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HISTORY TEACHING AS A CATALYST
FOR CHANGE IN AN OPEN PRIMARY
SCHOOL

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Soli Deo Gloria
"In a society of plurality and change, there may be no detailed moral consensus that can be engraved on tablets of stone. But there can and must be a continuing conversation, joined by as many voices as possible, on what makes our society a collective enterprise; a community that embraces many communities" (Rabbi Sacks).
(iv)

SINOPSIS

In die oorgangsperiode na 'n nuwe bedeling in die onderwys in Suid-Afrika word 'n uitdaging gerig aan die sogenaamde "oop" skole om, terwyl hulle nog in die kader van die huidige beleid staan, hulle onderwysers, leerlinge en gemeenskappe voor te berei vir die ingrypende veranderinge wat op die pad voorentoe lê. In hierdie studie sal betoog word dat die vak Geskiedenis uiterlik geskik is om, in die primêre skool, hierdie proses van verandering van die grondvlak af te inisieer deur die geykte stereotipes wat deur baie jare van rasseskeiding in die skole en ook die Geskiedenisonderrig ingesypel het, te bevraagteken.

Daar sal aangevoer word dat die onderwyser, en veral die Geskiedenisonderwyser, 'n deurslaggewende rol kan speel om die bestaande rasseverhoudings te verbeter. Alhoewel skole nog in die "ou" bedeling staan, kan die onderwyser, deur moontlikhede in die huidige klaskamersituasie te benut, 'n gunstige intergroep klimaat skep en dit indirek na die wyer Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap laat oorspoel.

Wanneer die vooroordele en mites wat die Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenisonderrig huidig nog deurspek, blootgelê word, sal dit 'n geleentheid bied om verandering in die verhouding tussen groepe teweeg te bring. Daar sal aangevoer word dat die vak Geskiedenis in die primêre skool 'n geleentheid bied
om empatie onder leerlinge te ontwikkel en dat empatie 'n noodsaaklike vaardigheid is om intergroepverhoudinge te verbeter. Nieteenstaande die feit dat die sogenaamde "oop" skole moontlik nog vir 'n geruime tyd hulle eie beleid sal kan bepaal, behoort 'n tydige nuwe skoolbeleid hulle vir 'n sinvoller veelrassige naastebestaan voor te berei.

Hulpverlening om die huidige stereotipes en vooroordele wat nog bestaan, te verwerk, is noodsaaklik.

Dit gaan nie in hierdie studie om bespiegelings oor "finale oplossings" nie, dit gaan om die praktiese tussentydse maatreels wat aangewend kan word om die uitgebreide "skoolfamilie" voor te berei vir 'n bedeling wat moontlik diepgaande verskille van die huidige bedeling sal toon.

Algemene skoolbeleid sal dus ook steun moet verleen aan Geskiedenis in sy rol as venoot vir verandering. Nietemin sal Geskiedenis as skoolvak 'n sleutelrol vertolk in hierdie proses.
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CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The open school option - new challenges for schools.

Since the announcement by Minister P Clase on 23 May 1990 (Transvaal Education Department Circular Minute No 43, 1990-06-05) that state schools would be given certain options to allow for the admission of all races to schools, the ethos of exclusivity has irreversibly changed in the schools that have opened their doors. Until a time in the future when South Africa accepts a new constitution, all white schools, whether segregated or desegregated will have the opportunity of adapting their internal structures and policies in preparation for multicultural schooling.

The challenge for all white state schools under the current Model C system, will be whether schools are able to plan and prepare the way towards a future dispensation while still working within present structures. This study will attempt to show that change can take place 'from below' and that in particular the History teacher at the chalk-face has a special role in this regard. Just as Catholic schools were able to induce the government to accept the reality of multiracial schools during the period 1976 and 1986 (Christie
1990:1), so schools with proactive policies today will be the cutting edge for policy planners tomorrow.

Equal access for all pupils to education structures will be a crucial issue for the planners in South Africa in the nineties. Locked into this access equation will be the increasingly crucial role of each school community as education becomes more decentralised. Despite the fact that the Group Areas Act has historically compartmentalised residential areas according to race, the composition of these residential areas has begun to change significantly since the Act was repealed during 1991. Schools need to mirror the norms and values of their feeder communities and are expected to provide the child with a schooling that does not differ markedly from the situation that exists in the home. The school has a function of reflecting a general consensus of what is desirable within a specific geographic community. Within these communities exists a range of '...loosely interconnected communities that impinge upon the school, its teachers and the curriculum' (Garcia, 1982:59).

The fact that many communities initially will remain with a predominantly white ethos, this should not preclude them from preparing their pupils for the realities of a multicultural society and providing a challenge to the stereotypes that have been inculcated over many years of exclusion and separation. Teachers will need to become aware of the fact
that they are major transmitters of ethnic stereotypes through the routine practices and structures in schools. Their role in changing the milieu of the school and its community cannot be over-emphasised. Garcia puts the role of the educator into perspective:

"Isolated and segregated away from the out-groups, the in-group members substitute misconceptions, myths and stereotypes about the feared group for the more authentic traits that contact might actuate" (Garcia, 1982:84).

The point is also made separately by Claassen (1989:431) and Goodey (1989:482) that schools which are still closed or in predominantly white areas have a greater responsibility to introduce elements of multicultural education because contact between the different ethnic groups does not regularly take place.

1.2 **Aims for newly-opened state schools.**

1.2.1 Small beginnings and broad objectives.

If success is to be achieved by schools in their attempts to prepare for a post-apartheid education system, it must be understood that no agreed plan for the future has yet been formulated, nor can we rely on experience and precedence from our past in this regard. Schools would probably be better served in their planning if they initially adopted simple,
clear and attainable objectives as opposed to grandiose schemes for the instant achievement of true multiculturalism. A necessity exists to open minds in the newly opened schools. Teachers, pupils and parents will need to take the first steps to change from monocultural to multicultural thinking.

1.2.2. The need to change attitudes.

The road towards true multicultural education has been carefully plotted by Goodey (1989:478) in his discussion of the various theories and approaches. The stage at which South Africa joins the multicultural highway will depend on how attitudes within each community have changed. The spectrum of approaches for the open school ranges from assimilationist to pluralistic theories. The assimilationist approach emphasises the needs of society rather than the parochial demands of each groups. On the other hand, the pluralistic theories use Kallen's 'salad bowl' argument which gives priority to the contribution of ethnic components to a wider society (Goodey, 1989:479).

However, the South African situation has a uniqueness of its own. To date, a minority ethnic group has enjoyed a hegemony over all other components of this 'salad'. How this ethnic group is able to adapt its attitude to espouse a true multicultural milieu in schools is still to be seen, but
Rüsen (1991:1) is optimistic that the new education structures in a post-apartheid South Africa could become a blueprint for other parts of the world. Goodey (1989:477) is however cautious that the implementation of what he refers to as 'cultural pluralism' will be difficult to achieve because of the past over-emphasis of ethnic diversity and cultural differences. He hints that it is education that must play its part to start the multicultural motor (Goodey, 1989:482).

Therefore, the first goal for schools at the start of their multicultural journey will be to begin to change attitudes. Christie (1990:136) makes the crucial point that since 1976, Roman Catholic schools were movements for change and despite the obstacles inherent in the state education policy, pupil attitudes did change. With similar creativity and boldness, newly opened state schools can provide experiences for the school and its community to enable teachers, pupils and parents to examine their attitudes, norms and values. This is vital, as change will probably come rapidly and communities which do not have the luxury of experience or precedent in multicultural education, will be left in the starting block.

1.2.3 Finding the gaps and exploiting the 'system'.
Van Den Berg & Buckland (1984b:53) recognise that gaps can be exploited in the official structures and practices which are reflected in school syllabusses. These gaps can be levered wider so that schools will be able to 'transcend the limitations' (Van den Berg & Buckland, 1984b:53).

Teachers working within the system could become the initial driving force for change during the transition stage in the development of an educational policy in South Africa. It could be argued that true multicultural education will only be achieved when the ideal of social justice is rooted in the minds of all South Africans. This is surely the case but the legislative initiative for this social revolution will be slower than the revolution that has started at the chalkface. The Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association in Britain backs this contention in their Multicultural And Anti-Racist Education Statement.

"In all-white areas, while racism has less direct opportunity for being put into immediate practice, by the same token there is immediate evidence to challenge the popular media stereotypes. The lack of so many schools in such areas to take up the issue and challenge the stereotypes contributes to the overall national climate of racism" (AMMA Statement, 1989:21).

The role of the teacher, and particularly in this study, the History teacher can become an agent to change the milieu of their school. The multicultural education button will be pushed at the chalkface of open schools and other schools
who wish to take their place in the education structures of a post-apartheid society.

1.3 History as the catalyst for a changing primary school milieu.

In the open school classroom, one of the more important points of cross-cultural contact will be when the historical myths that have permeated History teaching in South Africa have been laid bare. These revelations could have a cathartic effect on existing stereotypes and could provide History with the potential to be a pivotal role-player in the emergent multicultural school.

History in South Africa needs a new framework of facts. The utmost care need be taken to prevent a new laundry list of myths and stereotypes replacing an old list in a search for an identity that is acceptable to all South Africans (Rüsen, 1991:6). Trümpelmann hints that the task of History teachers and curriculum planners will be an onerous one in the restructuring of a new education system:

"Verder moet dit gestel word dat Geskiedenis as skoolvak in die huidige omstandighede in die RSA 'n vak is wat tot a groot mate die uitlaatklep van baie groepe se politieke verwagting is. Geskiedenis staan in die voorste linie van die debat of die skoolkurrikulum as veranderingsagent kan geld al dan nie" (Trümpelmann, 1990:90).
The role of History as a subject needs to assume a position of greater pre-eminence than it has enjoyed in the past. Giliomee (1987:5) proudly elevates the role of pluralistic history to that of democratic nation builder. It is possible that these lofty aims could be realised by dedicated historians in the medium term and should be the goal to which all aspire. However, it is necessary to recognise that the immediate post-apartheid period will provide valuable time to experiment and initiate change from the chalkface, and it is in this regard that our History teachers will need clearly structured, yet creative help so that these opportunities are not lost.

The difficulties that will arise for teachers in their endeavours to change attitudes and create a new school milieu should not be underestimated. Christie uses Gramsci's theories of 'commonsense' to show the extent of entrenched racial values in pupils. In her research into racially mixed Catholic schools, she concludes that most pupils were unaware of the existence of racial practices in school structures, nor were they able to distinguish racial biases in the syllabus and texts.

"It is clear that open schools were not educating pupils, formally or informally, into intellectual understanding, or theoretical consciousness, of the racism of apartheid South Africa and how this could be changed" (Christie, 1990:76-77).
This study proposes that History teachers should aim to teach History in 'depth rather than breadth' (Van den Berg & Buckland, 1984b:46). The History teacher in the transition period needs to place an emphasis on the development of historical skills and the means to access historical knowledge at the expense of content. Van den Berg & Buckland's first criterion for the formulation of a new History syllabus encapsulates the challenge ahead for History teachers.

"The study of history must help to prepare students for participation in the life of society in which they live. In a multicultural society it therefore needs to maintain the necessary balance between commonality and diversity... Crucial in a multicultural society is the encouragement of empathy in order to promote an appreciation of the attitudes and cultures both of the other and of the self" (Van den Berg & Buckland, 1983b:45).

1.4 Empathic History teaching as a means of changing attitudes.

In his study of empathy and the teaching of History, Kekana states that empathy allows us to 'sense more the quality of feelings of others' (Kekana, 1989:71). It is an ability to be developed by teachers and pupils to give a heart to all actors in an historical event. Although empathy is an apparently sophisticated response and some authors doubt whether school pupils have this ability (Cairns, 1989:18),
this study advocates that a simple child-like empathy in the
study of History can be encouraged. Little research has been
done on the ability of the 8 to 13 year old to empathise, but
the power of imagination possessed by this age group is
beyond doubt and this untapped resource should not be under­
utilised in the History classroom.

The South African situation at present is ripe for the
introduction of an empathic approach. Such a bold step could
provide teachers with a valuable tool to change prevailing
attitudes and could also provide a natural internal set of
checks and balances for teachers while working within the
existing system and when the History content is reviewed at a
point in the future. Therefore empathy can play a dual role.
It can be an attitude changer and can also be the arbitrator
in an open primary school History classroom.

1.5 The aim of the study.

1.5.1 Purpose

Although the need to reform has recently rushed at the South
African society at a rapid pace, evolution in education
sphere is likely to be slower. True multicultural education
does not simply result when schools 'go open'. This study
will suggest how newly opened schools could use the interim
period in South African educational development to optimal
effect. How, while still operating under an own affairs system will schools be able to prepare their teachers, pupils and wider communities for a more multicultural co-existence? This study recognises the potential power of History as a subject to enrich the minds and imaginations of pupils in the primary school. It suggests that this power needs to be harnessed as a tool to change attitudes that will be more appropriate to open schools in the transition stage.

1.5.2 The appropriateness of History as an agent of change.

Chapter 2 of this study investigates the appropriateness of primary school History as a subject in a newly opened school and whether the current aims and the special attributes of the subject make it suitable in a changing school milieu.

The need for attitudes to change will to a degree depend on how teachers, pupils and parents are able to confront their existing biases and stereotypes. Chapter 3 proposes a move towards an empathic approach to History teaching in order to develop a 'parity of esteem' (Forster 1990:60), an ethos in which every pupil is able to flourish and where each group is accepted as an equal partner in the wider community of the school.

1.5.3 Support for History by means of a whole-school approach.
If successful multicultural institutions are to become a reality, the policies and structures of open schools must gear the entire school to provide a supportive framework for History in its role as a catalyst for change. The essentials needed to create a school climate which is able to sustain History are discussed in chapter 4.

1.5.4 Method used in the short qualitative study on pupil attitudes towards multiculturalism.

A series of lessons, questionnaires and interviews with Standard 3 and 5 pupils at a newly opened school attempted to examine whether an empathic approach to the teaching of History had any effect on the attitudes of pupils in the classroom situation.
CHAPTER 2.

2. CAN HISTORY CLAIM A PLACE ON THE OPEN SCHOOL TIMETABLE?

This chapter seeks to examine the relevancy of History as a subject on the open school timetable. In the view of Van den Berg & Buckland (1984b:1-4), History as a school subject in South Africa has in the past been tarred with a white-centered bias and that it could be in danger of being discarded as unnecessary curricular baggage in the near future. This study will argue that History should be retained in the transition period of this country.

2.1 What is the current standing of History as a school subject?

Van den Berg & Buckland (1984b:2-4) have chronicled the current unpopularity of History as a subject in South African schools. In summary these reasons are:

* an unfavourable History methodology
* the low status enjoyed by History among many pupils, teachers and parents, and

* the questionable purpose of History in a curriculum.

In fact the subject is 'too often considered a soft option suitable only for the less able candidates' (Van den Berg &
If it is accepted that there is an apparent antipathy for History at present, there could be the temptation in a future educational dispensation to marginalise, or perhaps eliminate the subject in favour of the more utilitarian subjects in the primary school curriculum.

Exponents of the 'back to basics' movement in Britain have argued that attempts to teach black History and culture have simply resulted in black pupils failing to learn basic skills (Stone, 1981:254). Closer to home, the need to prioritise the skills of numeracy, literacy and communication will likely be at the expense of subjects such as History, Geography, Religious Instruction, Art and Physical Education. In his address to Transvaal primary school teachers at their annual conference, Freer lists the following cognitive processes and forms of understanding which he believes should lie at the core of a new primary school curriculum (Freer, 1991:7).

1. Speaking and listening processes
2. Reading processes
3. Writing processes
4. Mathematical understandings
5. Scientific understandings

If this list represents the views of even a minority of teachers, then the prospects for History being reduced to a
subordinate position are very real. Freer does concede that subjects such as History could be used as 'vehicles to develop cognitive and aesthetic understandings and enthusiasms' (Freer, 1991:7). This is scant consolation. Every effort must be made to maintain the status of History in the multicultural classrooms of the future.

It is one of the thrusts of this study to urge school teachers to look beyond the prevailing unpopular aspects of the subject and to recognise the potential power of History to enrich the minds and the imagination of children. This innate power can be harnessed to change attitudes and enhance empathy in the classroom. This makes it a most appropriate tool in the transition towards a multicultural South Africa.

Shemilt is also a strong advocate for its retention as a school subject in these times of declining interest. He sees History as being ideally suited to widen the perspective that pupils have of other human beings, 'because it forges connections and explores differences at one in the same time' (Shemilt, 1980:3).

Le Cordeur (1986:1) is adamant that History possesses a power that can operate and assert itself and therefore can impact on the course of events in South Africa.
"What historians have to do, in the widest sense, is to assist South Africans (especially those in power) towards a critical reconceptualization of themselves and their destiny, to help to create a new South Africa, not to stumble blindly as a new South Africa is forced upon them" (Le Cordeur, 1986:10).

It is widely accepted that the written history of South Africa has in the past contributed towards a polarisation in society. Consequently, Moutlana has posited that a complete revision of the curriculum will be necessary in order to foster inter-group tolerance (Moutlana, 1988:161).

"Thus if a school curriculum is by nature static and not dynamic, it will be relegated to irrelevance and will fail to cope with corresponding changes in the march of human history" (Moutlana, 1988:147).

A position will be taken that opportunities for positively changing attitudes do exist in a porous and malleable History syllabus and that these must be grasped by the open school during the transitional period. This runs contrary to the view expressed by Phillips who states that it is 'virtually impossible' for state schools to use History as an agent of change (Phillips, 1990:20).

By examining the special attributes of History, sufficient motivation should exist to be able to convince the detractors that the subject History is an ideal catalyst for changing attitudes in newly opened primary schools.
2.2 The special attributes of History which make it ideally suited as an agent of change in open primary schools.

It has been proposed that History should enjoy a more elevated status as an agent of change in a new multicultural dispensation.

Thirion (1990:25) states that the 'value and significance of the subject are imbedded in the aims of the subject itself'. Thus when examining the appropriateness of the general and specific aims for a newly opened school, the aims should be seen against the relevance of History teaching and the debate as to whether it should be taught at all. The following general aspects encapsulate the significance and value of the subject as taught in schools.

2.2.1 History provides a clearer perspective of the present through a study of the past.

Authors such as Boyce, Carl, Crookall, Van den Berg and Buckland are of the opinion that an understanding of the present can be enhanced with reference to the past. This will be particularly relevant in a future educational dispensation and solutions to present problems will be made easier as past perspectives reveal new insights (Carl, 1990:150). It is exactly this re-examination of the curriculum, the History syllabus and particularly the past which, it is argued, will lead to an increased empathic
understanding of all threads of the ethnic fabric in South African society.

2.2.2 History provides for an intelligent glimpse into the future.

Excursions into the realms of prediction and prophesy fall outside the function of History. However, the subject should not be robbed of its ability to add a richer perspective to the present and to act as a guide when approaches to future issues are being considered. Crookall states that History can assist to quicken the imagination and that by examining past thoughts and feelings which fall outside the experiences of present day man, it should be possible to extrapolate from these situations when developing future dispensations. (Crookall, 1977:19). The 'quickening of the imagination' will be a significant issue when the question of empathy receives further elaboration in chapter 3.

2.2.3 History as a purveyor of a new system of values.

By highlighting the deeds of historical figures and heroes, Boyce (1968:23) sees History as an agent for moral instruction. Although the analysis of the characters of heroes and villains in History does take place, the History classrooms of the future must actively pursue the achievement of a set of generally acceptable norms and values. Through a critical evaluation of past actions of South African
historical figures, History in the 'open' primary school will fulfil its major role as an agent for changing attitudes. Pupils could gain a clearer insight into their own positions in the multicultural milieu of the future because, 'hy kan sy verantwoordelikhede binne so 'n multikulturele samelewing ook beter besef en aanvaar' (Carl, 1990:152).

Thus, although History possesses the function to transmit the values and norms of society, it is especially suited in the task of holding up these values to scrutiny against the broad historical canvass of a generally accepted moral value system. This is the dialogue that takes place between the achievements and failures of the past and the aspirations for the future. By widening our perspectives of the values of others, the ideal of a parity of esteem will have a good chance of succeeding in a newly opened schools.

2.2.4 The value of History as a source of pleasure.

Despite the sophistication and visual attractiveness of modern audio-visual media in use in the classroom, Crookall (1977:26) shows that the study of History for pleasure can be enhanced by the simple classroom activity of story-telling. Story-telling in the History classroom should not be underrated as a skill and should be encouraged as it continues to be a source of much pleasure for the primary school child.
Pupils of this age group are full of energy and possess considerable powers of imagination and curiosity; they love to tell and hear stories. These stories and legends can lead to an historical truth and are most effective if they are dramatic, action-packed and about people (Crookall, 1977:44).

In the multicultural classrooms of the future, the oral traditions of our African cultures may help in some way to fill the gap that exists in current South African black historiography (Witz, 1988:40). This could contribute towards wider perspectives in the classroom and may contribute towards an improvement of the ethos of empathy.

The pleasure that primary school pupils can derive from the interest value of History needs to be capitalised upon. In this manner, the subject will take its rightful place as a suitable catalyst to change attitudes and to improve empathy in the 'open' school classroom.

2.2.5 History as a training in critical thinking.

Although a body of factual knowledge is necessary in the study of History, a movement towards critical evaluation of evidence rather than rote fact learning seems to suit the purpose of future History teaching. History will have value, not as a checklist of facts and dates, but as the means of practising the skill of critical historical thinking. This training of the intellect will involve the collection,
comparison and evaluation of evidence. These ideas are
encapsulated in the concept of 'critical historical
awareness'.

"A critical historical awareness involves the
inculcation of historical skills of analysis of
evidence, it involves access to the range of
historical 'facts' and evidence from the past, but
it also involves the interaction of these qualities
within a way of thinking which empowers pupils to
examine critically the social processes which affect
their lives...Such critical historical awareness
places man, with his noble aspirations and his greed,
his achievements, his exploitation of his environment
and of other men, back in the centre of education".
(Van den Berg & Buckland, 1984b:44).

This lofty manifesto, encompassing many of the aims of
History, may be too sophisticated for the primary school
pupil. According to Noble (1985:16), pupils under the age of
twelve lack certain linguistic, conceptual and cognitive
abilities. Research by Stevens as cited by Short (1988:18)
however indicates that pupils between 7 and 11 years of age
are capable of assimilating controversial issues because they
are able to cope with different perspectives. He urges
teachers of this age group not to underestimate the ability
of this age group to think critically. These contrasting
views need not deter the enthusiastic teacher however, as
there is without doubt an energy, an imagination and a
curiosity intrinsic in the primary school child, which can be
used by the teacher during the History lesson to examine
different simple perspectives. Although there may be pupils
in this age group who do not as yet possess the ability to critically evaluate historical evidence, most are intensely interested in events which fall within the ambient of their imaginations and real experiences. As these pupils progress towards the end of their primary school years, this imagination and curiosity is still active, except that now the pupil is able to move further from the experiences of the home and school to experience other times and places in a broader historical sweep (Boyce, 1968:55; Crookall, 1977:45).

Therefore, if and where there are inadequacies in the spheres of abstract reasoning and logical criticism among primary school pupils, these constraints are balanced somewhat by their fresh enthusiasm, curiosity and energy. The critical examination of social processes in history must be addressed, albeit on an elementary level, for only with the balance afforded by a wider perspective of approaches will the desired shift towards the ethos of empathy take place. As the pupil is exposed to a wider range of perspectives, so is the likelihood increased that self knowledge is enhanced.

2.2.6 The value of History in the improvement of self knowledge.

A clearer knowledge of oneself is probably a first step towards a clearer knowledge of others. The Schools Council
Project History 13 - 16 confirmed that History can be an avenue to self knowledge, 'an awareness of what it means to be human' (Shemilt, 1980:3). Without self knowledge, attempts towards a more empathic approach may run no deeper than a patronising toleration of others, when what is necessary is a tolerance of all. Tolerance is defined as 'indulgence or forebearance in judging opinions, customs, or acts of others; freedom from bigotry or from racial or religious prejudice' (Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary International Edition, nd:1320). Encouraging tolerance through the study of History should be the goal of all History teachers desiring to move their pupils towards a more multicultural attitude.

"Die uitdaging is dat leerlinge binne 'n multikulturele gemeenskap met hierdie selfkennis in staat sal wees om ander te leer ken, te waardeer en te respekteer. Geskiedenis is by uitstrek hiervoor geskik, maar dan sal kurrikuleerders (vanaf sillabus-en kurrikulumkomitees tot by die onderwyser) hiervoor doelbewus voorsiening moet maak" (Carl, 1990:154).

The Transvaal Education Department has recognised this vital issue in the current aims for History. The broadening of self knowledge is seen to create a 'positive attitude', which in turn cultivates 'sympathetic insights':

"In history the pupil comes into contact with both good and bad people. Cultivating a positive attitude is concerned with the forming of character and cultivating sympathetic
insights. Cultivating an attitude transcends an understanding of the deeds of others and the feelings of hatred, joy, love, hope, confidence and pride" (TED History Study Committee, 1982:2).

The question now arises whether the present syllabus has the necessary latitude for exploitation and whether the general aims for History serve to inhibit moves toward a more multicultural and therefore a more empathic approach? It is therefore necessary to examine the current aims of the syllabus and to evaluate the efficiency of primary school History as a vehicle of change. Selected topics from the syllabusses of the different standards will illustrate lesson examples which lend themselves to a more multicultural approach.

2.3 An overview of the current aims of senior primary school History.

An attempt will be made to show that there exists a measure of compatibility between the existing aims for History and the requirements of a developing policy at a newly opened school. Four main aims have been highlighted from the current syllabus and the points of accord with a new multicultural school policy will be identified.

2.3.1 Enrichment of knowledge.

There should be little argument that the acquisition of
knowledge and development of the intellect are the foundations of the intellectual process (TED History Syllabus Standard 5, 1985:1). This fundamental aim should form the basic tenet for school policy-makers and syllabus planners of the future. However, the specific needs of each individual school will determine the emphasis that will be placed on the accumulation of historical facts vis-a-vis the acquisition of skills or the formation of attitudes.

2.3.2 Acquisition of skills.

These are the skills which need to be mastered in order that historical facts can be internalised as a body of useable knowledge. Skills are 'closely associated with presentation, interpretation and the mastery of content' (TED History Syllabus Standard 5, 1985:3). It is necessary to identify the skills that would be of value to History teaching in an open primary school, as the skills which are taught need to have as a consequence the creation of a climate of empathy.

The idea being developed in this study is that in order for schools to move towards a more multicultural base, a spirit of empathy will need to be promoted. It has been mooted that this could be achieved if pupils at a primary school level were exposed to a wider perspective of attitudes, particularly in the History classrooms. This will be
elaborated upon later in this chapter. [see 2.6.5]

Despite the pessimism concerning the cognitive maturity of the primary school pupil that has been expressed in this chapter by some authors, it has been suggested that recourse to a wider range of elementary evidence could assist the History teacher to break from the stranglehold that reference to a single textbook has brought about in the past. This important classroom approach is articulated clearly in the existing aims for History:

"The ability to extend knowledge through research, using, amongst others, historical texts, obtaining information through research from documents, magazines, newspapers, pictures, films, maps, statistics and tables, as well as from direct observation...The ability to think objectively and critically...and the ability to judge on available evidence" (TED History Syllabus, 1985:3,4).

History teachers need to exercise caution that they do not become captives of certain textbooks and dependent upon a certain body of facts. The planners of the current syllabus recognise this danger and warn against History languishing on the timetable as an exercise in mere factual gymnastics.

"The teaching of History may therefore not degenerate into a presentation of mere chronicles, because then a 'skeleton' without spirit or life is created" (TED Study Committee, 1982:3).
2.3.3 Forming of attitudes.

The syllabus explains this broad aim in terms of the realisation of spiritual values which refine the character within national, cultural and social contexts. What is significant to note for this study, is the fact that the 'development of empathy' forms a specific aim for the History teacher. It seems apparent that this aim has not in the past enjoyed the pre-eminence that it will probably enjoy in a future multicultural milieu:

"To help the pupil to involve himself in the problems and situations of others, to develop a feeling of empathy with, and understanding of, specific situations in a specific time and place; to enable him therefore to evaluate more objectively" (TED History Syllabus, 1985:6).

Unequivocally therefore, pupils are required to 'evaluate more objectively'. It seems evident that the existing framework of aims is closer to the needs of the policy makers in open schools than would at first be apparent. The aims are in fact a well-formulated body of guidelines capable of being adapted by schools seeking to walk a more multicultural route, even if they were never intended for such lofty ideals originally! The task of the History teacher will be to strike the correct balance between these three fundamental aims; that of knowledge acquisition, skills development and attitude formation. The responsibility of the school executive and the History teacher will be to achieve this
special balance according to the specific needs of each individual school community.

2.4 Broad aims for History in a multicultural school.

Brand (1988:299) has plotted three future directions for History in a changed South Africa.

* The first possible direction is a shift away from a Eurocentric approach to a history rewritten from a pro-black standpoint as was experienced in Zimbabwe in the 1980's (Brand, 1988:300). Brand quotes Sonn and Van den Heever in his argument that the previous glorification of the whites at the expense of the blacks should be put right in the transitional stage of the history of South Africa so that in some way the temptation to substitute one set of biases for another can be avoided in the future.

"Hy beweer dat as geskiedenis nie nou reggemaak word nie, die skoolgeskiedenis kurrikulum in Suid-Africa dieselfde pad gaan volg as die van Zimbabwe" (Brand, 1988:300).

* Brand's second point articulates what this study hopes can be achieved in the newly opened schools. He expresses the hope that South Africa, and by implication its history, can develop from a unique synthesis of all contributions from the past - the idea of a new-found synergy seems particularly
attractive here. History must unlock this synergy by creating a view of South Africa which is greater than a mere contest between the various groupings.

"Geskiedenis kan hier as bindkrag dien. Veral skoolgeskiedenis kan 'n besondere bydrae lewer omdat die jeug normaalweg makliker vatbaar is vir vernuwing" (Brand, 1988:301).

* The third scenario involves a History curriculum which differentiates in some way for the various cultures. Although a measure of deviation from a core curriculum could be encouraged in order to be relevant to separate cultural groups and communities, South Africa needs to come to terms with its diverse character as true multicultural education will be best served if the potential synergy of this diversity is exploited in a future South Africa.

"...there can be no absolutes in history and the basis is laid for dialogue among equals rather than monologue in which one party dictates in order to dominate the others" (Rossouw, 1991:7).

The revisionist historian also sees History as an active agent for a changing society. Moutlana (1988:165) pleads for a greater prominence for South African History in the curriculum so that the achievement of the stated aim of developing positive and balanced attitudes be realised.
Therefore, there seems to be agreement on many levels that the basic aims for the Senior Primary History syllabus of the future should allow for the transformation of the subject from a passive position in the curriculum to an active agent of change on the time-table. The secret for successful catalytic action will entail an approach which emphasises the skills component and places less importance on the accumulation of facts.

Much will be expected from the History teacher who will be burdened with the task of co-ordinating this whole process of change. Van den Berg & Buckland (1984b:10) and Hattingh (1987:28) point out that teachers need to be helped in the achievement of aims which provide an integrated approach in the teaching of facts, skills and attitudes; the 'how' in History rather than the 'what'. It will be the correct balance of the proportions of these three factors in the open History classroom that should secure the move away from a Eurocentric bias to a empathic multicultural approach.

This paper does not deny the fact that the existing History curriculum will undergo major changes in a future socio-political situation in South Africa. It simply attempts to provide ideas for open schools during the transition stage. Change 'from below' cannot wait for initiatives from above.
2.5 **Some examples of lesson opportunities for the teacher in the open History class.**

The current aims of the primary school History syllabus have been seen to possess a latitude which can be utilised by the creative and committed teacher. In fact, the syllabus planners have encouraged a dynamic interpretation of the document.

"Attention is drawn to the fact that, where necessary, sections which are not indicated, should (my emphasis) be included in the presentation for the sake of a better comprehension of work" (TED Syllabus for History Std 5, 1985:1).

While the current syllabus remains in force, sections can be highlighted which will further the aims of History and at the same time enhance an ethos of empathy in the school. Initially it seems prudent to effect these changes in manageable little slices, as at first, schools will be working on their own and the only help and direction which will be available for History teachers will come from the internal structures of each school. Sieborger (1988:36) conducted a project with History teachers at a particular school and found that teachers could be tentative with unfamiliar content (especially in the absence of appropriate text books). On the other hand teachers felt less threatened if the new content was manageable for them and that they received guidance from the headmaster and colleagues.
2.5.1 Examples from the Standard 2 syllabus.

A significant part of this syllabus explores the history of the local area. This section lends itself to the project method where pupils write their own history of the local area. For example, the author's school in the Mondeor area contains the following items of particular interest:

* A Boer concentration camp site, cemetery and monument.
* The ambush site on the old road from Cape Town where at the turn of the century the early travellers to the Rand were 'taxed' by Zulu bandits.
* A half-built dam wall, the evidence for an aborted scheme to transform the Mondeor valley into a dam.

These interesting aspects of the Mondeor environment and community are examples of the multi-faceted nature of an approach to 'local' history in Standard 2. In the near future, schools will have to cast their nets wider in order to gather facts on historical events and perspectives which will be in step with the more multicultural nature of schools.

* Under the section 'History of the Public Service in the District', the treatment of the Police and Traffic officials as protectors of citizens will need to reflect the recent reality of the multiracial nature of these services.
* Under the broad heading of the historical origins of people, the opportunity to explore interesting family histories and family trees is presented. By peeling away the masks we all wear, we get a closer glimpse of the family life of all the ethnic components in the classrooms and previously held prejudices and attitudes could be confronted and possibly transformed.

* When dealing with the historical narratives, a child is given an insight into the special contributions of various individuals. The current syllabus includes many opportunities to explore characters not mentioned per se in the syllabus; in fact, each section is postscripted by the words 'or others of own choice'. The problem for the teacher would seem to be the mechanics of exploring beyond the syllabus as there are frequent gaps in the available written history for other races. It may be very difficult for example, to find adequate resource material on black explorers or missionaries, but material is available from interested groups such as the NECC, SAIRR and SACHED (Witz, 1988); (Cummins et al, 1989) are making material available which provides a new perspective on certain aspects of South African History. For example, in the section of the syllabus dealing with the history of famous South African
artists and musicians, Cummins et al (1989:1-30) has worked out material which can be effectively used by the pupil in an 'open' primary school.

Cummins et al (1989:2) suggest for example, a study on the Music of Africa. As an introduction to the topic, the message behind the Paul McCartney/Stevie Wonder song 'Ebony and Ivory' can be discussed. The lesson can become an empathic exercise if the song is analysed for its message for South Africa. Then it is suggested that the contemporary and popular black South African group 'Amampondo' could be studied against a background of the tradition of African music (Cummins et al, 1989:28). More recently, the achievements of Miriam Makeba, Johnny Clegg and 'Mango Groove' should have some relevance for this age group. This approach could provide an opportunity of exposing pupils to widened perspectives and therefore the potential to raise the level of empathy in a desegregated primary school History class (Cummins et al, 1989:28).

2.5.2 Examples from the Standard 3 syllabus.

The first section of this syllabus covers the way of life of the original inhabitants of South Africa. Two approaches could be considered when studying the San, Khoi, Blacks and
Whites:

* Firstly, teaching methods which lean towards an expose of ethnic eccentricities and peculiarities, trivialise the various groups and result in stereotyping and its concommitant curse of stigmatisation. It should be the conscious effort of teachers to be sensitive to these developments and to teach the section with the specific aim of improving attitudes between the various groups in the class.

* Secondly, an opportunity now exists to present an alternative viewpoint of the early settlement of the different race groups into South Africa. A real debate, albeit at an elementary level, could take place around this controversial issue. Instead of eliminating texts which present an unbalanced point of view, the examples of bias concerning the early contacts with the Khoi mentioned by Aird (1989:3) could be presented as points of view in the debate. The recent trends that have emerged in South African historiography provide a good source of a range of opinions for such a debate (Smith, 1988:139). Traditional Afrikaner historiography, liberal historiography and perhaps even the historical materialist interpretations can now used as sources in the open classroom.
"The Oxford History for all time dispelled the myth that South African history had begun when the Portuguese discoverers rounded the Cape in 1487 - it demonstrated that Africans had indeed had a history before the coming of the white man. It thus pushed back the frontiers of South African history by going beyond the starting dates of more traditional histories" (Smith, 1988:139).

Mohamed (1991:25) proposes examples of an 'alternative history' when dealing with the early inhabitants of South Africa. He expresses the need for History to discover and display the human qualities of people from non-dominant cultures. He also mentions the controversial matter of the dates of settlement of the indigenous peoples of South Africa and pleads for resources to be made available in the classroom to explode the myth that South African history did not start with the first white settlement.

A simple exposure to an alternative theory and a shift of emphasis away from a previously popular 'we/they' account of the facts is a step towards a change in attitudes and a move away from a laundry list of white conquests and black humiliations.

2.5.3 Examples from the Standard 4 Syllabus.

The history of the Republics and the establishment of the Union of South Africa forms the bulk of the South African section. It is concerned mainly with the conflict between white South Africans and Britain and does not lend itself
ideally to improving multicultural attitudes. However, fruitful discussion could be elicited by debating the appropriateness and relevance of national symbols.

* The question of the South African flag in a new South Africa could be debated and pupils who could also be encouraged to use their creativity to compare ideas for a new flag.

* The issue of national anthems, although controversial, could be studied in a comparative manner. Once again, Cummins et al (1989:63) has dealt with this topic in a way that would be appropriate for a Standard 4 pupil in an 'open' school. The anthems of the United Kingdom ('God save the Queen'), France ('La Marseillaise'), China, South Africa ('Die Stem') and 'Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika' are handled with reference to rhyming schemes and the patriotic and religious features of the words. This exposure to other than the official anthem could have the effect of demystifying the potential contentious nature of the topic and enhancing the creation of the desired ethos of empathy.

2.5.4 Examples from the Standard 5 Syllabus.

An opportunity exists in the South African History section to study the way of life of slaves in the Cape colony.
Although the slaves are but one of the groups of inhabitants of the Colony that must be studied, (the others being, the officials, sailors, free burghers, free Blacks and Khoi), the institution of slavery provides a chance for the 'open' school History teacher to examine history 'from below'. Pupils could be exposed to a variety of source material which could result in the development of a more balanced point of view and a shift in attitudes more appropriate to a desegregated school.

A series of three lessons on slavery in the Cape Colony were presented to a newly 'mixed' Standard 5 class. These formed part of a small qualitative study which wished to examine whether the variety of perspectives presented in the lesson had any effect on the attitudes of the pupils towards other races in the class. This will be referred to in the concluding chapter of this study. [The questionaires and the slavery lesson plan used in the study are Annexure A, C and B respectively].

2.6 Issues to be faced by the History teacher involved in change 'from below'.

The point has been made in this chapter that History possesses special attributes which make it ideally suited to initiate change from below in an open primary school. The choice of History however comes with special problems for the
teacher, as the determination of what is the 'truth' in South African History is a nettle which will have to be grasped during the transition stage as well as in a future South Africa. In order that History does not slip into the cloak of indoctrinator, there are certain caveats for the teacher in the multicultural class.

2.6.1 Multicultural aspirations in a monocultural syllabus.

The more heterogeneous the composition of a school's community becomes, the more controversial the teaching of History is likely to be. According to Chernis (1991:20), a 'time lag' develops between the reform initiatives of the ruling parties and the History that is taught in the classroom. This has the effect of the History syllabus and official textbooks perpetuating 'an image of the past not necessarily still accepted by the ruling party, and helping to prop up a political and social dispensation which no longer exists' (Chernis, 1991:20). Teachers using History as an attitude reformer in newly opened schools must realise that their efforts will be expended in a largely monocultural syllabus as has been shown in examples above. The existing syllabus and most of the textbooks perpetuate in the transition period, 'a narrow, simplistic, sterile and ossified version of this country's past' (Chernis 1991:13).

In order to work within the existing syllabus, History
teachers will have to use textbooks which are largely still written from a white-centered perspective and will need to monitor textbooks they use for any undesirable stereotypes and language which could conceal bias or be loaded with prejudice (Cohen, 1983:200-203). If a parity of esteem is to be achieved among all pupils in a desegregated school, the History teacher will have to be very sensitive as to who emerges as the heroes and the villains of the past. This will probably be achieved if the dependence on existing textbooks is diminished by the teacher.

2.6.2 Obstacles faced by History teachers working in a multicultural milieu.

The changes 'from below' need to be small but deliberate steps forward rather than grandiose plans which attempt to rewrite the wrongs of the past. Teachers who are committed introduce grassroots multicultural changes in their classrooms should however be aware of the problems which some multicultural schools in Britain have experienced when following a similar route. Stone (1981:140) has listed some of the reasons why teachers fail to adapt and to change their History syllabus successfully:

* The lack of external support and encouragement can result in the History teacher working in isolation because of narrow, parochial and inappropriate school policies.
The lack of internal support and encouragement, especially from the Headmaster, can result in a teacher who is virtually abandoned to his/her own resources and is required to simply 'get on with it'.

In a situation where one or two History teachers have to shoulder the major responsibility for change and are working in isolation from the other teachers, they may become too vulnerable to any small changes in their staff grouping. Reforming attitudes should not be dependent on the vagaries of staff changes within schools.

The general lack of resources for History in the primary school is a limiting factor for success. Mohamed (1991:26) lists similar inhibitors of change in schools. He describes the problem of teachers who are poorly prepared for their new task amidst an overcrowded syllabus and perhaps a headmaster with unrealistic expectations of already overworked staff members. When formulating new policies, multicultural schools need to take account of these problems lest their initiatives are stillborn.

2.6.3 Can the History teacher be an attitude reformer without being an indoctrinator?

The historical knowledge of South Africa's past that will become a more and more controversial issue for History
teachers. As each group which comprises South African society tries to gain acceptance for their interpretations of the past, so History teachers will face the dilemma of trying to discover the truth from these contrasting ideologies and moral standpoints which will emerge from a new multicultural approach to the subject.

However tentative the attempt to achieve the truth might be at a primary school level, the teacher must accept the fact that the History which they were taught, will be different to the History they will teach and this implies a measure of re-education. The danger does exist in this role as attitude reformer that the teacher becomes an indoctrinator for the new hegemony, but the teacher has to confront the class with the contentious matters of the past so as to lead them towards a sound value judgement for their view of the present. This is a formidable task for many teachers who lack training in these skills and for primary school pupils who are immature historical and political thinkers.

Mention has already been made of the primary school child's ability to handle controversial issues and to think critically [see 2.2.5]. Willig (1990:105) refers to the work done by Hallam and Stevens who were both optimistic about the growth of historical thinking by pupils towards the end of their primary school years and the existence of a level of conceptual maturity that teachers could use to good effect.
But is this maturity at a level which will allow for value judgements to be made which could provide a moral base for future social justice?

From studies by Cockburn quoted by Willig (1990:108), it was shown that the achievement of understanding of moral issues by 8 - 13 year old pupils followed certain definable steps:

* Initially, morality is defined in terms of the dictates of the authorities.
* Then, a concern for justice becomes the main moral criterion.
* This is followed by an ability to recognise a conflict between two moral principles.
* Finally, pupils are able to make moral judgements by taking all relevant facts into account.

Children can grasp the essence of right and wrong and therefore should be able to judge the moral actions of people in the past. With an overlay of improving empathic skills, the development of a set of moral values could be achieved - what Willig (1990:109) sees as a knowledge of the past making a significant contribution towards pupils beginning to 'think in the manner of a historian'.

The achievement of a single acceptable morality in a multicultural South Africa is only possible if teachers are able to achieve what Trümpelmann (1988:16) terms
'konsensuswaardes'. The ideals of justice, democracy and a better future for all are points of departure and even although Trümpelmann sees this type of education taking place at a secondary level, the foundations can be laid in the primary school by confronting contentious issues in an empathic manner. If the possibility exists to inoculate education against indoctrination then this approach seems to offer the best chance.

"Een van die verstandigste maniere om juist dit te doen, is om die kontensieuse eietydse geskiedenis nie te vermy nie, maar multiperspektiewies en empaties, aan te bied. Hierdeur word die Geskiedenis 'n tafereel waaruit die kind toenemend in staat moet wees om self 'n toekoms te kies, omdat hierdie keuse op die ou end die verskil kan beteken tussen opvoeding en indoktrinasie" (Trümpelmann, 1988:17).

Remembering that teachers also bring to the classroom a baggage of their own biases and prejudices, the task for the teacher in a desegregated class is complicated even further. The achievement of a value system that enjoys consensus has the best chance of success if the teacher can present a balance of viewpoints and 'historical facts'. Struwig (1989:6) makes the valid point that the teacher will fail in these difficult endeavours if political education does not have a strong academic base. However, together with political education the well-developed skill of empathy at a primary school level and in the absence of a set of moral absolutes in a multicultural society, the spectre of
indoctrination will still loom large. It is an empathic approach to teaching History in an 'open' school which can best prevent a teacher for unconsciously becoming an indoctrinator for the new order.

2.6.4 Two teaching strategies to help to counter the threat of indoctrination in the primary school classroom.

Faced with cutting the textbook's umbilical chord and the problem of reaching the truth from South Africa's controversial past, History teachers will need a variety of alternative strategies and approaches to assist them in these difficult endeavours. This should not dampen the enthusiasm of teachers who do recognise the ability of children to be able to deal with controversial topics, but it is an attempt to widen the range of approaches for the History teacher in newly opened classes.

Hattingh (1987:28) has suggested that for a pupil 'the present must be used as a starting point for his journey into the past'. This proposal seems to have merit. The contemporary approach to History does have relevance for this age group of pupils and could be used in parts of the senior primary school syllabus instead of an exclusive diet of the past. Hallam has shown in his research that in Piagetian terms, that History for standards 2 - 5 should not be 'over-abstract' in form, nor should it contain too many
variables (Hallam, 1974:168). This does not suggest that contemporary and local History studies are free from abstractions or variables, however, the nature of contemporary and local content is well-suited to the strategies which have been suggested for the History teacher in a multicultural classroom.

2.6.4.1 Local History.

Researching the history of a local community requires effort and involvement from teachers and pupils and has the potential to go some way towards bridging the gap between the 'relevant present and irrelevant past' (Esterhuizen, 1983:11). A further advantage of this approach could be that concurrent with a reduced reliance on textbooks, local historical evidence could be collected and studied in an active way (Douch, 1974:113). Opportunities exist through this approach to get to know more about the history of a local community by examining it 'from below' and at the same time to gain a better understanding of the entire community which serves a particular school. [Also see 2.5.1 above].

2.6.4.2 Contemporary History.

The study of the history of our times may also have a place in the History syllabus for open primary schools during the transition period. Despite the fact that the study of contemporary History is not widely regarded as an academic
discipline (Boyce, 1982:10), it can be usefully incorporated as a teaching approach in the multicultural classroom because of the potential availability of a good range of primary and secondary sources. Working with these various sources is ideal for an investigative teaching method and is another way of assisting the teacher to widen the objectives of a topic by being able to lessen the reliance on a particular textbook. Boyce says the following of a contemporary approach to History:

"The historian can never be certain of his conclusions. This should not be considered as a weakness. The questions which arise in the course of study of the contemporary world must be regarded as more important than the answers given" (Boyce, 1982:10).

The advantage that accrues from a study of contemporary History is that it is a strategy which could assist to shift the emphasis in primary school History away from its previous white-centered focus. The following sections taken from Transvaal Education Department History syllabusses are examples of how a contemporary approach can be used.

* In the Standard 2 syllabus, the section on 'Historical Narratives' (TED History Syllabus Standard 2 - 4, 1976:14) provides an excellent opportunity for studying the contributions of contemporary individuals. South Africans such as Ian Player or Dr Luthuli are examples of such characters.
* The Standard 3 syllabus covers a section on the languages of the original inhabitants in South Africa (TED History Syllabus Standard 2 - 4, 1976:14). This could be extended to study the demographics of language groups in South Africa today followed by a local survey of the mother tongues of the pupils in a particular school and perhaps the official languages debate that will take place in South Africa in the future.

* The Standard 4 syllabus includes a section dealing with the establishment of the 1961 Republican Constitution (TED History Syllabus Standard 2 - 4, 1976:15). A fruitful examination of the recent (November 1991) South African Law Commission's Interim Report on Group and Human Rights could be made in the light of a future new constitution. This constitutional debate which will take place in the transitional stage by bodies such as CODESA, provide immediate opportunities for the teacher to incorporate a contemporary approach into some of the sections of the syllabus.

* The 'Voyages of Discovery' in the Standard 5 syllabus includes a section which deals with Christopher Columbus (TED History Syllabus Standard 5, 1985:14). As the 500th anniversary of the landing of Columbus on American soil approaches, an ideal opportunity is
presented to explore the current debate around who was the first 'discoverer' of the North American continent. This is a further example of the creative use of a syllabus in order to expose previously accepted 'truths' in history to a more balanced scrutiny by providing an opportunity to explore a wider range of perspectives.

One of the problems associated with the contemporary approach is the proximity of the historian to the actual event. This could be an obstacle in an ability to see results from an objective standpoint. Broodryk (1990:56) adds to the problem of objectivity by stating that all information and evidence is not always available on contemporary issues although there could be the advantage of a recourse to the testimonies of people who had lived through events. However, he is of the opinion that contemporary history has a value in that it satisfies a personal need because of its currency. The more directly we can relate to events the more relevant they tend to become (Broodryk, 1990:63). This is certainly the case with primary school children who relate best to concepts which fall within their experiential frames of reference.

It is evident that the contemporary approach to history lends itself to an increased use of sources such as newspapers and news magazines. The inclusion of newspapers in the quiver of sources in the open classroom seems desirable as a
multicultural education presumes a multi-perspective approach (Broodryk, 1990:65). Jones (1988:91) concurs that newspapers are a good source for the examination of history from a variety of different perspectives. The fact that most modern newspapers have become party political should not be seen as a disadvantage. In fact, to be able to critically evaluate the 'facts' as presented by the different standpoint of various newspapers must be seen as a distinct advantage, (Oosthuizen, 1990:33).

Therefore, one of the serious obstacles for the teacher in a multicultural History class has been a lack of appropriate sources and the predominantly white-centered textbooks available. The newspaper and the news magazine are items of media which can readily fill a gap where a lack of multi-perspective sources is apparent (Smith, 1988:10; Nyeko, 1980:60).

2.6.5 Emphasising skills rather than facts.

The above discussion of some of the approaches that the History teacher could use in a multicultural classroom has implied a probable shift of emphasis away from teaching the facts of history to that of imparting skills which will equip the pupil better for the 'contest in the classroom'. Pupils will be required to examine evidence and to compare sources which reflect differing points of view.
Various authors have suggested that History teachers make this shift of emphasis to counter the limiting factor of teaching outdated content in a changing South Africa. Hattingh (1987:28) sees it as a study of persons rather than periods; Van den Berg & Buckland (1984b:33) view it in terms of a study of the process rather than the product; Boyce (1982:10) prefers looking at questions rather than answers and Grosvenor (1982:18) advocates that it is better to 'know how' rather than 'know what'.

The move towards an historical skills approach in the senior primary classes should improve the chances of dialogue taking place at the chalkface (Mac Larty, 1991:36). This can be particularly relevant for Standard 5 pupils whose ability to debate is beginning to develop (Willig, 1990:108). In fact, Rüsen (1991:5) believes that 'highly abstract theoretical matters of historical consciousness' can be handled even by beginners in school History. Even if Rüsen's lofty expectations are not achieved in every pupil, a dialogue between differing perspectives will have been started and an empathic understanding of others furthered. The dilemma of reaching an historical 'truth' will in a small manner be lessened in the transitional period in South Africa if pupils are provided with the conceptual tools which could enable them to evaluate points of view and to recognise the motives behind people's actions in history (Chisholm, 1981:148).
The 'how' of South African History as opposed to the 'what' is a pragmatic step for an interim phase, a step which could allow schools a breathing space to formulate their first multicultural policies, instead of embarking on the classroom crusade of determining 'who was in the right?' or 'what really happened?'

2.7 Conclusion.

The classroom themes highlighted for each standard above should be viewed merely as examples of internal arrangements which the History department of a school can make when faced with the task of teaching the existing syllabus to a more multiculturally sensitive population. The emphasis given to particular aspects of the syllabus by the teacher must be determined within the framework of a new school policy that has been formulated by all the staff in accordance with the needs of the various communities which comprise the school.

Caution must be exercised when formulating the principles of this policy, so that basic methodological considerations are not overlooked in the flush of enthusiasm to overturn the trappings of the oppressor's history - the age, maturity and developmental constraints remain in place for the child who must not be sidelined in the jostle for hegemony.

An attempt has been made to show that the History syllabus possesses a malleability which allows for new inferences to
be drawn and alternate interpretations to be aired. Although many of the topics in the present senior primary History syllabus are still white-centered and probably unsuitable in a multicultural situation, History will be a major role-player on the road to multicultural education and should assume its position of importance on the open school timetable.

Edgington (1983:3) has warned that change will not be effective if it is initiated by teachers who believe it to be a simple matter of replacing the old syllabus with a new revamped model. Throwing 'Plato' to 'Nato' into the wastepaper basket without being sure of the way ahead becomes change for the sake of change. Although History teachers will not be teaching the History that was taught to them, the approaches and strategies discussed above should equip them to overcome this difficulty in the short term and enable them to wear their new multicultural hats without having to foresake the academic rigours of the subject.

"Teachers involved in the development of multicultural history syllabuses have in the past been so concerned with 'correcting the truth' that the need for effective learning techniques has been ignored. Content can not exist in a vacuum, it must be attached to 'good educational practice'" (Grosvenor, 1982:19).

The motor of change must be started and History seems to hold the ignition key that fits and the History teacher the
driving skills necessary to travel the multicultural road.
3. TOWARDS EMPATHIC HISTORY TEACHING IN AN OPEN CLASSROOM.

3.1 Introduction.

If History is to assume a position of prominence in the open school curriculum, History teaching will need appropriate approaches in the classroom. It has been suggested in the previous chapter that a shift should occur towards teaching the 'how' of South African history rather than the 'what' in order to ameliorate the effects of operating within a Eurocentric syllabus. Studying the process rather than the product of history could also be more conducive to the development of empathy, as the imagination of the pupil will be harnessed and teachers will be concerned with inspired but well-informed guesses (Willig, 1990:107). In the new desegregated South African classrooms, it is hoped that the achievement of empathy among pupils will enhance their ability to understand historical events which in the past have been viewed from an exclusively Eurocentric perspective.

Although the concept of empathy in History teaching is currently enjoying popularity, it should never be an end in
itself nor should it in any way compromise the discipline of the subject. The empathic approach hopes to widen the thinking of primary school pupils by moving from egocentric thinking which is reflected in the current Eurocentric syllabus, to sociocentric thinking which is characterized by an improved awareness of a wider range of perspectives of issues in South African History. Later in this chapter the effect that bias has on sociocentric thinking will be raised.

3.2 Empathy in the open classroom - are teachers and pupils ready for the approach?

The inclusion of an empathic approach in the objectives for a History lesson presupposes that teachers and pupils are able to understand, through imagination, the intentions and actions of people in history. Cairns (1989:15) describes empathy as the ability of 'getting into the minds' of people in order to understand their actions. When this is linked with an evaluation of evidence, pupils should be able to get closer to the values, beliefs and feelings of others in the past. However, these mental and academic achievements may be beyond the ability of the primary school child.

"Entertaining the beliefs, goals, and values of other people ... is a difficult achievement. It is difficult because it means holding in mind whole structures of ideas which are not one's own, and with which one may profoundly disagree" (Ashby & Lee, 1989:62).
Empathy involves thinking imaginatively in order to be able to project back into an historical situation (Portal, 1989:89). Whether the 8 to 13 year old child has the ability to empathize is a debatable point. The research by Stevens which was referred to in the previous chapter [see 2.2.5] was optimistic as to the ability of pupils to think critically and to be able to handle various perspectives. Even if this does not provide a guarantee for the achievement of empathy, teachers will attest to the fact that, with suitable stimulation, many of their pupils have lively imaginations which can be regarded as the raw material of empathy. Teaching History to improve empathy should enhance sociocentric thinking, improve relationships with people and an awareness of self.

Ideally, empathy will allow pupils to experience the feeling of others; to enable them to rise above their own powers of reason; to move beyond the limits of their own prejudices and to eliminate the stock of labels and descriptive words which we give to other groups (Kekana, 1989:71). Low Beer (1989:8) concurs that empathy is all about the 'ability to feel oneself into the feelings of others', but cautions that it cannot be regarded as an item on the school timetable. Empathy is not an attachment to a History lesson, nor can it be forced into a History syllabus in an arbitrary way. Caution needs to be exercised with simplistic methodologies
such as C.A.S.E. (Kemp, 1990:10).

\[ \begin{align*}
C &= \text{teach the Content} \\
A &= \text{foster empathic Attitudes} \\
S &= \text{develop Skills} \\
E &= \text{be aware of Evidence}
\end{align*} \]

These types of approaches can readily become ends in themselves and could make the structure of a lesson become more important than the skills being taught and the content being presented. Not every History lesson will of course, be suitable as a lesson in empathy.

3.3 Some implications when formulating empathic objectives for lessons in the open school History class.

3.3.1 Empathy should develop within a framework of historical facts.

Flushed with the altruistic zeal of 'going open', the desire to infuse empathy into the ethos of a school should not mask the scholarly rigour required by the successful History teacher. Although the fundamentals of sound methodological practice for History as a school subject must remain intact, this study proposes that the development of an empathic attitude among teachers and pupils should be one of the specific objectives of History teaching. However, having the development of empathy as an objective should in no way
dilute the importance of maintaining an academic rigour in the study of History. Willig makes it quite clear that the 'imagining' part of empathy is only part of the process which must be followed by sound scholarly methodology in which the teacher tests the hypotheses and arrives at reasoned judgements (Willig, 1990:107).

"Traditional history teaching has always (rightly) been cautious of new approaches which appear to allow children to get things wrong. History is a public form of knowledge which, although it offers no certainties, has standards and criteria which are not matters of mere personal preference or whim..." (Ashby & Lee, 1989:86).

An important condition governing a pupil's ability to empathise in History is historical knowledge. The psychological evidence suggests that primary school pupils have an ability to appreciate the thoughts and feelings of people who lived in the past. History teachers will have the best chance to achieve empathy among their pupils if the teachers are aware that '...the more history the children know, the more effective their powers of empathy will be' (Willig, 1990:108).

3.3.2 Empathy requires an ability to be imaginative.

In order to achieve a certain level of empathy in primary school pupils, they will first have to come to terms fully with their own identities. Pupils of this age group may also struggle to immerse themselves into the thoughts and feelings
of others; particularly if the people are distant, historical characters. It is difficult because the pupil is being required to imagine himself or herself into times where there is no guide for the imagination (Cairns, 1989:17). It is in these situations where the creative teacher can overcome these possible problems by harnessing the imaginative powers of the class in order to stimulate a debate. This will result in the achievement of the objective which allows for the illumination of an issue from more than one point of view. As has been proposed in Chapter 2 [2.6.4.2], the more contemporary the History, the easier it will be for pupils to relate to the characters.

3.3.3 Empathy as a safeguard against indoctrination.

If teachers are sincere in their attempts to present a variety of historical perspectives in the multicultural classroom, the spectre of indoctrination is not likely to loom large. Suzuki (1984:304) refers to research which indicates that schools and teachers can act as instruments of social control and can therefore serve to perpetuate the unequal class structures in society. Despite these misgivings however, he is still confident that teachers do have a positive potential to help students to develop a better vision of society. Snook (1972:55) states that when teachers intentionally change behaviour, it becomes indoctrination only if a set of beliefs are inculcated
without regard to evidence. The skill required to develop empathy in the History lessons will, it is hoped, provide a safeguard against the entrenchment of any particular ideology in an open school.

"Empathy, if properly handled, can break down the prejudices and conflicts that exist in our present day world by trying to show pupils the tremendous formative nature of the past of other nations. It should enable them to exercise this empathetic ability to perceive how their own nation is perceived from outside, and the generalisations that are made and why" (Cairns, 1989:17).

It would be unwise to have unrealistic expectations for the empathic approach in the History classroom. If the empathic approach were to achieve in pupils a simple realization that at other times in other contexts, things were very different (Low Beer, 1989:11), then an effective start will have been made by the teacher in the newly opened classroom. Kekana (1989:91) optimistically hopes that an 'integrated person' will result from History being taught in an empathic manner. This is a desirable outcome from such an approach, but this study sets its sights a few notches lower. It is hoped that the creation of an empathic ethos could provide a suitable climate within the classroom where the presentation of a wider range of perspectives becomes possible. A few tentative conclusions will be drawn from the short qualitative study on this matter in Chapter 6.
3.4 **Towards empathic History teaching.**

The simplest technique to enhance empathy in the classroom is probably the approach which encourages a widening of perspectives through an exposure to differing viewpoints. Formulating questions which can stimulate the historical imagination of pupils and which then allows them to participate in dialogue and debate will probably form one of the basic tools of the History teacher's trade in desegregated schools (Kekana, 1990:3). When pupils are put into situations where they are required to defend a position that is diametrically opposed to their own, or that of their community, the aims of empathy are furthered. An examination of the dialectics of the past can allow pupils to discover that it was a lack of empathic relationships between people in the past that contributed towards the misunderstandings, conflicts and tragedies of history (Portal, 1989:97; Phillips, 1990:22; Willig, 1990:107).

Prescribed structures, methods and lesson plans will probably have limited success if implemented uniformly. This is because by nature, the achievement of an ethos of empathy will be very specific at each individual open school. The successful change of the ethos of a school will depend on how the staff and the executive staff are able to put the goals and vision of the new school policy into practice. If this goal is initiated and then finally achieved in a small way in
the History classroom, it is hoped that the new attitudes may take root throughout the whole school and the wider community.

If this challenge is not faced, the foundation for a new South Africa will be built on pillars of past prejudice. At least to a great extent the hidden curriculum can be exploited in many ways and the gaps in the existing syllabus can be widened to actively promote empathy so that future changes in education can take place against a background of an already achieved empathic frame of reference.

Therefore, a shift in methodology towards skills rather than the accumulation of facts seems to be the way ahead in the South African classroom. This becomes especially relevant when considering the comparative lack of suitable written historical material available on all South African cultures. Thus by exploiting the hidden curriculum rather than a pre-occupation with teaching 'facts' could cause attitudes to change - a fact clearly articulated by the South African Teachers' Association.

"...the actual spirit in which the school or classroom is handled is in itself a wonderful vehicle for nurturing an understanding of a non-racial democracy" (SATA, 1989:6).
3.5 Confronting negative attitudes - a prerequisite for empathic teaching.

The new role which will probably be thrust onto the History teacher is fraught with difficulties; both because of the fact that past structures will still remain intact for some time and for the fact that personal prejudices will continue to be embedded deeply in their subconscious minds. The Transvaal Education Department Study Committee for History (TED, 1982:7) devotes an entire study guide to the History teacher's task of cultivating positive attitudes. They recognize as 'obvious' the fact that teachers have an important function in the creation of value preferences in their pupils and further state that it is a responsibility of the History teacher to inculcate positive attitudes for the good of the nation.

"The history teacher has grave responsibilities, because through his wider knowledge, his person, his love for the child, and his pedagogic relationship with the child, he helps to shape and determine the future of the nation" (TED, 1982:7).

In 1982 this may well have been written with a different view for the 'future of the nation'. Ironically, the responsibility of the History teacher to inculcate these 'positive attitudes' has taken on a new and significant meaning. Some History teachers will be willing and even
enthusiastic to shoulder this responsibility; others are likely to be filled with apprehension or maybe resentment for the task of achieving positive attitudes. Whatever their point of view, the nettle must be grasped - the subject should act as a unifier rather than as a divider of society. The parochial forces inherent in white and black-centered history coupled with the baggage of personal bias and prejudice which will be brought into the History classrooms provide a formidable barrage of constraints for committed teachers.

Two manifestations of bias which are important for the History teacher using current textbooks in the open classrooms are stereotyping and omission. Identifying omissions from the curriculum and the approved textbooks are opportunities for the informed and knowledgeable teacher to expose the distortion of truth as a learning experience. However, the danger exists that when the uncritical or inexperienced teacher uses such textbooks, the bias that is conveyed becomes fact (Aird, 1989:4). It will be a major task of the History teacher to act as a monitoring agent within future school system in order to lessen the effects of bias. This task was largely neglected by History teachers in our past when the extent of omissions, language bias and selection of facts is exposed in the textbooks serving the current syllabusses (Aird, 1989:4).
Considerable research has been conducted on the bias and prejudice in South African History text books since Auerbach's pioneering study of this issue in 1965. Mazel & Stewart make the point that text books are lagging behind the changing nature of South Africa, and that despite mounting evidence (particularly concerning the origins of the Black population), authors of textbooks have been tardy in their efforts to right the errors of the past, these changes in some cases being only the simple removal of overt racist statements from the text (Mazel & Stewart, 1989:10).

Teachers wrestling with their own biases and prejudices will at the same time have to be cognisant of the level of racial awareness in their pupils. The need for an empathic approach to History teaching will be diminished if primary school children all had positive attitudes to other races. Research has been conducted by Katz (Kostelnik et al, 1988:298) into the development of racial attitudes in children points to the fact that this is not the case. Katz identifies 8 steps in the acquisition of racial attitudes. What is significant for this study is that she claims that by the age of 9 or 10, the final step, that of 'attitude crystallization' has already been taken.
"The child's ethnic values in response to prior cultural conditioning, have now [9 or 10 years old] become largely intransigent and are not likely to change unless he or she is forced to rethink them because of significant change in the social environment" (Kostelnik et al, 1988:298).

Thus it would seem that what Katz terms 'cognitive elaboration', the change from a racial preference into a firm racial attitude continues through the middle school years. The short qualitative study referred to in the concluding chapter of this thesis will make tentative comments as to whether the the History teacher is able to change these firm attitudes of pupils to those attitudes which are more compatible with a multicultural school.

One of the problems to be faced by open schools, will be the section of staff who are not involved and perhaps not committed to multicultural teaching and who remain on the fringes of the process of change. There will also be teachers who will resist the change process and choose to operate with their old stereotypes largely intact. These staff members will need special help as their entrenched individual attitudes are likely to hinder the multicultural process.

The teacher will have a pivotal role within the school whether positively inclined towards change or whether negative about the prospects of a new climate. Teachers need
to be encouraged to work within a school's individual policy, mission statement and philosophy which provide an infrastructure which invites the desired change.

These theoretical guidelines will not in themselves ensure a change towards a more multicultural ethos. In fact, Gay has shown that the translation of theory into practice can be very difficult for some teachers to achieve.

"...most teachers were not prepared to teach ethnic content, and many of them harbored negative racial attitudes or behaved in ways that effectively nullified any positive potential of the new content" (Gay, 1990:59).

According to Suzuki (1984:306), teachers who are committed to a multicultural education dispensation are characterised by the following traits:

* They will acquire more knowledge and understanding of all groups.
* They will attempt to change entrenched racial attitudes through empathic teaching approaches.
* They will exploit the existing curriculum for opportunities appropriate to the particular circumstances of the school.
* They will expand their pool of resources in order to widen their perspectives.
* They will attempt to discover how the socio-economic backgrounds of their pupils influence learning and the desire to learn.
* They will develop teaching styles which are co-operative, dialogic and empathic.
* They will acquire skills which will enable them to mediate in inter-ethnic conflict.
* They will recognise the fundamental but simple truth that every child has a right to improve its academic achievement.

Suzuki's list describes the quality teacher. Unfortunately, schools are never completely staffed with quality teachers. Without being prejudicial to the other subjects in the curriculum, this study proposes for the interim period, that it will be vital for newly opened schools to place their quality teachers into the History classrooms. The achievement of an ethos of empathy through the teaching of History requires the cream of the teaching staff together with the support from all other teachers on the staff.

3.6 **Recognising personal bias.**

Bias in the primary school History curriculum occurs against the background of the value system of the community and the
particular world view of the teacher. What a History teacher is, not what he knows, creates each particular world view. (Boyce, 1968:168). The possibility of eliminating bias from History teaching is the subject of much debate (Boyce, 1968:184). It is probably unavoidable unless in fact the teacher possesses no opinion at all. History teachers need to be aware of the danger of being trapped by the constraints of their own unconscious biases and the results that these biases can have on the historical perceptions of the pupils in their classrooms.

When teachers fail to recognise or confront their own biases, the danger exists of a creation and perpetuation of their own stereotypes in the classroom. Stereotyping occurs when a teacher or textbook takes a general feature of a group, exaggerates its effect and difference from other groups and attributes the feature to all individuals in the group (Klein, 1985:34). Garcia's definition of stereotyping is relevant for teachers who may be placed in the future role of attitude changer.

"...in group members develop exaggerated perceptions about some out group largely because the in group has little data or contact with the out group or because the stereotype serves to support the material or economic interests of the in group" (Garcia, 1982:22).
Klein contends that in order for stereotypes to be eliminated, there should be a change of 'consensus assumptions' which were held previously by the staff (Klein, 1985:34). Even if they are unable to fully shed their prejudices, they need to be aware of their potential to exert an influence on the attitudes of pupils which may yet not be fully formed.

Christie's research however, should remind us that our own biases and those of our pupils are often deep-seated and difficult to recognise. Also in newly opened schools, the fact that pupils from various cultures are now associated more closely was not necessarily a remedy for the removal of all racial prejudice (Christie, 1990:130). Bias generates certain attitudes and attitudes have a stubborn inertia. When the facts of history have been long forgotten, the attitudes which were transmitted will remain (Auerbach, 1965:130).

It will also not be sufficient for teachers to simply increase the information about stereotypes associated with a particular group (the ethnic feasts and festivals approach), as this is also not a guarantee that prejudices will be dislodged or removed (Ballard, 1974:28.)

Suzuki (1984:303) therefore concludes, that teachers cannot avoid transmitting value preferences through the 'hidden
curriculum' as well as the 'expressed curriculum'. He doubts whether teachers are able to adopt neutral positions and therefore suggests that the effects of bias will always be felt on all students.

Consequently, the schools generally do not help students develop their capacities for objectively understanding and critically analysing pressing social problems, thus giving them little help in acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills for the building of a more equitable society" (Suzuki, 1984:303).

It is the hope of this study that the contest between conflicting biases is an exciting challenge for the History teacher and will make a start in the aquisition of the necessary skills and knowledge for Suzuki's more equitable society. Of course one has to be sure that the contest in fact does take place, and educators need to be aware of the problem of one set of biases simply supplanting another set.

An examination of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee's new approach to History teaching seems to give some credence to these fears and the impression is gained that the common man should replace the heroes of the past as the predominant characters in the History classrooms of the future.
"History - properly taught - should not just tell of the deeds and sayings of people in authority; it should recover and comprehend the doings and thoughts of ordinary men and women. It should identify the historical sources of dispossession, oppression and exploitation and should examine ways in which these were resisted" (NECC, 1987:1).

Garcia (1982:74) cautions that this is no easy task for teachers and recognises the fact that they may fail to achieve the balance of the biases that emerge in their multicultural classrooms and communities. As teachers are major transmitters of ethnic bias through the hidden and expressed curricula, clearly they will need to identify their own value preferences in order effectively to fulfil the role of impartial referee.

Ultimately, it will be no less than the skill of the teacher to balance these biases that will ensure that social change takes place at an orderly pace.

"Under conditions of rapid social and technological change, the school must strike a delicate balance between inculcating a rigid set of social norms and values that may turn out to be incompatible with changing behavior patterns on the one hand and failing to provide children with any meaningful set of normative standards that will enable them to function as well-adjusted members of society on the other" (Goslin, 1965:74).

Therefore, we need to recognise the inevitability of bias. When we understand its stubborn intransigence and accept the fact that future multicultural classrooms in South Africa
will reflect a range of biases that are inherent within pupils and teachers, then the potential for studying of bias to obtain a more balanced historical perspective will be realised.

3.7 Bias in the service of the primary school History teacher.

At first glance, this proposal would appear to be somewhat sinister. This modus operandi has been particularly apparent in South African history which has traditionally reflected white victory and black defeat. Eurocentric bias in the history classes of the new South African now seems incongruous. Snook (1972:55) however, has made the point that it is intention behind the particular bias that elevates the educator from the indoctrinator. A classroom expose of the various biases coupled with an evaluation of available evidence could help to release the History teacher from the fetters of indoctrination - being conscious of intentions through carefully formulated objectives for History and being aware of personal prejudices seems therefore to be the first step on the road to true multicultural education.
3.8 Conclusion.

Schools on the road to multiculturalism will have to reconcile the fact that the disparity of ideals of their different communities must be accommodated. This minor revolution in open schools can be achieved when pupils are encouraged to experience the feelings of others and in so doing break the bonds of their own prejudices. Using an approach which exposes pupils to wider perspectives and differing viewpoints, it is hoped that an ethos of empathy would pervade the school. This in turn would create a culture of tolerance so necessary in any attempt to change attitudes in multicultural schools. The need to create a school climate which is able to support the History teacher in this minor revolution is discussed in the following chapter.

"Some revolutions occur quietly: no manifestoes, no marching and singing, no tumult in the streets; simply a shift in perspective, a new way of seeing what had always been there..."  
(Source unknown)
4. CREATING A SCHOOL CLIMATE WHICH IS ABLE TO SUPPORT THE NEW ROLE OF THE HISTORY TEACHER.

4.1 Introduction.

This chapter seeks to propose that the History department of a school will need to be sustained by a whole school approach if open schools are to be successful in the implementation of change. Although the History teacher has been thrust into the frontline of change, other subjects in the primary school curriculum should probably also be used to promote a more multiculturally sensitive ethos. In fact, for the longer term, the best results in this regard will be achieved when all the strands of the curriculum are harnessed to nurture new attitudes.

Teachers who are not directly involved in teaching desegregated classes and indeed even teachers from monocultural schools must accept that they exert a considerable influence on the attitudes of pupils in their care and cannot afford to be on the fringes of efforts to drive change in schools. Whatever the specific policy of a school or whatever its multicultural status, all teachers have a moral duty to encourage empathy and understanding and to ameliorate misinformed prejudice (Robinson, 1989:127).
4.2 Can schools provide a climate which is able to nurture change?

If History is to be the subject which initiates a change of attitudes in newly opened primary schools, it can only be an effective catalyst if its own specific aims are reasonably compatible with the general policy of each school. It has been suggested that an ethos of empathy which aims towards a parity of esteem for all pupils should form the over-arching theme in open schools. This should then be concretised into a declared mission statement within an evolving school policy.

Phillips (1990:19) questions whether schools can play the role of the reformer. She contends from her studies with some private schools in South Africa, that they will only become reformers when '...the values that are taught in the multicultural schools are the same as the values held by the South African society' (Phillips, 1990:23). Mischke also underplays the reforming potential of the school saying that '...die skool is 'n konserwatiewe instelling wat nooit voor sy gemeenskap is nie' (Rapport, 1985:01:06). Grambs shares this viewpoint in relation to the American experience. He sees schools tightly bound up with the events of national history but is emphatic that '...revolutions were not born in the American schoolroom, but the schoolroom has inevitably reflected social revolutions' (Grambs, 1989:15).
On the other hand, Kriel & Mc Gurk (1987:45) who are both closely associated with private school systems in South Africa, see schools, particularly those with a Christian persuasion, as important agents to produce positive attitude changes in the pupils.

"The school...like the church and the laws of the land, can set before the child a higher code than he learned at home...This means that the Christian school is uniquely equipped to act as an agent of change and reconciliation within a conflict ridden pluralistic society" (Kriel & Mc Gurk, 1987:45).

It has not been the intention of this study to view the polemic any wider than reform at a school level. There exists a need to provide a framework which promotes cross-cultural interaction resulting, not in a new education order, but a changed awareness among the wider school community in preparation for a more multicultural school milieu.

Therefore, this chapter will stress the fact that despite the 'natural' groupings which are likely to remain intact during the transition stage, there exists an immediate need for open schools to discover common ground which has as its moral 'bottom line', the essential equality of worth of each child and a belief that a multicultural society is a richer and fuller society (Edgington, 1982:3). The hegemonic groups will need to understand that the exclusivity that they enjoyed in the past will be an obstacle towards the
achievement of a parity of esteem in the future and that a
dilution of this exclusivity needs to be addressed in the
development of a new school policy.

4.3 Where to join the multicultural process?

Although the need to reform has rushed at South African
society at a rapid pace, evolution in education will be
predictably slower. The multicultural education reform
movements in the United States of America and Britain are in
their third decade, yet the situation in these countries is
far from finalised. This reform has ranged from
monoculturalism through assimilation, to multiculturalism and
anti-racist education then, more recently in certain cases, a
movement back to ethnic separate education (Wurzel, 1988:6;
Ramsey et al, 1989:79; Claassens, 1989:430). In fact,
research in Australia cautions that multiculturalism has many
limitations and has not necessarily improved the lot of
minority groups and may not therefore be the uncontested road
ahead (Cope & Poynting, 1989:234). The chances in South
Africa are just as good that the road to true multicultural
education is likely to be a similarly arduous one.

There is no certainty whether South Africa will follow the
steps of the multicultural process as experienced elsewhere,
but it seems reasonable to deduce that we will have to
discover our commonality before we can recognise and
appreciate our diversity and the rich texture of our South African society (Bolin & Mc Connell, 1987:46). The question for open school policy makers in the short term and education policy makers in the medium term, is where to join the process? Although assimilation or the 'melting pot' theory was eventually discarded by the above countries, a policy of South Africanisation could be our first rung on the multicultural ladder. Nigeria was an example of a country that consciously used the assimilation of minority ethnic groups to achieve national goals. The Nigerian post civil war education policy demanded an education for national unity using the English language as a binding agent (Bray & Cooper, 1979:35).

The advantage for South Africa is the fact that it can learn from the experiences of other countries and can prevent the melting pot from becoming a cauldron of ethnic conflict or to paraphrase Rodrigues: a diversity which admits everything and stands for nothing (Noll ed, 1989:39).

During initial intercultural contacts, an empathic ethos and a greater awareness of minorities could assist in ameliorating potential conflicts. In the stage before a new constitution is accepted, the experiences of the open schools and the private schools over the last 15 years, will provide models for future studies.
Some State schools in South Africa have since the beginning of 1991 experienced the birth of the multicultural process. If a change in attitudes forms the foundation of a new set of structures and policies in open schools, then where we initially join the process, as has been experienced in other countries, will probably be of diminished importance.

4.4 The need for total school support for History teaching in open schools.

Although History is the focal point of this study, History teachers will fail to be influential if their endeavours occur in isolation. However, the mere formulation of a new school policy and a mission statement for a way ahead will be no guarantee that in practice a more multicultural ethos will be achieved in each individual school. Despite the fact that South Africa has its own specific set of problems which it will have to address, schools in countries which already have had multicultural education experiences can provide models for South African educators to examine.
4.4.1 Obstacles in the way of a supportive school policy for open schools.

* Monocultural teachers in multicultural classes.

Sleeter (1990:34) has shown that in the United States of America, after 30 years of desegregation, there are teachers who still oppose multicultural schools and only feel comfortable with their familiar teaching styles in monocultural institutions. What has also been shown is that there are many teachers who teach in multicultural schools who have as yet not developed a broader perspective of the different groups in their classrooms.

This lack of intercultural contact has been a serious constraint in other countries and will be crucial in post-apartheid South African classrooms. White teachers in South Africa have largely been exposed to a monocultural upbringing and some can be expected to cling to these roots in the transition stage towards a more open educational dispensation. Teachers will have to be given special assistance as there exists an inbred prejudice cultivated through the fear of the unknown and a lack of opportunity to interact with others (SATA, 1989:11).
Lack of teacher education.

The suddenness with which some state schools opened their doors during 1991 has resulted in some teachers having 'sustained' interracial contact thrust upon them. When confronting the task, some will be enthusiastic, some will be reluctant but most will lack the knowledge and be fearful of confronting the issue of race at all (Sleeter, 1990:34). They have had very little time to prepare to deal with a wider range of socio-economic, religious and language groups with whom they now interact in their classrooms. These teachers have had to urgently confront their own deep-seated prejudices of other ethnic groups. The overturning of their prejudices would depend on the ability of each individual school to assist all teachers to take their first step into the process of multicultural education.

Over-exposure to multicultural educational issues.

Sleeter also points to a measure of over-exposure to multicultural issues which has resulted in some staff who have become "...cynical about or anaesthetised to further learning about multicultural issues" (Sleeter, 1990:37).
Research in the United States of America has shown that an overload of innovations in this regard has not always had the desired effect.

"The hope that desegregation would yield equal educational opportunities and outcomes for culturally diverse students remains largely unrealized...inequalities in curriculum options and instructional experiences - based on differences in race, gender, ethnicity, and class are rampant across the full spectrum of grades, subjects and schools throughout the US" (Gay, 1990:56).

* The problem of tokenism.

When multiculturalism was introduced into Australia, the tendency was simply to get a 'taste of the different communities' (Cope & Poynter, 1989:234). They observed that no amount of 'song and dance' would be successful in raising cultural tolerance and self-esteem of pupils. In South Africa with its multiracial composition, the danger exists that efforts to be more multicultural may end up in trivialising cultures by reducing them to their visual colourful differences and not addressing the fundamentals of social and educational inequalities.

"Song and dance is cheap, but programs to bring about equitable results from schooling, are not" (Cope & Poynter, 1989:234).
Although there will be a measure of Africanisation and Orientalisation of the school population during the transition stage, the school as social reformer will not be the panacea for all the ills of an inequitable society and newly opened schools must realise the limitations of their effectiveness (Coutts, n.d:3).

"Similarly schools would need to admit that they have limited power to equalize the opportunities of the citizenry and properly place responsibility for reducing economic stratification on the political and economic sectors" (Noblit & Johnson, 1982:44).

Only when social justice is in place in South Africa will multicultural education, in a true sense, begin to evolve (Centre for Educational Research, 1989:59). Three decades of multicultural educational experiences in other countries cannot simply be compressed into an initial strategy for change - further support for the proposal of this thesis that the achievement of a parity of esteem among all pupils be aimed for as interim measures in open primary schools.

4.4.2 The necessity for staff development in 'open' schools to prepare History teachers for their new roles.

The success of embryonic multiculturalism in South African schools will probably hinge upon the ability of all members of staff to take the first tentative steps in the process. All teachers will need to be part of the development of a
policy that promotes a parity of esteem of all pupils, but it will be the History teachers who should lead the process of curricular change by multicultural renewal within the existing syllabus.

Bot (1990:76) warns that curriculum innovation is a very slow process. Her research with 13 independent schools concluded that schools cannot leave teachers alone to be effective syllabus innovators, but that they need help and support along every step of the way. It would be naive to expect that all teachers in general, and the History teachers in particular, would summarily change their attitudes because the school in which they teach has opened its doors. In fact some teachers would not show any measurable change in attitudes at all. Sleeter's research confirms that some teachers show little change or willingness to change even after staff development programmes designed to facilitate the process have been undertaken (Sleeter, 1990:35).

Therefore, in order to have the best chance of success in changing the level of empathy of pupils through the medium of History, it seems crucial that the History department is staffed by teachers who are committed to the new ethos and amenable to staff development aimed at helping to cope with a changed set of circumstances at the chalkface.

Some of the problems in getting a staff development programme
off the ground are discussed by Ramsey et al (1989:36). He says that there seems to be a natural tendency for staff to hold on to the familiar, even when teacher training in multicultural education has taken place. In addition, many teachers are steeped in systems and structures appropriate to monocultural education and do not have experience in desegregated schools. This is likely to occur in South Africa where some teachers will continue to teach in closed schools. If the school policy does not reflect a multicultural ethos, teachers committed to an ethos of empathy will be working in isolation.

4.4.3 The whole school approach - the role of other sections of the curriculum

Once again, the point needs to be made that a school policy will have diminished impact unless all parties affected participate in its formulation (Woods, 1990:216). The multicultural education experiment in South Africa will by its very nature have more chance of success if the approach involves all the staff, the formal and hidden curriculum, the pupils and the parent community. The History teachers cannot work in a vacuum and will only succeed in their new roles if they enjoy the support of the whole school.
4.4.3.1 Languages

Instruction in the mother tongue is a fundamental principle of most education systems and is likely to become part of a new dispensation despite the existence of a large number of languages and dialogues which will compete for attention in the multicultural schools. An appreciation of the poetry and literature of another culture is one of the most successful ways to improve understanding and enhance empathy between groups. This fact has become evident with the current study of a black language in addition to the two official languages in the primary school.

However, unless South Africa follows the route taken by Nigeria which used the English language as a national unifier after the civil war [see 4.3], minority language groups are not likely enjoy places of importance on the curriculum and opportunities for widening the perspectives of the pupils about minority groups will be limited.

4.4.3.2 Religious Instruction

A complex problem that will have to be addressed by all Christian multicultural schools, is whether the climate of a school is able to accommodate the interests of all the major and minor religious faiths. Until the religious composition of former all-white schools changes, if at all, it will be in the interests of enhancing tolerance and empathy that the
freedom of religion within the present Christian ethos is maintained. The Bible-based approach to religious and moral education can have the potential to change attitudes which could support the pivotal efforts of the History teacher and contribute towards the creation of an ethos of empathy.

"...the broad policy for religious education [must] surely be based on the historicist principle of an empathetic understanding towards faiths" (Rossouw, 1991:8).

4.4.3.3 Expressive subjects

It is likely that Art, Music, Physical Education and sports have a special potential to advance a parity of esteem among all pupils in a multicultural school. It is in these areas where minority groups are least disadvantaged and where individuals are able to compete on equal terms. Contact on the sportsfield and an exposure to the Art and Music of other cultural groups can improve the understanding that all pupils have of each other. Learning to accept the cultural differences in a multicultural situation coupled with the efforts of the History teacher to change attitudes are important factors in a whole school approach to create an ethos of empathy.

A further advantage of the whole-school approach is that many more teachers will be involved in the planned change. It is not enough to encourage in teachers the theoretical language
of multiculturalism, they should also be given opportunities to demonstrate this new awareness in practical ways in the development of a multicultural school milieu.

The climate of co-operation which could result from a whole school approach could have the effect of permeating the school and its classrooms and should be an excellent vehicle for nurturing a spirit of understanding for a future non-racial democracy in South Africa (SATA, 1989:6).

4.4.4 The Head of a school as 'The Gatekeeper of Change' (Jwaideh, 1984:10).

At the nub of a staff support and development programme is the Head of the school. More than outside experts and consultants, more than bureaucratic initiatives, the Head is in the best position to influence the changing policies of the school (Gibbon, 1981:53). The pre-eminent position that the Head has in the school does not imply however that change can be planned, driven and sustained by one person.

"Lasting change in a school cannot come about if the focus for that change and the perpetual innovator is one person" (Cole ed, 1989:40).
Research has been done into the traits needed by Headmasters in order to implement and manage change in their schools. McCoy & Shreve (1983:96-102) have identified the characteristics of successful leadership behaviour needed by Heads entering the unchartered territory of desegregated schooling in a changing South Africa.

* Heads who are successful innovators and able to meet the needs of the staff were found to have good self images and to be confident in their positions. If the History department of an open primary school is to be the torchbearer of change, the Head will need to develop a confident and committed management style which will give full support to the History teachers faced with an unfamiliar situation.

* Heads who possess the traits of adaptability and a certain degree risk-taking should provide the support needed by the History teacher.

* A successful Headmaster is able to facilitate interaction between all participants in the process of change. The ability to open suitable channels of communication between the office and the History classroom is a characteristic of the innovative Head.

* Being a successful motivator is a crucial trait for the Headmaster in situations which need commitment from the staff and the community serving a school. (Theron & Bothma, 1990:188).
"The principal must be responsible for staff motivation and commitment to any planned change for he is the central figure who has knowledge of the total plan, believes in it, and establishes the necessary communication network to monitor the implementation of change" (Mc Coy & Shreve, 1983:102).

Therefore, the success of a school's efforts to become more multicultural seems to be in direct proportion to the leadership skills of the Headmaster.

"Finally, the successful Principal recognizes the differences in people - their motivational needs and their levels of self development in a particular situation. He adapts his style and interacts in ways that have meaning for his followers. It is through this manner of interaction that the followers will become motivated, involved and committed to the implementation of the planned change" (Mc Coy & Shreve, 1983:103).

4.4.5 The role of the wider school community in support of the History teacher - the principle of partnership.

Teachers need to receive total support from all the existing school structures or curricular innovation and a change of attitude are likely to be slow or even non-existent. Ramsey et al (1989:36) contends that the achievement of multicultural education requires more than a staff of committed teachers. It needs a broad-based approach which includes the community, all the families and a supportive media.
Therefore, to expect the History teacher singly to shoulder the burden of changing a school to a more multicultural one, is to gamble with the odds heavily stacked against success. Parents, youth groups, churches and support structures allied to the school need to have a commitment to the achievement of an ethos of empathy as the cornerstone of a new school policy. Lack of inter-cultural contact in the past will necessitate proactive decision making for a meaningful multicultural future.

The Management Council of schools should regard the improvement of home/school relations as one of its primary functions. This can be achieved if all obstacles which could impede the channels of communication are removed. Management Councils, parent committees and associations need to be the link in the partnership between home and school and it is these parents who because of their active involvement in school matters, can become a liaison between the school and the uninvolved parents. Their official and practical support of the new role of the History teacher will be vital, as the wider parent community will also need to be helped to accept social and educational reform.

This implies a 'hands on' approach by the wider school community in the formulation of a new school policy and the creation of an overarching climate of empathy throughout the school.
"...The school's climate is the most important concern in initiating and sustaining change. Creativity and innovation are fostered by an atmosphere of guidance and encouragement, not power control. The creation of a healthy climate of change is the most important contribution the principal can make" (Jwaideh, 1984:13).

4.5 Conclusion.

Where the parochial interests of the various groups within a school community have become a divisive force, it will difficult for an open school to create a climate which provides a supportive environment for change. However, if empathy pervades the relations in the school then cross-cultural interaction can result in the establishment of common ground on which a more multicultural ethos can flourish. Mere contact between the different communities in 'open' schools will not necessarily ensure multicultural success. Rather planned policies and strategies best provide teachers and the community with a plan for change.

A short qualitative study in the concluding chapter seeks to examine the extent to which teachers can actually change attitudes of their pupils from the chalkface.
CHAPTER 5.

5. THE FEASIBILITY OF CHANGING A SCHOOL ETHOS 'FROM BELOW'
- SOME CONCLUSIONS

5.1 The constraints which impede the initiation of change from the chalkface.

The roots of most open schools are sunk deeply into the segregated systems of education from the past. Seemingly, there exists in education an inherent inertia which serves to impede change and to keep schools as largely conservative institutions.

With the unfolding of the principle of partnership in education between home and school, the wider parent community has become increasingly immersed in the affairs of their children's school. This increased involvement and the trend towards the devolution of power down to the community will influence how rapidly a community can adapt to its new status. Grambs concludes that schools should avoid grandiose schemes for reform and rather exploit the aspects of flexibility in every school which allow for 'small increments of change over time' (Grambs, 1978:227). Elliot (Sunday Times, 1991-08-04:22) cautions schools not to be over-optimistic about their potential to change the wider system 'from below'. He sees class and race as powerful
factors inhibiting change in 'open' schools. These factors also contributed towards the failure of the British comprehensive schools to level the different social classes in Britain over the last 30 years. The situation in South Africa with its multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual population at varying levels of development coupled with deeply held stereotypes and prejudices are likely to provide severe challenges for those involved in initiating change.

This study has attempted to show that the development of an empathic method which involves the examination of a range of perspectives in History, is a gradualist approach to change most likely to succeed in the transitional period (Goalen, 1988:16). Rüsen is also confident of the role of History to influence change in a future political dispensation:

"Education should support the political change by increasingly realizing a mode of education which has overcome indoctrination and emphasizes a way of thinking" (Rüsen, 1991:5).

5.2 *Are the attitudes or opinions of some pupils in a newly opened primary school changing? - A short qualitative exercise.*

A short qualitative exercise was undertaken at two levels in a newly opened primary school in Johannesburg. At the
beginning of 1991, the school had an enrolment of 796 pupils 23 of whom were pupils of other races. Both standards involved with the exercise had racially mixed classes for the first time, albeit to a very small extent.

The first part of the exercise was undertaken with 30 standard 5 pupils in a mixed class during 1991. A series of lessons was presented on the topic of slavery. The objective of these lessons was to give the pupils a wider perspective on slavery by approaching topic from the point of view of the slaves - studying History 'from below' in order to achieve a start in the development of an empathic attitude. Questionnaires were completed before and after these lessons in an attempt to determine whether there had been any shift in their level of empathy towards other groups, as this had become an important issue in the school which was experiencing a multiracial composition for the first time.

The second part of the exercise was conducted at the beginning of 1992 with a series of interviews and History lessons with 3 classes of standard 3 pupils.

5.2.1 Some observations from the exercise with the 11 year old group.

* An interesting fact with the lessons and interviews with the 11year old standard 3 pupils was the
relative ease with which their points of view could be altered. During the interviews with the pupils of this age group, most were quite willing to simply reverse the opinion which they had formed in the previous set of lessons when guided to new perspectives and understandings by the teacher. This is in line with research done on children between the ages of 11 and 13 (Vorster, 1991:3-2; Kostelnik et al, 1988:295) which contends that only around the onset of puberty will the child begin to adopt a critical attitude and form opinions of his own. Whether this was indeed the case with the 13 year old group will be discussed below.

For example, one standard 3 pupil [see Annexure D No. 1] found it an easy task to do a complete turn around concerning whether the Hottentots were lazy as was stated in the textbook. She simply changed her responses from negative to positive ones without much difficulty. No doubt this same pupil could be swayed towards another opinion as easily.

* A change of viewpoint caused by a more empathic outlook is clearly evident with the pupil who has imagined the leisure time activities of the Hottentot from an personal perspective and does not simply regard their social activities as
manifestations of laziness as was suggested by the textbook. She poignantly supports her feelings with the sentence "... but if I were a little hottentot... " [see Annexure D No. 2].

A similar shift is evident in the pupil who has decentered by moving away from an egocentric to a more sociocentric view of the Hottentot issue and finds a justification for their behaviour also in an empathic way [see Annexure D No. 3].

The question to be asked when examining the responses of these 11 year old pupils is whether a feeling of empathy was developed, and if so, to what extent was it present and how long would it pervade the ethos of the school? For if even a small measure of empathy was achieved then in a small way the teaching of History will have improved inter-cultural relations and the cause of cultural tolerance will have been furthered.

With the 11 year old group, a certain lack of emotional and critical maturity and the desire to please a particular teacher is evident. To evaluate whether any significant attitude or opinion changes had taken place would be presumptuous after this short series of lessons. Success will be achieved when the desired ethos of empathy begins to becomes a reality as experienced in a discernable improvement
in inter-cultural relations within the wider school community. However small the successes, the need for the school policy and policy of the History Department to espouse the encouragement of empathy through exposure to a wide range of perspectives in the classroom, cannot be over-emphasised for newly opened schools.

5.2.2 Some observations from the exercise with the 13 year old group.

The series of lessons done with the 13 year old group also show a shift of opinion or attitudes by the pupils. Although it is possible that these changes also stem from the influence of the History teacher, it would seem that the growth in maturity and the development of critical thought begins to play a role with this age group.

The first questionnaire [Annexure A] was completed by 30 standard 5 pupils in April 1991 and then a similar questionnaire [Annexure C] was completed in September of the same year.

A series of lessons on 'The way of life of slaves in the Cape Colony' [Annexure B] was taught to the class between the completion of the two questionnaires. The broad objective of these lessons was to assess whether presenting the lessons in an empathic manner was able to change opinions of pupils. Pupils were helped to project themselves into history by
imagining the motives and actions of the slave owners and the slaves. In order to achieve this, a variety of historical sources were presented that tried to provide a clearer understanding of the events and a realisation that a one-sided explanation of the past was now inappropriate in an open school History class.

Unlike the almost unanimous change of opinion in the standard 3 classes, this mixed standard 5 class showed a more critical approach and on the other hand some degree of attitude crystallisation.

Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTIONS</th>
<th>RESPONSES</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Are you happy that you are at an open school? (April 1991)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you still happy that you are at an open school? (September 1991)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Have you invited children of other races to your home? (April 1991)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you invited children of other races to your home? (September 1991)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. How have the minority races been accepted in your class? (Sept. 1991)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WELL ACCEPTED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When examining the relevant responses of the 30 pupils [Table 1. above], two tentative conclusions can be drawn:

* As with the standard 3 pupils, it does seem possible for a History teacher to change opinions and attitudes in a small but appropriate way in a multicultural class.

* As mentioned above, there are some pupils who apparently have already developed entrenched attitudes. The four negative responses in Question A above indicate that no change in attitude can be perceived after six months. This seems to suggest that there are pupils with entrenched attitudes concerning open schools.

The implication is that anything short of what Gay terms 'total instructional reform' will probably have little effect on deeply ingrained attitudes and these values will probably not be altered by the limited attempts of an individual school desiring to become truly multicultural (Gay, 1990:62). This study has previously referred to the Gramscian concept of 'cultural hegemony'. Ranged against a school's individual efforts to move towards a more multicultural system of education is this cultural hegemony which is perpetuated through the structures and systems of the dominant group (Keynes, 1977:69).
* Question B and Question C indicate that the socialisation patterns of pupils did undergo significant change. After a six month period, there was a major change in the number of pupils who had invited pupils of other races to their homes (7% in April as opposed to 49% in September). Coupled to the above, was a high level of acceptance by the majority of pupils (28 out of 30) of the presence of all races in the classroom.

* The positive effects of this inter-racial contact in newly desegregated schools however should not be exaggerated. The ideal of becoming a successful multicultural school will require more than simplistic tinkerings with the system within a short space of time. Therefore, the expectations of what can be achieved 'from below' should not be over-ambitious, especially against the background of pupils who seem to have deeply entrenched negative attitudes towards the other races in the classroom.

Therefore, the positive feature that has emerged in the above desegregated class is that racial mixing appears to have promoted better inter-racial understanding among all pupils. While the series of History lessons which were presented to the standard 5 class cannot claim to have been the primary cause of these significant changes, this new understanding
among all pupils is the first tentative step in the achievement of an ethos of empathy in a school community. If this attitude can be nurtured by the History teacher, then this study is optimistic in its conviction that the road to true multicultural education is via an empathic approach in the History classrooms of committed open schools.

Christie is also positive about what can be achieved by open schools after her research into the experiences of open Catholic schools in South Africa.

"Within these constraints, however, open schools should be recognised as an important initiative for educational change. They certainly challenged the commonsense belief that schools in South Africa should be racially segregated, a belief that had held hegemonic sway since the early days of white settlement. This in itself is an achievement, especially in the context of Government opposition. Open schools aimed for, and achieved, a limited but sustained alternative to segregated education" (Christie, 1990:136).

5.3 Concluding remarks.

Newly opened schools need not eliminate all that was sound in the old system in a desire to 'go multicultural'. Those who seek to deny the values that have shaped our lives and wish to see some uniform monolith arising out of the ashes of the apartheid era, under-estimate these powerful forces. This is particularly relevant in South Africa, a nation without a common language, religion, culture or tradition and where a
common identity is likely to be some time away (Chernis, 1991:21). In the enthusiasm to find a commonality in a multicultural milieu, there is the danger of merely creating a strange patchwork of different pieces of culture disregarding the different ways of life that gave them meaning in the first place:

"...like gluing together slices of Da Vinci, Rembrandt, Van Goch and Picasso and declaring the result a composite of the best in Western art. The simultaneous presence of voices talking about everything in every possible way, degenerates rapidly into mere noise" (Sacks, BBC broadcast: 1990-12-05).

It will be easy to lose the way in the multicultural maze and the teacher should resist the temptation to act as a social engineer. If the teacher fails in the fundamental task of providing a sound and basic education, the inequalities that are already prevalent in society will be exacerbated (Grudgeon & Woods, 1990:228).

This study has not advocated that History in the senior primary classes single-handedly carry the multicultural banner. History may initiate the process and be an ideal subject to challenge prejudices, but the successful implementation of multicultural education will be dependent on a dynamic open school policy and a commitment by the wider school community.
Multiculturalism will not necessarily be the panacea for society in a future South Africa. It carries an explosive charge of conflicting worldviews and requires an overarching framework of shared meanings which could bind together a diverse society. Kriel & Mc Gurk (1986:43) are convinced that the fabric of a future pluralistic society will require a weave of a more spiritual dimension and put forward the idea of the 'love community'. The idea of a community with a moral vision cutting across all aspects of a plural society seems an attractive speculation for a future South Africa. This may be high-sounding and altruistic, but the faith of communities around the world can provide an extraordinarily powerful moral resource. Not necessarily a source of universal truth, 'because we live in a Babel of many truths' but communities which educate towards a collective pursuit of what is good.

"In a society of plurality and change, there may be no detailed moral consensus that can be engraved on tablets of stone. But there can and must be a continuing conversation, joined by as many voices as possible, on what makes our society a collective enterprise; a community that embraces many communities" (Sacks, BBC broadcast: 90-12-05).

Fortunately this thesis is not concerned with speculation into 'final solutions', but has put forward pragmatic interim measures that can be taken to prepare the wider school family for a system that is likely to be fundamentally different from the system at present.
The journey must be started, even if the first step is a small one.

"In a pluralistic society the school can no longer be passive transmitter of a single culture. It must be creatively involved creating a reconciling environment in which children from various cultural, religious, economic and ethnic backgrounds can learn to transcend those backgrounds. This does not mean rejecting what is your own, but gaining the essential and liberating realisation that your culture is but one of many valid ways of being truly human... Education within a pluralistic, multicultural society must be open education - it simply cannot be an 'own affair'" (Kriel & Mc Gurk, 1987:48).
Annexure A.
- 108 -

Std 5 Questionnaire on the opening of Mondeor Primary School.

Mondeor Primary has been an open school for a full term. In the light of your new experiences, answer the following questions as honestly as possible.

1. Are you happy that we are an open school? YES/NO
2. If you had have voted, would you have voted for or against opening our school? FOR OPENING/AGAINST OPENING
3. If there are 30 pupils in your class what would be an ideal mix of the races for Mondeor Primary?
   • Coloureds
   • Blacks
   • Asians
   • Whites
4. How were the Smith children accepted into this class?
   or
   How did the Std 5 pupils accept you into their class?
   Comment
5. Have you invited either of the Smith children to your home? YES/NO/I WOULD LIKE TO
   or
   Have you invited any of your white friends to your home? YES/NO/I WOULD LIKE TO
   Please comment on your choice
6. How could our school improve the understanding between the different races who are pupils at our school?
7. Is there anything that worries you about mixing races at schools?
8. Have the Std 5 teachers had to cope with any different problems in the classroom and on the playground now that our school is open?
9. Tell us about any incidents of bad behaviour towards other races during school or out of school (eg veld schools and extramural activities)

NAME (optional): ..................................................
Would you be willing to answer more questions on this topic later in the year? YES/NO
Lesson Plan: The Development and Way of Life of Slaves in the Cape Colony. (4 lessons = 2 hours)

A. Aims.

* Enrichment of Knowledge
  - to give the pupils a factual framework of the way of life of slaves by recourse to various extracts.
  - to clarify concepts such as 'slavery' and 'human rights'.

* Acquisition of Skills
  - to introduce a basic understanding of the existence of different points of view.
  - to be able to compare information from the various sources.

* Attitudes
  - to realise that history speaks of the motives and actions of people.
  - to allow pupils to make a moral judgement on the practice of slavery.
  - to show that a variety of historical sources can provide a clearer understanding of events in history.

* The broad objective of this series of lessons will be to attempt to raise the level of empathy in the Std 5 class through an understanding that a one-sided explanation of the past could be inappropriate in an 'open' school History classroom.

B. Introduction.
The following simple questions provide background knowledge and an oral introduction to the lesson. An empathic tone should be set, both for the slave owners as products of an age and the slaves as victims of that age. These questions may be repeated in the conclusion.

a. What do you understand by the word 'slavery'?  
b. Has South Africa ever had a system of slavery?  
c. Was it morally wrong for countries in the past to have slaves?  
d. What were the advantages and/or disadvantages for the slave owners?  
e. What were the advantages and/or disadvantages for the slaves?  
f. Can you anticipate any problems in studying slavery in South African history?

C. Exposition of the Subject Manner.

1. Present the following extracts from various sources on an overhead projector (or supply on a duplicated sheet). From the evidence provided, list the advantages and the disadvantages of the system to slave owners and slaves.
a). "Compared with the other British colonies the Cape slave population was small and was in general treated well" (Unisa, 1975:30).
b). "The Cape slaves were mostly domestic servants who enjoyed personal attention and considerable freedom" (Unisa, 1975:30).
c). "Their clothes, food and housing were relatively good" (Unisa, 1975:31).
d). "The slave was personal property which (sic) could be sold or punished at will" (Unisa, 1975:30).
e). "Ill-usage of slaves did occur - especially in the remote districts - but this was an exception" (Unisa, 1975:30).
f). "...slaves were usually well treated and Somerset maintained that slaves were probably the happiest section of Cape society" (Unisa, 1975:115).
g). "Living conditions varied greatly. On the larger farms special slave living quarters were provided. On the extensive farm of Martin Melck each of his two hundred slaves 'had a separate brick building to sleep in' but this was very exceptional and most 'slave houses'...were rudimentary rooms in which all of the slaves lived together and slept on wooden bunks. On smaller farms...they slept in kitchens, attics, and barns or out of doors in the summer" (Elphick & Giliomee, 1989:145).
h). "New arrivals were particularly susceptible to mortal illnesses...For example of the 221 Malagasy slaves of the Joanna Catherina, 129 died within fourteen months of their arrival in 1673. Of the Voorhout's 257 slaves (mostly children) landed in 1676, 92 were dead in three and a half months. Of the Soldaat's 119 slaves, the greatest part were dead within a year of their arrival in 1697" (Elphick & Giliomee, 1989:126)

Summarise the advantages and disadvantages of the system of slavery for the slave owners and slaves on the form below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLAVE OWNERS</th>
<th>SLAVES</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADVANTAGES</td>
<td>DISADVANTAGES</td>
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2. Despite the fact that there were advantages for some slaves, from a moral point of view slavery became totally unacceptable leading to its abolition in 1834. The following extracts will illustrate how it was necessary to pass laws to keep the system of slavery in place. There was also a constant fear that the slaves would escape or worse still revolt, particularly as the number of slaves exceeded the colonists by at least 3000 by 1806.

a) "...slaves were items of property over which masters had absolute possession and authority. Masters' rights were established by laws; slaves, like material possessions, could be bought and sold, were described and evaluated alongside cattle and sheep in inventories and bequeathed in wills. This could lead to extreme callousness. For example, Johannes Kuhn, asked by his nephew if he could hit one of Kuhn's slaves with a spade, said, 'Go right ahead, since I bought him with my money. If he dies from the blow all I need to do is buy another one'" (Elphick & Giliomee, 1989:150).

b) "Escapees were punished by whipping, mutilation or branding. By a resolution of 1711, runaway Company slaves were to be whipped and branded on one cheek for the first offence, and on the other if the offence was repeated. At the third offence they were to be whipped and to have their nose and ears cut off. From 1715 such slaves were also chained in pairs while working. By 1727 there were so many mutilated and disfigured slaves that the law was changed out of consideration for the feelings of colonists, particularly pregnant women who might encounter them; thereafter escaped slaves were to be branded on the back" (Elphick & Giliomee, 1989:156)

c) Examples of laws restricting the movements of slaves:
   * Slaves were to wear identification medals and to carry lighted torches at night.
   * Curfews were enforced which kept slaves locked up between certain hours.
   * Special overseers ('knechts') were employed to supervise slaves at all times.
   * Slaves could be punished by death if they 'laid hands upon master or mistress with or without a weapon' (Elphick & Giliomee, 1989:156).

Write a paragraph which discusses the lessons that the history of slavery can teach us today. What do you think prevents slavery from reoccurring in modern times?
Mondeor Primary has been an open school for 3 terms. In the light of your experiences in a 'mixed class', answer the following questions as fully and honestly as possible.

1. Are you still happy that we are a 'Model B' (open) school? YES/NO. Comment..........................

2. If there are 30 pupils in your class, what would be an ideal mix of the races at Mondeor Primary School? ....Asians; ....Blacks; ....Coloureds; ....Whites.

3. How are the minority races accepted in your class? Well accepted / Not well accepted. Comment..........................

4. What have you learned from the experience of having different races in your class this year? Comment..........................

5. Have you invited children of other races to your home? YES/NO

6. Would you like to invite children of other races to your home? YES/NO Comment on your choice..........................

7. Has the school been successful in making all pupils feel welcome? YES/NO Comment..........................

8. Are you aware of any incidents of bad behaviour towards other races during or after school? Comments..........................

9. What has the section of History on 'Slavery' taught you about the study of different groups of people in South Africa? Comment..........................

NAME: ........................................(optional)
SLAVERY WORKSHEET STANDARD 5. (91-09-16)

A. Introduction: Fill in the questions below.
   a. What do you understand by the word 'slavery'?
      ________________________________________________________________
   b. Has South Africa ever had a system of slavery?
      ________________________________________________________________
   c. Was it morally wrong for countries in the past to have slaves?
      ________________________________________________________________
   d. What were the advantages and/or disadvantages for the slave owners?
      ________________________________________________________________
   e. What were the advantages and/or disadvantages for the slaves?
      ________________________________________________________________
   f. Can you anticipate any problems in studying slavery in South African history?
      ________________________________________________________________

B. Summarise the advantages and disadvantages of the system of slavery for the slave owners and slaves on the form below.

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C. Write a paragraph of the lessons slavery has for us today.
   ________________________________________________________________
1. Yes, the hottests were not lazy. They spent the greater part of the day sleeping and played games. They went hiking and hunting, and it would be very nice if you could sit around and do nothing. My new idea about the hottests is that they were not so lazy in life because it would be very nice if you could sit around and do nothing.

2. I think that if I were a hottest, I wouldn't be so lazy and I would also be satisfied with my feet. I think that the hottests can start doing things in life and stop being so lazy. My new idea about the hottests is that if I were a little hotter, I would very much like to be with friends and I would like to dance every night and have bedtime stories and play around each day while my friends sit and do nothing.
3.

The Hottentots were lazy because they didn't have as much pressure and stress and didn't have to worry about much as long as they had sufficient supply of food.

My Opinion

When I first read about the Hottentots in my textbook, I gathered as long as they had sufficient supply of food they were satisfied remaining with their families. But when I read other sources of information I came to a decision... they were lazy at times but such things we would find difficult and exhausting.
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