on current land disputes." The teacher did not feel very strongly about issues.

Weeks 3 and 4: European attitudes and Discovery were discussed. The controversial issues were around "the right of Europeans to stay in South Africa and the legitimacy of war over land." There were no tensions.

Weeks 5 and 6: The controversial issue was the role of the Catholic Church in colonisation. There were tensions and "much discussion about the Catholic Church". There were links made to environmental issues.

Weeks 7 and 8: The controversial issue was evolution versus creation. There was "disagreement" and "many links" were made to the present.

#### School 5

#### Week 1:

The controversial issue was forced removals and the role of white people. There were race tensions around "the boere" and their huge farms and the "blacks who put up a shack wherever they want to; and they don't pay rent and blacks who invade like in Zimbabwe." Links were made to squatter camps in the area. One learner said, "My mother says the blacks are going to take our homes in South Africa with violence." Learners spoke about living on "yards". The teacher felt uncomfortable about the attitudes of those learners who lived in private homes and those from the "blikdeure". Links were made to a black family who were chased off the land after having lived there for 30 years. Learners say, "Can we also just take land and live there?"; "Whose ground is it if our families have paid rent for years?" "Blacks are very violent (emphasis). They don't care about others.

Week 2: The controversial issue was national identity and land. Can a nation be a nation without its right to the land? There were tensions around white exploitation of blacks and the intelligence levels of blacks; "blacks are too stupid to know the value of land". "Blacks never knew the value of land; it is something that they came to realise the other day". Although parents are reported to be emotional about the loss of their land through forced removals, they have no knowledge of what is happening in Zimbabwe and they are not interested. A learner says, "My mother says that

Learners are influenced by the fact that they themselves are victims of forced removals. There is still anger. The learners are influenced by the violence in Zimbabwe and the setting alight of a boer's vehicles by a black man and Land Claims Commission. Learners say, "Although we do not have any land or property, we would still fight for our country because it is our land of birth." "We still hate the boere for what they did to our forefathers." "Land should be to the benefit of everybody, not just individuals." "Whites are conservation conscious, yet they were the ones who destroyed the land." "It is about bread and butter issues for us; for white people it is about beautiful scenery and recreation." Learners are influenced by huge unemployment in their families; they want factories not conservation.

Week 3: Religion and colonisation was the controversial issue. There were tensions regarding European attitudes to language, religion and notions of superiority, "baasskap". Links were made to today's "posh" languages. The teacher was uncomfortable with the issue of religion and its association with oppression. Learners say, "West is best. Āfrica is ugly.""The British were "uitgevreet en skelm". Yet some learners also consider them "superior". Parents told learners about the apologies from whites for apartheid atrocities. The teacher wonders whether AIDS is not a "white person's disease" brought here "deliberately", but is reluctant to raise this in class. The learners are influenced by news about the TRC.

Week 4: The controversial issue was the empty land issue. Some felt that white people are "superior"; there were tensions around this. Links were made to perceptions of "decency" and "beauty" within the present, as associated with "whiteness". Learners say, "White people give us derogatory names such as Boesmans, Hotnotte, Koelies and Kaffirs. The Afrikaners were like Nazi Germany." "Whites described us as ugly, revolting, violent. Everything that is bad." Parents spoke to them about fair skinned relatives with "gladde hare" who wanted to be white who left their town to live in Sea Point as "play whites". Learners speak about the current "black is beautiful" trend in the mass media. "If you are not white, then you are a thief, barbaric, ugly. Whites make decisions on what is beautiful and decent."

Week 5: The controversial issue is conflict between the indigenous communities and the Europeans. There was discussion on stereotypes and distrust. "If you see a black man, then you get scared. We must not trust them." Parents say, "where did you hear a black man can rule a country?" The teacher felt uncomfortable about the blatant racist attitudes the learners displayed

towards African people during discussion. "We rather vote NP because the blacks want to take over." There was also tension around exploitation; white against black. "That is why whites sit with wealth today and we are so poor. The parents say, "There will always be a baas and a klaas and the white people must be the baas. Perception that coloureds pull at the "kortste ent". "White people still say today, teken net op die stippellyn asseblief, dan verneuk hulle jou lekker!" "We find our identity in 'die bult se mense' or 'in die gat se mense' in our neighbourhood, not land ownership."

Week 6: The controversial issue was the disease argument and the extermination of the indigenous people. "White people were 'vuil', cruel people. Links were made to the unresolved murders and disappearance of people during apartheid and even today. They discussed Wouter Basson and other TRC stories. Parents say that they are good for white people when they work in their homes or look after their kids. They spoke about the exploitation of farm labourers in the present. "We must forget about the Holocaust and the Jews, but look at the South African Holocaust." The word non-white means we are nothing. Whites still think that they are superior."

### School 6

Comprehensively completed.

17 July to 21 July: Civilisation was the controversial issue. There were no tensions around racism. Tried to make links with the present land claims. No evidence of responses from outside the school. No issues the teacher felt uncomfortable with. The learners lack environment education.

"Some girls felt that whites are clever and more honest than black people."

24 to 28 July: The "Empty Land theory" was the controversial issue. "Some girls and one boy seemed to believe in this. Many claimed that whites were better and not corrupt as black people." "There were no race tensions, only regional tensions. Those who were born in Cape Town felt they had a justifiable claim [to land here] than those who came in recently and who still have homes in the Eastern Cape." We discussed the fact that Africans are not in the majority in the Western Cape as is the case with other provinces."No evidence of responses from outside. No issues that the teacher felt uncomfortable with. A significant influence on the learners is "the fact that racism and regionalism is a serious problem amongst Africans in the Western Cape."

Interesting comments from learners: "We do not trust black people. We have no confidence in them."

31 July – 4 August: No controversial issues when discussing the Khoisan. No tension around race. Made links to the armed struggle in the present. No evidence of influence from outside. "Parents do not seem to tell their children about the struggle." Teacher did not feel uncomfortable with any issue. "Very little is done through school and the mass media to teach them about the importance of not forgetting about our apartheid past." "The learners seemed more familiar with APLA than with MK....It could be due to the rise in APLA activities in the 1990s when the ANC suspended the armed struggle. The learners know almost nothing about the struggle against apartheid."

7 August – 11 August: Learners found discussing racism as "controversial" as they thought it was only found amongst whites. This happened with the discussion on Saartje Baartman. There were tensions around the use of derogatory names in referring to coloureds and foreigners. Links were made between the past and their present attitude towards "people they see as different". "These are names that are normally used in their daily lives without consideration of them as being unacceptable." The teacher feels no discomfort with the issues. Learners' attitudes are influenced by "the influx of foreigners in their areas especially from the countries north in Africa". "The way Saartje Baartman was treated seemed difficult for them to believe."

14 August – 18 August: The controversial issues were on the role of missionaries in colonisation, whether they did a good thing by converting Africans. There were no tensions around race. Learners all claimed to be Christian and spoke about "the other religions that are now being promoted by the SABC". "Most boys did not see the role of the missionaries as positive, whilst girls were more receptive...the girls seemed to feel that they brought us to where we are presently."

- 21 August 31 August: The controversial issues were racism, hate speech, forced removals and squatter areas. The tensions were around "squatter camps" and *invasions in Khayelitsha*. (Both groups in class) "Some learners had read about reports of racism in other countries and felt that racism will never be eradicated." "Only whites were seen as racists by learners."
- 4 September 13 September: The controversial issues were the slaughtering of livestock for ancestors in the discussion on the influence of Christianity and its attempts to change the culture of black people in Africa. Learners are influenced by "the democratic values instilled by the

present government which encourage respect for people's traditional beliefs other than Christianity." "Learners felt insulted by colonialism, spoke about the Mandela screen saver which turns into a gorilla."

### School 7

Week 1: The controversial issue was about fighting for one's country or being prepared to die for one's country. There were no tensions around race. Links were made to Aboriginals in Australia and the land issue in Zimbabwe. Teacher explains that he is "careful of expressing or saying insulting words, like kaffir"; "In fact, I don't use them." Events at the time, the Irish conflict and Zimbabwe. Students say, "We invest more in the country than what we get out, therefore we don't owe the country anything."

Week 2: The controversial issue was third world debt. No tensions around race. No responses from outside the classroom. No issues the teacher feels too strongly about. Current issue that has influence is Zimbabwe. Learners say, "we don't mind being ruled by foreigners as long as it is efficient and the interests of the locals are cared for." And they define civilisation as "advancement within your own culture".

Week 3: The controversial issues were the empty land theory and the display of indigenous people in museums. There were tensions around race, around the right of ownership to land and which racial group has the most claim to land. "Most learners felt it was OK! to have 'people' / models in museums."

Week 4: The controversial issue was around land invasions in Zimbabwe; allowing land invasions in order to win the elections as well as using young soldiers in war. Land invasions were discussed in general. There were responses from outside, from parents who were in the South African army or who are from Zimbabwe. Comment from learners, "The Rhodesian War was a tough time for all."

### School 2

Week 1: No tensions. Conflict over land and the use of land was discussed. Developments in Zimbabwe had an influence on how learners feel "about land bought by money earned through hardship and which is already owned for centuries". Learners said, "Everybody wants to be free, we want to live where we want to, where we can afford to."

Week 2: No tensions. The Middle East was discussed. The learners were influenced by the current peace talks. Learners say, "Jews lived their first, it is theirs" or "Arabs developed the land, it is theirs."

Week 3: We discussed North America and Brazil. *There were no tensions*. Learners are impressed by "the progress of the United States!" in spite of colonisation. They expressed outrage at extermination of Native Americans.

Week 4: We discussed the Khoi-Khoi and southern Africa. *There were no tensions*. Learners are influenced by the current inferiority complexes of the Khoisan; that people are still victims. Learners said, "We only have one country to live in! Why must we pay for actions of our forefathers? We must look ahead and live in peace!"

Week 5: We discussed the Frontier Wars. There were no tensions. I felt too strongly about the unnecessary referals to apartheid texts and images. That is not what history is about. I did not discuss it in class. The learners were influenced by events in Zimbabwe. The learners were observant of the technical faults in the book, such as the maps on pages 267 and 268.

### **APPENDIX 4**

### EVIDENCE FROM LEARNERS' CLASSWORK

(Selected Excerpts)

### School 4

(Research projects on the role of the church in colonisation and conflict over land in the present)

"Before you can voice your opinion, and fight for your understanding you have to form a basis that consists of fact, and the facts are as follows.." (girl) "...the method used by missionaries to spread the Christian word...definitely disqualifies them from being in any way a TRUE representation of missionary works!...people's beliefs and actions can be contradictory...I don't belief that Christian morals were in fact their belief."

"South America is the laboratory and the place of the greatest contradictions of the church...but at the same time the Church has also provided significant elements of unification...the Bible could no longer be fully accepted as a guide for public and personal morality, equally acceptable for all societies and all eras." (boy)

"In conclusion, after closely evaluating the motives, I believe that the Catholic Church and the Spanish invasion and subjugation of South and Central America, can by no means be considered a true missionary movement..." (girl)

"Through this I have attained a deeper understanding of right and wrong...much growth is coming from this class to distinguish between what I believe and what I have been taught to believe...a thirsting to know more...the encouragement is phenomenal...[But] being a Christian the debate behind the motives of the 'Christian people' was not [of] great interest to me. The opportunity to voice an opinion in this area was greatly appreciated. Also to discover more about aspects outside of the actual History syllabus is treasured by me as a person. My general knowledge is improving...I look forward to the next lesson!" (girl)

"I enjoy the discussions we have which relate to now. Otherwise I do the work cos I have to." (girl)

"I am a Christian and I don't see it as just a religion, but as my life and I believe that you should tell people about the Gospel and it should'nt mean that you are messing up other people's traditions. Some people are atheists and then you should let them get to know the Lord." (girl)

"What I mean by learnt is not knowing what took place when, why and how it happened, but more about humans, ...it makes me want to reflect the entire history of the human race...I don't want to focus on all the bad stuff but rather on the very rare occassions when people actually did stand up for love and compassion...and it is times like those that encourage me, it gives me hope (I have a much stronger and powerful hope somewhere else, though...)" (girl)

"...was not my cup of tea...Actually I did not enjoy it at all...I like discussions about land issues but I don't like to answer back at all!" (girl)

"...a bit on the boring side...and some things you do I disagree with..." (girl)

"My family hardly speaks about any of the land issues and what is actually happening in the world. They only speak about Zimbabwe." (girl)

"The discussions have been successful in making some people emotional about the land...in the past I did not really bother about the land issues facing South Africa." (girl)

"I think that what we have dealt with thus far has brought me somewhat closer to land." (boy)

"I was thinking about land issues only when I was doing homework about it. I have not given it much thought otherwise. ...I am not all that attached to land...[although] I am much more aware of land issues now...before I had never even thought of land issues." (boy)

"I have often in class been given the opportunity to attempt to put myself in some fairly different situations to my own, provoking unexpected responses within myself." (girl)

### School 5

"When you see a guy with a Toyota, then don't worry to take him. But if you find out that he has property, well take him."

"We find history far more interesting now because it is about everyday life."

"We had the freedom to express ourselves. We want to continue in this way. My attitude has changed towards school education. I have become inquisitive."

- "Sir does not hit us anymore."
- "I cannot wait for the next class."
- "I have asked my mother about the house we live in. She says that the municipality has given it to my grandmother."
- "We enjoyed our homework."
- "I enjoy it so much in the history class that I do not want to go home in the afternoons."
- "It is so easy to understand."
- "I have accomplished knowledge about the world."
- "All I miss is Jakob, the cane...we used to get hidings." "Ons proe nie meer vir Jakob nie."
- "If somebody should ask me now about events in the rest of the world I would have an answer."
- "We are learning from our parents and neighbours."
- "I want to find out more about our country's past."
- "We are starting to think like adults. I am now more interested in my school work. I am also more interested in talking to people about issues, asking them questions..."

### APPENDIX 5

# SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS, PRE – TEST AND POST – TEST AND MONITORING RESEARCH

### **Pre-experiment meetings:**

13 April 2000: School 1

14 April 2000: School 8

18 April 2000: School 2

20 April 2000: School 4

20 April 2000: School 5

26 April 2000: School 1

26 April 2000: School 3

4 May 2000: School 2

4 May 2000: School 6

9 May 2000: School 2

12 May 2000: School 3

15 May 2000: School 7

15 May 2000: School 3

18 May 2000: All teachers at 8 schools get a copy of the questionnaires for the learners in order

to indicate their willingness to hand them out as a pre-test.

### Pre-test dates

19 May 2000: School 1

22 May 2000: School 2

22 May 2000: School 3

22 May 2000: School 4

23 May 2000: School 5

25 May 2000: School 6

01 June 2000: School 7

01 June 2000: School 8

### Questionnaires for teachers to attain ethnographic data of teachers posted

01 June 2000

15 June (returned to researcher via post)

### Appointments to explain experiment

01 June 2000: School 8

06 June 2000: School 7

06 June 2000: School 5

20 June 2000: School 1

22 June 2000: School 2

22 June 2000: School 6

22 June 2000: School 3

22 June 2000: School 4

### Monitoring of Research

17 July 2000: School 6

9 July 2000: School 3

8 July 2000: School 3

27 July 2000: School 6

1 August 2000: School 3

3 August 2000: School 5

3 August 2000: School 4

8 August 2000: School 7

10 August 2000: School 2

15 August 2000: School 3

15 August 2000: School 6

- 17 August 2000: School 1
- 22 August 2000: School 5
- 22 August 2000: School 7
- 31 August 2000: School 2
- 31 August 2000: School 3
- 31 August 2000: School 4
- 31 August 2000: School 1

### Teachers' Journals handed in at end of August. End of intervention

### Non-relevant intervention at Hawthorne Group

- 26 July 2000: School 8
- 10 August 2000: School 8
- 22 August 2000: School 8

### Post-test dates

- 18 September 2000: School 6
- 18 September 2000: School 3
- 18 September 2000: School 1
- 19 September 2000: School 4
- 20 September 2000: School 7
- 22 September 2000: School 2
- 22 September 2000: School 8
- 22 September 2000: School 5

### Focus group interviews

18 September 2000: School 3

- 18 September 2000: School 1
- 19 September 2000: School 4
- 20 September 2000: School 7
- 23 September 200: School 5

# **ANNEXURES**

#### ANNEXURE 1

### PILOT TEST FOR LEARNERS

### QUESTIONAIRE

This questionnaire is anonymous. Do not provide your name. Answer each of the following questions as honestly as possible. Please ask the facilitator to assist you should you struggle to answer a question.

1. Are you a boy or a girl? (Please tick.)

Boy Girl

2. What is your age? (Please tick.)

14 - 15

15 - 16

16 - 17

older than 17

3. How would you have been classified (in terms of "race") if you lived during apartheid? (Please tick.)

a. "African" b. "Coloured" c. "White" d. "Indian"

4. Where do you live? (Please tick.)

- a. Mitchells Plain/Strandfontein
- a. Constantia/ Bergvliet/ Wynberg/ Rondebosch/ Rosebank/ Kenilworth/ Newlands
- b. Clifton/ Camps Bay
- c. Muizenberg/False Bay/Tokai
- d. Khayelitsha/ Crossroads
- e. Langa/ Gugulethu/ Nyanga
- f. Wittebome/Plumstead/Southfield/Lansdowne
- g. Salt River/ Woodstock/ Observatory/ Mowbray
- h. City Centre/ Green Point/ Sea Point
- Grassy Park/ Ottery/ Retreat/ Steenberg/ Athlone
- Milnerton
- k. Northern Suburbs
- Strand

### 5. To which religious community do you belong? (Please tick.)

Christian Muslim

Jewish

Hindu

Buddhist

None

Would not answer

- 6. Religion means the following to me: (Please tick.)
  - a. It is my life. I live for it.
  - b. It is an important part of my family's life. (You go to church/mosque/temple regularly)
  - c. I am not sure what it means to me.
- 7. How strongly are you interested in politics? (Please tick.)

Extremely interested Very interested

Interested

Not very

interested

Not interested

Will not answer

8. Why do you study history? (Please tick.)

It is interesting

career

tick.)

It is relevant to my life

I need it for my future

9. If you compare your family's income with the income of other families

Below the average

About the average

in Cape Town, do you think you are below or above the average? (Please

Above the average

### 10. What kind of education do your parents have? (Please tick.)

- a. No schooling
- b. Primary School only
- c. Grade 8 10
- d. Grade 10 12
- e. Technikon (trade/business)
- f. College (nursing/teaching/social work, etc)
- g. University

### 11. Where do your parents work? (Please tick.)

- a. Arts and Culture (actor/ musician/ artist, etc.)
- b. Civil service (education/ health/ defense/ police/ local government/ social service/ transport, etc.)
- c. Business (bank/insurance, etc.)
- d. Industry (Factories/ mining/ building/ fishing)
- e. Professional (legal/health/publishing, etc.)
- f. Politician (parliamentarian)
- g. Maintenance services (gardening/domestic, etc.)
- h. Unemployed
- i. Owns own business
- j. Other: religious leader/ healer etc.

# 12. How many reading books, novels or magazines on history and society (e.g. Time Magazine) are there in your home? (Please tick.)

Less than 10 10-20 20-50 50-100

More than 100

None

### 13. How often do your parents buy newspapers? (Please tick.)

1 to 3 times a week 3-5 times a week every day more than once a month

None

### 14. Which newspapers do they buy? (Please tick.)

Cape Times	Die Burger	Cape Argus	Mail and Guardian	Rapport
Sunday Times	Sunda	ay Independent	Saturday Argus	Business
Day				
Foreign Papers	s (specify			

### 15. What topic is discussed most often in your home? (Please tick.)

- a. Neighbors
- b. Race Issues
- c. Violence/Crime/ Drugs
- d. Computers/CDs
- e. Politics/ Current Affairs (events in Africa and the world)
- f. Religion
- g. Social Issues (e.g. unemployment, HIV)
- h. Environment Issues
- i. Fashion/Cars
- i. No discussion at all
- k. Will not answer

### 16. Which best describes your family members? (Please tick.)

Satisfied with the New South Africa/ not so satisfied with the New South Africa/ very dissatisfied/ not interested in politics/ will not answer

### 17. Do your parents think that history is important to study?

Yes/No

### Annexure 2

_/
otion for that

4.	Where do you live? Write appropriate letter in following box
	A: Mitchells Plain / Strandfontein B: Constantia / Bergvliet / Wynberg / Rondebosch / Rosebank / Kenilworth / Newlands C: Clifton / Camps Bay and surrounds D: Muizenberg / False Bay /Tokai / Simonstown E: Khayelitsha / Crossroads F: Langa / Gugulethu / Nyanga / Philippi G: Wittebome / Plumstead / Southfield / Lansdowne H: Salt River / Woodstock / Observatory / Mowbray I: City Centre / Green Point / Sea Point J: Grassy Park / Lotus River/ Ottery / Retreat / Steenberg / Athlone K: Milnerton and surrounds
	L: Northern Suburbs / Bellville M:Strand and surrounds N: West Coast O: Boland P: Other (specify)
5.	To which religion do you belong? (Please tick.)  1.Muslim
	1.Mushiii
	2.Christian
	3.Jewish
	4.Hindu
	5.Buddhist
	6.None
	7.Will not answer
6.	Religion means the following to me: (Please tick.)  1.It is my life. I live for it.
	2.It is an important part of my family's life. (We go to temple/ mosque / church etc. regularly.)
	3.I am not sure what it means to me.
	4.Will not answer
7.	How strongly are you interested in politics? (Please tick.)  1.Extremely interested
	2.Very interested
	3.Interested
	4.Not really interested

5. Not interested
6.Will not answer
8. Why do you study history? (Please tick one.) 1.It is interesting
2.It is relevant to my life
3.I need it for my future career
4.I have no other choice
9.1 With whom do you /you and your brothers and sisters live?
1.Both parents
2.Extended family (parents and other family members)
3.No parents, just family members (brothers, sisters, aunts, grandparents etc.)
4.Only mother
5.Only father
6.Guardian (non-family member)
7.Do not want to answer
9.2 If you compare your family's income with the income of other families in Cape Town, do you think you are below, about or above the average? (Please tick.)
1.Below the average
2.About the average
3.Above the average
4.Will not answer

	at kind of education does your mother have? (Please tick one.)No schooling
2	Adult Basic Education and Training (community college)
3	.Primary School only
4	.Grade 8 – 9
5	.Grade 10 – 12
6	.Technikon (trade)
7	.College (nursing / teaching)
8	University
9.	.Will not answer
	t kind of education does your father have? (Please tick one.) No schooling
2.	Adult Basic Education and Training (community college)
3.	Primary School only
4.	Grade 8 – 9
5.	Grade 10 – 12
6.	Technikon (trade)
7.0	College (nursing / teaching)
8.1	University
9.	Will not answer
	e does your mother work? (Please tick one.) rite the appropriate letter in the following box:
B: C: D: E: F: G: H:	Arts and Culture (actor/musician/artist etc.)  Civil service (education / health / defense / police / local government / transport etc.)  Business (bank / insurance etc.)  Industry (factories / mining / building / fishing)  Professional (legal / health / publishing etc.)  Politician (parliamentarian)  Maintenance services (gardening / domestic etc.)  Unemployed  Owns own business  House executive (runs the home)

K: Religious leader / traditional healer (sangoma etc.) L: Other (please specify.)
M: Will not answer
11.2. In which sector does your <b>father</b> work? (Please tick <b>one</b> .)  Write the appropriate letter in the following box:
A: Arts and Culture (actor/musician/artist etc.)  B: Civil service (education / health / defense / police / local government / transport etc.)  C: Business (bank / insurance etc.)  D: Industry (factories / mining / building / fishing)  E: Professional (legal / health / publishing etc.)  F: Politician (parliamentarian)  G: Maintenance services (gardening / domestic etc.)  H: Unemployed  I: Owns own business  J: House executive (runs the home)  K: Religious leader / Traditional healer (sangoma etc.)  L: Other (please specify.)  M: Will not answer
12. How many reading books, novels or magazines on history and society (e.g. Time Magazine) are there in your home? (Please tick one.)
1.Less than 10
2.10 – 20
3.21 – 50
4.51 – 100
5.More than 100
6.None
7.Will not answer
13. How often do your parents / those whom you live with buy newspapers? (Please tick one.)  1. 1 to 3 times a week
2. 4 – 6 times a week
3. Every day
4.None
5. Will not answer

1.Cape Times	(* 10) La (1)
2.Die Burger	
3.Cape Argus	
4.Mail and Guardian	
5.Rapport	
6.Sunday Times	
7.Sunday Independent	
8Saturday Argus	
9.Business Day	
10.Foreign papers (please specify)	H
11.Other (please specify)	
Triomer (product speed)	
e Maria Anna An	you might get at home, the library, from friends
nich newspapers do you read (which 1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger	
nich newspapers do you read (which 1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger 3.Cape Argus	
nich newspapers do you read (which 1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger 3.Cape Argus 4.Mail and Guardian	
nich newspapers do you read (which 1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger 3.Cape Argus 4.Mail and Guardian 5.Rapport	
nich newspapers do you read (which 1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger 3.Cape Argus 4.Mail and Guardian 5.Rapport 6.Sunday Times	
nich newspapers do you read (which 1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger 3.Cape Argus 4.Mail and Guardian 5.Rapport 6.Sunday Times 7.Sunday Independent	
nich newspapers do you read (which 1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger 3.Cape Argus 4.Mail and Guardian 5.Rapport 6.Sunday Times 7.Sunday Independent 8.Saturday Argus	
nich newspapers do you read (which	

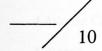
14.3. What kind of news are you most interested in? (Please tick one.)	
Write the appropriate letter in the following box:	
A: Sport	
B: Civic issues: housing, electricity, water, etc.	
C: Crime	
D: Entertainment (music, movies, theatre etc.)	
E: Environment issues	
F: Fashion	
G: Current political events (government; international relations etc.)	
H: Social issues (education, health etc.)	
I : Economic issues (business; employment; labor; trade; currency etc.)	
J: Other (specify)	
14.4. How often do you watch the news on television, listen to the news on the radio or read the	1e
newspapers? (please tick one.)	
1. 7 – 6 times a week	
2. 5 – 3 times a week	
Z. 3 – 3 times a week	
3. 1 - 2 times a week	
*	
4. once a week	
5	
5. not at all	
14.5. Which kind of programmes on television and radio do you enjoy most? (Please tick one	:.)
1.Current Affairs	
2. Music	
3. Talk shows	
4 Policions	
4. Religious	
5. Educational	
15 W	
15. What topic is discussed most often in your home? (Please tick.)  Write the appropriate letter in the following box:	
write the appropriate letter in the following box.	
A: Neighbors / Family / Friends	
B: Race issues	
C: Violence / Crime / Drugs	
D: Computers / Internet	
E: Politics / Current Affairs (events in Cape Town, Africa or the world)	
F: Religion	
G: Social issues (e.g. unemployment, HIV)	
H: Environment issues	
I: Fashion / cars / Music / CDs	
J: Sport K: Business / Finance	
L: No discussion at all	

M: Will not answer	
16. Which <b>best</b> describes your far 1. Very comfortable with the New	
2.Comfortable with the New Sout	h Africa
3.Not so comfortable with the Ne	w South Africa
4.Uncomfortable with the New So	outh Africa
5.Very Uncomfortable with the N	ew South Africa
6.Not interested in politics	
7.I am not sure how they feel about	ut the New South Africa
8. Will not answer	
17.1 Do your parents think that h  1 Yes  2 No  17.2 If No, provide their reason:	istory is important to study?  1.It is not relevant / can't get me a job
17.2 If 100, provide their reason.	2.History makes people hate each other
	3. I don't know
18.How interested do you think you livery interested	
2.Interested	
3.Not interested	
4.I don't know	
5.I will not answer	
19.1.1 Do you think that South Af	rica's past is important?
1.Yes	
2.No	
19.1.2 If No, provide your reason	1.It has no meaning to people's lives today
	2.History makes people hate each other     3. I don't know

Use the scale of 1 to 5:  Do not give the same  1.The land Wars	1 = most interesting; 5	= least interesting	our interest.
2.The South Afr	ican War 1899 – 1902	(Anglo-Boer War)	Н
3.Constitutional	History 1910 -1948		Н
4.Apartheid histo	ory 1948-1994		
5.Negotiation an	d the Truth and Recond	ciliation Commission 19	90 – 1998
20.1. Does the history that have an important mean 1. Yes 2. No			os to 1800s
20.2 If No, tick a reason.	1.It is boring.	П	
	2.It is irrelevant		
	3.Can't get me a job		
21.1.Can you use what yo when you are not at school Yes No		outh Africa in the 1600s	to 1800s outside of the classroom /
21.2 If No, tick a reason.	1.It is boring.	H	
	2.It is irrelevant	H	
	3.Can't get me a job		
22. For which categories of helpful? Rate on a scale of Do not give the same number of th	f 1  to  8: 1 = most helpf	ful; 8 = least helpful.	(1600s to 1800s) be <b>most</b>
1.Policeperson, Health Wo	rker (psychologist, nur	rse, doctor etc.),	
2.Journalist, Teacher			
3.Historian, Museum Cura	tor, Researcher, Archiv	vist	H
4.Tourism Industry,		`	

5.Information Technologist, Businessperson, Farmer, Office Worker	
6.Labourer, Craftsperson, Maintenance Worker (domestic worker, gardener etc.)	
7.Lawyer, Economist	
8.Arts and Culture (Musician, Artist, Actor etc.)	

23. How would you rate the importance of History as a school subject? Allocate a mark for History out of 10. (For example, 10/10 means "the most important".)



THANK YOU!!!

PRE-TEST FOR TEACHERS IN CAPE SCHOOLS	DATE://
SCHOOL:	
QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER:	
1. Where do you live?	
1.Northern Suburbs	
2.Southern Suburbs	
3.False Bay	
4.Atlantic Coast	
5.Boland	
6.City Centre	
2. What is your age category?	
1. 25 - 29 years	
2. 30 - 34 years	
3. 35 - 39 years	
4. 40 - 44 years	
5. 45 years plus	
3. Are you male or female?	
1. Male	
2. Female	
4. Which of the following problems are there in the community where situated?	your school is
1. race conflict	
2. unemployment	
3. crime	
4. gangsterism	
5. lack of recreational facilities	
6. lack of libraries	
7. None	

8. Other (specify)
5. How were you classified during the apartheid years?
1.African
2.White
3.Coloured
4.Indian
5. Will not answer
6. What kind of teacher education did you receive?  1. College 2. University 3.Both college and university 4.Other (specify)
7.1.Did you undertake / are you undertaking any post-graduate studies in the field of history?
1.Yes 2.No
7.2. Which further course in History or related studies did you do / are you doing?  1. Heritage / Tourism diploma
2. B.Ed / Honours
3. M.Ed / M.A
4. Ph.D
5. Other (specify)  8. How many years of teaching experience in History do you have?
1. 0-5
2.6-10
3. 11 – 15
4. 16 – 20
5. over 20 years

9.	. To which religion do you belong? (Plea	ase tick.)
	1.Muslim	
	2.Christian	
	3.Jewish	
	4.Hindu	
	5.Buddhist	
	6.None	
	7. Other (specify)	
	8.Will not answer	
10.Reli	ligion means the following to me: (Pleas	e tick.)
1.It is n	my life. I live for it.	145,45
2.It is a	an important part of my life.	
3.It is p	part of my life, but not that important.	
4. Relig	igion does not matter in my life.	interest
5. Will	l not answer	
11. Ho	ow strongly are you interested in politics	? (Please tick.)
	1.Extremely interested	
	2.Very interested	
	3.Interested	
	4.Not very interested	
	5.Not interested	
	6.Will not answer	

12. Which newspapers do you read most regularly?  Please write appropriate number in the box:
1.Cape Times 2.Die Burger 3.Cape Argus 4.Mail and Guardian 5.Rapport 6.Sunday Times 7.Sunday Independent 8.Saturday Argus 9.Business Day 10.Foreign papers (please specify)
11.Other (please specify)
13. What kind of news do you find most useful for your teaching? (Please tick one.)
1.Civic issues: housing , electricity, water, etc.
2.Crime
3.Environment issues
4.Current political events (government; international relations etc.)
5. Social issues (education, health, famine etc.)
6.Economic issues (business; employment; labour; trade; currency etc.)
7.Other (specify)
14. Which best describes your political position? (Please tick one.)
1.Very comfortable with the New South Africa
2.Comfortable with the New South Africa
3.Not so comfortable with the New South Africa
4.Uncomfortable with the New South Africa
5. Very uncomfortable with the New South Africa
6.Not interested in politics
7.I am not sure how I feel about the New South Africa
8.Will not answer

15. On which aims of learning history do you concentrate in Rate the following categories in order of importance 3 = not very important; 4 = of least importance	your history lessons? :: 1 = most important; 2 = important
1.Facts of history	
2.Judgement of human and civil rights	
3.Consideration of multi-perspectives	
4.Reconstructive skills	
5.Understanding the present	
6.Nation building	
7.Heritage and conservation	
8.Enquiry skills	
9.Democratic skills	
10.Empathy skills	
16. How would you rate your own interest in South African h	istory?
1.Extremely interested	
2.Interested	
3.Not very interested	
4.Not interested	
Further comment?	
The to remark the parties of the same	
17. How much interest do you have in the following aspects o order of interest, by using the scale 1 to 4: 1 = most interested	
1.Conflict over land	
2.Leaders of the early republics	
3.Constitutional history	Н
4. History of the ordinary people (e.g. peasants and workers)	

18. Which statement best describes your main frustration with teaching 19 <sup>th</sup> century South African History? Please write appropriate letter in the box:
A. Not enough time for further research B. Not enough time for preparation C. Lack of interesting teaching resources D. Too few teaching resources E. Lack of interest from learners F. Pressure from administration G. Controversial issues H. It is irrelevant to the lives of learners
19. Have you taught history in schools in South Africa in the 1980s?
1.Yes 2.No
20. How familiar are you with the histories that were written in populist magazines and newspapers (during the 1980s) such as New Nation, Drum Magazine and Upbeat?
1.Very familiar
2.Familiar
3.Not familiar
21.1. Have you ever used materials from these populist histories in your lessons?
1.Yes
2.No
21.2. Do you use these materials now?
1.Yes
2.No
21.3. Specify
21.4. Why not?

22. Which three resources do you find most useful for your history teaching?
1.Mayibuye Centre / Museums and Heritage sites
2.Teachers' Centres / Western Cape Education Department resources
3.Books at Public Libraries / University Libraries
4.Newspapers / The Internet / National and International Television news
5.The local community (oral sources; excursions etc.)
23. Rate the following periods of South Africa's history in order of your interest.  Use the scale of 1 to 5: 1 = most important; 5 = least important  Use a rating once only.
1.The land Wars 1600s – late 1800s
2.The South African War 1899 – 1902 (Anglo-Boer War)
3.Constitutional History 1910 -1948
4.Apartheid history 1948-1994
5.Negotiation and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1990 – 1998
24. Do you think that South African history (1600s to 1800s) have an important meaning to your learners' lives today?
1.Yes
2.No
24.1 If No, tick a reason: 1. It is boring.
2.It is irrelevant
3.Can't get them a job

25. Do you think that your learners can use the history that they are learning about South Africa in the 1600s to 1800s outside of the classroom?
1.Yes
2.No
<b>4</b>
25.1 If No, tick a reason: 1.It is boring.
2.It is irrelevant
3.Can't get them a job
26. Do you think that the work that they are learning about South Africa in the 1600s to 1800s will <b>help</b> them in life (work, relationships with others, organisations)
1.Yes
2.No
26.1 If No, provide their reason: It is not relevant / can't get them a job
History makes people hate each other
I am not sure
27. For which categories of jobs would knowledge of South Africa's past (1600s to 1800s) be most helpful? Use the following scale: 1 = extremely helpful; 2 = very helpful; 3 = helpful; 4 = not helpful
1.Police / Military person, Health Worker (psychologist, nurse, doctor etc.),
2.Journalist, Teacher
3. Historian, Museum Curator, Researcher, Archivist
4.Tourism Industry,
5.Information Technologist, Businessperson, Farmer, Office Worker
6.Labourer, Craftsperson, Maintenance Worker
(domestic worker, gardener etc.)
7.Lawyer, Economist, Politician
8.Arts and Culture (Musician, Artist, Actor etc.)
28.1. How, do you think, would the following groups of people rate the importance of History as a school subject? Allocate a mark for History out of 10. (For example, 10/10 means the most important.)
28.1.1. Your grade 10 learners
28.1.2. The other learners at the school

28.1.2. Your colleagues in other subject departments

- 28.1.3. Senior Management at the school
- 28.1.4. The school governing body
- 28.1.5. The local community

### THANK YOU!!!

ANNEXURE 4		
POST-TEST FOR LEARNE	RS	
Attitudinal survey for grad	de 10 in Cape S	Schools.
QUESTIONNAIRE		NUMBER:
SCHOOL CODE:		Participant of the second of t
This questionnaire is anonymous Answer each of the following questlease ask your teacher to assist questionnaire is not a test: there comfortable to answer a question question.	stions as honesty a you should you str are no right or wro	s possible. ruggle to answer a question. This ng answers. If you do not feel
1. Are you a boy or a girl?	(Please tick.)	
1. Boy		
2. Girl		
2. What is your age?		
1. 13-14		
2. 15-16		
3. 17-18		
4. Older than 18		
5. Will not answer		
3. How would you have bee apartheid? (Please tick.)		rms of "race") if you lived during
1. African		
2. Coloured	1000	
3. White		
4. Indian	(2019)	
5. Will not answer		

4.	Religion means the following to me: (Please tick.)	
	1. It is my life. I live for it.	
	<ol> <li>It is an important part of my family's life.</li> <li>(We go to temple/ mosque/ church etc. regularly.)</li> </ol>	
	3. I am not sure what it means to	
	4. Will not answer.	
5.	How strongly are you interested in politics? (Please tick.)	
	1. Extremely interested.	
	2. Very interested.	
	3. Interested.	
	4. Not really interested.	
	5. Not interested.	
	6. Will not answer.	
6.	Why do you study History? (Please tick.)	
	1. It is interesting.	
	2. It is relevant to my life.	
	3. I need it for my future career.	
	4. I have no other choice.	
_		
7.	What kind of news are you most interested in? (Please tick.)	
	Write the appropriate letter in the box:	
	<ul> <li>a. Sport</li> <li>b. Civic issues: housing, electricity, water, etc.</li> <li>c. Crime</li> <li>d. Entertainment (music, movies, theatre, etc.)</li> <li>e. Environment issues</li> <li>f. Fashion</li> <li>g. Current political events (government, international relation etc.)</li> </ul>	ns,
	h. Social issues (education, health, etc.) i. Economic issues j. Other (specify)	

8.		ften do you watch the news on television, listen to the news on the or read the newspaper? (Please tick.)
	1.	7-6 times a week
	2.	5-3 times a week
	3.	1-2 times a week
	4.	Once a week
	5.	Not at all
		· ·
9.		kind of programmes on television and radio do you enjoy most?
	1.	Current Affairs
	2.	Music
	3.	Talk shows
	4.	Religious
	5.	Educational
10.		opic is discussed most often in your home? he appropriate letter in the box. (Please tick.)
		a. Neighbors/ Family/ Friends
		b. Race issues
		c. Violence/ Crime/ Drugs
		<ul><li>d. Computers/ Internet</li><li>e. Politics/ Current Affairs (events in Cape Town. Africa or the</li></ul>
		e. Politics/ Current Affairs (events in Cape Town. Africa or the world)
		f. Religion
		g. Social Issues (e.g. unemployment, HIV)
		h. Environment Issues
		i. Fashion/ Cars/ Music/CDs
		j. Sport k. Business/Finance
		No discussion at all
11.	Do you	r parents think that History is important to you?
	1. Y	r'es
	2. 1	No

If no, provide their reason:	1. It is not relevant/ can't get me a job
	2. History makes people hate each other
	3. I don't know
12. How interested do you think yo	our parents are in History?
1. Very interested	
2. Interested	
3. Not interested	
4. I don't know	
5. I will not answer	
o. I was not allowed	
TO December Abdentia	
13. Do you think that South Africa's	s past is important?
1. Yes	25 8 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
2. No	
If no provide your reason 1.	It has no meaning to people's lives today
2.	. History makes people hate each other
3.	. I don't know
14. Rate the following periods of So	outh Africa's history in order of your
interest.  Use the scale of 1 to 5: 1 = most  Do not give the same number fo	t interesting: 5 = least interesting.
1. The Land Wars 1600s - late 18	
2. The South African War 1899 -	1902 (Anglo-Boer War)
3. Constitutional History 1910 -	1948
4. Apartheid History 1948 - 1994	
5. Negotiation and the Truth and	Reconciliation Commission 1990 – 1998
15. Does the history that you learn	in class on South Africa in the 1600s to
1800s have an important meani  1. Yes  2. No	

If no, tick a reason	1. It is boring	
	2. It is irrelevant	
	3. Can't get me a job	
	are learning about South Africa in the 1600s to assroom/ when you are not in school?	
1. Yes		
2. No		
If no, tick a reason	1. It is boring	
	2. It is irrelevant	
	3. Can't get me a job	
	ful? Rate on a scale of 1 to 8: 1 = most helpful: 8 we the same number for two or more categories.	_
1. Policeperson Hea	lth Worker (psychologist, nurse, doctor, etc.)	
2. Journalist, Teach		
	m Curator, Researcher, Archivist	
4. Tourism Industry		
5. Information Techn	nologist, Businessperson, Farmer, Office Worker	-
6. Labourer, Craftsp gardener, etc.)	erson, Maintenance Worker (domestic worker,	
7. Lawyer, Economis		
	at .	

# **ANNEXURE 5** RESEARCH PROJECT ATTITUDES OF CAPE TOWN YOUTH TO SCHOOL HISTORY JOURNAL ENTRY JULY - AUGUST 2000 SCHOOL CODE WEEK QUESTIONS TO BE DISCUSSED IN TEACHER'S JOURNAL FOR EVERY WEEK: a. What was discussed? b. What were the controversial issues? c. Were there any tensions around race/ racism/ identity? (Discuss.) d. What links were made to the present? Discuss. e. Is there any evidence of responses from outside the classroom (e.g. parents, friends, etc.)? Discuss. f. Are there any issues that I feel too strongly about that I would not want to discuss in class? Discuss. g. Mention any significant developments/ events in the local community, the country, on the continent or in the world that might be impacting on the attitudes of your

students at this present time.

h. Interesting comments/ viewpoints/ expressions (anecdotes) form students.					
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PROVINSIALE ADMINISTRASIE WES-KAAP

NO.073

Onderwysdepartement

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION WESTERN CAPE

**Education Department** 

ULAWULO LWEPHONDO LENTSHONA KOLONI

ISebe leMfundo

16 Avenue De Mist Rondebosch 7700

Dear Ms Bam

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: Current Attitudes of youth in Cape Town to school history

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

- Principals, teachers and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
- Principals, teachers, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
- You make all arrangements concerning your investigation.
- Your work should not disrupt the functioning of the school during school hours.
- The investigation is not conducted during the fourth school term.
- There are no financial implications for the Western Cape Education Department.
- A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal of each school where the intended research is to be conducted.
- A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Curriculum Management (Research Section).
- The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Curriculum Management (Research Section) Western Cape Education Department Private Bag 9114 CAPE TOWN 8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards

HEAD: EDUCATION

DATE: 25 APRIL 2000

ELD ASSEBLIEF VERWYSINGSNOMMERS IN ALLE KORRESPONDENSIE. / PLEASE QUOTE REFERENCE NUMBERS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

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