ABSTRACT

Title of Document: TEACHING CITIZENSHIP & DEMOCRACY IN A NEW DEMOCRACY: PEDAGOGY, CURRICULUM & TEACHERS' BELIEFS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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In 2014, twenty years had passed since the first free elections, the birth of democracy and implementation of transitional educational reforms in South Africa. While efforts to create an education system based on human rights, democracy, equality, and unity were made, questions remain about how teachers should address these principles in their classrooms. It is difficult to determine, therefore, how citizenship and democracy education should be taught and how teachers perceive their role as educators of South Africa's new generation of democratic citizens. Using Davies' and Jansen's concepts of post-conflict pedagogy, this dissertation investigates how teachers responsible for citizenship and democracy education in South Africa perceive the abstract topics of citizenship and democracy and how their beliefs, backgrounds, and life experiences influence how they present the national curriculum to their learners. In order to answer these questions, a multiple and comparative case study of sixteen teacher participants at three schools was carried out in Durban, South Africa. Using in-depth

interviews, classroom observation, and document review as data collection methods, the dissertation investigates how teachers' beliefs, the national curriculum and teaching methods intersected. Data analysis was conducted through thematic coding. Results suggest that teachers' beliefs and experiences with democracy shape how they teach civic education topics, especially concerning their racial background and experiences during apartheid and the democratic transition. Inequalities in school resources also limit pedagogical choices, especially in methods designed to educate active and informed citizens.
Keywords: post-conflict, pedagogy, citizenship, democracy, education, South Africa

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Dedication

For the teachers.
My own, in this study, in South Africa and everywhere.
Thank you for your guidance, effort, and wisdom.
I am because you are.

Lena eyothisha
Abami, abakulemfundiso, eNingizimu Afrika nasezindaweni zonke.
Ngiyabonga ngezeluleko, imizamo kanye nokuhlakanipha kwenu.
Ngyimi ngenxayenu.

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List of Acronyms

ANC African National Congress
BEE Black Economic Empowerment
BHS Brightfield High School
CAPS Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement
CNE Christian National Education
DA Democratic Alliance
DoBE Department of Basic Education
DoE Department of Education
DSS Dalton Secondary School
EFF Economic Freedom Fighters
FET Further Education and Training
HOD House of Delegates
KZN KwaZulu-Natal
LHS Lowandle High School
LO Life Orientation
NCS National Curriculum Statement
NSC National Senior Certificate
NP National Party
NQF National Qualifications Framework
OBE Outcomes Based Education
RSA Republic of South Africa
SAQA South African Qualifications Authority
TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TSA Teach South Africa
UKZN University of KwaZulu-Natal
YPP Youth Preparedness Program

Chapter 1: Introduction

One of the main purposes of schooling is to create productive adults and citizens, as defined by the state and society. The state plays a central role in this production and reproduction, over the generations, through the public school system. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Giroux & Purpel, 1983). However, when the state has fought a war or transitioned to a new political system, schools must suddenly change course and foster a new type of citizen. Democracy itself, in these transitional periods, can be problematic and difficult to define. Schools are the first spaces where children interact with the state and where the state passes on its new messages to the next generation of citizens. This calls for the ethos of the education system to be transformed fundamentally: the former system and its values must be challenged directly, not just revised (Davies 2004; Jansen, 2009).

In 2014, twenty years since the first free elections and the birth of democracy in South Africa, the time was ripe to examine the implementation of some of the transitional educational reforms. Investigating this in South Africa would also illuminate how a country, post-conflict, modifies its education system with the express purpose of strengthening democracy, fostering tolerance, and achieving equality. According to McLeish (1998):

> Transition at the micro-level is much harder to achieve as the experience of every country engaged in educational transition as part of a move towards democracy would verify. For, at this level, we are concerned not only with individual schools, but with individual teachers and pupils within these schools. (p.ii)

This study is a micro-level investigation into transition at the individual teacher level and examines the state of the post-apartheid educational reforms with respect to education for democracy and citizenship.

Background and Problem Statement

During apartheid, the White minority government instituted a violent regime of oppression, inequality, and disenfranchisement (Gardner, 2000)[1]. As Weldon (2010) observes, "moral, ethical and religious values were distorted to legitimize the apartheid state. The result was a society mired in deep socio-economic inequalities and moral injustices" (p.354). Apartheid laws and ideology were present in every aspect of life, including the education system. In 1948, the Nationalist government introduced Christian National Education (CNE), not only to segregate disenfranchised South Africans, but also to perpetuate apartheid. CNE was designed to solidify a racial hierarchy-- all population groups would learn what was "best suited" for them and their role in the apartheid state (Gardner, 2000). The education system mimicked a stratified political system that strived to keep Africans with as little education as possible, while Whites enjoyed supremacy over people classified as African, Colored, and Indian.

Although apartheid faced resistance from its inception, conflict escalated in the 1970s and 1980s, ushering a negotiated end to formal apartheid in the early 1990s. The

[1] There is some contention about the usage of racial categories in South Africa. One can used the proscribed terms of "black", "White", "colored (coloured)" and "Indian" that were codified during apartheid and used to this day. One can also use "black" to refer to all non-White and groups oppressed under apartheid (Mathebula, 2009). Additional contention arises over the usage of "black" versus "African" (Jarvis, 2009). Acknowledging the politically charged nature of these classifications, I will use the terms "African", "White", "Colored" and "Indian" in this paper.

combination of internal protests, civil unrest, and the external pressures of increasing economic sanctions and isolation had led to a weakening of the apartheid regime's ability to control a determined opposition and govern the state. States of emergency were declared in 1985 and 1986, in response to the mass protests in the townships (Waldmeir, 1997). In 1988, while still in prison, Nelson Mandela participated in secret negotiations with the state to determine the way forward. Mandela was released from prison in 1990, and in1994, the first democratic elections brought an end to apartheid (Waldmeir, 1997).

The new coalition, the Government of National Unity, decided that there would be no immediate changes to either pedagogy or the infrastructure of schools. While the priorities were schooling desegregation and purging the curriculum of the most offensive elements, including the language of instruction and anything that hinted at racial hierarchies, early reformers did not change the pedagogy or most of the content (Gardner, 2000; Jansen, 1999). Policy-makers and educators initiated a series of reforms throughout the 2000s, with many difficulties. Problems with reforming post-apartheid education were no different from challenges faced in many countries: a lack of trained teachers and administrators, as well as inadequate funding and resources. However, some of the problems were more specific to South Africa, such as overturning apartheid rules and regulations, inequality of schools between the various groups, and the difficulty of integrating schools for students, parents, and teachers (Cillier, 2001).

The1996 Constitution of South Africa has played a guiding role in framing education reform, particularly in curriculum and pedagogy. There is National Curriculum Statement (NCS) for each school subject, which opens with an excerpt from the Preamble to Constitution as pertaining to the goals of education:

The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provided a basis for curriculum transformation and development in South Africa. The Preamble states that the aims of the Constitution are to:

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person;
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; and
- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

While these statements outline the state's agenda for an education system based on human rights, democracy, equality, and unity, the curriculum does not specify how teachers should address these principles. It is difficult to determine, therefore, how citizenship and democracy education should be taught as part of Life Orientation and History, for example, closely related subjects. There is a need to explore how state curriculum on citizenship and democracy is taught and how teachers perceive their role as educators of South Africa's new generation of democratic citizens. [2]

[2] This study took place between 2014-2015 and therefore does not include many of the student and political protests that have occurred in South Africa since then.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to explore how teachers responsible for citizenship and democracy education in South Africa perceive the abstract topics of citizenship and democracy and how their beliefs, backgrounds, and life experiences influence how they present the national curriculum to their learners[3]. Using in-depth interviews, classroom observation, and document review, I investigated the role teachers' perceptions, beliefs, and training play in how they tackle the abstract concepts involved in presenting civic knowledge and skills in the classroom. There are significant gaps in the research on these topics, especially in terms of examining civic education teachers' backgrounds and their classroom teaching practice. It was therefore important to compare how various teachers in different schools address the topics of citizenship and democracy in the classroom.

This study is framed through the lens of a post-conflict society in transition. The rationale for placing South Africa within this context, rather than a developing or globalized setting is to examine how apartheid and the transition to democracy impacts teaching practice. The study's findings would also be useful for other countries in transition as it acknowledges their unique set of challenges and could help identify appropriate solutions. Placing this research in a post-conflict context allows for the specific set of social and political dynamics in the South African environment to be taken into consideration.

[3] The word 'learner' is often used instead of student for children in primary and secondary school in South Africa. Student is more often used for those in university.

Key Concepts and Conceptual Framework

This section will explore some of the theories that unpack how an education system can mitigate and resolve conflict, through curriculum content and pedagogy in order to understand the complex nature of rebuilding an education system after discord and during a transition to democracy. By looking at Davies' (2004) understanding of "interruptive democracy", we can start to illuminate how an education system can make a break with the past and establish a new set of goals for the future. Davies' (2004) concept offers a framework for how ideas of the past can be challenged in the classroom through "in your face" or disruptive democracy. However, it is important to first define citizenship and democracy, particularly in transitional contexts.

Citizenship in the South African Educational Context

Marshall (1950) defines citizenship as a " set of civil, political and social rights, which are based on the principle of equality" within the context of the nation-state (Neins & Chastenay, 2008, p.519). Building on this definition, citizenship education is then the education of youth for their active participation in society as "good citizens" according to the norms and behaviors of the nation-state (Suarez, 2008).

Defining citizenship becomes more difficult because this definition of citizenship tends to correspond with the traditional western and European notion of the nation-state. According to Ichilov (1998), "Citizenship has been closely associated with the ideas of liberal democracy, nationalism and nation-states" (p.1). However, these ideas and ideologies are not always relevant and citizenship is more problematic when discussing countries with contested national identities. Williams (2010) asserts that citizenship can

be understood as how people define their relationship with the state. Citizenship as *identity* speaks to how people see themselves in relation to the state, other citizens, and those who are not citizens. Citizenship as *active service* speaks to how people see the importance of service to the state and their role with in it. In South Africa, both conceptions of citizenship were and are contested. Citizenship based on racial identity under apartheid meant that most of the population was denied full rights and a fully South African identity. Being denied citizenship for so long also created an environment where service and allegiance to the state were not prioritized (Spreen & Vally, 2012).

Allegiances to other groups determined by ethnicity, race or political group often come before national identification. In South Africa, the apartheid regime classified each person and then limited his or her rights of citizenship based on that classification. Whites enjoyed rights and privileges denied to the rest of the population. That meant that racial classification and identification were more important than national identity (Borer et al., 2006). The denial of citizenship and national identity led to self-identification along ethnic or linguistic lines, for example.

When citizenship is not bestowed equally and all individuals are not protected by the state, it is more appropriately defined as a "status that mediates the relationship between the individual and the political community" (Faulks, 2006, p. 107). This allows for ambivalence and does not assume that rights and privileges are guaranteed for all: citizens are not always treated equally and the political community may establish more rights for some groups than others. Turner (1990) believes that the issues concerning citizenship focus on the "nature of the social membership in highly differentiated societies, where the authority of the nation-state appears to be under question" (p. 2).

This understanding attempts to address citizenship when the state does not have either the moral authority or physical authority to protect its citizens. Levinson (2005) extends citizenship as a social membership to a "political and cultural membership", governing the rules for participation of such members (p. 336). These definitions of citizenship as selective membership also emphasize the perils of being excluded from its benefits. Niens & Chastenay (2008) suggest that when there is great national inequality and citizens have contested relationships with the state, a new way of defining citizenship must be found and should be focused more global and human rights.

For the purposes of this paper, civic education and citizenship education are used interchangeably, as they are both seen as the training of citizens within a specific nation-state. Ultimately, citizenship education prepares individuals for participation in their societies (UNESCO, 1998). In post-conflict societies, there are other types of education that fall under the umbrella of civic education, such as peace education, democracy education, human rights education, and education for conflict resolution. While citizenship education encompasses preparation for citizenship in many types of political systems, democracy education focuses on preparing students for active citizenship and participation within a democratic political system (Levinson, 2005; Smith & Arendse, 2016). Despite the diverse approaches, education is aimed at making better citizens, whether it is through conflict resolution or democratization.

We can understand democracy in many ways, depending on how it is practiced. To Levinson (2005), it is as a process of "continual construction of a political order that sponsors reasoned deliberation, promotes civic participation in decision making, justly distributes political-economic power, and strives for cultural inclusiveness" (p.336). This

set of qualities and skills are often taught within education for citizenship and democracy. Many different forms of democracy are relevant to this study including representative and participatory, neoliberal and social welfare, and liberal and civic republican.

South Africa is a representative, or indirect, democracy, where citizens vote for a party to represent their interests in parliament (Nijzink & Piombo, 2004). Participatory democracy tends to assume a greater role for citizens in decision-making processes, but it is difficult for all voices to be heard at the national level. South Africa's call for citizens' opinions and participation when drafting the 1996 Constitution is an example of participatory democracy on a national scale (Woolman & Fleisch (2009).

There is also a tension between neoliberal and social welfare conceptions of democracy in South Africa. By opening up the South African economy to global market forces at end of apartheid, many South Africans embraced neoliberal, or market-based solutions for political and social issues. This is at odds with some of the key anti-apartheid groups, such as the trade unions and South African Communist Party, who favored social welfare solutions, or a wider governmental safety net to address systemic issues of high income inequality and poverty (Ferguson, 2007).

These distinctions also relate the liberal and civic republican understandings of democracy. The "liberal" notion of democracy focuses on the rights of the individual and the freedom from tyranny, whereas "civil republican" idea is concerned with responsibilities and duties to the state and emphasizes active participation (Crick, 2002; Heater, 1999; Solomons & Fataar, 2011). In post-apartheid South Africa, we can see the elements of both of these models:

> The consequences of apartheid had two seemingly opposite effects on the majority of citizens: on the one hand, there was a strong tradition of community management, community-based organizing and mobilizing against the state, but on the other, because of the Apartheid state's overwhelming power, citizens tend to have a passive "recipient" mind-set (since before 1994, the majority of citizens were not able to make demands on the government particularly in terms of service delivery). For both the activists and the general (passive) population, apartheid seemed to signal the end of a need to fight or even participate: because the liberation movement had achieved its promise of equality, there was widespread faith that the promise of "a better life for all" by the ANC government was on its way. (Matisonn, 2010, p.148)

Despite a vibrant culture of struggle, protest, and civic participation in the years leading up to the democratic transition, the oppressive nature of the apartheid government in South Africa left many people unprepared to participate fully in a democracy.

A more aspirational and unifying view of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa can be seen in Enslin's (2003) conception, which draws on the anti-apartheid struggle and the new Constitution. She defines the new South African citizen as an active participant in politics and civil society, and as a "transformed citizen who will strive to overcome the past", in contrast with Matisonn's more negative interpretation of South African democratic citizenship (Enslin, 2003, p. 76). Enslin views participation in the anti-apartheid struggle in a positive light and as a blueprint for active citizenship, while Matisonn views it as having created passive citizens.

Regarding democracy from a non-western perspective, the western and "liberal" emphasis on the rights of the individual conflicts with the "communalism" that is valued in many non-western contexts. "Communalism is ethically superior" to individualism, which in *ubuntu* is frequently "equated with egoism and selfishness" (Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004, p.546) [4]. In cultures where the well-being of the community is placed above the needs, desires, or freedoms of individuals, it makes sense that liberal democracy may seem selfish and egotistical. This form of democracy may not be an appropriate model for South Africa since "African culture and identity are ill-served" by this liberal model and the principle of human interdependence can provide a better basis for democracy (Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004, p. 547).

As I have shown, ideas about citizenship and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa are varied and contested. Given the complexity of the issues, it is essential to develop a framework to understand how teachers address these often-problematic topics.

A Conceptual Framework for Analysis: "Interrupted Democracy" and "Disruption of Received Knowledge"

Davies (2004) describes "interruptive democracy" as the "process by which people are enabled to intervene in practices that continue injustice" (p. 212). She views this as a necessary extension of political democracy for rebuilding educations systems. It is not enough to practice the most visible forms of democracy, such as elections and

[4] Ubuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu – a South African philosophy that a person is a person through other people – asserts that "we affirm our humanity when we acknowledge the humanity of others" (Tutu, 1999, p.31). This concept will be discussed in detail later in Chapter 3.

voting, but it is imperative that people confront injustice and aim to change it. In order for schools to become places of learning again, and to reject the replication of unjust practices and beliefs that were passed down through the generations, the old ways of teaching and learning must be interrupted.

Davies (2004) states that "interrupted democracy" has four components: the handling of identity and fear; the need for deliberation and dialogue; the need for creativity, play and humor; and the impetus for a defiant agency (p. 212). Handling identity and fear, directs schools and teachers to provide students with "a sense of secure self which does not project deficiency on others" and to "interrupt essentialist identities" (p.213-214). Students must first be able to explore their own identities safely, while not diminishing those of other students. The acknowledgement and validation of one's own identity is crucial before examining difference and the characteristics of others. Davies (2004) also states it emphasizes the flexibility of identities; they are not essential or exclusive. Once this is done, one can move past essentialism and recognize hybridity, the notion that gender, race, class etc. Davies (2004) therefore recommends the following to "interrupt essentialist identities:"

- Surfacing and valuing hybrid identities in all of us (including teachers)
- Providing means to belong, but not giving essentialist or exclusionary identities
- A good social science or political curriculum which enables critical discussion of identity and difference
- Not having a multicultural curriculum which presents cultures as finished and untouchable by others

- A transversal politics of learning, which means the constant responsibility of learners towards each other (p.214-215).

These elements are essential for "handling identity and fear" in post-conflict classrooms.

Secondly, deliberation and dialogue are key factors in interrupted democracy. Davies cites Fishkin (1991), Gutmann & Thomson (1996), and Elster (1998) for developing and promoting the idea of "deliberative democracy", to "increase political participation and the quality of democratic decision-making" through citizens exchanging views with one another" (p. 215). Sharing, listening, challenging and arguing are necessary tools in gaining perspective, understanding, and resolution. Student councils, youth parliaments, and dialog groups offer students forums in which to explore these methods. More robust citizenship education is also essential. Through the open exchange of ideas, students and teachers can use interruptive democracy inside and out of the classroom (Davies, 2004).

Thirdly, Davies proposes the need for creativity, play, and humor as tools of interruptive democracy. Creativity allows for new ideas, themes, methods, and solutions to be developed, while creative outlets have been seen to be healing. Play and humor defuse tension that is inherently present in tackling these difficult and weighty issues in the classroom. The absence of self-deprecating humor and the ability to laugh at oneself can be signs of an oppressive and authoritarian environment. When teachers and students feel free to address serious topics with humor and without insult, they can often make progress. Humor and creativity themselves can be signs of interruptive democracy because they challenge older, staid, and traditional ways of thinking.

Lastly, Davies lists defiant agency as the most important component of interruptive democracy. Without the disposition to act and challenge, the other three elements are not enough. Challenging common assumptions in classrooms requires a more critical pedagogy to be a change agent. Citing Apple (2000), Davies asserts that, "social critique is the ultimate act of patriotism" (p. 222). The two concepts of critique and action are often missing in civic education and are needed for interruptive democracy. It is also important to note that it is often difficult for teachers to be 'defiant agents' on their own. They need an environment conducive to change and support from their schools, communities, and civil society. The presence of the four components characterizes an "interruptive school" (p. 223). This form of post-conflict pedagogy is not passive, but active in addressing the sources of conflict and its aftermath.

Jonathan Jansen, a preeminent South African education scholar, has also developed a post-conflict pedagogy with roots in critical pedagogy. He lists nine key elements that challenge and critique the status quo in the classroom. They are: the power of indirect knowledge; the importance of listening; disruption of received knowledge; significance of pedagogic dissonance; reframing victors and victims; acknowledgement of brokenness; importance of hope; value of demonstrative leadership and the necessity of establishing a risk accommodating environment (Jansen, 2009). Many of these elements correspond to Davies components of interruptive democracy.

The element that most closely resembles interruptive democracy is the need to "disrupt received knowledge" (Jansen, 2009, p. 264): students should challenge the knowledge they receive from their parents, grandparents, and the broader community. He believes that schools should be places where old divisions, history, and prejudices are

challenged. The common or majority account of the conflict should not be the sole narrative of the past and should be confronted and critiqued. Jansen rejects only using critical theory to understand what happened during apartheid, preferring an approach to post-conflict education that avoids “taking sides”. This does not mean that Jansen thinks that all narratives or “sides” are all equal or should be accepted, but rather, he thinks that education should challenge both sides and to “understand the emotional, psychological and spiritual burden… carried by all sides” (Jansen, 2009, p. 259).

Both Jansen and Davies advocate a “disruption” or “interruption” of received knowledge, whether that is about the violence of the struggle itself or about the oppression that precedes conflict. In an attempt to return to normalcy after conflict, school systems often revert to the status quo, replicating social structures and divisions that may have led to conflict in the first place. It is therefore necessary to better understand the nature of social reproduction in schools and how it can be interrupted. This is important for this study, as I will be investigating teachers’ roles in either disrupting received knowledge or replicating what they were taught.

Social reproduction in schools has long been investigated from critical and Marxist perspectives. Several scholars have shown how schools replicate students’ socio-economic status, recreate entrenched inequalities, and reinforce class, gender, race and other differences in successive generations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Giroux & Purpel, 1983). Schools facilitate the process whereby people learn the “social values, knowledge, skills, etc, that are involved in social reproduction” (Demaine, 2003). This certainly resonates in divided and oppressed societies, where

schooling can be determined by factors of class, race, religion and ethnicity and socio-economic status.

Apple (1975) posed a series of questions aimed at understanding social reproduction through schooling, namely:

> Not "how a student acquires more knowledge" (the dominant question in our efficiency minded field) but "why and how particular aspects of the collective culture are presented in school as objective, factual knowledge." These questions must be asked of at least three areas of school life: 1) How the basic day-to-day regularities of schools contribute to students learning these ideologies; 2) how the specific forms of curricular knowledge reflect these configurations; and 3) how these ideologies are reflected in the fundamental perspectives educators themselves employ to order, guide, and give meaning to their own activity. (pp. 210-211)

These questions could be answered by looking at the school environment, the curriculum, and teachers' perspectives. Giroux & Penna (1979) went further, arguing for "thorough study of the interconnections between ideology, instruction, and curriculum" (p. 22) (see *Figure 1*). This study seeks to understand, from the teacher's perspective, how ideology, pedagogy, and curriculum intersect and shape the teaching of citizenship and democracy education (*see Figure 2*).

Figure 1: Giroux & Penna, 1979

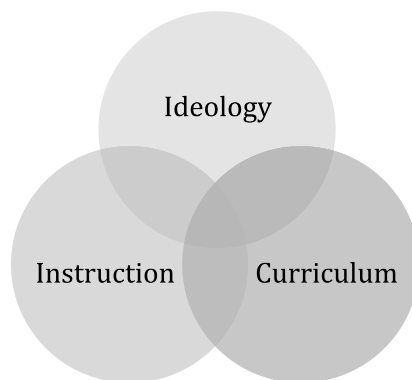
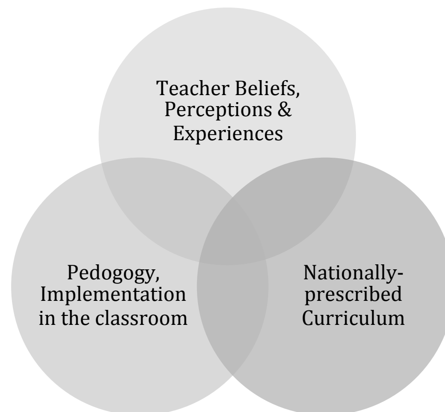


Figure 2: A conceptual model for the research study



This model also allows me to look more closely at how teachers' beliefs and ideologies shape their influence in the classroom. Specifically, it is necessary to study these three factors together, as teachers' interpretations of the curriculum and texts are filtered through their beliefs and life experiences (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Gardinier & Worden, 2010).

I have chosen to use Thornton's (1991) work on instructional choice and the teacher as "curriculum gatekeeper," and Torney-Purta et al.'s (2005) research on the importance of teachers' beliefs on civic knowledge to frame the way that educators convey to their students the abstract and complex concepts of citizenship and democracy in South Africa.

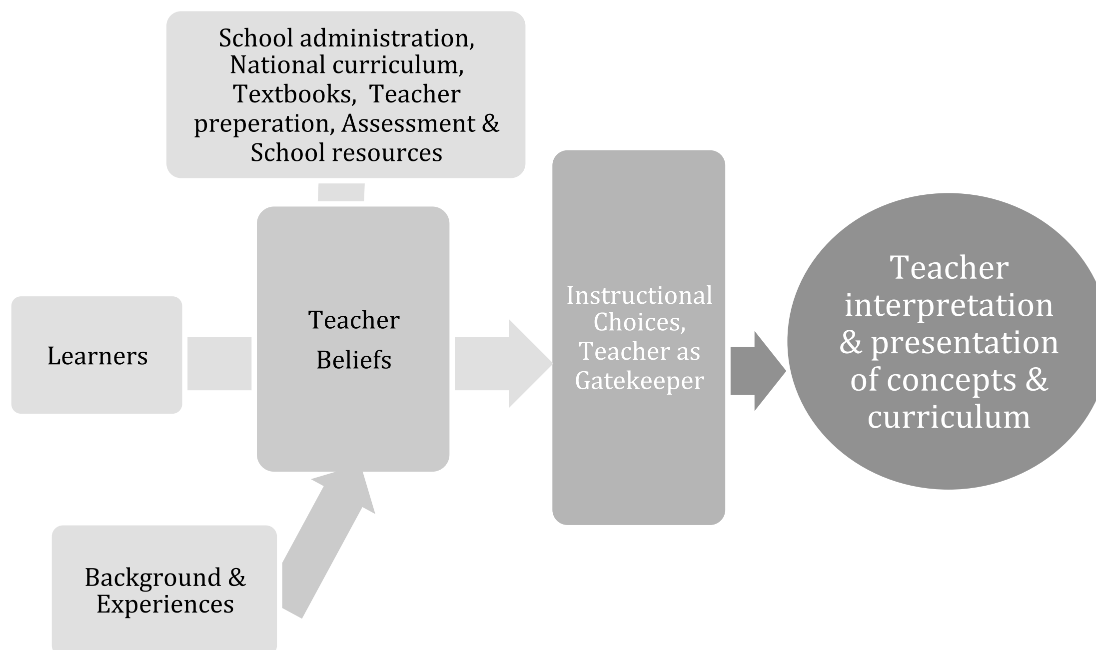
Thornton (1991) believes that despite all externally devised curricula, administrative directives and state or national standards, in the classroom the teacher is the final decision-maker when it comes to the content he or she presents. His research suggests that teachers use their own "frame of reference" to interpret, both consciously and subconsciously, the curriculum, textbooks, and other learning materials and,

consequently, they have more influence than policy makers.

Torney-Purta et al. (2005), using the IEA Civic Education Study quantitative data, expanded on the idea that the teacher's own beliefs about politics, the state, citizenship and government play a key role in how he or she teaches civic concepts. They found that the country context, political history of the country, and the teacher's preparation within that context, are important elements in shaping teachers' civic beliefs and confidence about teaching these subjects.

Using these two concepts, I have developed a framework to better understand how teachers present the concepts of citizenship and democracy in their classrooms.

Figure 3: A framework for understanding citizenship and democracy teaching



As Figure 3 shows, there are many elements that make up how teachers address content. First, teachers' beliefs are shaped by their backgrounds and experiences. These beliefs then serve as a filter for other factors influencing their teaching decisions, such as their learners' backgrounds and ability, school administration, national curriculum,

textbooks, teacher education, the national assessment exams, and the available school resources and learning materials. Next, these internal beliefs and external factors guide their instructional choices, and finally how they present the material in the classroom.

This is particularly important in citizenship education in South Africa, where teachers' background, experiences with apartheid, education, and professional training directly impact how they view citizenship and democracy. Whether teachers choose, or are able, to challenge the received knowledge of their students is clearly influenced by their own backgrounds and how they were trained. This framework helped me to develop research questions to investigate how teachers implement the civic education elements of the national curriculum.

Research Questions

Three research questions will guide my inquiry:

- RQ1: How do teachers' beliefs and perceptions about citizenship & democracy shape how they explicitly & implicitly teach about democracy and citizenship?
    - 1.1 What information, experiences or understanding do teachers have about citizenship and democracy?
- RQ2: What is the range of expected roles for teachers in fostering citizenship and democracy in the classroom?
- RQ3: How do teachers interpret the curriculum content and implement the sections on citizenship and democracy in the classroom?
    - 3.1 To what extent do teachers fulfill, modify, subvert, edit or challenge the curriculum? Why?

- 3.2 What do teachers recognize as experiences or predispositions of students that shape how they explicitly and implicitly teach about democracy and citizenship?

See Appendix H for an overview of how the research methods were used to answer these questions.

Organization of Study & Design Overview

This study first presents an overview of education in post-conflict settings in Chapter 2, placing the South African case within that context. Chapter 3 discusses citizenship and democracy education in South Africa, detailing the curriculum reform efforts and the roles of teachers of these subjects. Chapter 4 presents the research approach and methodology of the study, which includes the research design, methods for data collection and analysis, and description of the case setting.

This dissertation is a qualitative, multiple case study, conducted in three Durban metropolitan area schools. Chapters 5 to 7 present the data analysis from each of the three schools, collected through interviews and observation of Life Orientation and History teachers. My analysis of the data was thematic and inductive, allowing for key themes to emerge from the data. Finally, Chapter 8 presents the comparative and theoretical findings and concludes with policy implications and recommendations for future research.

Personal Interest in the Topic

I came to be interested in this topic through my interest in the interaction between education, conflict, and democracy. As a Peace Corps Volunteer in Benin, West Africa,

in 2005, I had the rare opportunity to witness the country's first free and fair election. We had all braced for the worst to occur, but in the end a long-term leader turned over power to a member of a different party without violence or fraud. We take this process for granted in the United States, but it was a monumental event in Benin.

As a teacher, I saw this historical event through my students' eyes. They were too young to participate fully, but they were so eager to take part that they pretended to vote and campaign for their chosen candidate. Although I taught English, it was inevitable that politics would come up in the classroom. This made me curious about how we learn about our own political system, inside of school and out of it. I wondered how children, in particular, learn about the rights and responsibilities of living in a democracy and especially how this happens in new democracies. This has led me to study civic education in countries after political transitions and conflict.

If my experience as a teacher in Benin sparked my interest in this subject, the research that I did as a master's student at George Washington University serves as the foundation for my further study of these topics. The final project for my Master's degree was a comparison of civic education reforms in South Africa and Rwanda. I found that, in both nations, due to recent conflicts, civic education was a sensitive topic. South Africa also emerged as a positive case for actively pursuing a democratic education system. With further research, I have learned that this is far more complex and problematic. After my master's program, I worked at the US Institute of Peace, where I gained a practitioner's view of peacebuilding in post-conflict states. These experiences persuaded me to explore these topics further at the doctorate level at the University of Maryland-College Park and in this dissertation topic.

Chapter 2: Education in the Post-Conflict Context

This chapter will explore the role of education after conflict and political transition and how the education system can be a vehicle for societal transformation after upheaval. By first looking at the theoretical underpinnings of how education is reformed in post-conflict periods, with the introduction of democratic governments, we can start to understand the challenges facing, and solutions available to, education policy makers. Then, by taking a comparative look at three post-conflict countries--Northern Ireland, Rwanda and South Africa--during periods of political transition, we can start to see the policies, trends and difficulties in transforming schools into democratic spaces. Finally, this chapter will make the case for South Africa as a key example of a society that has used education to challenge the values, practices and beliefs of the previous authoritarian regime to forge a more democratic ethos.

Understanding Post- Conflict Education

Conflict and violence at a national level can damage all sectors of society, particularly those meant to foster civic behavior: the government, legal and education systems. Conflict can cause the breakdown of state institutions through physical destruction, a void in leadership, and the absence of trained officials, and each country has to reconcile combatants and warring segments of the population when conflict has ceased. Cole and Murphy of the US Institute of Peace and Facing History write:

> Youth are also disproportionately likely to be those involved in violence, including the post-formal-conflict violence that continues as economic or other forms of criminality, and are thus very important to target via education. Schools

> before and after conflict can be sites of injustice, mirroring inequalities in the rest of society that often underpin violence. (Undated, p. 2)

They maintain that inequality of resources aggravates conflict and this is also true in education. When one group has more access to higher quality education than another, resentment, lack of career opportunities, and the existence of a privileged, educated class can cause conflict to erupt.

In a report for UNICEF on education and ethnic conflict, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) challenge the idea that education is always beneficial and on the contrary, it can be destructive. The report also states that the denial of education has been used as a weapon of war (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Often schools and teachers are targeted in conflict, and by denying education to the "other" or the "enemy", combatants deny future opportunities for their children.

Even without open conflict, schools can become institutions of state-sanctioned violence, through intimidation by teachers and fellow students and by means of corporal punishment.

> Whether formally preparing young people to accept and engage in war, conflict and violence, whether by informal brutality, whether by regimes of fear, testing, competition or simply by remaining silent or ineffectual about violence, educational institutions are directly culpable in the reproduction of conflict. (Davies, 2004, p. 123)

Schooling is often authoritarian by nature and sometimes mimics military structure. This can create an environment of latent violence, which students then reproduce in other parts of their lives.

Through cultural domination, legalized inequalities, and segregated schools, education can aggravate already high tensions and create violent conflict. The acquisition

of education should improve economic, career and life chances, so a lack of opportunities often causes conflict. By providing new educational opportunities, schooling can “dampen conflict” (Davies, 2006, p. 164). Students no longer feel trapped within a society that seems unable to offer them future and they have the chance to move beyond inter-group tensions.

Education is one of the sectors that should receive attention during the post-conflict reconstruction process. Buckland (2005 & 2006) and Bush and Salterelli (2000) have identified three main purposes for post-conflict education, beyond the essential function of schooling in forming the whole person. The first is to recreate a semblance of normalcy with the act of schooling as a healing and restorative event. The second is the same reason every child attends school, conflict or not, which is to prepare them for future employment and to learn basic skills that are needed in today’s society. A third reason is for the mitigation and resolution of conflict.

First, a return to normalcy is an immediate benefit of post-conflict education. The opening of schools is both a symbolic event at the end of hostilities, which can happen long before agreements are signed and elections take place, as well as a very real sign that a given area is now safe enough for children to be away from home and for adults to make their way back to work. The return to everyday activities and a departure from survival mode is inherently restorative.

There is a school of thought and body of literature on post-conflict education that focuses on the importance of returning to school. We see this in the literature on education in emergencies and humanitarian aid policies, presented by groups like the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). They tend to have short-

term goals and logistical solutions for their responses to crises in education after conflict. This leaves very little room for curriculum or institutional reform (INEE, 2004). Long-term post-conflict education reform is often incorporated into development agendas that do not always consider the specific needs of the particular education system.

Second, preparation for work and the acquisition of basic skills is essential for post-conflict reconstruction and long-term stability. This is the reason all children go to school, no matter where they are, and is especially important if a country has been plagued by war or oppression and there was no access to education. The economic argument for re-opening schools can often be the strongest and least contested.

Third, conflict mitigation and resolution is difficult to accomplish and is often forgotten as soon as hostilities cease. Actively addressing the contributors to the conflict and working towards peaceful reconciliation in schools is both controversial and problematic to assess. However, this will have the most impact on the country's long-term stability and will define how the transition from war to peace takes place. It is important to ask the question: How are mindsets and ideologies changed to form a culture of peace? In other words, what kind of education is needed to address current and past conflicts and to become an integrated and peaceful society?

Challenges for Post-Conflict Education & Solutions for Reform

The period after conflict can be called a "transitology," defined as a situation, where over a short period of time, the simultaneous collapse and reconstruction of the state occurs, including the economic and "social stratification systems," the central and political value systems, to provide a new vision of the future (Haber, 2001, p.7; Cowen,

1999). When all of this happens at once, there are no strong institutions to guide reform, and all of them must be built up at once.

The education system is one of the most important and challenging sectors to implement this new vision of the future. After some of the key infrastructure elements are back in place, such as buildings, fully staffed schools, materials and security, Davies (2006) finds that the first educational reform challenge that a country faces is defining the trajectory of change. Decision-makers have to choose what students will learn about the conflict, who will go to school together and how far the state will go to examine the roots of the conflict within the system. School integration and curriculum content are especially challenging.

Intergroup Contact Theory & School Integration

School integration is dealt with in various ways depending on the conflict. For the purposes of this study, most of the discussion will concern civil or internal conflict, where the issue of integrating students and teachers from groups who might have been on opposite sides of the conflict is hotly debated. From a theoretical perspective, we know that one of the best way to break down the walls of hatred and prejudice is to put opposing groups in contact with each other.

"Intergroup contact theory" states that, under certain conditions, contact between groups in conflict will break down barriers of prejudice and stereotypes (Allport, 1954). This idea, from social psychology, has been supported by extensive research in various fields and in all the cases of conflict contexts in this paper (Northern Ireland, Bosnia-Herzogovina, Rwanda and South Africa) and beyond (Bush & Saltareli, 2000; McGlynn

et al., 2009; Saloman & Nevo, 2002). The theory has been refined to define what the "certain conditions" are that promote productive contact (Hewstone & Brown, 2005; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Pettigew & Tropp, 2006). Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) see cooperation, common goals, equal status over extended meeting time, and self-disclosure as key components to finding positive contact effects. They report especially significant effects when intergroup friendships are made. Their research confirms that intergroup contact reduces prejudices.

This theory has been challenged, however. First, some scholars believe that contact between different groups creates conflict and separating those groups keeps the peace (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Others have challenged its individualistic, American cultural bias, which suggests that conflict impacts the individual rather than the group (Sherif, 1958; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Finally, Du Toit and Quayle (2011) have argued that, under certain conditions, it can reinforce negative conditions as well as create surface level encounters without disrupting the "social practices that preserve microsegregation" (p. 541).

Finally, in places where inter-group conflict is high, segregated education is the norm. Segregated education leads to prejudiced and biased views of the other groups. Students have no real knowledge of the other group from their own experiences and thus adopt the prevalent views of their group. Segregated education often means unequal education. It "ensure(s) inequality, lowered esteem and stereotyping" (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 14) within schools and within populations.

Despite the proposal of Allport's theory, that intergroup contact can break down conflict, it is often easier said than done. Sometimes groups do not live near each other

by design. Apartheid era housing laws segregated the races in South Africa; there was separation as a result of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Even when groups live near each other, that does not mean they want their children to go to school together as in Northern Ireland. When the state orders schools to integrate, there can be a demographic imbalance, which causes disproportionate representation and results in power discrepancies.

Solutions to this issue have been broad and variously successful. Informal or out-of-school programs offered by NGOs or civil society groups have been most prominent, mainly because these organizations have the flexibility to work outside the formal state education system. They can steer clear of controversial topics and are often voluntary. After-school sports programs have been a popular approach (McGlynn et al., 2009). Transporting students from one area to another for the purposes of integration was one of the strategies used in the US during school integration period. Some schools prescribe quotas for each group. These strategies have had mixed results. Socio-economic issues may be present as well: one group is more privileged than others and the inequality becomes visible to students, parents and teachers. I will investigate specific cases of school integration attempts later in this chapter.

Understanding Curriculum and Pedagogy Reform in Post-conflict Contexts

When countries stop fighting for long enough to declare a victor or negotiate a settlement, education is not always the first state institution to be reformed. When it does become a priority, curriculum reform is often last on the agenda; school governance, infrastructure, finance, and staffing come first. Before curriculum reform can be

attempted, new values and principles have to be established. Often this takes the form of democratization or human rights policies. These become the bedrock for what and how schools teach. This means a less authoritarian pedagogy, often more student-centered, and includes a new emphasis on "critical, independent and creative thinking" (Arnhold et al., 1998, p.17).

There have been different approaches to curriculum development and decision-making about what is included and what is not. Some countries focus on civic or peace education to address the conflict, others reject these options and choose to ignore the history of the conflict entirely. Some countries find religious education helpful in understanding how violence and hate can occur (Davies, 2004). South Africa used a rights-based approach and attempted to infuse the curriculum with its new constitutionally-protected rights and nationally-adopted values. This has led to a curriculum that looks as if it directly addresses the issues of the past, while minimally teaching the topics on rights in the classroom. There are many reasons for this gap, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

One of the most contentious elements of post-conflict education is curriculum reform, in part because what children are taught is incredibly important on a personal level for parents and on a national level for the state. In a post-conflict context, where there are different narratives of the conflict, it is especially difficult to agree about what should be taught. The content of the curriculum may matter less in some subjects than in others and citizenship education and history are particularly delicate areas.

A key solution to conflict mitigation and resolution is to implement educational polices and curricula that challenge the assumptions of the pre-conflict government,

education system and societal norms. This requires a curriculum, teachers and subject matter that directly confront what happened during the conflict and how it continues to impact the country. Peace education is rarely taught in schools, so the next best place for this type of content is in civic education courses. By putting the emphasis on reconciliation and forging a new national identity, civic education can be a form of "interruptive democracy" and help challenge how students see themselves, "the other" and their country.

Curriculum content is another serious issue for post-conflict education. The decision about what is taught is one of the most difficult aspects of post-conflict education reform. Often the group in power at the end of the conflict has the decision-making authority and can use schools for cultural dominance and/or repression. Through textbooks, teacher training and hiring, and curriculum, the state or dominant group can determine the content that is taught in the classroom and push their own cultural agenda. History instruction can be twisted to suit the agenda of the victors. This could mean denying or denigrating the other's history, culture, religion or language. Students will be taught that one group is superior to the other. This will solidify self-worth and hatred of others in all students, whether it is high self-worth for students in dominant groups or low self-worth for students in other groups (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Other elements that should be part of the new curriculum should deal with the conflict itself. Whether that is an accounting of what happened during the conflict or an emphasis on tolerating and understanding o groups that might have once been combatants (Arnhold et al., 1998). This can be difficult when a fair accounting of the conflict cannot often be agreed upon and basic tolerance is strained.

With an intentionally transformative curriculum, schools can create a nurturing and accepting environment for learning and reconciliation. Through thoughtful teaching practice, critical and "humanizing" pedagogy, teachers can construct classrooms that promote tolerance, unity, caring and questioning (Freire, 1970; Price & Osborne, 2000). These can also promote critical understanding of the institutional and power dynamics that impact students in their daily lives.

Unfortunately, authoritarian teacher-centered practices, corporal punishment, and curricula that favor the dominant culture are often still in place. However, educational practices can also be a response to oppression when non-state actors, such as religious groups, NGOs, and activists create educational opportunities outside state sanctioned education. This can make it possible for marginalized students to attend higher quality schools and for teachers to teach outside of state curriculum, although student-centered approaches can be problematic when young people inherit their parents' biases and prejudices. Davies's post-conflict pedagogy addresses this and highlights the need for dialog and discussion in the classroom, even when students have preconceptions, as well as the need for a teacher who will challenge students' inherited beliefs (2004).

Along with student-centered pedagogies, which move away from the more authoritarian teacher-centered approach, the content of what is taught can be very conducive to reconciliation and trust building. Teaching inclusive citizenship, "de-arming" history, and peace education programing can help students form their own opinions about prejudices, national rhetoric and contested histories (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Inclusive citizenship is not based on ethnic, linguistic, religious or racial

qualifications that the state often creates: "By highlighting commonality and shared experiences and objectives, the intention is to create the common ground necessary for constructive and supportive bonds to develop within and between civil society and the state" (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 19). A focus on citizenship also helps to promote democracy, which is often a new concept in post-conflict countries (Brilliant, 2000; Carothers, 1999). Finkel & Earnst (2005) concur:

> Operating from the belief that democracies are most likely to function effectively when the populace endorses the values and norms inherent in democratic regimes, civic education programs among primary and secondary school children, as well as among some adult populations, have become commonplace in developing democracies." (p. 334)

However, in Quaynor's literature review of civic education across many post-conflict countries, there is evidence that controversial topics are rarely discussed. Students and teachers tended to avoid conflict in the classroom, often lacked trust in political parties, and were skeptical of democracy in general. South African students were an exception to these findings and had stronger democratic leanings. Quaynor concluded that the traditional "power relations and customs in the classroom directly affect the implementation of citizenship education" and teachers are often unwilling to give up "intellectual control" which allows for more open and critical discourse (2012, p. 45).

De-arming history aims at allowing students to see all sides of a conflict and presenting history not as a series of fixed events, but as a set of accounts from both sides, each with their own agenda and prejudices. There are many tensions within history education and textbook reform. Cole discusses these tensions in textbook reform by

defining the opposing needs that must be met in the new history content: "The first is the need to support patriotism and provide young people with a useable past. Opposing this need for an overall positive narrative of the nation is the need to provide a critical history, which may include a very large number of negative or unflattering events" (Cole, 2007, p.19).

A usable past is an historical account of which students can make sense and take ownership. It is an acceptable explanation when questioning why such a terrible conflict occurred in the first place. However, a useable past can be one-sided and overly simplistic. The need for unity and consensus about the past often comes at the expense of the need for truth and for a critical analysis of historical events.

Peace education programming goes beyond removing hate and bias from school content, but moves towards teaching children skills in practicing democracy, human rights, reconciliation, and conflict resolution. In her discussion of South Africa, Kubow (2009) states that "this task of transformation through education will require exposure to, and use of, democratic forms of pedagogy to engage citizens in the construction of healthy and just environments and relationships premised on mutual reciprocity and human rights" (p. 53).

International forces and global trends also influence curriculum reform efforts. Post-conflict countries seek financial aid and counsel from donor countries and this has an impact on how they shape their curriculum. Major educational reform efforts in South Africa were influenced by the US, Australia, New Zealand and the UK (Harber, 2001).

In the next section, I will discuss some of the challenges and solutions that have been found in three comparative cases of post-conflict education reform.

Comparative Cases of Post-Conflict Educational Reform: Northern Ireland, Rwanda & South Africa

In order to understand post-conflict education challenges, it is necessary to investigate actual examples of educational reform in transitioning societies. The three countries/ that will be analyzed for comparison are Northern Ireland, Rwanda and South Africa. These countries are interesting to compare because they display varying degrees of progress in post-conflict reconstruction, particularly in the reform of their education systems. The rationale for selecting these cases is that all of them emerged from conflict in the 1990s, had internal conflict between groups living within the country, and subsequently have adopted nominally democratic governments. Some mechanisms for educational reform are similar, such as state involvement, integration of conflicting parties, and involvement of non-school actors. The three cases differ within the timeline and nature of the conflict and economic conditions of the countries.

In each case, I will try to examine the extent to which the education system has challenged received knowledge, disrupted the dominant narrative of the conflict and the past, and democratically interrupted the teaching and learning practices of status quo education. While some post-conflict education systems attempt to break the cycle of conflict-era narratives and practices, many others simply maintain such systems: school composition is unchanged, students continue to learn the same history as their parents, and teaching practices remain the same. Both Davies (2004) and Jansen (2009) would argue that it is not only physical segregation that must be challenged, but the entire system must be disrupted or interrupted in post-conflict societies for significant change to

occur. As the comparative cases are analyzed, I will use Jansen and Davies's concepts to evaluate how each country confronts the conflict within the education system.

Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland struggles with a divided population that has two different school systems and little impetus to desegregate. Government efforts to promote desegregation, inter-group communication, and conflict resolution have been passive at best, despite large amounts of funding put into these efforts. This section will discuss the nature of the conflict, the effectiveness of school desegregation initiatives, inter-group contact, and school reform.

The conflict in Northern Ireland, often referred to as "the Troubles", has its roots in 800 years of struggle with the British over territorial dominance of the island, though a few modern benchmarks in the conflict are most relevant. When the Republic of Ireland gained independence in 1921, the six northern counties remained joined to the United Kingdom. This was because the Protestant majority identified themselves as British, not Irish, despite a large Catholic population. The government remained British and Protestant, leaving the Catholics little political role in society. The British were not just a colonial power; the majority population in Northern Ireland desired their presence (Gallagher, 2005).

A period of violence between paramilitary groups demanding independence and civilians began in the 1960s with casualties on both sides, and culminated in peace accords, called the Good Friday and Belfast Agreements, which were signed in 1998 (Niens & Cairns, 2005). It became necessary to find a power sharing agreement between

Catholics and Protestants. This created other challenges when integrating social structures, such as the schools and the police force. Both populations are big enough to maintain social, cultural, political and educational segregation. Protestants represent 50% of the population, Catholics 35% and the remainder unaffiliated (Saloman, 2002, p.218; Niens & Cairns, 2005).

School integration. Over 90% of Northern Ireland's children attend segregated schools. Teacher training and higher education are also mostly segregated (Gallager, 2005; Saloman, 2002). The government does not mandate this; it is both an entrenched societal norm and the desire of most parents. School segregation is even higher than residential segregation, as about 50% of the population lives in mixed communities (Hewsone et al., 2006). Hence, this is not a case of physical distance or geographical segregation, as in South Africa during and after apartheid. There may also be other factors keeping children in religiously segregated schools, such as particular religious instruction. Because there is a demand for more integrated schools, but little action towards provision, there also seems to be some inertia in policy changes.

Throughout the 1980s, there was a movement for integrated schools and by the early 1990s, ten were integrated. In 2002, there were 37 integrated schools, which educated 10% of the population (Saloman, 2002). Yet statistics for 2012/2013 show that enrolment in integrated schools has declined. Although there are now 62 integrated schools; only 7% of the school-going population is enrolled (NI Department of Education, 2013). While this might suggest self-segregation, integrated schools turn children away every year because they are over-enrolled. The goal of some Belfast educators was that a third of its students would be in integrated schools by 2000

(Saloman, 2002). This goal was not met, which begs the question: why are these schools constantly over-enrolled and why has the movement not spread. These schools lack resources, faculty and support, particularly from both Catholic and Protestant religious communities, even if the desire for integration is growing nationwide.

The respective school systems are approximately equal in quality and therefore there is no intrinsic push for reform. Most sources agree that Catholic schools received far less government funding before the peace process and were consistently seen as less advantaged than Protestant schools, which were largely funded by the state. Catholics were much less likely to ask for community funds for their schools because of long standing grievances (Nelles, 2003, pp. 131-2).

The education Reform Order (Northern Ireland), introduced in 1989, was meant to fund all government schools based on enrolments in order to achieve parity. Educational themes aimed at reconciliation, including Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) and Cultural Heritage (CH), were introduced (Gallager, 2005). These were weak attempts at building a shared history and culture. There were also incentives added for receiving funding: schools had to actively participate in reconciliation activities and support integrated education (Nelles, 2003; Niens & Cairns, 2005). This shows that the government was advocating for school integration and conflict resolution programs without forcing institutions to reform.

Despite the lack of enthusiasm for integrating schools, there has been a big push for improved relations and cross-cultural education within communities. Huge amounts of money have been spent on community relations though the Central Community Relations Unit (CCRU), which has the job of organizing cross-contact opportunities. It

does so through cultural awareness events. It is particularly active after acts of violence and it orchestrates reconciliation and resolution opportunities (Niens & Cairns, 2005; Salomon, 2002).

Education for reconciliation. The educational authorities have funded many peace education programs, mainly focusing on creating opportunities for contact between Catholic and Protestant school children. At best these programs have been superficial, including such events as school competitions, which do more to divide students than actually bring them together. However, the success of these programs is difficult to judge because there is so much segregation and so little contact (Raviv, 1999).

It seems as if people are satisfied with the status quo, and/or that religion is of such importance that parents' major goal is to have their children taught by teachers who share their religious beliefs. The violence has ended to some degree; there is more social equality but self-segregation has become a "benign apartheid" (Saloman, 2002, p. 221). Progress towards integration has been minimal and different approaches must be tried. This is a self-perpetuating cycle: the more people segregate, the more their differences are emphasized, which in turns serves to keep them apart.

One of the ways the segregated school system serves to maintain the status quo is through an implicit or hidden curriculum, namely, the "unstated norms, values and beliefs that are transmitted to the students through the underlying structure of meaning in both formal content as well as the social relations of school and classroom life" (Giroux, 1979, p. 22). While each school system has an overtly different curriculum, especially with regard to history, there is also a passive curriculum, which works to divide the community even more. A subtle agenda that promotes bias and prejudice keeps these

groups apart (Nelles, 2003, p.131). The implicit curriculum, which reinforces negative stereotypes and superior/inferior identities, is an institutionalized way to keep these two groups self-segregated. The school systems make segregation self-perpetuating, rather than becoming catalysts for change.

Many think that education should become the vehicle for reconciliation and resolution within Northern Ireland, through a new curriculum and inter-group contact and through the structure of education school equity and integrated schools. The three strategies of curriculum reform, school integration, and cross group school partnerships have had major funding and attention, but their impacts on communities have been minimal.

Despite many projects, task forces, and funding efforts that have been made over the past 25 years, little has been done to change core beliefs and attitudes towards religion. Most efforts have involved the promotion of cross-community contact; getting members of the same group together to dispel some of the myths and break down some of the walls that divide people. Little effort has been made within the adult community; most of the emphasis has been on school-age children. Some progress has been made in the advent of integrated schools, but the state has provided insufficient resources and communities do not support such schools. It is promising that while places at these schools are limited, there are too few of them and they are in great demand.

We see very few direct challenges to the status quo in the classroom, due mostly to the high degree of segregated schooling. While there have been attempts to address the tensions of the past, a largely divided school system and curricula leaves each group in Northern Ireland with an uninterrupted narrative of their side of the conflict.

Rwanda

The genocide of 1994 in Rwanda stemmed from a long legacy of social inequality between the main two groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi. The government's accepted history places the blame on the colonial interference of the Germans and the Belgians. These colonial powers institutionalized the differences between Hutu and Tutsi, elevating one above the other, which in turn created deep tensions. Colonial administrators and the church-run missions gave preference to Tutsis in government and education (Obura, 2003). Because this interpretation of the genocide leaves out a great deal and serves to absolve guilt on both sides, it has become the "official history" of Rwanda (Hodgkin, 2006, p. 200). This official history helps to explain the government's post-genocide educational policy, which "stipulated that only its official historical narrative should be transmitted" (Freedman et al., 2008, p. 664).

Even before the genocide, there were two regime changes that resulted in violence and mass exodus of refugees to neighboring countries. The first was at independence in 1961 and the second regime change in 1973 "reinforced the policy of ethnic quotas and regional preferences in the educational system, continuing a divisive legacy of Rwanda since the 1920s" (Obura, 2003, p. 34).

Pre-genocide education & institutionalized inequalities. Pre-genocide education in Rwanda had gone through major reform in 1979. Before 1979, the education system was based on the colonial and missionary structure that served mainly Tutsi children. Primary education was expanded to about 60% of the population, though a small and elite group had accessed to secondary education. The reformed primary education system was expanded to eight years, which included three cycles. The second

cycle introduced French and included the study of civics (Retamal & Aedo-Richmond, 1998).

While primary school enrollment increased after independence, secondary school education was still available only to an elite. In 1990, less than ten percent of primary school graduates went on to secondary school (Obura, 2003). It was clear that there were separate standards of education for the different groups and institutionalized discrimination emphasized their differences. Teachers, textbooks and curricula endorsed ethnic inequality (Hodgkin, 2006). In the 1970s, "ethnic and regional" quotas were the deciding factor for entrance into any government and tertiary schools, allowing Tutsis to benefit and Hutus to be left out. Merit was not a deciding factor at all (Obura, 2003).

Despite large amounts of aid from the donor community, these inequalities were never addressed. They were seen as political issues, separate from development issues. Unlike in South Africa, where the extent of oppression and inequality became obvious in the 1970s and 1980s, the inequalities that were inherent in government policy were ignored (Hodgkin, 2006).

Just before the genocide, educational reforms were set in motion to address a lack of equipment and materials, minimal teacher training, and infrastructure in disrepair. These reforms were never implemented due to the complete destruction of the education system during the genocide.

Post-genocide education reform. During the genocide, educational infrastructure was destroyed from the ministry level to community schools. Teachers were targeted as perceived members of the Tutsi elite (Hodgkin, 2006; Obura, 2003). Many children were killed, injured, orphaned, left as heads of households, displaced, traumatized, and

participated in the violence had an effect on every level of the educational system. Civil society experienced a severe and fundamental breakdown. The fact that educated people and children participated in this level of violence had to be addressed in the post-conflict reconstruction of the education system. Thus it was crucial to include human rights, peace, tolerance, and conflict resolution as themes in the new curricula (Retamal & Aedo-Richmond, 1998).

Primary schools opened two months after the genocide thanks to Rwandan initiatives with the aid of outside practitioners (Obura, 2003). This was a sign of the government's strong desire to reconstruct and reform the education system. UNICEF was a big supporter of education reconstruction and emergency education as a humanitarian response after the genocide. They focused on aiding children in difficult circumstances, especially demobilizing child soldiers, children thought to have been involved in the killings, and children with no adults. There were rehabilitation and re-education centers. There was also outside consultation for the new curriculum, which made sure there was an emphasis on peace and reconciliation. This was included into the formal primary education system under the subject of *civism* or civics. Youth solidarity camps were also founded all over the country through the Ministry of Youth to deal with the large population of war-affected youth (Retamal & Aedo-Richmond, 1998).

Education as an accelerant of conflict. The Minister of Education echoes the thought that the education system had entrenched the ideas of ethnic inequality and was partly to blame for the genocide:

> It is generally felt that the education system, and specifically the school curriculum, failed the nation in 1994. It is felt that the curriculum was both silent in areas where it should have been eloquent and eloquent where it should have been silent. For instance, there was too much about human differences and too

> little about human similarities. Too much about collective duty and too little about individual responsibility. Too much about the past and too little about the future. Too much about theory and too little about practice. My Ministry, after it reestablished itself after the events of 1994, was very well aware of all these shortcomings and took prompt steps to remedy them. (Romain Murenzi, Minister of Education, 2002 in Obura, 2003, p. 86)

One of the goals of the new curriculum was to place less emphasis on the differences between groups and to attempt to teach an inclusive Rwandan identity (Hodgkin, 2006,). This type of system-wide reform, replacing one hidden curriculum with another is very difficult. It requires a full overview of texts, teaching techniques, and subject matter. The new policy would be one of inclusiveness and a shared Rwandan identity. Educators would use traditional values and terminology that were familiar already but not formally in use. A departure from the older French system would also allow more room for local and traditional practices.

Ideological reconstruction & emphasis on a shared identity. The Rwandan experience of ideological reconstruction existed on several levels. The first act was to suspend the teaching of history because, until a unifying narrative could be developed, it would only be an inflammatory subject. Civics would be suspended as well while the Ministry of Education charted its new path. At the same time, there was a government-led effort to consolidate a new Rwandan shared identity. This was emphasized continually to schools and teachers. Educators hoped to embed lessons and values of tolerance, reconciliation and shared identity in all subjects (Arnhold et al., 1998, Freeman et al., 2008).

In Rwanda, there have been several forms of rhetoric that have been local responses to education and reconciliation post-genocide. One of the first is the emphasis on *banyarwanda.* This is the name for one united national group of Rwandans, neither

Hutu nor Tutsi, and speaks to a shared identity, culture, language, pre-colonial history and territory (Hodgkin, 2006, p. 202). This message, conveyed by the primarily Tutsi post-genocide government, was a first step in consolidating a true national identity. Despite perceived differences between the two groups, there is a shared culture that was mostly divided by colonial rulers. By shifting the emphasis away from Tutsi/Hutu difference and placing it more on the colonial legacy, a stronger national identity is created. There is even a push to move away from French as the language of governmental use, and focus on English, not just to include returning refugees from Anglophone countries, but also to move the country further from its Francophone colonial legacy. In fact, as of January 1, 2009, English legally became the language of instruction (McCrummen, 2008).

However, there is a danger that, by creating a nation of Rwandans, one loses the diversity and traditional cultural elements of the different groups. In attempting to form a new Rwandan identity, they are assuming a western model of the nation state. Ironically the government has replaced the language of the oppressive colonial régime with another western language. There is also the sense that the Tutsi minority is pushing this agenda and that further investigation into the years of Tutsi rule is not desired.

Non-formal education & reconciliation. Despite no history being formally taught in Rwanda, that does not mean that there has been a lack of non-formal education on the part of the government to educate the population on the new common history. The government has utilized many opportunities and venues for its version of Rwandan history. Some of these venues, the gacaca trials, public government addresses, re-education camps, memorials and the new visible symbols of the country, were all aimed

at publicizing this new history. The new history is a very politically correct account of a pre-colonial time in which the groups lived together in harmony and peace. The arrival of the colonists disrupted this harmony, introduced intolerance by a policy of "divide and conquer," and created racial differences. That led to the post-colonial period, in which the legacy of colonialism erupted into bloodshed and the genocide (Hodgkin, 2006). This history is so well rehearsed that all school children will deliver the same explanation for the genocide and what can be done to never repeat it. While this was not taught in school, the campaign for a new historical narrative from the government was extensive.

While the government has made it clear that a new Rwandan national identity and citizenship is of utmost importance, they have left no room for each group's narrative. By ignoring the individual histories and experiences during the genocide, the state is disregarding the past and creating its own narrative, independent of the reality of many people.

> This insistence on having only one official narrative conflicts with another official goal for education reform in Rwanda—to embrace so-called modern, democratic teaching methods that foster skills thought to be essential for successful participation in an increasingly global economy, such as critical thinking and debate. (Freedman et al., 2008, p. 665)

This has become a case of "the danger of a single story" and the single state-supplied narrative has replaced the nuanced and plural experience of the population of Rwanda (Adichie, 2009). While the colonial history has been challenged, the government "issued" history has not and there is no current democratic interruption of the state narrative.

South Africa

The authoritarian and oppressive system of apartheid was government policy in South Africa from 1948 to 1994, legislation put in place by the National Party to preserve White supremacy and domination over the majority of the population. Apartheid was present in every aspect of life including education. In 1948, Christian National Education (CNE) was imposed not only to segregate the races, but also to perpetuate apartheid. CNE sought to make the idea of a hierarchy of races a fact as well centralize the curriculum so all races would be learning what was "best suited" for them (Gardner, 2000, p. 249). In effect, this meant that Africans had as little education as possible and Whites believed in the philosophy of apartheid.

Under CNE, African students were taught in their home languages for primary school and in Afrikaans for secondary school. Afrikaans was the language of the oppressor and this language policy aimed to keep Africans out of higher education[5] and unskilled as the country's main labor source (Gardner, 2000). In 1976, the Soweto Uprising was a student-led movement that began when students protested against the apartheid government's language policy. They demanded to be taught in local languages or English and refused instruction in Afrikaans. Language and the curriculum was seen as powerful a tool of oppression as the police force or the legal system (Gardner, 2000).

[5] While some universities used Afrikaans as the language of instruction (University of Pretoria, Stellenbosch etc.), many others used English as the language of instruction (University of Cape Town, Witwatersrand etc.). This difference extended to the ethos and culture to the universities, with the Afrikaans universities adhering more strictly to the apartheid system than the English universities. Also, English was and currently is the mother tongue of less than ten percent of the population and 13.5 percent speak Afrikaans as a home language.

Transition to democracy and reconciliation. When apartheid ended in the early 1990s, the new government had to transfer power without major bloodshed and find a way to heal the country's wounds. One way was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which championed the belief that the truth about events under apartheid was more important than punishing those who had participated in oppressive activities. This led to the TRC being used as a model for other institutions to break down apartheid walls, especially in education.

The TRC was a form of public peace education. Its purpose was to expose the truth about violations of human rights under apartheid to transform national culture (Saloman, 2002). It became a nationwide effort not only to acknowledge suffering and assign responsibility, but to reveal what had happened, especially for Whites, and to create a common understanding of history from which the nation could proceed (Saloman, 2002).

Contact with the "other" was an important aspect of the TRC. To a former victim confronting one's torturer was a powerful way to change hearts and minds. However, in post-apartheid South Africa, Africans and Whites remain geographically segregated and contact with the other takes a tremendous effort. Hence, inter-group engagement is not as simple as befriending a neighbor but requires organized initiatives. An important space for inter-group contact is in schools.

Post-apartheid education reform. Reforming the post-apartheid education system has been difficult. Many problems are familiar such as a lack of trained teachers and administrators and resources. Some problems were unique to South Africa: the legacy of apartheid rules and regulations; unequal facilities for White, Colored, Indian,

and African people; and the difficulty of integrating schools for students, parents and teachers (Cillier, 2001).

Immediately after democratic elections in 1994, the Government of National Unity decided that there would be no major and immediate changes in terms of the "ethos," culture or philosophy of the schools. Reformers were not going to change pedagogy or curriculum content early in the transition process (Gardner, 2000; Jansen, 1999). This meant that schools could maintain a "historical ethos" or "this is the way in which things are done here" stance, particularly in keeping a "traditional pedagogy of the classical cannon" (Johnson, 2007, p. 310-311). This meant a western and Eurocentric content and approach to education. It was not until later that some of these issues were addressed with policy changes. However, there was a major effort to desegregate schools, purge the curriculum of the most offensive elements and anything that hinted at the hierarchy of the races and change the language of instruction.

The National Qualification Framework (NQF) was developed to deal with these difficulties. This was a national plan for the education system with three main objectives. The first was to improve education quality and increase access to education and training. The second was to address the past discrimination in employment and education by giving value to the life skills of those left out of the education system. The third was to find a way to evaluate the system, schools, learning, students, teachers and those out of school with a new critical assessment of education, which also included the importance of life skills. The challenge of standardizing the system without completely centralizing the curriculum was important. Some authority and decision making was to be left in the hands of local regional authorities. The most interesting part of the NQF was the space

left for non-formal education and its recognition of lifelong learning, experiential learning and life skills. Objective criteria were needed to evaluate the non-formal elements of education just as they were for formal education. Again, this goes back to the idea that life skills have value and are an important contribution to society (Cilliers, 2001; Ensor, 2003).

The element of the NQF that affected schools was called Curriculum 2005, as that was the year it would be implemented. The main goal of Curriculum 2005, which was outcomes based education (OBE), was to standardize primary and secondary instruction (Cillier, 2001). This was a way to address the unequal legacy of apartheid education. However, there were many problems with Curriculum 2005, mainly that teachers were not trained in OBE and there were insufficient resources to implement the program.

A new constitution as the guide for a new education system. The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that "Everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education, and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Ch2, Sec29). This expansive statement was the outcome of negotiation and compromise that led to the adoption of the constitution.

The negotiation of the constitution involved a fierce battle between the ANC and the National Party (NP, the former ruling party of the apartheid government) (Henrard, 2002). The NP wanted to protect as much power and autonomy of the Whites as possible, which in terms of education meant preserving the right to use Afrikaans in instruction

(Woolman &Fleish, 2009). The ANC compromised on many issues and in the end, both parties were successful in preserving certain rights and adding new ones (Henrard, 2002).

The Constitution of 1996 was adopted after a participatory process, which involved input from the public at large by way of media campaigns to encourage contributions. This very democratic process gave much needed legitimacy to the new constitution of 1996. This also means that the two main education policy documents and the segments of the Constitution that deal with education are different in regards to their approach to the purpose and rights to education (Unterhalter, 2000). These differences have often led to confusion in their interpretation of whether schooling is for nation-building and citizenship or, in the case of the Constitution, respecting diversity and difference.

Creating a national constitution was contentious because the White minority wanted to hold on to many of the privileges it had enjoyed under apartheid, while the African majority wanted to ensure that all South Africans would have equal treatment before the law. White parents did not want the quality of their children's education diminished by the redistribution of resources. To get around this issue, school administration and financing was decentralized to the provincial level. Some believe that the commitment to decentralization has more to do with preventing interest groups from using the law to oppose state policy than keeping decision-making and autonomy local (Woolman & Fleish, 2009). This school of thought suggests that the ANC meant to protect its own political agenda. The laws governing decentralization were meant to be reviewed after the transition period. These temporary measures have lasted for 15 years.

Many key provisions of the constitution which have affected the education system have to do with language policy. First, nine African languages were recognized as official, equal in status to English and Afrikaans (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Ch1, Sec6). Second, all South Africans can be educated in the official language of their choice (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Ch2, Sec29). Third, all language, religious, and cultural rights are protected (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Ch2, Sec31). Language policy has been one of the most contentious elements in post-apartheid education because language is often an identifier of race. Choosing Afrikaans as the sole language of instruction in a school means barring most African students. This freedom of choice has often led to segregation rather than liberation for students whose mother tongue is not Afrikaans.

Decentralization, school choice & school finance. In this section, I will discuss decentralization and its structural impacts on the education system. Although not stipulated in the constitution, decentralization reflects a commitment to representative, participatory, and direct forms of democracy that is in line with constitutional principles (Woolman & Fleisch, 2009). Sayed (2010) explains further:

> The internal constitution of the state has a direct impact on the relationships between the state at center and institutions, and between the state at site and institutions. The center in post-apartheid society acts as the guarantor and protector of needs, rights and privileges of all citizens expressed in the constitution and in national development priorities. The sites are responsible for the day-to-day management, governance and organization of schools. (p. 40)

The relationship between state, province and school that is reflected in the constitution is one of decentralized authority and local governance. The main purpose of this was to have more community participation in school governance and less centralized power in the education system. This meant that black South Africans had autonomy and White

South Africans could maintain their privileged schools. While it was meant to be a more egalitarian system, it has served to maintain the racial and economic inequalities across the education system. The main elements of decentralization are school choice, school governance and school financing.

The delicate issue of school choice was one of the first that had to be dealt with in democratic South Africa. Although the global trend leaned toward privatization and market-based school policy, in South Africa, these policies were often just another way to re-entrench the already extreme inequalities in the school system. Despite the effort to provide more equal and transformative education, competition in school choice still found its way into the system (Woolman & Fleish, 2009). The constitution allows for open enrollment, meaning that students are not limited to neighborhood schools. Students who live in segregated areas (i.e., most people in 1996 and now) were not bound by their geographic position to attend a certain school (Woolman & Fleish, 2009).

While this was one way of addressing the inequalities in the system, most students are still barred from schools with good facilities by finances, distance and limited space. For many, there are still barriers of transportation, fees, uniforms and costs of materials. They have little possibility of attending historically White schools in historically White neighborhoods.

The South African Schools Act of 1996 "mandates the establishment of school governing bodies (SBGs) comprising of parents, educators and non-educator staff" (Van Wyk, 2007, p.132). Community members, especially parents, were given a large role in running schools. This has allowed a whole new sector of the population to play a vital

role in determining the school budget, language policy, discipline and the appointment and promotion of teaching and administrative staff (Van Wyk, 2007).

In many African communities, however, most parents had little experience with school governance, making it difficult at first to provide effective input. This has also helped to perpetuate inequalities between formally White schools and African schools. While schools are more integrated, geographic and demographic challenges have kept most African students out of former White schools.

Another innovation that was part of the decentralization policy was per capita funding for students. To address inequalities, schools would be funded based on learner enrolment to level the playing field. However, this backfired as well and wealthier schools soon found ways to increase their funds.

The biggest problem that has developed in school financing is the emergence of user fees. SGBs were empowered to decide if their school would charge user fees. The central government realized that despite allocating a large proportion of the national budget to education, there would not be sufficient funds for all the needed reforms and to expand the system to accommodate those who had been left out during apartheid. Thus, they allowed the SGBs to charge user fees. Many former Model C (predominantly White, more affluent) schools, immediately began to charge high user fees in order to maintain their high level quality and, some would say, keep the schools segregated (Woolman & Fleisch, 2009).

School fees can also be considered unconstitutional and a violation of human rights, as they bar many students from high quality education or any schooling at all (Spreen, 2006). In fact, some have called for the courts to challenge the school system as

inadequate and unequal, therefore unconstitutional, and hold the state accountable (Berger, 2003). However, there has been a movement to establish no-fees schools to address this issue (Ahmed & Sayed, 2009).

In sum, decentralization was meant to be a democratic policy to allow local knowledge and popular participation to grow within school governance. However, it has had many unintended consequences that have not promoted constitutional values or protected the right to education. By allowing schools to be run by local committees, wealthier and more educated communities have continued to thrive, while those with less access to resources have not. The distribution of knowledge and resources was never equal and this is still reflected in local school administration.

After school administration, one of the biggest elements of the educational system that has been impacted has been the curriculum. The goals, values, and language of the constitution are imbedded in national curriculum standards. Whether this has a superficial or deep impact on learning, the constitution is a visible guiding framework for the national curriculum.

In every aspect of South Africa's education reform, during the period of transition, we see an effort to challenge the status quo and the legacy of the oppressive apartheid regime. Whether it is in school governance, finance or curriculum, an attempt has been made to disrupt all vestiges of the past. It is harder to know whether this has been deep and significant or superficial and ineffectual.

Discussion

This chapter has reviewed some of the defining aspects, challenges, and solutions specific to post-conflict education. It has also attempted to apply Davies's concept of interrupted democracy and Jansen's concept of disrupting received knowledge to challenge prevailing wisdom in post-conflict education systems and to stop pre-conflict cycles of social reproduction. To examine this, I contextualize post-conflict education by examining three countries from a comparative perspective.

First, by understanding the specific purpose and need for post-conflict education, we can see that it is important to address the content and pedagogy which deals with the conflict itself. Education is not benign and can serve to entrench inequalities and biases. Introducing peace education or more commonly, civic or citizenship education into the formal system is an essential step to addressing the oppression and prejudices of the past. Along with curriculum reform, integrating schools after civic conflict is challenging and sometimes logistically, demographically, and geographically impossible, but it is one of the few ways to change children's inherited understanding of the other.

Second, by using Davies and Jansen's concepts of interrupted democracy and disruption of received knowledge, we can devise a framework for what productive post-conflict education might look like. Challenging the inherited narrative, breaking the assumptions of the other, and revising the received understanding of the past through curriculum reform and intergroup contact are ways of breaking the cycle of the sectarian, racist and chauvinistic social reproduction.

Third, through the comparison of three cases of post-conflict education systems, we can contextualize and examine if and how this democratic interruption and received

knowledge disruption has taken place. By examining each of these countries, we can see how they addressed issues of school integration and curriculum reform.

In Northern Ireland, schools are still mostly segregated, and while there have been efforts to introduce a curriculum for tolerance, there has been minimal attention on challenging each group's received knowledge of the Troubles. In Rwanda, the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction. All ethnic identities have been eliminated, schools are integrated and the state has invented a single narrative of the past. Rather than challenging students to think critically about the conflict, they are led to believe one story and they cannot challenge the state's account of the past.

Of these cases, South Africa stands out as the exception. Despite the negotiated reform process and transition to democracy, South Africa's previously oppressed majority group came to power. With an overwhelming mandate for governance and decision-making, policy makers in South Africa could determine an education reform agenda that systematically rejected the previous regime's policies and narrative. They could transform policies on school choice, finance, governance and curriculum to challenge the previous dispensation. However, the challenges of geography, demographics, and economic inequality have hindered school integration and prevented the complete implementation of an adequate curriculum for democracy, tolerance, and reconciliation. In the next chapter, I will delve more deeply into citizenship and democracy education in the South African context and examine how successful it has been in challenging each group's received knowledge and interrupting the narratives of the past.

The South African case has emerged as an exception to how post-conflict countries attempt to address issues of the conflict within their education system, by addressing the conflict directly. Most of this information comes from examining the curriculum and policies during the reform period. What is unclear is how these policies and curriculum reforms have been implemented in the classroom. Are teachers challenging their own or their students' received knowledge? Is the curriculum for citizenship and democracy disruptive enough to change beliefs and perceptions? Does any of this matter if students are still separated by socio-economic status and there are grave inequalities in access to, and quality of, schooling?

In the next chapter, I hope to investigate the curriculum for citizenship and democracy education and how teachers understand their role in implementing it. This helped form my research questions on how teachers' beliefs and perceptions influence how they teach these critical and abstract topics.

Chapter 3: Curriculum Reform and Citizenship Education in South Africa

The implementation of citizenship education in a post-conflict society must be preceded by a reform process, and general goals for the curriculum must be stipulated. As stated in the previous chapter, immediately at the end of apartheid in 1994, it was decided that there would be no major changes to the general administration and organization of schools. The most important goals were to desegregate schools and to purge the curriculum of its most offensive elements (Gardner, Cairns & Lawton, 2000; Jansen, 1999). The first set of reforms, introduced in 1994, was "an attempt to alter in the short term the most glaring racist, sexist and outdated content inherited from the apartheid syllabi, which were still widely used in the aftermath of the first post apartheid elections in April of the same year" (Jansen, 2001, p.43). This was only a stopgap measure for the early years of the transition, while new education priorities were being developed:

> The first period of policy making was characterized by the politics of compromise in the interests of peaceful transfer of power and of national reconciliation. The second was carried out after the election in 1999, which ended the Government of National Unity, when the ANC received enough support to govern on its own." (Weldon, 2009, p.180)

The first stage was negotiated and based on a sometimes-contentious compromise between academics, the ANC, and various teachers' unions, much like the transition to democracy itself (Chisholm, 2003).

The education philosophy of the African National Congress (ANC), the majority party after the end of apartheid, had been called "People's Education." This would be the guiding philosophy for the new national education system. The first state document

containing this directive was the Department of Education's 1995 White Paper on Education and Training (Harber, 2001). The White Paper stated:

> The realization of democracy, liberty, equality, justice and peace are necessarily conditions for the full pursuit and enjoyment of life-long learning. It should be a goal of education and training policy to enable a democratic, free, equal, just and peaceful society to take root and prosper in our land, on the basis that all South Africans without exception share the same inalienable rights, equal citizenship and common destiny, and that all forms of bias (especially racial, ethnic and gender) are dehumanizing. … The letter and spirit of these rights and freedoms should inform the intellectual culture in all schools and educational institutions, and professional services in departments of education. This has unavoidable implications for curricula, textbooks, other educational materials and media programs, teaching methods, teacher education, professional supervision and management culture. (Department of Education, 1995, pp. 22 & 43)

We see an effort in this document to upend the previous culture of learning and to transform it to one which would be democratic and egalitarian. There were many difficulties with reforming post-apartheid education and replacing the values of the previous authoritarian regime.

The second stage of curriculum reform, called Curriculum 2005, was less idealistic and emerged from the National Qualification Framework (NQF), which was developed as a unified plan for the education system and the workforce, to connect national goals for education and labor. Linda Chisholm, an education scholar and policy maker involved in the curriculum revision process, stated: "the National Qualifications Framework, which gave birth to outcomes-based education and Curriculum 2005, was the educational expression of this (education and labor) social alliance" (2003, p. 3).

The primary goal of Curriculum 2005 (so named for the year it would be fully implemented) was to unify the curriculum and level the playing field among schools through standardization (Cillier, 2001). This was a way to address the unequal legacy of apartheid education. Curriculum 2005, South Africa's version of outcomes-based

education (OBE), was modeled on policies adopted in Australia and New Zealand: "in its intent, [it] was a dramatic departure from the authoritarian subject- and teacher-centered apartheid curriculum and pedagogy, as it marked a paradigm shift from a subject-dominated to an integrated curriculum with an active learner and a facilitating teacher" (Maodzawa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012, p. 129).

However, Curriculum 2005 had many detractors and eventually it was revised. Jonathan Jansen was a particularly vocal critic who wrote extensively about its shortcomings: it was difficult for educators to understand, there were not enough supporting materials, and it did not accomplish its lofty goals (Jansen, 1999; Maodzawa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012). The Department of Education responded with revisions "to make the curriculum easier to understand in the classroom" and produced the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) in 2002, which was implemented in 2004 (Chisholm, 2003, p.1). An additional series of reforms produced the current iteration in 2012, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). The major changes that CAPS introduced were "in the methods of assessments, time that earners have to spend in the classroom from grade R-12 and new teaching approaches" (Maharajh, Nkosi & Mkhize, 2016, p. 372). Critics have stated that CAPS is also difficult for teachers to implement.

Citizenship and Democracy Education Curriculum in South Africa

The type of citizenship education that students received under apartheid was aimed at reinforcing the State's segregationist national policy; democratic education did not exist. White students were educated to believe in their dominant role in society and to

legitimize the authority of the White population and the National Party. They were taught not to question the system, but to protect it. The Youth Preparedness Programme (YPP) was formed to teach White youth to contain the national liberation aspirations of oppressed South Africans and to reject any "external ideas deemed to fan or inspire the struggle" (Mathebula, 2010, p. 101). The emphasis on the patriotic, moral and physical components of citizenship was to prepare White students to defend their nation from both internal and external threats, militarily and ideologically (Mathebula, 2010).

African students, on the other hand, were taught to be subservient and industrious citizens. The philosophy of racial and ethnic segregation, as far as education was concerned, "sought to socialize black students so that they can accept the social relations of apartheid as natural. That is, to accept the supposed superiority of Whites and their own inferiority" (Nkomo, 1990, p. 2). Through paternalistic and colonial rhetoric African students were taught "the better Christian habits of truthfulness, obedience, industry and courtesy; services and handcrafts useful to others as well as to themselves" (Gaitskell, 1991, p. 234-235). Civic education for all South Africans taught them to maintain the status quo and emphasized obedience and subservience: for Whites, to the state; and for Africans, to the Whites. All groups were discouraged from engaging in debate, critical thinking, and independent thought.

During the later years of the anti-apartheid struggle, there was a massive popular education movement called the "People's Education for People's Power" which was derived from the Black Consciousness Movement and aimed at empowerment and liberation (Mathebula, 2010, p. 112). This was in reaction to the demeaning education for racial subservience for African students, the anti-education sentiments of the more radical

and violent factions of the anti-apartheid struggle, and the desire for more democratic and critical education. This had always been a central theme of the anti-apartheid struggle and many felt that "the real struggle is to replace an undemocratic, coercive, ineffective and irrelevant education system with a democratic, participatory and relevant alternative" (Van den Heever, 1987, p. 4).

Mathebula (2010) states that the concept of "People's Education" unfortunately failed to re-surface in post-apartheid South African education policy discourse. After the end of the struggle and the emergence of the democratic state, little energy remained for the grassroots and for popular education. People wanted the new state to take control and create a better national education system:

> It is time to declare that a new era has dawned…The Ministry of Education opens not just a new chapter but an entirely new volume in the country's educational development. The efforts of all South Africans will be needed to reconstruct and develop the national education and training system so that it is able to ... build our democratic nation. The ministry invites the goodwill and active participation of all parents, teachers and other educators, students, community leaders; religious bodies, NGOs, academic institutions, workers, business, the media, and development agencies, in bringing about the transformation we all seek. (Department of Education, 1995, pp. 19-20)

The goals for citizenship education at the end of apartheid focused mostly on increasing participation from parents, teachers and students from all communities, rather than on curricular or pedagogical changes. It was not until later that issues of citizenship and democracy were addressed within the curriculum.

In 2001, the Department of Education published the Manifesto for Values, Education and Democracy. This document described how the new national values of South Africa would become part of the curriculum:

> The Report of the Working Group on Values in Education, Values, Education and Democracy, highlighted six qualities the education system should actively

> promote: Equity, Tolerance, Multilingualism, Openness, Accountability and Social Honor. This document takes these further and explores the ideals and concepts of Democracy, Social Justice, Equality, Non-racism and Non-sexism, Ubuntu (Human Dignity), An Open Society, Accountability (Responsibility), The Rule of Law, Respect, and Reconciliation in a way that suggests how the Constitution can be taught, as part of the curriculum, and brought to life in the classroom, as well as applied practically in programs and policy making by educators, administrators, governing bodies and officials. (Department of Education, 2001)

The manifesto helped to structure how key elements of democracy, citizenship and their corresponding values became part of the national curriculum for South Africa.

Throughout subsequent rounds of curriculum reform, many of these values have stayed in place. The language of the curriculum and the guiding principles were also taken from the constitution of 1996 itself. The constitution states, "everyone has the right ... to further education which the State, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible" (RSA, 1996). Each National Curriculum Statement (NCS), which outlines the goals and purpose for each subject taught in South Africa, first states the aims of the Constitution of South Africa, as pertaining to the goals of education.

The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provided a basis for curriculum transformation and development in South Africa. The Preamble states that the aims of the Constitution are to:

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person;
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;

and

- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations. (Department of Basic Education, 2011, a, b, c, d)

This shows that there has been an attempt to instill the civic values of post-apartheid South Africa into the education system and that the constitution has a prominent role in the national curriculum. Each subject should be infused with national and constitutional values. It also states that the first goal of education is to foster the new ideals of a democratic South Africa and to address the turbulent past.[6] The emphasis is on improving and protecting the lives of citizens, but does not include instruction for civic participation or active citizenship. Again, this is another message that South Africans should expect rights without providing information about their responsibilities.

Some of the national curriculum's guiding principles are directly related to instilling civic values and addressing the inequalities and injustices of the past. These are:

- Social transformation: ensuring that the educational imbalances of the past are redressed, and that equal educational opportunities are provided for all sections of the population;
- Human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice: infusing the principles and practices of social and environmental justice and human rights as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 is sensitive to issues of diversity such as

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[6] When I asked teachers how they felt about these goals and if they were being met throughout the curriculum and school system, there were very mixed responses. Some flatly said no and others said yes. This data and analysis are not included in this study, but this is an area for future research.

poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors;

- Valuing indigenous knowledge systems: acknowledging the rich history and heritage of this country as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the Constitution;
- Active and critical learning: encouraging an active and critical approach to learning, rather than rote and uncritical learning of given truths. (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p.5).

The curriculum and education system is meant to value these four principles, three of which address past wrongs and introduce equality in all respects. The fourth principle is an important departure from rights-based language, in that it is the first sign of the curriculum and department of education encouraging learners and teachers to challenge each other and what they are learning and teaching. Emphasizing critical and active learning shows that learners are not just passive vessels, but agents. This also encourages a student-centered pedagogy, critique of the curriculum itself, and dissent when needed. Later in the study, this will be discussed further. One could assume that with a curriculum firmly situated in the language of rights, democracy and equality, there would be a focus on these topics within the content and the classroom. Unfortunately, as we will see in the following sections, that is not the case.

Life Orientation Course Curriculum

As part of the new centralized curriculum, a new course was introduced called Life Orientation (LO), which is defined as:

> The study of the self in relation to others and to society. It addresses skills, knowledge, and values about the self, the environment, responsible citizenship, a

> healthy and productive life, social engagement, recreation and physical activity, careers and career choices…. This encourages the development of a balanced and confident learner who can contribute to a just and democratic society, a productive economy and an improved quality of life for all. (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p.8)

This is a holistic approach to guiding learners in topics that are needed for them to be functional adults and citizens, with a focus on personal, physical, mental, and community well being. Every learner is required to pass LO to graduate from high school. This course is the only formal civic education for students after Grade 9, although Social Science and History do include some elements of civic education. This course encompasses the following topics:

Table 1: Citizenship and Democracy Topics in LO

Senior Phase: Grades 7-9	Further Education and Training (FET) Phase: Grades 10-12
Development of the self in society	Development of the self in society
Health, social and environmental responsibility	Social and environmental responsibility
Constitutional rights and responsibilities	Democracy and human rights
Physical Education	Physical Education
World of Work	Careers and career choices
	Study Skills

(Department of Basic Education, 2011a & c)

The sections of LO, which fall under the category of civic and citizenship education, focus on the principles found in the constitution. Human rights, democratic processes, civic responsibility, volunteerism, and social justice are all topics for study as well as the prevention of discrimination, violence and abuse. For young learners, importance is placed on interpersonal relationships. The "self in society" and how one

behaves within one's community and nation is also emphasized. As this study focuses on high school, we will look more closely at the content for Grades 9-12.

Life Orientation for Senior Phase: Grades 7-9. In terms of civic education, this phase of LO aims to "teach learners to exercise their constitutional rights and responsibilities and to respect the rights of others" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p.8). Grade 9 learners receive two hours of instruction per week, which can include Physical Education for one of those hours. Throughout the year, only seven hours of instruction are designated for constitutional rights and responsibilities (Department of Basic Education, 2011a).

The main topics related to citizenship education for Grade 9 are:

- Issues relating to citizens' rights and responsibilities
    - Respect for others' rights: people living with different disabilities and HIV and AIDS (infected and affected)
    - Celebrations of national and international days: Human Rights Day, Freedom Day, Heritage Day, Reconciliation Day, youth Day, Worker's Day, Women's Day, Africa Day, Nelson Mandela Day, World Refugee's Day and national health days
        - Plan and participate in a local celebration of a national day
- Constitutional Values as stated in the South African Constitution
    - Positive and negative role models for upholding constitutional values: parents and leaders in the community/society
    - Applying these values in daily life
- Contributions of various religions in promoting peace

- Sport ethics, in all physical activities (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, pp. 21-23)

These topics attempt to tie abstract themes to concrete and relevant issues for learners. Using issues that are present in many learners' lives, such as the presence of people with HIV/AIDS, rights and equality are addressed from different angles. By using parents and local role models to identify constitutional values in action, learners can recognize concrete examples to follow. On the other hand, one can also see superficiality in these topics, especially concerning holidays and sports. There is very little political literacy content or concrete information on government, laws, or their roles as young citizens.

Life Orientation for Further Education and Training (FET) Phase: Grades 10-12. The main aims of LO at this stage are to "expose learners to their constitutional rights and responsibilities, to the rights of others and to issues of diversity" (Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p.8). In Grades 10-12, the non-compulsory years of school, which are required for entrance into university and full matriculation, the topic shifts from constitutional rights and responsibilities to democracy and human rights. Many of the underlying themes are the same, but there is greater emphasis on laws and participation in civil society.

Grades 10 through 12 also have LO for two hours a week. The sections on democracy and human rights are allocated seven hours per year for Grades 10 and 11, but only four hours are scheduled for Grade 12 (Department of Basic Education, 2011b). This is because students in Grade 12 are very focused on acquiring study skills for the terminal exams, preparation for tertiary education, or post-school employment. It is incredible that learners who are finally able to vote for the first time receive such a small

amount of civic education in their final year of school.

The main topics for civic education in the Democracy and Human rights sections for the FET phase are:

Table 2: Citizenship and Democracy topics in LO for Grades 10-12

Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
- Diversity, discrimination, human rights and violations - National and international instruments and conventions - Ethical traditions and/or religious laws and indigenous belief systems of major religions - Biases and unfair practices in sport	- Democratic participation and democratic structures - Role of sport in nation building - Contributions of South Africa's diverse religions and belief systems to a harmonious society	- Responsible citizenship - The role of the media in a democratic society - Ideologies, beliefs and worldviews on construction of recreation and physical activity across cultures and genders

(Department of Basic Education, 2011b, p. 10)

As in the earlier grades, there is an attempt to use topics such as sport and media to discuss less comfortable themes such as biases and ideologies. Greater attention is paid to sports and recreation, showing their societal importance in South Africa. Religious diversity and practices are also included in the curriculum. Again, there is a light touch with respect to active citizenship and civic engagement. We can see an increased focus on participation and responsibilities in Grades 11 and 12, but for the most part, we continue to notice an emphasis on diversity, rights and equality.

The expectations for the final year of schooling go beyond the academic and move towards the participatory. The curriculum is asking students to go out into their communities and become involved in civil society rather than just observe and describe.

Students learn to see different sides of the same issue, particularly human rights violations and discrimination, and to debate their merits.

In addition to the sections on constitutional rights and responsibilities, democracy, and human rights, the sections on social and environmental responsibility and the self in society also discuss aspects of active citizenship. Those sections discuss topics such as: volunteerism (Grade 9); power relations and gender roles, responsibilities in civic life, (Grade 10); climate change, community service (Grade 11), responsibilities of government, conflict resolution (Grade 12). This demonstrates the holistic nature of LO and how topics are interconnected and interdisciplinary.

The civic education sections of the LO curriculum are by no means comprehensive, but address important and interesting topics. The main problem is how little time is allocated for these issues. This is one of many criticisms of the LO course and diminishes the importance of the democratic citizenship education to learners, parents and teachers. LO has been critiqued for being overly simple, internally tested and graded, not taken seriously, and ineffectual. Much of the debate over the usefulness of LO has taken place within the mainstream media. Jansen again emerges as a key critic, observing that it is not academic enough and that parents should be teaching their children many of these topics, not schools (discussed in Ferguson & Jain, 2015).

LO's defenders, who include Drs. Rene Ferguson and Meetali Jain of the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria respectively, as well as the current Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, feel strongly about its importance within the curriculum. Ferguson and Jain write:

> LO presents real opportunities for great cognitive skills development in learners, particularly in the area of critical citizenship education, and is one of the few

> spaces in the school curriculum that appreciates multiple modes of learning, aiming to equip learners to engage on personal, psychological, neuro-cognitive, motor, physical, moral, spiritual, cultural, socio-economic and constitutional levels. (2015, para. 5)

They praise LO's holistic nature and believe that young people need space in school to learn without academic pressure. Motshekga thought that schools should not "give up the one opportunity to educate our children on the morality our country so clearly needs… We should strengthen [Life Orientation] academically if needs be, not scrap it" (Ferguson & Jain, 2015, para. 6). However, both sides can agree that LO, in its current formulation, does not receive enough support or attention within the education system to serve its stated purpose.

History & Social Sciences Curricula

Social Sciences and History are the other subjects that contain elements of civic education. Social Sciences for Grades 4-9 consists of History and Geography. After Grade 9, History and Geography are separate subjects, are no longer mandatory and are only taken by learners who select the General Track. Social Sciences and History are allocated three hours a week of instructional time for Grades 9-12.

Social Sciences for Grades 7-9. The stated purpose of Social Science for Grades 7-9 is vague and unchallenging. The NCS defines and describes it as:

> To provide opportunities for learners to look at their own worlds with fresh, critical eyes, and perhaps more importantly, it aims to introduce learners to a world beyond their everyday realities… Learners are trained to speculate, to debate, to make connections, to select, to prioritize and to persist, in tackling real issues and important questions… It is essential in the teaching of both History and Geography that learners are encouraged to ask questions: Who? Where? What? Why? When? How? Should? Could? Is/Are? And, by the time they reach the Senior Phase: If? (Department of Basic Education, 2011c, p.8)

The emphasis is on critical thinking and curiosity as opposed to mastering content. This

is active learning and a learner-centered pedagogy: learners develop key analytical, communication and research skills. There is no mention of the teacher at all and makes Social Sciences seem like a fully interactive experience for learners. There is an element of escapism from learners' current reality and that history happened long ago and far away. This makes it seem as if history and geography are detached from the learners' own realities, which is in fact a criticism of Social Studies and History, in general.

Both the history and geography sections in Grade 9 include civic education topics:

Table 3: Citizenship and Democracy Topics in Social Studies, Grade 9

History	Geography
World War II (1919 – 1945)	Development issues (focus: South Africa and world)
Nuclear Age and the Cold War (1945 – 1990)	Resource use and sustainability (focus: World)
Turning points in South African history 1948 and 1950s	
Turning points in South African history 1960, 1976 and 1994	

(Department of Basic Education, 2011c, p. 17-18)

These sections comprise subject matter that is tightly linked to citizenship and democracy: World War II covers the Holocaust, nationalism, fascism, and human rights; the Cold War deals with democracy, capitalism and communism; and South African History stretches from the birth of apartheid to the liberation struggle and the transition to democracy. The syllabus is designed to show international events in a comparative light. The geography sections on development and sustainability also touch upon issues of modern-day poverty, inequality, and personal responsibility, on local and global levels. It is unclear whether teachers connect these topics to current civic responsibility.

These topics get at the heart of the historical inequalities in South Africa and offer global examples of human rights violations and violence for comparison, thereby placing apartheid in a global context. The course relies on historical content to illustrate the challenges of the past in a straightforward and clear-cut manner and allows students to compare and contrast global movements for human rights.

A final significant element of the Social Studies NCS is that it lists the resources that every history classroom should have, namely, textbooks for all learners, maps, globes, atlases, magazines, newspapers, and additional related books and visual materials. It also says, "try to obtain access to a TV/DVD or CD player" for relevant audio-visual learning materials (Department of Basic Education, 2011c, pp.8-9). As this study will show, this list is not attainable for many schools, due to a lack of resources.

History for Grades 10-12. History, as understood by the NCS, "enables us to understand how past human action affects the present and influences our future, and it allows us to evaluate these effects." More importantly for this study, history is specifically seen to support citizenship within a democracy by:

- Upholding the values of the South African Constitution and helping people to understand those values;
- Reflecting the perspectives of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented;
- Encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns;
- Promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices that involve race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia; and

- Preparing young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility (Department of Basic Education, 2011d, p. 8).

This confirms that the study of history is seen within the South African curriculum as expressly designed to include citizenship and democracy education and to teach learners about active citizenship. It does this by linking historical events to South African history and current issues. It purposely aims to challenge prejudices and biases of all types, disrupting preconceived and inherited notions and opinions. It also focuses on learner responsibility and participation, even more than the goals of LO.

There are several key concepts that also relate to important elements of civic education. The first is the importance of being able to interpret historical sources and evidence. This helps learners develop the ability to evaluate sources and use evidence to formulate their ideas. The second concept, multi-perspectivity, builds on the first and is the notion that history can be seen from multiple points of view and is written from many perspectives (Department of Basic Education, 2011d). These concepts are especially important in a post-conflict and post-colonial context, where European, White, and western accounts of history were privileged. Learners should understand that all groups have a right to their history and their version of the past.

The content areas for history are in the following table:

Table 4: Citizenship and Democracy topics in History, Grades 10-12

Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
- The world around 1600 - Expansion and conquest during the 15th - 18th centuries - The French Revolution - Transformations in southern Africa after 1750 - Colonial Expansion after 1750 - The South African War and Union	- Communism in Russia 1900 to1940 - Capitalism and the USA 1900 to 1940 - Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th centuries - Nationalisms: South Africa, the Middle East and Africa - Apartheid in South Africa 1940s to 1960s (DoBE, 2011d, p.12)	- The Cold War - Independent Africa - Civil Society protests 1950s to 1990s - Civil resistance 1970s to 1980s in South Africa - The coming of democracy in South Africa, and coming to terms with the past - The end of the Cold War and a new global world order 1989 to present

The Grade 12 and Grade 9 syllabi cover similar topics but they investigate in greater depth in the senior grade. By the time learners encounter this information for the second time, it will not be new, and they will be able to analyze it in a more sophisticated way. These topics were specifically chosen for their relationship South African history in general and apartheid in particular. Learners are not just expected to know about their past and understand it, but to use that understanding to promote democracy and societal progress.

This review of the LO and History curricula forms an essential part of this study. By looking at the content, goals, and key concepts of the national curriculum, we can see the materials and messages that teachers receive about what they are meant to teach. The curriculum informs a significant part of their decision-making in the classroom and rivals

their personal beliefs and attitudes for influence over their teaching. This is in fact the purpose of having a national curriculum for civic education, and the state must vie for authority over what is taught in the classroom with the deeply held beliefs and personal experiences of teachers. The tension between the curriculum and teachers' values is especially acute in a post-conflict setting where teachers may hold views contrary to the national narratives and values within the education system.

Non-formal Civic Education

The Department of Basic Education has attempted to introduce elements of indigenous knowledge and learning into the curriculum. One of the principles within each National Curriculum Statement is, "Valuing indigenous knowledge systems: acknowledging the rich history and heritage of this country as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the Constitution" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a, p. 5). There are other values, such as *ubuntu*, indigenous to South Africa, that are also important.

Ubuntu has emerged as a unifying value meaning "a person is a person only through other people" (Tutu, 1999, p.31). This has led to suggestions that it should underpin everything in South Africa, from the government to the education system. *Ubuntu* would put the focus in education on strengthening the community rather than the individual. Venter asserts that "Education for community life is important from an African point of view – communalism and respect for the community take precedence. It involves sharing with and helping others. One is educated for the common good of the community" (2004, p. 157).

There have been many non-formal programs for civic education as well. Some receive foreign funding and are large-scale projects run by NGOs. One of the projects that received USAID funding, *Democracy For All,* was started after the formal end of apartheid and focuses on teaching democracy, human rights, conflict resolution, civic participation and responsibility to university students in order for them to teach high school students (Finkel & Ernst, 2005). This is an example of the non-formal opportunities available to those who are interested in civic education.

However, as we see with much unilateral US government funded democracy-building endeavors, this program is problematic. An evaluation of this project and its impact on its participants found that there was little difference between those who had received formal civic education (either in school or through the USAID course) and those who had not. Many factors hampered the effectiveness of civic education curricula, including teacher quality, outside exposure to political participation, and access to civic education programs (Finkel & Ernst, 2005).

By looking at the examples of the formal curriculum, we can see that there has been a close adherence to the values of the constitution throughout and there is a consistent effort to follow the goals stated by the government for educating good citizens. The question remains whether the goals and outcomes promoted by the curriculum have actually been achieved and how this has impacted learners. There has been a lot of research on the health and HIV/AIDS portions of the LO course, but very little on the citizenship and democracy section. Some might say that because it has been given such a negligible place within the curriculum, that it is ineffective.

Teachers' Roles in South African Education Reform

The role of the teachers is another key element of implementing curriculum reform. The teaching profession in South Africa has had a complicated and contentious past due to the nature of colonialism, apartheid, and the transition to democracy. The reasons for this are the segregation of schools by race, the politicization of curriculum, student involvement in the struggle against apartheid, and the school's role as a tool of the oppressive state. Consequently, the teaching profession has a tarnished reputation and a dwindling supply of candidates, despite the rapid expansion of public education and dire need for teachers.

From 1910 to 1993, teaching was one of the few professions open to people classified as African. However, schools of education were segregated and African teaching candidates were purposefully underprepared to teach their students (Sayed, 2002). The apartheid government wanted Africans to have substandard education and African teachers became the unfortunate purveyors of this weak policy. This gave teachers a mixed status, respected for their knowledge and level of education, but sometimes resented as representatives of an oppressive state and implementers of racist policies and curricula. This meant that schools were places of tension and teaching seen as undesirable.

The best preparation for teaching could be found in predominately White higher education institutions. The old South African curriculum for teachers, granting a Bachelor of Pedagogic degree, was "front loaded" and emphasized subject-based knowledge while requiring minimal teaching practice (Samuel, 2002). This form of

teacher education was already on its way out in 1993-1994, as South Africa prepared for its first democratic elections.

Teaching and Teacher Education post-1994

The entire education sector was reformed between 1994 and 2005 as the country transitioned to a democratic political system. Primary and secondary education, "rapidly expanded and restructured," required many new teachers almost overnight (Samuel & Stephens, 2000). Teachers were not only needed in greater numbers, but they also had to have a different knowledge base and skills from previous generations. This meant that the re-design of the teacher education curriculum had to acknowledge diversity, the skills gap of teachers and students, the general lack of interest in the profession, as well as equity and redress.

Some of the key issues that policy makers and education academics had to address were similar to those we face in the US - a lack of funds and educational resources - others were unique to the South African context – a need for curriculum reform, rapid change in all sectors of the system, uneven teaching quality across the country, an emerging HIV/AIDS crisis, and equal representation in the classroom of teachers from all races. Most of the approaches to tackling these issues were top down and centralized in the new democratic state.

One of the main themes of teacher education reform was alignment and standardization of qualifications. In 1999, all higher education institutions had to register with the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), a regulatory body formed to standardize all degrees for a nationally agreed-upon framework for qualifications (Sayed,

2002). Many teacher education programs were either consolidated or eliminated. Despite attempts at national qualification alignment, today degrees and programs still lack of coordination.

While some reforms did originate from within colleges of education (COE), most of the policies came from the central state and its Department of Education (DOE). The "Norms & Standards for Accreditation of Teacher Education Curriculum" in 1995 and "Norms and Standards for Educators" in 2000 were documents issued to promote professionalization of teachers and standardization of teaching (Harber & Serf, 2006).

These "Norms and Standards" were ambitious and far-reaching. The "seven roles of a teacher" were learning mediator, interpreter/designer of learning programs and materials, leader/administrator, scholar/researcher/lifelong learner, community/citizenship/pastoral role, assessor, learning area/subject discipline specialist (DOE, Norms and Standards, 2000). These show how much was expected of new teachers and how their responsibilities multiplied. They had to be "ambassadors of the policy imperatives of a new democratic order" (Samuel & Stephens, 2000, para. 2). The DOE did not consult colleges of education before prescribing changes and this created tension between the two.

The new reforms ushered in a host of new teaching degrees, which attempted to expose new and veteran teachers to the latest curricula and recommended pedagogies. The Bachelors of Education, Bachelors of Arts in General Teaching (BAGET), pre-service certification and training (PRESET) and the National Professional Diploma in Education all aimed to turn people into teachers regardless of where they were in their

careers or their level of education (Samuel, 2002). These degrees emphasize teaching practice, theory and future employability, rather than subject specialization mastery.

The curriculum changes in teacher education were driven mostly by the DOE's changes to K-12 policies and curricula, especially "Curriculum 2005," or outcomes-based education (OBE) (Sayed, 2002). The changes in primary and secondary school curricula occurred without consulting COEs and they were therefore forced to adapt quickly in order to keep up. The OBE and CAPS curricula came under a great deal of criticism for the minimal training teachers received in preparation to teach them. Dismal student test scores were said to be due to "low teacher productivity and poor conceptual and content knowledge" (Deacon, 2010, para. 3). Spreen (2011) has defended teachers, emphasizing the deep inequalities and lack of resources that they faced.

Another source of tension between the DOE, teachers' unions and the teaching profession is due to the "redeployment" of teachers. There is a large regional discrepancy in vacancies, with few teachers willing to take up positions in remote and rural areas. The DOE has the authority to shift teachers from one school to another (Deacon, 2010). This issue, combined with the historic negative perspectives of teachers, has led to a decrease in candidates for the profession. This may be one of the biggest problems facing teacher education in South Africa: very few school-leavers want to be teachers, especially African students: 6.5% of White learners and 2.5% of African learners aspire to be teachers (Deacon, 2010). This leads to a funding issue: universities must provide scholarships to attract more teachers to the profession, but COEs often receive less funding than other sectors.

One program developed to address the teacher shortage and negative perceptions of the profession is called Teach South Africa (TSA). The organization recruits from the top university students in South Africa, gives them short-term teacher training, and employs them in underserved schools. They call their teachers “ambassadors” and attempt to change the way teachers are viewed, re-branding the profession (Teach South Africa, 2013). However, the program is still much smaller than Teach For America (TFA) and the need for teachers is much greater, so it has had minimal impact. This program barely puts a band-aid on the problem of teacher shortage and.it is setting South Africa up for some of the damaging unintended consequences that TFA has had in the United States.

The issues that face the teaching profession and teacher education in South Africa are similar in some ways to the United States. The recruitment of quality candidates and the production of good teachers can be elusive when so many negative and false stereotypes and perceptions exist. Scholarship funding is still greater for those going into STEM and business fields and education students are left with fewer options and extensive financial obligations after they finish school. Tension between the DOE, COEs, teacher unions, and administrators create confusion and redundancy. Despite attempts at alignment and standardization, there is still a lack of coordination in teacher education programs. Despite these issues, the amount of change that has occurred since the end of apartheid has been impressive and there is now room to address these issues straight on.

In the next section, I will attempt to bridge the topics of teachers and citizenship education in South Africa by reviewing the empirical research. By looking at how teachers are coping with the curriculum reforms of the post-apartheid era, which have

been most dramatically changed in the areas of citizenship and democracy education, we can see how a major set of reforms has been implemented, how successful it has been, and where the gaps in the research lie.

Teachers & Citizenship Education in South Africa

Much of the research on the Life Orientation curriculum has been focused on sections other than citizenship and democracy, such as health and physical education. The handful of studies that examine the LO curriculum for its impact on democratic learning and citizenship skills have been either very broad or so narrow in focus that comparisons cannot be drawn. In this section, I will review this literature to understand the prevailing scholarship on these topics and to identify the gaps in the research.

Review of the Key Literature

Spreen & Vally (2012) give a broad overview of some of the large-scale studies on citizenship education in South Africa and conclude that there is a major gap between what the curriculum documents promise and classroom practice. They believe that there is still far too much inequality in South African society and too many promises have gone unfulfilled for there to be true democracy in the country, just as in many other democratic countries.

In reviewing the research, I have found four key studies that address the issues of teachers' understandings, practice of, and implementation of the citizenship and democracy curriculum within the Life Orientation course. The table below gives a snapshot of these studies.

Table 5: Review of Key Research for Teaching Citizenship and Democracy

Title	Author	Year	Method	Sample
Democratic Citizenship Ed in SA Public Schools: Teachers Perceptions of Citizenship	Schoeman	2006	Mixed: Interviews, Survey	30 African teachers, all disciplines, primary & secondary, East Rand, M&F
Challenge of a perception of “un-entitlement” to citizenship in post-apartheid SA	Hammett	2008	Qualitative: Interviews, Focus groups, Observation.	42 Colored & Indian teachers, former & present, Sr. students, Cape Town, 2 HSs
Respect & Responsibility: Teaching Citizenship in SA HS	Hammett& Staeheli	2010	Qualitative: Interviews, Classroom Observation.	64 educators, 12 schools, 3 cities, secondary, History & LO
Educator practices & experiences in democratic schooling in SA	Mncube & Harber	2010	Qualitative: Interviews	27 educators, 3 provinces, Language

First, Schoeman (2006) seeks to define a good citizen in the South African context, to report on teacher’s perceptions of good citizenship, and to recommend how this can be addressed in schools. She defines a set of values that “good citizens” should have through her literature review and uses those values as the basis of her research project. She interviewed thirty male and female African teachers of all disciplines and grades in one metropolitan area outside of Johannesburg. She found that the teachers identified “communitarian, public and knowledge characteristics” as the main qualities of a good citizen (Schoeman, 2006, p.137). The scholars’ understandings of a good citizen were quite different from the African teachers, she concluded, the former being more individualistic and the latter more community based. These findings suggest that there is a culturally different understanding of what citizenship means and this must be addressed in schools.

This study could easily be expanded to other areas of South Africa and to other racial groups of teachers. Schoeman spends little time on the curriculum the teachers are using or how they plan to present the material in the classroom. These gaps in the literature could be addressed with a study that researches how teachers' understanding of good citizenship impacts how they teach their learners about the topic.

Hammet (2008) focuses on the nexus of identity and citizenship for Colored teachers in Cape Town. He describes his subjects as "twilight people (not White enough under apartheid, not black enough now)" and investigates entitlement and citizenship: some groups feel "un-entitled" to their rights as citizens due to persistent inequality, while others feel "entitled" to redress for the past (Hammet, 2008, p. 657). The state continues to carry out policies of redress based on race, all the while using the rhetoric of national citizenship that should erase racial designations. This analysis came from a larger research project, in which the author interviewed 42 Colored and Indian former and current teachers and senior students at two high schools. He does not mention gender. His findings were that Colored and Indian teachers and students feel excluded from redress policies and the full benefits of citizenship, especially in socio-economic terms.

Hammet reveals how a group views citizenship and what it means to be a citizen or not, defined by a lack of rights. It gives a very important voice to a portion of the population that is often overlooked in the South African discourse on race and citizenship. However, the article does not address how these perceptions impact teachers and students in the classroom and how they interact with the curriculum. The author simply chose teachers and students as convenient populations, rather than for a reason

attached to education. The gaps in this study could be addressed by comparing how teachers from different racial groups address the issues of citizenship in the classroom.

Hammet and Staeheli (2010) directly address the teaching of citizenship education in their research. They found that South African high school teachers often conflate the value of respect with the "practice of responsible citizenship" (Hammet and Staeheli, 2010, p. 269). Their analysis of this narrow view of citizenship was drawn from an ambitious, larger research project on citizenship, education, and democratization in South Africa. For this study, there were 64 interviews with educators (particularly history and Life Orientation teachers), NGO staff, and government officials. The researchers also analyzed curriculum materials and conducted classroom observations in 12 schools.

The authors found that most educators identified "respect" as one of the most important elements of citizenship, especially in the context of instilling respect in their students. However, the teachers neither mentioned the need to model respectful behavior for students nor recognized that students might deserve respect. This created an authoritarian imbalance in the classroom so students interpreted citizenship as obedience. The authors recommend that the principle of mutual respect be stressed, but also that it is not the only element of citizenship.

This study was far-reaching and comprehensive, but had a very narrow set of conclusions and recommendations. It would be interesting to follow up on this study and expand it to see what students thought about this issue of respect and how there were cultural and generational elements involved for teachers who were trained in a much more teacher-centered, authoritarian way.

Mncube and Harber (2010) investigated the link between democratic schooling and quality education. They were interested in whether a more democratic school environment resulted in quality education for all learners (p. 614). In their interviews with 27 educators (age, gender and race were not revealed) in three provinces, the researchers sought opinions and beliefs on democracy in schools and understandings of quality education. They had very comprehensive findings about what quality education and democratic education looked like in the classroom. They found that educators differ greatly in their understanding of democratic forms of education and that many feel that these contrasting views will lead to disorder.

This study is valuable because it not only interrogates democracy and citizenship as concepts, but asks what teaching democracy and democratic pedagogy looks like. It is also important to remember that democratic teaching is not universally accepted by South African teachers, who were not trained in that pedagogy. This study could have been greatly helped by some classroom observation and more transparency about participants.

These four studies show us that more classroom observation is needed, along with evidence of how teachers and students understand citizenship and democracy, to investigate how these topics and curricula are implemented in the classroom. It is unclear if teachers are challenging assumptions about the past and disrupting the received knowledge of their learners. We also do not know whether they are using democratic pedagogy and interrupting how students think about these citizenship and democracy.

Discussion

This chapter examined the civic education curriculum in South Africa during the post-apartheid period, identified some of the gaps in the research on curriculum

implementation, how the concepts are taught, and how they impact learners' understanding of citizenship and democracy. Identifying citizenship as a contested concept helps to illustrate the difficulties that arise in teaching the subject in state schools. The investigation of the period of curriculum reform in South Africa helps us understand how policy decisions were made and the trajectory of change was determined, placing the South African educational policies in a rights-based framework. Making education a constitutional right and then tying the curriculum to the rights enshrined in the constitution has helped to ensure that the values of the democratic South Africa are taught in schools.

Life Orientation and History directly address citizenship, democracy, reconciliation, and apartheid, but do not give them enough room in the curriculum. Life Orientation is a required course, but is not taken seriously by teachers *and* students, and it covers a whole range of topics in addition to citizenship and democracy. History is not required past Grade 9. Learners are often left with the understanding that these topics are not important. The teachers who teach them often are trained in other subjects and do not address these topics substantively or in depth.

The teaching profession in South Africa has undergone many changes since the end of apartheid and has been plagued with shortages and negative perceptions. Teacher education has been uneven, but there are efforts to standardize qualifications and to train teachers to fulfill a "community/citizenship/pastoral role." Teachers are being taught to take on a more holistic role, yet how they understand their roles as citizens and instructors of citizenship education is not well understood. The four studies that I

reviewed showed that teachers in South Africa have many interpretations of what citizenship is and that may be reflected in their teaching, but the research is inconclusive.

The gaps in this research show that that there is a need to explore how teachers teach the state curriculum on citizenship and democracy. Classroom observation, curriculum analysis and qualitative interviews would all help to reveal how teachers' backgrounds, beliefs, experiences and training help them to tackle the abstract concepts involved in presenting civic knowledge and skills in the classroom. There are gaps in our understanding of these topics in terms of gender, race, age cohort and geography. A comparative case study on how various teachers address these topics in the classroom would be a useful contribution to the field.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology, Design and Implementation

As noted in the introduction, using the South African experience as a case study, this investigation has two main purposes: to understand how teachers in a post-conflict and transitional state teach democracy and citizenship and how they see their role in fostering these concepts. This chapter presents the methodology and research design that I used. There are three sections in this chapter: 1) the methodological approach, theoretical framework, and case study rationale; 2) case setting, participants, data collection and analysis; 3) quality assurance, ethics and limitations.

Methodological Approaches

The research questions and the methods used to answer them are shaped by my approach to civic education within the post-conflict context. Using this approach, I am able to better understand the challenges South African teachers may face and how they choose to address them.

Ontological and Epistemological Approach

Drawing on both constructivist-interpretative and critical theoretical perspectives, I am able understand the teachers' conceptions and experiences as partial, contextual, and socially constructed, while also acknowledging that these beliefs are often shaped by the unequal power dynamics of the racial hierarchy in South Africa.

Social constructivism. As a researcher, I take a social constructivist or interpretivist approach to learning and investigating social and educational phenomena.

According to Creswell (2007), social constructivism or interpretivism is a worldview in which "individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work" and "multiple realities are constructed through lived experiences and interaction with others" (2007, p.24 & 36). This was especially true in this study where teachers, using the same curriculum in the same school system in the same city, reported vastly different realities and experiences.

This worldview and approach to learning allows me to take a qualitative approach to research and this study. Merriam (1998) states that most qualitative researchers have a constructivist worldview in that they are "interested in the meaning people have constructed in their world" (p. 6). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) see the research participant as the expert on their own lives whereas the researcher can only understand social reality from the person "enmeshed with in it" (p. 17). I approached each teacher in the study as if I were a student, learning from the expert on their own lives. Mertens (2010) describes the constructivist view of the relationship between researcher and participant as collaborative and interactive, and that each person brings their values and lived experiences. This requires me, as the researcher, to declare my values, background, and worldview, which I will do later in this chapter.

Critical theory. While I take a fundamentally social constructivist approach to this research, I also found that I needed to be more critical when attempting to understand the more devastating impacts of apartheid. A critical theoretical perspective comes from the school of thought which asserts that a constructed reality is not enough: one must acknowledge that there are power dynamics and inequalities that also impact one's reality and worldview. The researcher is asked to examine his or her "own power, engage in

dialogues and use theory to interpret or illuminate social action" (Creswell, 2007, p. 30). Merriam (1998) states that, within "critical research, education is considered to be a social institution designed for social and cultural reproduction and transformation" (p. 4).

The critical perspective also seeks to uncover inequality and through this discovery, empower those who are oppressed. It was particularly important for me, as a White American woman, conducting research in South Africa, to acknowledge the critical and post-colonial voices of those I was "researching." This approach forces one to look more critically at one's own place within the research and to acknowledge of one's power to misrepresent and to misinterpret the words and actions of the research participant, as the other (Mertens, 2010).

Why both? These perspectives must both be used in this study because the constructivist-interpretive approach does not take into account the inherent and historical inequalities within South African society, while critical theory does not always allow for space beyond oppressor/oppressed dichotomy. In discussing education for democracy, a discourse of unity and an understanding of difference must also be found, as opposed to one that narrowly identifies people as victims and victors. Jansen (2009) challenges the critical theoretical view to question both sides of the power struggle and to "understand the emotional, psychological and spiritual burden… carried by all sides" (p. 259). This is not to say that apartheid did not privilege White South Africans, but rather emphasizes the need for all groups to be heard to understand each other.

Both social constructivist and critical paradigms are well suited for qualitative research methodologies. They both assert that interaction between researcher and participant is a key mode of inquiry and participants' own voices can best represent

themselves. The use of interviews, observation, and document review are traditional methods for qualitative research, and help to provide answers to questions about why and how participants' realities are constructed, and how power structures impact them.

Qualitative Case Study

One strategy that is often used with a constructivist perspective on research is the case study. This section will define and explain my rationale for choosing this methodology for my study.

Case study is both an empirical strategy and product and has long been used in scholarly research (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2000). This strategy has been developed to provide systematic ways to explain and explore complex social problems. It has proved useful in answering "how" or "why" research questions, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon in its natural setting, "especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1994, p. 13). Case study can also be an appropriate design for investigations that explore how certain things happen. It is therefore appropriate for this study to explore why teachers teach what they do and how they have arrived at their beliefs and perceptions of citizenship and democracy in South Africa.

According to Yin (1994), case study inquiry:

> Copes with a technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result…-Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result…Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (p. 13)

Case study is therefore ideally suited to investigating the contemporary phenomenon of post-conflict citizenship and democracy education in an example of its real-life context, South Africa. The context is essential to understanding the phenomenon and cannot be separated. This study relies on multiple sources of evidence such as the narratives of teachers, classroom observations and curriculum documents.

This study also is framed by the theoretical propositions of Davies (2004) and Jansen (2009) and designed to investigate "interruptive democracy" and the "disruption of received knowledge" occurs in typical South African public schools. In addition, the conceptual framework based on Thorton (1991) and Torney-Purta's (2005) work helped guide my development of interview and observation protocols. I integrated Davies's four key criteria into my interview questions and observation protocol (see Chapter 1).

Yin (1994) also discusses generalization, one of the elements of qualitative case study that distinguishes it from quantitative research, namely, when "a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study" (p. 31). The case is thus designed to "provide insight into an issue or redraw a generalization" (Stake, 2000, p. 437). This is particularly important for this study as far as certain elements of teachers' experiences, school settings, and even the South African case can be generalized for other post-conflict states. However, Stake might also argue that focusing on generalizability can detract from the value of examining the particularities of the case itself (2000). This lends itself to a more ethnographic and grounded approach.

Case studies also provide an in-depth, holistic understanding of a problem, complex issue, or phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, Yin, 2009).

Cases can be institutions, programs, events, or individuals in a society, and case study research typically investigates one or a few cases. The holistic nature of the case study approach makes it a good method for exploring issues of equity:

> Because the case is investigated from many different angles and pays attention to many dimensions of the issue, case study is typically able to avoid the kinds of essentialist and context-free analyses that have historically been harmful to disempowered groups. (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 256)

This is necessary when the context creates the phenomenon, as it does in the South African case.

Another reason for choosing case study methodology is that it allowed me to look at what was happening inside civic education classrooms from many different perspectives. Speaking to, and observing, teachers from many different backgrounds and at very different schools allowed me to see some of the historical differences of the segregated schools systems, while also observing the similarities introduced by the standardized national curriculum.

Case study researchers often use more than one method of data collection (Creswell, 2007; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2001; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009). The researchers' choice of method largely depends on the research questions and the case. Interviews, observation, and document review are common amongst researchers conducting case studies. This study will include in-depth, semi structured interviews and classroom observation. I reviewed the main curriculum documents in Chapter 3. I will provide a description of the methods later in this chapter.

Case studies can be separated into many sub-categories, including explanatory, exploratory, descriptive, multiple-case studies (Yin, 1994); intrinsic, instrumental, and collective (Stake, 1995). This investigation is a multiple-case study. Stake (1994) also refers to multiple-case studies as collective case studies, as the researcher attempts to provide a general understanding of a bigger phenomenon using several case studies that either occur on the same site or come from multiple sites. This study compared three campuses representing the spectrum of South African public schools and investigated the different realities of teachers.

Yin (2009) recommends multiple-case studies because it allows the researcher to explore differences within and between cases. Comparing the findings across cases will allow the researcher to examine similar or different results. Multiple case studies are not aimed at statistical generalization, but analytical generalization. The format for presenting findings for multiple-case studies is to provide a detailed description of each case and then introduce the main themes (within case analysis), followed by thematic analysis (cross-case analysis).

It is important to clearly define the boundaries of the case or cases, for multiple-case studies (Merriam, 1998). This investigation was originally designed to have the three schools as the cases, though it became clear during data collection that they were actually bounded contexts, or geographic sites, rather than cases, or units of analysis (Miles & Huberman, (1994). The teachers of citizenship and democracy, within History and Life Orientation subjects, were the actual cases or units of analysis, and the schools were the bounded contexts, which served to define the cases, but were not what was being

investigated. The next section presents the case selection, setting, participants, data collection and analysis.

Case Setting, Participants, Data Collection and Analysis

I chose Durban, South Africa as my research site for practical reasons. In the summer of 2013, I had spent two weeks in Pretoria gathering preliminary data, testing interview questions and speaking with South African scholars to help me better define my research questions and guide my research proposal. During that time, I made connections with two scholars from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) School of Education, who were both interested in my research ideas and who offered to support my study, if I were to conduct it in the Durban area.

There was also a gap in the research related to my interests in Durban. I found many more studies based in Johannesburg and Cape Town schools, which encouraged me to look outside of South Africa's two biggest cities and research centers. The third reason for choosing Durban was that had I applied for and was granted a Fulbright award to complete my research. The funders were explicitly looking to support studies outside of Johannesburg and Cape Town, as they felt that those sites were saturated at the time.

As I felt I could have conducted my study anywhere in South Africa, the academic support, lack of published research studies in my field in Durban, and Fulbright's geographic preferences led me to seriously consider Durban for this study. After looking at the context in greater depth, I found that the KwaZulu-Natal province would provide a rich landscape in which to examine current democratic understandings in the education system.

Case Setting: Durban and the Ethekwini Municipality

Map of South Africa & Kwa-Zulu-Natal

The setting for this research is the Durban metropolitan area in South Africa's easternmost province, Kwa-Zulu Natal. The city of Durban sits the Indian Ocean and is South Africa's third biggest city. The greater Durban metropolitan area is officially called the Ethekwini municipality, and includes the neighborhoods of all three schools in this study. The municipality comprises the central business district, urban residential areas, townships, beach resort towns and suburbs, each with their own commercial districts and governance structures. There are 3.5 million people living within the municipality (Census, 2011). The Durban metropolitan area stretches from the beautiful, public

waterfront area and major port in the east to the hilly suburbs in the west, with beach towns to the north and south. Industrial space, townships and residential areas lie in between.

Map of Durban

(Google maps, 2017)

Durban is located within KwaZulu-Natal province, which is the traditional home of the Zulu ethnic group and therefore has a high population of isiZulu speaking people. Seventy-four percent of the population is African and 62% speak isiZulu a mother tongue (the mother tongue is the language the learner speaks at home). South Africa has eleven official languages. Each learner must take at least two languages in high school, a home language and a first additional language. One of the languages must be English. IsiZulu is also the most widely spoken African language in South Africa (Census, 2011).

The Durban area has highest concentration of Indian South Africans in the country -16.7% of the population - and is considered to be home to the largest number of Indians outside of India (Census, 2011). The first Indians arrived in Durban area in the

late 1800s as indentured labor for sugar cane farms. Many more followed as they were promised jobs, land, and, eventually, South African citizenship (Desai & Vahed, 2010). Durban is also home to a White population (6.6%) of largely of British decent, speaking English rather than Afrikaans as a first language. This is because Durban was founded as a British port and colony of Natal, rather than Dutch. English is the second most spoken language: mother tongue to 26% of Durban's population (Census, 2011).

As of 2011, 36.7% of the Ethekwini population had passed the matric exams and 6.7% had some tertiary education, but only 6% of the population had no formal education at all. The overall unemployment rate is 30% and the rate for youth is 39%. (Census, 2011) The National Senior Certificate (NSC) Exam or matric pass rate for 2014 and 20115 for the Ethekwini was 76.5% and 68.6% (Department of Basic Education, 2014 & 2015).

The Durban System. At the turn of the 20th century, Durban and the Zulu kingdom saw the cessation of fighting in the South African Wars,[7] involving the British, Afrikaans settlers and the Zulu people, among others. By 1910, the Act of Union of South Africa freed the country from British colonial status and placed it in the hands of the Afrikaner leadership. By this time, Durban had grown from a small port settlement and colonial port with mainly British settlers to South Africa's third largest city with many more Indian and African residents. Whites were soon in the minority and introduced

[7] The South African War, previously known as the Anglo Boer War, has been renamed because it impacted far more people than just the "Anglos" or British and the "Boers" or the Afrikaners (those of Dutch heritage). It deeply impacted the Zulu people, Indians and other African groups. The renaming of this conflict is a good example of the post-apartheid attempt to redirect South African history from a Euro-centric focus to a broader and more inclusive narrative (Mthethwa, 2015).

legislation to protect their own interests. These laws became known as the Durban System (Maylam & Edwards, 1996).

This system regulated the movement and employment of Africans and Indians within the city and brought these groups under the complete control of the White government, under the auspices of the Durban City Council (Vahed, 2013). The Durban System became a model for what eventually developed into the national set of policies known as apartheid. One of its major elements was the development of townships through forced eviction and racial segregation of residential areas. The education system mimicked these housing arrangements and was completely racially separate and unequal. Separate school systems were created for White, African, and Indian learners. They had different curricula, teachers and materials.

The Schools

It was important to select schools that represented the experiences of, and served, the three major Durban communities. On the advice from my partners at UKZN, I selected a peri-urban, township secondary school, a former Indian school, and a former Model C secondary school (former White public school) (Jarvis, 2009). Jansen (2006) has said that "South Africa has two education systems; a small, high achieving system for the racially mixed middle classes and a large, under-performing one for the black poor." Former Model-C schools fit into the first category and peri-urban township schools fit into the second. The Durban context also compelled me to select a school reserved for Indians under apartheid given the size of this population that was substantial and made up a significant part of the school system. Their schooling experience under apartheid was

different from both White and African students and teachers and their voices needed to be included in the study.

The rationale for selecting these schools is that they represent the historical legacy of apartheid, which remains within the public education system today. As this study sought to see how the national curriculum and state schools address citizenship and democracy, it was necessary to examine the variations within that system. I wanted to know if there were significant differences in how teachers address the issues of citizenship and democracy between the three schools and respective populations they represent and serve. I did not intentionally look for schools that could automatically be seen as “interrupted,” progressive, or outside of the mainstream education system. Rather, I wanted more typical schools that represented the educational experience of a wide spectrum of South African students.

Two professors at UKZN and their office for student-teacher placement helped me select the schools. I used the following four selection criteria. Each school should:

1) Be well established, over twenty years old, founded before the end of apartheid, and previously segregated by race.
2) Be co-educational.
3) Have similar, successful matric pass rates.
4) Offer History and Life Orientation in Grades 9-12.

I explained above why I used the first criterion. I added the final three criteria for several reasons. First, many of the former Model-C schools in the Durban area were single-sex, but many of the former Indian and township schools were co-ed. I wanted to be consistent and eliminate the possible variables that one single-sex school would introduce

to the study. Second, I selected schools with similarly high matric pass rates so that the education learners received at each of the three schools would be comparable. Evaluating the general quality of education at the three schools was not part of my research study, thus I selected schools that were fairly successful and therefore desirable for students. I also wanted to see examples of functioning schools so that I could observe how the curriculum was meant to be taught, using the state's metrics of educational success. Finally, I had to add an additional criterion that schools offered History and LO, because one of the first schools I visited had a STEM focus, which meant that they did not offer History at all for Grades 9-12, and they admittedly put little emphasis on the required LO courses. While that school met all the other criteria, I had to select another.

Introduction to the schools. The three communities that are represented in this study are: 1) the hilly White suburbs in the west, 2) the centrally located Indian neighborhood, and 3) the extensive African township in the south. I received access to these schools through introductions from my academic sponsors at UKZN. I will discuss my initial introduction and general access to each school individually in the following chapters.

While I will describe each of the three schools in greater detail in Chapters 5 through 7, I have included some comparative information and statistics as an introduction to the case schools in the table below. The schools all have pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality.

Table 6: School Statistics for 2014 and 2015

Statistics and Key Information	Brightfield High (BHS)	Dalton Secondary (DSS)	Lowandle High (LHS)
Type of school	Former Model C, historically White	Former HOD, historically Indian	Township, historically & currently African
Yearly school fees	R 30,600 ($2,500)	R 1,800 ($165)	R 1,000 ($90)
# of teachers	70	44	119
# of learners	1053	1024	3068
Student: teacher ratio	15:1	23:1	26:1
Average class size (per my observations)	25.5	33.4	52.8
Teachers' Race/Religion	African - 6 Indian - 8 White – 56 (80%)	African/Zulu - 2, Indian/Muslim - 10 Indian/Hindu - 32	African - 118 Colored – 1 White -1
Learners' Race	African – 519 Indian – 115 White – 380 Colored - 37	African – 421 Indian – 545 White – 4 Colored - 51	African (mostly Zulu) - All
% who pay full fees	80%	50%	50-60%
% with grants	Scholarships (academic & athletic) -11% Need based– 9.5%	Need based -15-20%	Formal exemption, need based -10%
% who don't pay	0	30%	30%
# who take history in grades 10-12	30%	12%	35%
Matric pass rate (DoBE 2014, 2015)	2014 – 95% 2015 -97%	2014 -85% 2015 -82%	2014 -85% 2015 -85%

For comparative purposes, I have included a table with the national, provincial and municipal Matric/NSC Examination pass rates:

Table 7: Matric/NSC Pass Rates

	Matric/NSC pass rates	
	2014	*2015*
National	75.8%	70.7%
Provincial -KZN	69.7%	60.7%
Municipal –Ethekwini (Average for districts within the municipality)	76.5%	68.6%

(Department of Basic Education, 2014, 2015).

I will analyze these statistics in each of the chapters on the individual schools.

Participants

After I selected the schools and gained access to collect data, I selected the research participants. I used a purposeful and non-probabilistic form of sampling, known as criterion sampling (Merriam, 2009; Mertens, 2010). Criterion sampling allows the researcher to develop a list of characteristics or conditions that they deem essential for participants to meet. Criterion sampling is often used when the researcher desires a "representativeness or typicality" of a group (Maxwell, 2005, p.89).

The key criterion that I used to select participants was that they had to teach History or Life Orientation. This automatically made the pool of possible participants at each school quite small. For some of the schools, there were only one or two teachers who taught those courses, were able, and consented to participate in the study. These teachers were then selected for convenience, willingness to participate in the study and because they met the study's criterion of teaching History or Life Orientation. For example, DSS only had one History teacher, so I was only able to interview one History teacher from that school.

There were also a few other factors that helped me select the participants. Within the pool of available teachers who met the main criterion, I selected equal numbers of male and female teachers, a variety of ages and equal numbers of History and Life Orientation teachers. I interviewed sixteen teachers; six from one school and five from each of the other two. I limited my sample to about five teachers from each school because I was not only interviewing these teachers, but also observing their classes.

By collecting multiple forms of data from each participant, I could deepen my understanding of their beliefs and their teaching practice. Choosing to collect extensive, detailed data from a few participants and school sites rather than minimal data from many sites and individuals is recommended in qualitative research (Maxwell, 2005). Expanding the sample would have been both logistically difficult and impossible, as additional teachers were not always available. I did also interview the principals from each of the three schools to better understand the overall ethos of each school and the leadership's perspective on civic education. Demographic information about the research participants is presented in the table below.

Table 8: Research Participants

School	Gender	Race	Age Range	Subject	Principals
BHS	3 Male 3 Female *6 Total*	6 White	25-55	3 History 3 Life Orientation	White, Female, 50s
DSS	2 Male 3 Female *5 Total*	5 Indian	31-65	1 History 4 Life Orientation	Indian, Female, 40s
LHS	2 Male 3 female *5 Total*	5 African	31-55	3 History 2 Life Orientation	African, Male, 50s
Total:	***16 TOTAL***		***25-65***	***7 History*** ***9 Life Orientation***	

One of the elements that must be stressed is that all the teachers from each school were of the same race as the school's historical roots, not necessarily their current student body. Only BHS, the former White Model C school, has more teachers of other races, but they simply did not teach the subjects that I was investigating. DSS, the former Indian school, also had a few non-Indian teachers, but again there were no teachers of other races teaching History or Life Orientation. Finally, LHS, the African, township school for

past and present, had 1-2 non- African teachers total, who did not teach the subjects I was investigating. Thus, the teachers that I interviewed from each school represent one racial experience at that school.

For each school, I will offer a more detailed description of the teachers, but there are some general experiences the participants all share, including their preparation. The teachers in the study hold a range of degrees from PhD to a Diploma, which is more of a technical or vocational degree. Most of the participants have a Diploma or a Bachelor's degree, and many have additional teaching certifications. Only two have masters. Some of the reasons for why such diversity in teacher credentials exists have been discussed in Chapter Three and concern the on-going process of creating a common credentialing process since apartheid.

Many of the teachers have qualifications in subjects that are different from their current assignments. The LO teachers come from a wide variety of backgrounds and perspectives. They have degrees in psychology and counseling, life sciences and biology, physical education, English, commerce and art, as well as a few who have an actual focus LO. None come from a humanities, civics, religion, law, political science, government or history background. In other words, none of the LO teachers have a comprehensive background in issues of democracy, government, citizenship, human rights, civics or any of the topics addressed in this study. The one teacher with a PhD has experience with conflict resolution, critical race theory and is a master teacher educator. I will discuss these teachers in detail in Chapters five to seven.

Data Collection

With funding from a Fulbright Award, I spent nine months in Durban conducting this study and collecting data in three secondary schools with the support of the School of Education (SoE) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). I arrived in September 2014 and I started collecting data at the first school in October and completed my study by the end of May 2015. I used several methods to collect data: 1) in-depth, semi-structured interviews; 2) classroom observations; 3) document review; and 4) informal observations and conversations.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews. I honed my interview protocol over a lengthy period that began with my preliminary data collection trip, continued through several methods classes, working on my research proposal and ended with considerable help from professors at UKZN (see Appendix A). I also developed a short biographic survey to spend more of the interview on the substance of the study (see Appendix B). The survey simply asked teachers for their demographic information, education and current teaching schedule.

I employed an in-depth, semi-structured format for the interviews to allow for flexibility and choice in what the teachers discussed. Semi-structured interviews are meant to allow for guided conversation, rather than questions and responses (Merriam, 2009). My protocol provided a list of the key questions and topics I wanted to discuss, but it was not so rigid that a true conversation could not be had. Most of the questions were open-ended and broad, which allowed teachers to talk about what they thought was most important.

I conducted one-on-one interviews with sixteen teachers, three principals and two

professors[8]. These interviews lasted between 50 minutes and two hours, the average being one hour, fifteen minutes. All of them were conducted at the schools, during the school day, in empty classrooms or school offices. I recorded all interviews with a digital recorder and took notes as well. My notes were to capture quick thoughts rather than serve as a true back up, as I tried to maintain a conversational tone to the interviews. All interviews were conducted in English, although a few of the interviews at LHS with isiZulu speakers had a few more communication difficulties.

Classroom observations. I conducted 71 formal, classroom observations each lasting one scheduled class period. Lesson length varied among the schools, but most classes were between 45 minutes and one hour. I observed all sixteen teachers that I interviewed on at least three occasions and sometimes more, as scheduling and availability allowed. Sometimes interviews preceded observations, sometimes the order of our engagement was reversed; it all depended on the teachers' preferences. Observation arrangements depended on the school and the teacher. I address some of those differences in Chapters five to seven, when discussing my level of access at each school.

As an observer, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible or participate if called upon by the teacher. I sat where the teacher asked me to in the classroom, sometimes at the back facing the teacher and sometimes in front, facing the learners. Merriam (2009) identifies four types of observation: complete participant, participant as observer, observer as participant, and complete observer. I attempted to be an observer as

[8] I interviewed two professors together at UKZN who taught teacher education classes for future Life Orientation teachers. This interview ultimately was more useful as background research than as pure data.

participant and complete observer at different points in the study. I tried to be a complete observer in the classroom, but I often stood out, which was distracting for learners and, occasionally, I was asked to participate in the class.

There are difficulties associated with observations. Creswell (2007) lists five problems concerning observations, many of which I experienced.

- Remembering to take field notes
- Quoting participants accurately in the field notes
- Determining the best time to move from nonparticipant to participant
- Being overwhelmed at the site with information
- Learning how to funnel the observations from the broad picture to a narrower one. (p. 139)

I designated a field notebook for each school, to keep my thoughts and observations separated and specific for each site. I took handwritten notes throughout my time at each school, but especially during the classroom observations. I developed an observation protocol, based on the essential topics for this study (Appendix C). I included elements of Davies' (2004) post-conflict pedagogy in the observation protocol, but did not go into detail, as I wanted the opportunity to observe broadly what was happening in the classroom without a concrete agenda. Having an observation protocol helped me to capture all the data I had deemed essential, in the face of vast amounts of information at each school.

In my observations, I did not use a recorder or video, so I had to depend on my hand-written notes for accuracy. I did this because I did not have permission to record learners and I wanted to be as minimally disruptive as possible. This is another reason I

did multiple observations of the same teachers in the same classrooms. I could capture trends in their teaching and discern their classroom environment better after several observations. For this reason, I have not included many direct quotes from the observations in my analysis, as I was transcribing them in real time. I wanted to represent the teachers as accurately as possible and found a way to do this by summarizing the main points they made to students, triangulating their classroom discussion with interview quotes and taking meticulous notes.

I occasionally struggled with my role as an observer, particularly when teachers gave out misinformation or lost control of their classrooms. As a former teacher, I was tempted to intervene. But as a researcher and observer, that was not my role and I tried to remain unobtrusive and neutral. I often wrote memos after these classes to clarify my thoughts on these particularly challenging situations.

Finally, I managed the great number of observation notes and data collected from the observations by transcribing them myself in the observation protocol format. While taking notes, I kept the key elements of the protocols in mind, but I tried to capture everything I saw and heard. Afterwards, I took those handwritten notes, which also included diagrams of the classrooms and lists of artifacts in the classrooms and typed them into the observation protocol worksheet. This enabled me to keep consistent notes for all the observations, organize my records well and start putting my data into a form that would be easy to analyze.

Document review. As part of my literature review in Chapter 3, I reviewed the national curriculum statements focusing on the sections that dealt with citizenship and democracy education. This was important both for background research into what I

would be observing in the classroom and to help me compare what the teachers were teaching with the nationally mandated subject matter. Thus, I reviewed these documents before, during and after I completed the classroom observations. I did look at some school textbooks, which I borrowed from learners and teachers when they were available, but I did not do any comprehensive review of this material. Each school used a variety of textbooks, but overall, they were fairly similar and presented the same information that was in the curriculum statements. Reviewing the textbooks is a project for future research.

I also collected any key school documents that teachers were willing to share, including assessments, class handouts, worksheets, learner assignments, school schedules and administrative memos. These provided me with a more robust impression of what was happening in the classroom and school. I collected 43 documents.

Informal observations and conversations. While I only included what happened within class periods and in the classroom, as formal observations, I spent a lot of time at each school between classes. I hung out in the staff rooms, walked around, and talked to teachers before and after classes. Through these encounters I gained more insights into teachers' thoughts about their school, students and what was happening in the world in general. My time spent in the teachers' lounges was especially rewarding as I got know people in a more relaxed setting and see the dynamics of how they interacted outside of the classroom. I also took notes during or after these sessions. I completed approximately 77 hours of informal observations and conversations over the course of my research.

I intentionally designed this study to collect data from many sources, which is summarized below. I will discuss the function of the diversity of sources and how it serves to assure for high research quality later in this chapter.

Table 9: Data Collected

Data Source	Amount	Time
Interviews	20 total	22 hours of recorded interviews
Formal Classroom Observations (Average 50 minutes)	71 total	60 hours of formal classroom observation
Informal Observations		77 hours
Documents Reviewed	43 documents	

Data Analysis

Data collection and analysis for this study were part of an iterative and recursive process (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). I constantly wrote memos, transcribed notes and identified important themes, while I was collecting data. I was then able to integrate the themes that emerged from the data into subsequent collection and analysis of data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Tracy, 2010). While I tried to keep the interviews consistent, the iterative process of analysis and collection enabled me to ask additional questions and bring up topics that I previously had not thought of. For example, when xenophobic violence broke out in Durban, I could ask teachers how they were addressing it within their classrooms. This yielded such interesting discussions, that I went back to teachers I had already interviewed to ask their opinions as well.

There are several phases for effective data analysis in qualitative research: 1) data preparation; 2) data exploration; 3) data reduction, and 4) interpretation (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). While I took several approaches to analyzing the data from different

sources, I tried to follow these four steps. For example, I selected several key quotes about choosing teaching as a career, grouping them together to find trends, similarities or differences. Then I eliminated quotes that were repetitive, while capturing the fact that multiple teachers had similar responses. I was then able to interpret and find that teachers of different races often had different reasons for choosing teaching.

I also used several types of coding in my analysis. While certain themes emerged from the data during the iterative process, I did not formally start coding the data from interviews until I completed my research and the interviews were transcribed. Codes allow the researcher to organize data into simple concepts, meaningful themes or categories (Merriam, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994). I coded "by hand" and did not use software, because I felt that my data were often idiomatic, based on context rather than wording, and I could identify certain themes faster and better.

I hired a graduate student from UKZN to transcribe the interviews. This not only helped expedite transcription, but she also helped me with South African and local language, wording, place names and terms that people used in interviews. Although I did not transcribe the interviews, I reviewed the transcripts with the recordings to understand them better and correct any inaccuracies. Then I went through each transcript and identified all the quotes I thought had significance. This reduced the interview data and allowed me to explore the data a second time. Next, I used two types of coding to analyze the quotes.

First, I selected a thematic or open coding system, which allowed me to inductively draw out themes that were relevant in responding to the research questions (see Table).

Table 10: Codes and Sections Responding to Research Questions

Research Questions	Codes/Themes/Sections
RQ1: How do teachers' beliefs and perceptions about citizenship & democracy shape how they explicitly & implicitly teach about democracy and citizenship?	- Early exposure to democracy - Choosing teaching - Self reflection - Understanding democracy, citizenship and Ubuntu
RQ2: What is the range of expected roles for teachers in fostering citizenship and democracy in the classroom?	- Role of the teacher - Skills, knowledge, attitudes and values
RQ3: How do teachers interpret the curriculum content and implement the sections on citizenship and democracy in the classroom?	- Curriculum - Teaching methods - Perceptions of learner engagement

This first round of coding was an organizational strategy and helped me to categorize the data into pertinent themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). These themes correspond to the sections within the findings chapters. See Appendix H for information on how the codes, data collection methods and research questions correspond.

Secondly, I coded the reduced data using the themes in my conceptual and theoretical framework. By using Davies' (2004) and Jansen's (2009) key elements for the interruptive school and post-conflict pedagogy, I looked for specific thoughts in the interviews and actions in the observations that pointed to whether teachers were attempting to disrupt received wisdom or are using the interruptive form of democracy.

Finally, I compared the data within (between teachers) and across schools, to look for similarities and differences. Because this study is a qualitative multiple-case study, a constant comparative method "allows the researcher to differentiate one category/theme from another and to identify properties and dimensions specific to that category or theme" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 73).

I used similar strategies to analyze the other data. However, I did not do as much open coding with the observation notes or the documents I reviewed. Rather I looked for more specific quotes, actions, and thoughts that were pertinent to the themes that had already emerged from the interviews and the conceptual framework. I could compare data sources within the same themes. This was especially helpful for investigating a teacher's claim by observing his or her class and checking the curriculum documents.

Quality Assurance, Ethics and Limitations

I have put several strategies in place to assure a high quality of research and ethical standards for this study. This section presents those strategies, as well as the inevitable limitations to the study.

Quality Assurance: Validity

In designing and conducting this investigation, I used Mertens (2010) Criteria for Judging Quality in Qualitative Research and Creswell's (2013) validation strategies. Validity has been a problematic term within qualitative research and is often considered to be more appropriate for quantitative, positivist research methodologies (Creswell, 2013; Mertens, 2010; Yin, 2009). Creswell (2013) refers to validity within qualitative research as a "process rather than verification" and recommends that researchers use at least two "accepted strategies to document the accuracy" of the study, rather than tests (p.250). Mertens (2010) uses the terms credibility and transferability rather than validity, suggesting that findings be trustworthy and be transferred rather than replicated.

The first strategy I used was triangulation, which "involves checking information that has been collected from different sources or methods for consistency of evidence across sources of data" (Mertens, 2010, p. 258). Because I had used several methods to collect data - multiple cases and speaking with teachers, administrators and professors—I was able to triangulate the data, compare it against different sources, and check for accuracy. Triangulating interview data with observation data, I could check what teachers thought about the topics they presented in the classroom. For example, many teachers said they used discussion as a prime teaching method in their classrooms. I would go on to observe that this was rarely the case and very little discussion actually happened.

Another strategy for confronting bias and strengthening validity in this study was prolonged engagement. According to Creswell (2007), "prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field include: building trust with participants, learning the culture, and checking for misinformation that stems from distortions introduced by the researcher" (p. 207). I spent nine months in Durban collecting data. A lengthy stay made it possible for me to observe classes multiple times under various circumstances. This allowed me to notice trends rather than single events.

An additional strategy, particularly for transferability, is the presentation of data as thick, rich description, namely, "extensive and careful description of the time, place, context and culture" (Mertens, 2010, p. 259). Chapters five to seven offer detailed descriptions of each school—a thorough picture of the environment, learners and teachers. The description should be comprehensive enough so that other researchers can "transfer" or compare their own findings and opinions.

Reflexivity. Mertens (2010) includes critical reflexivity as a criterion of quality research, emphasizing the need for “heightened self-awareness” from the author in order to identify their own biases and subjectivity. As part of an ethical approach to this study, I have tried to be as reflexive as possible and to examine my own role within the research. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) define reflexivity as “the questioning of one’s place and power relations within the research process” (p. 13). According to Creswell (2007), “Qualitative research is a form of inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand. The researchers’ interpretation cannot be separated from their own background, history, context, and prior understanding” (p. 39). I am a White, female American and have very little personal experience with the accounts my participants have shared. My interpretation of what I saw and heard could only be colored by my own experiences and assumptions.

I was a true outsider in every way, other than by my profession. The fact that I had been a teacher and shared a teacher’s background allowed me areas of insider understanding and connection. I share this information in order to expose my own viewpoint and address my own subjectivities. My own place as an outsider was both a limitation and an advantage in helping participants share their story. While I did not share a common past, I was also less burdened by the historical context that South Africans share. I was received differently and had different levels of access at each of the schools, in part because of my race. Some teachers relaxed once they found out I was an outsider, while I made others more nervous. This all impacted my research, the interviews and especially the observations.

I attempted to maintain this type of research reflexivity through memos and

member checks. Merriam (2009) described member checks as, "The process... is to take your preliminary analysis back to some of the participants and ask whether your interpretation 'rings true'" (p. 217). Because I was at the schools over a period of months, continuously examining my data, I could see teachers again and ask follow up questions. This helped me to examine my own understandings of what I learned as I was learning it, and also it confirmed if I was interpreting the findings accurately and with nuance. Member checks are also one of Mertens and Creswell's validation strategies.

I also wrote memos during my study to constantly reflect and capture potential insights during field research. Memos allow the researcher to take "stock of where you are in thinking about your project by writing down your ideas about how your data do or do not fit together" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 123). This process really gives the researcher an intermediate step between data collection and analysis to refine thinking and question assumptions. Memoing can often lead to revisions in data collection and analysis. While I did not include my memos as true data, they often helped me to think through particular issues I had during the research process, difficulties in comprehending what was happening in the classroom and questions I had about the topic in general. For example, when I observed classes that were particularly uncomfortable, such as one on sexual violence, memoing helped me to process what I saw, rather than react negatively and immediately criticize the teacher. I could take time to analyze what I saw and understand what had gone on in the classroom.

Ethical Considerations

Through the course of this study, participants were asked questions about sensitive issues, such as their experiences during apartheid and their opinions on their jobs and the government. They were observed by an outsider in the classroom, which put them in a vulnerable place. Knowing that I would be putting the participants in those delicate positions, I made sure to design and conduct this study with the highest ethical standards, remain cognizant of the sensitive subject matter and protect their identities. I was able to accomplish that with guidance from Hesse-Biber and Leavy's (2011) chapter on *The Ethics of Social Research* and two institutional reviews. They link the importance of ethical aspects of research to the very validity and trustworthiness of the findings. Hesse-Biber and Leavy suggest that informed consent, disclosure and confidentiality are some of the key elements of an ethically designed research study. These are also required by Institutional Review Board (IRB).

The first ethical review of this study was from the University of Maryland IRB. As required by the IRB, I developed an informed consent information sheet and form for all participants (Appendix F & G) and a letter of introduction for principals (Appendix D). After receiving IRB permission and arriving in South Africa, I applied for and was granted permission to conduct research from the KZN Department of Education in KZN schools. This application process was very similar to the IRB and I received a letter of permission from the KZN Department of Education, which I also gave to each school principal (Appendix E). As an additional measure, I also submitted an ethical clearance application form to the UKZN's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. While I was not an enrolled student there, I was sponsored by two of their

professors, who thought it would be appropriate inform the committee of my study. This formal set of permissions gave me the credentials to gain entry to the schools. I was then allowed to visit schools and present my letters of introduction and formal permission letter to the principals of each school. Only then was I able to meet with teachers and formally start my research.

I gained written informed consent from all participants. They received a form describing the project, the limited potential risks and benefits of the study. They agreed in writing to be observed and be recorded in an interview. I made a specific choice to be transparent in disclosing the intent of my research. I told teachers that I was studying citizenship and democracy education in South African schools. While this had implications on what teachers then told me and what they emphasized in the classroom, I felt that it was the best ethical choice to be straightforward with all the research participants. I discuss this further in the next section on limitations.

Confidentiality is the key element in protecting research participants. I informed all research participants that I would keep their identities and their schools' identities confidential. The principals were particularly concerned about keeping the schools' reputation intact. Keeping the schools' identities secret was actually harder than I had thought and I had to change some identifying features of the schools, as well as their names, to do so. I wanted to respect the confidentiality and protect the anonymity of all participants by assigning them pseudonyms. I also have taken steps to keep all their personal information and research data protected. I stored all the data on a password-protected computer to which only I have access.

A final ethical challenge was how I could offer some reciprocal service to each school, by teaching, tutoring or any other additional service I could provide. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) describe reciprocity as a way to build rapport between researcher and participant, but also give the participant the authority as an expert of their own life. They are then able to share their stories and be heard. Reciprocity can also be a way for the school to benefit from the researcher's time there and can help form a more meaningful relationship. Even with the amount of time I was there, it quickly became clear that I did not have enough time to take on a regular task within three schools, beyond building relationships through the research.

However, the teacher participants did approach me with various tasks and questions at different points. One asked me to be a guest lecturer in two of his classes. Another, who was getting her master's while teaching full time asked me for help with her assignments. A third asked me about ideas for fundraising overseas. I was happy to contribute to each of these schools in any way possible. Outside of the case schools, I was also asked by my contacts at UKZN to teach a seminar on teaching democracy and citizenship for teaching students for a week. While this was outside of my research study, I felt that it was an act of reciprocity since they had hosted me, helped me secure funding and select cases. This also helped me to interact with teaching students and gain more understanding about pre-service teaching education, new high school graduates in university and the teacher education curriculum.

Limitations of the Study

One limitation of the study was that I was unable to do my research in accordance with the South African academic year and was often unable to do interviews and

classroom observation due to scheduling and unforeseen interruptions. This meant that I started my study at the end of the school year in October, rather than in February when the school year begins in South Africa. This impacted my access to classes on certain topics throughout the year. The national curriculum dictates the topics and order of topics that teachers cover and I was frequently unable to be in the right place and time to observe the classes most pertinent to citizenship and democracy. The schools also did a great deal of testing, often had interruptions for holidays, vacations, assemblies and workshops. Individual teachers also had their own scheduling conflicts that meant that they were sometimes absent from the classroom. All of this being said, the schools operated similarly and for the most part all three obstructed me equally. Also, I was still able to observe over seventy classes and gain valuable insight even when teachers were discussing other topics.

Another limitation was that I chose to be transparent about what I was looking at with the teachers, which may have influenced what and how they taught. I purposefully erred on the side of ethical disclosure about the nature of my study to gain access and trust from the schools and participants, which meant that they occasionally changed what they were teaching to accommodate me, geared their lessons towards what I was looking for and referred to me in their lessons. This obviously had the potential to change or influence some of my findings. This also changed from school to school, as I was more noticeable and suspect at the schools with majority African and Indian teaching staffs than at the school with the White teaching staff. I was assumed to be an inspector and evaluator at the first two schools and a teaching student at the third.

Finally, the types of schools and the participants selected limit the study in its scope. The schools and participants represent a small portion of the schools and teachers within the case setting and do not include many demographic groups and other types of schools. Gaining access to these schools meant that I had to rely on gatekeepers for introductions and schools had small numbers of LO and history teachers, which again narrowed my pool of available participants. However, this study was intended to increase understanding of how teachers approach civic education in South Africa generally and I hope that some of the findings can be transferred or compared to other post-conflict educational settings.

The next three chapters present the data analysis and findings from each of the three schools. These chapters discuss the most significant themes and codes that emerged from the data, which then become organizing sections. The themes and sections of the findings respond to the research questions as seen in Table 10.

Chapter 5: Brightfield High School - Analysis & Findings

This chapter presents the data gathered at Brightfield High School (BHS) through interviews, observation and document review. This chapter is organized into four sections: the general description of the school and teachers, the teachers' early civic education, the teachers' approach to teaching and the curriculum and finally their understandings of citizenship and democracy

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Description

BHS is in the hilly suburbs, west of Durban, in a primarily White neighborhood. With a small commercial town area, large gated communities and many public amenities, the area is physically well maintained, policed and very green. There are landscaped gardens, new cars and large houses. While not the wealthiest area in these suburbs, Brightfield is certainly affluent, secure, and upper middle class, with minimal racial integration.

BHS was founded in the 1960s, as an all-boys government school for Whites, and later became a Model C school in the 1990s. Although public, BHS was founded with a Christian, protestant ethos and was modeled on British private schools, with similar uniforms, and a house system (students are divided into separate houses, as a way of forming close friendships, competition and individual attention). This is very common in both public and private English-medium South African schools.

The school itself is on a hill, surrounded by landscaped gardens and fields. A permanent guard booth was manned at the front gates, with a sign-in sheet for visitors. I

only had to sign in on my first visit and thereafter was allowed into the school without questions. The parking lot was usually full, so I parked on the street outside. A large billboard with the school name and date of founding hovers over the school gates, in addition to an electronic sign with daily announcements. There is a primary school across the street, which is a feeder schools for BHS.

The door at the front entrance to the school displays the coat of arms and motto and is clearly marked for visitors. The coat of arms is in an old English style and contains both British and Christian symbols. The reception area resembles a hospital waiting room, with the receptionist acting as the gatekeeper, sitting behind a sliding glass window. It also has large display cases for athletics trophies. Huge professional photographs on the walls show racially diverse groups of students playing sports, going on field trips, and relaxing together. A television in the reception area displays a promotional video comprising clips of school plays, ballet performances, sporting events and other highlights, as well as advertisements. [9]

The school buildings are one to three stories high. Exterior walkways look over courtyards where students gather during breaks. Surrounding the school are many large green well-groomed sports fields. There is also a swimming pool and an indoor gym facility. Assemblies and performances are held in a large auditorium with a stage, A small chapel is attached to the main buildings. The auditorium has a piano, a South African flag, and paintings of the school mascot. There is a Tuck Shop, or snack bar,

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[9] I later learned that the school had to promote itself to attract students, as it was in competition with wealthier private schools. Funding structures meant that BHS needed to maintain their student numbers to receive a certain amount of base funding.

which serves items to students and some teachers, though most seem to bring lunch from home.

The classrooms vary in size and set up, but in general, are large, airy and well lit. All of them have windows on several sides to allow breezes, as well as overhead fans. Teachers have computers and data projectors for films and documents. Classrooms have Whiteboards, not chalk and some have carpet and curtains. The school also has a media room and library and an additional computer room where teachers can do their grading.

The teachers' lounge is a key spot of interaction in all the schools. I spent the most time in the BHS teachers' lounge because it was centrally located and used by most of the teachers participating in the study. It was a sprawling sitting room with lots of comfortable lounge chairs, organized in groups around low tables. There is a kitchen facility with a full-time employee to clean and make coffee and tea for breaks. The room has a restful feel, where teachers get away from the learners and work. Very few people actually worked in the teachers' lounge, because most teachers had their own classrooms. The BHS lounge is for breaks, lunch, and staff meetings, and there are separate rooms for copies, grading papers and smoking.

Teachers sit in the same areas of the lounge every day and often self- segregate by race, gender and age: the older White female teachers tended to sit together, younger White teachers gathered in another part of the lounge, teachers of color formed a group, and the older White, Indian and Colored male teachers joined each other . I often had trouble finding a place to sit at break time due to some of these arrangements and sat with different groups or between them

BHS had a standard ten-day cycle of classes, eight periods a day, 45 minutes each with two breaks a day for tea and for lunch. Most teachers had assigned classrooms and students moved from one to another. Loud, shrill alarms marked the end of each lesson. There were often events going on during the school day such as presentations, rehearsals and sports practices. Instruction was frequently interrupted so that students could participate in these extra events.

Statistics (for details, also see Table 6 in Ch. 4)

BHS has fairly high school fees for a government school, but moderate for a former Model C school and modest compared to private schools. Fees support the school infrastructure and allow for a low student-teacher ratio. Not only are classes smaller, but teachers have their own classrooms and the school is able to offer a great variety of subjects. The school also offers a wide variety of courses and extracurricular activities. Eighty percent of the learners pay full fees, while 20% have academic, athletic, and need-based scholarships.

Students mostly come from middle and upper class residential areas, which were once White and have become integrated, while maintaining class homogeneity. This is reflected both in the demographic makeup of teachers and students. The teaching staff is 80% White, while 64% of the students are non-White. Many of the teachers have been at BHS since before the school was integrated in the early 90s, while the student body is more reflective of the actual demographics of Durban and South Africa. About a third of learners in Grades 10 through 12 elect to take history, meaning that 2/3 of the learners do

not take history past Grade 9. BHS has a 95-97% matric pass rate, which is high for the country, but average for former model-C schools.

My Access

I received access to this school through one of my academic sponsors at UKZN. She was acquainted with the headmistress and accompanied me to the school to introduce me. This type of introduction allowed me almost unfettered access to the school. I was then introduced to the head of the history department and other teachers. I was even given schedules for all the teachers I wanted to observe and could plan my own schedule of research around theirs.

I could move around the school with little interference or questioning. This was also because I was White, looked like one of their teachers and because the school was used to having student-teachers there. Staff, for the most part, seemed comfortable talking to me and eventually were at ease with my presence in their classrooms. Their attitude towards me was collegial and professorial, and they welcomed me like a junior colleague or teaching student. They often acted as if we were all on the same side and naturally had similar opinions, which was not always the case. They were not guarded, but were straightforward with their thoughts and opinions. Teachers even asked me questions in class, to add an “American” opinion to the discussion. I was asked to teach a few classes.

Leadership and Discipline

The principal of BHS is a White woman in her 50s, who has been at BHS for most of her career. She started in the 1970s as a teacher, then moved into administration, and became the head of school in the 2000s. A large oil painting of Nelson Mandela, painted by a learner, hangs in her office. As a teacher who rose through the ranks, she gave the impression that she preferred a light touch in leadership. She welcomed input and teacher participation, and had a deputy head of school (vice principals) who was more autocratic and a disciplinarian. Her softer approach has enabled her to navigate the political transition and desegregation with more ease. The deputies are White males, also in their 50s. They practice a more traditional, authoritarian style of top-down leadership.

The principal also teaches an occasional class and thought that it was important to remain and teach at a public school, because their learners are more " likely to give back to their country" and not go abroad. She acknowledged that some of her teachers have outdated racial attitudes that must be managed. She also thought her biggest challenge as a school principal was a lack of work ethic among teachers and learners.

Discipline at BHS seemed to consist of detention, suspension and expulsion. Students who were disruptive were sent out of the room and either had to wait in the hallway until they were called back or directly sent to one of the principals' offices. One of the teachers and head of curriculum kept a rod in his office as a relic of another age when corporal punishment was accepted and a legal form of discipline. Some of the older teachers seemed to look back on those days fondly and wished they still had the ability to strike students. I did not get the impression that there were any progressive forms of

punishment utilized at the school, but I did not observe what happened when students were sent to the principal.

Teachers at BHS

The teachers at BHS came from a variety of backgrounds, educational fields of study, and years of experience. The Table below presents a brief overview of the teacher participants. I will then briefly describe each teacher, their teaching style and their primary classroom. Their classroom set-up, décor and artifacts offer insight into the teachers' teaching style, the resources available at the school, and their attention to their learning environment.

Table 11: BHS Teachers

Teachers	Age	Race	Subject	Grades	Gender
Phil	53	White	History	8-10	M
Bridget	24	White	Life Orientation	8-12	F
Sean	27	White	Life Orientation	8-12	M
Mark	38	White	History	8-12	M
Elizabeth	49	White	History	8-10, 12	F
Susan	52	White	Life Orientation	10-12	F

Phil. Phil, a master history teacher and academic administrator for the school, has been teaching at BHS for over twenty years. He is one of two teachers I interviewed who holds a Master's degree; in his case, in political science. He is deeply interested in, and concerned about, the political climate in South Africa. He has travelled widely and taken

students on trips to Europe and the US, primarily to monuments and museums connected to battles and wars. He plays the provocateur in the classroom, trying get any response out of his students. He challenges them often, confronting them on their statements and opinions.

As an administrator, Phil has a primary office in the administration wing of the school as well as a classroom. His office offers a better refection of his interests and place in the school than his classroom. It is filled with history books and teaching materials, has a desk with a computer and piles of paper work, a table for meetings and décor reflecting the history of the school and his historical interests. He has a cane that was once used for corporal punishment on his wall as an artifact of a previous era.

His classroom, on the other hand, one of the nicest in terms of amenities, is quite blank in terms of décor and educational artifacts except for a large painting of a triumphant Lenin and a poster of the Freedom Charter on the back wall of the classroom. I was surprised by Lenin because Phil denounced communist political values. He told me that a learner had painted it and he liked it for its ability to spark discussion and provocation.

His classroom is one of the few that has tables instead of desks, which could be placed in different configurations. The classroom also had carpeting, curtains and overhead fans. The room had audiovisual equipment and a computer on the teacher's desk.

Phil stayed mainly in front of the classroom and used the Whiteboard to write up important dates and terms. Between lecture and explanation, he interacted with students in the Socratic style. He drew on personal examples to explain complicated terms and

spoke fluidly without notes. He used sarcasm and humor to engage the learners. He had tight control of the classroom and few discipline issues. Learners address him as “Sir.”

Bridget. She was the youngest of my interviewees and had only been teaching for two years. Her post-secondary studies focused on communications and psychology and she teaches English and LO. She approached the LO curriculum from a youth counseling perspective. She highlights her own youth as a way to connect with her students and “get real” with them. She had little interest in the democracy and citizenship sections of the curriculum, favoring the personal growth elements. Rather than challenge opinions and biases, she tried to lay out both sides of arguments equitably. She was pregnant during interviews and observations and took maternity leave part way through the study.

Bridget painted her classroom in a cheery green and hung photos of animals, classroom rules and motivational sayings--such as “Believe you can” on the walls. At the back of the classroom, there were informational posters on HIV/AIDS, STDs, Rape, Drug Abuse and articles relating to these topics. The room was very organized with boxes at the front of the class for the textbooks and workbooks for each class. The class had single desks in straight rows, facing the front.

Bridget favored a relaxed, yet controlled classroom atmosphere, sitting on a stool in front of the classroom, using a conversational tone. She held the book in her lap and asked learners follow along. She went through the topics, talking most of the time, asking hypothetical questions on the material, but she did not wait for learner responses. She was knowledgeable about the topics and mainly used the book for reference although she stuck very closely to the content. She often connected the material to their tests. In fact, she seemed to be teaching directly to the test, not delving into issues, mostly because of

the amount of material she had to cover in a short period. She spoke about her lesson planning in terms of page numbers that must be covered in each class. Her students were fairly attentive and well behaved and she seemed to know all their names.

Sean. One of the youngest teachers in the study, Sean was in his late twenties and had already been teaching for about six or seven years. He studied education at university and had always wanted to be a teacher. He also had a very relaxed attitude toward the learners, which sometimes resulted in classroom chaos. His tone was conversational, jocular and he tried to relate to learners in terms of their interests. There were times when tough topics were discussed and opportunities for deeper engagement were missed due to a rowdy classroom atmosphere and Sean's unease with the subject matter. He had to take time at the beginning of class to figure out what would be done that day. He moved around the classroom, talking with learners and had an easy rapport with them. He read directly from the text to introduce topics and review what they did in the last class.

Sean's classroom was often rambunctious and chaotic. The single desks in Sean's classroom were meant to be in rows, but they were often in disarray and not in straight lines. His walls were mostly blank with a few motivational posters left over from the year before. There were a few class photos and the standard school rules posters.

Mark. Mark came of age just as apartheid was ending and is currently in his late 30s. Teaching is his second or third career: he started in technology and athletics before getting a bachelor's degree in education. While a bit stricter than the younger teachers, Mark still has an approachable style, which comes from also being an athletics coach. He had a very honest and open approach to difficult topics, though his honesty sometimes revealed deep-seated discomfort with the political direction South Africa was moving in.

Mark's classroom had been converted from additional library space and still had some of the vestiges of it. There were racks of old Time® magazines and lots of educational posters on the walls. There were photos all around the room of historical figures – Stalin, Lenin, John Lennon. There were many posters, including - Egyptian Hieroglyphics, "This Land, Our Land" with the South African flag, emblem, anthem, Coat of Arms, the South African Constitution, the Freedom Charter, charts of important South African dates, a sample ballot from the 1994 election with Mandela on it and a world map. There was also a globe. The desks were two person tables with unattached chairs, which could be moved around in different configurations. They were set up in rows facing forward for the most part. The classroom was a bit smaller and more cramped than the other, more traditional classrooms. There was also a projector, computer, stereo and speakers.

Mark's style was interactive, and he often jumped right into the lesson after asking for a reminder of what they did last time. He asked a lot of questions and waited for learners to respond. Often they did not. He went through main points and terms and then asked the learners for examples. When they were not able to, he gave many local and current examples. He stayed seated on the edge of his desk at the front of the class for the most part, occasionally writing a key term on the board. There was good discipline in the class, though Mark clearly wanted more participation.

Elizabeth. Elizabeth had been teaching English and history for over twenty years. She was new to BHS and was getting a feel for the student body and how the school operated. She seemed to think that discipline was a bit more relaxed at BHS than she was used to and that the students were a bit more rambunctious. She was also very open about

her opinions about the state of South African democracy and had thought critically about her own place in it.

Elizabeth's classroom had movable tables that were often changed into different configurations, including a large U-shape. There were many photos of famous individuals posted around the classroom including: Gandhi, Princess Diana, Marilyn Monroe, JFK, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Shakespeare, Thomas Edison, Mandela, Churchill, Eleanor Roosevelt and Winnie the Pooh. There were several posters, including: How to analyze a cartoon[10], a world map, WWI and II Recruitment posters, Lenin and Stalin posters and poems from WWI and II.

Elizabeth used several methods of instruction: group work, writing, discussion, and individual attention. She was one of the few teachers I saw give her students writing assignments in class and immediate feedback, focusing simultaneously on content and writing fundamentals. She tried to help learners think through some of the answers by themselves, giving them time to work out questions. She also asked a lot of questions, using the Socratic method for each new point. She used the board to make mind maps or spider diagrams to display concepts. She referenced the world map in the room to place historical events in geographical context, such as how far Pearl Harbor was from the US and Japan. Because learners were often working on their own or in small groups, there was a fair amount of loose chatter and Elizabeth regularly instructed the class to be quiet.

Susan. Susan was also an older teacher, who had been teaching for over ten years following a career in the corporate sector. She was one of the few Afrikaner teachers I

[10] I saw this poster in several classrooms. There is a section on the English and History matric exams that requires learners to analyze a cartoon, so it is an activity that teachers practice regularly.

talked to. She had grown up in a rural area and came to Durban as an adult for university. She was the Head of Department for Life Orientation and decided on the lesson plans, tests, and activities for the other LO teachers. She had an authoritarian and traditional teaching style and stayed very closely to the text and curriculum. She did complain about the constraints put on teachers by the state and regional inspectors to follow the curriculum closely. She also grumbled about the teaching style adopted by some of the younger teachers: they were too relaxed and put in too little effort.

Susan's teaching style was traditional, formal and straightforward. She sat at her desk, kept tight order, reprimanded students for too much chatter, expected homework to have been done, and went over upcoming assignments. She had students read out loud from the textbook, going around the room so that everyone had a chance. At the end of each section she returned to key points, emphasized elements that would be tested, and gave examples. She asked for questions, but students rarely responded. Interaction between teacher and students was minimal and Susan did not seem to expect any discussion.

Susan's classroom was filled with pictures of wildlife, motivational quotes, learner projects and reflected the other subject she taught, Consumer Studies (a combination of marketing, economics and other business topics). There were not many items reflecting LO topics. The learners sat at movable tables, which were normally set up in a large U shape. There was also a projector, screen and computer in the room.

Among the six teachers that I interviewed and observed at BHS, there was a wide range of thought and opinion about citizenship and democracy and where these topics fit into the curriculum. The most obvious division between teachers had to do with

differences in age. Those who had taught during apartheid tended to have more negative opinions about the curriculum and the country's future. The younger teachers tended to be more optimistic, less concerned with the past and eager to highlight South Africa's positive aspects. The older teachers also felt strongly that having lived through apartheid they were better prepared to address it in the classroom. In the next section, I will use the teachers' own words from their interviews and what I observed from visiting their classes to answer the research questions and present the data.

Early Exposure to Democracy

I began each interview by asking the teachers about their earliest exposure to the idea of democracy. Some spoke of family influence, their own teachers and school experience, and attending university.

The older teachers agreed that as an authoritarian regime, apartheid-era education would have excluded topics that could teach students how to undermine the state. Phil said, "It wasn't something consciously focused on in school, under the previous regime." Elizabeth, who was about the same age, stated, "The first time I ever thought about people ever voting in this country was in Grade 9." These teachers learned most of what they knew about democracy with the entire country, as adults, not while they were at school. As students:

> We were living in quite a controlled environment. Even though it was a "democracy" in inverted commas, it was a White's only democracy, with all kinds of restrictions, even on political affiliation and that kind of thing. Phil

> We grew up in apartheid and we had a very rigid mind. Elizabeth

> I have been raised in a single race society, it was kind of an odd concept. We grew up thinking that black people were inferior, so it did kind of frighten many,

> and personally, I suppose, it was something to be concerned about because the idea was that black people would ruin everything. I didn't really go to school with non-Whites. Mark

> I grew up on a sugar cane farm and, obviously, there was a disparity, as to where the staff lived and where we lived, but they were treated really well. Susan

These teachers had all accepted the advent of representative government and the end of minority rule, but it is important to note that they had grown up biased about race. For the past twenty years they have had to readjust their thinking. Some still had colonial attitudes, as Susan did, speaking about the well-treated African farm workers on her family's sugar cane farm.

The younger teachers, who were graduating from high school during and after the transition, tended to have earlier memories of understanding democracy:

> As I turned 18, my initial reaction was, I get to vote now, let's go vote. So I think it's been in my life. Since Grade 1, I had people of different races, so I've had that my whole education. It's just normal in a way, there has never been that element of 'this is not a democracy, we are the Whites as superiors', you know that type of thing. Bridget

> When Nelson Mandela was released, I was 9 years old and I can't even remember what I was doing at 9 years old. It was natural to me, everyone being together, I was never exposed to segregation. Sean

They felt the importance of democracy and integration much less acutely than their older colleagues. They used the terms "natural" or "ordinary" in reference to integration. As a result, they rarely thought about democracy or their roles as citizens. This suggests a positive outlook for the future, but denies that there are still serious issues due to the legacy of apartheid.

Integration itself was a visible feature of the new democracy post-1994, especially teaching or learning in a mixed-raced classroom for the first time:

> I matriculated in 1993 and democracy only happened in 1994, but we did start getting schools like this, Model C schools, as they called them in 1991. They started bringing in non-White students, so I think it was at that point we started thinking about democracy as a concept. Mark

The younger White teachers gave examples of so-called integration, which was really tokenism, such as “It was a complete mix of demographics” but then “I had an Indian math teacher “(Bridget) or “out of a class of maybe 25-30, we had about maybe 5-7 non-White people” (Sean) or “I finished matric with four non-Whites and it was three Indians and one black person” (Mark). Their first experiences of integration still occurred within White-dominated spaces. Thus, the early exposure to the ideas of democracy for the White teachers occurred either as adults, after a lifetime of segregation and being taught through the lens of White supremacy, or they grew up with it and take it for granted. The older teachers were skeptical about the current state of South African democracy while the younger teachers were indifferent.

Voting was another feature of democracy that many teachers mentioned as a touchstone for their own participation. Almost everyone cited the first time they voted, or seeing their parents vote, as pivotal in their exposure to democracy:

> My parents have always voted, so I grew up seeing them do that. Bridget

> We had a very different understanding of democracy and the whole one man, one vote thing didn’t exist to me until I was an adult, even voting as an adult, because I matriculated in 1985 in the height of the state of emergency. ... I thought we were democratic because my parents voted, I was going to vote, but 1994 was the first time I ever considered black people as people who were going to vote. Elizabeth

> I had just turned 18, it was in April 1994 and it was my very first time voting. The lines were long and dark, by that I mean there no White faces and I suppose everyone just thought, oh God this is it, the ANC will get in power and we will all have to run away. As you probably know, hundreds and thousands of them did run away. That is the point where you had this sudden realization that it is

> happening and then the beaches opened up and the streets and the schools and things started to get more and more democratic. Mark

Voting was the tangible experience of democracy that most of the teachers pointed to and one of the few ways in which they participate in the broader society. It was also evidence of true change within South Africa. For Elizabeth and Mark, their comments register their unease and surprise about how the 1994 election unfolded with African majority rule.

Influence of School

These teachers mostly went to high schools similar to BHS, varying slightly in size, single sex education and location. The older teachers obviously went to non-integrated schools, while the younger teachers went experienced varying degrees of integration:

> I think in some of the more prominent schools in Durban, you probably had, in terms of staff and in terms of the ethos, maybe more of a liberal element, or exposure to that than in my school… I went to a typical middle to lower middle class school, the school was fairly typical of the average boys' school in the White education system in South Africa. Phil

> I went to a tiny little high school, I think we had 500 people in the whole school, down the South Coast, but also very similar to this [school], the demographics, always different races. Bridget

> I went to a co-ed, small town school in Zululand with day scholars and boarders Susan

> I went to an all-boys school, so it is a whole different dynamic completely. Compared to this school, it was a lot harsher, a lot more firm and discipline was never an issue. That seems to have gone down the hill with the generations coming up. Sean, 27, White

There is an assumption that some of the wealthier schools may have had a more liberal bent and that the single sex schools were more rigid and authoritarian. They also believe

that schools and students are more relaxed, less formal, and have more discipline problems that in the past.

Two teachers taught at the high schools they had attended, so they were able to comment on the changes since 1994:

> I actually went to an all-girls school, which was big, we had 1300 children there. And I ended up teaching there for years and years. Elizabeth

> I was studying my education degree while I taught at (a boys' school) which was where I also went to school and when I left there were more White people than black people and when I got there I found a 60/40 shift of things. I taught there till 2006 and now if you go there you would be hard pressed to find a single White student and some of the old staff are still there hanging in there. Mark

Both schools these teachers had attended transitioned from almost entirely White to almost entirely African. It is telling that neither of them teach there and my sense was that BHS was seen as a better teaching position. While none of the teachers went to BHS themselves, they were familiar with its culture and ethos. They were influenced by their own experiences in terms of particular teachers who made a difference or feeling that the system itself was in some way unjust.

Influence of Teachers

These teachers name their own educators as examples of how they learned about or interacted with the apartheid state or the democratic transition. Some recall teachers who were dedicated to maintaining the regime—Phil had instructors who were members of the Afrikaner Broederbond, a secret society of prominent Afrikaners, dedicated to Afrikaner goals and maintaining the status quo, while another was a Holocaust denier. He emphasized the racist nature of the schooling to which he was exposed and how appalling it was, as if to say, 'look how far we (or I) have come'. This example goes to the heart of

this study and how students who have had racist and prejudiced teachers are able to find other opinions and values, or teachers who have been taught themselves by individuals with strong biases can learn to teach in another way. These older White teachers still have prejudices, but as we explore their opinions and teaching further, many have made efforts to overcome the "received knowledge" of their own education.

Other teachers highlighted how liberal or non-racist their teachers had been. Most taught history:

> I had a teacher from Grade 10 to grade 12, she had a huge impact in my life. She was very inspiring in the way she presented the topic [apartheid], it was in a fair way. A lot of people, especially the people from the old generation still do hold a grudge in the post-democracy era and she [taught] in such a way that was non-biased, which was cool… Like I said, my first dealing with all of this was in high school in history class after the year 2000, that's when I started high school. Sean
>
> Our history teacher was this old, old lady and she was just lovely. I'll never forget, in terms of democracy and apartheid, her telling us the story of how her family lived in Emzimtho, which became an Indian area and she was White and her family had to move out of the area. Bridget
>
> "The first time I ever thought about people ever voting in this country was in Grade 9 in our history class and we had a really good history teacher. She was young and she closed the door and said 'right, I am going to tell you something, but you can't tell on me' and if we did, she could have been fired. She told us about the ANC and Nelson Mandela and that was the first time I heard about it and I think I must have been about 15 years old. Elizabeth

These recollections show that the history classroom continues to be a central place of learning about democracy and citizenship. History teachers have a great deal of influence of how their students think about these topics. From the White perspective, "non-biased" meant several things. A teacher, who was "honest" about the atrocities of apartheid also emphasized violence on the side of the oppressed. Bridget considered her White teacher to be non-biased because she told her learners of having to move due to racial resettlement. This is misleading because resettlement for White people often meant

moving to area. Many of the older generation maintain that they lack bias because they also experienced resettlement. I saw this pattern among many of the BHS teachers and will continue to address it.

For the older teachers, when they did learn about democracy, it was often in the international context, using the American Revolution and British Industrial Revolution as examples, and was viewed as a foreign idea.

> One of the essays I did was viewed as being subversive and encouraging revolution. The topic was essentially along the lines of the American Revolution, in terms of there are circumstances under which revolution is justified. And that conditions under which people are justified in rebelling against the state. Well it didn't go down so well in that kind of context and in those days, a topic such as that would have been viewed as supporting communism. Phil

> We never did that which was happening right under our nose [in history class]. It was ironic because we did world history, so that we were studying about the cold war. We were supporting America, so we wanted democracy on an international stage and ignoring it in our own country. Elizabeth

Phil and Elizabeth both recognized the irony in studying and supporting American democracy in South Africa. At the time, few students were able to make some of the connections that they did about the hypocrisy within the curriculum.

While most of the teachers cite their history instructors as being the ones to influence them, either by introducing new ideas or reinforcing the common opinions of the day, there were other important learning opportunities. Mark learned IsiZulu in school, which is the most spoken indigenous language in the area, but is not widely spoken by White people. For White children to learn a local language at school was quite unusual and speaks to a liberal-minded educator who saw the value in speaking the language of the majority population. Currently, very few White children learn IsiZulu at

school. It is seen as too difficult for them and unnecessary since most tertiary education in South Africa is in English.[11]

Susan mentioned civics classes when she was in school, but those often upheld the ideas of the old regime:

> In school, we had what we called civil responsibility as a subject, and we were introduced to all those kinds of concepts, although it was during the apartheid years, so democracy wasn't featured. In our last two years of school, we got a young civic responsibility teacher and he would have taught these things, in fact he revolutionized civic responsibility for us.

Civic responsibility meant protecting and advancing White minority rule in South Africa. Democracy was not discussed and obedience and loyalty to state institutions were emphasized. Sometimes a new young teacher was the catalyst for a new way of learning– more willing to try different teaching methods and introduce new content.

There is a sense of distance from the issues of apartheid that comes across in many of the interviews with teachers at BHS. They gave the impression that the political situation did not impact them greatly, that they were not aware of what was happening, and they were removed from violence and politics. Most of the teachers maintained that their families were more liberal and not as racist as others. While a few had some distant relatives who were activists, very few had families engaged in politics, on either side.

[11] The University of KwaZulu-Natal has recently made it mandatory for all incoming freshmen to have some knowledge of IsiZulu and must take at least one basic class during their first year.

Family Influence

The influence of the home on ideas of democracy and citizenship seemed to be minimal unless the family was actively involved in politics. When asked what they learned from their families, teachers talked about racism and political attitudes:

> My grandmother, who was quiet, although living in a very conservative province, did some work for the opposition during election time. We have always discussed politics [in my family] and it's always been from a liberal perspective, liberal in South African terms…. My parents, they supported opposition politics, but the moderate opposition. Later on, it stood for a federal solution, but not necessarily a majority rule, so they didn't finally support the majority rule. Phil

> We barely even considered someone else as someone who existed, because we felt under threat half the time, even nonpolitical White people felt like that. It was very much a sense of White people and black people or vice versa. We were not mixed at all, unless your family was incredibly political and mine wasn't, we were just ordinary people. Never talked about it at home. Elizabeth

> "I come from a very liberal family who have always voted for the Democratic Party and we all grew up in a racist society and there is no escaping it, we all had it. I mean we grew up with it and you didn't want black people around you. Mark

> My dad was Afrikaans, so very traditional, but even in saying that, I never grew up in a racist family, so there was none of that element. Bridget

> We didn't actually hear much. My father was a lawyer and he never had racist remarks or anything about it. It was never an issue at all in our family. Sean

Older teachers were much more forthright: neither denying nor being proud of attitudes in their families. Sean and Bridget, the younger teachers, were more defensive about racism within their families and what they learned from their parents. This is an interesting contrast, both showing that the older teachers have spent more time thinking about these issues and their own past, while the younger teachers seem to distance themselves from the legacy of racism, which is still part of South African life.

Often it was leaving home and going to university that some of the older teachers learned, not only about democracy, but about the struggles in South Africa itself:

> When I got to university, I had friends, boyfriends and brothers who went to the army and it was terrible because they were getting killed and being brutalized… When you wanted to read any material about the ANC, you had to go into a banned room and you had to sign a register. Elizabeth

> My biggest exposure was when I left home, went into a city, was being exposed to student unions and seeing a whole new way of life. Going to all the meetings, where the fight of our fellow citizens was real. I remember in university and becoming more aware of the injustices done to our fellow man. Susan

While at university, Elizabeth only saw the realities of the brutal apartheid state from the White perspective, which required military service of all young men to fight Africans within South Africa and liberation groups in countries on its borders.. Susan seemed to be more affected by her exposure to the liberation struggle.

Overall the older teachers had much higher hurdles to overcome in readjusting their attitudes towards race and democracy. But they also seem to have spent more time thinking about, and wrestling with, some of these topics. Their introduction to democracy was as adults and to teach in a racially diverse school they had to actively resist their received wisdom and inherited knowledge about racial difference. Some have been more successful than others. The younger teachers have had an easier road and therefore have not had to think as deeply about these issues. They still have implicit biases, but are less likely to acknowledge them because they have grown up in a democratic South Africa.

Choosing Teaching

There are many reasons why people choose to teach. Some consider it a calling, others steady work, or one of very few options. Being White, the older teachers at BHS had more career options than African or Indians in their peer group, and seemed more positive about their choice to teach. They had the privilege of being able to choose from a

range of careers, so had more personal buy-in to the profession than people whose choices were more limited. They spoke of it in lofty terms and saw it as a selfless choice.

> I think I was attracted to history teaching as early as my Grade 10 year. It was a kind of escape from the straight jacket, because you were able to raise issues and to debate in History in ways that you weren't able to do so in other fields. The idea of critical thought and discussion and debate is what really appealed to me. (Phil)

This was one of the few statements about teaching that spoke to personal characteristics and pedagogical elements. Many wanted to work with children or 'give back' to the next generation, but this shows a deeper level of appreciation of what could be achieved in the classroom. It speaks also to the kind of classroom Phil wants to have and shows that he is directly influenced in his teaching by his experiences as a student. His teaching is shaped by a desire to confront issues through discussion and debate.

> It's funny because I always wanted to be a teacher, even in my little family, I would teach as kids…. Then in high school it wasn't the cool thing to say that you wanted to be a teacher and by the time I got to matric everybody was just adamant that you left school and you didn't go back to teach. Bridget

> I think that the changes that are occurring are that the demographics are changing and I am not trying to sound racist or anything, but a lot of the White kids are not going to the teaching profession as much as people of color, because the salaries are not great and because the status of a teacher is not what it was back then, so those kids are opting for other options. Susan

This is interesting because teaching is indeed not a highly sought after profession in South Africa. For some of the African and Indian teachers within this study, schools were seen as sites of oppression and tools of apartheid. This idea continued into the post-apartheid era as the quality of schools is perceived, especially by the White teachers as having decreased, and young Whites no longer want to teach. The few Whites who *do* enter the profession either have family influences or see it as a calling.

> Teaching has been in my family for years. My aunt and uncle are headmaster and headmistress and my sister is a teacher, uncle, aunts are teachers too. It runs in the family, so I think it chooses you. I think you have to like kids for you to choose teaching. The children, even though they are smaller than you, they can still destroy you sometimes your self-image, your self-esteem and everything. Sean
>
> I think teachers are born, [rather]than made. Elizabeth
>
> With the younger people I think it is a calling and they want to give back into society. Susan

We can see that people with more choices and who have teacher role models tend to have positive associations with teaching. Their reasons for wanting to teach are attached to lofty goals and abstract values and this can translate to their attitudes in the classroom. How these teachers see their roles also impacts how they treat their time in and out of the classroom.

Teachers' Approach to Teaching, the Curriculum and their Learners

First, I will discuss how the BHS teachers saw their own roles as civic educators and what skills, knowledge, values and attitudes they need to teach citizenship and democracy effectively. Second, I will discuss their views on the sections of the curriculum that address civic issues. Third, I will discuss how teachers actually present these topics in the classroom. Finally, I will discuss how the teachers' perceptions of their learners impacts their teaching of citizenship and democracy.

Role of the Teacher as Civic Educator

History. BHS history teachers see themselves in the very particular role of provocateur and challenger of the status quo. The status quo in this case is the ANC

government and the current political system. They say they want students to be able to look at facts, events, and individuals, and form their own opinions, but they also see danger in the state curriculum and teachers who deliver it uncritically.

Phil's opinion is that the current history curriculum is trying to strengthen the post-apartheid government and state at the expense of what he views as 'truth:'

> I suspect that there are dangers inherent in the current position of being a history teacher. There are almost shades of or echoes of the past, because I think we are perceived as being allies in nation building. And it is almost understood that you will be allies of the state in terms of its aim of nation building. Now that is not how I view the history teacher, I think that sometimes that can be a path down which you would then begin to stifle debate or stifle thinking. My conception of the role of the history teacher is somebody who actually who will take extreme positions in class just to provoke a reaction from the students. My job is not to indoctrinate or to hand down received opinions as the truth and they should not accept what I say as the truth.

His 'truth' and the state's 'truth' diverge and he feels strongly that he is in a position to help students challenge the state's version of the past. While questioning received 'truth' is consistent with post- conflict pedagogy, this teacher is setting up an adversarial relationship with the state's version of the 'truth.' The state in this case is the ANC party, the elected government, and majority-ruled democratic system. He refuses the role of nation-builder, prefers to be a provocateur, and rebels against the state's version of the past. He also feels that feeding the state-sanctioned information to his students will hamper their ability to form their own ideas and debate the issues.

This belief informs Phil's teaching practice. In a lesson on Cecil Rhodes, a controversial figure in South Africa due to his history as an imperialist, Phil says that learners must be careful of over simplification–or saying that Rhodes was an "evil capitalist"—and they must be careful to not just label Rhodes as such. His philosophy is "Philanthropy + 5% = Rhodes", that he was not simply an "evil cardboard capitalist."

This suggests that history is not just black and White, but has shades of gray. The concept that history has subtlety and nuance is a constant in Phil's class, but his examples usually favor the group out of power at the expense of the current group in power.

Another example is his reference to "revolutionaries as terrorists" in multiple historical contexts. He uses the Russian Revolution and the overthrow of the Romanovs to illustrate his point, but he also applies the language that described members of the anti-apartheid movement. Phil's approach is using an "extreme position to provoke a reaction", but when he talks about Nelson Mandela as a radical and terrorist, he is using an anti-apartheid hero as an example of how history can be viewed from many sides, just as he did with Rhodes. Whether this is a conscious attempt to upend the current received knowledge about these historical figures and paint them in controversial lights, or an unconscious acknowledgment of a previously accepted set of received assumptions from the apartheid era, Phil tends to paint current heroes in a negative light and villains in a positive light.

Mark's view of the role of the history teacher is like Phil's and he uses similar phrasing to describe it:

> If I were to put it in one line, I would say to create critical thinkers, to avoid the bias, to avoid the indoctrination of the politics and to be able to see what is around them and help them develop an opinion. It is not about the facts as much as you will fail if you don't have it. It's also about having an opinion and understanding that we live in a different country and we have those political leaders who will rely on the ignorance of the masses and it's all about their indoctrination and feed them lies. So we need to make these kids think. I think that as an English and history teacher I think I might be biased, but I think that they are the two most important subjects and they teach the kids to be critical thinkers.

Mark stated explicitly that his responsibility to aid learners to challenge their political leaders and not accept their version of the facts. Phil and Mark both want to avoid

"indoctrination", though Phil acknowledges that he, too, is in a position to indoctrinate, while for Mark, indoctrination comes straight from the state. They both want to encourage the development of opinions and critical thinking among their students, but that means critiquing the current regime. One might expect Mark to be very provocative in the classroom and to constantly be challenging learners and the curriculum itself. But this did not seem to be the case. He occasionally made comments to me after class that might reflect a stronger divergence from the curriculum, but there was very little that he said in class that revealed what he thought about his role as a history teacher.

Throughout this study teachers articulated their desire and responsibility to create "critical thinkers" but they were different ideas about how to achieve this. For Elizabeth, it meant being knowledgeable about the subject matter:

> The role of history teacher and, I mean any teacher, is to encourage critical thinking. Well, thinking in general, in the kids. Critical thinking is one thing, but if you don't have any knowledge, what are you going to critically think about? We try to get them to be interested in something either than social networks and social media.

Elizabeth was pessimistic about her students' desire to become deep thinkers and, like many adults, believed that teenagers were only interested in social media. She uses critical thinking as a proxy for independent thinking, urging learners to "think for themselves" and develop their own answers to her questions.

At the beginning of a class on communism and capitalism, she prompted the class to create its own working definition of communism in a short writing assignment, and to summarize sources, but not copy. This was a struggle for students. She gave them lots of time to work on this, coming around, checking their work, and giving feedback. This was her way of encouraging independent thought, testing content knowledge, and practicing

writing, all of which are essential for her understanding of critical thinking. However there was very little actual critique on content based topics by Elizabeth or the learners.

The History teachers viewed themselves differently from the LO teachers and tended to believe they had more of a mandate to challenge their learners' opinions. In the next section, I will discuss how the LO teachers view their roles.

Life Orientation (LO). As the subject of Life Orientation is much broader than History, and has more direct practical applications in learners' lives, the teachers' roles are more varied. There is the much more holistic goal of teaching students the skills they will need for life, which is what the course was conceived to do. All the LO teachers at BHS described their role as aiding learners to gain the vague category of "life skills." While these are defined in the curriculum, the teachers tend to see them more as survival skills. Bridget and Sean both discuss the goals of LO as if they were separate from academic preparation and required a specific set of skills that would lead to success, or even base line competence, in managing their lives:

> I think that a Life Orientation teacher needs to be able to teach [learners] for the rest of their life. They need to educate them in terms of everything from self-esteem through to human rights, and they have to take it, understand it and apply that to their lives. I think more than anything, we are not teaching them a sum, I'm teaching them something that they need for their life moving forward. Bridget

> I do think that the curriculum needs to change a bit and be more about helping people understand society. Society has changed in such a hectic way, I mean you can't compare a teenager from 10 years ago, and the pressures that these children have to face today. I think as an LO teacher, you need to give these children coping mechanisms, these coping skills just to survive everyday life. So I think that is definitely one of the roles of an LO teacher. Sean

Bridget specifically mentions "self esteem" and "human rights" as two essential skills while Sean talks about "coping mechanisms"—acknowledging the inherent difficulties facing young adults in a transitional society. These life skills are more about

creating a productive and healthy adult, rather than a contributing and active citizen. This is an important distinction because LO teachers are often called upon to use their own lives as templates for success. Therefore, the topics covered and emphasized are determined by the LO teachers.

Susan explains that the LO teacher is in a vulnerable position because of the personal information about their lives which they exchange with students.

> It is quite vast because the questions one gets asked don't only come from the syllabus, but it also comes from your home. The other thing is it is the only subject where we can ask questions about our life, some kids see it as a waste and some kids see it as a way to learn. Susan

They are required to give a glimpse inside their private lives and use examples from home. She also notes the abstract nature of LO, which can lead learners to disregard its importance.

Knowledge, Skills, Attitudes and Values

The BHS teachers suggested a wide variety of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values a teacher should have to teach democracy and citizenship. In addition to academic knowledge, several themes emerged: empathy, life experience (particularly of apartheid), communication skills, open-mindedness, a non-biased mindset, honesty and integrity.

Empathy. Empathy is a key factor in a post-conflict pedagogical approach and helps divided societies to see the "other" in a more positive way. What does empathy look like in the classroom? Teachers ask students to put themselves in the shoes of others or showing empathy, sensitivity and understanding to the learners and therefore acting as models.

Phil mentioned it as a key value necessary in teaching history:

> I think that it is absolutely essential that a history teacher has empathy, has to be sensitive to the different backgrounds cultural, even political, perhaps for the students who are in front of you. Some of these issues are sensitive and you have to stimulate discussions in ways that do not involve the class tearing itself apart. You try to promote understanding, particularly in this country. If a kid goes into business or any sphere of life in South Africa, if in the history classroom, you can teach them empathy [its important].

Phil makes the important point that empathy is necessary beyond the classroom and it is important in all aspects of South African life. He also speaks to teachers about being sensitive to their students' diverse backgrounds. The ability to facilitate debate and discussion without personal attacks and insults is a nuanced skill that many teachers either did not have or did not use out of fear of disrupting the class. Phil identified the need for empathy when discussing specific apartheid laws and how they impacted people's lives. He went on to list the dates and individuals connected to key moments during apartheid and discussed how protest against laws affected many people. He connected empathy to the very sterile review of dates to help students understand the impact of apartheid on the daily lives of all South Africans.

Sean mentioned empathy in the context of relating to the students better. He said "I also think you need to be able to relate and empathize a lot more". The younger teachers tended to value relating to the learners and communicating with them on their level as an element of empathy and an important skill. They felt that, being closer in age, they were better at understanding their students' perspective. However, Sean's attempts to relate to his students often took an informal and chatty tone rather than empathetic understanding or seeking knowledge about his learners. He would discuss hobbies and sports with male students, but would not necessarily interrogate important topics in class or show interest in his learners.

Elizabeth talked about empathy more abstractly in terms of getting students to see the human side of world events. In studying the Vietnam War, she encouraged students to ask:

> What is a soldier's responsibility and why go to war? How the villagers fight as opposed to the Americans and why would the Americans burn the villages? Then they see the human side of it, as soon as they see people as human beings. The ideas are then more individual based then philosophical, then when they get older they become philosophical.

By getting learners to humanize historical events, they would be able to empathize with strangers then apply that skill to their own circumstances.

Some of the LO teachers use empathetic appeals when they discuss controversial social issues such as euthanasia or respecting cross cultural differences. Bridget asked her students if it would be fair to schedule a test in class on a Friday if she knew Muslim students might be at prayer. Her students agreed it would not be fair. Asking students to think about a relatable situation helped them to develop sensitivity to others and understanding of difference.

Life experience. Some of the older teachers felt that their own life experiences had equipped them to teach History and LO far better than the younger teachers. Susan viewed her life experience as essential in conveying the important content for LO classes:

> Life experiences, I think and having voted, to understand having all the laws and how do you apply for a job, those kinds of things. I do think that those types of life skills most older people have, however I do think that teachers who have gone from the classroom to the university and then back to the classroom have no experience at all.

She thought having been through challenges and milestones had better equipped her for helping students to make better life choices.

The history teachers also point to having lived through the apartheid and transitional period as necessary to teaching about it:

> The mere fact that when I began teaching in 1986, Mandela was a terrorist, you could not have his poster and it was illegal to actually quote him or show his image. And yet four years down the line he was a hero. The fact that in my educational experience or in my teaching career, I saw the first black students admitted to this all White institution, [BHS], and I've lived through this transition. It has been fascinating it's almost like having a window into history in a way. Phil

These teachers felt that, having lived through the transition, experienced apartheid and democracy, gave them a better perspective on the past and on current events. They could use personal experiences and bear witness to South Africa's troubled history.

They saw the younger teachers as simply not having the lived experience as a detriment. Mark saw it in both ways, that he could see what happened during apartheid, but he was also able to see the transition at a formative age, allowing him to have both perspectives.

> I think that younger teachers who grew up in democracy, that is a disadvantage because there is a lot of South African history that they do not know and if you haven't experienced it, it becomes a problem. You are then no different from the kids, who just don't know anything and are using the textbook. Maybe I was lucky to have grown up around that time and I guess as opposed to the older generation. Some might be very set in their beliefs and maybe they have a better understanding than I do, because they saw both worlds.

He also believed that first-hand knowledge of the apartheid period was necessary to teach about it. One would therefore think that the teachers would draw on their families' personal experiences, but they did not.

In the twenty-seven classes I observed at BHS, I did not hear any personal experiences of apartheid. While this does not mean that teachers never talked about it, it shows a divergence in what they said about a teacher's knowledge and skills versus what they did in the classroom. It says that while the older teachers thought it was very

important to have deep historical and personal understanding about apartheid, they were not using their personal experiences as fodder for class discussions. Whether they were reluctant, felt it was not necessary, or just never thought to ground the historic events in personal stories, the teachers simply were not talking about their own pasts.

However, they often used examples from apartheid to illustrate other historical events and concepts. *Apartheid* became a standard language for teachers to help learners relate to events that happened in other times. Phil, Elizabeth and Mark compared the civil rights protests in the US, the pseudoscience of Nazi Germany, British labor strikes, and the Russian Revolution to apartheid era events, policies, and key people. This assumes that students are well versed in apartheid history, as well as attempts to connect foreign and historical events to local and relevant content for the learners.

Younger teachers disagreed that personal experience of apartheid was necessary. Rather, it could be a hindrance. Sean said, "I think some of the older generation would have told how bad it is, and it wasn't a pretty picture. They could have painted such a horrible one." There was a feeling that the older teachers were stuck in the past in some ways and were not forward looking. The younger teachers see this as negativity, while they are proud of their more positive outlooks. Bridget said, "There is a negativity that comes with that [democratic change], but I think we are very lucky to be living in times now as opposed to 20 or 30 years ago." The younger teachers feel the need to move past the apartheid era and talk, rather than keep going over it and focusing on the terrible events of the past. I will discuss this further in a section on apartheid in the curriculum.

The intangibles: lack of bias, open-mindedness, tolerance and fairness. Many of the teachers said the attitudes of a good teacher were hard to observe and identify in

action. They spoke about needing to be open-minded and tolerant of all opinions and backgrounds, yet critical of received wisdom. They spoke about being fair in how they presented they big issues and how they treated students:

> You need to also be non biased, I think that is one of the hardest things to do. You could have a non-White LO teacher who can force feed all the hate or you could have it the opposite way. So it is entirely up to the teacher and it is such a huge responsibility, because this is such a sensitive issue in South Africa. Sean

This is a striking statement because Sean assumes that, more than White teachers, African or Indian teachers are prone to biases and prejudice. This is possible because teachers decide what to teach and how to present issues. He feels the weight of this power, as many issues in South Africa are especially delicate. But his assumption reveals his own bias towards African and Indian teachers.

Most of the other teachers' comments were a variation on this theme. Elizabeth believed that learners are often exposed to biased opinions at home that may be at odds with the open-mindedness she promotes in class:

> You have to be tolerant all the time and not everybody thinks like you do. Everyone has the right to think, but sometimes when they say something, their opinions are not their own, they are parroting what they are hearing at home and they are not thinking things through. So I think it is your responsibility to try and open them up to the fact that there is a view other than theirs, which is also valid.

Susan saw this issue more in terms of favoritism and rule following:

> Fairness is another big one for me, because I believe that every child is equal and that there shouldn't be things like pets and there shouldn't be things like favorites and the rules that are made for everyone.

While this is not quite the same as valuing all opinions and challenging students' biases, she wants what she thinks is a level playing field.

Mark cited his experience with apartheid propaganda as a reason for keeping an open mind in the classroom. He wanted to allow all students their opinions and questions, free from censure or indoctrination:

> In terms of what I have experienced growing up, with that biased propaganda and what I have seen, I think I am an open-minded person. I am not religious or bogged down in any indoctrination of any sort. I am open. I don't crush the ideas of the kids. I don't shoot them down when they question what I am saying and I think that if you are very narrow in your way then I think it would be difficult to teach history.

However, some of Mark's other statements contradict this open-mindedness. In the next section on critical thinking, he conflates critical thinking with critique of the current government and those who voted for the ruling party.

It is difficult to give examples of open-mindedness, tolerance, and fairness or even their opposites, biases and prejudice, from the classroom. There were many times where teachers tried to present both sides of a controversial issue, such as opposing cultural practices like religious eating restrictions (Bridget), religious influence on government (Mark), or gender differences (Sean). In other classes defining bias was the main content, such as Elizabeth's class on propaganda, indoctrination, and brainwashing in the study of history or Phil using primary source documents from World War II to teach about identifying partiality in the news.

While many teachers tried to stay neutral, sometimes personal bias came through. As we saw in the section on the role of the history teacher, bias appears when trying to be impartial, such as identifying Mandela as a former terrorist and Rhodes as a partial philanthropist. In a later section, we will look more closely at how teachers challenge learners on their opinions.

Critical thinking. Many of the teachers thought that had to think critically about the past and the present to teach their students to think critically as well. However, their definitions of critical thinking varied, both among BHS teachers and across the three case schools.

Phil believed that the history curriculum was being used as a nation-building tool, to create a single narrative of the country's past from a particular perspective.

> If History or even Life Orientation are used consciously as an instrument for nation building, delivering an approved script as it were, they would in fact lose their appeal with the youth. They will lose their reflectiveness, because then they will no longer have something that is about developing the person's critical faculties and developing a democracy. By allowing kids to actually exercise their rights to actually debate with each other, to disagree, to be in conflict with each other and that is okay.

He felt this was detrimental to students because they were not exposed to multiple narratives and allowed to strengthen their ability to critique and debate. A history teacher, according to Phil, should be able to help students hone their critical thinking skills.

Elizabeth agreed that critical thinking should be one of the main goals of any teacher, but that content knowledge had to come first:

> The role of history teacher is to encourage critical thinking, well, thinking in general, in the kids. Critical thinking is one thing, but if you don't have any knowledge, what are you going to critically think about?

Students had to study the content before they learned to examine it critically.

Mark was very straightforward about the skills, attitudes, and values a teacher should have, though his explanation reveals his own bias:

> To create critical thinkers, to avoid the bias, to avoid the indoctrination of the politics and to be able to see what is around them and help them develop an opinion. It's is also about having an opinion and understanding that we live in a different country and we have those political leaders who will rely on the ignorance of the masses and it's all about their indoctrination and feeding them lies. As an English and History teacher, I might be biased, but I think that they

> are the two most important subjects and they teach the kids to be critical thinkers …You will find that in schools like these, we teach from a more critical side of things.

Critical thinking to Mark means being able to critique the current government. He even admitted that the school itself may be more critical in general in teaching. He has politicized critical thinking and made its function not to be able to evaluate issues and arguments on their evidence, but to criticize the current ruling party, the ANC.

Again, it is difficult to see examples of critical thinking in the classroom. Elizabeth told her students in a class on bias, "We want high functioning people who can think for themselves, high thinking, critical thinking, that care about each other so we don't have another Hitler, so people are not brainwashed and go blindly." She often pushed her students to clarify and expand on their answers. Phil also addressed this in a class on WWII. He told his class, "We train you to never trust what a politician says on TV or in a newspaper editorial and to identify bias, to be critical thinkers". Even without being as blatant as Mark, both these teachers are encouraging their classes to critique the current government.

Overall, the skills, knowledge, attitudes and values that these teachers identified as important in teaching citizenship and democracy were abstract. Empathy, fairness, tolerance, unbiased thinking, critical thinking, open-mindedness and life experience are often hard to measure or identify in the classroom. In the upcoming sections, we will examine curriculum and teaching styles and see if these elements are present in more visible ways. In the next section, I will examine the curriculum, the content the teachers are required to teach and how they make decisions on how to present it.

Citizenship and Democracy in the Curriculum

While there is single national curriculum in South Africa, teachers create variation through the topics they emphasize, ignore, avoid, and modify. Their place as "gatekeepers" allows teachers some autonomy over what they teach, even if most of the content is prescribed. This section will discuss the particular curriculum elements that teachers' find most and least important in addressing citizenship and democracy in the classroom.

Important and unimportant topics. Most of the teachers agreed that History and LO were the best places to address issues of democracy and citizenship. Some thought that they could even be discussed in English and other languages as well. They were also specific about the topics within the curriculum that best addressed citizenship and democracy. They had very different responses to what the most important topics in teaching citizenship and democracy were. The following table shows the topics that teachers found most important in addressing issues of citizenship and democracy.

Table 12: Important Topics for Civic Education at BHS

Teacher	Subject	Important Topics
Phil	History	- Suffragette Movement in UK - French Revolution - Genocide (Holocaust, Rwanda)
Bridget	Life Orientation	- Human Rights - Bill of Rights (Speech, Privacy
Sean	Life Orientation	- Roles and Responsibilities of Citizens in Society

Elizabeth	History	- Cold War - Vietnam War (Freedom of the Press) - Modern concept of citizenship from 1500s - Ming Dynasty
Mark	History	- English & Boer Wars (his wording*) - Nationalism - Black Consciousness - Apartheid & Mandela - Democratic transition & TRC - Martin Luther King - Industrial Revolution in the UK
Susan	Life Orientation	- Structure of SA government

They chose topics and sections of the textbooks that they felt were best to address citizenship and democracy. The history teachers pointed to comparative historical and geographical periods, while the LO teachers emphasized the topics on structural and legal elements of government. Many of the historical events, except for apartheid and the South African transition to democracy, are drawn from European, American and Asian history. They also focus on fights for civil rights and the franchise and clashes between capitalism and communism. The history teachers chose these topics also because of personal interest and they found them useful in drawing connections to current events and South African history.

The teachers also identified some areas within the curriculum that they thought were less important or effective. The LO teachers, while pointing out the sections on rights and government, seemed to think that these sections were necessary, but dry and that their learners also found them boring.

> I really do think it [rights] is one of the most important topics and I do tell them that they need to know this because very soon [they] will become an adult citizen of this country and need to be able to say 'these are my rights'. The difficulty

> comes in the fact that they find it so boring. Bridget

> When we discuss laws and the immediate reaction is 'oh my goodness we are going to have to learn these laws', so there is a switch off. Susan

There was a suggestion that the learners were not getting a lot out of these topics and it was up to the teacher to breathe life into them. But if teachers found the topics boring, it would be hard to make them interesting for students.

Other felt that the curriculum focused on elements that were one-sided or not of interest, and they wanted to focus elsewhere. The BHS teachers sometimes gave the impression that they knew better than the curriculum writers and the Department of Education. In an informal conversation with Phil, he told me with some subversive pride that the history teachers were "a bit disobedient" and "we teach what is important", suggesting they teach things that are not in the curriculum and some of the things that are in the curriculum are unimportant. He gave an example of 1960s youth rebellion and idealism, which is not in the curriculum.

Other teachers echoed this sentiment. Mark remarked, "In grade 10, I skip some stuff about Indian empires, because I just don't think that is relevant. It is dry and not interesting." Elizabeth went even farther than Phil. She stated that the section on African Independence was not only ineffectual, but was badly presented and, perhaps, inaccurate.

> I don't teach topics I think are ineffective and I have been teaching a long time and I don't teach anything at this point that I don't approve of. We choose not to teach Africa to the matrics (seniors) because it's stupid, it is badly researched and the content is poor and it is approached and dealt with in such a facile manner. So we don't teach African Independence. In matric, you have no choice but to stay with the curriculum and I see in this school, they are very bound by the curriculum. They are saying they are not, but they are.

Elizabeth thinks the school follows the curriculum too closely and she herself is the arbiter of what she teaches and what is most effective. In both cases, major African and

Asian time periods are being cut. The fact that the African Independence movement is not given substantial classroom time, while Western revolutions and independence movements are emphasized is significant and shows her bias.

It is difficult to see how much autonomy teachers have over the content that they teach. Some teachers like Elizabeth feel it is too prescriptive and the school follows the national curriculum too precisely. Other teachers like Susan, think the teachers could have too much room for improvisation.

> I think [they have] a fair bit, which is great, but it is also scary. I, for one, read the newspaper every day of my life, so I keep finding articles all the time that relate to something that I am teaching. I bring them in and I share with the kids and from that point of view I am not restricted. I think there are boundaries. My only fear is if someone is a fanatic of something, that they could influence the children, it is something that I do fear when people are allowed free rein.

Susan makes the case that there must be some centralized control over what is taught because some teachers may have their own agendas and should be reined in. The whole idea of a national curriculum in a post-conflict state can be to create a unified past and future vision for the country, and moderate the partisan views of many different factions. It also dampens voices and leaves out unique knowledge or interests teachers might have. Most often teachers feel they just have so much material to cover for the test, a common feeling for teachers worldwide.

Uncomfortable, controversial and avoided topics. While the topics mentioned above were thought to be unimportant, boring, or ineffectual, other topics were thought to be too uncomfortable and controversial, and were often avoided. The younger LO teachers found the personal topics that related to family, sex, and race the most uncomfortable. Bridget found the topics of rape, abortion, and euthanasia difficult to

discuss. Sean thought that personal racism and experiences with apartheid were the hardest to unpack in the classroom.

> A kid would say, 'but your parents did it [Apartheid] and you put my parents in this position, so how do you feel as a White person? Why are you more important than us?' And some of them can be quite vindictive and nasty at the same time and sometimes teaching you on the spot as well. So it was quite a sensitive subject and I've always had non-White friends and it's never been an issue for me, but now because I am White, I am assumed to have been involved in that, even though it happened before my time. So to try and explain that to the children because when they see a teacher they think you are a 100 years old is a bit difficult.

Learners would only be able to bring up these issues with a teacher who is approachable, but it is easy to see how even the most open teacher might want to avoid these types of questions and personal topics. At least Sean admits he occasionally learns from his students, but is defensive and not very aware of his privilege as a White man.

Teachers avoid other topics as well, including current events--especially partisan politics--religion, homosexuality, and some of the issues concerning post-colonial Africa. Phil's reluctance to discuss current political events contradicts his desire to challenge and provoke students with new and nuanced opinions:

> Current issues, like the alleged corruption involving the president. They have no difficulty talking about that in school, but I don't want to be drawn into that. I would not, for example, be drawn to a direct criticism of the president or the ruling party, because it is not my role to play politics. You always have to be conscious of that fact and particularly genuine students may be inclined to believe whatever you tell them.

What he really wants to avoid in this case is revealing his own bias against the current president and government.[12] He sees that it could be dangerous to present his own opinion of current South African politics as fact. He is also aware of the varied political

[12] President Jacob Zuma has been a controversial figure and at the center of many political scandals, including using public funds for his private home in Nkandla.

backgrounds and opinions of his students and does not want to suggest that he is an ally of any one political group.

Bridget also mentioned that she also did not like getting into discussions about current events. Mark said students were always asking him for his opinion on sensitive topics such as current events and religion. He said he particularly avoided religion because he was not religious himself. There seemed to be a general feeling that teachers wanted to keep personal opinions about the government and religion to themselves and the issues were just too sensitive to manage well in the classroom.

Elizabeth also avoided getting into heated discussions about evolution and creationism. She also felt that discussing certain historic periods were too inflammatory and should be avoided. This included the African post-colonial period.

> It is so difficult to teach post-colonial Africa, because every example is of how it just failed and you cannot exactly stand up there and teach it with any degree of integrity, you are basically telling them it failed and all the reasons as to why it failed. So we did try and teach it, but we don't anymore, because you can't.

Because Elizabeth's underlying assumption is that post-colonial Africa has "failed," believes that teaching anything positive about it or finding any successes would be dishonest. This reveals her personal bias clearly. She avoids this content because she feels she cannot teach anything good or balanced about the period, and that would be too negative and possibly detrimental to students. She tacitly acknowledges that, to tell a racially diverse class that all of Africa's attempts to govern itself have failed may not be an ethical thing to do, yet she cannot find examples of African success without compromising her integrity.

While some teachers may feel uncomfortable with some topics, they still do not dodge any. The LO teachers seem less likely to avoid topics, as the course is filled with a

wide variety of sensitive issues such as sexuality, human biology, personal rights, and health. While Bridget and Sean, as younger teachers, say there are issues they would rather not cover; they make the point that they do not avoid anything. Susan agrees, which she says "comes with age and experience." She has seen it all, so nothing should make her uncomfortable, but since she is older and stricter with her students, I wonder if very many sensitive topics come up and are actually discussed.

Addressing apartheid in the curriculum. One of the most important parts of a post-conflict pedagogical approach is how the discord is actually addressed in the classroom. In the South African context, how teachers and the national curriculum present the apartheid period to their students is sensitive and necessary. The curriculum addresses apartheid most directly in History, but it touches upon many topics in LO as well. The teachers talked a lot about how apartheid was introduced to students. I also asked them how important teaching about apartheid was during lessons about citizenship and democracy. Their answers varied.

Elizabeth observed how difficult it was at first to teach about apartheid at all in history. She mentioned how far the curriculum had come and how biased history was before 1994.

> What was interesting was that we had to rewrite the history textbooks because the syllabus had changed. We knew that the syllabus was going to change, so we just took it as writing on the wall and we knew that ours wasn't good enough. It was Afrikaners-centered and the mindset was totally in that direction and we knew that we were going to be learning new South African history, but also new African history. There was nothing there, no textbooks at all, so we just wrote the notes as we went.

Elizabeth highlights the fact that schools had to adapt very quickly to the new political and social landscape. Before a reformed national curriculum could be put into place,

teachers like Elizabeth wrote their own curricula to try to take out the overtly biased and racist elements. While the curriculum has now become standardized, teachers have mixed feelings about what to teach, how to teach it, and how much apartheid content their students should have.

Some teachers agree that it is necessary to keep discussing the past to understand where South Africa is now, even if that is painful. Bridget has distaste for the negative elements within the syllabus, but also recognizes the need to put current events into context and that meant discussing the past. She said:

> I think we need to know where we came from. I have to say that I hate the fact that it always has to fall to that, but it has to happen and I sometimes find that it is me that takes it back there.

As an LO teacher, Bridget had personal choice in relating current issues to apartheid and said she often did. Susan also brought the history to a more personal place.

> I like telling stories about apartheid because some of the children can't believe what happened. An example would be saying that in bottle stores, White people could walk in and walk amongst the goods and black people had to point at things that they wanted via a screen, they weren't allowed to walk in. When I was in university, I would go to for beers and I would go into that section just to go and experience it and it was just awful. The kids were shocked.

She seems to want to recount her personal experiences to engage students and shock them out of their complacency. She wants to witness to the terrible circumstances and make sure that students do not forget or, in some cases, introduce them to the everyday indignities of apartheid (though I saw no examples of this).

The history teachers take it as a given that apartheid will be central to their classes. Elizabeth is the most straightforward about why that history must be taught and why there is a danger, even now, of people forgetting the problems with it.

> You have to teach it, it is absolutely fundamental and I don't think we should ever forget and it's tempting, given everyone's bitterness with Eskom[13] and the falling of the economy, it is very easy to think otherwise. It is easy to just lay all the corruption and everything else [at the current government], but you have to understand where this country is coming from. They have to see and know the stories of how evil it was, so that it can never happen again. People say all kind of silly things like it was better under that government, the country worked and things ran more efficiently, school systems were much better, but they can't be, evil was all it was.

She mentions several common threads that other White teachers remark on: they feel that apartheid has become a scapegoat and say life was better during the old days. While many people do say that the problems of today need to be addressed separately from the legacy of the past, only a privileged and oblivious few would say things were better then. She disputes these claims quickly by recognizing the horror of the apartheid state and that the problems of today are connected to the past.

While Phil agrees that teaching it is essential, he takes issue with the way it is taught:

> I think probably that is the most powerful section there is. I'm also finding that with the most obvious topics, like apartheid in South Africa and resistance to apartheid, and also in terms of how that is taught, that there is a switching off on the part of the students.

He thinks that students are less interested and teachers are not teaching the history of the struggle in ways that would help them to be engaged. He elaborates:

> I think we are in danger of presenting a situation where it is angels and demons, and [learners] are not getting the complexity of the liberation struggle. For example, there were collaborators with the South African regime. When I look at apartheid, I always bring this up. You can see it in a two-dimensional way, that these were all semi-Nazi monsters who introduced apartheid. Racism is quite apparent to an extent as well, but it doesn't tell the real story, which is really one

[13] *Eskom* refers to the national power company, which controls all electricity usage in South Africa. While I was there, there were major problems with the electrical grid that caused rolling blackouts and scheduled outages. This was viewed as a major government failure.

> of a minority acting out of fear. I think kids also get a bit tired of history, which gets presented in a really predictable way.

Phil thinks that because students are taught apartheid history almost every year throughout middle and secondary school and they are taught from the same perspective, that they are bored. He also thinks that not enough is said about Africans who collaborated with the regime, or White people who were part of the struggle against it. His version of understanding the complexity of the liberation struggle means giving examples of Africans who committed violence or aided the apartheid government and White people who were arrested and beaten while protesting and fighting for liberation. He feels that this information is not getting through to students and it is his duty to teach them the "other side of the story." As I said before in the Role of the History teacher, he often chose positive examples of White historical figures and negative ones of Africans. This was his attempt to even out the narrative within the national curriculum.

Mark mentioned the fact that there were teachers at the school who had fought in the South African Defense Force (SADF). This is a complex issue, as most White male South Africans were required to do military service before 1993, but the SADF was also seen as one of the strongest tools used to suppress the liberation. They fought in the proxy and liberation wars across Southern Africa.

> We have some old captains from the SADF, a major or a captain; they are [teaching] math and business. Interestingly, when the government talks about the Angola war, it was like the last stand of the SADF versus the Angolans and the Cubans. They leave out realistic details and you see that it wasn't really so when you talk to these old military men. So I teach it from both perspectives.

This also gets at the heart of the difficulty in using a post-conflict pedagogy. While teaching multiple perspectives is essential, there is danger in giving equal weight to all perspectives. There are some who would view taking the former SADF teachers'

accounts into consideration as akin to listening to war criminals, whereas others could see this as a positive way to bring in multiple narratives of the same events.

However, the way that the BHS teachers often talk about it, they clearly are letting their students know that they do not trust the current government's version of events. Mark thinks that the grand compromise gave the current government permission to write their own history and that is important for students to know.

> Apparently we agreed to let them have their moment, just so to have peace and move on, and bearing in mind the government that we have and how they just construe information, one does wonder. And we try to make the kids understand that.

Again, this can either be interpreted as teaching critical thinking and the ability to evaluate the reliability of sources or as an attempt to discredit the current account of what happened prior to 1994.

Some teachers go further and say that too much of the curriculum focuses on apartheid. Sean's opinion is not uncommon and is an example of what Elizabeth was talking about before:

> I think it should be spoken about less, maybe because I wasn't there and involved in it. It's done … has happened and we should move on from it, as harsh and blunt as that may seem. Are we going to keep looking back and blaming all the time or are we going to move on? That is why I think we should speak about it less and it's almost like a scapegoat, as things go wrong they say oh no it was the apartheids' fault. Discuss it yes in history, it'll always be a part of our South African history, it has to, but I don't think we need to keep feeding at it. It is like a sore it starts to fester the more you pick on it. Sean

There is a sentiment that South Africa should have fixed itself by this point, twenty years after the first democratic elections. It is like those in the United States who do not understand institutionalized racism or White privilege and think that enough time has passed since the end of Jim Crow and slavery for economic and legal equality to be the

norm. Sean sees apartheid solely in a historic context rather than linking it to the current inequality, poverty, and weak infrastructure in South Africa.

There is also the idea that talking about the past can spark more unpleasantness. While more conflicted about this issue, Susan agrees partially.

> I am divided on that sometimes. I think that it [apartheid history in class] is too much sometimes. I think that if you think of the 20 years that we have gone, you would see that we have enough information on that. If you look at the world, it just reminds people and it could trigger reactions amongst different children. I have had enough on blaming things on apartheid when we are 20 years down the line, when we should all have learnt from that experience and made sure that we are not going to make those mistakes again. Part of me says it's not enough though.

While she sees the value in telling students about her personal experiences and reminding them of past horrors, she also says it is finished and not responsible for the current state of affairs in South Africa. But she also sees it from the perspective that White people should have learned from the past and should not repeat it. She fears students' reactions from students such as outbursts or disruptions. Both teachers want to avoid the discomfort that often arises when discussing the past in a racially diverse classroom.

The national curriculum dictates a certain amount of what the history and LO teachers teach in regards to citizenship and democracy. The teachers have different opinions about which topics best allow them to explore these topics. In the next section, they discuss how best to engage learners and what teaching methods they use to do so. Older teachers tend to be more opinionated about the curriculum. They tend to want to challenge more, have firmer ideas about what is important and feel more confident about straying from the syllabus. Younger teachers tend to stick with what is prescribed.

Teaching Methods

It is particularly important to discuss not only *what* teachers teach, but *how* they teach. The teachers in this study were asked what the best methods for teaching citizenship and democracy were and what methods they used. For each of the methods the teachers named, I looked for evidence of how the method was used from the formal classroom observations.

Current events. While current events were given as an example of uncomfortable or even avoidable topics, many of the teachers also cited using them as the best method for making citizenship and democracy relevant for students. Teachers used particular events to illustrate points connected to governance, the legal system and rights.

> I let them talk a lot about what is happening in the media, if you think of this Oscar Pistorius thing[14], in a couple of classes [learners] said to me, hang on, it (the verdict) is starting today and we started a big debate. Bridget, 24, White

This was a case that was very much in the news and dealt with legal equity and how justice is dealt with in a democracy. I started my observations at BHS after the verdict came out and did not observe any classes discussing the case. Bridget also had a lot of old newspapers in her classroom, but said she uses more for English class rather than LO, but students can take them.

Some other examples came up such as comparing the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a new political party and their leader, Julius Malema's, tactics to the Nazi party (due to their uniforms and interruptions in parliament) [15], discussing violent worker

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[14] Oscar Pistorius – A celebrated para-Olympian who was convicted of murdering his girlfriend. The verdict was issued when I was in South Africa and his sentence was considered to be very light and therefore controversial. The case also had racial implications given that Pistorius is White and treated very leniently.

strikes in SA when talking about workers' rights and unions and current unemployment issues. More often than using current events and news as examples, the teachers related historical events or key LO topics to local issues. This included relating the Russian Revolution to the anti-apartheid struggle, environmental stress to poverty in South Africa and local governance issues.

Other teachers took a broader view of using current events for teaching purposes. Mark uses the news to help students identify bias and hone their critical thinking skills.

> We have access to the news, so if interesting things are happening, we encourage the kids to watch the news and not just any news, but certain groups of it. I can always tell the kids that watch the news and CNN and their bias is more of an omission. I tell them to watch the news and see what channel missed what and why do they miss that, is it normally on purpose or is it just because they don't want to cover the story? I ask them to take note of things like that.

He asks them not only what was on the news, but what was not in the news, teaching them to look beyond the obvious.

Discussion, dialogue and debate. Most of the teachers said that they valued class discussion, dialogue and debate as key teaching methods, yet often discussions were either uncontrolled and off-topic or suppressed. While classes were small enough to hold discussions, not all teachers were able to get students engaged or to guide their discussions in a productive way. As I said above, Sean highlighted his conversational and interactive teaching methods with his learners.

> I sit on the desk in the front and we talk, so we read the notes, then we apply it to their lives, so that I think is my biggest way of engaging them. If I see a kid drifting off, I immediately draw them into the conversation and I ask what happened to them or what do they think, just stuff like that. I think the fact that there is an open dialog does keep them involved. I know for example the other teacher who teaches a section and gives a worksheet I very seldom do that.

However, from what I observed, Sean would read through the text of the day, either from the textbook or the workbook, ask a few questions, let a few learners respond but struggle to keep the class on track after that. In the case of the class on rape, students made really offensive statements, such as "a woman leading a man on deserves what she gets," or asking instructional questions about date rape. Sean had very little control over the class and did not follow up on these comments, which made it seem as if he was condoning them. His method of dialog and conversational discussion really meant that students took over the class and very little learning took place.

For many teachers, discussion was more of a Socratic exchange. Students would be asked fact-based questions to check content knowledge. Elizabeth said the best method for engaging students was "Obviously, you have to ask lots and lots of questions". This could be seen in almost all classes. While this created interactive exchanges, it was completely teacher-controlled and often only included a few of the more participatory students.

Other teachers highlighted debate over discussion and dialog, though they also pointed out the following:

> I think debate is probably the most commonly used [method]. I think we are probably always bogged down on the curriculum though. I fear the hard headiness because the art of debate is lost now. And it is very difficult to control a debate in a diverse classroom, it is insane and it gets very heated. They can't even wait for their turn, with political debates, especially those to do with our government. Mark
>
> You cannot cut off a debate, but depending on who stimulated the debate and what their motivation is, it's is not always noble. If somebody raises a race issue and it's done in such a way where you can see that it is actually doing more harm than good, it is breaking down, rather than being constructive, you'd leave it and come back to it. Phil

> I have found with experience that with debates it depends on the class that you have. And if you now have an unruly bunch who then separate into racial groups, it makes things difficult and then it doesn't work and that still does happen. It also depends on the children and if you have got bottom classes, it doesn't work, so it is wonderful theoretically debating and in theory that is fantastic if you have children who are willing to do it. Susan

There were no formal debates in any of the classes I observed. No positions or advance preparation was assigned. Debate only happened occasionally and organically when learners disagreed on certain issues. Teachers kept a tight rein on discussion (Phil), could not manage it (Sean), or suppressed it entirely (Susan).

The teachers came up with some very good reasons why debate was occasionally inappropriate. First, they had such a packed syllabus, that they have very little time for discussion and debate. Second, debates tended to get heated very quickly. This could happen along racial lines, which teachers sought to avoid. Some students tried to debate controversial issues, taking intentionally racist and hurtful positions. Third, the formal rules of debate, such as taking turns, using points and counterpoints, are not taught, so the situation tends to spiral out of control. Fourth, teachers sometimes feel that learners do not have enough background and facts to have a productive debate.

Multi-media. The history teachers used videos and visual aids. Their classrooms all had screens and projectors so they could engage learners in topics by showing footage or documentaries on historical events. Many used maps and websites to help learners see where events took place.

> Use media if you can, that gets them engaged and you ask them where something is and you get that reaction of horror and shock. You give them a world map to find it and they will make a noise because they know they can't find it, so you show them multimedia things like slides, movies and projectors and physical maps to form the pictures. Elizabeth

I mostly saw documentaries in the history classes, including on the Cold War and Hitler's rise to power. Elizabeth and Mark often referred to maps in their classrooms, and Phil sometimes used the art and posters in his class to illustrate what he was trying to say.

Textbooks and lecture. What I observed most often was a combination of lecture, Socratic questions, reading from the textbook and photocopied notes in the classroom. In history classes, teachers used more of a standard lecture style, with more questions going back and forth. The LO teachers sometimes taught each lesson directly from the text. They felt pressure to get through the whole syllabus and to stick to the assigned material:

> I am quite OCD so I do a lot of planning in terms of like page numbers and I look at the notes and I say okay for the term we have got 10 lessons with them and I have to get through 30 pages, so essentially it's 3 pages a lesson. I tend to start of my lesson by saying to them right guys by the end of the lesson we should have gotten up to page number 72 we are on page 63 now so we have got to move." Bridget

Bridget would read aloud very quickly from the text, with students following in their books, then go over key points and, open it up for brief discussion. She would also link most of the topics to how they would show up on their tests. Susan's classes were even more rigid.

> My class is normally a mix of reading and then explaining and I have a workbook with tasks, where they are entitled to put in their own opinions and obviously they are engaging in their response to me. If they are prepared to just accept what they are told then that is fine, but if they want to engage in a discussion then I am open to it.

In all Susan's classes I observed, she followed the same process. Students would take turns reading a out loud from the text, then Susan would explain key points and give personal examples. Students rarely raised their hands and when they did it was often to

ask for clarification. Susan seldom asked them any questions either. There was very little interaction in general and almost no discussion, never mind debate.

I asked Susan about her teaching methods and how she thought teaching had changed since 1994:

> The content obviously has changed, the teaching environment I also find changed, and I am not sort of proudly saying this on record, but I find that the caliber of some teachers is not as it used to be. I just also feel like the teaching methods of the teachers are just engaging with children without a barrier and I am not saying that there should be huge barrier, but the young teachers are too friendly with the kids.

She was clearly at odds with teachers like Sean and Bridget, who viewed their relationships and ability to communicate and engage with students as paramount. Looking at the three LO classrooms, it was interesting to compare the dynamics. While students were far more engaged in Sean and Bridget's classrooms, they were not getting as much content. Susan's class, on the other hand, was orderly and quiet, but often so dry that learners seemed to be in a daze.

There were a few other teaching methods that I observed and were mentioned in passing. Phil used humor to engage students, even when it might have been inappropriate. This is included in Davies' elements of a post-conflict pedagogy; being able to laugh can diffuse tension and facilitate discussion of difficult topics. Elizabeth used writing activities to actively engage students in a different way, practice a skill, and give them room to respond and reflect on the material. Phil, Bridget and Sean all mentioned that they played Devil's advocate and intentionally raised controversial topics to spark discussion.

In general, most of these teachers had somewhat interactive, though still teacher-centered, classrooms. They had audio-visual and textual resources to bolster their

material. Students mostly could speak up, but to a varying degree based on their teacher's style and favored methods.

Self Reflection

Most of these teachers deal with very difficult topics in the classroom and it is important to know if they have opportunities to reflect upon them. I asked about this, especially in terms of challenging topics and classroom discussions:

> We are supposed to do a reflection thing in our planner and I don't think anyone does that. I don't, but I suppose if they do ask me, I could happily write down things. If I've had a really hectic lesson, I will sit and still think about it. Often I will go to the staff room and say I've had the most interesting conversations with my Grade 10s or whatever it is … I have a huge support system at home, my poor husband's ear gets bent from the moment he walks through the door until I fall asleep and my mom is very supportive. Bridget

> I have a group of teachers that I meet with from my former school and we also have a WhatsApp group and they are an awesome support system. Elizabeth

> I have another life outside school, a very busy life outside school, which takes me away from school things. I have a rule that I don't take schoolwork home unless I am setting exam papers. We as a group of teachers sometimes get together and vent and it's a mix of teachers not all teaching the same subject, so it also puts things into perspective. Susan

For the most part the teachers depended on personal support systems or colleagues. Women discussed their ways of debriefing, reflection, and support systems. Men really did not talk about this at all. No one mentioned any formal or professional outlets for reflection.

Perception of Learner Engagement

Students influences how teaching about citizenship and democracy. How teachers view their students and modify their teaching accordingly can differ greatly. This section

will discuss how teachers perceive their students' engagement, backgrounds, needs, and behavior and if that causes teachers to change how they interact with them.

Learner engagement in class. I asked what engaged students the most and whether they were engrossed at all in citizenship and democracy. LO teachers felt strongly that students tuned out, while history teachers felt that certain issues sparked their interest more than others:

> It depends on the class, it depends on their background, it depends on their parents and even in one class, you will have half of them who will love it, and half of them who sit and stare at the window thinking, 'ugh, democracy again'. Bridget

> Most of them are over it, for them LO is just a book that they have to read for the exams and there is no understanding. I always tell them that 80% of learning in LO is talking and having discussions in class and 20% is book knowledge. To learn to be a model citizen on a piece of paper is never going to work, so that is their biggest problem, they don't take it seriously enough. You will have your handful, 5 or 6 max, who will have an opinion, the others will look at you blankly or just not want to participate. Sean

> Something that scares me is how only a few kids watch the news and I normally ask how many of them read the paper every day and the response is negligible and you get answers like 'it makes your hands dirty, why read it?' I think it is a mix, you have the ones who think that it is of interest and ones who think that it is not, and again it depends on what is happening at home. Susan

The LO teachers seem to have to battle to get their learners engaged and that has fatigued them to the point where they themselves are not always that excited about these subjects. There is a disconnect between the usefulness of the LO curriculum as presented in the textbook and need for real-life understanding of how the nation operates and the role of each citizen.

History teachers see more enthusiasm in some of their learners for particular topics:

> There are issues, such as affirmative action, in South Africa, which are burning issues, which they are very happy to debate. I would say that particularly issues of

> human rights, the extremes of colonial rules in the Congo, for example [are of interest]. It doesn't matter what grade is exposed to that, they are absolutely shocked to the marrow at what went down there, and they want to discuss it and they want to debate it. Phil

> It is like pouring water over them, it sticks to some and to some it doesn't. I'm not naïve, so I know only some of them take an active response. Anything with people dying like the Holocaust, Vietnam [are of interest]. When we do apartheid and people being tortured, they would remember things like that. They are typical teenagers, they want horror stories about humans and numbers and statistics given to them. The concept of democracy is very interesting and my matric boys are interested because we were watching a film about Vietnam and one said 'how come the press was allowed to leak those pictures?' I told them that they weren't leaking them, it is a free society and you can take pictures and it is your responsibility to use them. He thought they were being leaked. Elizabeth

> We don't stream our classes and in Grades 10-12, they are just mixed and you find some of them who are not even interested in the stuff that you teach and you wonder why they are even here. Then you find the ones who just really love it and just eat it all up. There are a few students who actually soak up all the information, those who are politically aware, just a handful of them. People tend to use history as a fall back subject and they just failed. I just didn't know how to get them engaged and to get them to participate. Mark

We see a few themes emerge from these quotes: there is a fascination with the extreme and most horrific parts of history, some are very interested, and even whether students choose to take history or not after Grade 9, there are still some who are not very interested. Overall there is a negative and mixed sense as to whether most students are engaged in the subjects of citizenship and democracy.

Challenging received knowledge. As many students come to school with inherited or received wisdom, teachers are often in a position to challenge these preconceptions. Some teachers struggle with this more than others. Some only challenge certain types of statements and otherwise feel they must remain neutral. Some do it just to provoke discussion rather than challenge students' opinions, as a devil's advocate:

> I am very careful to be neutral and to say we do not discriminate in this class and I kick kids out who say things like 'oh that was stupid'. I would never say, if they

> give an opinion that that is stupid, but it is quite nice to keep them on their toes and say things like why, but why would that be okay? What do you think, explain a bit more? And, what do you think about that?" Bridget

Bridget tries gently to get students to think more deeply and with more nuance. Sean said:

> I do it to create a discussion. I will purposefully say something just to get a reaction. I had an opportunity yesterday, we were talking about women, and the boys were saying that women who are walking down the street wearing short skirts deserve to be raped. I had said something like that and I had girls jumping out their seats wanting to answer. The boys kept saying that girls must wear longer skirts and I was like. what are these kids thinking?

I did have the chance to observe this class and Sean did not challenge his learners at all. They said completely misogynist, inflammatory and incorrect things about gender issues and sexual assault and Sean did very little to control the discussion. It seemed as if he felt uncomfortable and perhaps unable to correct and challenge his learners' assumptions. While this topic is not central to this study, it shows how some very harmful mainstream ideas in South Africa, which has a very high rape rate, are handled in the classroom. If he was unable to challenge his learners on this matter, it is hard to imagine how he would engage with them on even more abstract topics concerning citizenship and democracy.

In Mark's opinion, "That is our job, they must think critically. You normally want them to think and not just follow suit." Susan also felt strongly about stimulating students. However, both Mark and Susan try to challenge particular ideas:

> I was teaching bias in sport last week and a child said the reason soccer is not doing so well in South Africa is because South African players were never given coaches who were good enough, because they were black teams. And I find that absolutely not acceptable. Twenty years down the line and they have had some of the wealthiest coaches and they have been paid millions. I am afraid the buck lies with the players. The child was quite shocked that I challenged it and a lot of the children listened to what I was saying and then the general consensus was that it is the players, some of them don't go to practices, they are often drunk on weekends. I think more kids were in favor of my comment than hers and I also heard that you can't blame anymore and you can't use it as an excuse anymore. Susan

This is an example of challenging one student's opinion and then changing the minds of many. It also suggests that apartheid should no longer be used as a reason for such inequality. It seems as if teachers' challenges are really in what they see as the African mainstream.

On the other hand, students sometimes challenge their teachers. Some may allow this; others do not feel as comfortable when students responded. There are those who view challenges from students as evidence of critical thinking and they welcomed it.

> I want people to actually question me and it's no good setting out to be provocative if they are not going to respond. Nothing I like better than seeing my students going at it hammer and tongs over an issue. Phil

Phil liked to see his students take a stand. He did not take it personally. I saw respond to provocation in Phil's classes, but only the most confident ones. Often his controversial statements seemed to go over their heads:

> I think I encourage that in my classroom. We talk about all controversial issues and, by all means, you can disagree with me and I welcome that because I think we are all so different. I would never expect them to follow or believe anything I say. They must question, they really do have to think about it, they don't have to sit there like sponges. Bridget

To Bridget it was a given: in a diverse classroom that there would be disagreement and difference of opinion. She did not see it as challenging her ideas, but learners expressing their own. But, sometimes, in Bridget's class, challenges were shut down due to time constraints; there was little time for deeper discussion:

> I don't mind at all, I quite enjoy it, but the problem is I want them to be better informed and some of them are. You just wish that they would read some more so they could ask better questions. They tend to say I don't agree with that, it is not right and then they stop and that is not the kind of pushing I want, I want the pushing of ideas and not words. Elizabeth

Elizabeth points out that students need to challenge their teachers in an informed way. I do think that Elizabeth would have allowed a challenge from students, but only if they were well prepared and well spoken, which she did not think they were yet.

> Absolutely, it all depends on the teacher though. If the kids find you approachable and they feel like they can challenge you, then it'll happen. But I think in some classes, the teacher is just too scary for them. Susan

This was interesting to me because students almost never asked questions in Susan's class, never mind challenge her directly. She was "too scary" for students to approach or express personal opinion.

Overall, the teachers said they were comfortable challenging their learners and having their learners challenge them. However, in reality, challenging their learners often meant provoking them into reaction, correcting them or staying factually neutral. And being challenged by learners is more about learners' reactions to their teachers or sharing a differing opinion, when they feel comfortable enough to do so, which few do.

Modifying the curriculum for learners. The teachers discussed modifying the curriculum to match their own interests and to focus on what they deemed most important. They also talked about needing modification for ability:

> I think the only area where that really becomes a factor is in terms of ability, in terms of how far you can extend particular groups of students within a class and see how far you can take them. However, I also have found that some of the less able students are capable of far more than one could have imagined, so I'm not that scared of doing that. Phil

Phil thought all students could benefit from being challenged and from teachers having high expectations for them. Bridget discussed the nature of their streaming system, that classes were sorted by ability and grades, so that classes either had all learners with top grades, all learners with poor grades, or sometimes a mix:

> Often, you know you can plan a lesson to a certain degree and they walk in here and be in a completely different mood and the lesson just flops…. So it is difficult with different classes and your top classes to your bottom classes are very different. The bottom class you can fly through things because they don't react. Whereas in your top classes sometimes you have to say to them enough! Stop asking me questions, now we have to read another page because we have only read one paragraph in half an hour. Bridget

This quote is very telling: the less able learners get more content, but little explanation or time for discussion. The more able learners get less content, but have more discussion time and nuance. Although there is still pressure to cover the required material:

> I feel that each year the level of education is dropping…. then there is a catch-22. You dropped down the standard of education just to get them to pass so it looks good on numbers or to force them to do it and actually get them to have an education and force them to think outside the box. … The language barrier is an issue because I mean if you cannot read English then every other subject you are flawed in, and then you cannot answer any questions because you don't understand them. It is a snowball effect. Sean

I heard this sentiment from many White teachers. The standards for promotion to the next grade have been lowered and less is expected in order for more students to pass, but then students are less prepared each year. Sean also discusses the serious issue of English language instruction and knowledge. [16] Teachers say they must modify the curriculum for English language learners, which in this context usually means African learners. When the teachers say modify, they mean simplify or "dumb down", creating one level of expectations for White and Indian learners and a lower one for African learners.

Sean is stating a fact when he says that standards have been lowered to facilitate higher pass levels. High school graduation rates for African learners have been abysmal

[16] In high school, most schools have English language as the language of instruction and testing is certainly done in English. This becomes a problem because only 10% of the population speaks English as a first language. In Durban, English tends to be the first language of White and Indian people, while Zulu is the first language of African people. This puts African learners at a distinct disadvantage.

and one way of addressing this has been to lower the threshold for passing. This has allowed many people to vocalize long held prejudices against African educational achievement. These two issues, English language instruction and high school graduation standards came up repeatedly in my research and are key themes in broader South African educational research. Finally, one teacher, Susan, did mention the need to modify what she taught based on her students:

> I teach housing and an interesting concept is that the houses we live in are not all the same kind of houses. And when we talk about the constitution and how it says we all have the right to shelter, what is that shelter, because my shelter is a home that has been around for 40 years. Someone else's might just be those little boxes with the geyser on the roof, so one has to be aware.

This is a remarkably astute observation, which shows that even referring to one's house may have very different meanings for different learners. There are vast disparities in background and privilege among the BHS learners and some teachers either forget this, or only see skin-deep differences. While Susan was sensitive to the diverse life experiences of her learners, she still spoke about things like owning a boat or having domestic help, which may or may not been have been relatable to her students.

The teachers at BHS might have the widest gap between their own life experiences and their students of each of the three schools in this study. For the most part they come from middle- and upper middle-class White backgrounds whereas their students are far more diverse racially, economically, and geographically (in terms of the areas where they live). For the most part the teachers knew vaguely about their students' backgrounds, but did not have in-depth understanding of where their students came from, if they were from outside the BHS neighborhood. There was a sense that students were divided between those who were very wealthy, with a sense of entitlement, and the less

wealthy who either had scholarships or whose families had sacrificed a lot to send them to BHS.

Citizenship and democracy outside the classroom. Students also learn about citizenship and democracy outside of the classroom and some are civically engaged in their communities. Teachers agreed that students had three main sources of information: the media (social & traditional), family, and extracurricular activities. They thought most students were heavily influenced by their family's opinions and mimicked what they heard from their parents. The few students who were most engaged were those who followed the news and participated in extracurricular activities which connected them with peers from other communities:

> So they are terrible at reading the news or even watching the news or listening to the news bulletin on the radio. They just switch off or pick up their cell phone. I really think that most of the things they hear are from mom and dad, having a discussion and they overhear and they think that they are very clever now, since they have heard a conversation that they don't necessarily agree with but don't really understand. So parental influence is huge and if they are coming from parents who say 'what a terrible country, I mean look at the crime, look at the government, look at the fraud,' that is what they believe. Bridget

Bridget points out that it is quite common for learners imitate their parents' negative attitudes about the country itself, putting her in cheerleading position for South Africa.

> I think it's from home, older generations and the media. Look at last night's parliament meeting. I had a kid from grade 10, showing me all these jokes about the president, they don't even know why, yet they have all these jokes about him. Sean

Sean agreed that students do not always understand current events. In this case, President Zuma's State of the Nation address was interrupted by calls from him to address some of the scandals associated with him and things became chaotic. Students picked up on the sensational elements, not necessarily the context, facts, or implications.

Elizabeth believes learning and engagement can come from contact with students from different backgrounds, both racially and socioeconomically:

> I think the kids who are involved in extracurricular activities at homes or in churches, they would pull kids into such ideas. And strangely enough, if they play sports at a club or district level, and now they are representing their province or whatever, there is a quota. Those kids are aware of democracy and citizenship and how it involves other people and how it evolves. You will find those youth choirs, orchestras, they teach children very well in positive ways. They draw from all the communities and kids are exposed in a positive way, which is just fabulous. Elizabeth

She believes in Contact Theory, which helps students learn about their country through participation in teams or activities with "the other". This shows how little contact learners have with those outside of their own groups.

Susan points how complicated it is to be the *interrupter of received wisdom* for some learners:

> I think in more of the progressive families that have embraced democracy, they are learning that from home. However, if there are still families that are still hankering after the old system, it must be quite difficult for a child. You can hear it with comments that are made and you can just see it from certain kids' mannerisms. And it must be difficult for the child because here we are saying let us embrace this beautiful multicultural country that we live in and at home they are hearing the total opposite.

Again, this gets at the heart of a post conflict pedagogy, and shows schools can challenge received attitudes that reinforce racism and prejudice, but the students who are caught in the middle often struggle with it.

Learner civic engagement. We often see youth as politically active and engaged, as young and new citizens. I asked the teachers if they thought their students were active in the civic sphere. Their responses were mostly negative: their students were not

engaged in activism or politics. [17] This generation of "born frees" has a reputation similar to "millennials" in the US: obsessed with social media and disengaged from struggles past and present. Of course, this is a biased view, but one held by many of the teachers:

> A lot of our born frees, they don't know what apartheid was and, quiet honestly, they are not particularly interested. A lot of them are very materialistic, perhaps this is very healthy, but they have the same sort of interests and obsession as any other normal teenagers and they are not that obsessed with our racial past. I don't know whether they should be required to carry the burden of the entire history with them to be honest. [In the past] I think the kids tended to be more involved and more aware, however they were also lots of kids who were just happy to accept that apartheid was there. [And now] Very few [are engaged] and generally it's those who come from political families. Phil

Phil points out to something positive in this generation of teenagers who engage less in political struggle as opposed to privileged activities of an open capitalist society. In his view, it is a sign of prosperity and moving away from apartheid.

This is indeed different from the last generation, as Bridget states:

> We have just done this whole Proudly South African section and you sort of always wonder how it is going to go, because they are very negative. I really don't think these kids are very negative as a whole, but they do say things like "But this country is going nowhere, we have to get out" and it is from their parents. I mean what 13-year-old says I'm going to immigrate? …
> The last time we voted, I talked to my matrics who were already 18 about how many were voting and I was so surprised at how many of the black boys weren't voting. The White boys and girls had registered and I was horrified. I said to them "great grandpa, did he fight in the struggle?" and they said ya, and I said, "so you are basically throwing that back in his face because you are not voting", but they all just shook their shoulders and said "it doesn't affect me". But I don't think that it is all of them, because there are still a lot of them who get themselves worked up. We see that there is a lot who are still interested and want to make a difference, I mean they are quite right in saying that the born frees are nonchalant.

Bridget raises several important points. One, many of her students have negative opinions about South Africa in general and are surprised at the notion of having pride in their

[17] This research was done in 2014-2015, just before the massive nationwide university protests and the current political, anti-Zuma protests. This research does not reflect the current youth activism movements in South Africa.

country. The unit in the LO curriculum on being "Proudly South African" has echoes in a marketing campaign and has a corporate slant to it, urging learners to buy South African goods, take pride in the natural resources and diversity, and develop home grown talent. But as the learners are so negative, the unit has value in reminding students of the country's assets. Ideas about emigration usually come from wealthier White South Africans who often hold British passports or are able to find homes in Australia or New Zealand. Most other South Africans do not have this privilege.

She also observes that, as in other parts of the world, voting is not a given for this generation. Male African students are the most disengaged and cynical about voting. Like many teachers she calls on the memory of those in the struggle asking, "What would Mandela do?" to change learner behavior:

> There is no sense of pride, no sense of belonging, you get some kids who are exceptional, who devote all their time to the school, but again it's only just a handful. Sean

Sean sees a general lack of community spirit and pride in school involvement and says it is correlated to political or civic engagement:

> Compared to the ones I taught in [her former school], they are much less politicized and they are still, in my opinion, much more uninformed. Elizabeth

Elizabeth links lack of political engagement to being uninformed and disinterested in current and local events. She thought that her last school, which was less affluent and had more African students, was much more engaged.

> I think the top academic kids are very into community things and get involved in things that broaden their minds, and the bottom ones just drift along and make do. Susan

Susan links engagement to academic achievement and focus, and those students who hardworking are the ones who are interested in both their community and the wider world.

Overall the teachers have a negative view of their students' outlooks and their engagement in class, school, and their communities. They feel they often have to modify their teaching by simplifying the content for English language students. They want to challenge their students and say they want their students to respond in kind, but they do not give them the tools to do so. This sense of negativity can also be seen in the teacher's general understanding of democracy, especially the older teachers.

Understandings of Democracy & Citizenship

The final element of how teachers teach about democracy and citizenship is how they view those concepts personally. The BHS teachers had mixed understandings of democracy, both in terms of outlook and in definition. How they even defined democracy could influence how they taught their learners about it. They viewed citizenship in much more personal terms and believed that teaching itself was an example of good citizenship.

Democracy, a Complicated Ideal

Democracy is "a system that acknowledges the individual and individual rights and freedoms" (Phil), "no discrimination and prejudice"(Bridget), "freedom, respect and unity" (Sean), "one man one vote and freedom to be who you want to be, but without hurting somebody else" (Elizabeth), and "for everybody to be treated the same, free and fair, to give equal opportunities to have exposure to the same things" (Susan). The key

elements that are emphasized are equality in rights and freedoms, individual rights, freedom from discrimination, and voting. These are the key elements that were missing during the apartheid years. There is much more of an emphasis on rights and freedoms than on responsibilities and participation.

One set of opinions is that the democratic ideal is the best, but its implementation in South Africa has not been successful.

> I think democracy fully understood has to involve a real respect for different points of view and not an attempt for a majority to bludgeon the minority into submission… You see the biggest danger in this country is that basically things are done in the name of democracy which are profoundly undemocratic. Phil

Phil's opinion is that the minority, and in this case, most likely the White minority, no longer has a say, or the ability to participate, in the government. He thinks that the swing from minority rule to majority rule still leaves voices out of the government and is not truly democratic. How he discusses this with learners is colored by this opinion. He strives constantly for equality, if equality is creating more room for minority (White) voices and opinions:

> Sean also feels that White minority is being oppressed in some way:
>
> At the moment, it [democracy] has been strained in a negative way. It is almost becoming apartheid but in reverse, which is the way I am feeling at the moment. It's now black people taking our White people [stuff] type of thing, which is sad, I mean its 20 years on, we are meant to be moving onwards and upwards. Sean

This is another common sentiment, that White people have lost out by becoming the true minority in the government and economy. There is no acknowledgment of past wrongs, only a lack of understanding why things could not be all sorted out twenty years after apartheid. This comes across in the classroom as well. I observed this interaction:

- Sean: When government came into power, they promised everyone free education. In some rural schools, it is actually free or has exemptions, but not schools like this.

- Learner: Where do they get all the money?

- Sean: With all corruption and fraud, money is going missing. It's a lovely idea, but virtually impossible, (for free education, but will) run out of money. Don't you feel in our country that we are still fighting against each other? Not physically. Not working together as a team? Will a car engine work if a piston is broken?

- Learner: No.

- Sean (to me, as an aside): Can't you see that democracy doesn't interest kids, and this class in particular (rolls eyes)?

His discontent and frustration with the fact that there are still governance issues comes across in class. It did not seem to me that the students were disinterested; they asked questions and were engaged. He goes over what rights are but not why they are important and emphasizes that they are "lovely ideas" but that they cannot really be put into action.

When asked to illustrate democracy in everyday life, some teachers gave negative examples or instances of non-democratic incidents. For example, Phil mentioned the teachers' union, "threatening to burn cars in car parks if our staff do not join the strike." Sean observed, "you still get segregation and racist remarks." And Mark voices the feelings of many South Africans, "this dream has been disappointing and we have our president laughing while giving the State of the Nation address, which is just wrong and stupid." Disappointment with the state of the country is common: service provision is inadequate (or non-existent), corruption contaminates governance, and inequality still exists.

Others teachers are more positive and point to the diversity in their classrooms, the ability to vote, and engagement in community service as examples of the new

democracy (Bridget, Mark, Susan). Bridget, the youngest, has a particularly positive outlook:

> It is hard for me to be negative, because I really do feel like from the moment I've went to school I've had a say. I understand how the government works, I know the idea of voting for political parties, I have a vote and I can work in a career that I want to work in. So I do think that we live in a democratic society.

A few teachers were candid about a White person's experience in democratic South Africa.

> I do think that for many South Africans, White South Africans, who are being high jacked and killed, choosing to go and live in Australia or New Zealand, it is maybe hard for them to constantly remember that apartheid [was] wrong and you cannot ever allow it [to return]. When you see schools not working and you see potholes on roads and it all worked so perfectly, it is an actual act of will to actually fight against wishing that the system was different. There is the human side and then there is the reality of actually living with such and in my family it is a difficult thing, I have to constantly remind my children that it is better this way and we have the freest constitution in the world, more than other countries and it is something you have to say out loud. Elizabeth

This was possibly one of the most honest reflections I heard: some White people feel they lost something with the end of apartheid. Elizabeth knows that apartheid was wrong and yet its legacy of violence, poverty, and inequality are difficult to endure on a daily basis. She is one of the few White people I spoke to who could articulate this struggle.

Susan was equally honest:

> I still have a maid at home who lives separately from us, although I must say her room is more than what some people I know have. I am aware that she is a maid and I am aware that she thinks she is a maid and I am trying to change that, in a sense that I have just gotten a new one and my behavior with her is totally different to my previous maid. I've tried to embrace them as not only a person who is there to serve me, but also as a person who also has a family and her own needs and whatever, which has been an interesting exercise actually.

She has to work at resisting attitudes left over from apartheid.

The BHS teachers have a variety of opinions on the state of democracy in South Africa, with most viewing it as positive in theory, but challenging in practice. Most see it as a loss of power and influence, but differ on how fair this is.

Good Citizenship

For the most part, the BHS teachers all saw themselves as good citizens because they are teachers. They identified several traits that they view as important for being a good citizen:

> Somebody who exercises his or her democratic freedom and is prepared to defend them and dares to speak out when they are endangered. If you are not prepared to put yourself on the line and voice your opposition and take a stand, then you are not a worthy citizen as far as I am concerned. Phil

Phil views citizenship as an active defense against a corrupt government. That is consistent with his desire for balance in the curriculum and for more representation of minority or opposition voices.

Bridget and Sean focused on the importance of citizens obeying laws, being open minded and being respectful of others, rather than on participation and rights.

> I think the first thing would be to not break the rules, like your big rules, like your murder and crimes. Also, just somebody who is open to suggestions, I think that is important, because often we try and bring in new policies. Bridget

> Law abiding, first of all, then somebody that just has consideration for their neighbors. It's the small things really, like saying hello to someone or not littering is what makes a person a good citizen. I think the minute we stop conflict and we stop arguing and we start thinking about our neighbor, then you are a citizen. Sean

Elizabeth and Susan see taking responsibility and "doing what is right" as the key elements of being a good citizen. Elizabeth said, "Someone who takes responsibility and who isn't there just for themselves." And Susan said, "Someone that does what is right and fair and honest". Basically, being a good person is the same as being a good citizen.

They also talked about what citizenship activities they were involved in (see Table below).

Table 13: BHS Teachers' Citizenship Activities

Teacher	Citizenship Activity
Phil	- As a teacher and school administrator - Member of a political party - Participated in election events and campaigning - Organized election events at school - Member of a union
Bridget	- As a teacher – breaking down stereotypes - Reads newspapers, stays informed. Example: Watched national address - Hasn't joined union yet, not in any political parties or doesn't attend community meetings. - Church activities – charity and service
Sean	- As a teacher - Cared for orphaned babies, charity and community service work - Not into politics
Elizabeth	- As a teacher and parent - Not political, not in unions, not religious. - Does youth community programs with own kids - Engaged in school, helped animals in the past
Mark	- As a teacher - No unions
Susan	- Was a town councilor for 10 years - Involved in charity for orphanages and children's homes

Despite some not being involved in many citizenship activities, they almost all consider themselves to be "good citizens", by their own definitions. They also point to their roles as teachers as essential to being a good citizen. They admit that being a good citizen is a daily effort:

> My role as a history teacher and as a member of senior management here [at BHS] gives me a useful platform to promote democratic values and especially in the classroom. Phil

> I try, I am not perfect, far from it, but I have actually made a conscious effort. Being a teacher, you are a role model so you have to be every hour of the day aware, you will never know who you will bump into at the shop, you can't be one

> thing at school and as soon as you leave the school gates you are something else. Sean

> I try very hard and there is always more you can do, but I try. I keep telling my children that it is my responsibility that they become useful human beings and not just something else. So, as a teacher and a parent, you have to be a good citizen of this country, I would like to think I do my best and there is always room for improvement. Elizabeth

> Probably being a teacher, I think that is by far the most influential one can be, trying to get our young citizens to make the right choices and get them informed as a history teacher and just making a difference in their lives." Mark,

Susan acknowledges that she benefited from being White and feels to be a good citizen she must have a reciprocal relationship with her country:

> Yes, though I have my moments. I try and give back as much as I feel I have taken out of the country. I am very aware that I have had a really good life I had a wonderful childhood even though it was during the apartheid years. Susan

In Bridget's response, one could interpret her unacknowledged racist assumptions that crime is an African vice alone, despite her arguing against that stereotype. You could also say that she hears that stereotype in her classroom so often that fighting against it has become her definition of a good citizen.

> I try, we all have our moments where we could be negative and we all know of the stereotypes and have this typical stereotypical attitude of 'oh black people steal'. I use this example with the kids, I am one of those people who tries to step back from a situation and say, stop it, you are being mean. Bridget

Ubuntu

Occasionally a teacher would mention the virtue of *ubuntu* as part of the discussion of democracy and citizenship, but most did not comment on it until I brought it up. Most felt similarly about *Ubuntu* about democracy, that it was nice in theory, but did not always apply in daily life. Some could show that it existed in the school and in the classroom:

> It is a sense of community and what we owe each other as members of the community. I always think it's one of the most important missions of our school and which has been very successful. I believe is to create a home away from home. You can come from the poorest background or maybe you are being beaten up at home, whatever your family situation may be, this is a place where you can have stability, where you are valued equally. The biggest threat to our version of *Ubuntu* is the fractures in society out there. You can't keep all of these divisions and problems out the school gates. Phil

Phil uses to mean social cohesion within the school. He thinks the school itself has adopted the concept to develop its own community away from the social strife in everyday South Africa. He also acknowledges that this is sometimes impossible because the learners live in that very society as well. This points to the fact that schools can do a lot for changing social norms, but learners are still faced with other norms at home and in their communities.

> It is actually one of the topics we focus on in the classroom and we look at in terms of the African traditional culture, but also then in terms of democracy. Essentially what that means to me is just community behavior and consideration for everyone. I see it around, particularly in my classroom, if someone is absent, [they]will take notes for them, you know little things like that. Bridget

While democracy has its roots in individual rights, *ubuntu* has its roots in communal reciprocity. Thus, in action, it becomes defined by doing things for others in this sense.

> Ubuntu is basically a community, everybody has everybody's back and everybody helps everybody. It could be infused [into everyday life], but it would need people to have a greater understanding [of what it is]. Just like saying 'we are all one' and people take it the wrong way, like people trying to reclaim their farms. Because we are all one now, they all want that land. They don't work for something, but they feel entitled to it. So you have to create that understanding that we are all equal yes, but there are rules and this is modern society, so you have to do some things in order to get it. Sean

Sean sees Ubuntu as the spirit of reciprocal community with caveats. He thinks that certain people, and in this case 'people' being African, interpret *ubuntu* as reparations, affirmative action policies or land reform, all of which he thinks is unfair, greedy and

unlawful. *Ubuntu* in this case means equality in opportunity and access to land. He casts the hard-working White farmers as the victims in this scenario and lazy entitled Africans as the villains. This is a common fear, harkens back to the land reform process in Zimbabwe and is sometimes demanded by populist South African politicians. The idea that African workers might have a right to own some of the land they have worked on for generations makes many White South Africans uncomfortable.

Elizabeth sees *ubuntu* very much as an ideal, rather than something that works in real life. She defines it as those who care for and govern others in the community.

> It is such a beautiful idea, but in my worst jaded moments, I think that it is an urban myth, but you do see it in some things. In practical terms though, and how Mandela spoke about it and how Gcina Mhlope speaks about it, as being the responsibility of those who govern the community, it doesn't happen very often or at all. You do see all the grandmas in the valley looking after their children, because their parents cannot do it. It is a beautiful idea and I don't want to think that it is a fairy tale that cannot be sustained in this country.

Her example of community is the rural villages, where African grandmothers care for their grandchildren because their sons and daughters have had to seek work in the cities. It is a very traditional conception of community; she does not see evidence of it around her.

Mark also thinks of it as an ideal:

> I think the whole idea behind it is fantastic and I think it is overly romanticized. It is not in the [history] curriculum and I talk about [it concerning] sports events in class, but that is just about it. That is where you will find it [in sports] and I mean you go watch a match and you come out and you get mugged and the reality of South Africa hits you. Mark

. Once again he is very negative and pessimistic about the prospect of a virtue like Ubuntu being operationalized and uses an example of common violence to illustrate his version of South Africa.

Susan echoes the statements of her colleagues:

> I don't think it is a real thing for all South Africans, the kids learn it and they are taught to try and embrace it, but I don't think it really works everywhere. It does work in communities that understand it and have been brought up in it. I love the concept of it, but it doesn't always work in reality. It depends on who you are dealing with. If you have got kids who still have parents who are living in the past, they are not going to embrace it and they will not see it as something that they want to get involved in.

Ubuntu is a beautiful concept, but it does not work in wider South Africa, it only works for the traditional African communities where it has its roots and if White parents, in particular, do not embrace it, then learners will not either. She thinks of *ubuntu* as a concept belonging to the "other". Most of the teachers feel similarly.

Overall the BHS teachers are critical of South African democratic practices, even while admiring democratic ideals. They equate citizenship with being a good person, emphasizing obeying the law, voicing opposition when needed and taking responsibility for one's actions. They say they try to be good citizens, which is important especially for educators of the next generation of citizens. They are ambivalent about *ubuntu*.

BHS is the wealthiest and Whitest school of the three cases. It has the most resources, the smallest classes and the most diverse student body. This impacts the teaching methods, the attitudes of the teachers and how they approach the topics of citizenship and democracy. The BHS teachers approach these topics from places of privilege and of newfound minority status. This makes some feel that they must encourage dissent and critique of the current government and others feel they must move on from the past entirely.

Chapter 6: Dalton Secondary School –Analysis & Findings

This chapter presents the data gathered at Dalton Secondary School (DSS) through interviews, observation and document review. This chapter is organized similarly to Chapter 5 and contains four sections: the general description of the school and teachers, the teachers' early civic education, the teachers' approach to teaching and the curriculum and finally, their understandings of citizenship and democracy.

Description

Dalton Secondary School is in an urban, residential neighborhood, not far from the Durban city center. This neighborhood is in an Indian suburb with a large Pakistani and Muslim population. The school is a few blocks off the main commercial street, which has many shops with Arabic names and products catering to Muslims. The neighborhood could be considered lower middle class, though many homes have walls and gates, so it is difficult to determine. The streets themselves are not in good repair and there is not a lot of greenery or landscaping outside of the residential compounds.

A teacher told me that school is considered safe and secure, because it is hidden away from some of the "main street issues". The area also has some high-rise apartments, which house low-income tenants, recent immigrants, illegal immigrants and refugees. Many learners live in these, which have a lot of turn over and are considered less secure. The school itself will "kick out" learners if needed, to maintain security and discipline. Due to its security and high matric pass rates, it is considered to be a highly desirable school in the neighborhood.

DSS is directly across the street from a Hindu temple on one side and a mosque on the other. The school also rents space on the athletic field to a church, which meets under a large tent. This points to the religious diversity of the neighborhood and student body. You can hear the call to prayer from the mosque throughout the day.

The front of the school is secured by an electric gate, which is controlled by security guards, who patrol the school. There is no official sign-in list or protocol for visitors and often the guards are not even there and the gate is locked. The principal and administrative offices are in one corner of the school, along one hallway, away from the gate and driveway. There was no real reception area, but the administrative hallway contained an area for visitors to wait outside of the principal's office. This area contained posters of the South African National Anthem and Coat of Arms.

The school is made up of several multi-story buildings, built into a hill, with external walkways. The main set of buildings surround a large courtyard that is paved and covered by a large tin roof. This area serves as the assembly hall, auditorium, gym and recess area. It looks more like an airplane hanger with no walls than a school space. The school facilities showed a bit of wear and tear, with the main driveway in disrepair, some graffiti on the walls and several broken windows. There are security cameras in the main stairwells, though it is unclear if they worked. There is a single sports field behind the school that is worn, but well maintained, and shares space with the temporary church.

There is one main break room that the teachers use for tea and lunch breaks and an additional small break room that a select group of teachers use in another building. The main break room, in the administrative wing, is fairly small and has several tables and plastic chairs. There is a refrigerator and two microwaves, one for vegetarians. Some

teachers do work in the break room, but it is mostly for eating and meetings. Most teachers have their own classrooms. There are two computer rooms, one for teachers and one for students, but I saw teachers in them both mostly and were also often locked. I spent much more time in the second smaller break room, behind the Tuck Shop (snack bar) in a side building. This was used by several heads of departments and had nothing more than a tiny kitchen and storage area with a few chairs.

The classrooms vary in size and décor. Teachers have a lot of influence over their classrooms and often decorate when they did not share a classroom. There is almost no technology in the classrooms and I only saw one with an overhead projector. I never saw any teachers showing films or using any technology while teaching. One teacher had a laptop, but that seemed to be personal and used for administration and grading.

The school day and schedule was slightly different at BHS. The classes were slightly longer at 55 minutes each, and there were fewer periods, six total with two breaks in the day. Often the school has abbreviated days for holidays, staff meetings and workshops. Then classes are then shortened to 35 minutes. This was for students to get out earlier in the day, as many had to travel a long way to get to home, as well as allowing Muslim students to attend Friday prayer services.

The school recognized many of the religious holidays observed by staff and learners and there were many days when the school was closed or they held themed assemblies for the students outside of the classroom. The school was closed for Diwali, a Hindu holiday, as well as Muslim and Christian holidays. The day before the school let out for the Diwali holidays, an ice cream truck was brought to the school as a special treat for the students. Schools are able to determine which holidays are observed to some

extent beyond national holidays. There was also a big event for Mother's Day, where the female teachers all received a gift from the principal and given a brunch prepared by the students studying hospitality. There was a sense that this was a much bigger event than the school had ever had due to the new principal, who was taking the occasion to "treat" her new teachers. This also created free time for the students, who had music and dancing in the courtyard. A question lingered among the teachers whether this was a good use of out of class time.

Statistics (for details, also see Table 6 in Ch. 4)

As seen in Table 6, DSS is a fees paying school, but their fees are much less than BHS and other former Model C schools. While these fees are considerably lower, students and their families still struggle to pay them. Only about 50% of the DSS students pay the full fees. This means that 15-20% of the students receive a reduced rate based on need and their families' financial circumstances. Another 30% do not pay at all. This was arranged through scholarships or families simply did not pay the fees. The fact that the school has much lower fees, which are not always collected, speaks to the limited resources at the school. The student-teacher ratio is much higher than at BHS. Classes are bigger and teachers teach many sections. The school is also not able to offer as many extra-curricular activities and elective classes.

The demographics of the student body also explain some of the difficulties they have in paying the fees. They include learners who are considered orphans, live in a children's home and have their fees paid for. Other students have their fees provided by religious organizations, such as a Muslim social group that may pay for Muslim learners.

The school also has an informal feeding or lunch program for learners with real financial hardships. The lunches come from private donations from organizations and from the teachers themselves. Teacher and learners tended to know who was in great need and food was distributed very quietly and without documentation.

The school has a fairly diverse student body, both racially and religiously. Learners come from the nearby neighborhoods, as well as other townships and informal settlements in Durban. Most of the leaners come from middle to low-income backgrounds. About 50% of the learners are Indian, who are Muslim, Hindu and Christian. Four percent of the students are colored and there are only four White students total in the whole school.

About 40% of the learners are African, who are Muslim, Christian, Zulu, Xhosa, other South African ethnic groups, and from other African countries. There is a significant learner population of refugees and immigrants from elsewhere on the African continent. Some of these learners have official refugee or asylum seeking status, many from the Democratic Republic of Congo. The school has made a commitment to accepting these refugees and immigrants as a model of respecting human rights.

About 25% of learners come from outside Durban as well. The school has a reputation for excellence and safety with lower fees. Some come from nearby townships, taking public taxis and walking distances to get to school. Other learners come from the Eastern Cape, one of the poorest provinces, and they board with families near the school.

While the student population is fairly diverse, the teaching staff is not. 95% of the teachers are Indian and of those 22% are Muslim and 73% are Hindu (some are also Christian, but those statistics were not given to me). There are only two African and Zulu

teachers. This reflects the school's history as a former Head of Delegates (HOD) or Indian school. The leadership and teaching staff do not reflect the current make-up of their current group of learners.

Only about 12% of the learners opt to take History. Most students take accounting and science course loads. This is far lower at DSS than at either BHS or LHS. In fact, there is only one designated History teacher at DSS. DSS has 83-85% matric pass rate.

My Access

I received access to DSS through an introduction from my other academic sponsor at UKZN. She introduced me to a fellow professor and teacher at DSS who invited me to complete my research at her school. Receiving access through a teacher was very different from receiving from the principal, which was the case in the other two schools. This teacher also taught in the teacher preparation at UKZN, had a PHD in education and was very comfortable with researchers. She helped facilitate meeting other teachers and eventually participated in the study as well. While I received permission from the principal to be at the school, I was considered to be under the wing of the teacher.

I stood out more at DSS as a White person among the primarily Indian staff. This changed my level of access in some ways, as I was often asked who I was and what I was doing there. Some teachers were a little uneasy with me being in their classrooms, but eventually welcomed me. I was not asked to participate in any real way, though teachers occasionally used me as an appeal for their students to behave better.

Leadership and Discipline

When I first started visiting DSS for my research in October 2014, there was a temporary, interim principal and by the new school year, in January 2015, there was a new permanent principal. Before the interim head, there had been a long standing principal who had suddenly died and left the school in a period of transition. The appointment of a new permanent principal was both welcome and caused some apprehension about an outsider coming into a leadership role.

It was difficult to see the mark of the principal's leadership style and influence on the school's culture, due to one principal being temporary and one being brand new. That being said, it was interesting to speak with the new principal at the beginning of her time at DSS, when her goals and plans were new. She was previously an English teacher within Indian schools for over twenty years. She continued to teach as she rose through the ranks as Head of Department and Deputy Principal and this was her first position as principal. Her office was utilitarian, had a row of seats facing her desk for visitors and had diplomas and a small image of an Indian deity on the walls.

There was interesting dynamic between the principal, teaching staff and Deputy Principal, who was one of the few African teachers and administrators at the school. I had several conversations with him in passing and heard other teachers' opinions of him. As one of the few African teachers and nominally in the second highest position in the school, there was some tension between him and other faculty. He was not pleased with how few African teachers were at the school and told me that this was his sixth teaching placement and was glad to finally to be teaching in a more urban area. In his opinion,

African teachers often were assigned to rural schools with few resources, students living in poverty and areas far from their homes or township schools with major security issues.

At the same time, some of the Indian teachers gave the impression that he was there and in his high position for affirmative action reasons and was not qualified for the deputy position. This tension spoke to some of the underlying racial tensions that surround access, quality and equality issues in teaching and learning in South Africa.

Teachers often told me that DSS did not have the discipline issues that other schools had because they would actually kick students out permanently for egregious infractions. This was one reason the school was so popular and parents from far away wanted to send their children there. That being said, minor discipline issues occurred regularly.

One of the ways the school dealt with discipline issues was to have a respected teacher in charge of discipline issues. There was also an “exclusion classroom” which was described as “one classroom for all the troublemakers”. This was similar to in-school detention, where students who were especially disruptive were pulled out of their classrooms and put into another one designated for discipline cases. As there was no one class and teacher actually available to monitor these discipline cases, they had to sit at the back of the head of discipline’s classroom all day.

Students often were given alternative punishments depending on their misdeeds. In an incident where one learner was slapped by another, both learners had to write statements and the parents were brought in to go over them. The head of discipline said that “that type of bullying could not be tolerated and the learners have the right to be in a secure space”. The head of discipline also explained why both parties had to write a

statement, that it was good for "reflecting and debriefing" and creates "trust and confidence and is generally therapeutic". The hurt learner is able to be listened to and find some catharsis, while the offending learner is able to tell his or her side and apologize. The head of discipline says that writing of a statement also allows for such incidents not to be "swept under the rug" and helps parents to make formal complaints on behalf of their children. This is an extremely progressive way of dealing with discipline issues and speaks to expertize of the dead of discipline and the school's ethos that practices transformative rather that retributive forms of punishment.

Teacher at DSS

This section presents thorough descriptions of each teacher participant, their teaching style and classroom.

Table 14: DSS Teachers

Teachers	Age	Race	Subject	Grades	Gender
Karen	63	Indian	Life Science & Life Orientation	8,10,12	Female
Ethan	43	Indian	History	8,10-12	Male
Victoria	42	Indian	Life Sciences & Life Orientation	8,9,12	Female
Melissa	31	Indian	Life Orientation & PE	8-12	Female
Vincent	48	Indian	Life Orientation & PE	8-12	Male

Karen. Karen was the most educated and experienced teacher in the study. She had multiple degrees in several subjects and had been teaching for more than twenty years. She had a PHD in education and her dissertation investigated science education

through a critical race theory lens. She taught Life Science as her main topic, but also taught Life Orientation. She also taught prospective science teachers at university.

Karen was a force to be reckoned with in the classroom. She knew her subject matter backwards and forwards, she knew her learners' names, she was in charge of discipline for the whole school and she seemed to enjoy her job. She was strict, tolerated little disruption, asked a lot of questions and expected learners to answer. At one point when learners did not know the answers to easy questions, she had them sit on the floor. She moved around the class, used her voice for emphasis and joked with learners. She only lectured and wrote on the board when she had exhausted review questions, and had learners participate periodically. She related new information to what they already knew, used personal information and current events to connect with them and asked them to look up information when they did not know it.

Her classroom was in a separate building apart from the main buildings, which also housed the Tuck Shop and small teacher's lounge and office. The classroom was multi-purpose, cluttered and used for storage at one point in the year. The students sit in rows of plastic chairs at movable wooden tables that fit two students each. There are ceiling fans, large windows on both sides, faded curtains and metal cabinets with scientific specimens (example: a log with mushrooms) on it. There are other scientific learning artifacts, such as a human anatomy figure and posters about global warming and water cycles. While it is clearly more of a science classroom, she also has posters of the Bill of Rights, the Science of Racism and Protecting Institutional Rights.

Ethan. Ethan was the sole history teacher at DSS. He was in his mid forties and had been teaching for over ten years. His teaching background and BA degree, with an

additional diploma and certificate, were in Math Education, but was a fairly passionate history teacher. He had a very engaging and fluid speaking style, even when lecturing and had the tone and cadence of a storyteller. He acted out concepts, used gestures and created pictures with stories of the past. He used current and relevant events to illustrate key historical points.

While his learners tended to listen intently and take notes, he was not very interactive. He rarely asked questions, and when he did, they required easy, one-word answers, rather than discussions. He used the book a great amount, which his learners generally did not have themselves. In fact, he clearly had to shape his teaching for the absence of books in the classroom. He would walk around the large class to show each learner certain images, would dictate important sections of the text so the learners could copy them verbatim and he would often repeat and write key points on the board. He favored an Afrocentric and Afro-positive perspective of teaching history and challenged the narrative of European superiority by highlighting African successes.

His classroom was set up in a traditional classroom arrangement with desks in rows facing the chalkboard. The room is larger than needed for the average class size, with room to spread out and empty desks. The desks were old and covered in writing. It was otherwise fairly bare and in disrepair. The bulletin boards were broken and empty and the bookcases were mostly empty except for a few old and shabby books. He had almost no decorations or learning artifacts.

Victoria. Victoria, like Ethan, was in her early forties, had been teaching for over ten years and had a B.Ed. and education diploma from a now defunct teaching college. She taught Life Sciences, Math and LO. While LO was clearly not her main focus, she

took the class seriously and as an opportunity to talk about important social issues with her learners.

Victoria did a lot of preparation for her classes, and often had text written on the board before classes started. She rarely used the textbook herself, but had learners read relevant passages out loud. She asked a lot of questions, especially clarifying questions. She gave very clear instructions for activities, micro-managing how her learners should set up their notebooks. This might have been her personal teaching style, or she was training learners to take good notes when they did not have access to books and notebooks became textbooks. She had a very calm and kind tone, spoke slowly, but did not dumb down her vocabulary.

She was also very concerned with her learners' behavior and engagement. She circled the classroom while she spoke, gently correcting how they sat, reprimanding giggling and encouraging learners to participate, particularly quiet girls. There was some loose chatter in her class, but she quickly quieted it. Her classroom reflects this as tables were organized into small groupings for about eight learners each. The desks are new and there is a White board rather than a chalkboard. The room is smaller than others, but has a cozy feel with the way it is organized and decorated. There were lots of posters and articles on the walls, reflecting her teaching of both Life Science and LO, including: Child Protection, Where to Get Help, Life Cycle of a Tree, Water Cycle, Drugs and New Threats and HIV/AIDS.

Melissa. Melissa was the youngest teacher at DSS, in her early thirties and had been teaching for about eight years. She had a BA and a post-graduate diploma and her background was in Psychology, school guidance counseling and teaching Life

Orientation. She had a young family and was a practicing Muslim. In addition to teaching Life Orientation, she also had to teach PE, which she did not enjoy. I observed one of the PE classes, in which no one had brought their gym clothes and or did any of the activities Melissa instructed them to do.

This lack of order continued into her classroom. While her overall demeanor was kind and calm, she had difficulty keeping her classes on topic, to the point where very little content was delivered. She would often get frustrated and yell at the learners to behave, but would give very little guidance on what to do. They copied from the board, read from the book and answered questions from the book in groups. Learners who were also frustrated would go up to Melissa's desk and ask for help, which she would give, but effectively, she only taught half the class.

Out of all the teachers, my presence in her classroom rattled Melissa the most. She would often talk to me throughout the class, saying how terrible this or that class was and how they embarrassed her in front of me. I tried to stay silent and unobtrusive, but I clearly impacted her teaching and her classes' behavior. She also talked about how some of the learners intimidated her, especially the boys and how she cried when she had to teach them PE. She thought she would be better suited as a guidance counselor.

Her classroom had a fairly standard set up, metal desks in rows with plastic chairs, which were often moved around during classes so learners could sit near friends. There was a chalk board and posters on the walls, including: a Mandela quote, Class Rules and Goals, a map of South Africa, the Children's Bill of Rights, Underage Drinking, and Preventing Cholera.

Vincent. Vincent was the main PE teacher and main athletics coach at DSS, but also taught Life Orientation. His background was in physical education and he wanted to be a coach from an early age. He also had other responsibilities at the school, such as monitoring late arrivals in the morning and other administrative duties. These extended responsibilities meant that he was stretched very thin and he often ran late to class. Many of his classes were cancelled or postponed due to other commitments.

He is an energetic man in his late forties and has been teaching for over twenty years. His coaching background gave him an easy rapport with the learners, especially the boys. He had a joking and engaging style that put learners at ease. They paid attention and you could hear frequent giggles in response to things he had said. He would stand in the aisle of this classroom to pose questions in a more conversational way, which learners responded to well. He also asked follow up questions and for examples. His humor and engaging manner engrossed his learners, but it also made it difficult to change tones and discuss more serious and complex topics.

His classroom doubled as a science room. Desks and seats are fixed to the floor on risers, so no other configuration can be arranged. This was one of the nicer rooms in the school, with a chalkboard, whiteboard, screen, air conditioner, fans, carpet and curtains. There are several photos and quotes of Mandela on the walls and posters of different career choices.

In the next section, I will use the teachers' own words from their interviews and what I observed from visiting their classes to answer the research questions and present the data.

Early Exposure to Democracy

The teachers at DSS had very different memories of apartheid than the teachers at BHS, while their exposure to democracy had some similarities. During apartheid, Indians had fewer rights and freedoms than Whites, but more than Africans. This placed them in both oppressed and oppressing spaces, which is communicated in the DSS teachers' words.

Karen's first exposure to democracy was witnessing the absence of democracy during the apartheid era:

> When I grew up, I lived in the center of town, very close to Curries Fountain, where all the demonstrations happened, with regards to anti-apartheid. So the demonstrators would walk past my primary school and then my high school. I didn't hesitate to get involved in student activities and protests. If there was a march, I marched. If there was a strike, I was on strike. I was used to the police being violent and horrible to people. All that being part of my childhood and growing up experience was what alerted me [to what was happening]. [18]

She observed the liberation struggle protesters close to her home and the state violence from a young age,. She could not ignore either side, as it was happening in her neighborhood and all around her and she became involved.

Vincent also was first exposed to the oppression of the apartheid state and the lack of democracy through student protests.

> When we were in Grade 8, apartheid was very much alive, so we were affected by it. Our senior learners were on a boycott; because of the inferior education we were receiving, because of the laws, because of the funding and all those things. We were asked why we were protesting, is it because we want freedom and as Grade 8s we really didn't know what this whole freedom thing was really about. I would say that is where we really learnt about what was happening in our country.

[18] *Curries Fountain* is stadium complex in Durban, often used as a gathering place for protests and political rallies. It was the site of many anti-apartheid rallies and marches during the liberation struggle.

Early exposure to protests in school or neighborhoods really shaped how these teachers thought about these topics. They became aware earlier of what was going on in South Africa and were more open to learning about alternatives to apartheid.

For some of the other teachers, such as Ethan, who grew up in more insulated townships, the oppression of the apartheid state was less clear:

> If all you are around are people of your own kind, doing things that you would consider normal, you didn't realize that you are living in an abnormal South Africa. A lot of people would shy away from these issues. For as long as nobody spoke about it, we felt very protected, not realizing that there is a very volatile South Africa out there. As a result of Group Areas and all these restrictive rules, the communities that we lived in, shielded themselves from all these laws, and as children, we never really realized that we were living in an apartheid South Africa. You were in a comfort zone and didn't realize that there was a bigger world and that bad things are happening out there. [19]

Ethan makes the point that apartheid caused such deep segregation for his community, growing up in a township, formed by forced resettlement, that it was completely normalized for him as a child. He did not realize at the time that the struggle was going on or that other people in South Africa lived in different ways.

Victoria adds to this sentiment by discussing how little information they had about politics in general, never mind ideas about democracy.

> Of course our understandings [of democracy] were very limited. We had no Internet, so our access to information was very limited. It was what we got from the media and what we could critically evaluate. That was as much as we could do.

Victoria points out that, in addition to being in a segregated bubble, they had no way to learn about democracy, politics and the outer world. They only had the state sponsored and censured media to rely on for news and information.

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[19] Group Areas Act 1950 – The apartheid law that assigned racial groups to different residential and commercial sections of cities, often creating townships.

For Melissa, the youngest teacher in the study at DSS, her experience understanding democracy was a little different and more similar to the White teachers in her age cohort at BHS:

> I can remember the news, people were saying, there is going to be war, the Africans are going to take over, and you know we have a stigma attached to things like that. People were saying ‘we need to stock up on food because we won’t have enough’ and things like that. As a young child, you don’t understand those things. You grow up a little bit and you do start learning. I would say [I learned] at school, from the media and also our peers, because South Africa went through a transition in 1994 and obviously I was still young. I didn’t really experience apartheid that much, but obviously in the media there was a lot of information given about this democracy and about Mandela.

Melissa refers to learning about democracy from the media, before, during and after the democratic transition. The media was at first controlled by the apartheid government and loosened up as the transition approached, which offered the whole country an opportunity to learn more about democracy. At first, there were dire warnings of coming civil war and then eventually more about the more peaceful and participatory government of Nelson Mandela. This contributed to the fear of coming African violence Melissa mentioned had during that time.

The next section will discuss the influence of school, teachers and family on how the DSS teachers first learned about democracy and citizenship.

Influence of School and Teachers

Just as the teachers at the other schools discussed, some received their introduction to the topics of democracy through their own education. Most of the teachers said that these topics were taught in secret, taught so abstractly that they could not be applied to the present political situation or not taught at all.

For Ethan, he discussed what he was taught in History class as part of the apartheid education system, which intentionally set out to demean and create a sense of inferiority for Indians and Africans.

> I will never forget when I was in primary school, we had a history textbook that was like the Bible, called the Legacy of the Past. It was a black book and whenever they taught sections and they would make it quite clear, in mentioning black people, to call them 'kefirs' and Indians were 'kuris' and this was something that was taught to us. Now imagine that we were taught by Indian teachers, so they were telling us that they are kefirs and you are kuris. You are told this by your own kind. So it justifies being called by that name because your people were the ones teaching you these things. [20]

The painful message he received from valued books and respected teachers was that he was less than White South Africans and it was an accepted fact at the time. He was taught that he was not an active citizen and had no right to be. He did experience being taught about democracy, but in a way had ignored what was happening in South Africa at the time.

> It was a very restrictive type of life and people were not allowed to speak up. Now that I look back, I think, why were teachers not confrontational about these issues? They were never brought in at all. Even a history teacher I could remember, when we dealt with concepts like democracy, they would never talk about the opposite, which we were experiencing, which was apartheid. They just mentioned what democracy was. I think there was a sense of fear in them that somebody would go and tell, so they just basically steered clear of it.

His teachers did not or were not able to address the nature of democracy in the South African context. This was due to the real fear that many people of all races had of the apartheid government and their ability to silence opposition.

[20] These terms are considered to be extremely racist and derogatory and are under consideration for being outlawed in South Africa as hate speech (Collison, 2016).

Teachers often were under particular pressure to stick to the prescribed curriculum and political ideology of the day. Victoria, who was the same age group as Ethan, echoes his view of their censored education.

> In terms of being exposed to democracy and our history, the education system at that time did not teach liberation. Our teacher would talk to us about people like Gandhi, but political parties were not mentioned. I finished Grade 12 in 1990 and the discussions regarding the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela were beginning. We as a class of 21 learners protested on our school grounds, lobbying for the unbanning of the ANC and freeing of Mandela. Our principal called in the police and we were asked to put away our banners and go back to class. So that was our experience of democracy. We were not allowed to talk about political issues in class.

She was part of a more politically active student body. Her class's attempts to protest some of the key issues of the day were met with police and more censorship.

Certain teachers would not publicly discuss issues concerning democracy and the liberation struggle, but would discuss, debate and challenge students, such as Vincent and his classmates, privately.

> Later on in my senior year, where we had educators who were educating us [on these issues], it was not the whole class who would get this information, it would be something we did after school or if we had conversations with the teachers one on one and they would give you an idea of what was going on and we would have a debate. There were ones who talked and ones who didn't. Others told us not to quote them. One educator told me that when they were on campus, they used to boycott and protest and my question was, 'why did people have to lose their lives though?' because I didn't understand. Eventually you get to know the sacrifices that were made and then there were bombings and all of that. I could not understand [at that time] and that was because I couldn't see the bigger picture.

This seemed to be a compromise for some teachers who wanted to speak out about what was going on, but were afraid of being reported for their anti-apartheid sentiments. Vincent had a hard time understanding from his limited perspective why such violence was deemed necessary during the struggle and his teachers influenced how he thought about the larger anti-apartheid movement.

Victoria also had one standout teacher who at least offered a forum for discussion in her classroom:

> I remember our English teacher, a brave lady, Mrs. Ganging, in Grade 11, allowed us to speak about De Klerk's move towards unbanning the ANC and freeing Mandela, so we got used to that. We got articles from newspapers and you could discuss it in class or you could present a speech as part of your English orals. We would ask a lot of questions and I suppose we were lucky because we did not get censored in those discussions.

Just offering a safe space for discussion could be dangerous for teachers, so this teacher took a big risk in allowing an open dialog in her classroom. She clearly influenced Victoria in creating this safe space, where students could ask questions and seek the information that had been kept from them. Victoria seemed to emulate that in her own classroom.

For Karen, her teachers and her school were fully aware of the liberation struggle going on in South Africa, were not hindered by fear and informed their students what was happening around them.

> We had teachers at our school who had studied at University of Fort Hare, who came back with a very critical appraisal of what was going on in the country and didn't hesitate to speak about it in our history class, in our English class.[21]

The teachers at Karen's schools came from a more progressive background and perhaps a more privileged background that allowed them more access to ideas from outside the apartheid state. They had been exposed to more critical thinking and liberation ideology at Fort Hare and felt a duty to share it with their students. They did not just follow the prescribed curriculum mandated by the state, but actively spoke out against it:

[21] University of Fort Hare – Historically, a center for African learning and Black Consciousness during the colonial and apartheid eras, where many South African and African leaders, such as Nelson Mandela received their education. It's intellectual values and mission were attacked and suppressed under the apartheid government and it has undergone many transitions since the end of apartheid (University of Fort Hare, 2016).

> It [what was happening] wasn't subverted, it was obverted. I remember my history teacher teaching us what real history was in terms of her experience as a South African. That which we had to learn for the exams, we ignored [elsewhere]. We spoke instead of what was going on in the country, of people being denied their citizenship, rights, the lack of democracy, the oppression of different groups of people.

Karen's experience of having boldly progressive teachers made an impact on her. She participated in the anti-apartheid movement and continues to challenge her learners in her teaching career. Her teachers did not just teach her about what democracy was, but also what a lack of it was and how that was taking place in South Africa.

Even though Melissa was going through high school after the democratic transition, she does not have many memories of being taught about citizenship and democracy directly.

> Maybe in our English lessons, we did Julius Caesar in school. I think maybe then our teacher would say look at the politics and how Caesar is ruling and what is happening here. So I think maybe she did mention something and these are the kind of changes we are going to experience as well.

She vaguely remembers references to democratic processes being discussed in the context of literature rather than history or civics. She had more memories of learning about democracy and citizenship in university and through participating in the first election:

> University, yes, because there you think for yourself and when I had to vote. I voted in the first election when I turned 18 and you had to listen to both kinds of views with different political parties. Some people would say you know what? Don't vote for the ANC because they already have the majority vote anyway, yours isn't going to matter. My vote does make a difference though and people can see that I am interested in my country and I do want to make a difference.

She attributes the opportunity to think independently and participate in the voting process as the most important lesson in the democratic process. She also makes note of a popular sentiment in non-African populations that the ANC would win the election no matter

what and voting was useless. Despite that, most of the teachers I spoke to still saw voting as a seminal moment in their lives.

All of the teachers, according to the apartheid laws, went to Indian, HOD schools. They had mainly Indian teachers and classmates throughout their entire education. They only started having integrated classes with African children as teachers and probably still had few encounters with White teachers or students.

> It was a school of all Indian origin and it was an all-girls school. The teachers were a mixture of British Expats and people of Indian origin. Karen
>
> An Indian high school. In the old days it was referred to as an HOD school, so as a result, a majority of my classmates from the time I was in Grade 1, right to Grade 12, were typically Indian and the staff complement was typically Indian and everything that was taught was from an Indian perspective. Ethan
>
> When I was in high school, I went through an apartheid education. I went to a coed, Indian high school in an Indian suburb north of Durban. Victoria
>
> I went to a girls' high school, predominantly Indian, with Indian teachers as well. Although we were all Indians, we learnt life lessons from each other and others. We were all from different cultures and backgrounds, so you learnt a lot from them. It was a lot of pressure and our teachers were very strict. It was good when it came to discipline, but we were so afraid sometimes to ask questions. There were certain teachers you felt comfortable with and certain teachers who were a 'no no.' Melissa

We can see that some of the teachers' saw their segregated experience as limited, such as Ethan, who remarked upon the single perspective he was exposed to as a student. Victoria also commented on her education being an "apartheid education" which speaks to the segregation, limited resources and censorship in the schools she was allowed to attend. Melissa made a point of saying that while her school was all Indian, there were lots of differences in cultures and backgrounds, which is important to remember. Of the five Indian teachers in this study, they had fairly different socioeconomic backgrounds and

were of Muslim, Hindu and Christian faiths. Melissa highlights the diversity within the Durban Indian population, and within racial groups in general, that is often glossed over.

Family Influence

The DSS teachers were fairly united in saying that their parents were fairly conservative, protective and unlikely to want their children learning about anything controversial or potentially dangerous, which included ideas of democracy and citizenship at the time. Just as many of their teachers were afraid of rocking the boat or drawing attention by talking about these topics, many parents were as well. Vincent made the point that they had to find ways to be informed or involved in the struggle without their families' permission.

> With parents, you were told what to do, you don't question it, so if we did anything it had to be undercover, because they did not send you to school to do all these things, so we had to make sure they did not find out.

Most of the DSS teachers echoed this sentiment, that their families did not want their children being involved with anything that would interfere with their education. A few teachers had a family member who was involved in the struggle and stood out as a major influence on them. Karen's family seemed to straddle the divide, they did not want her involved in the movement, yet were vocal in their opposition to apartheid.

> At home, my father was a person who was very critical of what was going on and at the same time he didn't want his children to be involved. The family response and the way we were raised was not to be accepting of apartheid and to find our own ways of dealing with it. I learnt how to be subversive.

She told me a story of her mother sitting on a White's only bench at one point and feigning ignorance of English when told to get up. She saw small examples of her family's disapproval of apartheid and used them to model her own subversive acts of

protest. Victoria had a relative more actively involved family in protesting apartheid who influenced her:

> Growing up I had a maternal grandfather who was very aware of the injustices we, as a group of people defined by race, had suffered. My grandparents had lived in a small town in the Natal Midlands, where it was dominated by White people and Indians had struggles settling there. The struggles he went through, establishing himself as a pioneer in the Indian community as businessman. My mother was very aware of this and we became very aware of our need to have a say and participate in our country's democracy.

Victoria's grandfather's experiences with apartheid awoke her to the injustices happening in South Africa and enlightened her about the need for rights and equality.

The DSS teachers had a difficult road in learning about democracy and citizenship under the apartheid education system. They had to depend on subversive teachers and family members to break their silence on what was really happening around them. They had to make mental leaps to reconcile the protests, violence and injustices they experienced with what they were learning in school. They were in both privileged and oppressed positions, and in often segregated bubbles within South African society that created real barriers to critical learning.

Choosing Teaching

There are major differences in the reasons why teachers from DSS chose their careers from the reasons of their colleagues at BHS. For Indians during apartheid there were few professional options. Many of the teachers felt that teaching was the only real option available to them. Having little control and choice over your career can result in a different attitude towards that career. Most of the teachers seemed to enjoy teaching, but were still honest that it might not have been their first choice.

Karen faced both racism and sexism in trying to find a place in a degree program and the profession of her choice:

> When I did finish my science degree, I applied for jobs as a microbiologist, one of my majors, and I got back answers like 'we can't employ you because you're are female and we don't have toilets for females', instead of telling me that I was black and female and they wouldn't hire me, even though I met all the requirements for the job. I Then I started teaching and I've never looked back. I've enjoyed the job thoroughly. I first taught in a community of people where the parents were the laborers in the sugar cane fields. At that time it was still under apartheid, so I was teaching at a school of Indian origin only and I couldn't teach anywhere else, it was not allowed.

She could not enter her first choice of careers and eventually ended up teaching in the all-Indian education system, also by default rather than choice. Despite this, she has thrown herself into teaching and now educates new teachers entering the profession.

Victoria, while also an enthusiastic teacher, echoes Karen's feeling of being pushed into teaching. She said, "education was not a choice, it was by default. I chose LO, because it needed filling." Ethan takes this a step further and said that many Indians were not even aware of the possibilities of being in other professions:

> I think people got used to the idea of the jobs that they were expected to do and those were the professions that they went into, so it was not normal. So if Indian people became accountants or teachers, their expected roles, they didn't realize that you could be an engineer or a doctor or whatever the case may be. So nobody really questioned these things.

Much like the idea of their own inferiority was built into the education system, the options available for Indian South Africans were intentionally limited. While Karen tried and was unable to find a career outside of teaching, Ethan was unaware that he could even become a professional outside of teaching, accounting or policing. From his background, teaching was even a lofty goal:

> Typically speaking from an Indian perspective, I can remember when we were younger, a lot of the jobs we were told to go into, especially by our parents, would

> have been safe jobs. Going into the teaching profession, for me particularly wasn't that clear-cut. My intention was never to go and study at university because my parents could not afford it. So as a result it was not even something that was even suggested by my family. The irony was when we were asked in school 'what do you want to become?' the most obvious choice was to be a police man. It was that whole transition period, starting in 1992 and a lot of changes were being made and coincidentally at the so-called non-White universities there was a lot of funding that was available.

For Ethan, university only became a reality during the democratic transition when more places at university opened up for Indian students, with available funding. The idea of 'safe jobs' still continues. Melissa, who went to university after the 1994 democratic transition, still ranked security as a main reason for people to choose teaching.

> I think they go into it mainly because it's a secure career to have and with the females, time-wise you can get home by 4p and the holidays are the best thing. Then there is the medical and housing subsidy, so it is a secure job.

She also points out that women in particular still go into teaching since it is compatible with raising children. Her own path to teaching was also based on practicality, rather than aptitude and choice.

> When I had gotten my degree, with five girls at home, I had to find work because it would have been a financial strain on my parents. My mom was a teacher and I used to look up to her and that's how I decided to do teaching. Whilst I was still studying part-time, there were schools around the area that we always went to, which needed people and that's how I got into the system and managed to do a post-diploma in Education. That's how it started.

While Melissa as well chose teaching originally for its financial security, she has struggled as teacher and thinks she would do better as a guidance counselor. Guidance counselors are positions that have been typically cut as schools have their budgets tightened in South Africa.

Vincent is one of the few teachers at DSS who always set out to be a teacher and continues to enjoy his job, despite the added pressures that have come with the

elimination of certain positions, such as guidance counselors, athletic coaches and arts teachers.

> So from an early age, I wanted to be a PE teacher, I love sport and I love the teaching and it was more secure, plus I looked up to the teachers who did sports and PE at that time, they were my role models. I enjoy what I do and I am not frustrated and I am not complaining, I just love what I do.

Actual choice in choosing one's career is important in how one performs in that career. While many of these DSS teachers did not set out to be teachers, they have embraced their roles and worked hard. That does not change the fact that they might still resent their past lack of choice.

Teachers' Approach to Teaching, the Curriculum and their Learners

The next section presents how teachers see their roles as teachers and approach the curriculum through their own teaching. First, I will discuss how the DSS teachers saw their own roles as civic educators and what skills, knowledge, values and attitudes they need to teach citizenship and democracy effectively. Second, I will discuss their views on the sections of the curriculum that address civic issues. Third, I will discuss how teachers actually present these topics in the classroom. Finally, I will discuss how the teachers' perceptions of their learners impacts their teaching of citizenship and democracy.

Role of the Teacher as a Civic Educator

The DSS teachers viewed their roles as teachers in various and complex ways. Most of them did mention some sense of responsibility for shaping and teaching young citizens. Ethan, the sole History teacher, viewed its role in a historical context and as a

role model for democratic citizenship. Ethan sees a distinct difference between the “old” and “ new” teacher and their roles in the classroom:

> I think the role of the old teacher and the role of the new teacher has changed drastically. We are now role models and we need to enable and expose our children to what being a real citizen of this country is, the citizenship that the people in this country have earned. As a teacher in a modern classroom, we need to communicate that understanding of what that democracy and citizenship is to our learners, because I really don’t think they really do know what it is. To them, they are just words.

The “modern” teacher in his opinion has more of a responsibility to be a role model, rather just to dispense knowledge. He sees role as a model for how his learners should conduct themselves and participate in the new democracy. He feels a sense that his learners do not appreciate or understand their democratic rights that he did not have growing up and it is his job to help them. His response does make me question whether Ethan would have the same response about his role as a teacher, if citizenship and democracy were not the foci of my study.

There is some evidence of this in his classroom teaching, especially the emphasis on empowerment. While he did not foster much discussion or participation in his classes, he made a conscious effort to highlight the contributions and successes of individuals and societies on the African continent and minimize or reframe the influence of European/Western history. He felt strongly that his learners, who are mostly African and Indian, needed more examples of African achievement in order to empower them to take pride in their heritage. This did not necessarily extend to taking action and participation in their communities though. The content of these classes will be discussed in more depth in a later section.

The LO teachers especially felt that they had to fill multiple roles as teachers. The nature of LO as an amalgamation of many different courses often requires teachers to stretch beyond their comfort zones. Vincent seemed comfortable in most of these roles, coming from a PE and coaching background, but was stretched by all the roles he had to play. He said, "You have to be a policeman, you have to be a counselor, and you have to be an educator, a mentor." He felt that the reason LO teachers had to fill so many roles was because the Department of Education had made so many cuts to the curriculum and teaching staff, that LO teachers had to fill their gaps.

> For me, the department has taken away the specialists, because of financial implications; they got rid of your guidance counselors, PE teachers, and health education teachers, all of them. They got rid of music, they got rid of the art teacher. They were then looking at curriculum changes, because they had no sports or any development of the self and it was all academics. So LO encompasses all of these things.

As a teacher with a PE background, Vincent has had to take on a great deal of other subjects and perform other roles in teaching LO. He was obviously upset that learners were being shortchanged out of classes with "specialists" and missing classes that would make them well rounded and healthy individuals.

Victoria also saw her role as a teacher as having many parts. The first included what was expected of her from the curriculum, school and department of education.

> In terms of the curriculum, we are expected to equip learners with basic skills, to prepare them for the world of work, to provide them with skills to cope with stress, to provide them with skills in terms of study techniques. Those are some of the broad functions the curriculum expects us to deliver to learners.

This list of expectations for LO teachers could have come straight from the Department of Education and National Subject Statements. Victoria continued to say that her role as a

teacher extends far beyond this basic set of expectations. The second part of how she views her role as a teacher is similar to Ethan's view:

> For me, it has become very important that the values of respect, confidentiality, freedom of speech, your right to education and all of those values that we have within the constitution are not just intellectual things that you learn, but things that you need to practice. So that has become my role function.

Victoria wanted practice citizenship and democracy, as well as teach it. She did not separate the content about rights and responsibilities from their actions and behaviors. So much like Ethan, she sees herself as a role model for her learners. Her classroom teaching reflected this to some extent. She treated her learners with respect and called upon them to show the same. While she did not give her learners a lot of independence or freedom to steer discussion, she gently corrected disrespectful behavior and challenged them when needed. I observed this in all her classes.

After explaining her official role and her personal role, Victoria then explained the unintentional and unacknowledged role she filled:

> Also I have found as LO teacher, you end up being a type of counselor for learners, because they realize that in my class there is no topic that is taboo. Because of the social issues that our children go through, I as an educator feel totally ill equipped to deal with some of the issues, because they emotionally drain you. So as much as we have the curriculum, our major role is that of a caregiver, counselor or protector of the child, because our children go through a whole lot.

Many of the LO teachers felt that they also had to step into the role of counselor due to the lack of an official one at the school and the deep need many of their learners had. Victoria told me many stories of children who were being abused at home or were without resources and they had come to her with their issues. She felt she had no training to deal with these issues and had to find it herself. Overall, felt that the role of the teacher had expanded far beyond her capacity.

Melissa had very similar comments about what she believed the role of the teacher to be:

> Obviously, in terms of the curriculum, we are supposed to mold them to become responsible citizens, to become good human beings with good morals and good values and it is challenging. It is a good thing to have now a days, because teenagers are faced with so many issues out there in terms of social networks and peer pressure. That is why you find in my lesson, it is quite relaxed and I will make them talk about issues they face. They also need to relax with the stress levels that they are faced with and sometimes they are just bombarded with the academics and many don't come from good stable homes as well.

Like the teachers mentioned previously, Melissa does see the formation of good citizens as part of her role. She is even more focused on creating "good human beings" and less focused on the more political role of citizen for her learners. While Victoria felt like she was placed in the counselor or even parental role for her learners, Melissa seemed to feel that she needed to be a calm port in her learners' stormy lives. She was there to give them a relaxed space where they could get away from the stress of grades and potentially difficult home lives. While this made her a good ally to her learners, it made her less likely to challenge them on difficult subjects. I also never observed this relaxed space she said she provided. Her classroom always seemed a bit chaotic and she often seemed frazzled by discipline issues.

In general, the teachers at DSS felt a responsibility as teachers for creating good young citizens with good values and saw themselves as role models for such values. In the next section, the teachers will talk more about what particular values and skills are need for effectively teaching about citizenship and democracy.

Skills, Knowledge, Attitudes and Values

The DSS teachers had an interesting list of skills, knowledge, attitudes and values that they thought were important for teaching about citizenship and democracy. In addition to content knowledge, the most important were life experience and leading by example. Many of the intangible and softer skills and values were also mentioned, such as respect, open-mindedness and sensitivity to diversity.

Life experience. Several of the teachers viewed personal life experience as essential to teaching about citizenship and democracy. More specifically, they thought having lived through apartheid and the democratic transition was necessary to be able to talk about these topics in their classes. Karen's response to what a teacher needed to possess in order to teach about citizenship and democracy was deeply personal.

> In terms of my own experiences, how I've grown up and what I believe to be important, 1994 was a very, very important turn in my life, in terms of actually belonging and becoming a citizen. I cried. The sense of belonging and knowing that yes, I am South African, is so important and a person who has never been denied this will never understand the emotions and passions linked to this. It is a lived experience.

She drew directly upon her experience in 1994 in becoming a full citizen of South Africa along with the rest of the country in order to explain these concepts to her class. However, she also says that someone who did not experience the denial of citizenship could not feel as passionate about the topic. She also did not talk about her personal experiences in class, either as examples or as comparison points.

Ethan also felt that his lived experience during apartheid helped him to teach about it:

> As far as they are concerned, they are just South African citizens living in a democratic country, they don't understand what that democracy is and how people fought and died for them to have it, and they just take it for granted. So

> we are the people that have seen it and we are the only ones that can enlighten them about what it really mean. All this is just words on a page, but if you have lived the experiences, you can teach them a little better. Having understood what apartheid was and understanding where democracy is now, I think I have a unique ability to be able to fill the blank spaces in for the children that don't know.

For Ethan, it is important that his learners have access to people who witnessed apartheid and the transition. He wanted to make sure it was not just another academic subject or assignment, but that through his experiences, he could bring South African history to life. He also was expressing frustration at the disconnect he felt his learners had from the past and how they just accepted the current situation without knowing how it came to be about. While he did not talk ever about his direct or personal experience with apartheid, he did talk about how things had changed since he had been in school and how certain topics, such as the South African/ Anglo-Boer War were now more inclusive and pro-African.

Role model/Leadership by example/ Practice what you preach. Another main value or attitude that the DSS teachers mentioned was that they believed that teachers should lead by example, especially in terms of teaching about democracy and citizenship. They felt they should model democratic virtues for their learners and instill these virtues in their learners by practicing them in the classroom.

Victoria felt very strongly that teachers had to model correct behavior for learners, which was actually sometimes difficult or overlooked by teachers.

> I think as a teacher teaching citizenship and democracy, you are a role model and you have to lead by example. You cannot be a person that says all people have inherent dignity, and then say 'I know your mother and your father, I taught your brothers and your sisters, you are the scum of the earth, you come from the gutters'. Our teachers, when they got angry, would say things like that. Do as I say and not as I do, does not work, because even psychology shows that children mirror what you do then what you say. We do not lead by example, which is

> actually a pet peeve of mine. I cannot talk about nation building, democracy and freedom to the learners, when I myself don't practice it, because they can see.

Victoria used her own learning experience as an example to say that teachers were quick to disparage and insult learners in the past, and maybe that was not as far off now as it should be. It particularly irked her that teachers would teach about democratic virtues without modeling them or treating their learners with respect and dignity. She also felt that the learners really noticed and were impacted by teachers' behavior and attitudes rather than just their words and coverage of the material. In all of Victoria's classes I observed, she had a very respectful, inclusive and nurturing tone. She was quick to correct any disrespectful behavior, either towards her or other learners.

Vincent takes it one step further and thought that teachers should also believe in the democratic process as well as model it to be able to teach it:

> I mean, you cannot be preaching democracy and citizenship, if you do not believe in it yourself. And with values, you need to show them, so they can see and be an example.

He felt that it would be a disservice to teach these topics without buying into the understanding that they were important and vital for the nation. He likened these topics almost to a religious belief and that it would be hypocritical to teach them without a conviction in their worthiness. He was by no means a zealot without critically examining these issues, but he did think there was enough negativity about democracy in South Africa, and that teachers needed to believe more concretely in what they were passing on to their learners. I did not really get a chance to see him address this directly. He was generally jovial and respectful with his learners, though I did think he addressed more of his attention towards the boys in the class than the girls, but this seemed to speak more to his other role as the boys' coach and PE teacher.

The intangibles: honesty, respect, open-mindedness, listening skills, confidence, trustworthiness and sensitivity. Along with modeling democratic virtues and citizenship in the classroom, most of the teachers named a host of values and attitudes that are sometimes difficult to identify and quantify. Vincent simply thought that, "the teacher must be open minded." Melissa went into greater detail about which values, skills and attitudes were most important:

> Values, obviously like honesty, how to be respectful to other human beings, someone being different to you does not mean you should treat them any less or think you are inferior to them. Skills, maybe how to cope with different emotional issues around them, listening skills when people talk, don't just butt into the conversation, listen first. Listen to everyone's point of view and don't always think that you are right, obviously be confident about yourself.

This was a fairly comprehensive list of the important "soft" skills and values teachers should have and exhibit with their learners. Interestingly, Melissa named both self-confidence and treating others respectfully as important. These are clearly residual feelings of being categorically discriminated against. Most teachers did not talk about being made to feel inferior in their own classroom, but Melissa thought this was an important attitude for teachers to have in order to model it for her learners. Teaching her learners that they are not inferior to anyone was extremely important to her and necessary in a partially integrated environment. While her kindness did come through in the classroom, her confidence in herself was not always shown. She was insecure in her control over the classroom and uneasy with confident and disrespectful learners.

Karen also spoke about teachers needing confidence to be able to teach about citizenship and democracy. She also talked about putting her own beliefs aside sometimes.

> You have to put your ideals aside. Teaching requires that you inspire trust and confidence in your learners. We come from different classes, different world experiences and all that colors and shapes our attitudes and values and how that is going to determine how you actually share and you can't take that away.

Karen meant several things by this. She thought that you had to put aside some of your own feelings in order for learners to trust and believe in you as a teacher and authority figure. The reason for this is because the learners and teachers come from many different backgrounds and she realized she needed to be sensitive to the diversity in her classroom. She talked about how some learners' religious beliefs led them to have more conservative views about gay and lesbian issues.

Karen also felt that teachers needed to be able to be thoughtful in discussing these controversial issues, but be truthful and unbiased at the same time. She wanted to give all these differences in race, class and experiences the benefit of the doubt and not deliver her own agenda, while also urging her learners out of their comfort zone. I felt she was also talking about other teachers, who might hold more conservative or discriminatory views, which could impact their learners.

She did display this in the classroom, when talking about respecting opinions and how your opinions on certain legal current events (Oscar Pistorius's sentence) could differ as long as they were backed by facts and the law. She was completely open to debate and dissent, as long as it was presented with evidence. This allowed her learners to have trust in her and confidence that their ideas would not be dismissed. She also was very up front with her expectations of the class in terms of mutually respectful behavior.

Unlike the BHS teachers, the DSS teachers did not talk a lot about critical thinking as a skill needed by teachers or needed for their learners. Victoria did mention it as part of her role "to facilitate free thinking, critical evaluative skills in learners". The

DSS teachers did not seem to politicize critical thinking in the same way the BHS teachers did.

Further professional education. In addition to the skills, knowledge, attitudes and values needed to teach about democracy and citizenship, some of the DSS teachers talked about the fact that what teachers really needed was more education on these topics. They talked about how little training they had had and how they wished more was available. Ethan felt that the teachers themselves had to adapt and learn as quickly as the nature of democracy was growing and changing in South Africa.

> I think previously we were not even equipped to teach them about democracy, so we taught them a very fragmented concept of what democracy is and I think because democracy is constantly evolving.

With no previous education on these topics as students during apartheid, they were now struggling to keep up with the evolving concept, process and laws and structures. Karen, felt that workshops and professional development were necessary to develop better teaching skills for these topics.

> For me, what would be necessary would be workshops where you integrate these understandings, but I mean, serious workshops, not these rubbish things where people come and pass down information. So if you have young teachers who come from different backgrounds and you invite people into these workshops as well who can share their experiences and their understandings. We don't have people with the teaching know how, through no fault of theirs. Because only nut cases like me could say 'oh you're a social democrat' today to a learner.

Karen felt strongly that the professional trainings they had been given were not adequate in preparing teachers to teach about the nuances of democracy. She felt that teachers of different backgrounds were needed to share individual experiences and facilitators with training were needed to help teachers develop their content knowledge and teaching skills for tackling complex issues like democracy. She knew that she was a unique case, as a

teacher with a PHD and a background in critical theory. She also knew that most teachers had been educated before the end of apartheid or during the transition and have very little background in teaching these topics, due to the system in which they had been educated.

Vincent also agreed that the current level of training and professional development is not adequate.

> Normally, we were trained for 4 years as to how to do something and now you are given half a day or 2 hours to be able to do something, and as far as the department is concerned, they have done their training As far as the teachers are concerned, well enough hasn't been done. There is the curriculum, now we are not trained rigorously for the new stuff and we need it. So the teachers are faced with a lot of challenges, so we are just floating.

He believed that teachers were being asked to teach a new curriculum that is the equivalent in scope to their initial teaching education, yet they are being asked to learn it in a fraction of the time with a very small amount of training. He thought teachers were adrift in how to proceed with each new curriculum change.

Overall, teachers at DSS thought that life experience, content knowledge, adequate training and a list of basic social values and skills were needed to be an effectual teacher of democracy and citizenship. For the most part, I would say I did observe a lot of these attributes in these teachers' classrooms, with exceptions. In the next section, the teachers will discuss the curriculum in further depth, how it addresses citizenship and democracy and their opinions on its content and effectiveness.

Citizenship and Democracy in the Curriculum

As discussed in Chapter 5, teachers in South Africa create variation in the national curriculum by choosing topics to emphasize, ignore, avoid and modify. This section will discuss the particular curriculum elements that teachers' find most and least important in

addressing citizenship and democracy in the classroom. The DSS teachers also talked more about how the curriculum has or has not changed in the last twenty years since the end of apartheid.

Important and unimportant topics. While most of the teachers agreed that most of topics on citizenship and democracy could be found in the LO and history, Karen thought citizenship should not be subject specific and could be taught in all subjects. The teachers also tended to agree on the most important topics for citizenship and democracy, such as rights and responsibility, apartheid history and local governance, though again, Karen was more critical of their actual usefulness.

Table: 15 Important Topics for Civic Education at DSS

Teacher	Subject	Important Topics
Karen	LO	- Nation building - Law formation - Human Rights - Pseudoscience
Ethan	History	- Apartheid – Life under, Laws, Resistance - Pseudoscience (Nazi medical experimentation & apartheid racial classifications)
Victoria	LO	- Rights & Responsibilities – Example Corporal Punishment
Melissa	LO	- Voting & Government - Political Parties - Community Action
Vincent	LO	- Community action and participation

They chose topics and sections of the textbooks that they felt best represented how the curriculum addresses citizenship and democracy. Ethan, the only History teacher, thought that the progression of the history curriculum in terms of apartheid was valuable both in terms of chronological events, but also as it relates to his learners' intellectual development.

> I noticed that democracy has been introduced and it builds slowly for a child's understanding from where we were in the apartheid era, the kind of lifestyles people lived and how it affected the different race groups. It progresses to Grade 11 where it shows the development of apartheid and the resistance movement. In Grade 12, it shows how we moved from resistance to post-apartheid, so I think there is a definite purpose and a very particular use for a child in history to see that development from where we were, where we are, where we come from and where we are going, so there is definitely value in it for the history curriculum.

He saw the movement from authoritarianism to democracy in line with how young people, especially teenagers, develop their own ideas and political stances.

Victoria thought the most important issues had to do with the commonly lamented issue of entitlement to rights without responsibilities.

> What is important, and learners need to know, is that it is not just about entitlement, because the constitution says that it is about your participation and your responsibility. So from Grade 8, they come in with the knowledge of rights and responsibilities. What you find is that the issue of corporal punishment, [interests] them, because that is the part of the South African Schools Act that relates directly to them. So we have to spend time looking at what are your rights and responsibilities, in terms of your engagements, do two rights make a wrong and we need to look at ourselves and what do we do that bring about these responses in our teachers.

She thought that reinforcing citizens' responsibilities to participate was of utmost importance for her learners, as they were often more concerned with their rights and what they should receive from the state. This topic came up often with the teachers from all schools. Her example of corporal punishment was meant to immediately capture their attention and force them to look at all sides of the issue, including their role in interactions with their teachers. While this did have a touch of victim-blaming, her point was not to say that her learners were at fault for being struck, but that they were active participants and had to take responsibility for their own actions, in language they understood.

For Melissa, the basics of the political system and voting were crucial for her learners as young citizens:

> For most of them, politics, they don't know much. They know that Jacob Zuma is our president and they know Julius Malema, because of the noise he is causing in parliament, that's it. They all function on very basic knowledge, so they need to know all these things in the curriculum. I think you are teaching them because one day they will also have to vote and they need to make responsible decisions. They need to know about political parties and the different provincial governments. I was teaching them about a petition and they need to know that if you don't like something in your community, you can get together and ask for some change. Then they know some of the options that are available with regards to poverty.

She refers to the current president and an opposition leader being in the news and how the learners do not know much about how the system works, beyond the scandals and fights in parliament. She was focused on teaching them practical information that will help them to make their own responsible decisions. She also wanted them to know how to effect practical change in their own communities.

Vincent echoed that sentiment and added to the hope that learners would come out of his class wanting to contribute to their communities:

> While in the other grades, you are more into democracy and the constitution, then in Grade 12, you get more of the citizenship education and how they can make a meaningful change in their communities, how can you volunteer your services and expect nothing back. That for me is important because in a few months' time they become the citizens of our country. What contribution are you making to your community? You also teach them to look for where they can fill in the gap in their own communities.

Vincent separates out democracy and the constitution as one topic and citizenship education as another to highlight the importance of the older learners being taught how to exercise their rights and participate in their communities as adults. He wanted them not just to know the nuts and bolts of how to participate and contribute to their communities, but investigate and observe what their communities really needed. He gave an example of

noticing that his community did not have a veterinarian and hoped one of the learners who lived there would become one and practice there.

Karen was critical of the sections that specifically dealt with democracy in LO:

> In Grade 8, they got that thing on nation building, which is a really pathetic small amount of work. It is currently the be-all and the end-all, but that is not what it should be. With the Grade 11, there is this whole section on how laws are drawn up, it is almost pointless for them. Yes, it is interesting to a point, but for those who are not interested in the legal aspect of it, why do I need to know this? It is more that structure of the aspect sort of goes over their heads. But like I said, the second you can apply it to their lives, like human rights, then it is good to go because it makes sense to them.

She thought that none of the sections went into enough detail. They did not spark the learners' interests because they were too divorced from their own realities. She felt that the legal topics were too dry and uninteresting to learners without a specific interest. She wanted to see the topics be applied to topics that mattered to the learners in their own lives.

One topic that was not mentioned in interviews, but I observed in Victoria's class was of conflict resolution. There is a brief section on this in the LO curriculum, but it was interesting to see a teacher giving practical skills for the daily gender, race, ethnic and religious conflict the learners face. She discussed active listening, empathy and demonstrated ways that learners could deal with everyday conflict. I also observed Melissa teach this same lesson. She simply had learners read the steps to resolving conflicts out loud from the book and has had the learners answer the questions in the book. In this case, the lesson fell flat and made little impact.

Another topic that Karen did often mention was the issue of racism and inequality in the sciences. She brought this up in her classes a lot, discussing the Nazi experimentation during the Holocaust and elitism of the use of Latin in the sciences.

Ethan also thought these topics were important in challenging the empirical correctness of the sciences.

> It leads me to question these things as well, for example this topic evokes a lot of controversy, that we do in Grade 11 in history. It is called pseudoscientific racism and social Darwinism.

They both thought these were key topics both within the History curriculum and not enough in the Life Science curriculum to broach the topics of institutional racism and official oppression. While they both saw these topics as necessary, they also admitted they were a bit controversial. The next section will discuss some of the more uncomfortable topics that are either discussed or avoided in the classroom.

Uncomfortable, controversial and avoided topics*:* Some of the most difficult topics to manage in the classroom had to do with current political events. The teachers realized that criticism of the ruling party and president had both racial and cultural implications for their learners, but they also wanted to point out some of the issues facing South African democracy in real time.

Vincent highlighted the need to stick to the facts, remain unbiased and use each discussion as a learning opportunity.

> Sometimes when you talked about issues, learners may get sensitive. For example, 'the government is full of corruption', so then you have to ask if they have enough evidence for such accusations? You can't pick a side and you have to show them that you are objective and give a balance. Although you have your own personal objectives as a teacher, you cannot impose your values on them, you have to give them a chance for them to make their own evaluation on things.

He obviously had learners who were both critical and approving of the government and he had to prove his objectivity by asking them to find evidence, analyze their findings and come to their own conclusion. This also allows him to remain uncommitted and free from making controversial statements.

Karen also felt that talking about the governmental scandals in class could be a potential lightning rod:

> Talk about Zuma and being in KZN specifically. Remember, he is the son of the kingdom of the Zulu. We have very strong Zuma supporters, who will not see anything outside of what he does, he has a right to many wives, he has a right to the riches he has obtained and he is our national leader. I like pointing out contradictions that every citizen is protected by the law, there are so many examples of this not being true and the kids see the discrepancies. So you want to teach one thing and the lived experiences are something else, there is disjuncture and the kids are not going to believe that. How does that impact on citizenship?

Karen pointed out that being in the KZN province meant that a large proportion of DSS's learners were Zulu and had cultural and racial ties both to Zuma as a Zulu man and the ANC as the party of liberation. Her way of working around possible conflicts in the classroom was to point out the very visible contradictions that were happening in the news and around her learners, such as Zuma using public funds for his own home, while many South Africans live in substandard housing. She felt that her job was to help her learners challenge their own assumptions by illuminating what was happening in their own lives, rather than telling them they were wrong to support a questionable leader. She also felt that as a teacher of citizenship education, the inherent contradictions in what laws and rights are upheld and what were not was damaging to the fundamentals of citizenship in the first place and had to be dealt with in the classroom before her learners dismissed democracy in general.

Other teachers like Victoria had no patience at all for the scandals of the government:

> We have had interesting conversations about the Nkandla-Gate, where president Zuma stole our money and built himself a rural mansion and the entire audacity of the cabinet and the police minister do such, is just insane.

She felt that the topic could not be discussed in a balanced way and had to offer her own opinion on the issue. While she admitted that this was still controversial, she still thought it was important to point out some of the hypocrisy involved in the Nkandla case.

Issues having to do with sex, gender and sexuality were also difficult to talk about. Some teachers, like Karen, confronted this head-on, while others found them harder to approach.

> I've modified the curriculum to suit what I believe that we need to talk about, we can't not talk about issues of racism or abortion or homosexuality, transgender etcetera.

Karen, Vincent and Victoria all mentioned these as possibly uncomfortable topics that come up in the LO curriculum. While not exactly part of the discussions on citizenship and democracy, they did have to do with cultural and religious tolerance and the very progressive South African constitution.

Victoria felt this was a topic that many of her colleagues struggled with and let their own personal biases work against the message of tolerance and equality under the law, which is emphasized in the curriculum.

> You will find that in members team teaching LO, if you either lack the knowledge or you are blinded by your own tunnel vision or you have yourself being indoctrinated in a particular way and you tend to bring that into the classroom or paint topics that with those kind of lenses. So we have those issues with the educators. Sadly most of them stem from sexuality, physiological changes in terms of puberty, and the value of religion in a multi cultural society. They get tainted by our values and sometimes not positively.

This speaks to several issues. Teachers in the same school often have to be synchronized in what they teach, plan together and test together. But as Victoria says, the teachers' individual lenses and biases still come through when they are tackling difficult topics, such as homosexuality, religion and race. DSS was particularly interesting in terms of

religion, as the teachers, while mostly Indian, came from Christian, Hindu and Muslim faiths, as did their learners. While not as racially diverse as BHS, it was much more religiously diverse and this impacted how teachers talked about socially controversial topics.

Ethan also spoke to his view of the Indian community's conservative background and how this compelled him to take on more challenging issues in the classroom in order to expose his learners to a more diverse set of ideas.

> I take these controversial issues because I gravitate towards them, because I want to expose them. Because we've come from a conservative background, where these issues were never highlighted. I think what gives me the license to do that is because I am teaching a non-White class. In a classroom like mine, throw out a simple question like 'Why did White people make black people slaves'? That is a topic I can ask in a non-White classroom because I am talking to you, you are that black person that would have been enslaved, that is the way that people saw you. What do you think about it, are you stupid? Is a White person brighter than you are? So I'm saying that we were taught these kind of things and we were indoctrinated by our own kind to be submissive, I can remember it so clearly. So now when I bring up these topics I want to expose it to show you the negative connotation.

Ethan felt that as a non-White teacher in a non-White class, he could bring up topics more freely that dealt with race, oppression and discrimination than he could in a Whiter school. He really wanted to challenge learners to break some of the long held feelings of inferiority that had been the law of the land. Whether this was his own need to oppose the indoctrination he received growing up during apartheid, or he felt that his learners still needed to hear an alternative to the White, colonial narrative or both, is unclear. He did not think he would be able to talk as boldly about racism and slavery in particular if he had more White learners in his classroom.

While the DSS teachers thought that there were topics that were uncomfortable or controversial that came up in class, most said that nothing was too "taboo" to discuss if it

came up. There were topics that they thought that curriculum itself avoided or presented in an unbalanced way. Karen thought that racism was not discussed in enough detail or nuance:

> Racism, we should be talking about racism, well for me, in life sciences, in life orientation, where it came from, what its roots are, how to engage with it and how to move beyond it.

She thought that it should be discussed more in the sciences and in LO and there should be more about how to actually deal with it in their society. While it is definitely discussed in the curriculum, there is very little about it beyond promoting tolerance and multiculturalism.

Ethan felt that the history curriculum avoided the roles of non- African anti-apartheid actors and gave an unbalanced view of how the transition to democracy came about.

> There is a slant more in the new South African curriculum to try and highlight the achievements of the black people in the country. I have a problem with that, it is a black country and I am sure you want to showcase your achievements as well, but in the process, a lot of historical issues are being marginalized, sidelined and forgotten. They constantly highlight significant events [in the textbook] that were dictated and lead by black people that eventually led to that negotiation, but there are a lot of side stories in between there of other race groups in the country. The Indian people, the Colored people and White people as well, Afrikaans people in particular were instrumental in creating the democracy that we had in 1994. So you get a distorted perspective on history, where it seems as if the only people who wanted freedom in this country were black people. Over time, if this is allowed to persist, the rest of the history will be forgotten, that is my concern.

This is a serious and controversial charge against the curriculum and speaks to the grand compromise that was and still is happening in terms of what gets taught in the history curriculum. While, some of the teachers at BHS thought it was just wrong and propaganda, Ethan thought it was biased and was enabling the roles of non-African leaders and activists in the liberation movement to be forgotten. This may be case of the

victors writing the history books, there not being enough room in the curriculum to include smaller players and events or redressing the lack of African participants in History courses and books in the past.

For the most part, the DSS teachers seem to embrace controversial topics, particularly current political events, issues of social diversity and racism, while some treaded more carefully around them than others. One topic that constantly came up in both History and LO was the legacy of apartheid and the teachers had different feeling about it should be approached.

Apartheid in the curriculum. The DSS teachers felt that it was both essential that apartheid be part of the discussion of citizenship and democracy, but also that its legacy impacted events in the classroom and how they taught. Some of the teachers thought that their learners really did not understand what had happened in the past and could not make the connections to what was happening today in South Africa.

> I think our kids are not as interested in apartheid as we would like them to be. They get bored whenever we talk about the apartheid issue. They would avoid apartheid all together if they could. They would avoid answering African history based questions and opt for those from Europe. From an educator's perspective, as well it is not the most comfortable content to teach, because we know that it is not a smooth run and it doesn't just flow. Whenever you are teaching the concept of democracy, I think that the color issue is the thing that our children tend to latch on to very quickly. You can try to explain to them that you know you are of a different race and because of belonging to that race these were the restrictions that were placed on it.

Ethan had several theories for why his learners were not interested in learning about apartheid in his history classes. He thought that they did not think it was important, they were not connected to their heritage and past, they think it is too painful to deal with and that they heard about it so much they were interested more in the history of other places. He also thought it was necessary to explore issues of democracy because the race-based

discrimination laws that defined the apartheid era were a topic of interest for his learners and helped them to understand where current laws came from.

Vincent also thought that his learners knew very little about apartheid and should have a better understanding of the context for current policies which impact democracy and their citizenship.

> Yes, it is of value that the learners know, therefore I do talk about it because I was there and this is their history. They don't understand how some of the stuff happened, so when you bring it up you tell them that back then, it was White dominated and if you look at it now it is black dominated and it is reverse racism. BEE (Black Economic Empowerment)[22] and affirmative action is allowed, how is it allowed and by law it is protected here. Look at the sports and how they do things, you look at facilities and all of that. I mean we went down to the South Coast just last week and we passed by a school with five rugby fields and we have none, not even a proper soccer field.

As an LO teacher, Vincent was tasked with talking about the current policies and structure of the government, but he felt he could not do that without talking about apartheid as well. He talked particularly about Whites being preferred under apartheid and then, somewhat controversially, that Africans were now preferred in current employment and economic policies. Many White and Indian South Africans echo this view, while many Africans think of BEE as fair redress for what they were denied under apartheid. He felt that these policies, which have a direct impact on his learners' future job prospects could not be understood without understanding apartheid. He also gave an example of the vast inequalities in schooling, which also stem from apartheid, that the learners see when they travel to other schools with more resources. When asked to explain these things to his learners, he gave answers based on the past and apartheid.

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[22] Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is the post-apartheid, affirmative action program to address economic inequalities between racial groups, specifically privileging formally disadvantaged groups in employment, job creation, and business prospects.

Other teachers talked more about how apartheid impacted their teaching and learning in ways outside of the curriculum. Melissa thought that many of her learners in fact were still being raised to have quite conservative views on race and that comparing the past with what is happening now was a good way to expose them to more progressive ideas and attitudes.

> I think it is important that you teach them and that they know how South Africa has evolved and is still evolving. Many for them are not experienced and they need to know so that when they go out and see this world they don't just stare. Even though South Africa has evolved, you find that people still stare at mixed couples and say all kind of things. I guess in their minds, they still have that "I am Indian and I will marry an Indian' type of thing going on, but it is changing a bit. In some parts of the country, it is not so taboo like Johannesburg and Cape Town, but Durban is still a bit conservative.

Melissa's statement shows the underlying racial tension that still exists, even with integrated schools and public spaces. She uses interracial couples as her example of how far things have come since apartheid and that this is still rare in Durban. She is speaking very much from her own cultural perspective as an Indian, even if she seems to be speaking about her learners. For her, getting her learners to be more exposed to things like interracial dating means teaching them about how this was impossible in the past, difficult now, but maybe possible in the future. She was certainly not advocating for it, but just wanted to learners to know how far things had come.

Victoria as well talked about how teaching apartheid brought out teachers' own deep biases and prejudices and how they struggled to teach topics that they might disagree with.

> In the Grade 9 Social Studies (history) syllabus, one of the teachers was talking to the head of the department about how to teach the history section without offending anyone or coming out as racist. Most of us here in this school grew up in the apartheid era and are affected by it and some of us are inherently racists and it comes out when we teach, so sometimes you need help.

Victoria acknowledged that some of her fellow teachers and maybe even she herself struggled with the racist ideas she had grown up with and had been taught. She was referring to a section on apartheid and thought that the teacher was right in asking for help in how to address it without offensive. Many teachers would not be self-reflective enough to recognize that they might have biased views when presenting certain topics pertaining to apartheid. Many teachers over thirty years old grew up with some apartheid era thinking and had racist ideas of superiority or inferiority taught to them by law. This means that many of the teachers needed help to understand where their biases were and how to address them. With all the complaints about the curriculum, this is where having a national curriculum has its benefits in forcing teachers to confront these issues.

Karen felt apartheid's legacy in dealing with learners on an individual basis and how they interacted with each other:

> Recently I've been dealing with a [learner] and a lot of his violence comes from being called 'blackie,' which for him is derogatory, and we have to sit down and talk to where does this idea of being and having no worth comes from. So it is a throwback of where did you learn this from, was it home, the people around you where did you learn this and it goes back to apartheid because we were kept separate on the basis of color and we measured ourselves in terms of color and then class. That is still very present today and yes, it comes out all the time.

In addition to teaching, Karen was one of the main disciplinarians at DSS and she often had to intervene in conflicts between learners that arose over racial issues. She used some very reflective and restorative techniques to address these conflicts and get to the heart of why learners were lashing out. Much of it in her opinion had to do with internalized racial attitudes of self worth and it was her job to get to the heart of it. Thus she did feel it was necessary to keep discussing apartheid in and out of class as the repercussions still existed for her learners.

Apartheid loomed heavily for the teachers and learners at DSS and all the teachers felt that it was necessary to keep discussing it in terms of both the past events and its current consequences.

Changes and challenges in the curriculum. The teachers at DSS had many comments about the curriculum in general, how it has changed and how it has impacted their teaching. Many felt that the curriculum had changed drastically in the last twenty years, while others felt it had not changed at all. Some felt that there was too much in the curriculum to be able to teach it all in depth and others felt that it barely covered enough.

Ethan stated that the current curriculum was the fourteenth that he had taught and each attempt at reform was a compromise.

> I've taught now in a very short period of time, about 14 different education systems. Since democracy, the South African education system has been in a constant state of change. To try and incorporate the new with the old, marry the two together, to try and create something that is workable for everybody. I basically have taught under individual curriculums each expecting a different outcome and I have taught under curriculums that have kind of been merged together and now I am teaching in a brand new curriculum that is called CAPS.

He thought that the education system had been constantly changing since the end of apartheid and each change had been an attempt to please everyone. He did not comment on whether these curricula were effective or not, but that the constant change was difficult in general. Teachers have had to adapt quickly to the demands of each new curricula, some which were very different from the curricula that they went to school with and used while they were being educated as teachers.

Victoria liked one of the former iterations of the curriculum better.

> I like to be told 'here is the stuff that you need to cover and you are free to use your own methods to get things done'. That is where I came from and because the education system was using outcomes based education, you were free to do whatever you needed to achieve the outcome … What made it so free with life

> orientation was that you could take the curriculum and a look at the current events, combine the two and achieve that. And LO has been fun for me ever since then because that is the kind of methodology I apply in my classroom.

Outcomes-based education (OBE) was introduced in the 2000s and was not deemed to be successful. Teachers like Victoria, with thorough training and experience, liked it because it did give them more independence in how and what they taught. Others thought that it simply listed outcomes that needed to be produced without any guidance for teachers on how to get there. The current Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) curriculum is a reaction to OBE. Both Ethan and Victoria thought that CAPS curriculum had too much material to cover, which means that certain topics do not get covered.

> You will find what the curriculum will give us time constraints and individual teachers and what they think is relevant and irrelevant, in terms of the scope of what you hope to test in an exam [will determine what they teach].

Victoria thought that teachers did have choice and autonomy over what they taught, within the time constraints and what was being tested. Teachers were very constrained by what was tested as many of the tests were externally created, especially the terminal Matric exams.

Ethan felt these constraints strongly and felt they placed emphasis on certain topics over others.

> There are topics in the CAPS curriculum I am having problems with simply because I feel that there is too much content material that is required to be taught in a very limited time. The tight constraints prevent me from doing that, but in order for the children to have a better understanding of their place in the world they have to understand that as well, but I avoid it.

Ethan thought that the CAPS curriculum not only required him to cover an enormous amount of material but it also required him to focus on the local over the global. He said had to avoid more global events because there was just no time for it, thus sacrificing

placing history in a global context. The focus on local and national history is not uncommon, but Ethan thought it did a disservice for his learners.

For Vincent, he felt that the current LO curriculum came from the elimination of many other specialized classes and teachers due to financial constraints.

> The Department (of Education) has taken away the specialists, because of financial implications. They got rid of guidance counselors, PE teachers, health education teachers, all of them. They got rid of music and art teachers. They got rid of all these things, now they are saying they made a mistake, well even if they are not admitting it per se. They were then looking at curriculum changes, because they had no sports or any development of the self and it is all academics.

He thought that LO emerged when the Department of Education realized there was very little left in schools beyond strict academics, thus it is a composite of many of the classes that were cut. Vincent believed that all of these cuts to curriculum and teaching staff were detrimental to more holistic learning that required the arts, physical education and others.

Karen felt that the fundamentals within the curriculum had not changed due to a lack of change in other social factors:

> Because you have very different social contexts (together) and those social contexts come from pre-apartheid times and haven't changed much. What is happening to them [learners] with regard to education, it is dumbing them down and making them failures.

She felt that the social factors that were in place during apartheid were still in place, thus the context for education had not changed very much, despite all the curriculum and schooling changes. She did feel strongly that the changes that were happening were negative and served to weaken the education her learners were receiving. This was part of a wider discussion on standards and whether they should be lowered to pass more learners through the system or kept high, resulting in fewer graduates.

The current CAPS curriculum kept the teachers fairly constrained in the topics they could teach, but they all felt that they had some autonomy to teach what important and necessary sections. Karen and Ethan used the curriculum to critique and challenge accepted topics in History and Science, using a critical lens to expose learners to non-western narratives. Many felt that teaching current events and apartheid history could be uncomfortable, but were important in terms of teaching current and past applications of democracy and citizenship, despite varied interests. The next section will discuss the teaching methods the DSS teachers use to approach the citizenship and democracy topics in the classroom.

Teaching Methods

While the teachers at DSS had bigger classes on average, had less technology and fewer textbooks and resources than the teachers at BHS, they still used a wide variety of teaching methods. This meant that there was more reliance on lecture, dictation and copying from the board, leaving less time for discussion and other interactive teaching methods.

Current events and real life experiences. While most teachers recognized that current events could be controversial and uncomfortable to discuss, they also thought adding current topics to the curriculum could engage learners and help them apply what they were learning to real life scenarios. They also felt that talking about "real experiences" and events could help learners open up about their own experiences. Karen saw current events as an entry point for learners who may see the classroom topics as too abstract:

> I make the effort of keeping abreast with what is going on with the rest of the world, especially in our little world and use that to work with in terms of the topics around the classroom. So I have the real experience this is what happening. This is what is happening in the news at the moment and make that part of the lesson and use that to illustrate and then try and draw out learner's experiences also.

She wanted to help them connect their lived experiences to academic topics through the news. Karen definitely brought current events up often in her class. Over several classes, she talked about sweatshops and workers' rights referring to particular brands that had been in the news that the learners were familiar with, water rights and sexual harassment cases and the Oscar Pistorius murder case.

Victoria also used current events to connect with and engage her learners:

> You could take a look at curriculum and current events, and combine the two. And LO has been fun for me ever since then because that is the kind of methodology I apply in my classroom. We would use current events articles and everyday realistic situations. Also it encourages them to watch the news and to keep up with what is going on and right now. We are going through the 16 days of activism against women and child abuse and I would use these article to conduct a discussion and it would be engaging because you are using local celebrities to engage them:

She liked that she had the freedom to introduce current topics into the classroom. She felt it encouraged her learners to follow the news media and added to their knowledge about key subjects. She also felt that by discussing their non-academic interests, such as music, TV and local celebrities, she could help improve participation and expand their interests to important social issues, such as domestic violence. In one class I observed, she posted some headlines from local newspapers on the board concerning recent xenophobic violence that had happened in Durban as a jumping off point for a discussion on rights and tolerance. This was also an appeal to her learners' sense of decency and as South African citizens.

Vincent said that learners often brought up current events, so he had to stay informed. He also thought it was important to link South Africa to other global events:

> Sometimes, there are topics which are not in the curriculum, which normally fit in LO, which come from current events. So I make sure they know such things, just so they know what is going on around them. Like this other time I was talking about the quake in Nepal, just to show them that we have some advanced equipment in South Africa and how this charity group has this machine which can detect a human body from thousands of rubble and they have to get there in time so they can start recovering bodies.

He did not want his learners to be in the bubble of their own community, but expose them to global events. He also felt that he could he could inspire some South African pride by introducing them to South African successes and efforts to help other nations. In class he used examples about Caster Semenya, the South African runner who had been controversially been accused of competing as a woman while actually being a man, to talk about tolerance and understanding, and also biological issues.

Emotional and personal appeal. In addition to introducing current events, teachers also wanted to hear more about their own learners' life experiences. They felt that this would help to make what they were learning in class more relevant. They also tried to pull on the heartstrings and use an appeal to the emotions to engage learners in these abstract topics. For Melissa, it was important to connect the textbook case studies to her learners' real lives.

> We look at case studies from the textbook and then I ask the students about whether or not they know of anyone who experiences racism or if they know that we are in a democratic South Africa. What type of racism and why do they think it exists if it still does exist. They must give their personal experiences or if they have seen anyone it has happened too. So I ask all those questions and then that's how we build up the discussion. I always believe in asking them about their personal experiences.

She wanted to connect the ideas presented in the text about living in a democratic and diverse nation to their actual experiences. This allowed them to participate in the discussion and be experts on their own lives. However, I was never able so see any of these discussions in Melissa's class, both due to issues with scheduling and discipline issues in her classroom. Her classroom management style did not seem to lead to many vibrant class discussions.

Vincent also liked to take a person approach and appeal to his learners' sense of duty and caring:

> In terms of citizenship, the most effective way for me to do it is to hit them in the heart, you have to hit them there and say 'you know, but what are you doing'? When you keep things to yourself, you cannot receive anything, and when you give to people, you are then ready to receive. They start thinking, oh so I must give and be charitable. When you teach them about volunteering time and you tell them that they are going to be getting marks, they will do it, because it is for marks. And I think that is not volunteering, you need not expect something in return.

Vincent takes an almost religious approach to teaching about citizenship and tries to explain active citizenship in terms of the Golden Rule. Many of the teachers have struggled explain the balance of rights and responsibilities needed in a democracy to their learners, who tend to focus on rights. Vincent's way of framing this as a reciprocal and personal action may help the leaners to understand participation and volunteerism. While they are required to volunteer and do community service as part of the curriculum, working for no pay is still a strange concept in a country with high unemployment. Vincent's method of making an emotional appeal to his leaners to engage them in civic action may be helpful. I did not have a chance to observe this method in his classroom.

Devils advocate and controversial topics. Some teachers bring up controversial topics on purpose to shock their learners and play the devil's advocate to force their learners to engage. Some teachers simply want their learners to think more deeply about these issues and not just accept what they are being taught.

> One of the things I think I have noticed myself doing is giving them controversial issues and asking them controversial questions, trying to poke at them to engage in these things…If you take for example the South African War, why did they change the name to the South African War? If they had just left the name the 'Anglo Boer War', it simply means that the English and the Afrikaans were fighting and nobody else was involved. But if you look at the numbers of people who were involved in the war, you will find that there were more non-Whites fighting than there were White people from both Anglo and Boer sides. These are the controversial issues that you bring to the child to get him to realize and appreciate the South Africa that he lives in.

Again the issue over the teaching of the South African War (or Anglo-Boer War) has come up several times in history classes. Ethan thought it was important not just to call it by its new and more accepted name, which acknowledges the role all South Africans played in the war, not just the White ones, but to ask his learners why this was important. He wanted them not just to know about the war itself but the debate about history is written and named. While this was not exactly controversial in his mostly African and Indian class, it would have been in a Whiter classroom.

Ethan also tried to shock his learners by turning the tables on the Europeans by painting dismal images of Victorian London and sumptuous images of West African kingdoms with his storytelling. He purposefully emphasized the successes of non-Western and African civilizations, which was fairly unprecedented for his learners.

Vincent used controversial social issues such as abortion, the death penalty and rape to engage his learners in discussions about rights to life and personal autonomy.

> I like to challenge them and sometimes their thinking is immature and selfish. For example, I would ask if we should have the death penalty for rape and they would say 'no sir it is wrong'. So if someone rapes is it okay? What if it happens to someone you love and care for? And then they say no, then it has to be brought back, then we talk about abortion and taking a life, a person has got raped and they are pregnant now so what happens?

He felt that his learners had very youthful opinions that did not extend much beyond themselves and needed to prodded to think less myopically. He took uncomfortable stances to force his learners to argue back and to refine their own opinions. His discussions about gender roles and human biology did make his learners uncomfortable, but he also sometimes slid back into reinforcing some more traditional opinions on gender roles.

Textbook and lecture. For the most part, I observed teachers using a combination of lecture, reading from the textbook and some Socratic questioning. Ethan lectured almost continuously, while also writing on the board and giving dictation for key points, because not all learners had textbooks. By reading out loud from the text and writing it, learners had a number of ways to access the material, aurally and visually. He asked few questions, fewer follow up questions and almost never got into discussions with learners.

Melissa and Vincent stuck mostly to the textbook as well. While Vincent had more of a conversation with the class going through each section, Melissa would lecture, write on the board and dictate key points. She would also have the learners go over the questions at the end of the chapters. Many teachers handed out textbooks in each class as there were not enough for each learner, so learners did not have access to their books outside of class. For the most part, due to large class sizes, teacher-centered methods were used at DSS. While some teachers were very engaging, asked lots of eliciting

questions and gave their learners time to reflect and respond, others focused on delivering the material directly. Even when teachers were engaging, there was still little room for learner to learner discussion and very little debate or dialog.

Other methods. There were a few other methods that individual used that they either mentioned or I observed in their classrooms. Victoria said, "When we are in class I suppose, I am a lot of the entertainment because I will do a role play of what it is that we do." She used role-plays to act out scenarios from the textbooks and her own. This allowed learners to participate in low stakes ways and for more learner-centered teaching to occur. They also made discussions easier and helped to make abstract concepts more concrete for learners. One role-play led to a discussion on gender and racial stereotyping. Karen also did some role-playing on the topic of sexual harassment.

Discussion itself was not mentioned as much as method for teaching citizenship and democracy. Debate and dialog were never mentioned. This might have had to do with the size of the classes (an average of thirty-three learners per class), dense curriculum or that they were not seen as useful. Melissa was one teacher who mentioned discussion directly in regards to her preferred teaching methods. She said, "That is why you find in my lesson, it is quite relaxed and I will make them talk about issues they face and how they can change." She does not directly say discussion, but alludes to it by having her learners talk about their own important issues. She also talks about it in connection to a 'relaxed' setting in her classroom. This makes me think that discussion was not valued as a teaching method, but rather a byproduct of other teaching methods mentioned before. Most of the teachers seem to want to engage their learners in discussion, but did not see it as a tool they could use themselves or as significant use of class time.

Karen assigned small research tasks to her learners as a way of engaging them in citizenship and democracy topics.

> When I say I will find out [when they ask a question], I also task the kids. It is important so that there is ownership all around, you know or you don't know, you must go and find out and come back and tell me. I don't tell them that I'll go and research it too, but I do research it and come back and we talk about it.

Karen was one of the few teachers who saw the act of finding out something as an important method in developing research skills and empowerment and independent thought in her learners. She would not just answer their questions but had them make an attempt to find the answer and share it with the rest of the class. This could be difficult as not all learners had access to libraries and internet, but they often found creative ways of locating the information. In one class, she asked the learners to Google their favorite clothing brands and see if they had fair labor practices.

Very few of the teachers had access to any multimedia technology. Few used visual aids or handouts. Karen had a few examples and props she used for her science classes. Victoria used a few cut outs from the newspaper, but most of the teachers had to rely on a few textbooks and what they wrote on the board. Some other methods that I observed were humor, using personal knowledge of the learners themselves to draw them out and letting learners talk with each other first before responding to questions.

Self Reflection

The DSS teachers felt that self-reflection and getting support were both necessary for themselves and their learners. Some saw it as a tool for their learners, while others thought about it more as a copping mechanism for stressful days in the classroom.

> These kind of issues, whenever you do reflect on them, in South Africa and the areas in which different things have taken place, the people you can talk to about these things are those who lived with you during that certain period.

Ethan references apartheid indirectly by talking about the issues in South Africa, which do come up in the classroom and may lead to reflection. He thought that the best way to reflect was to talk with people who were there with him and experienced the same thing. Having contemporaries to discuss these tough topics was valuable to him.

For Victoria, having particular other teachers and staff to talk to was especially important:

> For me I am lucky, because I have Karen to speak to and I have the HOD as well. If something is has been bothering me and when they are sitting and having tea, I would tell them 'this is what happened to me'. I would tell them that this is what this child said to me and I would get a chance to debrief and just get an idea of how to help the child. Both of them are counselors, so they bring that expertise and in the end I also get some counseling myself.

She named Karen and her Head of Department in particular as more senior and experienced teachers who could help her work through particular problems and frustrations. She felt they also had backgrounds in counseling so they could help her find solutions for her learners, but also give her counsel when needed.

Melissa talked about her frustrations with teaching especially. She mentioned the false assumption that teaching is easy because the workday is short and there are so many vacations.

> I talk to my family about it, then to my friends and my colleagues because people think that you have such a wonderful job with all the holidays. Everywhere you go people say wow you're on holiday again and you tell them 'listen these are the challenges I have.' We also get stress, I get frustrated and I take it out on my kids and that's not fair.

She used her family, friends and colleagues as a support system, but she admitted she still took frustrations out on her family and home and her learners.

Karen also interpreted self-reflection as a tool that could be used in disciplining the learners for incidents of poor behavior.

> My pasts have taught me, and they are real and they are painful and they must be addressed. It has also taught me that how you address it is important and you need to involve everybody in the discussion, the perpetrator and the victim, and make them realize that they both have worth.

She drew on her own painful and vivid experiences to be able to help learners dealing with conflict and frustration. She felt that reflection was important in dealing with conflicts between learners, both physical and verbal that she saw everyday. She said she also had a core group of friends and colleagues as a support system.

Vincent spoke of the institutional support that was in place within the school structure to help teachers and learners deal with crucial issues, rather than personal mechanisms for reflecting on what happened in his classroom. Overall the teachers at DSS depended on each other most for support and for reflecting on difficulties in the classroom. They did not talk a great deal about personal self-reflection, but in dealing with tough issues, they turned outward to family, friends and colleagues.

Perception of Learner Engagement

This section discusses how the DSS teachers view their learners and their learners' interests in democracy and citizenship topics. There were mixed views about how engaged their learners were in politics, community affairs or activism in general. Learner-led debate, critique or discussion was rarely mentioned or seen.

Learner engagement in class. Most of the teachers agree that their classes are a mix of learners who are engaged in the topics that come up about democracy and citizenship and learners who are not. Melissa both felt that they had some learners

interested in citizenship and democracy issues, particularly in current governmental events.

> I think 50% of the learners, because of the politics in our country and what happens in parliament. So they want to know why there are fights and why are people walking out and all of those things.

It did seem that they were more interested in the more scandalous and sensational elements of the public sphere that the potential corruption and process of governance, which may be true of more than just teenagers.

Ethan took the optimistic, long view that their learners were becoming more engaged as the South African democracy matures and they learn more:

> I think that they are becoming more aware. I do think that they care, I would like for them to care more, but I think that at this point in time, our democracy is developing and it is growing. This is simply because we are living in a birthing democracy.

Karen felt that it took a considerable amount of effort to stir up discussion amongst her learners:

> The poking and prodding in the classroom actually allows for discussions. Some people will participate, some won't. Outside of the classroom, yes we have had discussions. I've had to have workshops with learners, especially when they get into fights (based on race, ethnicity, nationality). What this actually translates to outside of the classroom, I can't tell you.

Some have been forced into discussions and workshops after fights based on identity differences, but for the most part it is challenging just to engage them on these topics. All the teachers felt that social media at TV were very influential for their learners in terms of civic learning outside of the classroom.

Challenging received wisdom. Often teachers are in the position to challenge their learners on their opinions and attitudes and occasionally learners challenge their teachers as well. Many of the teachers felt it was their job to confront their learners, but

may have felt a little uncomfortable when learners puss back. Ethan felt that confrontation was an important learning tool and that his learners were going to be confronted with differing opinions as citizens of South Africa, so it might as well start in the classroom.

> Yes, definitely. I think that maybe my personality is confrontational and I want to open their eyes. I like to confront them. And I think that sometimes confrontation is the best form of learning, considering that we live in a country with so many differences, you have got to have confrontation in order for you to understand.

While he did like to shock and pose critical questions to his learners, he rarely challenged individual learners. In one case, he was explaining how Indians had been brought to South Africa to work in the sugar cane plantations, and one African learner started calling another Indian learner "Sugar". While I am unsure if the teacher heard the entire exchange, it seemed like an opportunity to address some tension clearly between the Indian and African learner, who seemed to want to take the Indian learner down a notch. Instead, Ethan acted as if it was just general disruptive behavior and told them to quiet down. In the six classes of Ethan's that I observed, there was very little direct challenging of his learners or even very little asking them of their opinion at all. Thus, his desire to confront his learners came out in his lectures for the group, rather than towards a particular learner. Melissa gives an interesting example of when she feels she has to challenge her learners.

> They would say all Indians like to eat curry, or something like that or they would say you can't trust a black person, you know things like that. You find that learners say these things and then they laugh about it and I tell them that you can't just mock somebody else and laugh about it without proof. Then they would say miss, but you know every Indian house eats curry or whatever, so I try and make it a more light subject and we try and analyze it and see if there is a problem or not.

She first gives an odd comparison of race-based stereotypes that she hears in the classroom, which in itself is a biased comparison. She challenged her learners to prove stereotypes in this situation, which is not necessarily productive, then tried to deal with stereotypes in a "lighter" way, in order to stay on topic without upsetting anyone. She did try to investigate to see if there were deeper issues in the class, but this is an interesting example of a teacher wanting to challenge her learners biases and stereotypes, but maybe not having the training or understanding to do it productively.

Victoria and Karen said they absolutely challenge their learners' biases and assumptions. Karen gave an example of how she challenged her learners on issues of homosexuality and equality under the law and I observed her do it in class. She noticed that a Muslim learner was smiling as she was talking about Nazi medical experiments on the Jews. She then challenged his stereotypes directly and the class's assumption of science as apolitical and benign by going into detail about this topic. She purposefully made the class uncomfortable and appalled at the Nazi's pseudoscience.

We also discussed whether it was appropriate for learners to challenge their teachers. This was slightly more controversial and uncomfortable for the teachers, who often saw it as disrespect, a discipline issue or a question of clarity. They also often explained why the learners challenge them, rather than if they thought it was appropriate.

For Vincent, after assuring that his learners were being respectful, he felt it was good for them to challenge because it was a good way to check that they understood what he was teaching.

> Yes, I would tell them you know what, we need to respect others, you can't just talk. I know that you have your point of view, but there is a proper way to do it without being disrespectful. It is fine [for learner to challenge teacher], because I

> need to know what they think and sometimes what I say might be misinterpreted and I need to explain it properly.

He did not consider it as a challenge to his interpretations or beliefs, but as a way to clear up any misunderstanding. Like Vincent, Victoria also accepted challenges from her learners if done with respect and politeness.

> One of the things in my classroom is I will learn from you and you will learn from me and we are all equals and I do not know everything and we will go on this journey together. So they are free to say whatever it is that they want to say and they say it respectfully. You also have to teach them to be able to create a platform to air their views without being offensive. Find a polite way to say things.

Victoria had the most positive view of challenges from her learners, which she viewed as a collaboration in learning, rather than dissent. She felt especially comfortable with challenges from the classes she knew best. She saw her role as teaching them to respectfully disagree or check authority figures, but the examples she gave were very low-stakes and about process rather than content.

Ethan thought that they challenged him because the learners did not understand the concepts he was teaching because they were not in evidence today, particularly the racism and oppression of apartheid.

> I think that a point of challenge comes in when you try to tell them about things that you experienced in your younger days and try to associate it with the modern time that we live in. Children tend to be challenged with that because we physically experienced the restrictive laws. And when you try and explain this, they immediately become confrontational about it because they never experienced it and they can't understand how such a thing could have happened.

He neither welcomes this challenge nor disapproves of it, nor does he think his learners have agency to challenge him for his own opinions and interpretations. He simply thinks they push back when they are confronted with facts they cannot verify in their own lives.

Karen talks about this as well, but with another interpretation of why they challenge her.

> They do, they have challenged me with issues of why do I insist that there is democracy in this country, because there has been no democracy. They've also challenged me on issues telling them that we are all South Africans and we are all the same and they tell me that I'm talking nonsense.

Karen thought that her learners challenged her when their life experiences contradicted what she taught them about the South African democracy. Learners challenged her on issues of citizenship and multiculturalism as well. For her, it seemed as if she both had to sell her learners a false bill of goods on the merits of South African democracy and had to maintain her own ideals in the face of the divisiveness of her learners.

Melissa seemed least confident about challenges from her learners.

> Learners sometimes challenge me sometimes and I don't like it at all. If there is something I don't know, I will tell them 'you know what that is a very good question, I will look at it and come back to you'. I always tell them that I don't know everything, I am learning as you are learning and you are never too old to learn. I don't lie to them and tell them that I know something I don't know because it defeats the purpose, because they are also here to learn.

She saw it more as a failing of her teaching and fear of not knowing all the answers than an expression of their opinions. Like Victoria, she felt that she and the learners could learn together and tried to present this idea to them with honesty and clarity. But she did not address their challenges as the expression of differing opinions.

For the most part, the teachers felt well positioned to challenge their learners on a wide range of issues, but felt less confortable about their learners challenging them, especially on issues of interpretation, critique or opposing viewpoint. In fact, I saw almost no learners push back against their teachers in any meaningful way at DSS, and definitely little debate or critique.

Modifying the curriculum for learners. Most of the teachers agreed that they needed to modify the curriculum at times for particular learners. Often it was due to learner interest, level, personality or attitude:

> Absolutely, because in a particular topic, something may be more important to a particular group than to another, in terms of in terms of the level. And depending on the background that the children have come from, you will have to present the information in a particular way, so as to promote understanding. Victoria

> Yes, sometimes if you are talking about certain things, it might be language barrier, so you have to be slow or move on if they understand. Sometimes if you carry on and they don't understand, you have to slow down, otherwise you will also be frustrated and that may be because of their backgrounds. Vincent

Victoria and Vincent both agreed that they modified their teaching for certain groups of learners, particularly based on background, language ability and level. For the most part they are talking about African and non-South African learners for whom English is not a home language. This included repetition, slowed speech, writing key point on the board and multiple explanations. I saw this in most classes, including Melissa's:

> Definitely, like with big boys, I have to be a little bit more strict sometimes if you're having discussions. I find that I have to limit it if the class is too noisy and it would result in something like them being stuck with taking notes.

Melissa modified her class based on behavior or as the case was, misbehavior. She would or could not foster discussion with some of her learners and that meant they ended up with dull and dry assignments such as copying notes from the board or books into their notebooks. This seemed to be an unfortunate cycle of learners getting bored, acting out and being punished with even more boring assignments.

Ethan speculated that he modified his teaching for a non-White audience, but was not sure because he had not taught White learners.

> Doing it from a non-White perspective and teaching it to a non-White audience, I think they receive what I say a little bit more easily than if I was teaching it

> anywhere else. I always question how I would have done this if I were teaching a White class, would I have taught it any differently? If I had maybe 10 White kids in the class, I would definitely still throw the questions out there (about racism, slavery, colonialism etc), but I would be more tactful about it, but sometimes I think you just need to hit the ball in the head.

Ethan thought that he would teach White learners differently than he taught his classes of Indian, African and Coloured learners, with a less confrontational view of Western civilization, while remaining critical. Thus his current teaching comes from a place of empowerment for his non-White learners, but he seemed uneasy about presenting the same message for White learners.

All the teachers expressed a fairly comprehensive understanding of their leaners' backgrounds, the issues they faced at home and their challenges. Thus, they did have the ability to modify the curriculum to suit their learners' needs and interests. However, much like at BHS, there is the assumption that they have to simplify content for African and English language learners.

Learner civic engagement. The DSS teachers had little optimism about their learners' civic engagement or community involvement. While they agreed once again that some learners were involved, most were not. Karen made several points on this issue.

> So within the same school, amongst the same learners, it depends on the context. So different contexts give different positionings. At times, they are strongly South African and at other times there is a disconnect from being South African….The kids don't seem involved, well they are not involved, they do not have concerns about where they are currently located in the South African context or society. Also, government based in terms of the will of the people - my learners have a difficulty understanding that the government is made up of the people. That you actually play a role, but if you put a monkey at the top, then expect paw paws to be thrown at you. That we are responsible for what happens to us, we are complicit.

First, her learners came from different backgrounds and contexts, which impacted their civic engagement. Second, she noted that even their civic identity shifted, from South

African citizen to other identity groups taking priority. She thought they could not see themselves in the wider South African context, see problems beyond their own or see themselves as actors. Her last point was that her learners do not see themselves as part of the democracy, participants in the civil society or active citizens. They see the government as distinct from themselves, not representations of themselves.

Victoria thought that they were merely products of their generation and were too far removed from the liberation struggle to become involved in current issues facing South Africa.

> No, these children that we teach are the born frees, they are the children of democracy and apartheid stories are just tales that their parents and grandparents tell them. They see their freedom as an entitlement and they don't have value for it. So that is our challenge to create value for them, so that we do not become a complacent society.

She thought that they felt entitled to the rights they had received without working for them. But she did see it as her job to change that and help her learners become engaged, for the good of the country.

The rest of the teachers thought that the learners were pretty uninterested in their communities and society. They all defined community involvement and civic engagement differently, but they agreed their learners were unconcerned:

> Not really, minus a few of them who have probably been involved with sporting teams in the area. I don't think that any of them are involved in any community based programs or things like that. For me personally, I think our children tend to be lazy and they don't want to be involved in any community based activities, there is no value in it for them personally and they will choose not to engage. Ethan

> I think very few, it's like more about their friends. I feel like it's so sad you know for some of them and then there are a few of them who would join those outreach programs we have at school. Then we provide lunch for those who don't have and we'd have learners who volunteer to come give out the lunch to those learners. I think if they are given direction they do care, but obviously you have to

> remind them that we have the fortunate and the less fortunate or else I think they stress too much about their own stuff. Melissa

> The environment means nothing to them, so they also don't care about it. Like the litter problem, they will just look at it and not clean up after themselves and they just don't care. Vincent

Ethan thought involvement was becoming involved with neighborhood and community groups, such as sporting clubs and teams. Melissa saw it as giving time and goods to those who were going without. Vincent thought it was taking care of the their environment and picking up after themselves. They all had examples of some learners who did these things, but thought that for the most part, the learners did not feel responsible for their communities, fellow learners or environment. For Vincent, even though he thought they were not engaged enough, he felt it was important enough to check back with learner after they left DSS

> Sometimes when I see former students I ask them what they are doing with their lives and if they have been doing anything to give back to the community. That to me is important. I want what I teach to impact their lives and make it better for them.

Overall, the teachers at DSS, did not have a high opinion of their learners engagement in civic topics in the classroom or issues in the real world. They felt they had to challenge their learners to think more deeply and confront them with evidence about South Africa's past and present state, but did not really encourage challenges back from their learners.

Understanding Democracy & Citizenship

This section will discuss the teachers' personal understandings of democracy and citizenship.

Democracy, the Ideal versus Reality

The DSS teachers all seemed to hold two understandings of democracy, the ideal version and the reality. Very few talked about a political or historical definition of democracy, they mostly talked about what they wanted it to be or what it was not.

Karen's understanding of democracy was based on mutual respect, cooperation and equality:

> For me personally, democracy is one where we respect each other, where we care for each other, we share with each other. I treat you with regard, you treat me with regard. Your values and opinions are important and mine are important too, where it is a shared understanding and no one person is a winner, but everybody is a winner.

She also wanted to see an ethic of care and understanding in democracy. She also stated there were many types of democracy:

> When you are talking citizenship, nation building and democracy, you should be very clear about the different kind of democracies: neo-liberal, socialist, capitalist democracy etc. when we are talking to the young people. We have a lewd, neoliberal democracy, which is no democracy at all. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer and the inequality is getting wider and wider. If that is democracy, then it is not my democracy. Society based on democratic values depends on how you understand democracy and whose democratic values that determines what goes on through the curriculum.

She felt that the rise of the neoliberal democracy in South Africa was creating inequality, which was then in fact, no democracy at all.

Ethan's understanding was both more conceptual and practical. His idea of democracy was based on racial unity and inclusiveness, which has a practical application in post–apartheid South Africa.

> I think democracy for me is an inclusive concept. I think it is all races in South Africa, all races living together irrespective of race, color, religion or creed, being happy and pursuing a common goal. Working towards happiness and working towards bringing up our children in a country that we all love to be part of. I think for me democracy is not having to define what the concept democracy is. I think

> democracy for me is just a state of mind where we all should just be respecting, loving and enjoying each other and enjoying our diversity.

There are laws and social norms that support this in many arenas. He also takes a more philosophical stance by saying that it is a "state of mind", that simply believing in democracy makes one democratic. And by being respectful, loving and accepting of diversity, democracy will flourish.

Victoria is very straightforward and concise about what she thought a democratic "environment" was:

> An environment where every person has respect, dignity, where everybody has kindness, human rights are a priority, an environment that allows for those things to be present.

Again, respect was mentioned first. In addition to kindness and dignity, she mentions rights, the first teacher to do so. But even in the context of rights, she is deferring to an international and humanist definition of rights, rather than national.

Vincent is the one teacher who discusses democracy in terms of the government and representing the people and taking part in the government:

> The one part is the book knowledge, the other part is the practical knowledge. When I look at democracy, it is the government for the people, by the people. We must be a part of that decision-making.

He talked about democracy in practical terms, rather than idealistic terms.

Melissa said her ideal of democracy does not exist, and conflates true democracy with a "perfect world".

> People living together in a rainbow nation, though I don't think this democracy truly exists. True democracy, in terms of which people live with one another, would be a perfect world. For me democracy is getting along with people of other races and different cultures, you speak to one another politely. People working together despite their differences, they are trying to build a harmonious society.

She focused on tolerance, harmony and politeness. On one hand, she merely wanted the implicit norms of society to be upheld, but on the other, she could be deferring to respectability politics, hoping that if everyone just behaved properly, things would be better. Melissa agreed that economic inequality and racism are still pervasive in South Africa, despite great and continuous efforts.

> In reality people are trying, especially in South Africa, it is difficult because of people's mindset and things like that. But I mean we're 20 years in now into democracy, but racism still exists and you can see also in terms for our economy and how it spread across people out there. It will take time and you would say 20 years is a long time, but obviously with affirmative action and things like that, take a lot of time.

She thought it would just take a lot longer to fix these issues. Again, her biggest issues are left over from apartheid and concern discrimination and inequality, rather than issues of participation and governance.

All of the DSS teachers mentioned respect, kindness, integration and equality as democratic values, which were missing during the apartheid period. While several mention working and living together, only one mentions rights and government. All their understandings seem to be more aspirational than operational, having to do with how one should be treated. That is perhaps why many of the teachers then qualified his or her definitions by saying that democracy was different in real life. Each teacher gave examples of the democracy they saw in action in their daily lives to illustrate their points.

For Karen, voting for the first time in 1994 and achieving full citizenship was both her first experience with democracy and the most meaningful.

> In terms of my own personal expectations, guided by my own experiences, how I've grown up and what I believe to be important, 1994 was a very, very important turn in my life in terms of actually belonging and becoming a citizen. I cried. The sense of belonging and knowing that, yes, I am South African, is so

> important and a person who has never been denied this will never understand the emotions and passions linked to this lived experience.

This example is the most directly correlated to the main themes of participatory democracy that the teachers give.

Victoria thought her own actions of reaching out to the janitorial staff at the school (who are all African) and preparing a luncheon for them was an example of everyday democracy.

> In terms of democracy, freedoms, equality and dignity that you give to people, I think the one thing that happened recently. Last Thursday, me and a couple of the teachers hosted lunch for the cleaning staff and we decorated the room and the HOD's mother and sister cooked and we invited them for lunch. I was just being kind, because I am celebrating your value as a human being and the kindness that you have shown in my life and in terms of your professionalism and your duty in the work environment.

She saw it as an act of reciprocal kindness and appreciation of their hard work and the act of giving dignity to those in more menial positions at the school as a democratic act. This is in accordance with her definition of democracy as meaning respect, dignity and kindness. There was perhaps still a patronizing element to this, but it was clear that many other people at the school treated the janitorial staff poorly and the lunch for them was an act of defiance and good will.

Both Melissa and Vincent saw the school's integration of mostly Indian and African learners as clear evidence of democracy. Vincent said:

> In terms of democracy for us, I would say if you look at our classrooms, the mixed learners, to me that is democracy, despite the cultural differences affecting anyone.

This was a common answer for the BHS teachers as well, who agreed that twenty years ago, such integration was not possible. The DSS teachers all saw this as progress and believed that having all learners on equal footing was a sure sign of democracy.

The teachers also commented on what they saw as clear examples of the lack of a true democracy around them:

> On a daily basis here in South Africa, the people standing on the road side waiting for some kind of job, the children who are hungry, listening to what was botched up in health care. People without homes, all those shacks that burnt down, that is not what we should be about. Karen

> To me there are many challenges in the community and while we preach democracy, there is no true democracy happening. I don't see how you still have the pit system with regards to toilets and I don't see why you can't open a tap at home because you don't have one and you don't have basic electricity. And now you want to say we are democratic and that hurts. Vincent

Both Karen and Vincent see the examples of poverty, inequality and lack of jobs and infrastructure for some as evidence that there is no true democracy in South Africa. They see all the promises of the transition and liberation as unfulfilled and that life has not changed for a great many people. It does not matter if you have a progressive Constitution if the rights it promises cannot be upheld.

Ethan thought there was a "culture of entitlement" within the African communities.

> I think everybody thinks that democracy means entitlement, particularly the non-White race groups, and in particular black people, feel that they have been short changed for such a long time. They don't have to earn it, they don't have to work for it, it is their land and therefore they have to have it. If we are not careful, the indigenous population of this country will take so much away from themselves that they would basically steal their own country. I would say that we're actually at quite a critical moment in South Africa, where just about all our democratic institutions are being threatened. That corruption is a western concept (a Zuma-ism) is outrageous and it implies that there is no accountability.

He thought the entitlement was due to the oppression they lived under for so long, but that it damaging to the country. He thought it leads directly to corruption in the government and the mismanagement by the ruling party. This was fairly similar to comments from White teachers at BHS.

The DSS teachers thought that democracy should be about how people in a country treat each other, rather than how a government operates or how the population participates, stemming directly from many years of unjust and disrespectful treatment. While they also view the South African democracy as new and problematic, they rarely talked about their own role in it, beyond treating others as themselves. The next section will discuss how they viewed their own roles as citizens.

Good Citizenship

Like the DSS teachers' understandings of democracy, their understanding of citizenship was based on belonging to the group, respectful behavior and caring for others, with a few additions.

> A good citizen is:
>
> Somebody who understands that he or she belongs, that works to nurture that belonging and will stand up together with all those that make up the citizenry…A citizen must be one who will speak out. Karen
>
> A person that respects the beliefs, culture, and traditions of another individual, irrespective of race. Ethan
>
> Someone who upholds the law, is good and kind to the other human beings and who is caring. Melissa
>
> Someone who makes a meaningful contribution to society and community, in terms of religion and social responsibility, with some knowledge you have and sharing it. Vincent

Karen's focus on belonging, not just making others feel that they belong, but accepting that oneself belongs to a group points to the deep divisions in South African society and that many people do not see themselves as South African first, but part of a racial group. She also felt that vocal dissent was essential for good citizenship. For Ethan, simply respecting the background and identity of others is enough to be a good citizen. For

Melissa, for the first time of for all the teachers, following the law was important to being a good citizen, along with, again, being kind and caring. For Vincent, participation and making a contribution was the key to being a good citizen, but he qualifies this as being involved in a religious community or being socially responsible, rather than in government.

These definitions are broad and wide ranging, so it was important to ask teachers whether they were engaged in citizenship activities (both self-defined and by my giving examples when asked) and if they themselves were good citizens. The table below displays their citizenship activities.

Table 16: DSS Teachers' Citizenship Activities

Teacher	Citizenship Activities
Karen	- Speaking out, raising critical issues, both as a teacher and person - Volunteers with a counseling hotline NGO – for 22 years. - Involved with UMTAPO, a peace, human rights and anti-racism education NGO – does workshops and training - Was in SADTU, the main teachers' union, until it became too political
Ethan	- As an inclusive and good teacher - Involved in some school and community sport activities
Victoria	- Voting - Promoting & participating in democracy as a teacher - Involved with UMTAPO, a peace, human rights and anti-racism education NGO – does workshops in rural areas
Melissa	- Personal conduct – kind, respectful to others - Charity – Help with homeless and other less fortunate groups, both as an individual and with her religious community - Involved with her religious community (Muslim) – charity, donations, community radio
Vincent	- Participation in school and community sports and other youth activities - As a teacher - Involved with elections - Involved at church - Not political

For the post part the teachers were not engaged in any political parties, unions or community organizing. Two teachers were volunteers for local NGOs. Two were involved with their local religious communities. Two were involved with local and youth sporting activities. Like the teachers at BHS, most of them saw themselves as good citizens because of their position in the classroom. Being a good, critical and respectful teacher was good citizenship to them.

Ethan saw himself as a good citizen especially through his work as an educator and felt he had a higher calling to do so.

> So I do see myself as being a good South African citizen and where I see that particularly is in the job that I do in the classroom, where I don't marginalize anyone and I try to inculcate all my learners. In that way, I have been given that opportunity by God, being an educator to try and do this for them and I hope that in doing this it is making me a better person.

He saw it as a reciprocal act, that by being a good citizen and teacher, he would in fact become a better person. Victoria also saw that education itself was the real key to citizenship and that her role as a teacher would create better citizens of the future.

> I would like to inculcate in my learners so that we get to grow this democracy and it doesn't slide or stagnate. Maybe I am a good citizen because I want people to engage in this. I want my country to grow and be prosperous and I see its growth in terms of people, not necessarily the economy, because through people and education, we will be able to grow this country and the wealth as well.

She thought that her role as a good citizen was to make her country more successful, both economically and in terms of human capital.

Karen was the only person who said she had been active in SADTU in the past. She and many of the teachers thought that it had become too political and served only to prop up the ruling party. Both Ethan and Victoria thought that the purpose of the unions

had been hijacked and that they were being used to funnel resources and positions to supporters of the ruling party, the ANC (though they never mentioned them by name).

> Teachers unions are especially strong in this country and at the moment, as much as we fought for these things, to make unions free, I think that the purpose of unions has changed drastically. I have a huge problem with it because it is being used as a vehicle to push a political agenda, which I think is absolutely wrong. The union agenda is being used by individuals to get positions in society. Most of the positions are undeserving and I think that is unfair.

Victoria concurred:

> Unions and political organizations have a very important role to fill within any society or in a democratic society. In our country, I feel very important organization have lost the plot, even our unions, but they still have an important role to fulfill within society. We as members, have to steel up enough to make change by making different choices, so that these organizations can become meaningful like they were previously.

Ethan and Victoria also thought that their roles and understandings of good citizenship were clearly shaped by their past experiences with apartheid and being incomplete citizens in the past.

> Being a foreigner to this country, I think we are slowly becoming a country where we are trying to identify ourselves with groups. The more that people make you unwelcome in a particular country, the more you tend to see yourself as a foreigner in your own land. If I go back in time and look at my engagement in community activities, then it was very marginalized because then we were not allowed to across the color line. And maybe through our cultural beliefs as an Indian living in this country, I think that our parents, probably because of their country, came to this country trying to expose themselves to more and trying to do more.

Ethan takes a perspective that was very different from almost any other teachers', that South African Indians were caught in a liminal space of being seen as foreign, oppressed by White South Africans, yet having more rights than Africans during apartheid. He thought that this leant itself to Indians not self-identifying deeply as South African and therefor not engaging in South African citizenship activities, especially when barred from

some of them before. But he also thought that previous generations had come looking for better opportunities and thought that might have made them more likely to become engaged in their wider communities.

Victoria took an opposite position, which seemed more common:

> I am a patriot and I am proudly South African. I value the struggles and the effort to give me the country that I have now. Am I a good citizen? Well I vote, does that make me a good citizen? No, so it just makes me value what I have and the right to vote, which I didn't have before. I promote participation in and value for this democracy because being from a grouping of people that suffered from apartheid I truly understand the value.

She felt that because she and others had been deprived of full- citizenship for so long that it was extra important to participate now. She also made the point that voting was minimal in being a good citizen, while actually promoting participation was the key.

Like the teachers at BHS, the DSS teachers felt that their actions in the classroom made them good citizens and that they had more use as citizens when helping prepare the citizens of the future.

Ubuntu

As the final element in the discussion of democracy and citizenship, the teachers considered the concept of the Ubuntu and how it was used or not used in the classroom. At DSS, the female teachers seemed to have more confidence in it as a real concept in practice, while the male teachers were more cynical.

Karen felt that Ubuntu was present in the school, through learners caring for each other, and that while it was connected to democracy, it was no replacement.

> When you come across learners who take care of each other. For example, if you take the reach-out program, where we provide food for children and you find children who will come and tell you that somebody is hungry and they need food.

> So it happens in school and not everybody is open to it. For it to replace any notion of democracy, it won't serve South Africa until we all understand what Ubuntu is and that we are South Africans. Democracy is very linked to Ubuntu, the sharing and the caring. I am because you are and without you I would be nothing. Improve the quality of life of citizens, free the potential of each person.

She viewed Ubuntu on a micro and school level, but also on a national level. Her key thought was that it could not be accomplished before a more unified South African identify could be shared by more people.

Victoria agreed with Karen that Ubuntu was present both in school and across South Africa:

> It is inherent in every society and in every culture across South Africa. We are more aware of it because we are a developing country. We see Ubuntu in action constantly and we can use this when we are trying to do nation building and trying to put together a society that was divided by race. One of the topics we looked at in Grade 9 this year was volunteerism and we looked at how the social part of it comes from Ubuntu and the children went around doing the little stuff. I also coordinate the blood donation at the school. I think we will also achieve this when we get teachers who are invested in the lives of learners, not just the education and curriculum.

She felt that because of South Africa's status as a developing country and transitional nature, the need and practice of Ubuntu was necessary and evident. She seemed to think that it required more than institutional-led changes to develop and get past apartheid, but human, person to person exchange to make the needed changes in society.

Victoria thought that Ubuntu was operationalized in the curriculum through sections on volunteering, where learners actually had to go out and complete small service projects. But she also thought that teachers needed to move past what was strictly in the curriculum and focus on learners' personal needs.

When defining Ubuntu, Melissa's definition was almost the same as her definition of democracy.

> Ubuntu is when you see other people and you care for them. For example if you are on a bus and you see an old lady standing, you would do what's right and be caring and give her your seat. It's about caring for other human beings, showing respect, and that is what we're also trying to instill in our learners.

Melissa equated respect and care with participation in a democracy and community, and by calling it Ubuntu, she felt that her learners were more apt to participate and help one another.

> There is a section that is prescribed (on Ubuntu). I tell the kids that school would be where we care for the people. I don't think the kids understand this unless we tell them that this is Ubuntu. You have to reinforce everything and you have to remind them that this is it, this is what you're learning about and you're doing it. Like when they are doing things for others who are less fortunate, even in class you'll find certain learners help others who are falling behind.

She felt that she both has to reinforce their understanding of Ubuntu by telling learners they are already doing it, as a term that is in the curriculum and tested; and encourage them to put it into practice as good human beings.

For Ethan, it was a lovely theory, but had no real application in everyday life:

> If you think about all the sharing, the caring and the togetherness at this point in time, it's more a concept rather than anything else. If you look at South Africa, at the moment one of the biggest problems that we have crime and we are talking about caring and sharing and having the spirit of Ubuntu. If we had that in this country, we probably wouldn't be bragging about having the highest crime rate in the world. So to me Ubuntu is merely a word. Nearly every other day, as a citizen of South Africa, you are exposed to crime and you question the concept of Ubuntu.

He thought the high rate of crime in South Africa was evidence of a society that did not care about each other. He did not even sound hopeful for a future with more Ubuntu when there was not a baseline of safety and security in South Africa. Vincent concurred.

> It's a concept that is just words and the learners and people are not practicing it and some of them don't even know what it is to begin with.

Ethan and Vincent's dismissiveness of the whole Ubuntu concept was fairly common for the BHS teachers as well. The difference of opinion about the usefulness of Ubuntu speaks to the desire to find a more South African philosophy for some of the characteristics of the more western democracy and the reality of putting such a concept into practice. Overall, the DSS teachers had fairly similar views of democracy to the teachers at BHS, despite feeling strongly that having been oppressed under apartheid required them to be more active citizens.

As a former Indian school, DSS still retains its predominately Indian teaching staff and cultural identity, despite having a fifty percent African student body. The school celebrates its religious and ethnic diversity, along with the racial differences. Their teaching practices are constrained by bigger classes, fewer resources and many demands on their teachers. The teachers attitudes towards teaching citizenship and democracy are informed by past discrimination, having learners from impoverished backgrounds and being caught in the middle between the privileged White minority and the currently dominate African minority. They are aware of both racism towards their own group and racism within their group. For the most part, the DSS teachers are constantly urging their learners to see history and current politics through a critical lens, in a very cautious way. Criticism towards the colonial and apartheid past is more overt, but critique of the current government is more tentative.

Chapter 7: Lowandle High School – Analysis & Findings

This chapter presents the data gathered at Lowandle High School (LHS) through interviews, observation and document review. This chapter is organized into four sections: the general description of the school and teachers, the teachers' early civic education, the teachers' approach to teaching and the curriculum and finally, their understandings of citizenship and democracy.

Description

LHS is located in a sprawling township, south of Durban's city center. This township and others all over South Africa were created through forced removals and resettlement of African, primarily Zulu, residents of Durban in the 1960s. The township was a busy midsize town, with a mix of middle class, low income and temporary housing. There were shopping malls, a university, churches and sports venues along my route to the school. Billboards and advertising along the road reflected the African population. One interesting element about finding my way to LHS was that my GPS simply did not have information about the roads and locations within the township, and I frequently got lost. This was not the case for the other two schools I visited.

LHS was founded in the late 1960s as a primary school, and then later converted to a high school. They graduated their first matric class in 1980s. Until the national democratic transition, the school followed the rules and regulations for African schools and then was merged with the other school systems. It is considered a comprehensive and technical school, offering a wide range of subjects.

The school itself is up on a hill, on a main road in a fairly residential area. The school gates were mostly closed during school hours and were monitored by at least one guard at all times. There was an informal guard station at the entrance, where I had to sign in each time I came to the school. A narrow drive though a dusty grass lawn, which was used as a parking lot and by food vendors, led up to the school buildings. There were eight to ten little shacks selling snacks and other goods for students to buy at break times. These vendors were in place of any formal snack bar or Tuck Shop.

The front of the school itself was painted in school colors, yellow and green, and there was a South African flag waving outside. The school seal and motto were also painted on the front of the school with a maritime symbol. The entrance to the reception area was well marked and centrally located. The reception area is dark and a bit cramped with a row of chairs for people waiting and a reception desk where the receptionist was directing visitors. The visitors in the row of chairs seemed to be parents waiting to see someone in the administration. There were four or five different administrative offices in the building, leading down a corridor that also contained a kitchen, bathroom and principal's office. At the end of the hall way was a large hall that served as the main teacher's lounge.

The school was made up of many different buildings of different heights, some around courtyards, most single story. The courtyards were not landscaped or decorative. They were used for storage and as meeting spaces for students. The main courtyard on the side of the school was used for assemblies and events. It was uncovered and just empty space that could fit most of the student body. There was no indoor or covered auditorium, assembly hall or gymnasium.

Like the other two schools, most of the classrooms were set up with windows on each side. There were no ceiling fans, so the big windows helped with cross breezes and light. Many windows were broken, ceilings were in disrepair and there was often graffiti on the walls. There were wooden slab desks that could fit two to three learners and they often shared books. Depending on the classroom and class level, learners could be crammed into very tight spaces and have little room to move. There were chalkboards at the front of the room, with the daily schedule. There was no technology or A/V equipment in the rooms.

The relationship between the break rooms and the classrooms at LHS were intertwined. There were not enough classrooms at LHS for teachers to have their own room. Thus, the teachers at LHS were the ones to move for each class, rather than the learners. Each class stayed in the same room all day. That meant no rooms were decorated or had any learning materials in them on the walls, as no teacher was responsible for them.

Teachers therefore used break rooms as offices, in addition to taking breaks, getting away from learners and eating lunch. The main break room was then both a social space and a place of work. It was very loud and boisterous and used by mostly female teachers. There were several other, smaller break rooms around the school, but they were not really lounges or break rooms, more like communal offices and often used by male teachers. Since the teachers did no have their own classrooms, they had desks where they keep their things and did their class preparation and grading in the big break rooms.

The school schedule at LHS was structured so teachers taught half the day and had planning and grading time the rest of the day. There were eight periods in a day and

teachers were expected to teach four of those on average. Teachers at LHS had fewer classes to prepare for and tended to teach multiple sections of the same subjects and grades. Class schedules were written on the board in each classroom each day.

Many of the learners came from disadvantaged background, worked after school, had little to no electricity at home or lived in noisy commercial areas. Therefore, the school was open for more hours to provide a safe study space. One teacher told me that the school was open from the "beginning of the day from 6:45 am to 7:30am, it's just compulsory study and from 15:00h to 16:00h and on a Saturday, but for seniors."

LHS had many extracurricular events that often interrupted classroom time. While I was there, there was a sports day, a anti-drugs play performed by a travelling NGO, a memorial service for the learner who died when her makeshift home collapsed, an assembly for Ascension Day, workshops and meetings for teachers, not to mention lots of testing (national and internal, semester and annual exams) for the students. With all the interruptions, it felt as if learners had minimal instruction time. Learners did stay after school to do homework and matric learners were expected to put in even more hours studying at school on the weekends.

Statistics (for details, also see Table 6 in Ch. 4)

While LHS is still a fees-paying public school, the fees are fairly low at 1000R or $85 dollars per learner. Even with low fees, many students cannot afford to pay that much. The percentages of those who are able to pay are similar to DSS. About 50%-60% pay the full fee, 15-20% have a formal exemption based on need and financial circumstance and about 30% do not pay at all.

Many of the learners come from disadvantaged backgrounds, according to the teachers and administrators with whom I spoke. The school had a Care Center to feed those learners who came to school hungry. The teachers themselves mostly funded the Care Center, with a few external donations. They typically feed about three hundred learners each day. There are also many learners who are HIV/AIDS orphans or have the disease themselves. Many learners live in informal settlements with mud and tin house. One learner died during the period I was there, when her house collapsed on her while she was sleeping. Despite these circumstances, about eighty percent of the learners go onto university or technical colleges.

While LHS is much bigger than the other schools in terms learners, it is not bigger in terms of space or classrooms. It has a similar student teacher ration as DSS, but this only tells part of the story. Classes are actually much bigger at LHS because teachers are assigned fewer classes to teach. This means that classes are very large, with an average of over 50 learners per class.

The student body and teaching staff are fairly homogenous. Students are all African, mostly Christian and mostly Zulu. There are a few Xhosa and Sotho learners, but almost no non-South African learners. The same is true for the teachers. There are several Christian denominations represented in the school and school events are organized around different religious events. There are also some learners whose families have more traditional, African religious practices.

There is one Colored teacher and one White administrator, the deputy principal. Students are all from the surrounding township and many from the neighborhood around the school. This also means that most teachers and learners speak Zulu as their home

language. While English it the required language for school and for testing, most teachers speak at least some Zulu in the classroom and to each other, as do the students.

About a third of the learners take history in Grades 10-12. There is very little pressure for learners to take STEM subjects at LHS. In Grade 9, learners and their parents meet with the teachers and decide which courses to take. Teachers advise learners to choose the courses they do the best in and not to take subjects they “battle” with. The school has 85% matric pass rate on average for 2014 and 2015.

My Access

I had the least amount of access at LHS due to the way my meetings with teachers were set up, the language, race and school culture. First of all, I had difficulty in getting an introduction to a high school in the township that met my case criteria and my contacts had fewer connections there. The office that coordinated student teacher placement at UKZN, gave me an introduction to a school that they often placed students at and it ended up being inappropriate for my study, because it had a purely STEM focus and did not teach history at all. I met with the principal of that school and he very helpfully introduced me to the LHS principal, a personal and professional acquaintance. Finally, I was able to meet with the principal of LHS and he allowed me to conduct research at his school in December 2014, two months after I had started at the other schools and right before the holidays. It was agreed to that I would start my research at LHS in the New Year. I would be given a schedule of teachers that I would observe and come to the school once a week. This eventually was relaxed and I was able to come and go a bit more.

As the school had one White staff member and no White students, I did not blend in and was obviously an outsider. Most of the teachers seemed very nervous around me at first and thought that I was an inspector or evaluator. They relaxed when they found out that I was American and simply observing. They were even happier to participate after I interviewed them and they understood my study better. It really helped to have the long interview first and get to know the teachers a bit more before they felt comfortable having me in their classrooms.

Not speaking or understanding isiZulu was another hindrance to access at LHS. Because most students and teachers spoke it to each other, I missed some of the subtleties of what was happening around me, especially in my informal observations outside the classroom. Teachers used different amounts of isiZulu in the classroom, whether they went back and forth, explained concepts in isiZulu after introducing topics in English, or simply translated, I missed some of what was happening in the classroom.

Leadership and Discipline

The LHS principal was an older African, Zulu man who had been at the school for over 30 years. He started as teacher and acquired many additional degrees along the way. He was a major presence at the school with all teachers deferring to him and decisions going through him. He worked closely with his deputy, who had also been at the school for 28 years and started as a teacher. She was the sole White staff member. They seemed like a good team and have clearly been working together successfully for many years.

The principal had far ranging interests in many educational topics, from parenting to the role of sports in academic life. He ruled the school in a fairly autocratic way and

was very much the boss, while maintaining a sense of humor with his staff. His deputy had a lighter touch and more approachable touch, who was extremely invested in the school, taught classes when needed and had good relationships with many other teachers.

While corporal punishment is technically illegal in South Africa, it is clearly still going on in some schools, including LHS. Many teachers carried long rubber or plastic rods around with them regularly, as if they were simply other tools of teaching. I never saw any teachers strike their students, but some admitted to it. One teacher smacked the hands of learners who had not done their homework with an large chalkboard eraser, going through the entire class of eighty students. Teachers had ultimate authority at this school and learners had very little leeway. There was very little misbehaving and rambunctiousness in class. The principal mentioned that there were few drug or crime issues with his learners, unlike in some other schools.

Teachers at LHS

I observed and interviewed five teachers at LHS and I will offer background descriptions of them in the next section. I also described teachers' classrooms in the previous two case chapters, but since the LHS teachers did not have their own classrooms, I focused more on their backgrounds and teaching styles.

Table 17: LHS Teachers

Teachers	Age	Race	Subject	Grades	Gender
Samuel	54	African	History	12	Male
Calvin	52	African	Life Orientation	12	Male
April	31	African	Life Orientation	11,12	Female
Brenda	39	African	History	10, 11	Female
Pauline	47	African	History	11	Female

Samuel. Samuel was the most veteran history teacher at LHS. He had been teaching for over twenty-five years, with over ten years of that at LHS. He was also considered to be the best and taught only the matric learners. His learners received distinctions every year and he took his teaching very seriously. He knew his material very well, yet constantly was looking for new sources and aids to help his learners. He told me he had not originally wanted to be a teacher, but once he started, he loved it. He received his teaching diploma from a local teaching college for Africans in 1986, when it was one of the few options available and had not gone on to get additional degrees after the transition. He grew up in the school's community and had since moved out of the township to a more diverse area.

Samuel's teaching style relied mostly on lecture, but he was an excellent lecturer. He clearly knew his material well, spoke fluidly and without notes. He used an engaging, gentle tone to draw learners in and was very respectful of his learners. He became passionate and emotional when talking about difficult topics, such as violence in war. He rarely raised his voice and there was little misbehavior or side chatter in his classes. He spoke entirely in English, but spoke slowly and clearly, often repeating key points,

having learners repeat difficult words and wrote those points clearly on the board. There was lots of review and reinforcement of concepts learned previously. His style suited English language learners very well. He often printed out supplementary materials, readings and packets for his learners, that he then would go thorough them in class.

There was very little interaction between Samuel and his learners. He rarely asked questions and his classes were usually silent and busy taking notes. His learners rarely asked questions either. There was almost no discussion and certainly no debate.

Calvin. Calvin was of a similar age and background as Samuel, but had taken some different career turns before teaching at LHS. He had come from a rural area outside Durban to the township for further schooling. He had multiple credentials for teaching, a diploma, advanced certificate and a B.ED. with honors. However at some point in his career, he had quit teaching to work in insurance for several years, and then later came back to teaching. So he felt that he was well qualified to teach the careers sections of LO because he had gone through several options. Even with a break in his teaching career, he had over 15 years of teaching experience.

Calvin spoke a good amount of Zulu in the classroom, about 15%. He used it for instructions and explanations, often going back and forth between English and repeating key points in both languages. He had a very interactive and Socratic style, constantly asking his learners questions and have a lot of back and forth dialog, though the learners who participated were mostly male. He was a dynamic speaker and his learners tended to be very engaged, but did not seem to take notes. He did not use notes, follow a particular order of topics or write a lot on the board, so his classes were some times confusing. He used a lot of examples to illustrate his points. He would often use me as an example about

race or nationality. He often made very strong points about race, culture and gender, which I did not exactly agree with. He took positions that cultures were different and thus it was easier just to get a long with members of your own group.

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April. April was the youngest teacher I talked to at LHS and one of the younger teachers at the school. She was originally from a rural area in Zululand, outside of Durban and then came to the township and LHS for high school. She had been teaching for about eight years and was currently pursuing her Master's degree in inclusive education. It had taken her time to complete her diploma, advanced certificate and honors degree, due to financial constraints, all in Life Orientation topics. She was most interested in the counseling elements of the LO course.

As a younger teacher, April had a friendly relationship with her learners. She was a fairly fashionable dresser and was approachable. She had a more interactive style of teaching, but did depend on reading straight from notes and the text some times. She asked questions and it seemed that her learners felt comfortable enough to answer, sometimes even leading to a discussion. She spoke mostly English, but often switched to Zulu for key topics. She moved through material quickly, often with a lot to cover. She knew the names of lots of her learners, walked around the classroom and had an easy rapport with the kids in general.

Once she figured out who I was and what I was doing, she asked for help on some of her graduate work. I was able to help her organize some research projects and look over her presentations. She was one of the few teachers who was curious about me and saw some of the things we had in common. The fact that we were about the same age, both in graduate school and were interested in teaching helped us to become friendly.

Pauline. Pauline was an energetic and enthusiastic veteran teacher who had grown up in the township and continued to live and work there. She had one teaching diploma in History from a former African teaching college, which she received during the transition in 1995 and did not have any post transition credentials. She had been teaching since then, for almost twenty years. She had gone to another well-respected high school in the township and maintained connections there. She was both incredibly welcoming to me, but I also made her very nervous. She dressed well, often in suits.

In the classroom, Pauline spoke in very precise tones, enunciated every syllable and spoke very loudly, as if on the stage, but also as if she was nervous about her English proficiency. She spoke almost entirely in English, but checked for understanding in isiZulu. She spoke quite slowly, especially with new terms, which she often repeated and had learners repeat. She spent a lot of class time on definitions and key terms. She started classes by asking a lot of Socratic questions as review, creating lots of interaction, before transitioning to a lecture style. She also wrote, reviewed and introduced terms on the board, checking understanding with questions. She was very thorough in explaining terms, often referencing other subjects that might help learners understand better.

She had a jovial manner and occasionally used humor in her teaching. She, more than other teachers, made a few content mistakes and seemed unsure of the material occasionally. She occasionally referred to materials being on the tests, but did not linger on it. When she asked questions, she did not immediately correct the learners if they were wrong, but let other learners come up with the correct answers.

Brenda. Brenda came to teaching through other paths as well. She had not wanted to be a teacher at first, but was not able to pursue other paths due to apartheid era

education laws. She pursed teaching in university as a backup, but still chose to go into administration and then human resources in the corporate world in Johannesburg. She finally came back to teaching for stability and family reasons and been teaching less than ten years. She had several degrees, including a BA in Social Science and additional teaching diploma. She also did some course work in Human Resource Management and computer science.

She was fairly serious in the classroom, a professional dresser and originally not enthusiastic about me being in her classroom. She had thought that I was an inspector at first and became friendlier after I explained what I was actually doing. She also was very honest with me about certain classes being boring and how uninterested her learners were. She was also the only teacher I saw use any form of corporal punishment, hitting learners on the wrists with an eraser if they had not done their homework. It seemed like this made more of a chalky mess and was a source of shame, rather than causing pain. More than half of the large class had not done the homework and she admonished them for not being serious, but said she was not going to hassle them, as she was there to teach, not police them. She could be very short with learners and did not know many names.

She was one of the few teachers I saw to actually go around and check every learners' work and give feedback. She asked a lot of questions, asked that they speak in English and asked for new answers from new leaners when the responses were not correct. She spoke mostly in English and repeated key points in Zulu. She elicited responses and waited for them, rarely gave them out. She wrote key points on the board, read them out loud and repeated them. She also instructed learners to "analyze, think and describe" the text and images in the text, though without explaining what those terms

meant. She also would challenge the answers learners gave, making them back up why they responded that way, but did not really follow up on response fully.

In Brenda's classes, more than any other, which tended to be lower grades, I really saw learners struggling with English. They gave rote responses, only a few spoke and seemed confused in general.

The teachers at LHS had fairly similar backgrounds, with some variation, either growing up in the township or relocating there from rural areas for their education. Some had received additional degrees past their original diploma, while others had not. Some had embraced teaching, while others had tried other fields. In the next section, the teachers will discuss their first encounters with democracy and how their own high school experiences impacted their views on citizenship and democracy.

Early Exposure to Democracy

The teachers at LHS were mixed in how they remembered their first exposure to democracy and their experiences with education under apartheid. It very much depended on their age and whether they were in the township or in the rural areas at the time. For some, it was the actual first free election in 1994, for others it was covert sources of information from peers and for others it was later in their adult lives. Very few of them learned about democracy in school, as apartheid era laws and policing did not allow it.

For Samuel, democracy was seen as a dream or vision that came true. He learned about it before it even existed in South Africa.

> I think it was my high school years, say the 1980s, because here in South Africa there was apartheid, which was very bad because it divided the South Africans. So I thought by then that if South Africa could be a democratic country, all was going to be well, because there was going to be equality, a right to vote, a

> government by us, chosen by the people. That was my vision to see my country have democracy, which we did achieve in 1994 on the 27th of April. So now I should think what was the vision is being accomplished.

His thoughts about a future of democracy were both idealistic, but he also confirmed that he felt that his dream of a free South Africa had come true. Like many South Africans, he points to the particular date when this was realized.

Pauline felt that being a senior in high school in 1994 made her especially aware of the great democratic transition going on around her.

> I was doing matric in 1990 when our former president Mr. Nelson Mandela was released from jail and it was just a happy time for us. Then we were willing to hear about him and see him. I used to talk with family and friends at home and at school, because we were the (college) class of 1994, it was constantly in my mind. I remind children that they were born in 1994, which was a big thing for us as black people.

The year, 1994, itself, came up over and over again as an instrumental, educational and spiritual experience for the teachers. Even teachers, who were not old enough to vote or understand what was going on, remember it as a formative time. April was still a child at that time, but she remembers the feeling of excitement and the real change it brought to her family.

> I was 11 years old in 1994, so I was young. The fact that I grew up in the rural areas had an impact on my not knowing exactly what was going on in our country. Though we had heard our parents talking about how they were going to vote, we as kids were clueless about it. We didn't know why people had to vote, we only saw how excited they were and how this voting was going to bring about so much change to their lives. Another thing that got them so excited was that the government introduced elderly pension money, which was to be paid to the old people every month. I am not going to say that is where I was introduced to it, but that is where our grandparents started getting pension. That is why they were so excited, because it brought so much change into their lives, because they were really struggling things, which were basic necessities.

There were two elements of April's introduction to democracy, the excitement over voting and the elderly pension for her grandparents. Most people talked about the

symbolic importance of the transition and voting, but for April, it meant actual financial relief for her family. The connection between democracy and a truly better life was strong for April.

Influence of School, Teachers and Family

For the LHS teachers, learning about democracy in school was very complicated and even dangerous due to the apartheid education laws. Thus many learned from peers, in university or from international examples. A few of them had teachers who were able to talk about controversial topics, but most did not. For many, school in general was a place of oppression, conflict and resistance.

Brenda recalled a day from childhood where violence erupted near her primary school:

> Apartheid did affect us. I remember in primary school, back in the 80s, people used to come into the schools and they would take us out of the classrooms. My mother was on leave and when she heard that the riots had started, my father told her to come and check on the kids. I didn't have time to go and look for my little brother who was doing Grade 1. My brother didn't go where we were supposed to go, he had followed his friend. My mother was waiting for us and we went to look for my little brother. We found him waiting by the school, nothing had happened to him and they had left him unharmed.

Some of her early memories of school were of fear and unrest. School was not necessarily a safe zone or a place of comfort during the State of Emergency days in the 1980s for children in the townships. Even as young as primary school, where these topics were not discussed in the classroom, Brenda was aware of the turmoil going on in her community.

When asked about citizenship and democracy in school, other teachers emphasized that it was in fact illegal for teachers to talk about such topics during

apartheid. Therefore teachers either avoided the topics all together or dealt with them in more covert ways. Pauline felt that her teachers were simply enthusiastic about the progress of the liberation movement, especially the release of Nelson Mandela and other struggle leaders, rather than active participants.

> They were not involved, they were more relaxed than anything, they were quiet. The protests took place in 1985, people then were more excited about the releases than anything else.

She made it clear that she did not learn much about it in school, because her teachers were not involved or outspoken about the anti-apartheid movement. Calvin's memories were more nuanced and thought that the teachers had to be very careful about what they said about what was happening in South Africa.

> Since it was during the apartheid era, nothing was said as it should have been said. They had to hide some of the things and we learnt them secretly through reading books that we weren't allowed to read at all. Because we heard about these things, but we had to hide any activity that led to it. I think I would really say I understood democracy when I was in Grade 11 and 12. There were things said in class, but they wouldn't say them as they are. The teachers wouldn't allow us to ask too many questions about things.

Calvin's teachers could not be too blatant in addressing the controversial topics, but it was still difficult to avoid completely, while the struggle was going on around them.

Samuel explained further how they learned about the anti-apartheid movement.

> We got educated about the struggle from our peers, it was peer education. As youth, we used to read books, various books political books, which were banned. So the teachers were afraid to be free to talk about the system of government in South Africa, because if they were caught doing so, they were going to be arrested and imprisoned. Because maybe my father was a policeman and I was going to tell him that the teacher was talking about such in class and they would get arrested.

Both Calvin and Samuel mentioned that they read banned books as part of their education outside of school. Peer education during the struggle was invaluable since schools were

intentionally not informing learners about their rights or the political situation. The curriculum was meant for keeping the races separate and in their designated place, not to actually educate the African students. Samuel also addresses how oppressive and dangerous the environment for teachers was, living in fear that they could be reported for that they were teaching. When learners were taught about democracy in school, it was always in a historical or international context rather than a current or national one.

Samuel and Brenda brought up some of the topics that they were allowed to discuss in history class.

> I studied history from primary school up to my tertiary education, because I majored in it. During the history classes, we were taught other history, because we were not focusing on apartheid in South Africa, but it was international history. For example, what was happening in America, what was happening in other places like Britain? Samuel

> If I can remember well, we talked about the New Deal under Franklin Roosevelt, we looked at capitalism and communism, socialism and also democracy. That is where I started to know about those things. Brenda

Focusing on international, particularly European and American historical examples of democracy, allowed teachers to both avoid and approach delicate issues in less threatening ways. This also served to maintain a Euro-centric view of history.

A few of the teachers may have bent the rules and did discuss the issues or participated in struggle activism. Calvin thought that perhaps one of his teachers had been involved.

> Yes, I do remember one of them, I think he was a political activist at the time, but I did not notice. I only picked up on it after I had finished high school.

Calvin points out that it was not immediately obvious who was involved in political activism. One could even have an activist teacher and not know it or be taught any of the

liberation ideology. Brenda, who graduated in 1994, was one of the few who did have a teacher who addressed democracy in the classroom.

> When I was in Grade 11, I learned about the term democracy and understood how it is related to history. I learned about it in history class, because in our time there was no LO. It would have to be my history teacher, because I loved history. He has retired now, I still meet up with him and we just talk.

Her history teacher continues to have an influence on her to this day and since she was in school during the transition, she was able to learn more about democracy in the classroom.

For others, they did not learn about it until they reached university and only those who were going to university during or after the transition. Pauline was in teaching college right at the time of the political transition, studying history and finally had the ability to read literature that had previously been banned.

> I was out of the school; I was at College, doing my second year in teaching. At that time I was specializing in history. I went to the bookshops and library to do research about democracy and how it came to our culture, even the media was there to help me do my research. Yes, it was that time that democracy was starting.

This would have been around 1992-93 and the whole nation was learning about democracy as the transition was being negotiated. Pauline was able to capitalize on that while being in college and learn more deeply about the democratic transition going on around her.

For April, even though she was in high school after the transition, she never took any classes that required her to learn any civics or about the democratic process. She would only learn about it later in university.

> I don't remember learning about it at school. I do remember doing it at university though at UKZN, it was part of Life Orientation, but at school, we were never

> taught about it. I was a student who was specializing with commerce subjects, so they didn't even mention it at school.

As learners were able to choose what they learned after Grade 9, many did not have to take history and LO was introduced after April was in school. Now all learners are required to take LO, but can avoid History in the later grades.

The teachers all went to segregated, African only high schools. For the older teachers, this was due to apartheid laws and for the younger teachers, this was due to geography and finances, as a result of apartheid laws. Samuel, Pauline and April went to schools that were similar to LHS in the same township, with April even attending LHS. April had transferred there from the rural area, and found it a difficult transition.

> When I came to this school things were a bit difficult, even though I was a very bright learner, it was a challenge for me. Coming from a small rural school to a big township school was a major change for me, When I have to compare the culture of learning and teaching between the two schools, it wasn't the same. In the school where I grew up, the teacher-center (style) played a huge role. It is like they were spoon-feeding us the information, instead of allowing us to do things for ourselves and that gave me a problem when I arrived at this school. Another thing that was an issue was the language barrier. The language they used to teach us is English (at LHS) and in most cases our teachers would use IsiZulu (in the rural area). Even if they had loved to teach in English, it would have been a problem for us learners, because we would not hear even a word they were saying.

April notes the differences between her former rural school and LHS, the township school. This study did not investigate rural and urban differences in addressing citizenship and democracy in the classroom, thus it is important to take note of April's observations. Both the teaching style and language of instruction were different for her. She made the distinction between the teacher-centered teaching style in her rural school and a more student-centered style at LHS. I, however, would identify the teaching style at LHS as teacher-centered as well. The language differences as well were still present at

LHS and were very different from the other two schools in this study, as the teachers in the other schools were not Zulu speakers. This influenced teaching style as well.

Most of the LHS teachers stated that their families were not influential in developing their early ideas of citizenship and democracy. They often lacked the means to access the media or educational materials, which were both highly censored. April and Calvin also grew up in rural areas, where they had even less access to information.

> I came from a disadvantaged family, so there was no TV, we only had a radio and even then, we only listened to the plays they had at certain hours of the day. That was one of the good things about having a radio and we all loved it, but we were never really interested in the news. April

> My mom was more of a rural person and she was never really a political person. Calvin

Both April and Calvin gave the impression that, in addition to not having access to media and learning materials, their families also had little interest in the political nature of what was happening.

Brenda and Pauline both said their families were not political, but did talk about what was in the news, especially during the transition. Samuel had a very different family experience than almost any of the teachers, as his family was actively involved in the liberation struggle.

> Yah, my family was involved, especially my eldest sister, because she went into exile and now she is a high ranking official in the government. She was in exile in Tanzania and from there she went to Britain to study and she only came back after we had freedom in 1994. We couldn't even talk to her even in writing. I think my parents knew everything, but they hid everything from us because we were still young. My parents didn't talk to us about issues because it was dangerous.

Samuel's sister's activist activities caused her to be targeted by the apartheid government to the extent that she had to leave South Africa covertly and permanently until the democratic transition. This meant that Samuel knew very well the reality of what was

happening around him due to his family's involvement, yet it was not something that could be talked about. He learned, as he stated earlier, from his peers and banned books, since none of the adults in his life were able to discuss politics or the state of the government out of real fear.

Overall, the LHS teachers learned more from their peers, banned books and later at university than they did in school or at home. This influenced how they saw school at the time and impacted their choices in becoming teachers.

Choosing Teaching

None of the LHS teachers started out wanting to be teachers. They all wanted to study and work in other fields, but were either barred due to race, had financial constraints or needed the stability of a government-teaching job. Some came to like teaching, while others still find it difficult and see it as a second choice.

Samuel was the first to say that teaching was not his first choice for a career:

> It was through frustration, to be honest (choosing teaching). I wanted to go to university to study law, because they were the role models, the lawyers who were representing the oppressed South Africans. We were aiming high, others wanted to be medical doctors. But there was no money at home to further my studies. So it was better for me to go to teaching because it was cheaper. After matric, I went to work at one of the industries [factories] for 2 years just to raise funds, because I went to college with my own fees, which I saved. At the back of my mind, I kept telling myself that I will teach for a few years and then I will venture into law. It ended up not happening, because I enjoyed teaching so much.

Samuel had financial and racial constraints keeping him from his chosen field of study, which then led him to the teaching field. Even then, he had to take a detour and take a up less desirable work to help him save money to go to university. He did eventually come to appreciate teaching though.

Pauline also wanted to study law and was constrained by finances and family responsibilities.

> Firstly, teaching wasn't my first choice. My first choice was law, and because of the family background I went into teaching, though it wasn't my first choice. When I got there, I realized that I actually like it. It was actually because of financial constraints that I stayed at home and I was also a single parent by then. That is why I went to the day teaching college, not the boarding college.

Pauline had teachers in her family and it was deemed the secure path for her, especially as a single mother at that point. Law school was out of reach financially and was just not feasible for Pauline at that point. But, like Samuel, she too came to like teaching once she started.

For April, growing up in the rural areas, with few educational and professional opportunities, teaching even seemed out of reach.

> Honestly speaking, when I was growing up, I don't remember dreaming of being a teacher. My father was a general worker and did not have any educational background. The one point where I realized that I could be a teacher, and a really good one, was when I came to this school and found I actually have a talent for teaching. My teachers recognized this and helped me develop it. They told me I could be a very good accounting teacher. After completing Grade 12, I wanted to study accounting, but I did not have enough points [grades] to get accepted into the course. I stopped school for a while due to financial reasons, started teaching adults at night, then became part time teacher, then got a scholarship in teaching. I don't regret leaving accounting, for teaching. And now I am a teacher, I love the kids, I love teaching them and I love my job very much.

April had few aspirations of being a teacher, at first because no one in her family had the opportunity for much education, and then because teachers encouraged her to go into accounting. It took her a long time to get to teaching, both because of trying accounting first and then financial reasons causing her to drop out of school for awhile. Like Samuel though, she truly likes teaching now.

Calvin also followed a winding path to get to teaching.

> I finished my matric and I got a job at a factory here in Durban. Most of my friends went into college a year before me and I got jealous of them and decided that I also want to go to college to study education. Teaching was the only thing I could do, because I did not want to be a policeman, and we had limited choices back then as black people. Then I left teaching for insurance, then I came back after I had stayed there for 12 years. The insurance industry was becoming a bit too difficult for me, so I came back to teaching where I would have a stable income.

Like Samuel, Calvin chose teaching as the best of a few limited options available to Africans. He also left teaching after the transition to try something else, but he soon came back to it for the stability. At every turn, teaching was the safe and accessible position for Calvin, not the desired one.

Brenda also chose teaching as the secure and available option for a professional job, after trying several other jobs.

> To be honest, I have never liked teaching, it is very tough. When I finished school, I went to college, and back then universities were arranged in such a way that certain qualifications were not for certain race groups. When I finished, I got a job as an admin clerk, then I worked in Johannesburg in the corporate world for a while in HR. When my mother passed away, I decided that I needed that something stable and I went back to school to study teaching.

Like Pauline, family responsibilities led Brenda back to teaching for the stability. Like Calvin, Brenda tried several jobs in the corporate world before coming back to teaching for the security. Like all the teachers, teaching was never her first choice, but unlike the other teachers, she was very honest and said she still did not enjoy teaching.

None of the LHS teachers wanted to become teachers originally, they wanted to become lawyers, accountants or work in business. Teaching was the cheaper, sensible and available choice. Even when they came to like teaching, the teachers still had some resentment that they were barred from their first choice professions.

Teachers' Approach to Teaching, the Curriculum and their Learners

The next section presents how teachers see their roles as teachers and approach the curriculum through their own teaching. First, I will discuss how the LHS teachers saw their own roles as civic educators and what skills, knowledge, values and attitudes they need to teach citizenship and democracy effectively. Second, I will discuss their views on the sections of the curriculum that address civic issues. Third, I will discuss how teachers actually present these topics in the classroom. Finally, I will discuss how the teachers' perceptions of their learners impacts their teaching of citizenship and democracy.

Role of the Teacher as Civic Educator

The LHS teachers had differing ideas about what the role of the teacher was in fostering ideas about citizenship and democracy. The history teachers thought their role was to help learners understand the nature of South African democracy and where it came from, while also staying current with political and national events.

Samuel took his role as a history teacher very seriously in light of South Africa's past:

> It is to enlighten the learners, to be the custodians of our hard fought constitution, so that they can understand that our constitution is the prime South African act. All the acts are under the constitution even the South African Schools Act and Educators Act are based on our constitution. So that is the main role of history, to enlighten the learners, as well as the teachers or colleagues, because it is high time to show people that history is not a subject only for the underachievers. They're so used to promoting math and science it's about high time now for us to promote history.

He felt that history teachers had an almost sacred obligation of edify their learners on the foundations, origins and meaning of the key national documents and laws, particularly the constitution. He also felt that it was his job to inform other teachers and

administration of the importance of history, in the light of the national policy push for STEM education. He felt that history was too often seen as the easy or less challenging course to choose. When asked about the possibility of making history a mandatory subject through Grade 12, he responded:

> As based on the constitution, there is freedom of choice, but the parliament is discussing this history issue, to be a subject for all learners, because even the politicians, as ministers, they need that history background. Even a family, for example, a family tree is a part of history.

Thus, while he respected the learners' right to choose their subjects, he thought it was a important place the history subject in a more central role, along with Math and Language, in the curriculum.

Pauline thought that the history teacher "must be a person who is used to reading the newspapers, have a proper understanding of history and be able to teach it in the classroom". She also agreed with Samuel and thought that history should be mandatory and that learners, "even though they don't study history, come and ask me certain questions in history. I think they must take it as a mandatory, like mathematics." Brenda also thought mandatory history "is a good idea, the kids need to learn where we came from and where we are going". She saw part of her role as the history teacher as to explain where their current South African text by means of investigating its past.

The LO teachers thought they had many roles in addressing the learners' needs and addressing citizenship and democracy topics. These included roles as counselor and therapist, behavioral specialist, health teacher and surrogate parent.

> Being an LO teacher can be challenging and you find yourself living in a different world than your colleagues. They expect too much, like how they expect the kids to be on their best behavior just because and LO teacher is around. If there are behavioral, drug, pregnancy or any other issues relating to the students, they always ask where the LO teacher is. They make it seem as though we should

> make every decision for and about these kids. An LO teacher also plays the role of a councilor and you have to be there for the kids. So you now become a support structure and a role model to them. Some of these kids need someone to talk to because they come from child headed families and they normally find it easy to talk to an LO teacher. Some of them come to you because they need help and need advice on navigating the waves of being a teenager.

April highlights the multifaceted role that the LO teacher can be thrust in. She has to attend to the holistic needs of her learners when other teachers pass on that responsibility. She also says nothing about her role as a civics educator or as an instructor of young citizens. She is overwhelmed and focused the primary and emotional needs of her learners first. She pays special attention to the learners who live in child headed homes, who have no adult guidance.

Calvin also talks about this group of learners as why LO exists at all and points to these learners defining his role as an LO teacher.

> My understanding, when I came in 2008, was that the government was looking at the rate of orphanages, when they introduced LO. When I had first looked at it, it was more of letting the children know what was going on, those that do not have proper guidance, since most homes are child headed. To make them understand what democracy is, how important and valuable it is and what is expected of us in this diverse South Africa.

Calvin thought that the whole purpose of LO and his role of as a teacher was to take the role of the parent in teaching orphaned learners the basic skills they needed for successful lives. He focuses on their need for democratic knowledge, since it is something that they might not learn without a structured class.

While not teaching LO, Brenda also thought that teachers fulfilled too many roles. She said, “If you are a teacher, you have to understand that you are not only a teacher. You are a social worker, a guidance counselor, a social worker and a parent.” She thought that this made teaching a particularly grueling profession.

While the LO teachers saw themselves in more parental roles and the history teachers had a more academic focus, some of the teachers felt more strongly than others about the importance about democracy and civic topics within their subject.

Skills, Knowledge, Attitudes and Values

The LHS teachers thought that awareness of current events, content knowledge and former life experiences were most important for teachers to have in order to teach about citizenship and democracy, among other skills and values. They also mentioned some of the more intangible skills and values, such as respect, non-biased attitudes and a joy for teaching.

Current events and research skills. Several teachers mentioned that it was important to, not only follow current events and the news, but also to know how to use these sources in the classroom. Being able to teach how to research and find additional sources was key too.

Samuel thought that staying on top of current events was essential for teachers, but they also to be impartial and analytical when discussing it. He said, "Reading, watching the news. If there is a national issue in the news, you need to analyze it and not take sides." Pauline thought that teaching learners to stay on top of current events was critical.

> The teacher must be involved in making sure that learners collect information from all the places that they need to carry with them. They need to get such information from the media, like the Internet, watch the news, read newspapers.

Brenda also thought that being able to research and gather evidence was necessary for a teacher. She also emphasized that a teacher needs to be able to draw on outside sources for learning materials, including governmental documents.

> A person who can do research and observe. You also need evidence, which is what history needs. It needs a person who can integrate things and not just use what is given to them at school. The government institutions can work for us, so that we can get information from them, so that the learners can understand how the government operates.

April thought that teachers needed to be open to learning themselves, both to stay ahead of curious learners, but also to stay grounded in the facts of each topic. April said, “Being a constant learner yourself helps, because these kids do a lot of research. So talking about something that is factual, rather than hearsay will help you.” Thus, the teachers agreed that current happenings in government and politics were influential to what they taught in class and teachers needed to be able to access good information and teacher their learners how to as well.

While the teachers talked about current events as a way of educating themselves and being able to field questions, they did not always bring the topics up in class themselves. I only observed a few classes that dealt with current topics. Calvin brought up current events regularly. He talked about the Oscar Pistorius case as an example of being cautious and circumspect in technology use, referring to his text messages. He also discussed some of the university student protests concerning school fees when talking about the logistics of securing funding for university.

When teaching about the Cold War and Vietnam War, Samuel compared these to the more current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but this was more of a contemporary comparison than a focus on current events. April’s class on the key features of democracy

included a discussion on the limitations of free speech, using Julius Malema's singing of Kill the Boer as an example of potential hate speech. She also discussed some of President Zuma's scandals in relation to elected officials job of upholding the law. Brenda discussed the recent xenophobic violence in Durban in the context of looking at the French Revolution. She, however, sent mixed messages about the violence, by denouncing it on one hand, but then saying the violence of the French Revolution and the anti-apartheid were similar, which then confused the learners.

Content knowledge and teaching ability. Teachers in all three schools thought that having in-depth content knowledge was essential. But the LHS teachers also emphasized that one also needed to be able to convey that content knowledge in a clear, simple and engaging way.

Pauline thought teachers "must be able to understand the subject as a whole" and "be able to describe the content in the topic." Having a broad grasp of the topics and being able to explain them to learners, especially when most of the LHS learners were English Language learners, was particularly necessary. The teachers spent a lot time and energy ensuring that their learners understood the key concepts and terminology, particularly in history.

Pauline did do this for the most part, but often got historical facts mixed up, especially for non-South African time periods and events (examples: mixing up the author of the New Deal in the US). She occasionally confused her learners as well on topics she was less comfortable with, such as the intricacies of the Russian Revolution She did admit that she struggled with some of the non-South African history in the curriculum.

Samuel agreed that content knowledge and ability to simplify topics were key skills:

> Understanding, especially have the background information so that you can be versatile in the class. If you don't read or know the background, they are going to grind you. You need to be versatile answering a question with a question. The knowledge is very important and the skills of how to make history simple, especially historical terms Nazism etc., make your class enjoyable, there must be no tension in the classroom and make it fun for the learners. I've been teaching since 1987, you can't only depend on your experience or on your political environment only. You need to be equipped through education, so that you can analyze this experience of yours, so that it can mold a person.

Being able to explain topics in multiple ways, being prepared to answer difficult questions and make learning fun for the learners were important to Samuel. He also differentiated between life experience and academic knowledge, saying that you had to have both in order to probe significant issues. Samuel displayed his deep content knowledge on the topics in each class that I observed. He absolutely could simplify and clearly convey complicated concepts. His learners also hung on every word and there was rarely any chatter in his class.

April also thought being prepared to respond to what ever was thrown at her was also crucial. She said, "Be in a position that will enable you to answer any question that the kids might pose to you." While she was less experienced than Samuel, she also had a good command of her material. She encouraged more questions that Samuel as well and responded to them seriously.

Life experience and background. Some of the teachers put value on having life experiences that they could draw upon to illustrate key points for their learners. Brenda felt that her experiences especially growing up during apartheid helped her to explain

South African history in a contextual way to her learners. She said," My background has equipped me to understand where I come from and where I am going."

Calvin thought that his multiple professional experiences and life under apartheid were useful in explaining the realities of South Africa to his learners.

> I understand history and working in a different sector than education. I have had a lot of exposure to different things and environments. I remember working in a factory and we were expected to teach a White person, the same work we were doing and then you would end up reporting to them a month later, yet you were their senior when you were teaching.

He made it clear that having experienced sanctioned racism in the workplace was an example he could share to show both real change and the continued inequalities his learners will face. While Brenda and Calvin said they talked about their experiences in class, I was not able to observe any.

The intangibles: non-biased analysis, critical thinking, joy and care for teaching and respect. The LHS teachers also mentioned several other skills and attitudes that were beneficial for teaching citizenship and democracy. Brenda was one of the few teaches who mentioned the need for critical thinking in teaching. She said that, "the teacher should be a person who can analyze and think critically. Be a critical thinker." She never explained what this meant, but she seemed to mean that a teacher should be able to evaluate sources, look for nuanced explanations and insist on evidence-based responses from learners. She did talk about the need for skills in class, but again did not really explain them.

Samuel was particularly insistent that teachers must be impartial, particularly when addressing political issues in class.

> Not taking sides of the political matters. As a multi-party country where there are various political party organizations, and in order to be transparent, we need not

> wear the cap of one political party, because you will be a biased teacher. This would be wrong because this class of history learners is made up of different historical ideologies and they are from different historical and political backgrounds. Don't take sides, because other than being unfair to the learners, it is dangerous. You can talk about a certain organization, not knowing that the father of the student is a prominent supporter of that party and you find trouble waiting for you when you go home. You need to be very careful that it does not become very personal.

Samuel makes several points in this statement. He tried to model his own teaching on the principles of the country by not being biased and being open to multiple points of view. He felt it was important to respect all political and ideological points of view in his classroom, both on principle, but also because it could be dangerous to choose a side. From what I observed, he tried to stay absolutely in the middle of most topics, presenting sides equally.

April also felt that "respecting yourself and other people as well goes a long way" in teaching complex issues. She also thought "you also need to be a teacher who cares about what you are doing." Pauline built upon that and thought that she was well suited to teach because, "I love history and I have always gotten As in history since high school". Care for the job and love for the subject are indeed beneficial attitudes for teachers in general and both these teachers did show these attitudes in the classroom.

Citizenship and Democracy in the Curriculum

As stated in the previous chapters, the teachers had varying opinions about what the most important topics within the state curriculum were for fostering democracy and citizenship. This section will discuss the LHS teachers' thoughts on the national curriculum and how they teach the sections concerning democracy and citizenship.

Important and unimportant topics. Most of the LHS history teachers thought that the sections on South African history and apartheid were the most significant, while they disagreed about the importance of international comparative historical periods and events. The LO teachers thought the sections on rights were most important, but had some disagreement about how well the curriculum actually addressed these topics.

Table 18: Important Topics for Civic Education at LHS

Teacher	Subject	Important Topics
Samuel	History	- Road to Democracy: Apartheid to Elections, Transition & Negotiations for Democracy & Constitution - Truth and Reconciliation Commission - Cold War – Communism & Capitalism - African Politics
April	LO	- Rights, Laws, Government & Democracy - Personal Choices & Career Options - Politics in the Media
Calvin	LO	- Freedom of Expression, Rights
Pauline	History	- Apartheid & South African History - African Independence Movements - Civil Rights Movement & MLK
Brenda	History	- French Revolution - South African History

Most of the teachers preferred topics on South African and African history. Samuel thought that the current curriculum was "suitable for democracy and citizenship" and followed a logical progression of local and global events, "from national to continental, and from continental to international", using the cases of "the division of Germany, Vietnam, communism against capitalism and then we turn our focus to South Africa politics or rather African politics." Both Pauline and Samuel thought that looking at other African countries' independence movements and transitions to democracy was important.

In addition to the obvious sections on rights and laws, April also thought the LO sections on personal well-being and careers was pertinent to the study of democracy and citizenship, because "understanding one's self and having a vision and goals, since we live in a democratic country, will be easier for them." She thought that good, personal decision making was connected to good civic decision making.

There were some topics that the teachers thought were less important and effective. Brenda disliked the fact that there was so much focus on non-South African history:

> We are not really learning about South African history and if you look at it citizenship and democracy, we don't get into it that much. In fact, the history of our country is at the very end of the textbook, in Grade 10. Just now I was teaching them about the French Revolution. I do try to make sure that they know a bit about how the old South Africa worked. I also try to teach them about how democracy works and how it was introduced, by relating France to South Africa, but it doesn't work. I think they need to restructure history.

She felt very strongly that there was not enough content on South African history, particularly apartheid and colonial history. While she did relate other historical events back to South Africa, she felt it was a stretch and it did not help the learners to understand their own history. She also felt that it did not help them learn more about citizenship and democracy, that it was too abstract and not practical enough for them.

Calvin talked about the importance of the sections on rights and responsibilities, but discussed the difficulty of conveying this to learners, when the promised rights were not always visible to the LHS learners.

> We discuss issues about rights and limitations, and we were talking about how rights go up to a certain extent. Like how every child has the right to an education, but you cannot get an education, sitting and chilling at home, you have to come to school for that. We were also talking about the government free housing and how it says the government *may* and it doesn't say *must* [provide it], so it is not necessarily something that they should do indefinitely. Sometimes we

> read these things and we think that it says the government *must,* when it actually says it *may* and how one should be careful when reading these things.

This is a challenging subject for all the teachers, as one of the major assumptions is that democracy means one can do what one wants and the constitution says they have the right to and should receive an education, housing, health care etc. But these students at LHS and in the township see examples right in front of them that this is not happening. Calvin attempts to explain this contradiction by describing the rights as possibilities rather than facts and deliverables.

Uncomfortable, controversial and avoided topics. There were many topics that the LHS teachers felt uncomfortable teaching, both because the content matter could be controversial and because they felt unprepared or uninterested in it. There were also topics they felt were not discussed and were avoided in the curriculum that learners brought up in class.

Calvin thought that it could be controversial to oppose or speak negatively about the amaZulu king. King Goodwill Zwelithini himself is a controversial figure in South Africa and around that time, he had made some sensational comments about the xenophobic violence in KZN. Thus, Calvin questioned whether one could talk about him in a critical way.

> Is it bad to say something about the king in South Africa? Personally, I don't see it that way, because he is a human being and I am a human being and he makes mistakes, just like everybody else. But since it's all political, they might have been trying to protect him and denying the whole thing or blaming someone else.

He commented on how the king's words were handled in the media and then how his learners responded to them. In the end, Calvin treaded lightly in criticizing him.

Pauline and Brenda felt uncomfortable about teaching certain topics, not because they were controversial, but because they had less knowledge of those topics and perhaps, less interest in them. For Pauline, she felt "uncomfortable teaching the ancient history that we have to teach and it is challenging for me since I wasn't really there". I found this a bit troubling, because, while being a witness to historical events is valuable, it is rare and a history teacher is usually tasked with bringing the far past to life. Pauline was uncomfortable with both older time periods and non-South African history. I saw some of her discomfort in her classes on the Russian Revolution.

Brenda agreed with Pauline that teaching the far past and non-African history made her uncomfortable.

> As I said with Grade 10s, looking at the world in the 1600s and the European expansion, I'm uncomfortable teaching that and the learners are also not interested in it. I would put the focus on South Africa. More importantly, if we are talking about South African citizenship, I want the learners to know where we are going and where we come from. They must also know about the other African countries and how they work and figure out how we are related. I added Somalia, just so they can relate and not feel like what they are doing is far from them.

She elaborated though, saying that she felt that the focus should not be on Europe and be placed more on topics that are more relevant and understandable for her learners. She really wanted to place South Africa and African history at the center of her teaching and at the center of their learning. She felt that understanding their past was essential for their growth as South African citizens. Brenda also wanted to emphasize a larger African role in their history included additional topics to counter Eurocentric sections. She also connected the global topics, such as the French Revolution back to apartheid history.

Despite being uncomfortable with certain topics, the teachers all said that they did not avoid anything in the curriculum or questions that came up in class. They gave

several different reasons for confronting difficult or controversial topics in the classroom. Brenda said it was simply because she "cannot avoid any topics, due to the syllabus." Even though she did not feel comfortable or see the point of teaching European expansionism, she was not able to avoid it because her learners would be tested on it.

April said she covered everything and addressed all the learners' questions because there was often no one else that they could appeal to and she wanted to be considered an open source of guidance to them.

> I cover everything. I trained for my job, so I don't find any topic uncomfortable, even the sex topic is okay with me, though some teachers find it uncomfortable to talk about. I need to be able to talk about these things since some of the kids can't even talk about it at home, they don't hear any of these things at home and school is the only time where they can come and learn about it. So I have to be the teacher and the parent all in one.

She felt that her training and her role as an LO teacher equipped her to deal with uncomfortable topics and was bound to confront them as her learners needed. While she was mostly talking about the personal issues that came up in LO, she did not shy away from political, legal and ethical questions that concerned citizenship and democracy within the LO syllabus. In one class, learners brought up some of the more raucous events that had been happening in Parliament in opposition to President Zuma. While she did not avoid this potentially controversial topic and showed a sense of humor in discussing it, she did not interrogate or dig into the topics. She was very diplomatic in offering a dissenting opinion, but did not challenge the learners to back up their opinions.

Calvin felt that avoiding controversial topics in the classroom would have been a throw back to the censorship of apartheid and that he needed to model a way to express oneself freely for his learners. He stated, "I am not afraid of saying what I want to say, freedom of expression helps, unlike what things use to be in the past."

Pauline tried not to avoid any topics in the syllabus because learners ended up bringing them up anyway.

> I don't avoid topics in the curriculum, because when I avoid those topics, some learners are intelligent and they go through all the topics and they ask you these questions. So if you avoid it, you will be stuck having to explain why you can't answer certain questions.

With a national curriculum, all the topics for each year are quite public and earnest learners will investigate which topics get tested. Pauline understood this and knew that if she avoided the topics she felt uncomfortable with, her learners would approach her about it.

There were also topics that the teachers thought should be included in the curriculum and were avoided for various reasons. There were also topics that came up frequently in the classroom that were not in the curriculum, which were introduced by learners.

> There are some topics that were left out, because it looks as if only one political party played a role in the bringing about of freedom and equality, whereas various other organizations [were involved]. But they focus on ANC and Inkatha [Freedom Party] and the conflicts during the times of the negotiations. Yes, its too simple.

This is a particularly sensitive subject that was brought up at all three schools. Each group of teachers thought some group had not been given credit or had been left out for their role in the liberation struggle. Samuel felt that the way the curriculum handled the sections on the struggle and transition were oversimplified and held up the ANC as the only group involved. This speaks to the ruling party's role in creating the new curriculum after the transition.

Many of the topics that came up in class that were not in the curriculum came from the learners' questions about what was happening in the news, particularly having to

do with politics and violence. Samuel was glad that they occasionally strayed off topic to discuss current politics, though he made sure to connect the current events to themes in history they had studied.

> They are interested in South African politics, what the ideology of EFF is and is EFF going to last long? Is our Zuma going to complete his term of office? It makes a classroom situation lively as a history class, because we need not focus directly or always on the content that will be examined. They need to be aware about their surroundings.

While I never saw any discussions in Samuel's classroom, his statement shows that he felt it was necessary for learners to have a solid grasp of both remote history and what was going on around them.

Calvin's learners brought up some of the legal ramifications of protecting oneself in the wake of the Oscar Pistorius case.

> They wanted to discuss something like 'how do you retaliate when a person is trying to attack you and they have a gun and you want to disarm them?' If you had listened to the Oscar Pistorious case, you might have picked up what can and cannot be done with firearms.

This case had repercussions about how different races, domestic violence and disability were treated within the court system and introduced a lot of legal discussion of equality under the law into the classroom. The curriculum clearly did not delve that deeply into these topics, nor did it discuss the law versus the reality of the law, in terms unequal treatment.

Pauline and Brenda both had serious discussions with their classes over the xenophobic violence, which impacted areas near the school. Pauline treated it as an issue of discrimination.

> Xenophobia did come up in Grade 8. When they were learning about the French Revolution and how the Germans ill-treated the Jewish people, when Hitler discriminated against other races, I used those to explain xenophobia. They

> responded very nicely, because they have seen xenophobia and they ask how it happens. They were not scared or angry, they just felt sorry for the foreigners and they were saying 'we are all created by God, then why should we be fighting?' Pauline

Despite some historical confusion, Pauline tried to connect what they were learning in class to some of the reasons why the violence had occurred. She put it in terms of empathy, equality and religious values.

Brenda showed her disapproval of the violence and took another tack by putting it economic terms.

> I asked them question like 'do they think it is fair to be xenophobic against our African brothers and sisters?' Some of them were against it and some of them were for it, but I tried to convince them that it is wrong, especially in South Africa. I gave them an example of how we normally trade with other African countries and I asked them how we could trade with them, if we are chasing them away? How can they expect the economy to grow? I told them that we cannot fight as Africans, how is the rest of the world going to look at us? I tried to make them understand that the people involved in such are uneducated people who need us to educate them. Brenda

She asked critical questions to engage her learners to think deeply about the ramifications of the violence. She also tasked her learners as educated people to help those who were committing such violence acts see the negative impact it would eventually have on their community.

For the most part, the LHS teachers adhered to the curriculum fairly tightly, despite some discomfort or disagreement with some of the subject matter. They viewed it as set in stone and it was their main job to get their learners through the material.

Apartheid in the curriculum. Most of the LHS teachers felt that apartheid was important to teach, both in history and LO. The LO teachers felt that, while it was not directly addressed in LO, it was still important, especially for the learners who do not take history past Grade 10. In general, the teachers thought that the LHS learners

continue to be interested in the topic and time period, but know little about it as “born frees”.

Samuel thought that it was addressed appropriately in the curriculum.

> It is well covered and they need to know about it, but apartheid should not be our shield. Just because of apartheid, I couldn’t achieve my dreams. It has been 20 years already now since it died in 1994, but these young lads need to now what happened, where we are and where we are going.

He also thought that it had done enough damage to his own life, that he wanted his learners to know about it in order to move past it and not have it impact them in the same way. Also, several teachers (Pauline & Brenda) used language about needing to “know where we have been, where we come from, where we are and where we are going” to justify the need for learning history, particularly about apartheid.

Pauline thought that the learners particularly needed to know about the apartheid period because they had never experienced it.

> I think it’s much better to teach them about apartheid, because our children are free and they don’t know where we come from. Now they are free and say they weren’t there, so they need to know, so they won’t forget. They want to know, so no, [they don’t push back].

She thought they needed to know, not just because they were not there, but also so it will not be forgotten by future generations. She also thought they were eager to learn about it.

Brenda thought it was necessary and connected many other historical events back to apartheid history, both to shift the emphasis back to South Africa and give her learners some familiar context for what they were learning.

> I bring it up in Grade 10 when I am teaching the French Revolution, so that they can understand that what was happening in France was the same thing that happened in South Africa. I use the example of how the women in France fought and how the women in South Africa fought.

She also used her personal experiences during apartheid to illustrate points, such as her experience in school in the 1980s, mentioned in a previous section.

Calvin felt that as a teacher who had lived through the apartheid period, he was well placed to discuss it from a personal and historical perspective.

> Our children were not exposed to the apartheid era and when you tell them some of the stuff that people used to do, they get shocked and they say wow, did that really happen? And since you as a teacher experienced this first hand and you went through some of the stuff, you know what you were talking about.

It seemed that Calvin, as an older teacher, brought apartheid history and residual issues more in LO than April did. As she explained:

> We don't really dwell on apartheid in LO, we deal with democracy and the structures of a democratic government and how it works. We just deal with the now issues and nothing in the past, so that will be for the history students. [But those who don't do history], I think that they are missing out.

April thought that the LO curriculum did not connect the LO topics on the current system of governance well to the past and to the apartheid era. It also seemed that as a younger teachers, she did not make those connections either. She agreed that this was particularly problematic for the learners who were not getting this information in history class either.

Changes and challenges in the curriculum. The LHS teachers had varied opinions on the effectiveness of the current curriculum and how the curriculum had changed over the years. Samuel felt that the current CAPS curriculum was mostly well-done, offered choice and variety to teachers.

> Those topics that were included in the curriculum and the people who designed the curriculum, I can say they were perfect. I was involved personally in drafting this new curriculum, CAPS, for Grades 11 and 12. It is two years old, it started last year (2013), but we sat down for it about five years ago, then two years ago for the final draft.

Samuel, as a master history teacher, was involved in creating the new curriculum and was clearly invested in it. He thought the major changes between CAPS and the last OBE curriculum concerned testing and rotating content areas.

> The CAPS method of assessment is the biggest difference. Now they [learners] are free to choose which topic they want to write an essay on. [The content is] not dramatically different. Now, they've got the three-year life span, as we are doing Vietnam now and in 2016 it should be China. There will be other topics; they are rotating with the countries, because they have case studies on the ideological conflicts between communism and capitalism. Before it was Cuba.

He felt that these changes gave teachers and leaners more choice and variety in what they focused on in the curriculum. The rotating topics on capitalism and communism gave teachers especially a broader understanding of global themes and diverse topics.

Other teachers however, thought the CAPS curriculum constrained what they could teach much more. Calvin thought that actual teaching and learning styles from before the transition were actually better for learners and teachers.

> I think in the 1980s, the curriculum change did have an impact on how learners studied. It created a negative impact. The old curriculum was very effective, and with politics, all the other changes weren't necessary. In the olden days, it was easy to structure things in your own way, now we have quarterly tests, which pretty much force us to do things in a certain way.

Calvin liked the more traditional curriculum of memorization and lecture, even though there is still a lot of that at LHS. He also thought that teachers had more freedom, at least in planning their classes, even if content was still pre-determined. The CAPS curriculum is very dense and requires teachers to move at a rapid pace to meet all its assessment requirements.

Pauline thought the teachers had room in the curriculum for creativity, but acknowledged this was not the norm.

> We do have space, because if you want to have an excursion and it is not in the curriculum, you can still have one, even if it's not from the department. I can't do it every year, but Grade 12s have these where they go to see Robin Island and the Pretoria Union Building etc. In terms of the curriculum, I pretty much teach what is in the books. We don't have to go astray from what is given, though we can come up with new ideas.

I do not know how often LHS learners had extra-curricular educational activities and excursions, but it seemed like they were rare. She also admitted that she adhered closely to the textbook, but occasionally could introduce some new thinking. I never observed her straying too far from the text.

Other teachers were more critical of the content itself. Brenda thought, "they need to phase out all these other topics that are not related to *our* history." She thought that grounding all the learners in their own past was extremely important, to the extent that she did not find any of the international topics in the history books relevant for them.

Calvin felt that they way the democracy and citizenship sections in LO were presented and organized were confusing and ineffective.

> The two topics democracy and citizenship have been broken down into four terms, which does not make sense to me. I would rather they take one term for citizenship and one term for democracy and one term for careers, but they have broken it down in such a way that they have bits and pieces of each topic in each term. You can't relate all the information that relates to that specific subject in a proper way.

Much of the LO curriculum moves back and forth between far ranging topics and Calvin was not alone in his criticism of it. This is also part of the reason that LO's general effectiveness continues to be debated at the highest education policy levels.

Calvin and April, the LHS LO teachers felt that the subject was important for learners, but mishandled by the curriculum designers, policy makers and Department of

Education. April thought that the DoE officials considered LO to be an afterthought and therefore it was treated as one.

> The departmental officials really don't care about LO and they tell you that since only two years are left with the subject anyway, why should one bother with it? Most of these people have never even been in a classroom, so they don't have any idea what it is like to be a teacher, let alone to implement any of the things that they throw at you. When they do something it is normally a generalized thing and they forget that some of the learners have barriers and that those learners also need to be accommodated as well, which can be very frustrating for us as teachers. We also have a never-ending story of a curriculum that keeps on changing all the time, we are not given enough training and they expect us to perform miracles after that. There is a lot of content to cover and it makes it impossible to cover everything in the given time, so you sometimes need extra hours after school or during the weekends or holidays to cover all the work. They are all just sitting pretty up there, expecting us to do magic with the kids.

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Teachers from around the world could easily express these same sentiments. April felt that while the future of LO was debated and potentially phased out, there was little training, few materials and attention given to LO by administrators, teachers or learners. The DoE was out of touch with learners' realities and forced constant changed on the teachers with out adequate support. Calvin echoed these thoughts and brought up additional concerns.

> Another problem we have with our schools is that children don't have books. Secondly, parents are not prepared to buy those books because the subject is not taken as seriously as all the other subjects. Sometimes if you give the kids homework, some do it and some don't bother to do it, the attitude they have towards the subject is not a good one at all. And I blame it on the Department of Education because there was no seriousness about the subject. It also doesn't help that it is not something that is examined externally.

Calvin saw that parents were also influenced by the lack of standing LO had within the curriculum and that limited learners' access to resources and motivation.

The LHS teachers had very mixed feelings about the effectiveness of the national curriculum in teaching democracy and citizenship. Some found the material in History to

be sufficient in addressing these topics, while others thought they were better suited for LO, despite its own shortcomings.

Teaching Methods

While teacher at LHS taught fewer hours and were well prepared for their classes due to extended planning time, they faced large classes with static desks in crowded classrooms. This influenced their range of available teaching methods more than anything else. Despite their limited options, the LHS teachers did use methods such as using current events, connecting local events to global events and modeling key skills, in addition to others.

Current events & connecting them to the past. Many of the teachers used current events as a method of engaging learners, often assigning them to watch the news as homework. Their hopes were that the learners would become interested in what was going on in their country and discuss it in class.

Samuel saw the media as one of the few resources they could easily access outside of the curriculum, whether in newspaper or TV at home form.

> Although we lack resources, we bring in newspapers to discuss certain topics, like the conflict in parliament, when they were embarrassing our State President. My question was, 'what is your take on what you saw on TV'? They were really interested. They were divided, some saying, 'No he needs to answer those questions, but the man is an adult, he needs to be protected and respected.' I quoted the constitution saying everyone has got human dignity, even if politically we don't see eye to eye. They were saying that Malema was right, but it is interesting because these children watch the news with their parents.

Firstly, Samuel reveals himself as a supporter of president or at least a person who respects the dignity of the office, no matter what the president has done. Secondly, he was able to use the news to ask critical, open-ended questions that were not usually asked

in his class room, or in the CAPS assessments (which were much more fact and source based, much like AP History exams). I did not observe any of these discussions in his classroom though.

Pauline also asked her learners to "to go and watch the budget speech", the same parliamentary event Samuel mentioned. She thought it was important for learners to learn from varied sources in general. She said she gave "them work to be done at home and I make sure that they use different resources to do so."

April was able to take a very strong stance against the xenophobic violence happening in Durban by assigning her learners to watch the news.

> I encourage them to go and watch the news and then come back the following day for a class discussion of what was on the news the previous day. For example, just recently we were talking about the xenophobic attacks and how that is not something that is okay and should never be seen. Some of these kids come from illiterate families and they don't know any better, because they are told that such behavior is okay and then they carry that with them. So I make them understand they certain behavioral patterns are not okay and that one should learn to think for themselves.

This is one of the examples of a teacher clearly taking a stance against a popular, but harmful view among her learners and their families, and challenging their opinions on the topic. She truly tried to "interrupt" and "disrupt their "received wisdom" about foreigners and forced her learners to confront their own presuppositions. I did not observe this discussion.

Some of the history teachers used current events in order to help explain past and international events. Brenda gave, "current examples, so they can see how it is related to their lives. I always relate what I am teaching back to South African so they understand properly." She felt that concrete, present-day cases would help illuminate the abstract and ephemeral older and far away topics assigned in the curriculum. She also saw it as a way

to make it relevant for them. As mentioned previously, I observed this method often in her class.

Real life examples & experiential learning. Several of the teachers used more experiential examples to teach about tolerance, equality and democratic processes. April used her own classroom rules to model gender equity and break gender-based stereotypes.

> Under democracy, we also have gender discrimination, so to deal with that, I normally make sure that the cleaning roster we have in my class also includes the male kids. I am trying to teach them to be responsible and also to understand that they can't mess up the classroom as boys and then think that it is the girls responsibility to clean up their mess for them. It's everybody's duty to keep the class clean not just the girls. In the classroom I never had rows of boys only or girls only, I always mix them up so they can have that sense of family and helping one another. So I have certain stereotypes that I have to break as an LO teacher, where certain work was only done by girls and not boys and now both of them do it and it all starts in this class for me.

She mindfully took advantage of her role as an LO teacher to set an example for her learners of treating all learners equally. While this was outside of her teaching the content and assigned topics, it had a great impact.

Samuel tried to make topics of governance and tolerance within the system relevant by using examples:

> Teaching them about them about the protocol, by saying South Africa is a democratic country and everybody has got a say, but it doesn't necessarily mean that I can go to parliament and say 'Mr. Zuma, sorry, in our school, we don't want to wear uniform'. No, there is a protocol to follow. For instance, we've got a class rep, you just don't go to the principal. You need to teach them you've got a ward council and from there, a group of councilors [at the city], provincial, national [levels]. I used to say 'think about yourselves writing your final exam paper, it is your right to education. Imagine the house next door having a party and they have loud music, disturbing you while you are preparing for your future. It is their democratic right for you to get education, so you need to have democratic tolerance.

He attempts to tackle the false assumption many of the learners and even some of the teachers expressed about democracy meaning you can do whatever you want. This was one of better examples of teachers really tackling the contradiction that the freedoms promised in the Constitution had to be reciprocal and were not without limits. Samuel related the political issues to issues learners' had to deal with regularly.

Limited engagement opportunities: Socratic questions, discussion, debate, devil's advocate and emotional appeal. Some of the teachers talked about discussion, debate and question-asking as key methods they used to engage learners on topics involving democracy and citizenship. However, I rarely saw these methods in action due to the fact that classes were so big and the content was so dense. That withstanding, teachers did try to inject some of these student-centered methods into their teaching where they could.

Brenda often used open-ended questions in trying to engage her learners. While she was not a particularly dynamic speaker, she had the patience to wait out her learners while they came up with answers. She thought, "discussions, open questions" were important and she at least followed through on asking those questions, if not creating discussion. "You cannot just be a teacher-centered person all the time, you have to make them engage," said Brenda. She acknowledged that lecture was not going to accomplish complete learning and that more learner interaction and participation was needed. Pauline, Calvin and April asked as many questions as they could while still controlling the class and covering the content.

In addition to asking open-ended questions, April also played a bit of devil's advocate in attempts to engage her learners on sensitive and controversial topics, such as

the xenophobic violence. She would start from a topic in the text and then expand upon it to challenge the learners to apply what they had learned to the tough topic.

> We talk about the constitution and how each individual has rights, like the right to life and the right to human dignity. Then I ask them if they think that these rights only apply to them and not other people. If they say no, I ask another question. I ask things like 'why do some of you then say that they [immigrants] are taking your jobs? Would you have gotten a container and started a barbershop on the corner of a street by the taxi rank?' They would say no, and then I would ask 'why do they then say that they are taking jobs from them which they wouldn't even have done?' I also tell them that since some of the people they are attacking had given jobs to their parents, where are their parents now, sitting at home unemployed?

April's tough interrogation of her leaners' understanding of the reasons behind the violence towards foreign Africans was meant to make her learners uncomfortable. She felt that by framing the issue as a human rights issue, she could appeal to her learners' sense of fairness and equality. She forced them to think about the immigrants as people rather than "the other".

Samuel was by far the best lecturer, but his classes had almost no teacher-learner interaction. He told powerful narratives about the historical events he was teaching, but asked few questions and rarely waited for responses. For example, his discussion and judgment of the My Lai massacre in the Vietnam War was particularly passionate and the learners hung on his every word. That was how he engaged the learners, by creating stories that captured their interest and tugged at their emptions. Samuel said, "Just engage them and don't take sides, just encourage them" in the model of an unbiased, motivational speaker. He did mention that there were other forums for discussion, such as "in the assembly, there are debates, so Friday mornings are interesting." Friday morning assemblies occasionally had room for both formal and informal debates, but I did not observe any of these.

Textbooks and lecture. As I mentioned above, the LHS teachers used a combination of lecture and textbook based teaching, for the most part. Calvin described the most typical teaching method of all the LHS teachers. "What normally happens is that you use the textbooks, then you have discussions based on tasks (activities in the book)." The LO teachers used more discussion than the history teachers, but all the teachers relied on standing in front of rows of learners, talking most of the class, writing on the board and following the textbook. With classes of sixty to eighty learners, it was just not possible to have many open discussions, debate or dialog.

Also because many learners did not have textbooks, teachers had to write out the key points on the board and learners had to copy it as the basis of their notes and study materials. This took up a lot of time. The fact that teachers were also teaching many EL learner meant that they either repeated themselves a lot, spoke very slowly or translated into isiZulu. This also took up a lot of time and meant that they covered less content per class.

The LHS teachers had the most limited resources and it limited some of their teaching methods. Few teachers could manage active discussions in their large classes, they had no multimedia, few books and scarce instructional materials.

Self Reflection

The LHS teachers had extraordinary issues to deal with in relation to their students, the majority of whom came from disadvantaged backgrounds. The teachers often felt exhausted and disheartened by the ordeals their learners faced. Many did seem to take it on themselves, without outlets, particularly the LO teachers. Some of the history

teachers leaned on each other, resources outside of the school and on the LO teaching staff.

Brenda felt that the magnitude of her learners' issues made it necessary to not get too involved and just take on the issues as they arise.

> I do cope with all of it in different ways, for example most of them don't have parents and some have single parents who are sick. I don't think you should take that to heart, you should just deal with it as it comes. There are things that you can discuss with other people and there are things that you cannot share. As to how I deal with it personally, I go to church, that is where I release everything.

She took a laissez-faire perspective about her learners needs and found her own outlet for reflection and release in her religious community. Samuel depended more on his colleagues as outlets and support.

> We talk to one another, not because we are forced to. It is a question of 'I am availing myself, if you want to rest, you can leave early.' There is a subject called Life Orientation, they discuss things like that there.

Brenda and Samuel both felt a bit more disconnected from the learners' issues and depended on the LO staff to deal more closely with them.

The LO staff felt their learners' problems personally and deeply and seemed to have few outlets for reflection and release of tension. More than the other schools, the LO teachers at LHS seemed to have a huge burden put on them to fulfill the roles of counselor and surrogate parent in many cases.

April, as one of the few young, female LO teachers at LHS, was often approached by learners with personal issues.

> Nothing brings me more pain than to see a child chucked out of school because she is pregnant. All I feel is guilt as though I could have done more and I didn't. I feel as though no justice was done to this child when it should have been. Some of them come to you with very sad stories, where you can't help, but just cry when you hear them, but since you are a teacher you are not supposed to cry in front of them. You are suppose to be there to bring some hope to them and crying won't

> do that. There are many stories that you hear from these kids and all you can do is try your best to provide for them so that you don't end up feeling drained and sad all the time.

She felt their heartbreak deeply and took it to heart as her own failure. She knew that she had to be a role model and be strong for them, but this required a great deal of emotional labor on her part without a lot of support for herself.

Calvin also felt that he was put in awkward positions as an LO teacher, having to choose between protecting his learners' confidences and reporting to authorities when he felt they might be in trouble.

> They do [come to you with problems] and sometimes it's very sensitive, especially the abuse issues and family structures. There are children here who live under very dire circumstances at home and when you see them here you can never tell that they are facing such issues. It becomes very difficult because trying to report such issues you are also putting yourself in danger. The kids have a habit of trusting you and coming to you and telling you all the things that they feel free to talk about certain things, but they don't always go as planned. Sometimes you end up being the bad person for having told the social workers.

Calvin and the other teachers faced some harsh realities as teachers of learners dealing with the issues of poverty. They had mechanisms for reporting and access to social workers, but they often had to deal with these issues on their own.

Like the other schools, there were no formal structures for reflection on issues that came up in class and with their learners. Some teachers talked to their colleagues, others found support outside of school and some just seemed to keep their feeling to themselves about these issues.

Perception of Learner Engagement

The LHS teachers has mixed opinions about how much their learners were engaged with citizenship and democracy topics, inside and outside of the classroom.

Some felt that learners were getting more interested with all the scandals in the news and others felt that their learners simply did not care.

Learner engagement in class. Some of the teachers thought that the current political events happening in South Africa have definitely caught the learners' attention. April thought that this was a good thing and that her learners were actually paying attention to the news now because of it.

> They are engaged and even those kids who weren't as engaged before are now showing an interest and they seem to know what is happening in and around their country and they even talk to their parents about it, or at least listen to them talk. They are interested in parliament these days, the two political parties who are fighting, EFF and ANC and they are also interested in the whole investigation that is going on with the president's house.

She thought it was especially important that they were discussing these events with their parents.

Brenda thought that it really depended on the topics and what could be connected to issues and events that they could relate to.

> They are interested and they do want to know more, but it all depends on how you phrase the topic and how you get them engaged. For example, the history in Grade 9 is more about South Africa and they do want to know what happened and how South Africa survived. Most Grade 10s are not that interested, it's hard for them to understand democracy and citizenship.

Again, she felt that the learners were engaged in the topics surrounding the liberation struggle and anti-apartheid movement and less so in the nuts and bolts of the negotiated end to apartheid and transition to democracy.

Pauline thought the learners who chose to do history past tenth grade were more interested in these topics than those who planned to choose other subjects.

> I think it is interesting to some and not all of them, especially those who are doing history as a subject. They normally do what I say they must do and come up with topics they heard over the news and read in the newspapers.

She also felt they got more engaged when she assigned them current events based homework.

Calvin thought that there was enough that was dry and boring within the citizenship and democracy topics that many learners tuned out, even when he related some topics to the news.

> Somehow I would say it does have that boring part of it, because if you think of something like a public protector and they will take like a month or so on the news and I if you ask if they know who this public protector is they just don't seem to know anything at all. What normally happens is that you have discussions based on some of the news that you heard on the radio or TV. That in turn gives you an idea of what it is exactly that they know or don't know and do they bother watching the news or not. I have noticed that our learners do not watch the news and they watch everything else. They don't really listen to you, and when you tell them that these things in the news affect your life so you need to know them, they think that you are just joking around with them.

Calvin felt that his learners were not interested at all in the news or politics and did not take these topics seriously. He felt that his learners were not able to connect these topics to their own lives and that it made any difference whether they paid attention or not.

For the most part, when observing these classes, learners seemed as engaged in these topics as they were able to be, if and when teachers gave them room to participate. Samuel rarely gave them time to answer his questions. Brenda and Pauline tended to stick with the curriculum, but did ask a lot of questions about the terms and events that were being focused on for the day. Calvin and April, as LO teachers, offered more room for learners to bring up their own topics or talk about issues within the curriculum. It would be very hard to know how engaged learners were for some of the teachers, when their learners have so little room to voice their thoughts.

Citizenship and democracy outside the classroom. The teachers had even more contradictory opinions about other places learners might learn about citizenship and democracy. They all said the media, mentioning TV, Internet and radio, but then they felt they had to differentiate between traditional news media and social media. April said they learned about it at home with their families, while Samuel felt they did not talk about these issues with their parents because their "don't have time to chat with their kids." Calvin and Brenda thought they never really engaged with these topics, in or out of class. Brenda did not, "think they pay any attention to the newspapers or the television or anything that will make them pay attention to any of the current events." Calvin thought they were too preoccupied with entertainment and celebrities to pay attention to the state of the country.

> So they are not that fully engaged with these topics and maybe the class is the only time they ever learn about these things. I don't even know how many of them actually read, don't pay much attention to things that affect their lives directly. They like to imitate celebrities and they tend to think that just because one person did it they could also do it. I don't like their type of music because I think it has contributed to the demise of education.

Thus he felt they were like many other teenagers around the world, more interested in themselves and movie stars and musicians.

Challenging received wisdom. Some of the LHS teachers were a little uncomfortable challenging their learners' opinions and others felt it was part of their job to correct erroneous assumptions. However, most the teachers were tentative in challenging their learners' ingrained ideas and perceptions. They were more certain about learners challenging them and most LHS teachers thought it was a sign that they were paying attention.

Samuel felt that he should just gently lead learners to the other ideas, but really thought that they were entitled to their own opinions.

> What I do, I just guide, not saying it is stupid or don't say that. I just guide, but I always stress that everyone has got the right to expression, especially the freedom of religion; religion is one of the most sensitive things.

Samuel felt that challenging his learners beliefs would be akin to disrespecting their opinions and curtailing their right to free speech. He even brought up religion, because while he was a fairly religious Christian, he wanted to emphasize that challenging learners on their spiritual beliefs was not right. In observing Samuel's class, I rarely saw him ask challenging questions or even give his learners an opportunity to express their ideas.

April felt that the rules of her classroom were in line with the national core rights of the constitution and this maintained a level of respect. But she also felt that learners were often distracted by discussions that were meant to challenge them, which then sidetracked the entire class.

> I normally tell them that whatever rules I have in my class, they do not stray from the constitution and therefore it will be a class of justice and fairness always. Sometimes even if you do talk about current issues to challenge them, they take it a bit too far, just so they can stop doing their schoolwork for the whole lesson. So it is better to just end the conversation and carry on with your work.

April said she sometimes tried to avoid these challenging conversations, more because she had to stick tightly within the content and structure of the curriculum. However, other times she did directly challenge her learners. This was the case on the topic of the xenophobic violence. Despite it being outside the curriculum and being a sensitive topic for her learners, she flat out challenged them on how it was wrong.

Pauline also felt called upon to challenge her learners on the xenophobia topic.

> It is pity, because I have never experienced such, but when I heard about xenophobia, I just felt that they wanted to know what was going on. I used to challenge them and ask why they are doing certain things and they would explain why they do what they do.

In general, Pauline thought that her decision to challenge her learners or not depended on the situation, and the recent xenophobic violence was a key example of when her learners needed more information.

Brenda also used the xenophobic violence as an example of when it was appropriate to challenge the learners' assumptions.

> It is not necessary sometimes [to challenge the learners], but they have to learn, so you have to teach such stuff to them. I just gave you the xenophobia example and so I make them understand that the people involved in such were the people with less education.

Brenda drew a distinction between her learners and the "uneducated people" who commit such violence. This served the purpose of not just letting them know such acts are wrong, but also that she, as their teacher, expected more from them as people who are becoming educated.

Calvin was the only teacher who felt that it was part of being a teacher to challenge his learners.

> Definitely, that is what I normally do, unless a person says something that makes sense to me, but if they are saying things which are out of order, I will tell them that I don't think that what you are saying is correct.

He did correct incorrect answers and told learners when he thought they were wrong, but that seemed to be more about them being young and inexperienced than really trying to make them think.

The LHS teachers also talked about whether it was suitable or encouraged for learners to push back against the teachers and challenge their ideas in turn. Most of the teachers said that this was permissible, but I almost never saw it done in the classroom.

Samuel admitted he was not infallible, and therefore could be challenged.

> Yes, because only a priest is not challenged. The one who is standing by the pulpit, giving the word of God, you can't challenge them. So I am not a priest and if you want to challenge me, challenge me, I like to be challenged by learners.

I would say that Samuel's learners were both deeply respectful and intimidated by him, making it unlikely that he was challenged often. Maybe he did wish for more learners to challenge him, but he rarely gave them the opportunity. While he never says that he was sometimes wrong, he was the only teacher to concede that their challenges might be accurate.

For April, as long as her learners were respectful, she welcomed challenges from her learners.

> If they challenge me with respect, then it is fine and it shows that they are taking their work seriously and that they are reading stuff outside of school. I really don't have a problem with it.

She also saw their challenges as a sign of dedication in their studies and that they are doing extra work.

Pauline also thought it was a sign of an inquiring mind. She said, "It is appropriate to challenge me, because if the learner is willing to know, they must challenge me." These two teachers thought it was a learning exercise for their learners to try out new ideas on their teachers, rather than an opportunity to learn from their learners. Calvin also added the caveat that they needed to produce evidence in order to challenge him effectively. He said, "They should, as long as they can back up what they are

saying." Calvin seemed to welcome more challenges for their own sake and thought that argument formation was an important learning experience. Brenda made the additional point that challenges mostly came from the older and more confident learners.

While most of the teachers said they felt comfortable with challenging learners and receiving challenges from learners, with the exception of the xenophobia topic, these challenges rarely happened in the classroom. I have several thoughts on why this was. First, the dense curriculum and large class sizes often prevented teachers from getting off track or allowing spontaneous discussion. Teachers and learners had very little time to thoroughly explore potentially challenging topics. This also created very strict teaching environments with teacher-centered dynamics, which may have thwarted challenges in either direction because the teacher was held in a position of respect, fear and ultimate authority. Teachers did not really expect challenges and expected learners to absorb what they said. They also stayed away from the more sensitive and long-held ideas that might create tension in the packed classrooms. Finally, most of the teachers came from the same communities as their learners and may have had some of the same experiences and hold many of the same beliefs.

Modifying the curriculum for learners. The LHS teachers often felt compelled to modify the curriculum to accommodate learners' language levels and kids coming from outside of the township.

Calvin thought that whether learners came from rural or urban areas made a difference and impacted how he taught.

> You have to do it because kids from certain areas understand things in certain ways. You will find that kids from the township understand something better then someone from rural areas, who understand it in a different way. Some also don't know what you think they should understand, so it just works out.

He makes the assumption that the urban kids have a better grasp on the material than the rural learners. He was a rural learner himself when he went to school in a township. But he also realized that learners learned differently in general and this took different explanations.

Pauline approached this topic from the perspective that her learners would not always have the same materials and she would often have to change assignments to accommodate their lack of funds for school supplies.

> I do when I want them to buy something, like a flip file and I have to make sure I give them ample time to get what I need them to get. So I have to teach with the expectation that they may not have all the materials.

This type of modification was not an issue for kids from families with means and at the other schools. But the LHS teachers were forced to manage their expectations for what kinds of learning tools their learners could have. They simply did not always have the resources for outside projects, books and note taking.

In addition to modifications for regional differences in knowledge and understanding and lack of resources, I also saw teachers modify their teaching for learners who spoke English as a secondary language. Most of the teachers spoke isiZulu as a primary language, so it was easy for them to go back and forth, repeating material in both languages. Some teachers rarely spoke isiZulu, but simply changed their pace, spoke slowly and repetitively when they felt their learners were not grasping the concepts. Since most of the teachers and learners came from fairly similar backgrounds, the teachers did not feel the need to vastly change how they approached certain topics or different groups of learners.

Engagement in the community/activism. The teachers again had mixed opinions on how engaged their learners were in their communities, in local activism or citizenship activities in general. Some thought that the learners cared deeply about particular causes and acted on them, while other teachers thought they really were not engaged. Much like their thoughts on engagement on these topics in the classroom, the female teachers seemed to be more optimistic about their learners' community engagement and the male teachers were a bit more negative.

Pauline felt that her learners really did care about their community, showing this through their studies and caring for others.

> I think they do care about their community, because when you find them out of the school, during the holidays, you will find them at libraries studying or at certain schools, so that shows that they care about their education. They also help out old people, if they need help, and they do genuinely care for their country and community. Even though they are born frees, they still do care about their country and if they don't care, it's only a few people who don't and the ones I teach want to run the country.

For Pauline, her learners' perseverance in their schoolwork was a sign that they cared not only about their own futures, but the country's future. She thought that the few members of the Born Free generation that did not care were not represented in her classroom.

April also thought that her learners were engaged in their community, especially at the school itself.

> They care about the environment, especially the ones who are doing agriculture and geography, because they have a better understanding. For example, when the principal decided to cut down the trees by the front office, they had a petition to stop him from doing it, saying that he is destroying the environment. Also, we once had learners who had a group that taught drug awareness and another that taught about teen pregnancy and misbehaving in school. They were all organized and run by the learners. I think it was easier back then because technology wasn't as popular as it is now, now it's all they think about.

While she noted examples of how the learners showed their engagement in the school community, she also noted that these examples were from a few years back. In that short amount of time, social media and accessible technology has become more of a draw. It was unclear whether her learners had tapped into the type of activism that involves social media yet.

Brenda thought that it was a mixed bag of those who were concerned and those who were not. Like Pauline, she saw evidence of diligence in the classroom as evidence of caring about one's community.

> Some of them do care and some of them don't, some even told me that they don't even want to be in school, they are just doing it for their parents. Some know what is going on around them and some don't, because they don't care.

She seemed unsurprised that learners were not interested in school or what was going on around them. She also was clear that her learners were mixed and had a wide variety of opinions and interests.

Samuel thought that this generation of learners really did not care about their community and what was happening around them:

> It is true, they don't care, it is just their generation and not them per se. What is happening is that they are being copycats, they are copying the wrong things. They have the wrong role models, you will find that in the area there is a big boss driving the big cars, but that big boss is a criminal. There are very few if any who can choose me as a teacher to be their role model. Very few come back and plough their communities, like a medical doctor who came back about last month to donate some uniforms and books to the needy. Others come just to motivate and they don't even leave a 10kg bag of rice.

He was very pessimistic about the Born Free generation and thought that they not only did not care, they admired money and power over intelligence and hard work. The fact that he felt he was not seen as a role model was particularly disheartening because he was

such a dedicated educator. He also made the point that the learners tend to leave the community if they can, rather than making it more successful.

Calvin also had a fairly gloomy outlook regarding his learners civic and community engagement, especially while in school.

> If they even cared slightly about their surroundings and their school, then they wouldn't have broken windows or have any of the dirt they normally have during break time. We wouldn't have to pick up papers in the early hours of the morning every day. If you look at some of the things they do outside school, in front of adults, they misbehave. We didn't do such when we were growing up. I always tell them that if you can't behave in class, then you don't behave at home and that it shows that you don't take care of your home as well. Sometimes I wonder if it might be that we have a lot of learners.

Calvin had some of the more standard complaints about his learners that we often hear from older generations, not just in South Africa. He felt that they did not care for the school, behaved badly, were disrespectful and generally oblivious. But he also posed the question of whether or not the school was too big to actually manage all the learners and give them the attention they needed.

The teachers had a pretty divided opinion on their learners' engagement in civic topics and issues in and outside of the classroom. The male teachers were fairly cynical about their future engagement, while the female teachers saw them more as future leaders.

Understanding Democracy & Citizenship

The LHS teachers also spoke about how they thought about citizenship and democracy personally. Like a lot of the teachers at the other schools, the LHS teachers thought about democracy more in terms of rights and freedom, rather than participation and responsibilities. There was also some confusion in terms of what good citizenship meant and what it looked like.

Democracy: Freedom and Respect

The LHS teachers thought that democracy was based on mutual respect, regardless of race and background, as well as freedom of action and movement. Their responses are directly influenced by their past experiences and their former lack of access to rights. Samuel connected his ideas about democracy to his religious ideals and beliefs.

> It is human respect, because we are created by God, by his image. So if I see you, if I look at you, I look to my God and I need to respect you. Democracy is all about respect, to know that you are a human being, the same like me, irrespective of color, race, gender, background, religious affiliation, you are just my brother or sister.

He thought of his equality and humanity as God given and consequently, he saw democracy as an extension of this. Respect for life, as created by God, was paramount for him. Thus all humans, no matter their differences were part of the same family and deserved equal esteem.

April and Pauline both thought freedom was the key element of democracy. Pauline thought it was, "freedom to do anything we want to do, free to have education and work where we want to work and be ourselves." While sounding open ended, she refers specifically to the areas of life that were tightly regulated during apartheid for Africans and personally impacted her own life choices. The final element that she mentions, the freedom to be oneself, is particularly powerful and speaks to a fundamental denial of not just rights, but self during apartheid.

April thought similarly, but limited how far those freedoms went.

> Democracy to me is being free to do what you want to do, when you want to do it, as long as it doesn't harm other people. It is about addressing issues that were never dealt with in the past or those that were dealt with unfairly.

She makes sure to say that freedom is not completely open ended. She also clearly connects democracy to redressing the past wrongs of the past. It is not just about the new rights, but also rectifying the oppression of apartheid.

Brenda also thought that certain freedoms were the defining elements of democracy and also qualified what freedom means.

> It means freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of knowing where you are going and where you come from. I cannot say I am totally free and I know everything because I have democracy, because that totally depends on the person and how they engage with the environment. So how you understand freedom is highly based on that and how you engage with society as a whole. You cannot sit down and say that I am free while doing nothing; freedom is doing something for yourself, learning, doing research. That is when you are free.

Like Pauline, the particular freedoms Brenda mentions have to do with identity, specifically the crucial parts of knowing one's own background and the possibilities for the future. She also thought that having freedom was incumbent upon the individual's ability to use it. Freedom is just the means for being able to do something for oneself, and ones community as an extension of that. This has a more individualistic meaning than many of the other understandings of democracy and also puts some expectations on the individual to use their freedom productively.

Calvin also emphasized freedom, but dismissed equality as part of true democracy:

> We should be living in a free society. For example I don't believe in equality. There is no such a thing as equality, because even if you look at the children in your own home, they are not treated equally, because they are different and we should accept that. Living in harmony though, I think is part and parcel of this democracy.

Calvin thought that true equality was not possible and that it was an artificial component of democracy. What was more important was simply to live with tolerance and without tension as a society.

The teachers gave a few examples of democracy they had witnessed or saw everyday, but also talked about the contradictions they noticed when they saw what they thought was undemocratic.

There were many positive examples that the LHS teachers saw. Like some the teachers at other schools, Samuel mentioned voting for the first time.

> When I first cast my vote in 1994. It's when I nearly cried and I was more than 30 years old already. I just cried because it was more than just a theory, you were theorizing up until the 27th of April 1994. That's my true example of democracy.

Samuel thought that the 1994 elections were not just part of a new political and democratic process, but that they were both evidence and a promise of true change and freedom.

Calvin pointed to another aspect of democracy that was absent during apartheid and welcome now.

> As a person who watches the news, everything is exposed in the newspapers and they can never really hide anything. Like the Secrecy Bill issue, they were just taking us back to the olden days.

It was important to Calvin that there was freedom of the press and transparency in the government. He did comment on a more recent controversial governmental act to keep certain pieces of information secret and how there were attempts to subvert this key piece of democracy.

April thought the school and education system was a good example of democracy in action. She also pointed out that other factors, such as gender equality, were important and new in their democracy.

> Kids are now allowed to study in whatever school they want to study in and even with us as teachers, we have the same workshops and we can actually interact with people of a different race, when we couldn't do that before. We even exchange ideas and numbers so we can share information. We all respect each other as human beings. Even in a school with only one race, you can see that it is there, because before positions were only give to male people, like being a principal of a school. So it is not just race, it is also gender and class, they all fall under democracy, now we can have a female principal (a deputy) and there is no problem with it. Yes, this is a democracy, even though things are slowly progressing.

April has several different examples of democracy that she sees regularly, although she does say that the progress is slow. She notes that there is now choice in education and all learners have the same choices, that teachers are all trained the same and have the same trainings and expectations from the Department of Education, which are now integrated. She also thought that democracy was not just race based and concerned other gender and class. She noted that while LHS was still segregated and all African in learner population and teaching staff, she noted that they did have a deputy, female deputy principal. Its important to emphasize that the teachers often talked about desegregation of schools as a mark of democracy, while the majority of schools, like LHS, were not desegregated at all.

Pauline gave similar examples of the desegregation of professional positions:

> The work places, I see that the managers over there in the factory are black people now, because they are free now. When you go to the universities, you also find black people being lecturers now and people being equal. Yes, I do live in a democracy.

She gave examples of positions that were only for White people mostly during apartheid and thought this was a clear sign of democracy.

Brenda's examples of democracy had more to do with freedom of movement and choice.

> During the apartheid era, we were not allowed to go to certain areas, but now we are free to go to those areas. Our kids can now go to school with White people and we can go shop in the same malls and live in the same neighborhoods, so that is something I can say I have witnessed. I do [live in a democracy] because I am educated and if I want to be free more I should get more education.

She also thought that learning had a great deal to do with democracy, linking freedom with having more education. In her mind, the more you are educated, the more freedom you have. In some ways this is true, in the sense that you have more options. It also recognizes that democracy requires a certain level of knowledge and understanding in order to participate.

Calvin also pointed out some of the contradictions with South African democracy. He thought that the country was being run in a democratic way, but apartheid's legacy still loomed over it.

> It is democratic, but there is still that thing hanging over. Like this school, there are just black people only, there are no White or Indian people around. It has just been us black people who have moved into their areas and those who do live around us are the poor ones.

Calvin noted the great inequality, segregation and poverty that still exists for a large part of the population. While the other teacher thought the school was a positive example of democracy, Calvin saw recognized that it still looked very much like it did before the transition.

Good Citizenship

The LHS teachers saw themselves as good citizens for a variety of reasons and name several traits of citizenship that they admired.

Samuel named several characteristics of good citizenship, but focuses on sharing as the key element.

> A person who empathizes, one who respects, one who knows that we should share that one slice of bread. It makes no sense for me to have the haves and have not's, those people from Ballito or Umhlanga [wealthy neighborhoods] not knowing which car to drive since they have so many. I don't know what to eat, my fridge is full. I don't know what to wear. Some don't know because they don't have anything, even a fridge or car. I think it is just a theory, it won't happen, but let them share with the poor. I have the money, but there is a learner who doesn't have money to go to school because of school fees or bus fare. A good citizen is one who shares.

Samuel chooses the characteristics that center on how we treat each other and care for each other in a society. Empathy, respect and sharing with those who have less than we do are very important to him. He particularly feels affronted by those who are wealthy and do not share the wealth.

April also prizes respect as a key citizenship, both for people and property. She also thinks that good citizenship requires action:

> A person who has respect, a person who does not vandalize other peoples belongings and those of the public, and a person who understands that they are here to make a change.

April thought that, in addition to respect, good citizens need to participate in positive change and know that they had to be part of the country's transformation.

Calvin had a fairly complex response but thought that citizenship had to do with learning and understanding the national context. This meant taking a hard look at the good and the bad within their society.

> I would say it is a person who understands what is happening in South African and one who accepts that things are not going to change overnight and that we will see the change as the time goes on. Citizenship is about learning, growing and living together in harmony as citizens of South Africa. It takes time and we should remember that there are good people who accept this and those who don't. We normally like pointing out that the Nigerians are the ones who sell drugs, but

> where are the Nigerians in the townships? In each and every society, there are those people who are not good.

He mentions that citizenship is a process rather than a fixed point and requires education and growth. He also mentions groups, like Nigerians, who have been the scapegoats for some of the country's ills and states that there are South Africans who are poor citizens as well. Overall, he values the attempt to live together peacefully as much as the act itself.

Pauline and Brenda's ideas about citizenship were somewhat confused. I do not know if they misunderstood the topic or if there were some language issues. Pauline seemed to talk about culture, care for one another and equality.

> A good citizen is capable of his or her culture and a citizen is good of taking care of everyone and in his or her mind there is that equalization of everyone.

Brenda seemed to think that citizenship meant the acts of the state, rather than the people in it.

> A good citizen is where the government is centralized, a good citizen is where the government is taking care of the community, in terms of services needed by the community. A good citizen is whereby there are more jobs for the people who really qualify for those jobs. That can be a good citizen.

She talks more about the ideal function of the state to serve the citizens rather than what a citizens should do. Again, I am not sure if this is a language issue or that the role of the citizen versus the state is confused for her.

The teachers then talked about their own citizenship activities or civic involvement (see table below).

Table 19: BHS Teachers' Citizenship Activities

Teacher	Citizenship Activity
Samuel	- As a teacher - Community sports supporter/member - Community Policing Forum member
April	- As an LO teacher, advocate for learners - Educating self now, can be more involved later
Calvin	- Involved at church – help poor, visit sick in the community
Pauline	- Very involved at church - Is in a union
Brenda	- A tax payer - As a teacher

Like the teachers at the other schools, many of the teachers saw being a teacher as a key and rewarding citizenship activity. April thought that she could be a change maker as an LO teacher:

> Being an LO teachers allows me to do that because I can make a change in a learners life. Some of them come to me with no hope or when they are losing hope and I help them, they are now educated and some of them even have great jobs.

She connected being in a position to guide young people as an act of good citizenship. She recounted a story of encouraging a pregnant learner to return to school after she had the baby and the learner followed her advice and is now in university. She also said that part of why she was not involved in a lot of other activities was because she was still in school herself, in a Masters program. She viewed her own attempts to educate herself further were part of her civic responsibility to be the best she could be.

Brenda and Samuel also mentioned being a teacher was part of being a good citizen. Brenda said, "I contribute to the development of the nation more especially with the young people. Waking up and coming to work every day is being a good citizen." She saw it not just in the context of helping individual learners, but also in helping the nation itself by producing more educated young citizens.

Calvin made a point of saying that, culturally speaking, being a good citizen, was different for different groups. For him it was slaughtering a cow, inviting others for a meal in his home and welcoming in neighbors. For other communities, he remarked, it was more about the following the rules and regulations, regarding cruelty to animals and hygiene issues.

> Particularly since I'm living in a predominantly Indian area, you will find that there are differences from people who are living in predominantly White areas. For example if I want to have a function, I don't have to report to anyone that I am going to have a function, but you will find that the people who live in the predominantly White areas have to go and report to someone if they want to slaughter a cow. In townships you don't have to report to anyone, you just bring your cow slaughter it and you can invite the people to come and eat. My understanding of this is that somehow, somewhere White people don't want to accept how we live. They somehow want us to do things their way. When I slaughter a cow, I have to do it the traditional way and not their way. They see it as animal cruelty and the SPCA has to come over to see if you are doing things correctly with the slaughtering.

Calvin's example points to the differences in national citizenship and cultural citizenship. The laws are applied differently for different groups and cultural practices take on different meanings. One person's communal act of inclusion is another's rule breaking. Thus we see that there is not a consensus on good civic behavior and that often being a good member of a community may be at odds with the national laws and norms, or vice versa.

Just as at the other schools some teachers mentioned the work they did with their places of worship as citizen activities. Pauline mentioned being active in her teaching union and Brenda mentioned paying her taxes as a key element of good citizenship.

Ubuntu

Some of the LHS teachers thought that Ubuntu was an important concept in the discussion on democracy and citizenship in South Africa and others did not. Few discussed it as part of the curriculum, but more as a virtue that learners should already have. Some also thought that they saw it in practice at the school, while others thought it was no longer valued.

Samuel, once again, spoke of this concept in religious terms:

> Ubuntu is like a golden rule, this religious golden rule, which says; do unto others as you will have them do unto you, that is the basis of Ubuntu. Yes, [it is in the school], not in our history curriculum though. The Care Centre is a good example it is one of the values of Ubuntu, even in our school and national constitution.

He thought that it was reciprocal care for one another and that it was present at the school, especially in the Care Center program for the more impoverished learners.

Pauline also felt that the learners had the spirit of Ubuntu, but that they had to be taught as well.

> We all know that we are South Africans and we are human beings. To me Ubuntu is being a human being, as I am to love everyone and to respect one another. By giving everyone respect, loving everyone in the school. Even though the learners have got that new generation, but they have it. So we teach them.

She thought that it was the spirit of respect and love, as humans and South Africans, both speaking to the national and the humanistic bonds between people.

Brenda thought that education itself was a form of Ubuntu and that there were many examples of it to be found in the school.

> Making a child aware of education is Ubuntu, being a teacher is Ubuntu, you can even see it from your colleagues, giving them advice when they come to you with their personal issues is Ubuntu. They do have Ubuntu because of the environment they come from. I asked one of the learners one day if they had lunch and they said they had because a friend shared with them and I gave them my lunch to go and share with the friend. They can identify it themselves, they do have Ubuntu.

She thought that the concept of Ubuntu was found everywhere, in the support of ones colleagues, to the sharing of food with the learners.

April thought that it was more of a karmic concept, accepting that one should give help, because one day, one will also need help. April could identify it in her own classroom, but had doubts about it being school wide:

> Ubuntu is about helping others so that one day maybe they will be able to help you back. To me, I even assist my neighbors if they need something from me, just like I do with the kids. In my classroom, I do see it. As for the whole school, it is very difficult to say that I do.

Calvin had the most negative view of the current state of Ubuntu and thought it had been abandoned by this generation:

> Ubuntu is about sharing. To us, when we grew up, I remember if you brought a vetkoek (fried bread with filling) or a quarter of bread and you had a friend, you would share that with your friend. In today's world though, you don't see that. They only share drinks and not the food that they have. It is difficult to share for them. I think some of the values have been lost. They don't possess that trait; they don't even want to help an adult they don't know. They normally don't worry about who they are not related to.

Calvin's definition of Ubuntu as sharing and helping others is closely linked to how others defined democracy and citizenship. Though he sees it as an older trait, linked to respecting elders and treating possessions a bit more communally. He thinks that learners do not have this trait and no longer value these virtues.

Overall, the LHS teachers thought of citizenship, democracy and Ubuntu very similarly and were based on respect, freedom and equality. They rarely talked about civic responsibilities, but they did discuss caring for others and sharing, which speaks to responsibility for ones fellow citizens or humans.

The LHS teachers worked hard with few resources to present the topics of citizenship and democracy to their learners. While these topics were not always the priority, the teachers thought that South African history and future options for their learners were. They saw their role as teachers was to guide learners gently rather than to sway them in any particular direction and they were more concerned about presenting the content accurately and clearly, than in challenging their learners assumptions and opinions.

CHAPTER 8: Cross-Case Analysis, Theoretical Reflections & Conclusion

This chapter presents the findings of this study in three sections. The first section highlights the key findings from the three case studies in Chapters 6-8, and presents a comparative and general analysis across the cases. The second section examines the findings with respect to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for post-conflict pedagogy, instructional choice and civic beliefs. The third section concludes by explaining how this research will be useful to educators and policymakers, and recommends areas for future research in this field.

Cross-Case Analysis & Key Findings

Teachers approach civic topics in the classroom on several levels: first, the personal level, involving their own background, experiences, and ideology, and secondly, the systemic level, or what is required by the education system at large. The key findings that emerged from this study can be organized around two general themes. The first is that teachers' experiences and beliefs influence how they understand and define citizenship and democracy, which then influences how they teach these topics. The second is that there are system-wide elements, such as inequality between schools and curriculum emphases, which shape how and what teachers teach.

This section responds to the research questions as well. The first two parts – Navigating Democracy and Understanding Citizenship and Democracy, respond to RQ1: How do teachers' beliefs and perceptions about citizenship & democracy shape how they explicitly & implicitly teach about democracy and citizenship?

- 1.1 What information, experiences or understanding do teachers have about citizenship and democracy?

The third and fourth parts, Curriculum Choices and Pedagogy and Teaching Methods, respond to RQ3: How do teachers interpret the curriculum content and implement the sections on citizenship and democracy in the classroom?

- 3.1 To what extent do teachers fulfill, modify, subvert, edit or challenge the curriculum? Why?
- 3.2 What do teachers recognize as experiences or predispositions of students that shape how they explicitly and implicitly teach about democracy and citizenship?

Over the course of the research, Research Question Two (RQ2: What is the range of expected roles for teachers in fostering citizenship and democracy in the classroom?) became less central and fell to the background. The data responding to RQ2 was either more helpful for background information or was actually more useful in responding to RQ1 and RQ3.

Navigating Democracy: Teacher Beliefs and Approach to Teaching

We know that teachers' beliefs can shape classroom practices and their beliefs are often shaped by formative experiences. Thus it was important to look at key characteristics of identity dynamics that influenced their early experiences with democracy, which they credited with shaping their lasting beliefs and understandings to the present. Samuel (2008) created a model appropriate for South Africa, the Force Field Model for Teacher Development, which identifies key factors that influence how teachers

find their professional identity. These factors, biography, context, institutional setting and program (or curriculum) are also helpful in understanding how teachers implicitly and explicitly present democracy and citizenship in the classroom and deal with their learners' understandings. Their biographical and contextual factors, and particularly their early experiences with democracy were quite influential.

Early exposure to democracy, experiences with apartheid and demographic factors. Most of the teachers in this study were first exposed to the theories and practices of democracy as adults, the oldest being forty-three in 1994. Their experiences and first understandings of democracy diverged based in part on race and age. The key areas of influence were family, a single influential teacher or secret instruction, proximity to the anti-apartheid movement, international history in school, activism in their peer group, mass media and attending university. These are considered agents of political socialization, a process for teaching and learning political norms, rules and beliefs (Torney-Purta, 2000, 2016). Instead of learning about democratic citizenship formally in school, where it was not allowed, the above-mentioned agents and processes were influential.

The few younger teachers in the study, the youngest of whom was four years old in 1994, did learn about some facets of democracy in school, but for the most part, all teachers learned about it as it was introduced to the whole country in 1994. Some of the teachers pointed to the 1994 election as the significant instance in their understanding of democracy. These early moments of learning were influential in how they came to understand democracy later and teach about it.

Age and race. Age and race were defining demographic factors in how teachers thought about democracy and citizenship. They also were factors determining a great deal about what their experiences with apartheid and the demographic transition were. Obviously, race defined their experiences with apartheid, as per the law, but their age and when they learned about democracy also influenced how they viewed the past and future for South Africa as well. Those differences created key variations in how they approached these topics in the classroom. In addition to these being biographical forces, Samuel (2008) refers to these as contextual forces, or what was happening around the teachers as they developed their professional teaching identities. Teachers who were part of the anti-apartheid movement and came of age during the liberation movement would think differently than those who were isolated from it.

For all the older teachers, democracy was a subversive concept when they were younger and in school, during apartheid. It was introduced by defiant teachers in secret, by older and more politically aware peers or by an active family member. Some had family members who were either more liberal minded or involved in the anti-apartheid movement, but most said their families did not talk about it and wanted to protect them from potential arrest or violence. This is supported by research studying Communist countries before the transition, where parents were distrustful of politics and wanted to protect their children from often dangerous politic movements (Malak-Minkiewicz, 2007). Books were banned or tightly controlled and only to be accessed at universities, which tended to be more open and liberal as well. There was no expectation that democracy would be part of the public education curriculum and thus, when they were required to teach about it, it was a problematic topic.

Among the White teachers at BHS, there was a clear divide between the teachers who were children during the transition and those who were already adults and even teaching by then. It was harder for the older teachers to adapt to this racially inclusive concept of democracy and they feared it to some extent. The Indian teachers at DSS had two separate experiences as well, those who were exposed to the anti-apartheid movement and those who were not, either through geographical proximity, teachers or family. Some of these teachers firmly remember that they were taught that they were inferior in school, while others had influential teachers who taught with a liberation ideology. The African teachers at LHS, also had a variety of experiences in their exposure to democracy. The older teachers learned from peers and family and the younger teachers learned through school and university. There was also a rural-urban divide for the African teachers. Those who had originally come from rural areas were less exposed to the anti-apartheid activism than those who grew up in the township. In short, biographical and contextual forces influence teachers' differences in outlook on and experiences with democracy (Samuel, 2008).

Race and age also impacted the very choices they made to become teachers. According to Watt et al. (2012), the main reasons teachers report for choosing teaching are: having a calling or finding intrinsic value in becoming teachers, or for practicality, stability or salary considerations. However, in this case, almost all of the African teachers and some of the Indian teachers discussed how they chose teaching because it was one of the few options available for them as a racial group during apartheid. The White teachers talked about coming from a family of teachers or playing teacher as children, enjoying the subject matter or finding it an altruistic calling. The divide in this thinking is telling,

not because the Indian and African teachers were less motivated or prepared, but because having choice in what one does creates ownership and empowerment.

Gender differences were less striking, but played a role in how the teachers dealt with challenging issues they faced in class and also their general outlook for the future state of democracy in South Africa. The female teachers throughout the study were more likely to reflect on their own journeys through apartheid, to find support when needed and to have more positive outlooks for the state of democracy in South Africa, in general.

There were also some differences in how teachers from the two different subjects, history and LO, approached these topics. The history teachers, overall, had more in depth background education on their subject and could place current and political events into a historical context. The LO teachers were more future looking and focused on their learners future prospects. They had less education about civic matters and tended to focus on the areas of the LO curriculum where they felt most comfortable. That being said, there were a few LO teachers who really took on difficult topics head on, mostly at DSS and LHS, the Indian and African schools.

No space for reflection. The topics that these teachers must address concerning democracy and citizenship often touch on sensitive and painful issues, involving the brutal apartheid past, poverty, lack of rights and discrimination. This study found that there were few formal outlets for discussing or reflecting on these issues. Nor did teachers have venues for thinking more deeply about their own identity. They had no opportunities to examine biographical or contextual forces that shaped their thinking and teaching (Samuel, 2008). There were few instances of professional training, workshops or support to help teachers process or think more deeply about these issues.

The teachers did have some informal strategies for how they dealt with the harsh realities of teaching painful or difficult topics, but there was definitely a gendered response to this. The female teachers tended to have informal networks to access for self-care and venting frustration. They talked to other teachers, both at school and out of school, they used their religious groups, they talked to their families and other groups of female friends. The male teachers had less to say about this in general and occasionally reported talking with colleagues.

Overall, their self-reflection had to do with finding outlets to vent frustration. They did not report spending time reflecting on the complexities of these issues or thinking deeply about their past experiences, teaching practice and role in teaching these values. This is an area where teacher education and professional development could be beneficial in guiding teachers towards examination of their experiences and reflective teaching practice. According to Gay and Kirkland (2010), and in a context other than South Africa, critical consciousness and self-reflection are necessary for teachers, especially in diverse classrooms. They state " teacher accountability involves being more self conscious, critical and analytical of one's own teaching beliefs and behaviors" and recommend critical cultural and racial consciousness with self-reflection for all new teachers (p. 181).

Understanding Democracy and Citizenship

It was very clear that the teachers from all three schools thought about democracy as the response to and righting of wrongs of apartheid. They spoke about access to rights they had never had, freedom that was missing, equality that had been outlawed and

citizenship that had been denied. There was little emphasis on responsibility or participation in society, and much more on what the state should do for them or what they were entitled to. Democracy and citizenship is what the state should provide and not what they should do. This can be seen as a liberal understanding of democracy and a "recipient mindset" (Crick, 2002; Heater, 1999; Matisonn, 2010; Solomons & Fataar, 2011). This also echoes Hammet's (2008) findings that entitlement to rights are a key part of understanding democracy. There is also an absence of a global dimension, either in linking democracy to other countries or in terms of the idea of global citizenship.

A few teachers mentioned political processes, such as voting, but few talked about the responsibility to participate in a democracy. While the curriculum does discuss the balance of rights and responsibilities, voting, representation, community organizing, volunteering, and creating petitions, the redress rights elements of the constitution were of far great interest to both teachers and students. Almost none of the teachers spoke about citizenship in terms of activism or political protests (Enslin, 2003). While Samuel's (2008) model suggests that African teachers in South Africa, who grew up during the liberation struggle might have a more activist approach to teaching citizenship and democracy topics, this was not the case within this study. Almost none of the teachers, regardless of race, discussed citizenship or democracy in such terms.

There was also an element of understanding democracy that was knowingly idealistic. Democracy was understood as a utopia, with perfect equality, freedom, harmony and all the constitutional rights upheld, which in South Africa, also meant rights to housing, healthcare, jobs and education. None of the teachers actually believed this existed, thus their expectations for democracy were unrealistic. Teachers focused on the

elements of democracy that they felt they could not experience. The White teachers, such as Phil, were concerned about being able to voice dissent and preserve the minority voice and rights. They wanted to make sure that they were not left out of the government completely, which they felt did not represent them. The Indian and African teachers talked about what was not available to them during apartheid, and how that still impacted them. The rights to live, go to school, and work where they wanted were not assured. All these acts are strictly legal, but depend on access to financial stability and wealth that is just not within reach for many of them.

Future outlook for democracy. There was a wide spectrum of opinions on how optimistic or pessimistic the teachers were on the state of democracy in South Africa. Age, race and gender did influence how these teachers thought about it, but personal experiences and beliefs were also significant. The White male teachers at BHS were fairly negative about where South Africa was going and this showed in their classroom teaching. Phil thought the whole history curriculum was in danger of becoming ANC, propaganda and was wary of being part of any nation-building apparatus. Mark talked freely about emigration and a lack of jobs for White people thanks to affirmative action and BEE.

Sean, a younger teacher, who I thought would be more positive, also felt that there was now reverse racism. He also addressed civic topics in the classroom in a pretty negative way, saying they were boring and that democracy was good in theory only. I can speculate that much of his negativity came from a position of privilege and youth, meaning he had received many of the economic privileges of growing up White in South Africa, without the seeing how terrible apartheid was. Thus, he thought that many of the

old problems were gone and thought that people should just move on. Sean did not see himself as racist, had grown up going to an integrated school and reported he had black friends. The BHS teachers all taught African learners and claimed they were fairly liberal, but often failed to recognize their own privileges.

The White female teachers were both a bit more introspective about their own pasts when talking about the current political climate. Elizabeth had one of the most truthful and striking statements about her life in South Africa. In looking at her own family and their racist attitudes and her own, she said, " Sometimes it takes an act of will" to see that that South Africa is better after apartheid. She thought that it was a conscious decision on the part of White people to accept the new dynamics and state of South Africa. She felt that her husband who had been liberal and more idealistic when he was young had become more racist and pessimistic about the new South Africa as he aged. She maintained a pragmatic attitude that democracy was far better than apartheid, but that it was difficult to ignore how life had changed for White people.

Susan also as an older White woman, who had grown up during apartheid, realized she had benefitted from it and struggled with how to address it in her own life. Bridget, the youngest teacher in the whole study, was cheerfully optimistic about democracy, almost to the point of neglecting the legacy of apartheid that still existed. These sentiments all came out in the classroom as they addressed the issues, struggled with reconciling the past, the present and the ideal of democracy.

The Indian teachers all differentiated between the ideal and the reality of democracy, balancing what they thought it should be, versus what they had experienced. They valued the opportunities and rights they had once been denied, especially the right

to full citizenship, but were keenly aware and honest about the lack of resources they saw around them. They were confronted by the great inequality of South Africa, which was exemplified by their learners, who came from a wide variety of backgrounds, some solidly middle class, but many others without parents, homes or resources. It is hard to teach about democracy when your observations of it and experience of it do not match the ideal of it.

Karen was the most outspoken about her views of South African democracy. As an older woman, from a fairly prosperous background with a PHD and grounding in critical theory, she was the most critical, while maintaining positivity for the future. Her critical outlook was also evident in the classroom, stemming from her education background, growing up as an Indian during apartheid and early exposure to the anti-apartheid movement. The other teachers all said that they had been quite sheltered from the legacy of apartheid, to the extent that they were unaware of what was really happening and how limited their options and rights really were.

A sheltered past impacted Ethan's teaching by compelling him to really confront the legacy of racial inferiority that apartheid had given him and his African and Indian learners. He purposefully emphasized the successes and intellectual advances of non-western societies. He challenged each presumption of White and European superiority. On the other hand, Ethan also echoed some of the White teachers' thoughts on reverse racism, saying that the affirmative action measures were creating a culture of entitlement. These two opposing viewpoints were more common for the White teachers. They acknowledged the damage of apartheid, yet struggled with the loss of privilege. This was

also complex for the Indian teachers, who often felt oppressed by the apartheid laws and then left out of the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) entitlements.

The African teachers' views on democracy were more positive and they were more patient with the time it was taking to fulfill the promise of the democratic ideals. They also understood democracy in terms of respect, equality and freedom, all the things they had been denied under apartheid. While a few pointed to voting as their key example of democracy, many of them pointed to integration as a sign of democracy. They acknowledged that this was complicated by the fact that most of these teachers and their learners still lived completely segregated lives, in school and in their neighborhoods. This again points to the fact that they are defining democracy by freedom of movement and integration and they actually experience very little of that. They are then expected to teach about democracy, without the life experience to use as evidence.

Thus, teachers are being asked to teach an aspirational form of democracy and teach beyond the scope of their experience. This is not uncommon in post-conflict or transitional countries. Gardinier and Worden (2010) and Malak-Minkiewicz (2007) discuss teachers in several post-communist countries struggling to teach more democratic, western-European, inclusive and rights-based curricula.

The active citizen and the good person. While there was an overwhelming consensus that democracy meant *receiving* rights, freedom, respect and equality, there was also a general belief that citizenship required action, or at the very least, correct behavior. It was the active partner to the more passive democracy. The teachers also conflated many of the qualities of good citizenship with the qualities of simply being a good person, as they understood it.

There was one quality of good citizenship that was mentioned at all three schools, obeying the law, or being a law-abiding citizen. Interestingly enough, this came from the four younger teachers, between 24-31 (two at BHS, one at DSS and one at LHS). The younger teachers had more faith in the law and order institutions and believed that is was a citizen's duty was to uphold the law, rather than break it. All of the older teachers had lived through the period where the laws were cruel and unjust and did not see this as a crucial element of citizenship. While Schoeman (2006) discusses obedience and being law abiding, she points out that it was less important than other qualities of citizenship for her participants.

There were a few traits that could be linked together across the schools in identifying what a good citizen was, such as someone who "does what is right", "takes responsibility", "makes a meaningful contribution", " understands they are here to make a change". These are from Susan, Elizabeth, Vincent and April, respectively. These ideas about citizenship all tie together the need to take action, be accountable and better society through their actions. The White teachers, Susan and Elizabeth, focus on the accountability and correct behavior, while the Indian and African teachers focused on the duty to contribute and make positive change.

There were a few citizenship qualities that overlapped at two of the schools. Teachers at BHS and DSS both mentioned speaking out and voicing opposition in the face of wrongdoing by the government as key elements of good citizenship. Interestingly enough, the two teachers who mentioned this, Phil and Karen, were both the best educated of all the teachers, both senior teachers with additional administrative positions. They were highly critical of different elements of the government, curriculum and

democracy in general. Their belief in the importance of voicing dissent was also grounded in their belief that they were in the righteous minority of those speaking truth to power. Schoeman's (2006) study on African teachers ranked obedience to the law quite low as a quality of citizenship.

At DSS and LHS, several teachers thought that being respectful was an essential quality of a good citizenship. Variations of this were also politeness, kindness and living in harmony. These characteristics fall into the "good person" category more than any other political or social definition of citizenship. These are the qualities that describe how the Indian and African teachers wished they had been treated during apartheid and are still hard to come by now for many people. This is the baseline of decency that is required in a pluralistic society. In addition, they also mentioned respecting others' culture and property, extending this general consideration to what each group values and was often confiscated and dismantled during apartheid. Hammet and Staeheli's (2010) research on respect as citizenship emphasizes that teachers often see respect as a one way street, from learners to teachers as elders and educated adults. In this case, most of the teachers who mentioned respect, thought it meant respect for all and that learners deserved respect too.

The DSS teachers also emphasized that the qualities of a good citizen did not matter as much as the fundamental right of citizenship to those born in South Africa. This was a right that was not bestowed upon them during apartheid. They defined citizenship in terms of having the same rights as all citizens, regardless of race, in South Africa. Again, this emphasis on *having* citizenship, as opposed to *being* a citizen, is important to those who were denied basic citizenship before.

Finally, an important element of citizenship for a few of the teachers at DSS and LHS were sharing and caring. The act of giving what you have and caring for those who have less than you do was more important for the Indian and African teachers. This echoes Schoeman's (2006) that the African teachers in her study had a "communitarian" view of citizenship most and valued responsibility to each other above all. They had a more communal and less individualistic sense of what citizenship meant. Maybe because their learners came from more disadvantaged backgrounds on average, they felt called upon to help struggling learners. Aiding the community, sharing half your food with those who have none, caring for elders were all examples they gave for citizenship. This is different from the charitable acts also used as an example of citizenship activities from the White teachers. Those seemed to stress giving to the less fortunate, who was the "other," while the sharing meant giving to members of ones own community, to make the community stronger.

This is more closely linked to the concept of Ubuntu. About half the teachers thought it was a lovely concept, but had no practical application in school and the other half thought that they saw it in helping learners and seeing learners help each other.

Teacher as citizen. Eleven out of sixteen teachers in the study said that they were good citizens because they were teachers, with multiple teachers at each school saying this. They felt that their role in shaping, educating and aiding their learners, as future citizens themselves, was the very definition of good citizenship. This commonly shared view links back to the idea of choosing teaching as a career for altruistic purposes. It also was seen as an act of public service or that they were role models for their learners. Doing their job well took on the act of citizenship, especially for those who were not

involved in other citizenship activities. If the teachers saw themselves as good and active citizens by the virtue of being teachers, then it goes to say that citizenship was also part of their professional identity.

There are some other interpretations of these teachers' professional civic identity. For people who did so little in the civic sphere, there may have been defensiveness present in their response. They may have pointed to their job as teachers as an act of citizenship because they might also have felt the fact that they worked long hours, for little pay, to help children and work within the public sector was enough of an act of citizenship. Thus, the teachers seeing themselves as good citizens, was not purely a source of pride or an important part of professional identity, but as a rationalization for not participating in other citizenship activities.

Politicizing critical thinking and dissent. One of the most striking findings of this study was how the teachers used the concept of critical thinking to validate and justify certain political views and opinions on the state of the South African government and democracy. We can see two understandings of critical thinking at work here. The first is the understanding of critical thinking as using evidence to form an opinion or argument. The second comes from critical theory, that all critical thinking is politicized.

The second understanding was most obvious for the White BHS teachers. Several of the history teachers thought that it was their responsibility to both be a critical thinker and create critical thinkers out of their learners. Their definition of critical thinking meant critique of the government, the ruling party ANC and many majority African public figures. I saw evidence in the classroom of this, especially in Phil's teaching. He often used critical examples of heroes of the anti-apartheid movement and raised positive

points about the so-called villains. Phil felt that it was his responsibility to show historical shades of gray for each side and challenge the accepted narratives of the new South Africa.

This was not the case for the Indian teachers. They were less focused on critical thinking as a skill of teachers and needed by learners, and when they did talk about it, it was more about being able to critique the apartheid past, institutional racism and colonial vestiges. This was best seen in Karen's LO class and Ethan's history class. They both challenged some of the basic assumptions of colonial attitudes towards race and took an Afrocentric and critical theoretical approach to their teaching.

The African teachers at LHS talked about critical thinking even less. When they did, they meant it in the more commonly understood sense that it is to be able to evaluate and critique the merits of an argument, fact, source or agenda for oneself. There was less of a political or ideological filter for the LHS teachers. One could also say that the curriculum itself was their filter and accepting the historical narrative it puts forth. They were also less likely to ask critical questions in the classroom. Brenda did ask learners to show evidence when they answered questions and followed up sometimes by asking why the learner responded in a certain way. Schoeman's (2006) African participants also ranked political knowledge and critical thinking last among the qualities of good citizenship.

Functional Ubuntu. Along with the discussion on democracy and citizenship in South Africa, the teachers also discussed the role of Ubuntu in their schools. Most of the teachers talked about it in terms of learners and teachers caring for one another. The Indian and African teachers ran their own school feeding programs, which were often

used as an example of Ubuntu. The teachers actually paid for and distributed food for their hungry learners themselves. This was not as necessary for the White teachers at the wealthier BHS. Those teachers talked about isolated acts of charity as examples of Ubuntu. Most of the teachers said it was a nice idea, but not really a usable concept. Some teachers thought that it was an old term that was no longer present or applicable.

Their responses correspond to some of the new literature on Ubuntu and education. Assie-Lumumba (2017) addresses some of the skepticism over the function of Ubuntu, stating " this collective African philosophy and policy is not presented as a recipe that is ready to be used uniformly across the continent and the world. Rather the foundation may or ought to be used to conceptualize, design, and implement policies factoring in new social and unfolding realities." (p. 15). The teachers at these three schools saw Ubuntu in the small, informal acts of sharing and caring they saw regularly, but not on a policy or systematic level. I would argue that there is absolutely a formal place for Ubuntu within the curriculum, for civics and other subjects, especially when talking about personal, political and environmental interaction. Framing citizenship within the Ubuntu paradigm can help learners to better understand their social obligations towards their communities and world.

Curriculum Choices

We can see that background experiences play a role in how teachers think about these topics, though there are other factors in how this translates to the classroom. Some teachers seem more interested than others in challenging students and either using the curriculum to its fullest advantage, rejecting it or reading the script in front of them. In

this section, I will discuss the teachers' efforts to implement the curriculum and look at all three cases to examine the factors that influence how teachers present citizenship and democracy in their classrooms.

Important topics for citizenship and democracy. The teachers across the three schools agreed on a few sections in the curriculum they thought were the most important for teaching democracy and citizenship. The two tables below present these topics comparatively for history and LO. The topics listed below are compiled from what the teachers identified as most important in interviews with me.

Table 20: Most Important topics for citizenship & democracy: History

Topic	BHS	DSS	LHS
African Independence Movements			X
African Politics			X
Apartheid –Life under, Laws, Mandela, Resistance to	X	X	X
Black Consciousness	X		
Cold War, Vietnam War – Communism & Capitalism	X		X
English Boer War/South African War (same war, different names)	X		
French Revolution	X		X
Genocide (Holocaust, Rwanda)	X		
Industrial Revolution in UK	X		
Ming Dynasty	X		
Modern concept of Citizenship from 1500s	X		
Nationalism	X		
Pseudoscience of Race – Nazi medical experiments, apartheid racial classification	X	X	
SA Democratic Transition – Negotiations, TRC, Constitution, elections	X		X
South African History, general			X
Suffragette Movement in UK	X		
US Civil Rights Movement & MLK	X		X

We can see that history teachers at all three schools thought that the sections on apartheid were the most important. Most of the teachers thought the road to democracy from apartheid was essential too, though Ethan, the main history teacher at DSS, did not

mention that. He was more concerned with the apartheid era itself, making sure learners understood what had really happened in a legal and accepted way at the time. It is also of interest that DSS only had one main history teacher, rather than several at the other two schools. This meant that learners who took history had Ethan all three years and his was the only interpretation the learners received.

There was little consensus on which other topics were important. The other key topics of interest at two schools were used as comparisons or within the context of apartheid, such as the French Revolution. The White BHS teachers enjoyed and put more emphasis on western and European historical events. The DSS and LHS teachers focused much more on African history.

The LO teachers had fewer choices of topics, but most of them were more straightforward.

Table 21: Most Important topics for citizenship & democracy: LO

Topic	BHS	DSS	LHS
Community Action & Participation		X	
Nation-Building		X	
Personal Choices & Career Options			X
Politics in the media			X
Rights –Human, SA Bill of Rights	X	X	X
Roles & Responsibility of Citizens	X	X	
Structure of SA government & Law formation	X	X	X
Voting, Political Parties		X	

The LO teachers were mostly in agreement that rights and the structure and workings of the South African government were the key sections on citizenship and democracy, teachers at two schools also thought the sections on responsibilities were important. The teachers at DSS also talked much more about political processes and participation than at the other schools, emphasizing voting and community service.

Problematic topics for citizenship and democracy. When talking about topics they thought were less important, we see more divergence. Elizabeth at BHS, thought that the sections on African independence movements and post-colonial Africa were "ineffectual", because every example had "failed" and therefore felt she could not teach it. This level of bias was significant in the study and illustrates how a teacher's personal beliefs, even about historical events, can shape what a teacher even chooses to address in the classroom, despite it being in the curriculum and on national assessments. It points to a level of prejudice and Euro-centrism that is at odds with other statements she made about the evil of apartheid and its necessary death. While she would maintain her liberal political position, her views were often inflexible and close-minded on certain topics.

Most of the teachers were a little uncomfortable or at least cautious about teaching current events, particularly involving politics and the current government. When uncomfortable, teachers often returned to topics and approaches that were more comfortable, thus often avoiding important topics. Even the teachers who welcomed controversial topics and wanted to address complicated issues, recognized that the government was a sensitive subject. They acknowledged that this was a topic where clear bias could present itself and wanted to be sensitive to their learners' backgrounds. Some were actually afraid to talk about current political events for fear that it would get back to learners' parents. Some of the teachers at LHS were uncomfortable teaching about historical events in the far past and non-African history. They felt they did not know it as well and that it was not very applicable for their learners. They did their best to connect international history to South African history.

Apartheid in the curriculum. While most teachers thought apartheid history was essential, even in classes outside of History, there were still challenges in addressing this part of South African history. Teaching the history of a recent conflict is complicated because of the experiences the teachers had with it (Cole, 2007; Weldon, 2009). A few White teachers thought too much time was spent on it and could be uncomfortable, which is unsurprising for the group who benefited from it most. Older teachers thought apartheid must be taught, despite how uncomfortable it could be, simply so learners never forgot what happened. Others felt that by placing so much attention on apartheid, it created a scapegoat for all the problems since the end of it.

While all of the Indian teachers thought teaching apartheid history was necessary, some admitted that their learners were not as interested. Ethan suggested it was too painful and it was easier to ignore it or learners were bored because they have heard about it all their lives. Karen, on the other hand, discussed apartheid*'s* continued impact on learners today. Some of the Indian teachers talked about how there are still those with racist attitudes who struggle teaching apartheid history. The African teachers agreed that it was essential in history, but also important in LO, for those learners who do not take history.

All of the teachers thought that the curriculum portrayed apartheid history, particularly resistance to apartheid in a somewhat biased way. They all thought that the ANC's role was given too much weight and that other key groups involved with the anti-apartheid movement and liberation struggle were given no credit or were left out. The White and Indian teachers thought that the curriculum left out many non-African anti-apartheid activists. The African teachers thought it left out other non-ANC political

groups involved in the struggle. This is a good example of the ways that national history is often contested and is the result of negotiation and the ruling parties interpretation of events (Weldon, 2009).

General attitude towards the curriculum. The teachers at each school approached the curriculum in very different ways. At BHS, there was some resistance or at least annoyed compliance with the curriculum. Both heads of department for History and LO, Phil and Susan, complained about it both in class and to me. They also pointed out that they taught what they felt was important, with a sense of pride. They thought they were taking a stand against the bureaucratic Department of Education and were using their own judgment and expertise to make curriculum decisions. This was a stand against the government in general, as architects of the curriculum. In subverting what they were meant to be teaching, the BHS teachers were voicing their dissent.

On the other side, the Indian teachers expressed frustration that their White colleagues did whatever they wanted in regards to the curriculum, just as they had always done. They knew this because there were Indian teachers who were city-wide inspectors and observed White teachers. The White teachers did not feel compelled to follow the national curriculum and in the Indian teachers' minds were continuing to teach apartheid era content. The Indian teachers themselves had their own critiques of the curriculum, particularly in terms of the amount of content they have to cover and how much is condensed into each subject, particularly LO.

The African teachers were more accepting of the curriculum, one even said it was perfect. They felt the most bound to the curriculum and stuck closely to it. There was almost a loyalty to the curriculum itself, that it finally told their side of the story and that

this was what their elected officials had deemed important and must be followed. They still had a few criticisms, which were similar to the Indian teachers. They felt there was so much that they had to cover that they had to rush through topics. Some teachers wished they focused more on recent African history, rather on events in Europe or Asia.

As we can see, despite a very full curriculum, teachers still found room to modify or skip topics, based on their opinions of the material and the time available.

Pedagogy and Teaching Methods

The methods teachers chose to teach citizenship and democracy were based on their own training, preferences and the resources available to them. This section will look at some of the key methods used and pedagogical decisions made by the teachers in the classroom. Some of these choices were based on the recourses available to them and that will be discussed in more depth in the next section.

The most common methods teachers reported using were: using current events and real-life examples to illustrate points, Devil's advocate style with controversial topics or appealing to the emotions, discussion and multimedia. I observed that the most common methods were: lecture, textbooks, writing key points on the board and asking Socratic questions, critically, rhetorically and for content checks. I speculate that this disconnect between what teachers said they did and what I observed was due to what teachers wanted to do in the classroom, as opposed to what they actually did, given the many constraints on resources and time.

As discussed above, the teachers all said they were occasionally uncomfortable discussing current events, particularly involving the government, yet they all said they

used current events and what was happening in real life to engage and make historical and conceptual linkages for their learners. How they viewed these events tended to be linked to their views of the government in general. The political scandals that popped up while I was in South Africa were varied and complex and for the most part teachers took a negative view of them.

The White teachers and some of the Indian teachers were particularly critical of the government during this time and often commented about its incompetence and corruption. The African teachers tended to remain more neutral, less critical and act as a referee for when their learners brought up issues, rather than as the provocateurs. Their moderated reactions to the upheaval in the government at that time may have reflected their loyalty to the ruling party, their distaste for undermining the authority of the state institutions and elected officials, and their concern for the loyalties and opinions of their learners. There were a few teachers across the three schools who liked to challenge and destabilize their learners' opinions and thoughts, using devil's advocate techniques, appealing to their emotions and putting forth controversial topics. Some teachers said they did this, though I never witnessed it. The differences in how they did this seemed to be based on their own interests, personalities and comfort level, rather than being related to ideological or background reasons.

I saw these two approaches, current events and devil's advocate, more as techniques for engagement rather than truly different pedagogical methods. They were both meant to get learners interested in what they were learning about and offer their own thoughts to the class. The problem was that there was often very little room for actual discussion, debate or dialog in each class. Several of the teachers mentioned those as

methods they used to teach about citizenship and democracy, but I rarely saw them in my formal observations. Gainous and Martens (2016) found that U.S. teachers were far more likely to promote open exchanges in the classroom when they also supported and felt strongly about human rights topics, as opposed to teachers who felt strongly about law and order and patriotism. While this is not a direct comparison to the South African teachers, it shows that political beliefs and dispositions might influence their teaching choices, particularly in allowing free discussion. In a 2012 study by Mattes, Danemark and Niemi (2012) on civic learning for high school students in Cape Town, the authors found that:

> Of all the school variables, only critical discussion and debate contributes significantly and positively to greater expression of democratic viewpoints. When teachers allow students to bring up current events, present multiple sides of and issue, make up their own minds, and even encourage them to disagree respectfully with the teacher, students more often approve of democratic governmental structures and processes. (p. 13)

Teachers knew for the most part that they should be engaging their learners and finding ways for them to participate, but there were far more reasons why they were not able to really do this. All of the teachers lectured at least some of the time, and some much more than others. The BHS teachers had the ability to have more discussions due to smaller class sizes, though some like Susan rarely had very much interaction with her learners in class. The history teachers at BHS also used movies and other multimedia as well. Overall, there was a heavy dependence on lecture, writing on the board and using the textbooks.

The fact that the teachers at BHS had smaller classrooms in general and were able to use multimedia sources in their classroom illustrated the major inequalities that existed between the three schools. Despite the National Curriculum Statements promotion of

using learner-centered teaching and varied learning tools, many teachers were not able to use or access these methods or materials. The next section will further discuss how systematic inequality also impacted how teachers approached citizenship and democracy in the classroom.

Systematic Inequality and a Highly Structured Curriculum

As I started this study, I was aware of the systematic and race-based inequality within schools in South Africa, but I had not put much thought into how this would actually impact teaching and learning, especially for topics of citizenship and democracy. I thought that the inequality would be reflected in school infrastructure, access to extracurricular activities and teaching staff, but I had not thought about its impact on pedagogy. This became blatantly apparent when I stepped into classrooms at each of the schools and saw the differences in how the teachers were able to teach.

The difference in school fees led to the differences in school resources and student teacher ratios. BHS was able to charge the equivalent of $2500 a year, while DSS charged $165 and LHS charged $90 per year. This wide gap accounts for much of the inequality seen between the schools. This section will examine the findings of how the system itself allows some teacher more options in how these topics are presented in the classroom, based on race.

Inequality's impact on pedagogy. There were several ways that inequality between schools impacted how teachers taught citizenship and democracy. First, student-teacher ratios and how many learners were in the classroom made an enormous difference in how teachers ran their classrooms. The teachers at BHS with small numbers

of learners in their classrooms, an average of twenty five, were able to have discussions, interact with their learners, learn their learners' name (in some cases), debate topics without chaos and give individual feedback when needed. Teachers used writing exercises both for content and writing practice, knowing they could read every learners assignment. Learners felt more comfortable to participate when the rooms were smaller and groups more intimate.

These pedagogical options were much more difficult to employ at DSS and LHS. While smaller than at LHS, the class sizes at DSS were still quite large, with an average of 33 learners per classroom, and could be difficult to conduct discussion in. Teachers could be interactive with their learners, but rarely could learners actually be interactive with each other. One teacher was even able to move her desks around to create more learner groupings rather than rows. At LHS, with average classes of 53 learners, most discussion was just too difficult.

The inequality also impacted the physical resources in the classroom. The BHS teachers all had access to computers and multimedia technology. They could show documentaries on the topics they were studying or access maps and websites. Each learner either had his or her own book or could borrow one easily from the teacher. Teachers did not have to waste time in class reading from the book or copying text onto the board (though sometimes they did), as they had to do at the two other schools. At DSS and LHS, teachers often had do dictation from the textbook or copy sections on the board, so that learners would have key information in their notes.

BHS teachers had more time to devote to content and discussion. They could also decorate their classrooms with learning materials. The female teachers tended to do this

more than men, but the teachers at BHS, and some at DSS, all had more visual instructional materials on their walls than the classrooms at LHS. BHS learners also went on more field trips and had more access to extracurricular activities. The school facilities were much more extensive and included a library and auditorium. At DSS and LHS, books were not always readily available for learners, field trips did not happen every year and almost no classroom had technology. While DSS at least had an outdoor covered area, LHS did not.

A final issue of inequality that played a role in pedagogy was the language of instruction. English was the language of external assessment and was meant to be the language of instruction at all of these schools. However it was not the first language for the teachers and learners at LHS. While there were learners at both BHS and DSS who spoke other primary or home languages, all of the teachers were primary English speakers and taught exclusively in English. The BHS teachers hinted at the fact that English fluency could not be expected and they had to modify their teaching as more African learners attended the school. They still could assume that the majority of their learners were English home language speakers or at least multi-lingual. This meant that they did not have to spend a great deal of time translating, repeating or rehashing the content to make sure their learners had understood.

This was not true at the other two schools. At DSS, the teachers all spoke English as a home language, but over half of their learners did not. Thus they had to calibrate their teaching to reflect the wide range of English language skills represented in their classrooms, without being able to switch languages themselves. At LHS, the teachers and learners were primarily first language isiZulu speakers. The teachers had several different

techniques for how they managed this, from using both languages to using repetition and slowing down their English. The end result is that the LHS teachers were able to cover much less content and had to adhere much more closely to the curriculum. There is particularly no reason that LO has to be in English, as it is not externally examined, other than reinforcing English language learning. Thus learners lose the opportunity to learn in in their home languages, especially when discussing topics that have to do with rights, identity and community engagement.

Diversity for the elite. A final and more complex element of systematic inequality that impacted teaching and learning in the three schools was that the celebrated diversity of the "Rainbow Nation" was really only available for the students of BHS, and DSS, to a lesser degree. So much emphasis within the curriculum, especially in LO, is on qualities and attractions that are "Proudly South African". These sections emphasize what is great about South Africa and what its citizens can be proud of. One of those qualities that is most prized is diversity, or in other words, South Africa is great because it is diverse. This follows in global trends for including and celebrating multiculturalism in schools and curriculum. It also is a key part of post-conflict education, to learn about and encounter other groups, both through the learning materials and with intergroup contact.

The research on intergroup contact theory in South Africa highlights that much of the interracial contact has been actually "illusory", where public spaces and institutions have been integrated, but actual contact was "superficial and infrequent" (du Toit & Quayle, 2011, p. 542). The bulk of this research focused on integrated spaces and opportunities for contact as opposed to those who lack access to either. This study has highlighted a problem that there are times when contact is logistically difficult.

That is the problem with placing so much worth and promise on diversity, when it was not accessible for many leaners and teachers. South African demographics and the continued housing segregation as a legacy of apartheid meant that only the wealthier BHS had truly integrated classrooms. DSS had both Indian and African learners, but almost no White learners. LHS was completely African, within a completely African neighborhood. The LHS teachers even commented upon this, saying that one of the signs of democracy was integration, though nothing in their lives was actually integrated. While BHS was the most integrated school racially, it was less diverse in socioeconomic levels. Thus diversity itself was for the wealthier learners and a symbol of status. The learners at LHS had to then learn about the importance of South African diversity without ever experiencing it.

A packed curriculum and rigid assessment. Another element of the school system, which hampered all the teachers' ability to bring more discussion and dialog into the classroom, was a tightly packed curriculum, which was externally tested. Teachers were unable to drift away too far from the prescribed curriculum and to spend time on current events, discussion, or topics they thought were important. There was some choice in the curriculum and in the testing (leaners could choose one question out of a list to respond to), which allowed teachers to skip a few important topics, but they mostly had to rush through everything else. Teachers taught to the test, sped through content so the could spend more time reviewing for the high stakes tests and halted conversations that popped up about key topics. Teaching to the test meant that teachers fell back on rote memorization and teacher-centered teaching styles, eliminating time for creativity and discussion. In at least two of the schools, teachers tried to get through a year of content in

half the year in order to spend the rest of the year reviewing for the final terminal matric exams. So little flexibility and room for learner input reduced many classes to tedium and teachers to parrots.

A system-wide lack of emphasis. Finally, there is a systematic disregard for topics regarding citizenship and democracy in high school. History is not mandatory after Grade 9 and LO is only required one to two periods per week. Within that hour a week, only one in four classes is on a topic concerning political literacy, government, rights, laws, voting processes or many of the other concepts needed for new citizens. It is given the least amount of time of any required subject in school and is tested internally, which gives the impression to learners, parents and teachers that it is not important. At LHS, where books are hard to come by for learners, parents would often choose not to purchase the LO book because it was not deemed necessary.

No LO teacher had a background in civics, history, law or government. Their education and training was in counseling, PE, life science or communication. While the topics were vaguely of interest to one or two, none of them saw democracy and citizenship as the essential topics for LO. They were more concerned with health, gym or personal issues facing teenagers, as their backgrounds might suggest. Thus you have teachers, with no interest or training, teaching a topic that is undervalued and given scant amount of instructional time. This undervalues these topics in general and allows learners and parents to disregard it. More topical teacher education and more serious attention within the curriculum are required.

Theoretical Reflections

This section will apply the theoretical and conceptual approaches introduced in Chapter 1 to the findings. This will allow us to examine how the theory fits the reality of teaching democracy in a new democracy and post-conflict setting and how teachers present this in the classroom.

Applying Davies, Jansen and Apple et al.

The post-conflict pedagogy concepts put forth by Davies (2004) and Jansen (2009) have not been well examined in the classroom. Those terms are not often used within formal curricula and, thus far, they have been guidelines, best practices and aspirational approaches of dealing with conflicted classrooms. This study gives us the opportunity to delve into whether the South African case has used the theoretical guidelines for better understanding the legacy of conflict and its approach to its chosen future in the form of democratic governance.

Davies' (2004) main concept of "interruptive democracy" or the "interruptive school" is problematic when we try to find its qualities in three real schools. The first area of interruption is the exploration of identity to eliminate fear. This is challenging in the three case schools. First at BHS, while the school is fully integrated, the teachers still represent the White narrative, power structure and apartheid past. White teachers are the ones charged with exploring identity with their racially mixed classes and this was not done in depth. There were discussions of multiculturalism, investigating the practices and beliefs of the different racial and ethnic groups in South Africa and accepting difference. But there were very few discussions about self-identity, personal experience and

understanding the “other”, especially for teachers. While the learners were forced to navigate a racially diverse class, the teachers remained fairly segregated in terms of their colleagues. Without role models in the pursuit of exploring identity, learners were left with more superficial investigations into cultural holidays, food and activities. The teacher were not asked to do very much self exploration or think about what their White presence meant in the classroom.

At DSS, a divided population of African and Indian learners were taught by a fully Indian teaching staff. The attempts at exploration of identity to eliminate fear were also often superficial. This school also had great religious diversity and celebrated all religious holidays through days off and assemblies. There was also more of a restorative approach to discipline in some of the race-based incidents at the school, such as racist epithets leading to violence. Karen as head of discipline asked the learners to look at reasons why they were compelled to call each other these names and why it hurt so badly when they did. She asked them to look at their own identities in this case to better understand their actions and upset. She found this a more effective way to manage these types of conflict.

Ethan also helped learners look at stereotypes and question deep-seated notions of racial supremacy and inferiority by taking more afro-centric views of history and accomplishment. As is common, those outside of the dominant group are more attuned to examining difference and naming their defining identity groups and the Indian teachers showed this a bit more than the White teachers. While again, there was no whole scale approach to investigating identity dynamics, but these isolated cases and approaches were more obvious than at BHS.

Lastly, the bigger issue for LHS was that all teachers and learners were from the same identity group and were rarely in contact with the "other". The LHS teachers noticed this and when White people were mentioned in the classroom they were discussed as "the other," sometimes with negativity, but more often with strangeness. In such a homogenous space, it would be difficult and perhaps unnatural to talk about deep identity issues. The curriculum called for the same discussions on diversity that were happening at the other schools, but with a lack of actual diversity, these discussions felt more anthropological than multicultural. As the sole White person in the classroom, I was pointed out, used as an example of how White people act or avoided completely.

A particular example of teachers engaging in discussions about identity and fear in the classroom was on the topic of xenophobia. Violence against neighbors from other African countries occurred in Durban and in LHS and DSS communities. Teachers were familiar with these immigrants in their communities and could address identity issues with the purpose of eliminating fear and prejudice. Unlike White people, African immigrants were a group that the learners had contact with and could engage with. I do not know if the teachers' efforts were successful in influencing how their learners thought about African immigrants, but their attempts were admirable.

The next element of Davie's post-conflict pedagogy is providing space for dialog and discussion. This has been discussed in previous sections, but it is important to note classes with fewer learners had more time for discussion, but all the schools were limited in how much time they used for dialog due to the density of the curriculum content. There were more discussions at BHS than at DSS and more at DSS than LHS. Few of the discussions actually involved the teacher stepping back and allowing the learners to

interact and few were facilitated discussions with the purpose of discussion, rather than the unexpected byproduct of an interesting topic.

The third element was the use of humor and creativity. We can look at this more closely across the threes schools as this depended on individual teachers and their comfort levels a bit more. Some of the teachers were just more prone to humor than others. Phil at BHS said he used it specifically to engage learners in delicate subjects, with the purpose both to shock and to diffuse tension. Karen and Ethan at DSS also used humor to get her learners attention, but also to poke fun at people and institutions that needed to be taken off their pedestals. Bridget, Sean and April as younger teachers used more general humor to relate to their learners, while Melissa seemed to feel too uncomfortable with her learners to joke with them. The rest of the LHS teachers were fairly serious and used very little humor, particularly in history. There was the impression that every moment in the classroom was dedicated for the serious business of learning and humor would distract from that. The history teachers also took the often grim content very seriously and did not feel it was appropriate to find anything funny about it.

Creativity in the classroom was again more available for BHS teachers with smaller classes and more resources. They could do art projects, make collages or see films. They were able to supply materials and posted their learners work on the walls of their classrooms. There was one project assigned in the curriculum where learners were supposed to make a faux passport for themselves, looking at various elements of their lives. The learners at BHS had more access to materials to actually create these documents than at the other schools. A teacher at LHS explained how she had to be

prepared for situations when learners could not even purchase a folder to pass their work in.

On the other hand, often a lack of resources can breed more creativity. Victoria at DSS had her learners read passages as role-plays when there were not enough books or handouts. This allowed them to act out scenarios, get involved and the teacher could step back a bit. Unfortunately, this did not translate to LHS. The large class sizes, lack of materials and resources and lack of ownership over classrooms all limited some of the creativity in the classes.

Davies' (2004) final element of an interrupted school is the teacher as a defiant agent. This is one of the more problematic elements for this study. First of all, the definition of the defiant agent presumes that the teacher does not carry the burden of their past with them to some degree. It assumes that they automatically want to and have the ability to defy the conventional narrative. It also assumes that the conventional narrative is agreed upon and is negative. In the South African case, the standard narrative of apartheid and democracy that is used in the textbooks and curriculum is the story of African and ANC resistance and liberation for the most part. The end of apartheid is also usually seen as a success story. Thus what is the role of the defiant agent in this case?

For the White teachers, they felt called on to be defiant agents against the mainstream, African, ANC ruling party's story, and critiquing their governance and dominant narrative as the party of liberation. For the Indian teachers, their defiant agency was in subverting White, colonial and western supremacy myths and celebrating the successes and historical triumphs of African and Asian nations and people. But they also stayed within the curriculum to do this and respected the boundaries of what was

supposed to be taught, unlike the BHS teachers occasionally. The LHS teachers felt that following and teaching the curriculum, without modification, was a source of pride. Thus adhering to the currently accepted narrative was the patriotic and democratic choice. They did become defiant agents when challenging the xenophobic violence and ideas that some of their leaners expressed.

Thus we see that the idea of interrupting democracy and Jansen's interruption of received wisdom is more problematic than simply rejecting racist narratives. We must ask the question of whose narrative and wisdom is being interrupted or rejected and who is doing the rejecting? No White learner in this study had an African teacher and almost none had Indian teachers. The African learners at BHS had mostly White teachers, all Indian teachers at DSS and all African teachers at LHS. Sometimes learners do actually hear a completely different narrative from the one they get home from school. If their received wisdom from family and community was being challenged, it was not necessarily for the better. In applying these theories to real schools, we have to take the demographic divides between the different groups into account.

Disrupting the cycle of social reproduction. Finally, we can examine the very processes that serve to reproduce these views, inequalities and narratives in schools. In analyzing the findings of the intersection of curriculum, teacher ideology and pedagogy, we can see that there is no easy point of disruption at each school, but for different reasons. In fact it is indeed necessary to conclude with more questions. Who is doing the disruption and whose cycle is being disrupted?

As was posed earlier, at the former White school, it is difficult to determine whose narrative must be disrupted, that of the teachers' or of certain groups of learners'.

The White teachers often seek to disrupt the narrative of the ruling party, racial majority and the rainbow nation as they voice their dissent as a new minority. At the former Indian school, we can see the closest to a true disruption of the more dominant narrative of colonial, western and White superiority, while maintaining adherence to the curriculum narrative and critiquing the government when deemed necessary. At the African school, the homogenous racial groups of teachers, and learners are aligned with the ruling party, curriculum developers, and conventional South African narrative, which means that there is no point of disruption or dissent.

While there is some racial integration in some schools, there is more class and SES segregation, with wealthier children of all races attending school together, experiencing cultural difference and expanding their peer group beyond their own cultures. Children at lower SES levels continue to be more segregated and live more racially homogenous lives, due to wealth and geographic divides.

If the idea of the post-conflict pedagogy is to disrupt inherited biases, prejudices and fear of the other, how should this be done in a society with such a significant demographic divide, with many more African people than White and Indian people, while those minority groups still control vast wealth and cultural privilege? The traditional approach to conquering fear and dislike of the other is to get them together, but this is impossible for most people in South Africa, given the demographics and distance, and creates status symbols and tokenism out of relationships.

Applying the Torney-Purta & Thornton Framework

Using the conceptual framework based on instructional choice and importance of beliefs on civic knowledge to further unpack the findings from the study will allow me to look closely at all the elements that go into the implicit and explicit choices teachers make in how they present citizenship and democracy in the classroom. First of all, I found that teachers' beliefs and past experiences, particularly with apartheid, are the filters through which everything else passes. While the curriculum, what is tested and what the Department of Education passes down are the official determinants of what they teach, the teachers will continue to apply their own judgments, opinions and biases, to the content matter, even if that means simply avoiding or accepting certain sections. We can also see that school resources and infrastructure must be added to the framework, as they play an important role in determining a teachers' pedagogical choices and options.

Elizabeth's biased and personal belief that there are no success stories out of the African Independence Movement led to her decision not to teach it at all, despite it being in the curriculum. Samuel's decision to accept the whole curriculum as is and teach what is prescribed shows his view that the curriculum is "perfect" and tells the "true" story of the democratic transition, despite a few personal thoughts that certain political groups were left out. He put aside his own opinions and adopted this curriculum in support of it as a nation-building tool. His own past experience of being educated during apartheid and being barred from certain educational and professional paths, led him to accept what he viewed as a superior curriculum.

How the teachers approached the civic topics in the classroom was also influenced by their personal beliefs. Victoria and Brenda denounced xenophobia as part

of a discussion on rights and the French revolution. Ethan discussed the inferiority of Victorian London to the glory of the West African kingdoms and Phil examined the militant side of Nelson Mandela. Their outlook on democracy was shaped by what it has meant to them since the end of apartheid. For the White teachers, this meant a loss of privilege, and an expansion of rights and citizenship for the Indian and African teachers. Whether it is a failed experiment, a beautiful theory or a work in progress, how teachers see democracy influences how they talk about it and what messages their learners receive. It is particularly noticeable that teachers frame democracy and citizenship as something to be received versus something they should do.

Learners and particularly their language differences also particularly influenced how teachers taught. Home language became a proxy for race in many cases, with teachers saying they had to adapt their teaching and lower the level for learners who had other home languages than English. Even at LHS with almost all learners speaking English as a secondary (or third or fourth) language, teachers differentiated between learners from rural areas with less English proficiency.

This conceptual framework for civics instructional choice can be applied to other topics where teachers' views are essential in how the information is presented. Evolution, climate changes, politics, immigration and activism, among many other topics depend on how teachers view these topics, even when they are in the curriculum and their views are often based on formative experiences and received wisdom.

Final Observations & Conclusions

It is my hope that this dissertation can serve as an examination of a post-conflict education system at the classroom-level through the eyes of teachers. This section will present my final observations on teaching citizenship and democracy in South Africa and how this study can help inform practice and policy for those teaching, planning and creating curriculum in South African and potentially in similar contexts.

First, the teaching of democracy and citizenship in a new democracy such as South Africa cannot be divorced from the experiences of the teachers through the political transition. This generation of teachers, who either lived through or went to school on both sides of the transition, are in the position to hand down their story and narrative to the future generations. The teachers need more opportunities to meet with other teachers from other schools with different experiences, see other schools and be encouraged to look at their own identity in respect to their teaching practice. Whether these identities are fixed or views are immutable is in question.

Second, there is little to be done without addressing the inequality within the education system. The ability for public schools to charge fees will continue to maintain these inequalities and impact teaching practice. Teachers can be educated in more equitable ways, but having twenty learners or sixty in a classroom will always have an impact on the teaching methods they can use. The same goes for the teaching of English language learners. If learners are forced to learn civic topics in English and not in their home language, they will also have more challenges.

With those two key findings from this study, there is still room for change, reform and a new approach to teaching and learning about citizenship and democracy in South African in post-conflict contexts.

Policy Implications

There are several sets of implications for policy and practice that have emerged from this study. First, I must emphasize the impact of inequality of resources on teaching practice in general, especially when a learner-centered, post-conflict pedagogy is called for. Inequality in schools in South Africa has been discussed in many different ways, but it still needs to be stated that this is a major reason for an absence of post-conflict pedagogical methods in schools. This is not simply a South African issue, but a general issue in education.

From a policy perspective, calling for smaller classes and more teachers may seem like a fantastical proposition, but it is necessary. This study was not meant to add to the enormous body of research that identifies poverty and inequality as the causes of substandard education, but rather it finds that these are also some of the key issues when addressing more abstract issues in the classroom as well. Thus recommending that a school or school system lower student-teacher ratios for the sake of fostering dialog and debate, is not new, but must be repeated. Class size had a clear influence on how teachers could manage discussion, introduce creative projects or attend to learners' individual needs within this study. This study can also inform teaching practice while working within the constraints of the system, and pointing out the unequal access to resources across South African schools, especially with school fees and class sizes.

First, there is a question of whether teachers are comfortable with more interactive teaching methods. Simply having better ways to manage and facilitate classroom discussion may be of help to teachers. Some are very aware of these and do the best they can with large classes, while others are less interested or unfamiliar with other options. There are few expectations for teachers to create discussions and for learners to speak more in class. This is an issue for professional development, teacher preparation education and for curriculum designers. Developing a respectful classroom climate for discussion goes beyond simply encouraging discussion, but also

The teachers' professional development opportunities, as reported by the teachers themselves, are often lacking in beneficial content. This is both an area for further research and a place where many of the topics and findings discussed in this study could be applied. Professional development workshops are also a place where teachers from different groups and schools can meet and share ideas and strategies. One teacher, April, particularly pointed this out as an example of democracy, which would never have happened during apartheid. The contact, which happens at teacher development workshops, could be beneficial on many levels. It could also be built upon and maintained by encouraging networking across social media platforms.

Teacher education also could address some of these issues. Looking closely at identity and how teachers' background, experiences and beliefs impact their teaching should be a topic of discussion, refection and investigation for new teachers. This is a case where having young teachers do self-reflection at an early stage in their careers could help them think about how they present themselves and the material in the classroom. The curriculum itself encourages activism and participation that is not seen

among the teachers in this study. This should be addressed as well in teacher education and new teachers should be better informed about their role as civic role models for their learners.

I think also matching teachers' educational backgrounds up with teaching citizenship and democracy better is necessary. Many Life Orientation teachers have PE or counseling backgrounds. The sections on citizenship and democracy would be better served by being taught by history teachers, especially if many learners in Grades 10-12 do not take history. Learners would at least be taught these topics by a teacher who understands the historical context from which these political issues emerged. On a curriculum level, more emphasis can be put on political literacy, active citizenship and civic engagement. These elements are in the current curriculum, but are given scant attention and are not taken seriously.

While the debate over history and Life Orientation continues, I can only offer my own perspective after having conducted this study. Life Orientation needs to be reimagined certainly, but it should not be erased completely, not without a well-thought out replacement, especially for civic topics. LO as it stands, has too many topics and gives none of them enough attention. It gives the learners and parents the impression that these topics are not important.

Ideally, civics would be its own course or at least an elective, but that also does not seem possible right now. Schools need the resources to turn each one of the sections of Life Orientation into its own class. Schools need civics, PE, counseling and health educators. Thus, looking at all the topics holistically and dividing them up through high school might be more effective. A whole year of civics, rather than a few units over the

course of four years, would be far more useful. Teachers could have more discussions, plan for debates, talk about citizenship in a more meaningful way with more dedicated time.

Over all, the thought behind LO, that learners need broader skills beyond their academic subjects to navigate adulthood is still relevant. As funding has been cut for many of the subjects that are now part of LO, now is the time to readdress how those cuts were made and whether they were worth it. Giving learners the space to bring up issues from their lives is important, which LO does, and should be in all schools. My hope is that LO's benefits can be preserved, while its less effective elements can be reformed.

The question of whether history should be mandatory for the final years of high school is another controversial one, especially with its focus on reading and writing in English. While I oppose the full scale push for more STEM education, at the expense of arts and humanities, which has happened in South Africa, following other countries' examples, I do not think history, taught in only in English is for everyone either. Learners do need more history within their high school education career, but how it is taught and the language of instruction should be reexamined.

Future Research

Based on the limitations and findings of this study, there are three main areas that should be explored in future research. They all are based on widening the scope of this study to include more stakeholders and investigate more inputs and outcomes of what and how teachers teach. Thus, I would like to focus on learners' perspectives on citizenship and democracy, how teachers are educated and taught themselves to teach these topics

and how the policy makers and curriculum developers in the Department of Education make the decisions on what should be included in civic education in South Africa.

First, South African students' perspectives on their civic learning and their attitudes about their teachers as civic role models should be explored As I did not include student voices in this study, it seems logical that we should find out about some of their understandings of citizenship and democracy, their thoughts on what they are learning in history and LO classes and how they view their teachers of those subjects. The teachers in this study were divided on their perceptions of how civically engaged and interested their students were, thus it follows that we compare those expectations with actual student responses. I think interviewing high school age students and recent graduates about their views might help to better understand where the gaps in knowledge are, where they are getting their primary information or how to better reach their generation to help them become more active citizens. I also think a wider scale, quantitative study or data set might be useful in expanding on how adolescent civic attitudes are formed in South Africa and how their teachers influence this.

Second, I would like to better investigate how new teachers and veteran teachers are being educated on these issues within their formal teacher education and professional development opportunities. Teachers within my study had varying degrees of teacher preparation education. Investigating what new teachers are being taught and if veteran teachers are getting any additional training could help to identify areas for improvement and expansion for civic education.

Third, after looking at the students and teacher education, I think it is important to look more closely at the policy makers and curriculum writers within the Department of

Education. The debates over whether history will be mandatory, whether LO will be discarded and whether STEM subjects will continue to be preferred are happening within the South African education system and the decision making processes should be investigated. Beyond how teachers are educated, how are teachers being instructed and informed about how and what they should be teaching. Taking a deeper look at the policies and curriculum that so tightly bind these teachers to their prescribed content material will be useful in making recommendations for developing a richer civic curriculum and teaching practice.

Finally, this study was conducted in 2014-2015, and during that time, key political and student protests started to occur. Those protests, which started on university campuses in opposition to colonial landmarks and high school fees, have continued and spread around South Africa. While this study does not include these political activities, future research on how the university students took action, became active citizens and sparked momentum for nationwide protests against government corruption is needed.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Formal Interview Protocol –Teacher Participants

1.) Review Background with the Biographical Questionnaire

2.) At which point were you first introduced to the ideas of citizenship? Democracy? Where did you start learning about citizenship and democracy?

3.) Describe your own high school experience as a learner. What do you remember, if anything, from your own high school education about citizenship education and how it was it managed, organized and infused, if at all, in your school experience?

4.) Why do you think people choose teaching as a career? When and why did you decide to go into teaching?

5.) What do you think is the expected role of the Life Orientation (LO)/History/Social Studies teacher? What, if any, equipping do you have to help you fulfill this role?

6.) Where do you think citizenship and democracy education fits into the school curriculum?
   a. Where does it fit into subject X and how does subject X serve the aims of citizenship & democracy education?
   b. Which are the most effective/important topics that address citizenship and democracy in the subjects that you teach? Which in your opinion are the least effective and why?

7.) In your opinion, with what knowledge, skills, values/attitudes should a teacher have to teach issues of citizenship and democracy?

8.) How do you address the idea of democracy/citizenship in your classroom?
   a. What are some of the methods you use to engage students on these topics?
   b. Are there some topics that you feel uncomfortable addressing that are possibly controversial? How do you deal with these in the classroom?
   c. Could you list topics that possibly arise that are not in the curriculum?
   d. Are there possibly certain topics that you avoid? Why?
   e. What has changed in the curriculum? What has stayed the same?

9.) Do you think that within any discussion around democracy and citizenship, is it of value to discuss pre and post, apartheid? In which ways?

10.) Are you able to reflect on these topics outside of the classroom? How do you self reflect or handle these difficult topics?

11.) In your opinion, are your learners actively engaged and could you describe their responses to issues pertaining to citizenship and democracy? Could you provide some examples? In what other arenas, do you think or anticipate learners learning about citizenship and democracy?

12.) Do you ever feel prompted to challenge your learners' positionality on these issues? If so how and could you cite an example? What response have you received? In your opinion, is there room for learners to engage with and perhaps even challenge their teachers on these subjects? How would this challenge present itself?

13.) If you had to consider the learners in your LO/History /Social Studies classes, how would you describe their backgrounds, socio-economic status, the issues they may face at home and so on? Have you ever felt inclined to change or modify what you teach to suit certain groups of learners? If so please elaborate.

14.) In your opinion how do your learners care about, or disregard, their community, society and country?

15.) What is your understanding of democracy? Give an example of democracy that you have witnessed or in which you have participated? Is your lived experience that of living in a democratic society? Elaborate?

16.) How would you describe a good citizen? Do you consider yourself to be a good citizen of South Africa? Could you elaborate? If you feel comfortable to do so please, could you describe any involvement you may currently have or have had in the past in citizenship related activities.

17.) What is your understanding of the concept of Ubuntu? How would you address Ubuntu in your classroom? Please describe the application, if any, of Ubuntu that you are aware of in your school and the broader community in which the school is located. How do you think Ubuntu could be infused in democracy and citizenship education?

18.) What are some of the challenges you face in teaching LO/History and citizenship and democracy?

Appendix B

Bibliographic Questionnaire

1. Name: ____
2. School: ____
3. Gender: ☐ Male Female
4. Age:
   21-25
   26-30
   31-35
   36-40
   41-45
   46-50
   51-55
   56-60
   61-65
   66-70
5. Where did you grow up/ spend your formative years?
6. Where do you live now?
7. What year did you complete high school? ___________________________
8. What post-high school qualifications have you attained?
9. What tertiary institutions did you attend?
10. What year did you complete each qualification?

11. Total years of teaching:
    - Less than 1
    - 1-3
    - 4-5
    - 6-10
    - 11-20
    - More than 20

12. What subjects do you currently teach?
    - History
    - Social Sciences
    - Life Orientation
    - Physical & Life Sciences
    - Mathematics
    - English
    - Languages (Please specify) ___________
    - Geography
    - Other (Please specify) _______________

13. In which subjects did you specialize in your teaching qualifications?

14. What grades do you currently teach?
    - 8
    - 9
    - 10
    - 11
    - 12

15. What is your understanding of democracy and citizenship?

16. What do you think is the main aim of citizenship education?

Appendix C

Formal Classroom Observation Protocol

School (Pseudonym):

Teacher (Pseudonym):

Teacher #:

Date:

Time/Length of class:

Grade:

Period:

Subject:

Topic:

Room:

# of Observations of Day/Teacher:

Observation Categories

Teacher:	
Physical Space:	*Classroom Set-up:*
	Learning Materials:
	Artifacts:
	Posters & Walls:
	Demographics:
Content & Interpretation: - Topics covered - Emphasis	
Communication: - Teacher & Student Interaction - Discipline - Classroom Management	
General Teaching Style/ Pedagogy	
Specific Democratic/Post-Conflict Pedagogy & Content	
Learner Input	

Appendix D

PERMISSION LETTER TO THE PRINCIPAL

01 October 2014

Attention: Principal

Dear Sir/Madame,

REQUEST FOR GATE-KEEPER PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Re: Participation in research on teachers' perceptions of citizenship and democracy

I, Ms. Amanda Fogle-Donmoyer, am a student in the College of Education at the University of Maryland, USA and the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood Campus). As part of my PhD thesis, I am conducting research on teachers' perspectives on citizenship and democracy education. I therefore kindly seek permission to conduct research at your school. The purpose of this research project is explore how teachers of citizenship and democracy education in South Africa perceive the abstract topics of citizenship and democracy; and how their beliefs, backgrounds and experiences influence how they present the national citizenship and democracy curriculum in the classroom.

Responses will be treated with confidentiality and pseudonyms will be used instead of the actual names. Participants will be contacted well in advance of the data gathering exercises as they have been purposively selected to participate in this study. Participation will always remain voluntary which means that participants may withdraw from the study for any reason, anytime if they so wish without incurring any penalties.

For further information on this research project, please feel free to contact me using the following contact details:

Your positive response in this regard will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Amanda Fogle-Donmoyer

Appendix E

Permission Letter from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education

education

Department:
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Enquiries: Nomangisi Ngubane   Tel: 033 392 1004   Ref.:2/4/8/304

Ms A Fogle-Donmoyer
25 Stride Road
Pinelands
PINETOWN
3610

Dear Ms Fogle-Donmoyer

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DoE INSTITUTIONS

Your application to conduct research entitled: **"SOUTH AFRICAN TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN THE CLASSROOM: A CASE STUDY OF POST-CONFLICT CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY"**, in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education Institutions has been approved. The conditions of the approval are as follows:

1. The researcher will make all the arrangements concerning the research and interviews.
2. The researcher must ensure that Educator and learning programmes are not interrupted.
3. Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.
4. Learners, Educators, Schools and Institutions are not identifiable in any way from the results of the research.
5. A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers, Principals and Heads of Institutions where the intended research and interviews are to be conducted.
6. The period of investigation is limited to the period from 30 October 2014 to 31 March 2016.
7. Your research and interviews will be limited to the schools you have proposed and approved by the Head of Department. Please note that Principals, Educators, Departmental Officials and Learners are under no obligation to participate or assist you in your investigation.
8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the school(s), please contact Miss Connie Kehologile at the contact numbers below.
9. Upon completion of the research, a brief summary of the findings, recommendations or a full report / dissertation / thesis must be submitted to the research office of the Department. Please address it to The Office of the HOD, Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200.
10. Please note that your research and interviews will be limited to schools and institutions in KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (Pinetown and uMlazi District).

Nkosinathi S.P. Sishi, PhD
Head of Department: Education
Date: 04 November 2014

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

POSTAL: Private Bag X 9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200, KwaZulu-Natal, Republic of South Africa ...dedicated to service and performance
PHYSICAL: 247 Burger Street, Anton Lembede House, Pietermaritzburg, 3201. Tel. 033 392 1004 beyond the call of duty
EMAIL ADDRESS: kehologile.connie@kzndoe.gov.za / Nomangisi.Ngubane@kzndoe.gov.za
CALL CENTRE: 0860 596 363; Fax: 033 392 1203 WEBSITE: WWW.kzneducation.gov.za

Appendix F

INFORMED CONSENT INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

Dear Participant,

Re: Participation in research on teachers' perceptions of citizenship and democracy

I, Ms. Amanda Fogle-Donmoyer, am a student in the College of Education at the University of Maryland, USA and the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood Campus). As part of my PhD thesis, I am conducting research on teachers' perspectives on citizenship and democracy education. I therefore kindly seek permission to conduct research at your school. Please see below for the details of the project.

Thank you, Amanda Fogle- Donmoyer

Project Title	South African Teachers' Perceptions of Citizenship & Democracy in Classrooms: A Case Study of a Post Conflict Curriculum & Pedagogy
Purpose of the Study	This research is being conducted by Amanda Fogle-Donmoyer at the University of Maryland, College Park, USA and Edgewood College, University of KwaZulu-Natal. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a teacher, administrator, education student or professor in South Africa. The purpose of this research project is explore how teachers of citizenship and democracy education in South Africa perceive the abstract topics of citizenship and democracy; and how their beliefs, backgrounds and experiences influence how they present the national citizenship and democracy curriculum in the classroom.
Procedures	Participation consists of responding to interview questions, which will take approximately one hour. Interview questions will focus on the your past educational experience and your views on citizenship and democracy Examples of questions include: " What is your education background?" and "What do you remember about your democracy and citizenship education?" You will be informed of the researcher's wish to audiotape the interview for purposes of accuracy; however, you will have the right to decline being audio recorded. All participation will be voluntary, and you may withdraw from participation at any time. You will be asked to sign a consent form to participate in the study. Additionally, teachers will be asked if they are willing and able to have the Principle Investigator observe their classes. Again, all participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at anytime.
Potential Risks	Participation consists of responding to interview questions, which

& Discomforts	will take approximately one hour. Interview questions will focus on the your past educational experience and your views on citizenship and democracy Examples of questions include: " What is your education background?" and "What do you remember about your democracy and citizenship education?" You will be informed of the researcher's wish to audiotape the interview for purposes of accuracy; however, you will have the right to decline being audio recorded. All participation will be voluntary, and you may withdraw from participation at any time. You will be asked to sign a consent form to participate in the study. Additionally, teachers will be asked if they are willing and able to have the Principle Investigator observe their classes. Again, all participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at anytime.
Potential Benefits	There are no direct benefits to you. However, possible benefits include contributing to the field of education research and we hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of South African perceptions of democracy and civic education.
Confidentiality	Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by assigning you a pseudonym. Actual names will not appear on interview data. Information identifying you will be disclosed only if the you give your consent to provide such information. Data, including audio, will be securely stored on the principle investigator's computer and on several flash drives. Computers and hard drives will be password protected to protect your data. Hard copies of all data will remain in the principles investigator's office in a locked file cabinet. All data will be destroyed (i.e., shredded or erased) when their usage is no longer needed but not before a minimum of ten years after data collection. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.
Right to Withdraw and Questions	Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify. If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, please contact the investigator: If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: UMD-CP, IRB Office, irb@umd.edu.

Appendix G

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Declaration

I ____ (full names of participant, PLEASE PRINT) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document, the nature of this research project and hereby consent to participate in the study entitled:

" Teachers' Perceptions of Citizenship & Democracy in the Classroom"

The investigator will audio-tape interviews and focus groups for the purpose of accuracy. The investigator will also observe classes for the purpose of research, NOT for any form of evaluation.

Consent for audio use	YES	NO
Consent for classroom observation	YES	NO

Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form and information letter or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You understand that confidentiality will be maintained and that you have the right to withdraw from the study at any stage.

If you agree to participate, please sign your name below.

Signature:

-- **Date:** --------------------------------

Contact information	
Phone number:	
Email:	

Appendix H

Research Methods Mapping onto Case Chapter Sections & Research Questions

Case Chapter Sections	Research Questions	Interview/Protocol Questions	Observations	Curriculum Review
Early Exposure to Democracy	RQs 1, 1.1	Qs 1-3		
Choosing Teaching	RQ 1	Q 4		
Role of the Teacher	RQ 2	Q 5, 18	Yes	
SKAV	RQ 2	Q 7	Yes	
Curriculum	RQs 3, 3.1	Q 6, 8, 9, 18	Yes	Yes
Teaching Methods	RQs 3, 3.1	Q 8	Yes	
Self Reflection	RQ 1	Q 10, 18		
Perceptions of Learner Engagement	RQ 3.2	Qs 11-14, 18		
Understanding Democracy, Citizenship & Ubuntu	RQ 1.1	Qs 15-17		

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