

The one remaining wall of the Durban prison is now a Democracy Wall. This is part of it.

Towards Ubuntu

~ critical teacher education for democratic citizenship in South Africa and England



Teachers in Development Education

Tide~

Contributing to the West Midlands Coalition for Essential Learning

Charlotte Carter **Clive Harber** **Jeff Serf**

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Cover image: the one remaining wall of the Durban prison is now a Democracy Wall. This is part of it.

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Towards Ubuntu:

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Contents

Introduction

1 The political nature of education 4

The context

2 A brief history of South Africa 9

3 Key goals of post-apartheid education 14

Key dimensions

4 The curriculum 17

5 Democratic schools 22

6 Race, racism and education 26

7 Sexual responsibility and citizenship 30

8 Homosexuality and human rights 35

9 Gender violence and democracy 41

10 Disability and inclusion 48

11 Literacy and empowerment 53

12 Environmental education 58

13 Conflict resolution and peace 62

Pedagogy

14 Teaching controversial issues 68

References 73

Further reading



From *British Politics in focus*, Causeway Press

Preface

The aim of this book is to explore themes related to education for democratic citizenship, using South Africa as a case study both in its own right and as a basis of comparison with England. It is aimed primarily at students and teachers on initial and in-service teacher education courses who will contribute to teaching citizenship in schools.

The assumption behind the book is that it is important that this subject in schools is informed by an international and comparative outlook – what can we learn about others, and about ourselves from others? South Africa was chosen because it is a newly democratic country with its own international significance and because it provides an interesting comparison with a more established democracy such as England. Also, historically there have been, and still are, many connections between the two countries.

The general subject of 'citizenship' was potentially too large and unwieldy to cover in a book of this length, so an early decision was made to use the education system itself as the organising focus for exploring important citizenship themes. It was hoped that this would be of direct interest to those who are, or who will become, teachers and that it would stimulate useful ideas for teaching in the classroom. Also, if schools are to teach about wider politics and society as part of education for democratic citizenship, then it is important that some thought is given to the social and political role of education.

Teacher education is often criticised for having become too concerned with technical and instrumental matters – rather than with emphasising the idea of practice being based on critical reflection. This book deliberately sets education for democratic citizenship in the context of political debates about the nature and purposes of education. What is it for? What sorts of individual and society is an education system trying to create? In so doing it discusses a number of controversial issues and in each chapter uses questions to provoke thought, analysis and discussion. Therefore, while it is not primarily a book on teaching methodology, we have thought it necessary to include a chapter on teaching controversial issues in order to provide some initial ideas and guidance for students who may not be familiar with possible approaches and techniques.

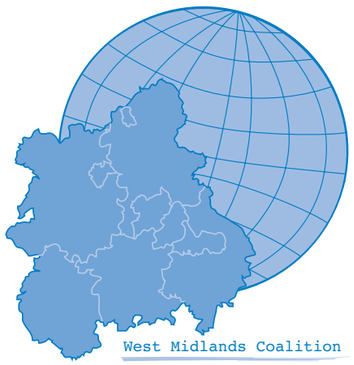
Material for the book was gathered in a number of ways – during the residence of one of the writers in South Africa between 1995 and 1999, through library and internet searches in England, and through a study visit by all three writers in August 2001.

Constraints of length have forced the writers to be selective, and the content inevitably reflects their interests, idiosyncrasies and experience. While educational change at the policy level has been rapid in South Africa, and this is reflected in the present text, change at the level of implementation in schools has been slower and more patchy. This will be evident, for example, in the chapters on race, gender and violence. Further discussion of this is provided in Harber [2001] and Jansen and Sayed [2001]. Finally, it is important to note that use of the terms 'Indian', 'African', 'black', 'coloured' and 'white' in the text do not refer to a fixed or biological concept of race, but to the legacy of the social and political system of racial classification under apartheid which still permeates educational debate in South Africa.

Towards Ubuntu takes its title from the Zulu phrase for human dignity. The book and the project is a Tide~[Teachers in Development Education] project contributing to building an awareness of citizenship.

This book is also the starting point for a new project contributing to the *West Midlands Coalition for Essential Learning*. The project involves Teacher Education tutors and students in the West Midlands [England] and in South Africa.

For further information contact Tide~ or visit the website www.tidec.org.



1 The political nature of education

Politics and education

Education is inherently political as it involves values and goals in relation to such fundamental questions as 'What kinds of individual and society are we trying to shape?' These questions cannot be answered in a factual or technical way because they are questions of opinion, value and ideology and there are inevitably disagreements and conflicts. Hence they are political. The relationship between the planned or intended ends of education and the nature of the society it helps to create are brought home starkly in the following letter sent by an American high school teacher to his teachers at the beginning of every year.

> Dear Teacher,
> I am a survivor of a concentration camp.
> My eyes saw what no man should witness:
>
> Gas chambers built by learned engineers,
> Children poisoned by educated physicians,
> Infants killed by trained nurses,
> Women and babies shot and burned by high school and college graduates.
>
> So I am suspicious of education.
>
> My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmans.
>
> Reading, writing and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more human.

[Cited in Meighan, 1994].

Highly 'educated', or at least qualified, people have been responsible for major atrocities in recent history. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, which was chaired by Bishop Desmond Tutu and which examined crimes and acts of violence carried out during the apartheid era, noted that medical doctors were implicated in cases of torture under the apartheid regime.

Under apartheid, education in South Africa was based on racist political ideology. In 1954 Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, said,

"The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour… For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed."
[quoted in Nyaggah,1980:69].

As a result of this ideology education was unequally provided. In 1988-9, for example, the government spent 2,882 rand per white pupil, 2,067 rand per Indian pupil, 1,221 rand per coloured pupil and 656 rand per African pupil [Christie, 1991:108].
Chapter 3 will discuss changes in South African educational ideology since 1994, while the rest of this chapter will explore two ways in which political values manifest themselves in schooling – through the curriculum and through the authority structure of the school. However, it might at this stage be useful to distinguish three key terms often used in relation to political learning, which are best understood as different points on a continuum.

Political indoctrination	Political socialisation	Political education
The intentional inculcation of values and beliefs as truths. The process may involve deliberately falsifying or ignoring evidence as well as presenting it in a biased way in order to achieve the desired end. Often associated with totalitarian states, ie where individuals have little access to alternative viewpoints.	The learning of preferences and predispositions towards political values and attitudes, though often in contexts where other viewpoints are available.	The attempt to create critical awareness of political phenomena by open, balanced discussion and analysis of a range of evidence and opinions. Has an underlying democratic ideology of political choice.

Overt political indoctrination associated with totalitarian states such as Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union is perhaps now less common than it was, though many education systems still socialise students into the dominant political values of their societies. Education in South Africa under apartheid would be somewhere between indoctrination and socialisation though the present goals of education are at the political education end of the continuum.

Equally the emphasis on 'political literacy' in the Crick Report about citizenship in England [1998] – the knowledge, skills and values necessary for citizenship in a democratic society – would also tend to place it under 'political education'.

1 Do you think that there are elements of political socialisation as opposed to political education [defined above] in the British education system? If so, which political values are transmitted as more desirable and how?

The curriculum

One obvious place for political values to be expressed is through what is taught and learned – the curriculum. The Crick Report [1998:56/7] has this to say,

"Controversial issues can arise in the teaching of virtually every subject. For example, history deals with the causes of events such as wars, industrial disputes, revolutions, coups, and so on, implicitly attributing blame or credit. Geography involves a concern with the use of the natural and built environments and consequently with issues such as pollution, the siting of roads, airports and power stations. English literature is replete with all the drama of human life; divided loyalties, patriotism, the worth of human life, political and secular betrayals, crises of faith, issues of ends and means and their relationship and justification. Religious education probably embraces the very essence of controversy, dealing as it does in foundations of moral behaviour and the purpose and meaning of life. And the sciences, technical subjects and the arts are not exempt from controversy, both about their theories and their applications in society."

History and religious education will be discussed in Chapter 4 [the curriculum] while geography will be discussed in relation to environmental education. However, controversial political values can arise in less obvious school subjects as well. The following international examples concern mathematics. They describe approaches to maths in Mozambique and Cuba [Dawson et al., 1977:145].

Contrasting approaches to maths questions set during the colonial period and the war of independence in Mozambique are provided by Gerdes [1981]:

Mozambique

Colonial period:

In Laurenco Marques, Mr Alsino has a house rented to four tenants who pay him $4,000, $5,000, $4,300 and $5,200 per month. By applying the distributive property rate, calculate his annual income.

In a factory the men earn $45, the women $30 and the apprentices $15 per day …

In a certain year Mozambique produced 90,000 tons of cotton. 85,000 were exported to the metropolis. What percentage of the production stayed in the province?

War period:

23 freedom fighters are working in a field. At mid-day 6 guerrilla fighters arrive to help them from a military base near the village. How many are working in the village now?

A nurse at a health post vaccinated 32 children yesterday. Today he vaccinated another 29 and he has plans to vaccinate the remaining 16 children tomorrow. How many children will he have vaccinated by the end of his campaign?

Yesterday there were 22 women in the literacy class. Today 5 more women came to the class. How many women are there in the class now?

Cuba

Imperialism knows no other type of relations between states except domination and subjugation, the oppression of the weak by the strong. It bases international relations on abuse and threat.

Between January 3rd and June 10th 1961, North American military airplanes violated Cuban airspace 3 times in the month of January, 15 in February, 17 in March, 9 in April, 8 in May and 10 in June. What was the average monthly number of violations of Cuban airspace by North American airplanes? [Dawson et al., 1977:145]

The political role of mathematics is given considerable emphasis in the new South African national curriculum. Among the aims of maths education are:

- a critical awareness of how mathematical relationships can be used responsibly in addressing human rights issues, including social, political and economic relations and environmental problems and risks
- an appreciation of the diverse historical, cultural and social applications of mathematics

It is stated that mathematical skills will enable learners to:

- participate equitably and meaningfully [with awareness of their rights] in political, social, environmental and economic activities by being mathematically literate
- contribute responsibly to the reconstruction and development of society by using mathematical tools to expose inequities and assess environmental problems and risks in society.

[Department of Education, 2001:49]

A book on South African education makes the following comment on school sport:

"From the 1940s, sport [in the form of physical education] came to play an increasingly important role in education … physical education and rugby in particular, was seen as an important outlet for, and expression of, white, specifically Afrikaaner, national pride … In 1948, the September edition of Vigor [the physical education journal] wrote glowingly in an editorial of the role physical education could play in nation-building … Physical education was seen as a source of spiritual and physical upliftment … This must be seen in the context of the growing Afrikaaner nationalism of the time, embodied in the newly elected National Party, which used all the resources at its disposal, including those of the state, to advance the cause of the Afrikaaner nation … Rugby came to be seen as the national sport of Afrikaaners and whites, rather than soccer which was seen as a 'black' sport." [McKay,1995:171].

2 Are there other political issues that can arise in maths and sport? How could political issues arise in biology, physics, chemistry, music and food technology?

School authority structures

Two thousand five hundred years ago the Greek philosopher Aristotle wrote in his book *The Politics*

"But of all the safeguards that we hear spoken of as helping to maintain constitutional continuity the most important but most neglected today, is education, that is educating citizens for the way of living that belongs to the constitution in each case. It is useless to have the most beneficial rules of society fully agreed on by all who are members of the polity if individuals are not going to be trained and have their habits formed for that polity that is to live democratically if the laws of the society are democratic and oligarchically if they are oligarchic." [1962:215/6].

In terms of decision-making powers, schools can be organised in a range of ways along a continuum from authoritarian at one end, to democratic at the other and, as the quotation from Aristotle suggests, this can have longer term effects for the nature of society and the political system. Traditionally schools in South Africa, for example, were organised in a hierarchical and authoritarian manner with learners having little say in the running of the schools and with the one way, downward flow of control being reinforced with corporal punishment. The following are quotations from postgraduate initial teacher education students in South Africa [Harber,1998a:18/19].

"The school that I attended epitomised the national authoritarian institutions. Firstly, the curriculum was devised by the government and the school carried this out. This curriculum was rigid and the learners would have no say in what they learnt ... The teacher was the centre of the process and the learners were just passive ... All knowledge that was learnt was for the purpose of exams which were the only form of assessment ... I am very harsh when criticising my school because of the fact that I fell to the submission and accepted everything obviously. Only after I finished school did I realise how confined we were and I grew more as a person in one year out of school than in twelve years in school."

"My personal experience of school education was authoritarian to say the least. As is the case with most authoritarian institutions, there was a hierarchical leadership, beginning with the principal at the top and the students at the bottom. Somewhere in between were the teachers and the parents. As for student representatives, there were none. The only student leadership roles were for prefects and even then they were there to enforce the rules made by the principal and staff ... The students were merely objects and education, sadly, was aimed at simply replacing the previous generation with a mirror image of itself."

"I remember my school experience at a secondary school in KwaZulu Natal. The headteacher of that school could scold at his assistant teachers in front of the students. And if a student committed a minor offence, like arriving late at school, s/he could get up to ten strokes on the back without anyone bothering to find out why she or he was late. She or he would then be ordered to crawl on knees up the classroom ... These practices were not exceptional in my school. I remember that whenever students from different schools met the issue of students beating was discussed."

School organisation is now being reformed in a much more democratic direction in South Africa as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. However, writers on schools in Britain have argued that they are also organised in an authoritarian manner. Charles Handy, a Professor of Business Organisation, who looked at schools as a form of organisation, compared secondary schools to prisons in their organisational style in that the inmates have little say in the running of the organisation, their work routine is disrupted every 40 or 80 minutes, they change their place of work and supervisors constantly, they have no place to call their own and they are often forbidden to communicate and co-operate with each other. He also suggested that in another way schools could be compared to factories and the pupils to products which are inspected at the end of the production line, sometimes rejected as sub-standard, and then stamped 'English', 'history' or 'maths' [Handy, 1984].

The following paragraph appeared in the Times Education Supplement April 2000,

"Delivering a talk to 100 educationalists at the British Library, Emma, 15, and James, 16, seized control by asking the audience to stand. Distinguished delegates were then asked to sit down if their hair grew over their collar, if they wore ostentatious jewellery, or if their clothes were unacceptable in the youngsters' eyes. In the end only a few were left standing. This emphasised, said Emma and James, how frustrating it can be when school rules are simply imposed on young people. To the amusement of the audience, one of those who reputedly fell foul of the teenagers' rules was none other than Professor Bernard Crick - former tutor of Education Secretary David Blunkett and the man who has led calls for compulsory citizenship lessons. He had to sit down because his phone was switched on. Emma and James, who both attend schools in Northumberland, were speaking on behalf of the organisation Article 12. It campaigns for recognition of Article 12 of the UN Convention on Children's Rights. This calls for authorities to take the views of children into account when taking decisions that affect them." [Mansell, 2000].

3 Draw a diagram of the organisation of a secondary school that you are familiar with [one you went to or recently did a teaching practice in]. Would you characterise the form of organisation as authoritarian or democratic? Do you think it is typical or not? Do you think that primary schools are different in any way?

One possible explanation for the way that schools have been organised historically is that a key purpose of mass schooling was to produce people who would be literate and numerate but who would be socialised for roles in society and the workplace that required the taking of orders rather than giving them.

"Punctuality, quiet, orderly work in groups, response to orders, bells and timetables, respect for authority, even tolerance of monotony, boredom, punishment, lack of reward and regular attendance at place of work are habits to be learned at school." [Shipman, 1971:54-55].

However, even if mass schooling has traditionally been organised along authoritarian lines, it can be argued that the experience has not necessarily been the same for everybody as this example from South Africa illustrates.

"The other side of the authoritarian coin are the expensive private schools which put the 'authority in authoritarian' through providing an education which emphasises leadership. An example is Michaelhouse School in KwaZulu Natal, which charges 32,000 rand a year and which is based on the model of the British public school. Michaelhouse operates what it calls the 'cack' system - cacks being the term by which all first years are known, meaning 'scum of the earth'. Like the 'fagging' system in British public schools, junior students are expected to serve and do tasks for senior students. In the past this was enforced with a great deal of physical punishment. Although it does not now involve this element of brutality the practice remains in place [Bauer, 1995]. The essence of this practice is that the younger students serve an apprenticeship in authority commencing at the bottom of the ladder. The principle which underlies this is subordination as a necessary prerequisite for superordination, ie those who expect to give commands [both inside the school and later outside] should have experience of receiving them. Such future expectations of leadership are reinforced by the acknowledged elite status of the school which is manifested in its buildings and traditions and reflected in the post school professional connections and opportunities it provides."
[Harber, 1997:142].

4 Are British public schools over-represented in elite occupations – members of parliament, the judiciary, the higher levels of the civil service, senior executives in business, military officers etc.? [Books on the sociology of education often contain information on this.] Do you think that such training in leadership plays a part in preparing young people at public schools for elite status [even though other factors may also contribute]?

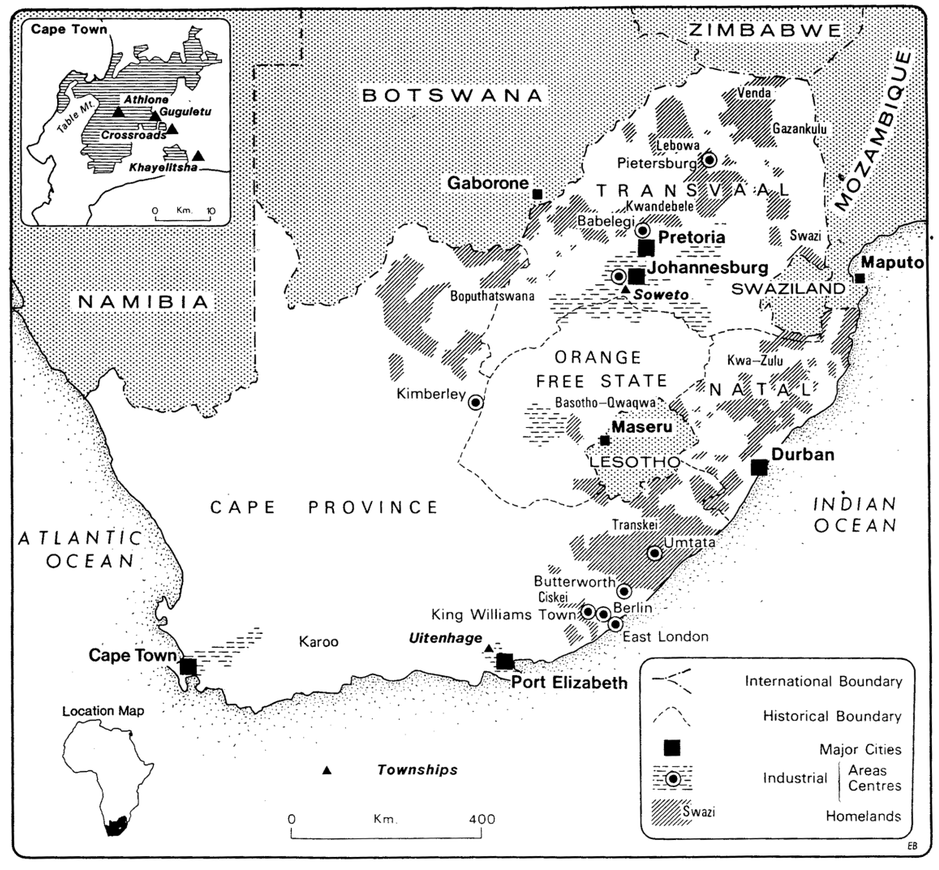
5 You are in your first teaching post and citizenship education is part of your responsibility. The topic 'education' is part of the syllabus and you need to teach about the political nature of education. How would you go about it? What risk factors are there?

2 A brief overview of the history of South Africa

A brief overview of significant events in South African history has been provided to contextualise the subsequent chapters in this book. Understanding the political and cultural heritage of South Africa is important if the reader is to be able to make informed and reflective responses to the material. Citizenship is what circumstances and those in power determine it can be at any one time. Democratic education or the absence of it is, therefore, affected directly by the unique historical context in which citizenship operates.

Indigenous San people inhabited southern Africa from circa 8000 BC. However, apartheid theorists later claimed South Africa was essentially an empty land when the whites arrived, inhabited only by other immigrants. Their intention was to argue that the white minority had more moral right to land than the black majority.

From about 1100 AD other African peoples migrated into the region and by the 15th century, black people, the 'Bantu', had settled much of the arable land. European colonisation began in 1652 when the Dutch East India Company arrived in Cape Town and established a community of permanent white settlers and imported slave labour. The latter intermarried with the Africans and formed a new community known as 'coloured' people. Gradually settlement expanded at the cost of the San people. There was little control of the white 'boers' [farmers] and the local courts served their interests. Growing French immigration swelled the white population to 15% of the total by the 18th century.



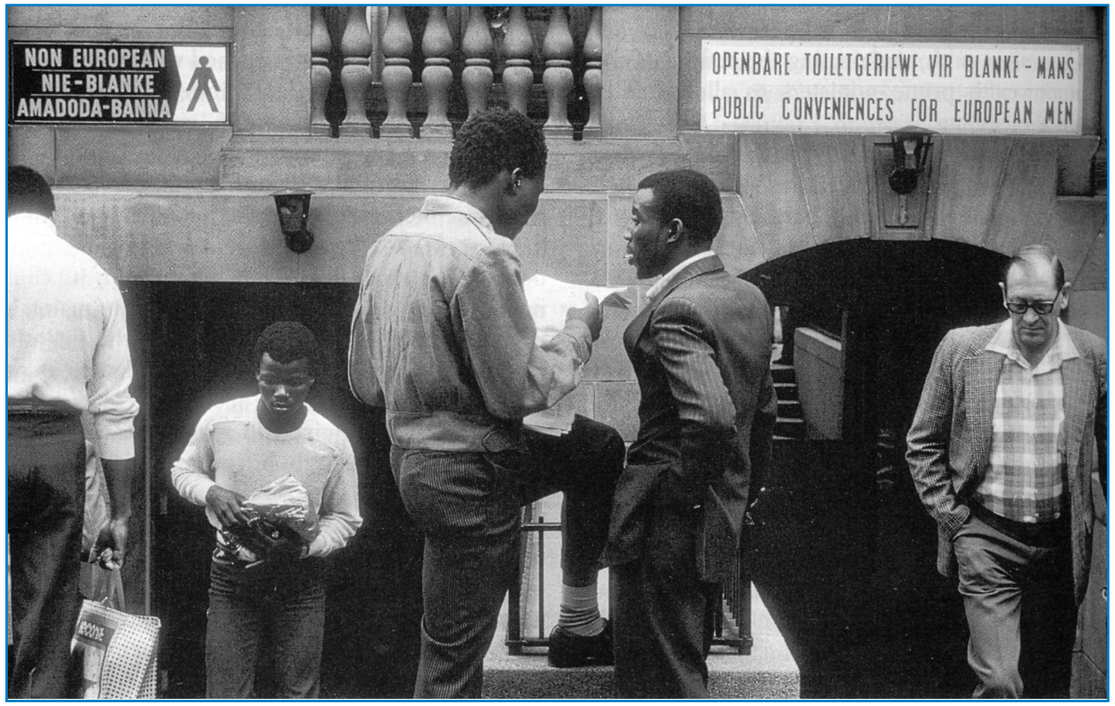
In 1795 the British took control of the Cape and started to move east engendering ‘a proper degree of terror’ amongst the resident Xhosa people they came into contact with. Between 1820 and 1824 an emigration programme shipped settlers out from Britain to establish farms in an increasingly eastwards direction. Initially the British lived along side the Boers but from 1822 the British Commission began to destroy the Boers’ way of life. Petitions for adequate protection went unheeded. Between 1834 and 1840 the Afrikaaner farmers started a ‘Great Trek’ north and east beyond British control, leading to the establishment of Orange Free State and Transvaal in the 1850s.

In the north east, present day northern Kwazulu Natal, the Zulu king, Shaka Zulu, who reigned between 1818-28, perfected ‘amabutho’ [a system of regiments] who displayed obedience to their leader. This facilitated the ‘mfecane’, the crushing of neighbouring people. Gradually, the Zulu kingdom expanded to the south and west.

In territorial conflict with the Boers, the Zulus were defeated in 1838 at the Battle of Blood River, an event thereafter regarded as a symbol of the Afrikaaners’ political and religious victory over the Zulus.

Later, in the 1930s, Afrikaaner politicians used this victory and the ‘Covenant with God’, made by Afrikaaners before the battle, to argue that they were indeed God’s chosen people, who alone had the right to rule South Africa. However, the British were not prepared to surrender their imperial hegemony. The British campaign to seize control plunged the whole region into turmoil, pitting English against Afrikaaner and Zulu. In 1843 the British annexed Natal. Jurisdiction was also claimed over the Boer Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Angered by the invasions of their territory Zulus retaliated, for example, the successful attack of the Zulu Impis brigades on a British force on 22 January 1879 at Isandlhwana.

Discrimination against non-whites was endemic throughout the Boer and British ruled areas. For example, the 1858 Boer republic constitution stated unequivocally that *“the people are not prepared to allow any equality of the non-white with the white inhabitants”*. Black Africans had no property rights whereas every Boer was entitled to build two farms using defeated Zulu labour. Additionally, legislation codified labour service for black families living within the Boer republics.



from *The Collins History of the World in the Twentieth Century, Harper Collins*

To farm the British controlled sugar plantations in Natal indentured Indian workers were introduced. Indenture means a ‘sealed agreement’, binding worker to master and allowing individuals to be forcibly segregated into ‘native reserves’. It was argued that the non-Europeans were incapable of living together peacefully.

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 north of the Orange River and subsequent gold-strikes, fuelled further contention between the Afrikaaner and British colonialists; firstly, in terms of the physical appropriation of land and minerals and secondly, to determine paramount power in the region. From 1868 the British stated their intention to amalgamate territories for defence and economy. Armed conflict ensued. The first Anglo-Boer War [1880-1] was an overwhelming victory for the Boers and led to the establishment of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. However, driven by imperial greed, the British launched a second offensive in 1899. The eventual Afrikaaner defeat in 1902 was devastating. Beyond the military casualties, 28,000 Boer women and children died in British run concentration camps. In 1902 the Boers surrendered and in 1910 the British established the Union of South Africa.

South Africa took part in both World Wars as a member of the British imperial system. During the Second World War it seemed that segregation policies might be reduced. There was some evidence of greater freedom of movement, the building of black schools and consideration of pensions and disability benefits for non-whites. The holocaust in Europe had also made racial discrimination increasingly abhorrent and internationally there were optimistic hopes. However, the war had disguised a growing resurgence of Afrikaaner nationalism. It resulted in the [whites only] election of an Afrikaaner-dominated and ultra-right Nationalist government led by Daniel Malan in 1948.

Daniel Malan’s party formalised apartheid, institutionalising racism and making it very difficult for blacks to organise themselves effectively to promote or petition for human rights. Nationalist party majorities increased with every subsequent election until the 1980s.

The government looked to maintaining white supremacy in a segregated society using the existing infrastructure and an increasingly stricter practice of apartheid. Apartheid or ‘separate development’ underpinned all political, social and economic decisions. Separate, however, also meant unequal. Yet the whites were a minority. In fact the demographic disparity between population groups continued to widen.

Adapted from Grenville[1994] *The Collins History of the World in the 20th Century*, Harper Collins: 781.

Millions

	1911	1951	1970	1980	1992	2001*
Blacks	4.0	8.6	15.1	19.0	29.1	30.8
Whites	1.3	2.6	3.8	4.5	5.0	5.3
Coloureds	0.5	1.1	2.0	2.6	3.3	3.2
Indian	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.2
Total	6.0	12.7	21.5	26.9	38.4	40.5

* [Figures for 2001 were generated using percentages taken from the Lonely Planet website.]

Early in the history of the Union of South Africa, legislation had made it clear that there would be inequality for different groups. The 1913 Native Land Act made it illegal for blacks to buy or lease land outside the overcrowded reserve areas. The 1923 Native Urban Areas Act segregated blacks and whites in towns.

Under the Population Registration Act [1949] each individual was classified white, black, coloured or Indian. Diversity and equality were not valued. Disaggregating the African majority into separate ethnic groups disguised the fact that the whites were a small minority. Racial classifications were based on appearance alone and every year there were appeals for ‘regrading’. The Blood Laws of 1949/50 forbade mixed marriages and sexual relationships [outside existing marriages] between whites and non-whites. The Pass Laws were tightened in 1952 with every non-white obliged to carry a pass indicating race, address and work. A Group Areas Act of 1950 prohibited blacks from living in white areas unless they were born there and/or had worked there for a considerable time. Many of the segregation laws also applied to Indians and coloureds.

The 1953 Bantu Education Act separated black education from white education and prescribed it as primarily concerned with preparing blacks for the lowly positions they were expected to hold in society. Hendrik Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs [1950-8], argued that it would prevent the formation of unrealistic expectations among black pupils, which fuelled conflict between races as

blacks aspired to follow white-collar paths considered inappropriate for them. Blacks, not surprisingly, talked in terms of education for inferiority. The disparities in funding justified their interpretation. In 1953, $180 was spent on each white student in comparison with $25 on every black [Harber, 2001]. Education became one of the most explosive areas of grievance.

Enforcement of apartheid, through, for example, the Suppression of Communism Act [1950], turned South Africa into almost a police state. This act facilitated the imposition of restrictions on individuals and groups and denied the right of appeal.

In the 1960s the government looked to develop black 'homelands' or 'Bantustans'. They argued that these areas would become 'independent' nations, where blacks would have political rights. However, the Bantustans were not large enough to accommodate the majority of black South Africans who, outside their allotted Bantustan, had no comparable rights as they were considered migrants. Many had no choice but to work away from their families and despite increased investment, little improvement was made to their quality of life.

Such policies strengthened black opposition and increased support for the African National Congress [ANC], formed in 1912 in reaction to repressive legislation. Increasing campaigns of strikes and peaceful non-cooperation continued until the 1960s, when impatient radicals formed the Youth League and, following an internal coup, began a new strategy. This strategy was given a boost following the anti-pass demonstrations in 1960 when police bullets killed 67 peaceful protesters in Sharpeville. In 1961 the ANC rejected a policy of non-violence as ineffectual and adopted a strategy of armed struggle. Underground leaders, including Nelson Mandela, were eventually entrapped and imprisoned. The ANC set up bases in exile, and for 10 years black political resistance was contained. South Africa was ostracised by most of the rest of the world.

'The 76 generation' put black opposition back on the agenda. In 1976, in Soweto, 15,000 school children demonstrated against the enforced use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. Twenty-five were killed and black protest swept across the country. Much of the new drive was symbolised by Steve Biko, of the Black Consciousness Movement, who was eventually arrested and died from head injuries sustained during interrogation.

The ANC mounted a two-pronged approach of internal sabotage and the promotion of international isolation. Internally black opposition re-emerged in 1985 with the '76 generation playing lead roles in groups such as the United Democratic Front [UDF]. When their actions were restricted the mantle fell on the trade unions and the church.

In 1979 Pieter Willem Botha became President and, while many began to accept that some adaptation was necessary, he attempted to make apartheid irremovable. Reform measures were tokenistic. While blacks were allowed to join trade unions [1979] and passbooks were abolished in 1986, a policy of relaxation in some areas was mirrored by increased brutality in others. Protest and violence ensued and this was used to justify further repression. Botha did little to touch the fundamental pillars of white power. Indeed while separate parliaments were set up for whites, Indians and coloureds, there was still no representation for blacks. However, despite inequality in provision and institutionalised racism, some blacks had managed to enter the skilled, professional classes and total political exclusion became increasingly difficult to justify.

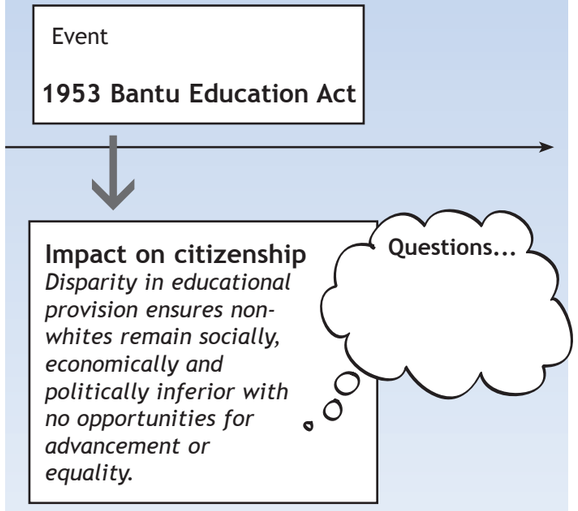
In 1989 Botha was forced out of office as a result of pressure from within the Nationalist Party. South Africa was at a crossroads. With the election of Frederik De Klerk many doubted that change would occur, but in an increasingly hostile world and with a weakened economy, reform began. The bans on the ANC and other groups hostile to apartheid were lifted and Nelson Mandela was released from detention in 1990. At the opening of the South African Parliament in February 1990, De Klerk announced the government's willingness to negotiate a new constitution. By the middle of 1992 the legal system was repealed. Yet South Africa was in the throes of recession with a third of blacks unemployed. Transition was not easy and violence ensued. Non-Governmental Organisations worked hard to increase understanding of how conflict was a barrier to development and social justice. Conflict resolution focused on the promotion of harmony and the development of tolerance and mutual respect. South Africans were encouraged to recognise the importance of solidarity in securing their own rights and protecting the rights of others.

From 1993 dual leadership was established between Mandela and De Klerk. After extended multi-party negotiations, South Africa's first democratic elections were held in April 1994 and, after 342 years, white rule came to an end. All South African citizens were able to vote. Programmes were orchestrated to provide the knowledge, skills and understanding necessary to inform active and responsible electoral behaviour. The ANC emerged with 62% of the vote, insufficient for them to rewrite the constitution unilaterally but still a decisive victory. Nelson Mandela became President. In 1999 Mandela retired and Thabo Mbeki took over the leadership of the ANC and the presidency of South Africa. He secured a further term in office in the election that followed.

Tasks:

1 With a partner, choose five key events from the history above and explain to each other why these seem pertinent to you. Use these events to construct a timeline. Below each event, explain how you think citizenship is circumvented, with what consequences and for whom. Make a note of any additional questions you would like to ask which would provide further insight into the situation.

For example,



2 *"Under the Population Registration Act [1949] each individual was classified white, black, coloured or Asian … Judgements were based on appearance alone"*. Using the photograph on page 10 consider how you might use the South African experience to discuss stereotypes and prejudices and develop awareness of bias and stereotyping.

3 You have the opportunity to question Hendrik Verwoerd. In groups, prepare a series of questions for him on the 1953 Bantu Education Act.

4 You are going to teach South African History - what issues will you need to consider during preparation and delivery if students are to understand the context in which citizenship has developed?

3 Post-apartheid Key goals of education

"The Constitution recognises that for its vision to be attained the deep patterns of inequality which scar our society and are the legacy of apartheid and colonialism need urgently to be addressed. Nowhere are these scars more marked or more painful than in the educational sector."

[Kate O'Regan, Department of Education, 2001a: 12]

Thus, one of the challenges facing South African educators following the 1994 election was to implement what was known as 'People's Education', an educational policy that had been debated and refined in opposition during the apartheid years. At the heart of the programme is a clear belief that education has an essential and unique political role to play in the transformation of South African society; a role in which the goal of education should be *"to enable a democratic, free, equal, just and peaceful society to take root and prosper... 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 dehumanising."* [Department of Education, 1995:22]

As we have seen in Chapter 2 the potential of education for moulding society was recognised fully by the pre-1994 regimes, but largely in a negative way in relation to democracy. Rarely can any educational system have been given such a Herculean task as transforming apartheid society, in which people were pitted against each other and groups treated inequitably and unjustly. The starting point [post 1994] was one of racism, violence and a codified disregard for human rights; the goal, a society of diverse peoples, languages and cultures, where a non-racist, non-sexist society is based on equality, freedom and democracy.

1 Compare and contrast the two following statements in terms of the values that may underpin each.

- The Preamble to the South African Schools Act [1996] states that the education system should *"redress past injustices in educational provision … contribute to the eradication of poverty … and advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance, [and] protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages."*
- The National Curriculum in England aims to:

  a] provide opportunities for all pupils to learn and to achieve, and

  b] promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and prepare all pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of life.

  [National Curriculum: Handbook for secondary teachers in England, 1999].

Education and transition

It was the values and beliefs of those in power during the apartheid years that the prevailing educational system attempted to inculcate into the learners. Today the call in South Africa is for a debate as to how the new Constitution and the Bill of Rights may be best implemented, and to acknowledge that such dialogue is worthwhile and valued, as well as being at the core of the new South African identity [Department of Education, 2001a:8]. Although representing very different value systems, the educational structures and practices pre- and post-1994 have at least one aspect in common with all educational systems; they both have an ideological underpinning. However, the current system reflects a Constitution and Bill of Rights that is posited on the belief *"that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united … in diversity"* and designed to *"free the potential of each person."* [Preamble to the Constitution, 1996:1]

When the ANC-led coalition came to power in 1994, it was accepted by the vast majority of South Africans that the extant structures were not conducive to the development of a democratic citizenship. The post-1994 government was able to design an educational system that truly reflected the long-term democratic ideals it held for the country. However, while the struggle against apartheid had united the majority of South Africans, with its demise came a recognition that *"we were suddenly left alone and [now we] can't find the same powerful thing to hold us together. Each one is for himself. And this has ruined a sense of community."* [Yizo-Yizo Focus Group, quoted in Department of Education, 2001a:5]. A new democratic 'glue' had to be found and set out in terms of what now held South Africans together. This would inform the key goals of the education system.

The **Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy** [Department of Education, 2001a:1] sets out the political values that should form the basis of the education system. It highlights six qualities that the education system should actively promote, namely: equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and social honour.

2 Prepare six sheets of poster paper by writing a different quality [as highlighted by the Department of Education] at the top of each sheet of paper. Working in groups of 4 to 6, take one of the papers/qualities and write a brief explanation of what that quality means in the context of education. Fold the paper so no one can see your ideas and pass it to another group. Continue doing this until each group has commented on each quality. Then compare groups' comments, identifying similarities, differences, etc.

3 Compare your own ideas about the six qualities highlighted by the Department of Education with your comments [task 2] above.

Fundamental values

Post-1994 South African governments have examined the structures and practices of the education system, reviewing its contribution to the aims of preparing its people for citizenship and nationhood, whilst celebrating the rich diversity and heritage of the country. At least one clear-cut conclusion has been reached - *"education does not exist simply to serve the market, but to serve society."* [Department of Education, 2001b:iv].
It is essential that in an inclusive and participatory democracy that decisions are made on the basis of transparent criteria and the South African government has been explicit in stating how the educational system is to be linked to the Constitution. The transformation of South African society requires education to be rooted in ten fundamental values [Department of Education, 2001b: section 1]. The table overleaf is a summary of the ten fundamental values and their educational implications.

Fundamental value	Educational implications
1. Democracy	Empowerment of population to exercise democratic rights; provision of skills to participate, think critically and act responsibly.
2. Social justice & equity	Access to education is the most important resource in addressing poverty - only then will liberty be achieved. Reconciliation requires social justice to address past injustices - education for all is an essential element of social justice.
3. Equality	Access for all to an educational provision that does not discriminate on any grounds. Equality in the treatment of all, by all.
4. Non-sexism & non-racism	Regardless of race or gender, learners afforded the same opportunities and the same degrees of security.
5. Ubuntu [human dignity]	Mutual understanding and active appreciation of the value of human differences.
6. Open society	Participation rather than observation; empowerment to think and act; a culture of dialogue and debate.
7. Accountability [Responsibility]	Power and responsibility for all involved in education - learners, educators, managers, parents, etc.
8. Rule of law	Rules within which learners, educators, managers, parents etc, operate - including the law of the land
9. Respect	Precondition for communication and teamwork - schools require mutual respect between all partners.
10. Reconciliation	Acceptance of all individuals through learning about each other, valuing differences and diversity

4 Is each of the ten Fundamental Values manifest in the British education system? If so, how/where?

5 How far do your educational experiences to date [as learner and teacher] reflect any of the ten Fundamental Values?

6 What do you consider to be the major obstacles to the successful implementation of the **Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy,** given South Africa's history?

4 The curriculum

The official curriculum is the planned and explicit teaching that occurs in schools, often reflected in a weekly timetable of subjects to be learned. This can be contrasted with the 'hidden curriculum' or the many other things that are learned in school apart from that which appears in the official curriculum. For example, the traditionally authoritarian nature of schooling discussed in Chapter 1 teaches young people lessons about relationships of power and authority even though this does not appear as part of a planned curriculum [for a fuller discussion of the hidden curriculum see Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997]. This chapter is concerned with the official curriculum.



Two national curricula

In any society the official curriculum reflects the views of those in power about the purpose of education, and therefore what counts as valuable knowledge and ways of knowing. This changes over time according to changing political climates. The curriculum under apartheid was centrally prescribed, heavy on subject content and teacher-centred. In South Africa a new curriculum was introduced in 1998 called 'Curriculum 2005'. This reflects an outcomes-based approach to education which identifies a set of general outcomes to be achieved within eight broad 'learning areas' [languages, mathematics, natural sciences, social sciences, arts and culture, life orientation, economic and management sciences and technology], but gives considerable autonomy to the teacher in deciding how to achieve such outcomes. The following extract is from the Revised National Curriculum Statement [Department of Education, 2001:16-18]:

"The proposed Revised National Curriculum Statement builds on the vision and values of the Constitution and Curriculum 2005. Education for social justice and citizenship are the hallmarks of this curriculum. Constitutional values are expressed in the twelve Critical and Developmental Outcomes ...

The critical outcomes are intended to enable school-goers to:

- *communicate effectively using visual, mathematical and language skills*
- *identify and solve problems by using creative and critical thinking*
- *organise and manage activities responsibly and effectively*
- *work effectively with others in a team, group, organisation and community*
- *collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information*
- *use science and technology effectively and critically, showing responsibility towards the environment and health of others*
- *understand that the world is a set of related systems.*

The developmental outcomes are intended to enable school-goers to:

- *reflect on and explore a variety of strategies to learn more effectively*
- *participate as responsible citizens in the life of local, national and global communities*
- *be culturally and aesthetically sensitive across a range of social contexts*
- *explore education and career opportunities*
- *develop entrepreneurial capacities.*

The Revised National Curriculum Statement ... leaves considerable room for creativity and innovation on the part of teachers in interpreting what and how to teach. The Revised National Curriculum Statement specifies knowledge, skills and values to be achieved but it does not specify the facts to be learned in a narrow syllabus format. Instead, it promotes activity-based methods of teaching and learning which will encourage active learning."

The difference between the old curriculum and the new curriculum in South Africa has been summarised as follows [Department of Education, 1997:5-6].

Differences between 'old' and 'new' approaches

Old	New
passive learners	active learners
exam-driven	learners are assessed on an on-going basis
rote-learning	critical thinking, reasoning, reflection and action
syllabus is content-based and broken down into subjects	an integration of knowledge; learning relevant and connected to real-life situations
textbook/worksheet bound and teacher-centred	learner-centred, teacher is facilitator; teacher constantly uses groupwork and teamwork to consolidate the new approach
sees syllabus as rigid and non-negotiable	learning programmes seen as guides that allow teachers to be innovative and creative in designing programmes
teachers responsible for learning; motivation dependent on the personality of the teacher	learners take responsibility for their learning; pupils motivated by constant feedback and affirmation of their worth
emphasis on what the teacher hopes to achieve	emphasis on outcomes - what the learner becomes and understands
content placed into rigid time-frames	flexible time-frames allow learners to work at their own pace
curriculum development process not open to public comment	comment and input from the wider community is encouraged

1 What are the differences in approach to the curriculum in the new South Africa and between the English national curriculum? Do you think the English national curriculum is nearer to the 'old' or 'new' approaches outlined in the above diagram?

Citizenship education in the curriculum

'Education for citizenship' as a curricular area has been interpreted in a diverse range of ways over time and in different societies. In South Africa in 1972, for example, a compulsory subject called 'Youth Preparedness' was introduced into schools for white children in the then Transvaal region. This was aimed at preparing children physically and morally for the 'total onslaught' against South Africa inspired by communism and carried out by the African National Congress. Youth Preparedness had a strong military element and children were taught to march, drill and shoot. There was also a strong emphasis on imprinting nationalism and patriotism under the label of citizenship [Christie,1991:180-189]. Interestingly, in January 1997 Michael Portillo, the then Minister of Defence in the Conservative government called for cadet corps to operate in all schools in England because military discipline and good citizenship go hand in hand – and in this he was supported by the then Prime Minister John Major [Nahra, 1997].

In fact, there have been clear party political differences over education for citizenship or political education in the British context. Under the national curriculum introduced by the Conservative government in 1988 it was relegated to a cross-curricular theme and largely ignored as a result of the pressure of meeting the demands of other curriculum subjects. It is only since the return of a Labour government in 1997 that it has been introduced as a compulsory subject in all secondary schools.

2 Why do you think there has traditionally been this party political difference between the two major British political parties over the role of education for democratic citizenship or political education in the curriculum?

However, both major British political parties have supported the present nature of the national curriculum in general and it is within a national curriculum context that education for democratic citizenship has to exist in both countries. In terms of the aims for citizenship education within the English national curriculum at key stages 3 and 4 the QCA talks of the aim of *"informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens"* and of *"developing skills of participation and responsible action"* in the context of democracy [QCA, 2000a]. The QCA guidelines on personal, social and health education and citizenship for key stages 1 and 2 also stress the importance of *"developing independence"* [QCA, 2000b]. Similarly, in South Africa the 'social sciences' learning area of the national curriculum talks of the aim to *"develop informed, critical and responsible citizens able to participate constructively in a culturally diverse and changing society"* and the need to equip learners *"to contribute to the development of a just and democratic society."* [Department of Education 2001]

3 The following two critical quotations refer to the operation of education for citizenship in one of three contexts – South Africa under apartheid, the English national curriculum or the new South African curriculum. Which of the three do you think they refer to? Which national curriculum context do you think is preferable for education for democratic citizenship?

"I think in terms of experiential learning and wonder how pupils are expected to grasp the ideas of democracy and citizenship when they have been trapped in a totalitarian educational system which does not recognise their right to choose what they learn or how they learn it. Isn't the whole of their schooling a lesson in living under a dictatorship?"
[Clarke, 2000]

"... the National Curriculum, in operation, enforced a limited course restricted to the rote-learning of subject-specific knowledge so that pupils may perform well in written tests of memory. It is my contention that this knowledge-based, assessment-driven curriculum demands didactic drill-training to ensure examination success; and that such a pedagogy suppresses the development of a critical disposition, so that the school leaver becomes a passive serf or discontented outlaw rather that an emancipated citizen or productive worker."
[Griffith, 2000:xvii]

History, geography and the social sciences

[Politics, economics and sociology]

Two of the key existing subject areas that are likely to act as vehicles for citizenship education are history and geography. In the South African curriculum they are seen as the two key 'social sciences'. In the past, history as a curriculum subject was used in South Africa to perpetuate racial dominance and inequality. In post-apartheid South Africa history is seen in a rather different manner. As a recent document on education for democracy put it,

"Putting history back into the curriculum is a means of nurturing critical enquiry and forming an historical consciousness. A critical knowledge of history is essential in building the dignity of human values within an informed awareness of the past, preventing amnesia, checking triumphalism, opposing a manipulative or instrumental use of the past and providing a buffer against the 'dumbing down' of the citizenry."

[Department of Education, 2001:vi]

However, in both South Africa and England the aims of education for democratic citizenship go beyond an historical or geographical perspective:

South Africa: *"The Social Sciences Learning Area involves the study of the relationships between people and between people and the environment at various times and in various places. These relationships have social, political, economic and environmental dimensions. People's values, attitudes and beliefs are shaped by these relationships."* [Department of Education, 2001:55]

England: A key aim of education for democratic citizenship is 'political literacy' defined as *"Pupils learning about the institutions, issues, problems and practices of our democracy and how citizens can make themselves effective in public life, locally, regionally and nationally, through skills and values as well as knowledge ..."* [QCA, 2000:4]

In both contexts, the study of history and geography would seem to be necessary but not sufficient for education for democratic citizenship. If citizenship education in both countries was to employ the critical social and political perspective suggested in the above quotations to examine the nature of the social structures that shape our lives – the economy, race, gender, ideology, crime and deviance, power and authority structures – then it would require a conceptual analysis of society based on the social sciences [politics, sociology and economics].

This would require teachers with social science degrees and social science teacher training. Yet in England since 1988 graduates without a degree in a national curriculum subject have been discouraged from entering teacher education courses, which made it difficult for social scientists to enter the profession. Many of those teachers with social science qualifications, never a large proportion, have left school teaching. Similarly, in South Africa the social sciences have never been seen as significant subjects for entering teaching and, while certain organisations such as Street Law work in schools, there are few social scientists employed in schools. A recent survey of nearly 700 existing teachers in England [Davies,Gregory and Riley, 1999: 50/51] found that teachers were reluctant to get involved in teaching about controversial issues and, if AIDS education is anything to go by, many South African teachers are equally reluctant [Harber, 2001:22/23].

4 How well prepared do you feel for teaching the social science element of a citizenship course? Do you feel comfortable about handling controversial issues in the classroom? [See the last chapter of this book]. What could be done to improve initial teacher education in this respect?

Religion in schools

Religious education is another obvious curriculum slot for citizenship education in schools. A subject that deals with the diversity of values, beliefs and life stances must be of relevance in discussions of the nature and practice of citizenship, though, as with history and geography, it may be necessary but not sufficient. As a recent document on education for democracy in South Africa put it,

"... the Constitution guarantees the right to equality, to non-discrimination on the basis of religion, and to freedom of belief, thought and conscience. Schools can reinforce the Constitution by using 'religion education' to reaffirm the values of diversity, tolerance, respect, justice, compassion and commitment in young South Africans. Adopting a multi-tradition approach to the study of religion is one way of achieving this, enabling students to examine, critically and creatively, the moral codes embedded in all religions, their own and others" [Department of Education, 2001:44].

It would seem, however, that it is important that such an approach is consistent with the actual practice of religion in schools in the form of religious assemblies or acts of worship. These too form part of a school's planned curriculum. Both England and South Africa are composed of diverse populations who follow many different religions or none at all. In England the Education Reform Act of 1988, which is still in force, says that collective worship is compulsory in school time and that this shall be *"wholly or mainly of a broadly Christian nature"*. In South Africa, the Department's Education for Democracy document referred to above states that,

"According to the Constitution, schools may be made available for religious observance so long as it is outside of school hours, association is free and voluntary rather than mandatory, and the facilities are made available on an equitable basis to all who apply … Weekly assemblies are a long-standing tradition of many of our schools and play an important part in bonding and unifying the school community. Nevertheless, they should not be compulsory and should, under no circumstances, be used as occasions for religious observance … Accordingly, if religious materials are used in assembly, they should be presented … as an educational exercise rather than as a religious ceremony. School governing bodies and principals need to be empowered with ways of transforming assemblies from being occasions for imposing religious uniformity to being forums where diversity is celebrated along with the values of our Constitution." [2001:44/5]

5 Which approach to school assemblies do you prefer and why? Which most fits in with education for democratic citizenship?

6 You are teaching about values as part of a citizenship course where you have previously tackled political indoctrination as a topic. Some pupils say that they do not think it is right that school assembly has a religious basis as this is also indoctrination. How would you respond?

5 Democratic schools

"Some values, like those of democracy, tolerance and responsibility, grow only with experience of them. Social education arises from a school's ethos, its organisation and its relation with the community. The way a school organises its staff and pupils says a lot about its real values and attitudes. Schools need to practise what they seek to promote."

[The Schools Council, 1981].

As this quotation suggests, it may well not be enough simply to teach about democratic citizenship. There is an argument that the best way to learn democratic values, skills and behaviours is to experience and live them. This is an idea that has been taken very seriously in South Africa. In discussing school organisation and management, the 1996 South African Schools Act argued that,

"A school governance structure should involve all stakeholder groups in active and responsible roles, encourage tolerance, rational discussion and collective decision-making." [Department of Education,1996:16].

The idea that pupils should play a key part in democratic decision-making in schools was an important aspect of the educational thinking of the ANC during the years of the anti-apartheid struggle and, as we shall see, has now become law.

1 What would you consider to be the key features/ characteristics of a democratic school? If you were visiting a school, what would you look for if you wanted to know whether it was democratic?

The South African Schools Act which came into force in 1997 legislated that all secondary schools must have an elected representative council of learners, which must itself elect students onto the school governing body where they participate as full members. All state schools must have a school governing body composed of parents, teachers, learners, and non-teaching staff. The Act stipulates that there must be one more parent on the governing body than the combined total of the other members – parents must be in a majority.

Among the considerable powers of the school governing body are:

- the adoption of a code of conduct
- deciding on school times
- control and maintenance of school property, buildings and grounds
- recommending and offering advice on the employment of educators and non-educator staff paid for by the state
- administration of the school fund into which all school fees and donations are made and the preparation of a school budget [including the employment of extra staff]
- admissions and language policy within the terms of the Act and the constitution.

The Crick Report on citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools in England and Wales also noted the importance of school ethos.

"There is increasing recognition that the ethos, organisation, structures and daily practices of schools, including whole-school activities and assemblies, have a significant impact on the effectiveness of citizenship education. Through such a climate and practices schools provide implicit and explicit messages which can have a considerable influence, both positive and negative, on pupils' learning and development. Schools need to consider how far their ethos, organisation and daily practices are consistent with the aim and purpose of citizenship education, and affirm and extend the development of pupils into active citizens. In particular, schools should make every effort to engage pupils in discussion and consultation about all aspects of school life on which pupils might reasonably be expected to have a view, and wherever possible to give pupils responsibility and experience in helping to run parts of the school.

This might include school facilities, organisation, rules, relationships and matters relating to teaching and learning. Such engagement can be through both formal structures such as school and class councils and informal channels in pupils' daily encounters with aspects of school life. To create a feeling that it is 'our school' can increase pupil motivation to learn in all subjects."

Unlike the South African government, the report preferred not to recommend that it should be compulsory.

"We also discussed whether service learning or community involvement initiated by schools should be part of a new statutory Order for citizenship education, and whether proposals for school organisation should be included; for example, that school councils should be compulsory. However, we have concluded not to ask for their inclusion in a statutory Order at this time, mainly for fear of overburdening schools and teachers." [1998:25,36].

2 Should democratically elected pupil councils with representation on school governing bodies be compulsory in English secondary schools? Why?

One of the arguments for such school councils is that they teach democracy through experiences of it. However, it is also argued that they can make school management more efficient. The following such arguments might be put forward:

- first, rules are better kept by staff and students if democratically agreed to in the first place
- second, communications in the school or college are improved
- third, there is an increased sense of responsibility as staff and students have more control over their own organisation
- fourth, decision-making is improved as a range of internal and external interests and opinions is considered.

3 What do you think of such arguments? What drawbacks might there be to more democratically organised schools?

It is interesting to note that it is not just South Africa that takes school democracy seriously.

A recent study of pupil democracy in Denmark, Germany, Holland and Sweden [Davies and Kirkpatrick, 2000] found a large gulf between the UK and other European countries in terms of the status of children in schools. In these four countries there is:

- a legal requirement on schools to involve children in a wide range of decision-making committees
- participation by children in the development of curriculum and teaching methods
- pupil representation on local, regional and national education committees
- funding and support for national unions of school students.

As the authors of the study note, in these four countries

"Children are encouraged to express their views, contribute to school life at every level, to challenge those things which are not working for them. The outcomes are clear - more equitable teacher/child relationships, positive school environments, confident, articulate children with experience of participating in democratic processes." [2000:97]

However, it is important to remember that skills are learnt by doing. We learn to walk by walking and to talk by talking. The following paragraph from Harber [1998] describes the issue of training in relation to a school undergoing a process of democratisation in South Africa.

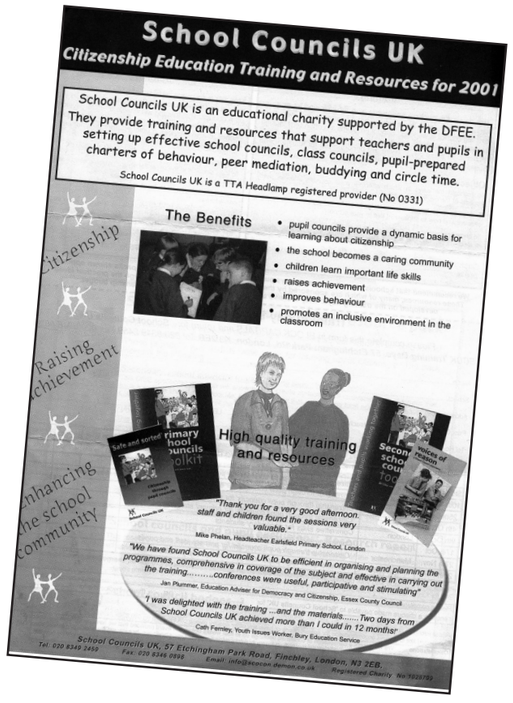
"Democratic skills and values are learned, and it cannot just be assumed that people will somehow develop them naturally or by chance. Much of this learning will come from continual experience of democratic structures in school, but in order for such structures to function as efficiently as possible and as quickly as possible some prior training is of considerable value. At this school, all class representatives underwent a training session which included a clear description of their role and focused on such skills as communicating effectively, handling conflict, managing a group and applying a democratic style of leadership in the classroom. An important message of this session, and one which helps to differentiate a democratic education from an authoritarian one, was that mistakes would be made and that learning from mistakes is a key aspect of learning overall."

4 What political skills would it be necessary to develop with young people [and probably some teachers, student teachers and other educationalists] if a school was operate in a democratic manner?

Democratic structures and skills do not exist in a vacuum, however. Being able to argue a point forcefully in a committee, for example, does not necessarily mean being rude to others. There is also the question of learning a culture of democracy, of agreed procedural values or ways of going about discussion and making decisions. Through a participatory process involving staff, students and parents the same school in South Africa, referred to above, came up with 65 core values to inform their code of conduct. These were a radical departure from apartheid education and included:

- be open-minded: respect others' cultures and beliefs
- avoid using negative body language
- practise tolerance, openness and patience
- work together as a team, promoting group activities
- be willing to learn, adapt and mix, developing friends from different cultures
- resolve conflict constructively
- accept honest opinions
- express yourself honestly but tactfully
- participate actively in everything
- communicate ideas and uncertainties
- treat others as equals
- practise your democratic rights with responsibility
- voice your opinions by using the correct channels
- listen to others' viewpoints, evaluate all ideas and be a responsible voter
- practise freedom of speech without abuse or confrontation
- work positively with those elected to positions of authority
- be informed about what is going on at school and encourage and support transparency
- respect the right to freedom of speech
- accept the majority decision
- take time to listen in order to understand others
- listen to both sides
- compromise in order to come to a common understanding.





5 Which of these values do you think would be important if staff and students at an English school designed a code of conduct for the school? Select the five most important for you. Do others on your course agree with your five?

It is also possible for primary schools to have a school council. A study of the Pupil Councils Programme in Liverpool [Khaleel, 1993] gave the following examples of what such a council dealt with:

- fixing holes in the playground
- children going to the shops without permission
- keeping the playground clean
- getting permission before going after balls that go over the fence
- using a lighter ball for football to stop windows getting broken
- keeping parked cars in one corner of the playground.

Councillors have also received suggestions from pupils who wanted a fancy dress party, to restart country dancing, and to have a disco more often.

Through dealing with such issues, which are of considerable importance to pupils of primary school age themselves, school councils can provide a valuable introduction to democratic practice which is relevant to their level of education.

The research came to the following conclusions about the impact of the schools councils in terms of the objectives that had been set for the programme.

1. ***'To develop the realisation by pupils that they have a positive role to play in creating a caring community within the school.'*** *On this the research concluded that it had been shown that as a result of the Pupil Councils Programme almost all the pupils interviewed, and indeed other pupils who have been involved in the programme within the five schools, do now realise that they have a positive role to play in creating a caring school community. This is because the ideas and issues they have brought up regarding aspects of school life have been discussed, tackled and implemented with relative success.*

2. ***'To improve relationships between teachers and pupils inside and outside the classroom.'*** *The research report showed that as a result of the Pupil Councils Programme there has been a marked improvement in the relationships between teachers and pupils in all of the five schools, in particular with the pupil councillors . Teachers commented that they now have a democratic relationship with pupils rather than the traditional authoritarian/passive relationship.*

3. ***'To increase involvement in pupil-initiated extra curricular activities.'*** *The report shows that as a result of the Pupil Councils Programme there has been a significant increase in the involvement of pupil-initiated extra curricular activities in all of the five schools. Pupils are now coming forward with their ideas to improve all aspects of school Life, from a litter patrol to improve the school environment, to ideas to improve educational and leisure activities, to posters to combat bullying and vandalism.*

[Khaleel, 1993]

In Britain there seems to be some evidence that interest in schools councils is increasing and that around 50% of secondary schools and 25% of primary schools already have a council. However, the author of the article from which the figures come also states that:

"Somehow the idea of school councils seems oddly out of step with the flavour of education in Britain today. We're all aware of the current of authoritarianism at the heart of the government's reforms: sitting in rows and getting back to basics on the three Rs doesn't seem to fit with giving youngsters the right to speak out about things, still less to actually change them." [Moorhead, 2000]

6 Do you agree with this statement? Have you attended or taught in a school with a school council? How did it function? What were its advantages and disadvantages?

7 You are working in a school where you perceive school organisation and structures not to be in sympathy with the values of education for democratic citizenship. What do you do? [You may like to think in terms of the short, medium and long term].

6 Race, racism and education

Biologically there is only one 'race' of human beings. Both 'race' and 'racism' are social and historical constructs. How people are categorised according to race and the way that prejudice, discrimination and inequality are practised on this basis varies between societies and over time. As Cohen [cited in Troyna,1993:13] points out,

"... racist discourses have never confined themselves just to body images. Names and modes of address, states of mind and living conditions, clothes and customs, all kinds of social behaviour and cultural practice have been pressed into service to signify this or that racial essence".

South Africa's political system between 1948 and 1994 was based on the institutionalised racism of apartheid. As we saw earlier in the book, different racial groups, designated and defined by the government, were treated separately, differently and unequally in education. After 1994 it was clear that educational policy was that people from all races as previously defined were to have equal access to education and that educational processes were to challenge and eventually eradicate racism and discrimination.

1 In the early 1990s, at the time of the political compromise that led to the transition to democracy, there was much talk of South Africa as the 'rainbow nation' – many colours making up one, unified entity – as though this already existed. Was this likely to be the case in reality? Could England be described as a 'rainbow nation'?

After apartheid, a process of school desegregation did begin but it was mainly a one-way process with African students going to formerly all-white or Indian schools. Also, while there was active resistance to desegregation in some Afrikaans medium schools, the key problem in the majority of schools has not been overt resistance to desegregation but a failure to address change and promote integration. Simply putting students from different racial backgrounds into the same school is not the same as trying to alter the nature of relationships between students and between staff and students. This requires positive attempts to foster a school climate and individual behaviour based on trust, mutual acceptance and respect, and equality with diversity. In a society marked by racism, a failure to intervene actively has the net effect of reproducing racism by default.

It is useful here to identify three broad approaches to race relations in schools.

- **Assimilation** is where the burden is placed on those coming into the school to adopt the values and lifestyles of the existing or dominant group. Race and diversity are ignored on the assumption that all will conform to a given and established pattern of traditions, rules and structures.
- A **multicultural** approach, on the other hand, is one that recognises and even celebrates cultural difference and includes examples of diversity in the curriculum, such as comparisons between Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Zulu festivals. However, the problem of the multicultural approach is that it also gives the impression that cultures are static and homogeneous and fails to address issues of racism or the use of power by one racial group to maintain their socio-economic and political advantage over others by forms of direct and indirect discrimination.
- A third approach, **anti-racism**, builds on multiculturalism by acknowledging and analysing the existence of racism and actively challenging it through school organisation and the curriculum.

2 Which of these three approaches do you consider preferable? Which is used in a school with which you are familiar?

In post-apartheid South Africa research [Naidoo 1996; Carrim, 1998: Zafar, 1998] suggests that assimilation is by far the most common approach and that many schools have adopted a 'business as usual' attitude and have given little thought to changing the structures, policies and practices of schools so that they could handle and build on diversity. Many teachers and principals feel ill-equipped to deal with racism as it is a difficult and sensitive issue for which their education and training had not prepared them. The result of a South African Human Rights Commission Report of an audit of 90 desegregated schools across all nine provinces was very worrying. The report showed that racism in schools was pervasive. They summarised the situation as follows:

"In fact little progress has been made to ensure an end to racial discrimination and prejudice in schools. Our Commission has had to deal with a large number of complaints: discrimination in disciplinary measures, racial violence and cultural prejudice. Schools continue to be characterised by racial separation and discrimination. Efforts at racial integration have not achieved the desired results because learners approach school with prejudices imbued in their home environments and the schools have no mechanisms to challenge and stimulate the unlearning of ingrained prejudices, as well as transform the minds of learners. Educators exhibit little or no commitment to constructing a learning environment free from discrimination and prejudice. Too many prefer to deny the existence of racism or presume a superficial tolerance. Some prefer to have their schools as laboratories for cultural assimilation where black learners are by and large tolerated rather than affirmed as of right. Four years after the miracle of 1994, school playgrounds are battle grounds between black and white schoolgoers."

[Vally and Dalamba,1999:Preface]

3 Is this problem confined to South Africa or are there problems of racism in other countries, although possibly based on different social constructs of 'race'?

4 While racism was officially institutionalised in South Africa under apartheid, do similar problems nevertheless exist in England? Discuss this question first and then read the extract from Harber [2002] below. Does this evidence support or contradict your views?

"Racism is a significant and ugly aspect of Britain's culture. The Macpherson Report on the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry [1999] was a clear reminder that racism is currently embedded in British society and institutions and that it is the opposite of, and a threat to, democracy. Surveys regularly reveal the extent of the problem. In a survey carried out just after the Macpherson report, more than 80% thought there was 'some' or 'a lot' of racial prejudice in the UK [Johnston, 1999]. In a survey carried out by the European Commission, one third of Britons said that they were either 'very racist' or 'quite racist' while another third said they were 'a little racist' [Dutter, 1997]. Racism also affects young people. Childline, a national children's support group, did a study of 1600 callers to their trauma lines and concluded that "blatant, unrelenting racist harassment and bullying plays a large part in the daily experience of many black and ethnic children at our schools and in our streets." A similar study ten years before had found the same results [Trench, 1996]. The European Youth Survey carried out for the satellite music channel MTV suggested that although racism was a problem with youth in other European countries, British youth were by far the most racist. Almost 30%, for example, disagreed that all races are equal and 26% said that they would never consider dating someone of a different colour. [Guardian Weekly 16/12/97]

There is considerable evidence of racism in the education system generally [Osler, 2000a] and worrying evidence of racism amongst teachers and student teachers. In a survey of over 20,000 teachers carried out by the Commission for Racial Equality [Ranger, 1988] nearly two thirds of white teachers and 81% of ethnic minority teachers thought there was racial discrimination in schools generally. A recent survey of 400 PGCE students, broadly representative of trainee teachers, generally suggested that up to one in ten had racist attitudes, and others complained of ideas such as anti-racism or anti-sexism being 'shoved down their throats'. Cynicism about politics was widespread. A quarter believed tension was inevitable when different races lived together. A fifth thought black people did not do enough to embrace British culture and more than a third believed positive discrimination had gone too far. The author of the report, Chris Wilkins of Reading University, warned that unless PGCE courses helped students to understand concepts like social justice, attempts to introduce citizenship education would fail to make an impact [Barnard, 1999]" [from Harber, 2002].

5 What do you think an anti-racist school would look like? If you were to spend a couple of days in the school how would you know it was anti-racist?. What would you look and listen for? [You might like to think in terms of written policy, school organisation, curriculum, subject and textbook content, teacher-pupil relations, teaching methods, use of posters etc.]

6 Read the article by Samiera Zafar from The Teacher newspaper published in South Africa in August 1998 [see pages 28/29]. Which of these ideas are relevant to the English context and why?

Just before the introduction of the national curriculum in England a summary of six research reports on 16-19 year olds by the Economic and Social Research Council over a five year period [McGurk, 1987] found that the overwhelming majority of young people were politically ignorant, with no conception of how Parliament, political parties or the economy operated. However,

"Perhaps the most salient [theme] commented upon time and time again by the different research teams, is the political innocence, naivete and ignorance of young people … Stemming perhaps from such political ignorance is the overt racism which the research projects commonly reveal to be endemic among white youth in Britain. Political ignorance and racism are hardly the hallmarks of a healthy democracy." [McGurk,1987:11]

Many young people conceded that with greater knowledge they would not have reached racist conclusions and expressed regret that they had not been taught more about politics in school. McGurk concluded that,

"Lacking any political education in the broadest sense, young people will continue to exist in a condition of ignorance in which simple solutions, especially racist ones, will have appeal. This is not necessarily because of their intrinsic attractiveness but because of a perceived lack of alternatives. Some of the respondents in the present study seemed aware of this danger and wanted the sort of information that would prevent them from being drawn into racist simplicities. The policy implications are clear. The current reluctance to introduce political studies into the school curriculum needs to be re-evaluated." [1987:51]

Ironically, the following year, the then Conservative government introduced the national curriculum which excluded any form of political studies.

7 Do you think the introduction of citizenship education courses into English schools in 2002 will help anti-racism, make no difference or make matters worse? What do such courses need to involve if they are to promote anti-racism effectively?

How to make the most of difference

Multilingual, multicultural classrooms have a rich pool of resources that creative teachers can tap into. You and your school can make a difference through proactive policies and practices. Here are some tips on dealing with racial and cultural diversity effectively.

The dynamics of the integrated classroom

Teachers generally respond to racial and cultural diversity in the integrated classroom by taking the black learner into the dominant culture of the school. This denies black learners the opportunity to develop their identity within the integrated school. The point must be emphasised that it is not only the black learners who are 'different' – white learners are different too.

Activities to promote racial integration

Change attitudes and challenge stereotypes
Begin by confronting and challenging our own stereotypes. During lesson preparation ask yourself how you think each student in the class will respond to the day's lesson and then interrogate your responses.

Prejudice and stereotypes need to be challenged within your lessons and their roots and validity explored. For example, are all Indians business people who eat curry?

Encourage the participation of all learners
Many teachers comment that black students are reluctant to participate in the classroom. Review your classroom practice to see whether the language used is understandable and the examples and subject matter are relevant and accessible to the black learner.

Choose relevant material
Ensure that the print material chosen reflects the reality of all learners. If not, show learners that the print material reflects one particular reality among others.

Use creative teaching methods
Create exercises that encourage learners to use their experiences. The range of interpretations that come out should also reflect the assumptions that different individuals hold. Support the idea that all interpretations are valid.

Classroom organisation
Groups should be integrated according to academic ability and should include all cultural groups. Group-work promotes co-operation rather than competition. Within the group, individuals can be more confident about expressing their ideas. By working together learners from different racial and cultural groups can learn to appreciate one another's skills.

Encourage contact outside the classroom
Encourage the different learner groups to socialise through activities that promote school spirit. Morning assemblies, competitions and sports can help achieve school-wide goals and in turn encourage a feeling of togetherness. Structure extra-curricular activities to encourage maximum racial integration. These should not be sideshows, but important parts of the school curriculum.

Get the whole school on board
As a classroom teacher, start sharing your work with a colleague or two regularly. Use each other for support. Then work to get everyone on board. Don't despair if and when faced with resistance from others – change takes time.

Make a point of telling people why you are doing these things
People often respond to new ideas with suspicion. School management, teachers, parents and learners have to be involved for these teaching and learning methods to be effective. Time should be set aside in staff meetings and school governing body meetings to discuss these issues. Start with things that are easy to do before starting more demanding activities.

Language is crucial to racial integration

School language policies are central to promoting racial integration. Language is an important aspect of a person's identity. By ignoring the mother-tongue of a learner, the teacher is, in many ways, ignoring who the learner is and what he/she can give to the learning situation. Further, learners who are not allowed to express their feelings and ideas may feel alienated and frustrated and this may affect their confidence and motivation to learn.

Some language policies

Do:

- allow learners to speak their mother-tongue in group discussions. Where practicable pick interpreters for yourself and for learners. Common language pairs within groups can support one another by initially talking in their mother-tongue
- break away from formal classroom language and textbook jargon and then slowly build up to it using activities that encourage learners to understand things in their own way
- give students opportunities to show their written work through newsletters, class exhibitions or reading to their classmates.

Don't:

- criticise the learner's accent. Accents vary according to the mother-tongue. No accent is better than another. By being intolerant of African accents, teachers are upholding the racist power relations of apartheid
- shoot down a learner's writing for grammatical mistakes. Rather acknowledge the underlying ideas and then start sorting out the grammar
- stop learners from communicating in their first language. Rather encourage them to repeat themselves for the benefit of the whole class
- draw second-language speakers into a separate class for improving second-language competence. Students may lose confidence in their overall academic ability. Try to attend to language development within your lessons
- assume that communication in the mother-tongue will result in a drop in academic standards. Instead, allowing second-language speakers to switch languages within the lesson encourages greater participation and learning.

Samiera Zafar

from *The Teacher* [published for teachers in South Africa]

7 Sexual responsibility and citizenship

"… dealing with HIV/AIDS 'is the priority that underlies all priorities, for unless we succeed, we face a future full of suffering and loss, with untold consequences for our communities and the education institutions that serve them'."

Prof. Kader Asmal, S. African Minister of Education,
[Department of Education, 2001a:66].

In transforming the education system, the post-apartheid South African government has sought to underpin its policies and practices with the values that lie at the heart of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. The HIV/AIDS pandemic in Southern Africa has forced states to reconsider what is considered acceptable for public consumption concerning sexual behaviour [Browne and Barrett, 2001], and challenges South Africa in how it responds to a range of issues.

HIV/AIDS - a health or a political issue?

Whilst few would argue that HIV/AIDS is not a significant problem in terms of the number of South Africans affected, there is by no means universal agreement as to the scale of infection. The UN reported that some 2.8 million South Africans [12.9% of the 15-49 year old population] were living with HIV/AIDS at the end of 1997 [UNAIDS/WHO, 1998]. However, in October 2001 the South African government finally released a report produced by the Medical Research Council [MRC, 2001] which it had been holding back for a number of weeks. The report estimates between 5 and 7 million South Africans will die from AIDS related diseases by 2010. The report's findings challenged the arguments put forward by President Thabo Mbeki in previous months. President Mbeki reportedly doubted the impact of HIV/AIDS, pointing to poverty as being the biggest threat and killer in the country, and questioned the link between the HIV virus and AIDS, as well as the scale of the infection.

HIV/AIDS related deaths as a proportion of all deaths in 15-49 age group in South Africa
[MRC, 2001].

1995	10%
1997	19%
1999	32%
2000	40%

The MRC's findings, including that of South Africa having the highest number of HIV/AIDS suffers in the world [approximately 4.7 million out of a population of some 40 million], have been challenged on epidemiological grounds. However, it is clear that HIV/AIDS in South Africa is a major epidemic.

Occurrence of HIV/AIDS in the UK
[Terrence Higgins Trust, 2001].

- Number of new infections in 2000 = 3,435 - a 14% increase on previous year [48% of which are heterosexuals].
- Over 30,000 people are HIV-positive, - but an estimated 10,000 are unaware of it.
- By 2003, 29,000 people will know they are HIV-positive.
- Between 1995 and 1999 deaths fell by about two-thirds - now about 500 deaths per year.
- There will be an estimated 40% increase in HIV infections between 1999 and 2003, but there will be a disproportionate impact in SE London [54% increase].

Why is HIV/AIDS such a problem in Southern Africa?
Adapted from Global Eye [2001]

- Large numbers of people, particularly young men, are forced to migrate to cities looking for work. Away from home, there is a greater risk of infection by engaging in unprotected sexual activities with more partners
- Low levels of education mean that many do not know how they may be infected
- African countries spend four times as much on debt repayment to bodies like the World Bank as they do on health and education - thus, a lack of proper health care means more people with HIV die earlier from diseases such as TB, which are not treated, rather than from full-blown AIDS
- The high cost of anti-AIDS drugs has restricted treatment*
- The widespread existence of violence to women
- Fear of ostracism on revealing HIV infection stops many seeking treatment.

*For example, one anti-AIDS drugs cocktail cost about $2 per patient per day - which would bankrupt South Africa's public health system. In October 2001, GlaxoSmithKline announced its decision to allow low cost, generic versions of the cocktail to be manufactured by a South African drugs company. Source: BBC News On-Line, 8.10.01.

HIV/AIDS - a human rights issue?

HIV/AIDS, and the stigma attached to both, serve to exclude people from society, preventing them from contributing to and benefitting from interaction with their fellow citizens. Research in the UK [Terrence Higgins Trust, 2001] suggests that social exclusion both contributes to and results from HIV infection. For example, social exclusion may make sexual health a low priority for some people, thus increasing the possibility of becoming HIV positive, whilst the stigma of infection may affect one's possibilities of securing employment.

AIDS and the Law in South Africa

Since the first cases of AIDS presented themselves in South Africa in the late 1980s, the legal framework has had to undergo far-reaching changes. Laws have had to be passed to recognise and uphold the rights of those infected with HIV. This process was underpinned by the Constitution of 1996 which esteems the rights of all South Africans. Still, it seems that the only changes that have occurred are on paper, rather than in the everyday experiences of those people who live with the disease.

Source: www.redribbon.co.za

HIV/AIDS - a gender issue?

Inequality in relationships between men and women exacerbates women's vulnerability to poverty, abuse and HIV/AIDS, because they have limited control over their reproductive rights and their ability to protect themselves [NPU, 2000]. Dr Brundtland [Director General, WHO], speaking at the AIDS conference held in Durban in July 2000, pointed clearly to men's violence towards women as being an important contributor to HIV's spread, especially:

- by forcing women to have unwanted or unprotected sex
- through the risk of physical abuse after a woman goes for an HIV test or suggests that her partner takes a test
- through the fear of violence from partner or abandonment if seeking treatment following a positive HIV test
- because of the common belief that HIV-positive men will be cured if they have unprotected sex with a virgin.

HIV/AIDS - an economic issue?

With some 1600 people dying per day from HIV/AIDS-related conditions, the South African government is considering the implications in such areas as health care, disability pensions, orphan welfare, teacher training and housing needs. However, there is no existing model upon which Pretoria can draw; there is no comparable example of an HIV/AIDS infection on the scale facing a middle-income country in Africa - or elsewhere for that matter.

The greatest impact will be felt at the household level. With unemployment at about 35% nationally, approximately 25% of the workforce earning R500 or less per month [£42 at October 2001 exchange rates], and no unemployment support system, the death or incapacitation of the main breadwinner will have profound effects. Any savings, etc will be quickly exhausted. HIV/AIDS is most common, unlike most infectious diseases, amongst young adults. This may result in a family of grandparents and grandchildren, and will certainly mean an increase in the dependency ratio. As a result families become poorer and a vicious circle of poverty sets in. This forces other family members to seek work and/or become carers. For example, Cape Town is already gaining a reputation as a leading child sex tourist destination.

[The Daily Mail and Guardian On-Line, 24.8.00 & 19.10.01]

However, the impact of HIV/AIDS will go beyond the household and into the work place. It has been estimated [Abt, 2000] that 15% of highly skilled workers will have contracted HIV by 2010, including teachers, health workers, university students and mineworkers. The costs to employers, the state and the wider economy in lost production and skills, training and recruitment costs, benefit payments and deaths will be considerable.

1 In groups consider each of the set of issues relating to HIV/AIDS - health or political, human rights, gender and economic. What are the implications for South Africa's education system as a vehicle for the promotion of democracy?

HIV/AIDS - an educational issue

The South African government has been criticised for a lack of urgency in addressing the needs of its vulnerable youngsters through the education system [Motala, et al., 1999]. The education system seems particularly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, as its teachers are *"at the interface of the epidemic and society. They … face directly and daily the effects of HIV and AIDS on families and particularly on the lives of the pupils they are teaching"* [Motala, et al: 27].

2 Consider how teachers, when carrying out their daily duties, may encounter the impact of HIV/AIDS.

3 How does training in the UK prepare teachers for meeting the challenge of HIV/AIDS in British schools? Could it do so better?

4 Read Catherine's story below. Investigate what policies and practices exist within your school as a response to a pupil or a pupil's parent/carer being diagnosed with HIV.

Catherine's Story: a case study from the UK

When it became known that Catherine was diagnosed with HIV, her home was daubed with graffiti and she was forced to move. Her young daughter was persistently assaulted at school, as it was assumed she too had HIV. Some years later when colleagues in the daughter's first workplace discovered her mother's HIV, the girl was forced to leave her job for the same reason.

As can be seen, the stigma of HIV within a school - even by association - can lead to social exclusion. Many people prefer to isolate themselves and hide HIV within their family for fear of bullying, threats and public prejudice. This means that they are unable to obtain the social care and support they need, and which is their right, from the social services or the local education system. Where HIV is diagnosed at school, families often feel forced to move. This in turn can affect employment and housing. [Source: Terrence Higgins Trust, 2001:13.]

In attempting to respond to the needs of pupils and teachers, the South African Department of Education and a number of NGOs have sponsored a range of initiatives that have resulted in the training of teachers and youth workers, and the production of teaching resources.

Teenagers' Action AIDS Programme

The Independent Projects Trust of Durban has produced an educator's manual that provides a structured programme and supporting resources for use with teenagers.

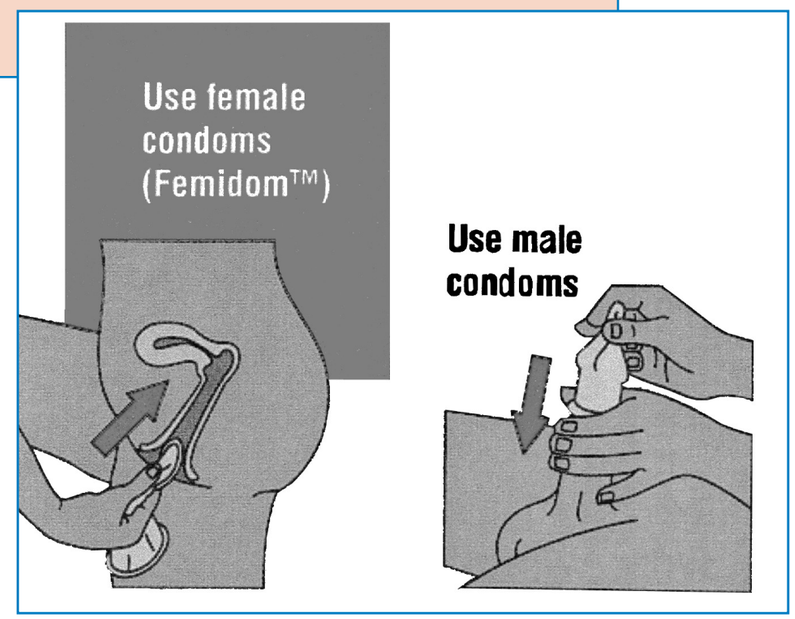
The programme deals with such themes as:

1. Physical changes in your body
2. Relationships
3. Safe sexual practices
4. Alcohol and drugs
5. Information & Education about HIV/AIDS & STDs
6. HIV/AIDS & discrimination.

The Trust argues that if teenagers are to avoid HIV infection, they must be absolutely clear as to what constitutes safe sexual practice. This has resulted in the production of a series of explicit line drawings, illustrating safe and unsafe sexual practices, for use when discussing the transmission of HIV.

The use of such explicit illustrations is one strategy for informing teenagers of the risks involved in engaging in various sexual activities.

This is an example of an illustration from the manual.



from *Teenagers Action AIDS programme*

The impact of HIV/AIDS is recognised by the Department of Education, with an estimated third of all youths between the ages of 12 and 17 being sexually active [Lovelife, 2000]. Further, the Department acknowledges that *"most children enter the education system HIV-negative; a growing number leave school HIV-positive and many more become HIV-positive shortly after leaving school."* [Department of Education, 2001a:65]

It is intended that the South African education system will respond to the challenges of HIV/AIDS through:

1 Using its position as the primary transmitter of knowledge, skills and values to raise HIV-awareness, to disseminate information about HIV and to help change the attitudes of young people in order to inhibit the spread of the epidemic.

2 Encouraging educators to act as role models and leaders in the community, by adopting safe and responsible sexual practices.

3 Addressing coercive sex [where a person is forced into a sexual act] and transactive sex [where sex is used as a commodity for exchange] which are found in the educational system.

4 Ensuring that pupils and teachers who have been affected by HIV are not discriminated against, and ensuring that they are able to live productively as along as possible.

5 Investigate how HIV/AIDS education is undertaken in your school. For example, the National Curriculum Document for South Africa states that all pupils will take a course in 'Life Orientation', including studying *"diseases including HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases, safety and abuse and violence"*. Are such topics addressed in your school? What resources, training and support are available for teachers and pupils? How effective are such programmes/resources likely to be?

6 Evidence from the Terrence Higgins Trust [2001a] suggests that awareness of HIV is falling amongst young people in the UK.

"As the age at which young people are experiencing their first intimate relations falls steadily, dealing with HIV/AIDS and nurturing a culture of sexual and social responsibility requires very serious attention indeed." [Department of Education, 2001: viii].

To what extent do you think citizenship courses in England have a role in nurturing a culture of sexual and social responsibility in their pupils?

How do/should schools go about fulfilling such a role in the light of understanding the global HIV/AIDS pandemic?

TERRENCE HIGGINS TRUST

UK's leading HIV-AIDS charity providing a variety of information, education and care services for people concerned about, living with, or affected by HIV-AIDS

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Counselling: 020 7835 1495
Email: info@tht.org.uk
website: www.tht.org.uk

8 Homosexuality and human rights

The right to be who you are is the basic right

There appears to be growing tolerance in recent years and, in some situations, a valuing of people in same-sex relationships. As Berliner [2001] points out, the media in Britain have made celebrities of a number lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender [LGBT] individuals. However, as the media have traditionally celebrated what some consider 'the unusual', how far does, for example, a gay television chat-show host represent a significant movement towards the basic right to be who you are?

In some countries LGBTs have become more mainstream with, for instance, politicians feeling able to 'come out', people winning legal cases for unfair dismissal after sex-change operations and so on. Even so, there still exists a substantial gap between what individuals are entitled to in the way of treatment by society and what they actually receive. In the same Britain where a lesbian story line runs through a popular soap-opera, a gay public house in London is bombed and LGBTs are frequently beaten up. Our schools are encouraged to address homophobic bullying, but at the same time Section 28 seemingly ties the hands of teachers trying to do so.

The debates around homosexuality are essentially concerned with human rights and freedoms. The 1996 South African Constitution and Bill of Rights guarantees freedom from discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and places an obligation on the state to introduce legislation to prevent or prohibit such unfair treatment. South Africans, Swiss and Ecuadorians, all have constitutional equality with sexual orientation discrimination outlawed. Thus, the Pretoria High Court has ruled that lesbian and gay couples can now co-adopt children and the Minister of Finance is facing a lawsuit for his refusal to pay state pensions to the surviving same sex partners of state employees [Lesbian and Gay Equality Project, 2001].

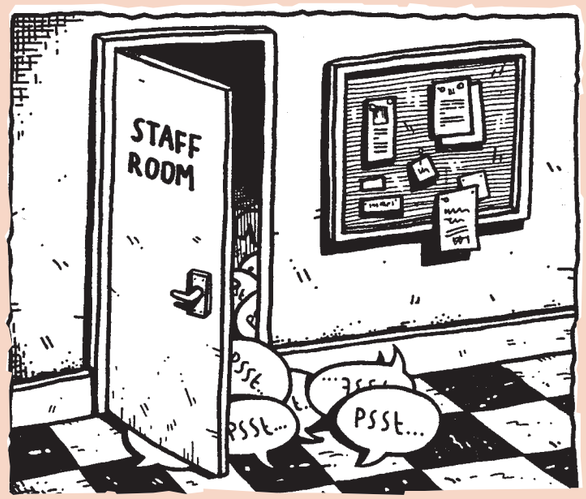
Exercising your right to be who you are in school

In Britain, the constitutional position of LGBTs is even less clear than that of other individuals, especially in school and educational matters. The 1988 Education Reform Act introduced a national curriculum that should promote the spiritual and moral development of pupils to prepare them for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life. However, the 1988 Local Government Act contained Section 28 which requires local authorities not to "*promote the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship*". The conflict is clear in that for many people, homosexuality does reflect family life and is likely to form part of the experiences of adult life. It is argued [Stonewall, 2001a] that Section 28 has created a climate of fear and abuse in which teachers are either unaware of or feel powerless about making any supportive intervention. In this environment teachers feel, *"nervous about addressing homosexuality at all, and the ensuing vacuum allowed homophobia to flourish"* [Berliner, 2001].

If this is an accurate picture of the situation teachers find themselves in, the DfEE's Sex and Relationship Education Guidance [2000a] has not helped their plight, as this statutory guidance entitles all pupils to have their needs met in sex and relationship education programmes. It is the first such official recognition of gay sexuality and it underlines schools' obligations to deal with homophobic bullying.

However, the fear of Section 28 remains; a fear that needs to be allayed as Section 28 does not, in fact, apply to schools as it relates only to what local authorities can and cannot do. As the Department of Environment [Circular 121g9] has stated: *"Section 28 does not affect the activities of school governors or teachers. It will not prevent the objective discussion of homosexuality in the classroom, nor the counselling of pupils concerned about their sexuality."* So individual teachers and schools cannot contravene Section 28. The confused perception that many people have of the nature of Section 28 and how it applies [or does not apply] to schools nevertheless remains. LEAs are beginning to issue guidance [to teachers, schools and governors] that will help clarify the situation. For an example, see www.bristol-lea.gov.uk/services/pdf/section28.pdf.

Gay teachers must challenge prejudice



One recent Monday morning, I arrived at school and got the feeling that all was not as it should be. I was getting some strange looks from the staff. I checked my flies - no problem there. I looked in the mirror - things were as good as they could be for a Monday morning. My paranoia was justified at lunchtime, when a friend beckoned me into her office. This meant one thing. Gossip. One of the spices of teaching life except, of course, when it's about you.

"There's something I need to tell you." What misdemeanour had management discovered now? What I wasn't expecting to be told was that the staff now knew I was gay. I wasn't ready; I'd accepted it myself only a few months earlier. Having come to terms with who and what I was, I'd told a few close colleagues.

After I'd left a meal with some of the staff the previous Friday night, the colleague who'd arranged the outing decided to do an outing of a different kind. By Monday, the school grapevine was buzzing.

Life since can only be described as interesting. Some colleagues have been incredibly supportive. But some I considered friends seemed - and seem - uncomfortable. I assume some of this discomfort comes from my openness about my sexuality - there seems little point in being otherwise. I am certainly not ashamed, but I feel that they think I should be, or at least should not refer to it or talk about it.

A few are simply homophobic.

The discomfort has manifested itself in a variety of ways. For example, I no longer use the staff toilets as some male staff are clearly uncomfortable when I walk in. I now use - much to my annoyance - the separate disabled toilet

I was outed at a staff function, so now tend to avoid them.

Shortly after I was outed I suffered a stress-related illness and lost a lot of weight. Now that I am better, one teacher mentioned how ill I'd looked, adding: "Of course, we all thought you had AIDS."

As for pupils, some of them know, some of them think they know and some haven't a clue. No pupil has ever asked me - I hope I'd be strong enough to say yes. My older pupils have put the clues together and have no problem. For example, when one lad made a homophobic comment to another pupil, he instantly looked at me and said: "Sorry, Sir. I forgot." On another occasion when my partner came into school to pick me up, a female pupil said hello to him, winked at me and muttered "very nice".

But I've been homophobically abused by pupils, usually in confrontational situations - although the same sort of abuse is also directed at heterosexual staff. Each time, I've referred the pupil to senior management, who have dealt with it effectively. At first I'd agonise as to whether the comments were personal or the kind of general homophobic abuse endemic in many schools. But homophobic abuse is unacceptable, no matter who it's aimed at, so l deal with it accordingly.

What of the pupils I suspect of being gay? The nature of my school - a tough inner-city comprehensive - means no gay pupil, to my knowledge, has been open about his or her sexuality. I keep an eye on those being homophobically abused, as I do on any other pupil who is being bullied.

I have learned that being openly gay is not the terrifying prospect I thought it would be. Research suggests that few gay or lesbian teachers come out to pupils or their colleagues. Until we do, homophobia in our institutions and society can never be truly challenged. It's not easy being an openly gay teacher, but I prefer it to quivering in the stationery closet.

The writer teaches in the Midlands

Extract from The Times Educational Supplement, May 2002

Consider the following findings from Douglas, et al. [1997] resulting from a survey of teachers in British Schools

- 61% of teachers surveyed were aware of lesbian, gay or bisexual pupils in their school
- 42% of teachers had been asked personal advice on lesbian, gay or bisexual issues by pupils
- 57% of schools reported having no information relating to sources of support for lesbian, gay or bisexual pupils
- 51% of schools reported at least one incident of homophobic bullying
- 82% of teachers surveyed admitted that they found Section 28 confusing
- 56% of teachers surveyed reported difficulty in meeting the needs of lesbian, gay or bisexual pupils because of concerns over Section 28.

1 Which of the above findings do you find:

a] Most surprising?

b] Most worrying?

c] Has the greatest implications for your own knowledge and confidence?

Others' response to you exercising your right to be who you are

Evidence [Mason and Palmer 1996, Duncan 1999, and Ward 2001] suggests that a common response to any perceived indication that a pupil is not 'normal', ie not heterosexual, will be an abusive one. Quoting Renold, Ward [2001] suggests that primary school playgrounds can be violent places for pupils who do not conform to sexual stereotypes. Boys who preferred study and fantasy games to football were labelled as 'gay' and girls not interested in fashion or boyfriends were ridiculed. While these taunts may be more related to gender than sexuality, Renold states that teachers may well be reluctant to tackle such issues because they raise issues of sexuality. By the time pupils reach secondary school, the abuse is likely to become physical as well as verbal and one is left in little doubt that it is homophobic in nature.

Queer Bashing [Mason and Palmer, 1996]

Mason and Palmer analysed the responses of over 4,000 gay men and bisexuals about their experiences in school. They found:

- 48% of under 18 respondents had experienced violence, 61% had been harassed & 90% had been called names because of their sexuality
- 24% of all under 18 respondents had been attacked by fellow students, 44% harassed by fellow students and 79% had been called names by fellow students
- 50% of violent attacks had involved fellow students and 40% had taken place in school
- one respondent wrote about how LGBT issues were approached by her teacher - *"She refuses to discuss 'gay' topics in class. She asked for discussion ideas, but the words 'gay', 'age of consent', 'AIDS' and 'discrimination' were just swept away with comments like 'we don't need to talk about perverts who have nothing to do with real society'."*

2 What can a school do to address the violence and harassment faced by LGBT pupils?

Berliner [2001] quotes research that suggests:

- 46,000 secondary school pupils are being bullied for their sexual orientation
- over half of young gays and lesbians have considered suicide because of homophobic bullying, 40% have actually attempted to kill themselves and threequarters of this group have attempted suicide more than once.

3 How far do you think the best advice for pupils wishing to exercise their right to be who they are is *"Don't"*?

Duncan [1999] reports the following statements:

- *"If there were gay kids in this school, I'd move school."*
- *"If my best mate told me he was queer, I'd slap him, I would. I wouldn't have him coming near me."*

4 How would you respond if:

a] You overheard these comments in the dinner queue or as the pupils were working in your lesson?

b] These comments were made in a PHSE lesson?

5 Read the two case studies [pages 38/39] from South Africa and the UK.

To what extent are the experiences of Ian and Ishmael the same?

How far were Ian and Ishmael to blame for their peers' reaction to them?

How far were the schools and/or teachers failing in their duty towards Ian, Ishmael and their peers?

The brutal consequences of coming out - UK

[Berliner, 2001]

Ian was 15 when he came out at school. He is now at university.

I told my best friend, Sarah, and she was wonderful and got leaflets for me. I rang the Gay Switchboard and it was a revelation to be told I was normal. I started gaining confidence and told another two friends.

The next day one of them was bored in class, and turned round to someone and said *"Guess what, Ian fancies Robert"*. By the end of the day everyone in the school knew.

The following morning I was late to assembly and when I walked in there was a deathly silence. The rugby team in the rows behind me started throwing nails at me. Some of them hit me and I had several cuts, but the teachers did nothing. They all pretended to look at their registers. Then a nail hit one of them and he said *"settle down"* and they stopped. But the damage was done.

On my way to class people kept tripping me up and shouting *"faggot"*. I was really scared. At break I went up to the local shop with Sarah, and saw these guys from the year above. One of them punched me in the face and knocked me down. Then they were all kicking me in the legs, in the body, anywhere they could reach. Sarah tried to pull them off but she couldn't. I started crying and they left me.

I had a split lip and was bruised all over. We reported it at school and the boy who punched me in the face was suspended, but I didn't say what it was about – I was embarrassed and in denial.

For the next two weeks I was beaten regularly; two of my male friends were beaten too. I didn't tell my parents. I had told my mum I was gay and she had reacted very badly and told me never to tell anyone else.

The beatings eventually stopped but not the verbal abuse. Teachers would hear it; most them ignored it. I felt they must all hate gays, too.

I started to feel suicidal. The only way to get through it was to stop going to my last class so that I would not have to walk home through all the others. Then I started missing other lessons to avoid trouble. I stopped going to PE because the other boys wouldn't let me in the changing room. I would register and then go to pubs.

I forged notes from my parents to cover my absences and Sarah kept me up-to-date with the work. I went in for tests and did OK in them.

Sarah rang the Gay Switchboard and through that I went to a Stonewall youth project. It was three or fours hours when I could be myself, but I stopped going because the contrast between that and my awful school life was so depressing.

Two weeks before I left school I told all the teachers who were there to offer guidance to pupils that I was gay. One said *"I was waiting for you to come to me."*

By then I was bumping into guys who had bullied me at school in pubs. I would ask them why they were talking to me, considering the way they had treated me. They said: *"We were only having a laugh."*

It has affected my education. My brother and all my cousins went to Oxford. I didn't get the grades. At school, I just wanted someone to say "*You are not a freak, there are thousands of people like you and you are going to be fine."*

All names have been changed.

The Player Queens - South Africa

Carl Collison

When Ishmael Maistry arrived at Reiger Park Technical School he was the only openly gay pupil in school. Fellow pupils loathed his arrogance and teachers were wary of his openness. *"It's not been easy at Reiger Park. My mother died HIV positive, I have never met my father and life at the orphanage was hell. These things, however, taught me to stand up for myself and to be a survivor."*

It was whilst attending Reiger Park that he met Tony and Fred. Together they formed a bond that seemed to allow then some freedom from the everyday struggles of life at the school, in the brutal streets, their respective homes – and in their heads. Realisation of their strengths came soon after. However, the more they vocalised this new found strength, the more pressure from teachers and pupils grew.

During one lunch break Tony entered the boys' toilet, only to be followed by three other boys. A tirade of verbal abuse ensued and he was stripped of all his clothes in order for the assailants to ascertain his 'real sex'. Ishmael found him lying naked on the toilet floor. *"No-one cared really,"* continues Ishmael. *"The Principal called a meeting with the Student Council as well as the PTA and they dished out this really flimsy punishment - cleaning the school for one week - which they didn't even carry out."*

A representative of the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality came to the school and organised a forum in which issues surrounding homosexuality were discussed. This had the result of a growing number of openly gay pupils and this started to bother an element of the school's staff.

After much deliberation on the issue, it was decided that the only viable solution was to build separate toilets and these were labelled 'She/Male'. Thus, it became blatantly obvious to all concerned that this 'homosexual issue' ran much deeper than at first suspected. The division became all too clear when a few of the pupils and the school's two guidance teachers appeared on a local educational television programme, Take Five: Freedom of Sexuality. The entire programme revolved around the school and the growing numbers of gay and lesbian pupils. One teacher openly blamed Ishmael for the spread of 'this gay disease', claiming that before he joined the school, *"there were no gay people at the school"*.

BEHIND THE MASK [2001]
The Player Queens
South Africa: Behind the Mask <http://www.mask.org.za/sections/StoryTelling/story9.html> accessed 22 October 2001.

Tolerance, Dignity, Ubuntu

South Africa's Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy [Department of Education, 2001a] highlights equity and tolerance amongst other qualities the education system must actively promote. However, it recognises that in a democratic society equity and tolerance - equal treatment and putting up with people of are not the same as you - are not sufficient. Ubuntu embodies the concept of mutual understanding and the active appreciation of the value of human difference [piv].

"Out of the values of Ubuntu and human dignity flow the practices of compassion, kindness, altruism and respect which are at the very core of making schools places where the culture of teaching and the culture of learning thrive; of making them dynamic hubs of industry and achievement rather than places of conflict and pain." Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy [Department of Education 2001a, p16].

Whilst some schools are relatively successful in achieving such goals for all their pupils [see Safe for all, Stonewall, 2001b for advice, best practice, etc], much of the potential of many of our pupils is not only going untapped, but is being perniciously attacked.

6 Should a planned course on citizenship in school consider directly homosexuality and human rights? What stance should the course take? How would you feel about teaching the topic?

7 To implement a citizenship course in school dealing directly with homosexuality and human rights, what individual/whole school INSET would be needed

NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN SWITCHBOARD

020 7837 7324

www.spiceupyourlife.org.uk

9 Gender, violence and democracy

"As a South African woman, I think of rape an as inevitability; some say it's one woman every 16 seconds, some say it's every 36; whichever way, it's too many, and too close. I am, we are, 'to be raped'; our identity when we walk the streets, or jog, or stand waiting for a bus, looking over our shoulders in the old rituals of vigilance. The women I know have been raped by their friends, their boyfriends, their relatives."

"My polite, sensitive, funny, generous niece, a poet of great talent, was raped by an adolescent. It is most likely, says the rape survivor, counsellor and journalist Charlene Smith, that the boy was not alone. His friends were there, in the bushes, watching, and waiting their turn. The reality is that these men seldom hunt alone."

Atkinson, B. [2000] When someone you love is raped, in MacFarlane, D. **Mail & Guardian Bedside Book 2000**. Cape Town: Mail & Guardian

The South African Constitution is based on a philosophy of democracy and human rights, stating explicitly that discrimination on the basis of gender is unlawful. However, the reported incidence of child rape and attempted rape increased by 8.5% from 1996 to 2000. In 1996 alone there were 19,755 reported cases of rape and attempted rape of children under 18 years old; by 2000, this had risen to 21,438. South African Safety and Security Minister Steve Tshwete suggested that the reasons for the increase include a greater willingness to report such incidents, overcrowding, alcohol and drug abuse, and myths pertaining to HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. In the same period, reported rape and attempted rape of adult women increased from 30,726 to 31,112 out of a total population of about 40 million; an increase of 1.3% [Mail & Guardian on-line]. By way of comparison, it should be noted that in 2000/01, approximately 8000 women were raped in England and Wales out of a total population of 49 million [Great Britain Home Office, 2001]. These figures illustrate both the seriousness of this aspect of gender inequality in South Africa, and also that it is an issue in England and Wales.

Gendered violence in South African schools

The authoritative 1997 report on Gender Equity in Education [GETT, 1997] illustrated how violence perpetrated on South African children and women is having an impact on every facet of the education system. - and beyond. Further, the report identifies the complex interplay of factors that generate gendered violence.

"[T]he sheer dimension of sex or gender based violence and harassment in education in South Africa subverts the right of women and girls, and many boys, to participate in education on the same basis as most men or boys. This violence is not endemic to educational sites, but reflects the gendered and violence- infected cultures which are pervasive in many South African settings - an outcome of the country's diverse and violent political history." [GETT, 1997:218-219].

The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy [Department of Education, 2001] identifies the following ways in which females are discriminated against in the South African education system simply because of their sex.

- Over-representation of females as class and subject teachers, under-representation as figures of authority, from heads of departments upwards.
- Women tend to teach younger children and 'soft subjects' - arts and social sciences - while men teach older children and 'hard subjects'.
- Girls are steered away from highly valued subjects towards others.
- Knowledge 'bears the stamp of maleness'.
- Boys dominate in class.
- Girls are discouraged from enrolling in schools, particularly in rural areas.
- Girls often leave or find their time devoted to studies curtailed because of caring for family members, or the need to work so that male siblings can continue their education.
- Females are subject to more violence and abuse - ranging from highly sexualised verbal degradation to physical harassment and rape.

1. Research the extent to which these features in the box above occur in the British education system.

2. Collect and consider the policies and procedures to support non-sexism operating in one educational institution known to you.

Violence and discrimination against South African girls perpetuates the educational gap between boys and girls, and whilst much consideration has been given to removing the barriers girls face in getting to school, gender-based violence remains a chief obstacle for them once they arrive there. Sexual harassment, abuse and violence affect girls of all races and economic classes, and are accentuated by the apparent tolerance of such gender-based violence by those in authority. *"Girls are raped, sexually assaulted, abused, and sexually harassed by their male classmates and even by their teachers."* [Human Rights Watch, 2001:3]. Further, *"20% of young women surveyed in southern Johannesburg reported a history of sexual abuse by the age of 18."* [HRW, 2001:23] and more than one third of female school students report being raped by their teachers. The effects of such experiences will almost certainly affect a girl's academic performance, and may result in exclusion from her educational entitlement through no fault of her own, as some 75% of schools exclude pregnant girls [MacFarlane, D., 2001]. Many girls and women are infected with HIV when they are raped, as the risk of transmission during rape is high and significantly greater during the relatively common occurrence of gang rape. In South Africa, the prevalence rate of HIV in girls and young women aged 15-24 is almost twice that of males of the same age range [HRW, 2001:68-70].

The GETT report clearly states that there is evidence that *"violence, including sexual assault, has come to be seen as a normative form of boys' and men's behaviour."* [GETT, 1997:47].

3. Apart from rape, to what extent is gendered violence a feature of the British educational system?

4. That life in school reflects events and trends in the outside world is undeniable. To what extent do the four graphs from the European Campaign against Domestic Violence *"Breaking the Silence"* [see page 43] suggest that Britain is a relatively violent place?

In British schools, the gender issue that has had the highest profile in recent years is that relating to the under-achievement of boys. Whilst not denying its importance, it has, perhaps, overshadowed that of abuse and violence towards girls - [usually] perpetrated by boys. The problem may not be on the scale of that in South Africa, but there is evidence that it cannot be ignored - nor should it be.

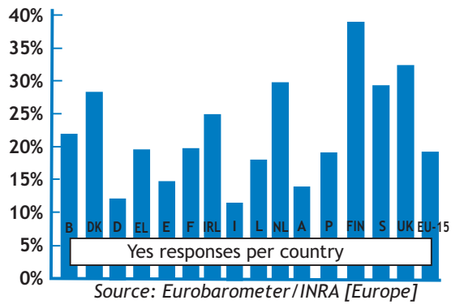
A survey of over 11,000 pupils in 64 mostly mixed comprehensive schools from across England found almost a third of 14-15 year old boys carried knives, bats and chains, while almost one in fifty is armed with a gun [Young, 1996]. The survey, *Cash and Carry*, must be put alongside similar exercises carried out by, for example, the teacher associations and the DfEE/DfES, all of which highlight violence towards school property, teachers and fellow pupils. Again various strategies have been discussed, implemented, rejected, reintroduced, and so on.

In discussing their research, Gipps and Murphy [1996] reflect that: *"The real worry is not that the boys will smash the place up, but that they are already smashing the girls up; there is increasing evidence of boys' growing misogyny, represented by bullying, harassment and name-calling, reported in schools from Africa, America, the UK and Australia."* Similarly Herbert's study [1989] suggests that sexual harassment of one group of London schoolgirls was not an uncommon event, but that recording incidents was difficult because of the girls' inability to name the behaviour as unwanted as they have become inured to it. Further, the distinction between 'normal' and 'aberrant' in the context of the girls' experiences of sexual relationships has become blurred.

The Eurobarometer survey from 'Breaking the Silence'

GRAPH 1

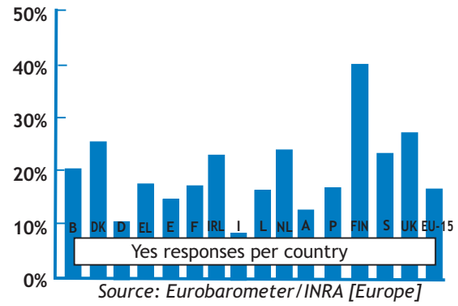
Do you have a close friend or relative who has been subjected to violence by her husband or partner?



Source: Eurobarometer/INRA [Europe]

GRAPH 3

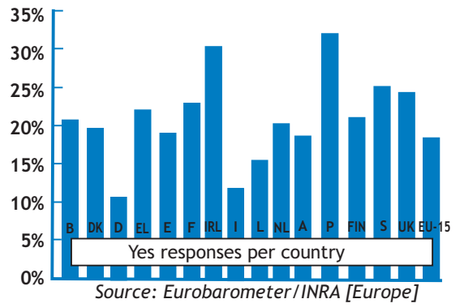
Do you have a close friend or relative who has behaved violently towards his wife or partner?



Source: Eurobarometer/INRA [Europe]

GRAPH 2

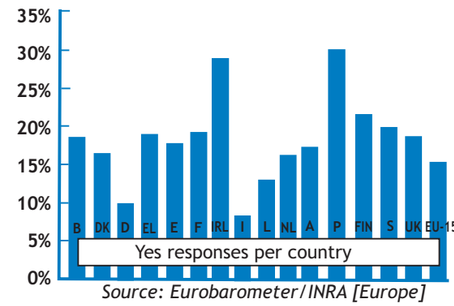
Do you have a neighbour who has been subjected to violence by her husband or partner?



Source: Eurobarometer/INRA [Europe]

GRAPH 4

Do you have a neighbour who has behaved violently towards his wife or partner?



Source: Eurobarometer/INRA [Europe]

July 1999 — Eurobarometer survey on attitudes of Europeans towards domestic violence

November 1999 — Conference on domestic violence organised by the Finnish EU Presidency

Masculinity - a problem for girls and boys

Morrell [1998a, 1998b], a South African writer on masculinity, offers a very useful analysis of how this normative form of boys' and men's behaviour may have come about. He argues that masculinity is a collective gender identity that is not socially fixed and represents practice in particular situations. The notion of 'hegemonic masculinity' is important in that it is the dominant form of masculinity in society, granting power and authority to those who espouse and internalise it.

Quoting Goffman, Morrell [1998a:608] offers this perception of the ideal type of the hegemonic masculinity of the USA. *"… young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual, Protestant, father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight and height, and a recent record in sports."* However, he goes on to suggest that South Africa's hegemonic masculinity exhibits the key features of misogyny, homophobia, compulsory heterosexuality, racism, the emphasis on sport and the use or threat of violence. Its basic traits are dominance and competition.

5. Do you think there is an ideal type of hegemonic masculinity in the UK? What are its key features?

Boys as victims

- *"This is not to argue that girls are always victims. Many girls sexually harass boys or other girls, even take part in violence. Many boys are victims … especially if they do not conform to local versions of dominant masculinity, and particularly if they oppose or play no role in harassment of girls. Boys are subjected to risk-taking, emotional alienation, death and injury, physical attack and suicide."*

  GETT, 1997:94-95.

- *"Both genders are harmed by sexual stereotyping and gender discrimination. Balanced human beings are persons who can incorporate the best of both feminine and masculine traits in their personalities."*

  Steyn, et al., 1999:41.

Morrell concludes [1998a: 630] that amongst several reasons for studying masculinity is the extension of our understanding of how inequalities develop and are sustained, and how power is exercised. For example, as Harber [2000:38] points out *"Violence in schools… [is] the major barrier to achieving gender equality in schools and there is no doubt about the importance of fostering alternative masculine identities in South Africa and elsewhere not predicated on the proving of manliness through various forms of martial activity, fighting and violence."*

Non-sexism in the South African education system

Morrell [1998b] calls for a wholesale transformation of the South African school environment so that tolerance, respect and democratic decision-making become the norm. He argues that for such a shift to occur alternative masculinities must be nurtured. It may be that the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy [Department of Education, 2001a] will provide the context within which such transformation will take place.

The Manifesto sets out the political values that should form the basis of South Africa's education system, highlighting six qualities that the education system should actively promote, namely equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and social honour. The Manifesto explores the concept of non-sexism as an underlining democratic principle, with female students having the same opportunities to free and develop their potential as their male peers. Further, the Manifesto states that non-sexism also means that female teachers as well as female students are not victims of sexual abuse or harassment.

Whatever policies and practices exist in the education system *"without the support and commitment of boys and men to a more equitable society in which girls and women are not constantly disadvantaged or humiliated or harassed or suffer violence, little will change."* [GETT, 1997: 2]. As Steyn, et al. [1999:41] state *"Girls are usually socialised to be caring, non-assertive and unselfish. Although these are valuable assets, they become social millstones for women if men are not socialised into them as well."*

Gendered violence in British schools

South Africa is in a state of transition and flux and a number of initiatives have been undertaken to address discrimination against women [Harber, 2000:39]. However, in societies that have espoused democratic values for significantly longer, gender-related violence is still all-to-common. Martino and Meyenn [2001] present a series of case studies of gender-related issues in Australia, the USA and the UK, which draws comparisons between violence in society writ-large and violence in the smaller school society. Quoting statistics from the USA, Foster, Kimmel and Skelton [2001] note that four times as many teenage boys as girls think fighting is appropriate when someone pushes into a queue and that half of all teenage boys get involved in a physical fight each year. From a very early age boys appear to learn that violence is not only an acceptable form of conflict resolution, but one that is to be admired. Foster, et al. conclude that even if such tendencies are innate, the result of biological differences resulting in an explosive hormonal cocktail, *"we must decide whether to organise society so as to maximise boys' 'natural' disposition towards violence or to minimise it. Biology alone can not answer that question, and claiming that boys will be boys only leads us to abandon our social and political responsibility."* [Martino and Meyenn, 2001:18-19]

Conclusion

Without true equality of opportunity, it is impossible for individuals, regardless of race, religion or gender, to play a full and active role in society. If one's right to an education is compromised by the actions of others, regardless of their criteria for their actions towards you, a basic human right has been denied. It is doubly abhorrent if in doing so the miscreants disadvantage themselves. As Davies [2000] argues, the state of gender relations in a school is a good bench mark of how democratic that school is, and democratic education can not occur in violent schools.

6. How would you use Resources A, B, and C [see pages 46 and 47] in a lesson on Gender, Violence and Democracy?

RESOURCE A

Acting hard

By David Jackson

He wants to be the giant King of Hard
smirking beneath his back-to-front
baseball cap. Proud of his blood-grazed knuckles
he tries to push his fist through another locked door. Sprawls insolently across
three seats on the bus home. Knows he was born to own space.
He threatens to jump out of the poem
to head-butt YOU.

But this giant King of Hard
is afraid to take off his bomber jacket
before the hissing showers. He knows
they will rip his towel away, sneer
at his hairless dick. He sees their jeering
faces in his Dad's shaving mirror - the place
where he practices looking mean.

This King of Hard has jelly feet.
He tries to put his shoulders on again
and the upturned cap that hides his eyes.
But it's too late: the iron lung is cracking.
These are real, human tears that are scalding
his cheeks. Now nothing can stop
the dark, wet stain seeping right through
his 'Red Devils' football strip.

Salisbury, J. & Jackson, D. [1996] **Challenging Macho Values: Practical ways of working with adolescent boys**. London: Falmer Press

RESOURCE B

Thursday, 22 November, 2001, 06.42 GMT

Door opens on domestic violence

A new strategy to bring the problem of domestic violence out into the open has been announced in London. Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London, will unveil a practical plan to address the crime, which affects one in four women at some point in their lives.

Mr Livingstone said, *"Domestic violence is a crime that cannot be tolerated. Women need to feel confident that the state takes the problem seriously and the perpetrators need to know that they will be held to account."*

"We have CCTV cameras in every street, but what is the point if a woman gets home and is brutally assaulted or murdered behind closed doors?"

Deputy Assistant Commissioner John Grieve, head of the Metropolitan Police's Racial and Violent Crimes Taskforce said, *"The strategy is the result of years of hard work from a hugely dedicated group of people. We will do everything we can to support them. It has been part of our education process for dealing with domestic violence and will have an impact on this crime."*

www.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/newsaid
- accessed on 25.11.01

RESOURCE C

Behind every bad boy is a worse girl

By Sue Leaner
[TES, 9.11.2001]

Girls' behaviour will be worse than boys' within three years, says a senior school inspector, as the focus on badly-behaved boys could lead to more trouble with girls.

Mr Moore said: *"I guarantee that in three years time we will start talking about difficult girls as at the moment their behaviour is being masked by the boys. When our targets and strategies are successful in tackling dissatisfaction in boys, we will start to see the disaffected girls."*

Macho is not just for the boys

By Dorothy Lepkowska
[TES 24.7.98]

Girl power is taking on a new dimension with teenagers resorting to violence - including 'glassing' and head-butting - as a means of asserting themselves and protecting their image. The culture of the beer-swilling 'laddette', epitomised by Zoe Ball and Ulrika Jonsson, is taking shape among the 14 to 18 year old group which is rejecting traditional female stereotypes. Girls are abandoning playground cat-fights involving scratching, hitting and hair-pulling for more violent acts using knives, broken bottles and baseball bats as weapons.



SANDWELL WOMEN'S AID

0121 552 6448

10 Disability and inclusion

"Educational inclusion is more than a concern about one group of pupils… It is about equal opportunities for all pupils, whatever their age, gender, ethnicity, attainment and background"

[OFSTED, 2000, Evaluating Educational Inclusion]

The South African Constitution is unequivocal on equality, stating that everyone is equal before the law and may not be discriminated against on the basis of *"race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language or birth"* [article 9]. The implications, in terms of education, were spelt out in the South African Schools Act of 1996, which stated that all children must obtain an equal education, with the same access to resources and opportunities to realise their fullest potential.

The topic of disability and education is by definition particularly broad and diverse. The purpose here is to raise the issue within the context of education for democratic citizenship. How does the education system ensure the human rights of learners with special educational needs and are their rights equal to those of other learners?

What is inclusion?

Inclusion is never arrived at; it is always evolving and must be flexible according to the needs of the learner at any given time. However, an overarching rationale, which supports consistency and good democratic practice, in relation to students with a disability and all others, might encompass the following:

- Inclusion is about recognising and respecting the differences among all learners and building on the similarities rather than getting learners to 'fit into' a particular kind of system. What pupils have in common is greater than the differences between them.

- Inclusion is about supporting all learners, educators, and the system as a whole, so that the full range of learning needs can be met through the development of reflective pedagogy, which benefits all learners, rather than the placement of pupils in pre-prescribed programmes. Everyone has a range of needs.

- Inclusion focuses on overcoming barriers in the system which prevent it from meeting the full range of learning needs, challenging attitudes, behaviour, methodologies, curricula and the environment.

- Inclusion is about empowering students to participate critically in the culture and process of learning.

- Inclusion should be at the heart of good teaching and learning.

1 Why do you think disability/inclusion is relevant to a book on education for democratic citizenship?

The context in the United Kingdom

In the past, policy encouraged either separate institutions for disabled students or 'mainstreaming', where students had to integrate into a mainstream school, and were provided with extra support to enable them to cope with 'normal' classroom routines and expectations.

However, in the last twenty years, policy has gradually moved the UK towards the inclusive agenda it now espouses. In practice, this means the government is committed to increasing the participation of previously segregated groups, including pupils from special schools, into educational activities and settings with pupils from the mainstream sector. The policy provides an incremental model, enabling schools to move beyond simple access issues for special needs pupils to the creation of learning environments which are capable of adapting to meet the individual needs and preferred learning styles and talents of all students. Ultimately, it is hoped that the resulting system will be able to educate all students successfully together.

To facilitate further progress, the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act [SENDA] was phased in from September 2002. SENDA applies to admissions, the education or associated services provided or offered to pupils at a school, and to exclusion. Previously, the Disability Discrimination Act [1995] did not include education, as the then government felt that pupils' rights were taken care of by the existing education legislation. However, according to the Audit Commission, this assumption proved inadequate because it led to inconsistency and did not provide any avenues for redress for pupils who were discriminated against.

Changes in policy originated with the Education Act of 1981 which dramatically reframed notions of 'special education'. It facilitated a move away from the practice of labelling the child and placed the focus on the special educational provision required to help them to achieve their potential. In the light of this, students were no longer referred to as 'disabled' or 'impaired' but as learners with special educational needs arising from their interaction with their educational environment. These needs might relate to communication and interaction, cognition and learning, behaviour, emotional and social development and sensory and/or physical concerns. In response to the level of provision required children are 'staged' on the Code of Practice and Individual Education Plans are drawn up.

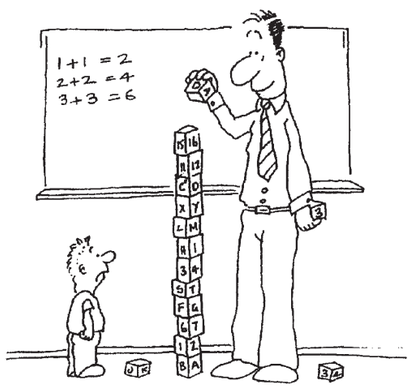
In 1995 the Disability Discrimination Act placed regional responsibility for inclusion with Local Education Authorities [LEAs], in England and Wales. It stated that, where requested by parents, LEAs had a statutory responsibility to provide pupils with a place in a mainstream school and to ensure all schools provided annual reports on which parents could base their decision.

In terms of classroom protocol, the National Curriculum [1999] contains a statement on inclusion. It sets out three principles:

1] Teachers should aim to give every pupil the opportunity to experience success in learning and to achieve as high a standard as possible. This may involve de/increasing the breadth and depth of study and/or accessing content and skills from other Key Stages.

2] Teachers should set high expectations and provide opportunities for all pupils to achieve, showing awareness of the different backgrounds individuals come from. All work should meet the requirements of equal opportunities legislation in relation to race, gender and disability.

3] Teachers must look to overcome potential boundaries to learning and assessment for individuals and groups of pupils ensuring that they are enabled to participate to the full. Consideration is paid to disability, behaviour and emotional challenges.



2 Compare the bullet points on the first page of this chapter with your experience of the English National Curriculum. To what extent are the two compatible?

3 Concerns have been raised about the policy of inclusion. The article on page 50 recently appeared in the TES [9 November 2001]. While sympathetic to the pressure on schools, you are keen to articulate the merits of inclusion. Draft a 250-word letter to the editor outlining your case.

Mainstream not ready for inclusion

More than four in five primaries are poorly prepared for an increase in the number of pupils with special educational needs in mainstream classes, according to a report.

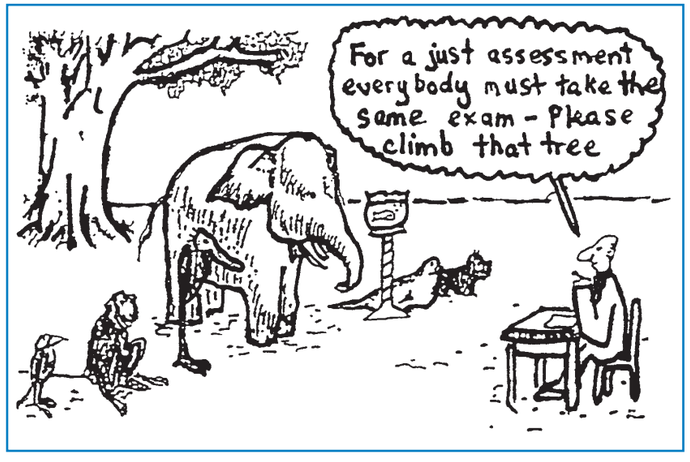
The survey of more than 100 primary schools by the National Primary Trust reveals that 88 per cent believe that the mainstream system is not ready for more inclusion. Though they are in favour of the idea in principle, schools say they need more cash for extra staff, specialised resources and buildings.

Peter Frost, chief executive of the National Primary Trust, said: *"A number of respondents commented that it was impossible for a small school with small staff numbers to be able to support and have a degree of expertise available to support every kind of special educational need."*

The survey found that 80 per cent were not prepared for pupils with severe hearing impairments, 78 per cent were not prepared for pupils with severe visual impairments, 64.5 per cent were not prepared for pupils with physical difficulties and 59 per cent were not prepared for pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties.

The Government has announced a Special Needs Standards Fund of £91 million for 2002-3, a five-fold increase on the £17m spent in 1997-8.

Helen Ward
TES 9th November 2001



The South African context

At the beginning of 1997, the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training [NCSNET] and the National Committee for Educational Support Services [NCESS] were appointed by the Minister of Education to investigate and make recommendations concerning all aspects of special needs and support services. The aim was to establish a system that was more responsive to the diverse needs of the learner populations and to promote equitable education for all. Underpinning the process was a rationale of human rights and social justice for all learners, participation and social integration, equal access, equity and redress, and community responsiveness.

Reporting a year later, the investigation vividly articulated the results of prolonged marginalisation and neglect:

"most learners with disabilities have either fallen outside the system or been 'mainstreamed by default'. The curriculum and education system as a whole have generally failed to respond to the diverse needs of the learner population, resulting in massive numbers of drop-outs, push-outs and failures".

In addition, with segregation on the basis of race including those with disability, special schools illustrate the practice and legacy of apartheid. As a result, white disabled learners were extremely well served, whilst the few black special schools that were in existence were systematically under-resourced and only accommodated those with medical disabilities. Young people who experienced other learning difficulties did not qualify, and already disadvantaged groups received little or no provision.

It is difficult to quantify the extent of the problem. However, the World Health Organisation has calculated that between 2.2% and 2.6% of learners in any school system could be identified as having disabilities. Using currently available statistics this would mean that 280,000 learners are potentially unaccounted for in terms of school provision in South Africa. This contravenes the South African constitution.

In the light of these findings, the two bodies recommended that any new system *"should promote education for all and foster the development of inclusive and supportive centres of learning that would enable all learners to participate actively in the education process".*

A realistic time span of twenty years has been proposed. This period has been sub-divided, with clear outcomes for each of three shorter phases. In the first two years, the focus is on auditing and planning and implementing the conversion of 30 special schools into resource centres, and on converting a similar number of mainstream schools into full-service providers. By 2021, it is envisaged that there will be 380 resource centres and 500 full-service schools and colleges.

In addition to the conversion of mainstream schools into 'full-service' schools, there is to be a qualitative improvement of special schools. A small cohort of learners, best served by a special school environment, will remain educated separately. The process of identifying, assessing and enrolling learners in special schools is to be overhauled to make enrolment more systematic. The other existing special schools will follow a phased conversion to resource centres that provide professional support to neighbourhood schools.

Within the South African context, the development of inclusive education will also take into account the incidence and widespread impact of HIV/AIDS, setting it alongside a requirement to acknowledge and respect learners' differences, whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language, class or disability. In addition, as part of the special education remit, the Ministry of Education will provide teaching guidelines on how to support 'orphans and other children in distress' within an educational setting.

The South African Government's education policy is in its infancy and people with disabilities still face enormous barriers to equality. For example, despite some employers actively seeking to employ people with disabilities, the work environment and/or public transport services, make work impossible. However, according to Ka Toni, Secretary General of South African Disabled People's Organisation, attention could all too easily be diverted, yet, *"until education of the highest standards possible is accessible to persons with disabilities, transformation of our society will remain stunted."* [The Mail and Guardian, 16 October 2001].

Benefits of inclusivity

In the United Kingdom outcomes are currently less well defined and more tenuous. However, it could be argued that inclusive schooling brings the following benefits:

- better outcomes academically, socially and economically. During the first two years the biggest gains are for the special needs students but then increasingly these are extended
- enhanced self-esteem for all learners and improved opportunities to develop social skills
- systematic reconsideration of learning environment, pedagogy and curricula, which benefits all students
- increased student participation in making choices about their own learning
- an alteration in assessment foci towards meeting goals rather than academic standards. This makes success accessible to all students.

Inclusion encapsulates the spirit of ubuntu, human dignity for all, but success depends on dispelling myths and creating a shared future of social acceptance and mutual understanding.

4 To what extent would work need to be done with non-disabled students, parents and teachers to ensure inclusion? Do you feel this is an appropriate approach?

5 Should the topic of disability be included in a citizenship course? How would you tackle the topic?

Case study: Dr. Lazarus Secondary School, Durban

Based on an interview at the school:

Initially there was resistance to integrating a mainstream and a special school; parents did not want their disabled child to be victimised by the mainstream school. Also, there were problems of dilution, in terms of the rigour of the curriculum and assessment undertaken and 'exclusion within inclusion' due to inaccessibility of rooms, which minimised social, physical and intellectual interaction and equity.

However, we went ahead and work was conducted with all staff to minimise 'over-sympathy'. About 22% of the special needs school's students are currently learning at the mainstream school. Following an initial orientation, students spend one month settling into a class, supported by a buddy.

To maximise understanding and dialogue on every level, two committees exist, the Association for the Physically Disabled for parents and a Junior Association for the Physically Disabled for the students. The membership is drawn from across the school. The latter is actively supervised and supported to make decisions. Their role is to raise awareness, infuse the Life Skills programme with topical and relevant issues, to define policy and to fund raise. In addition, there is an annual Disability Awareness Week. The aim is to breakdown the mystique of disability and to minimise atomisation and stigmatism. The school has made huge leaps. However, unresolved issues still remain…

- *Some disabled students like to return to the special school to use the toilet because all students use their facilities and poke fun at them*
- *There is no PE programme*
- *Buddy scheme is still very informal.*

11 Literacy and empowerment

The links between language and learning in the school curriculum are well established. All lessons include, and are largely dependent on, oracy and literacy. Therefore, all teachers are teachers of language and literacy and in turn, literacy is intricately connected with notions of democratic citizenship and participation. The way schools embrace language and literacy can facilitate, challenge or threaten meaningful democratic participation and equality. As Andrew Miller, Director of Project Literacy in South Africa, commented during an interview, *"offering democratic guarantees and participation to the illiterate is like throwing them a rope of sand. Literacy is the lynchpin transforming a rhetorical commitment into a meaningful and empowering reality"*.

Section 29 [2] of the South African Constitution states *"Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account: equity, practicability and the need to redress the results of past discriminatory laws and practices."*

What is literacy?

Three interpretations of Literacy are possible:

Functional Literacy – the level of reading and writing that enables an individual to function adequately in social and employment situations.

Cultural Literacy – emphasises the knowledge required to understand and interpret the social interaction an individual has.

Critical Literacy – goes beyond cultural literacy to analyse the division of power and resources in society as a way of transforming discriminatory circumstances.

There is no single definition of what it means to be literate. Where a number of cultural groups co-exist it is likely that a range of meanings will coexist or joust for dominance. However, ultimately those in power decide [Freire and Macedo, 1987] and to be considered literate the requirements of those in power must be met.

Il/literacy is, therefore, not simply an objective description but is an ideological, historically located interpretation which is a product of specific interests and which constructs a group of people [Prinsloo and Breier, 1996]. Equally, literacy is not fixed because the media with which we communicate, constantly change.

What is unquestionable though is that literacy is far more complex than simply raising standards. As such, schools, as important sites of social and cultural reproduction, have an important role to play. In defining literacy, a crucial educational debate concerns to what extent it is a set of skills or a living out of cultural practices.

The former assumes that *"literacy as a decontextualised set of information processing skills, which the individual learns and then contextualises by applying them to a progressively wider range of activities… The cultural practices model sees literacy skills and knowledge developing directly within specific contexts of practice that vary across languages and cultures."* [Blackledge, 2000: 2-3]

This cultural and critical approach to literacy accords with the thinking of the Brazilian educationalist, Paulo Freire. In the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* [1972] he argued that functional literacy is fuelled by economic motives, to mobilise, train and educate for the actions required of individuals by society. It requires no engagement with the learners' own language, thoughts or experiences. Freire did not deny the importance of functionality but argued that genuine literacy involves an element of critical reflection where learners are equipped with the skills to demystify and decode their society. It entails an element of consciousness and ownership, which provides learners with the skills and understanding to examine and challenge their own situation. Experiencing literacy in context is crucial ...

"being able to read is itself no guarantee of being either civilised or uncivilised, moral or immoral"

Texts present 'versions of reality' which position or influence the reader in implicit and explicit ways. Students need to appreciate this if they are to understand the power of language, and to develop the knowledge, skills and understanding that will empower them to make informed choices in a variety of contexts. It is unlikely that a purely functional approach will meet the needs of modern society and it may leave students disempowered.

Levels of literacy in South Africa and the United Kingdom

In South Africa during apartheid, illiteracy was part of wider social and political inequalities and this legacy remains. The historical inadequacy of learning facilities and opportunities, especially for black communities, ensured that a majority of the adult population was marginalized from educational opportunities and had no schooling or only inadequate schooling. Before 1990, some provision was made to tackle the illiteracy of about 50,000 adult learners in state-run, low profile and poorly resourced night schools located in black schools. In addition non-governmental organisations recruited about 10,000 further students, and industrial corporations carried out 'social responsibility work' with a further 50,000 learners.

There was a noticeable shift between 1990 and 1994 and the debate was incorporated into the wider post-apartheid reconstruction/development agenda. The aim was to offer an estimated 15 million illiterates access to a system of state-guaranteed modular courses, which could give access to further education and training and a higher level of employment. However, despite the shift and the commitment to tackle social injustice, less than 1% of the Education Department budget is spent on adult education although adult illiteracy runs at about 50%. Unfortunately, long-term adult illiteracy is likely to continue, especially in pockets where Ministry policy is not fully implemented [Harber, 2001].

However, literacy levels are already much improved within the younger cohort of students, reflecting the recent outcomes of the basic education process and increased investment in education. In 1994, expenditure on education equalled R31.8 billion, but had risen to R51.1 billion by 2000, almost 6% of Gross Domestic Product, one of the highest rates of government investment in education in the world [Department of Education, 2001b:10]. Analysis of literacy rates shows 83% of persons aged 15-24 are now considered functionally literate.

Illiteracy is a global phenomenon and the United Kingdom is no exception to this. In fact, of the nations surveyed for levels of adult literacy by the OECD in 1997, only Poland and Ireland emerged with lower levels of literacy than Britain [A Fresh Start, DfEE, 1999]. Adult literacy in the United Kingdom is behind most European countries and Australia, performing comparably with the USA. An estimated 7 million adults in England cannot locate the page references for a plumber in Yellow Pages and 1 in 16 adults cannot identify the venue for a concert on a simple poster featuring only the name of the band, the venue, date, time and ticket price. Yet 60% of jobs now require the ability to understand and act on written instructions, obtain simple information and process a price list . Reports estimate the costs to UK of illiteracy, in lost business, remedial education, crime, and benefit payments, to be over £10 billion per annum.

As a result of these economic concerns, in 1997 the newly elected Labour government introduced the National Literacy Strategy. This built on the *Curriculum 2000*, which had included a more explicit, statutory requirement for the integral teaching of language in all subject areas. However, unlike the South African model, there is no direct reference to the relationship between literacy and democratic participation in the UK. The Strategy does refer to 'beyond school' and how language skills contribute to progress in employment and *"opportunities to develop diverse interests and abilities"*. In addition, it discusses the potential of thinking about and understanding the world and each other through the teaching materials selected. Literature, it advocates, helps *"to shape the personality, refine the sensibility, develop empathy, sharpen critical intelligence and provides a medium through which values can be acquired."* [Beard, 1999].

1 What do you think is the connection between literacy and democratic citizenship? To what extent do you think it is an important relationship? Does the literacy agenda need to be more clearly developed within the United Kingdom in relation to citizenship?

In July 2001, the Minister for Education in South Africa launched the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy. A central commitment was made, in this document, to achieving universal literacy. Language is at the heart of all learning and individuals with restricted language skills are less capable of interacting equally with others socially, politically, economically or intellectually. The document goes further, recognising the role of literacy in facilitating democratic behaviours, in effect asking what literacy is for.

"Without the ability to read, write, count and think, it is impossible to participate effectively in democracy and in society, and it is therefore impossible to internalise and to live out the values of the Constitution. For this reason, South Africa has committed itself to achieving universal literacy and numeracy, and to a curriculum that imparts not only these fundamental skills, but also the capacity to think critically… understand how the world works, work responsibly in groups, understand the impact of knowledge on society, and make informed and responsible decisions."

2 Compare the justifications for literacy in South Africa and the United Kingdom – what is the difference in emphasis? What additional training and resources would be required in the UK to support effective practice?

In South Africa, the Language Learning Area of the national curriculum does recognise a functional and vocational agenda. However, it goes further. Being literate is much more than just being able to read and write. Learners communicate and understand the world through language and from this construct and articulate identities and knowledge. As a result, the Language Learning Area is also supposed to contribute to the development of cultural and critical literacy, enabling learners 'to become responsible citizens in a democratic society' [Department of Education, 2001:44]. Through well-chosen texts, learners are encouraged to engage critically with important and relevant issues such as human rights, the environment, and HIV/AIDS within their immediate community and beyond, both nationally and internationally.

According to the South African national curriculum, learners will analyse and challenge how values are realised… how texts take a particular view of people and events… and, if necessary, resist these views and the values associated with them. At the same time, they will learn how to express positive values in the texts they create themselves… tolerance, empathy, respect, pleasure, beauty, humour, and playfulness [Department of Education, 2001:46].

3 Project Literacy, based in Pretoria aims to deliver a wide range of adult basic education and training programmes to educationally disadvantaged individuals. The following extract is taken from one of their readers, *The will to live* by Bronwynne Pereira [p16]. Consider the following: what would readers learn from this passage about themselves, their community and power relationships?

Examine the text from a recent English text book in the UK [see page 56]. To what extent would students be empowered by working with it and why?

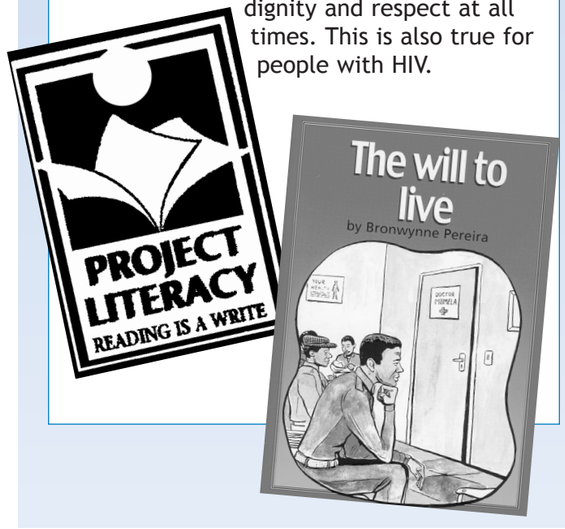
At the AIDS Law Project, Sgt Mogale and Thandi met a lawyer called Faizel. His office was full of books about human rights. Sgt Mogale felt comfortable in Faizel's office. He began to tell his story. Faizel listened very carefully. He wrote down everything Sgt Mogale said.

Then Faizel told the Mogales about the laws that protect people who are HIV positive. People with HIV have human rights, like anyone else.

The highest law in the country, the Constitution, says that you cannot be discriminated against if you are HIV positive.

The Bill of Rights is part of the Constitution. It says that everyone has the right to be treated equally. It also says everyone should be free from discrimination.

Everyone has the right to be treated with dignity and respect at all times. This is also true for people with HIV.



Under the *Children and Young Persons Act 1933*, each local authority creates its own by-laws giving the terms and conditions for the employment of young people in that area.

These state the kind of work that a young person may, or may not, do and require employers to inform the council of all young people they employ. Although largely ignored, the rules also state that, generally speaking, anyone below school leaving age who has a part-time job must have a medical certificate of fitness for work and an employment card issued by the local council.

The only kind of employment children under fourteen can be given is occasional light farm work, supervised by a parent, or parts in plays or films, etc., for which a special licence is required from the local authority.

Children aged fourteen or over may be employed only in light work approved by their local authority.

No young person below school leaving age may be employed before 7am or after 7pm, for more than one hour before the start of school, or for more than two hours on a school day, or on a Sunday.

Few rules require a magistrates' licence for someone between 14-16 to be paid to take part in sport.

There are few restrictions on the employment of 16 or 17 year olds. However, people under 18 cannot normally work in a bar, unless they work in a restaurant where drinks are served with meals, or are being trained for the licensing trade under a Modern Apprenticeship scheme. Copies of the by-laws controlling the employment of young people in your area can be obtained from the local library, council or education office. Information is also available from the Low Pay Unit

Understanding the text

1 What kind of work may children under the age of 14 legally do?

2 Is the age for starting work the same in all areas?

3 How long may a child under 16 work before the start of the school day?

4 In what kind of bar may people under 18 work?

from The Literacy Kit, Geoff Barton

Literacy for what?

"Within the UK, there is a statutory requirement that all teachers in every curriculum area must consider learners' reading, writing, speaking and listening and technical and specialist vocabulary needs" [DfEE, 1999].

"Effective literacy is the key to raising standards across all subjects, and equipping pupils with the skills and knowledge they need for life beyond school… it encompasses the ability to recognise, understand and manipulate the conventions of language, and develop pupils' ability to use language imaginatively and flexibly…all teachers have a stake in effective literacy" [DfEE, 2000:9-10].

As a result, by the age of fourteen, the *framework for teaching English* expects a learner to be

a shrewd and fluent independent reader:

- orchestrating a range of strategies to get at meaning in text, including inferential and evaluative skills;
- sensitive to the way meanings are made;
- reading in different ways for different purposes, including skimming to pick up quickly the gist of a text, scanning to locate specific information, close reading to follow complex passages and reading to uncover layers of meaning;
- reflective, critical and discriminating in response to a wide range of printed and visual texts.

a confident writer:

- able to write for a variety of purposes and audiences, knowing the conventions and beginning to adapt and develop them;
- able to write imaginatively, effectively and correctly;
- able to shape, express, experiment with and manipulate sentences;
- able to organise, develop, spell and punctuate writing accurately.

an effective speaker and listener:

- with the clarity and confidence to convey a point of view or information;
- using talk to explore, create, question and revise ideas, recognising language as a tool for learning;
- able to work effectively with others in a range of roles;
- having a varied repertoire of styles, which are used appropriately.

In the UK, though the potential exists for a more explicit creative/critical interpretation, governmental references are nebulous in their direction and the outcomes are not specifically linked to equitable democratic and social participation. Many would argue that this is a missed opportunity as,

"…the ability of individuals to exercise their democratic rights to participate fully in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the nation, is closely related to literacy and numeracy levels" [Sayed and Jansen, 2001]

4 Compare the UK outcomes above to the following outcomes for South Africa.

- Listening: The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond appropriately and critically in a wide range of situations.
- Speaking: The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.
- Reading and Viewing: The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.
- Writing: The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts, for a wide range of purposes.
- Thinking and Reasoning: The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.

5 In 1997 HMI John Hertrich reported on literacy. He stated that literacy should be more than simply basic skills of reading and writing. Having looked at the materials on both South Africa and the UK, complete his quotation using your own words in relation to education for democratic citizenship:

"Literacy can be defined on a number of levels. It is obviously concerned with the ability to read and write but a fuller definition might be the capacity to…"

6 In the UK the DfES suggests that all subjects actively support and develop learners' writing, speaking, listening and reading and teach students to use and spell any technical and specialist vocabulary accurately. Considering your own subject, is it possible to connect outcomes for literacy with the sort of citizen or society that is desired as a result of education for democracy? Write a five-point action plan for guidance for your subject area on the best way forward.

12 Environmental education

"Whatever else the schools system in a country like ours achieves, the bottom line surely should be that it needs to strive to create a generation which is not only well-educated in an academic sense, but also has a highly developed sense of ethics and of global as well as national citizenship."

[Michael Barber Secondary Heads Association Conference, 1998, as quoted in Environmental Education. Spring 2001, 66:11]

The case for the inclusion of, say, literacy in a curriculum charged with such aims as Barber's may appear to be self-evident. However, even those areas of study that would appear to lie at the core of what it conventionally means to be educated must be justifiable in their use of limited time and resources. The notional British pupil's 15,000 hours of formal education are far too valuable to be wasted on irrelevancies. For example, Huckle [1997] argues that much of the geography studied by pupils in English schools contributes to increasing youth dissatisfaction and plays no part in addressing the deteriorating levels of democratic participation that resulted in only 58% of the electorate voting in June 2001. Huckle's criticisms of geography may well be equally applicable to other mainstream subjects and may result from adults' imposition of what they see as being important.

1 If pupils had more say in what they learned, do you think environmental education would have a higher profile?

In the scramble for timetable hours, environmental education has not fared well. Its profile has varied and has frequently reflected society's general awareness of environmental crises, as well as the interests and enthusiasms of individual teachers, local advisers, et al. For example, the near coincidence in the early 1990s of the publication of the NCC's Curriculum Guidance 7 Environmental Education, with the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and the resultant Plan for Action [Agenda 21] added impetus to the inclusion of effective environmental education in schools. [For a concise, but informative review of the development of environmental education see Calvo and Franquesa, 2000]. The introduction of Curriculum 2000, including the citizenship elements, has raised the level of debate still further, as did Johannesburg's World Summit in 2002.

2 Outline a model for learning and teaching in Citizenship Education similar to the one below for Environmental Education. What elements, activities, experiences, etc would constitute Education about Citizenship? Education for Citizenship? Education in Citizenship? How useful would such a model be?

Curriculum Guidance 7 [NCC, 1990] publicised a structure for learning and teaching in environmental education that suggested a three-pronged approach.

A Model for Learning and Teaching in Environmental Education

Education about the environment	Education for the environment	Education in the environment
Concerned with providing learners with basic knowledge and understanding of environmental features, processes and issues	Concerned with caring for the environment, exploring and solving environmental problems and informing learners' choices as they affect the environment.	Concerned with enquiry and investigation by the learners, and using the environment as a stimulus to learning.

The British government's adoption of Agenda 21, a locally implemented action programme for managing our interactions with the environment towards and in the 21st century, signalled a significant shift in the focus of environmental education. Firstly, as the Secretary General of United Nations Conference on Environment and Development stated at the time, besides being concerned with the environment, Agenda 21 was *"a first step towards ensuring that the world will become a more just, secure and prosperous habitat for all of humanity"* [Environmental Education, 1998: 5]. Thus the link between social justice and environmental issues was broadcast explicitly. Secondly, the need for active participation at grass-roots level was emphasised and with it the acknowledgement of the need to provide participants with the knowledge, understanding and skills to undertake effective involvement.

Environmental education has been evolving into an education for sustainability, in which people *"develop the knowledge, values and skills to participate in decisions about the way we do things individually and collectively, both locally and globally, that will improve the quality of life now without damaging the planet for the future."* [DfEE/QCA, 1998].

Even a cursory reading of the National Curriculum programmes of study for Key Stage 3 reveals potential for a range of subjects to contribute to such an education. The Orders for Citizenship and non-statutory guidelines for PSHE similarly contain references to individual and group participation in exploring and resolving environmental issues.

3 Review the programmes of study for your own curriculum area and identify:

a] the links to education for sustainability;

b] the potential relationship of your subject to the following 'concepts of sustainable development' - interdependence; citizenship and stewardship; need and rights of future generations; diversity; quality of life; sustainable change; uncertainty and precaution.

Since the 1994 election the South African Department for Education has recognised the contribution of education for sustainability as being vital not only in terms of valuing and conserving the environment, but also in moving towards social justice.

"South Africa has a history of socially unjust conservation laws and the protection of the land for the benefit of the few, often to the detriment of others" [Department of Education, 2001a: 73].

The aim of implementing the constitution through the education system is being pursued through the publication of a set of underlying values [see Chapter 3]. Further, the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy [ibid.] seeks to promote such an aim through a series of educational strategies, including *"Ethics and the environment"* [ibid. p73-75] through which South Africans will be able to *"live decently now and in the future."* [ibid. pviii].

It will be the teachers and the learners who will be at the forefront of developments in relation to environmental education and there is a series of projects, initiatives and documentary support, providing evidence of success in a relatively short period of time.

Read the contents of the following three boxes and answer question 4 [overleaf].

The National Botanical Institute's Outreach Programme is based at the Gold Fields Centre, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens [Cape Town] and its objectives include:

- To establish school gardens for education and environmental work
- To promote gardening as a skill for economic development and as a tool for local environmental action
- To encourage and assist communities in establishing food gardens, domestic gardens and public green spaces.

Its aim is to **"take botanical gardens to communities"** and, thus, it complements other programmes that enable marginalised communities to engage in environmental education and improvement. For example, dedicated buses bring senior citizens and pupils from previously disadvantaged areas to the gardens. The Outreach Programme has achieved considerable success in such areas as the Cape Flats. Here a combination of teacher training sessions and work directly with pupils have led to improvements of the school environments, and the establishment of vegetable gardens run by previously unemployed parents which produce vegetables either for sale or for use in locally-run soup kitchens.

The schemes have resulted in the development of locally-based decision-making and entrepreneurial skills, as well as improvements in the social and physical environment.

South African teachers have to respond to the National Curriculum for Grades R-9, in which environmental education forms an explicit cross-curricular element and is closely linked to other aspects of education for citizenship. The curriculum states that pupils should learn about, for example:

Maths - critical awareness of responsible use of mathematical relationships to address human rights issues and environmental problems and risks; mathematical tools to expose inequalities and assess human rights problems and risks.

Science - science's contribution to social justice; science to promote responsibility towards oneself, society and the environment.

Social Studies - human rights, critical awareness of environmental and social issues; how people respond to and influence the environment; understanding of how social and environmental justice can be brought about through the actions of individuals and organisations; the making of critical and informed choices and taking action to deal with social and environmental issues.

Life Orientation - making informed, morally responsible and accountable decisions about the environment; exercising constitutional rights and responsibilities; links between environmental issues and communities' well being.

Technology - sensitivity to social and environmental factors; interactions between technology, society, the environment and human rights.

Concrete proposal

[adapted from Guardian Education, 4/9/01]

Asked what they would like in their playground to replace the vast tract of Tarmac and a single strip of 'grass', too dry in summer and too muddy in winter, the majority of children at Ravenstone primary school [south London] proved surprisingly moderate in their demands - no duplicate Alton Towers, just a climbing frame, some monkey bars, more flowers, more shade, more quiet areas, more benches and a nature trail.

The older pupils said that while they were proud of what went on inside the building, they were ashamed of the impression the playground made on visitors.

A group of parents, backed enthusiastically by staff, met to discuss what could be done. They opted, not for a short-term fix of a couple of pieces of play equipment, benches, window boxes and repainting walls, but for a long-term plan that involves widespread consultations with pupils, staff and parents, raising funds by competing with other applicants to charities and trusts.

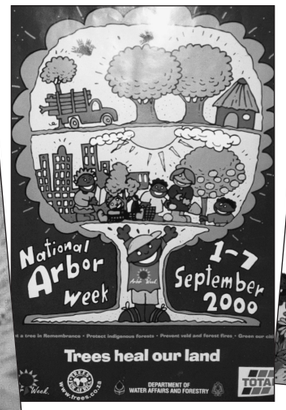
How the initiative fares will be reported on the pages of the Guardian Education.

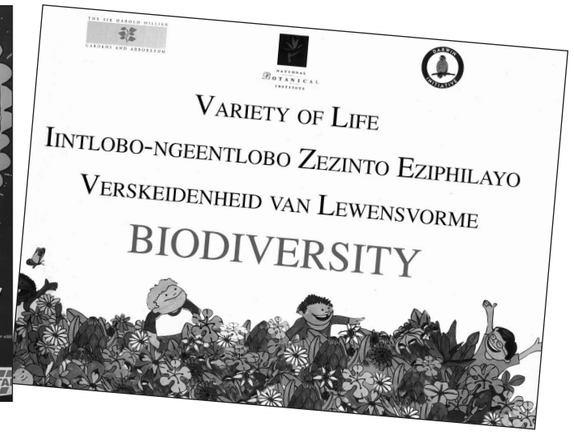
4 Consider the extent to which:

a] a school in the Cape Flats area of Cape Town that becomes involved in the National Botanical Institute's Outreach Programme will be addressing those aspects of the South African National Curriculum outlined above;

b] Ravenstone primary school's playground project could involve its pupils, parents and staff in effective citizenship education.







Participation in Environmental Education

"... it will take a programme of education to bring communities to the point where they are able to exercise responsibility for their own lives and for life on earth, and for reaching an understanding that the two are inseparable.

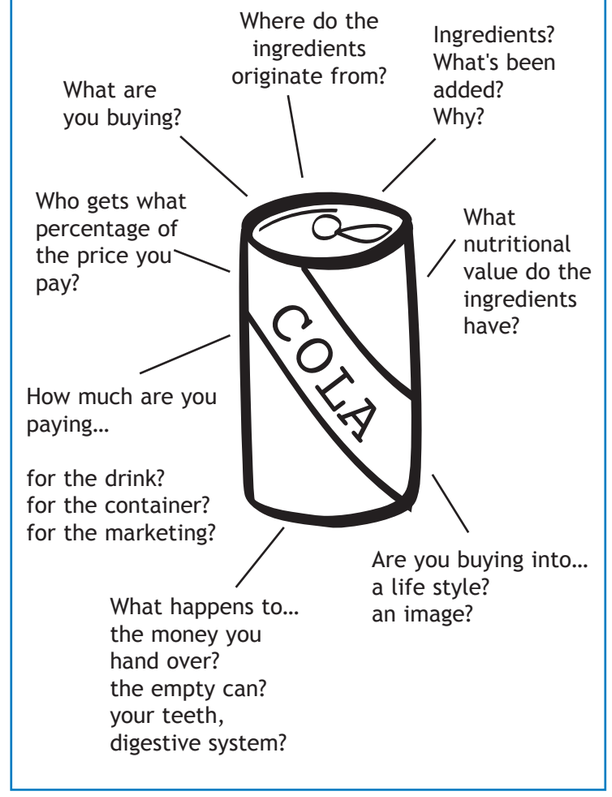
There can be no doubt that environmental ethics must form part of what it means to be educated." [Department of Education, 2001a: 75].

Environmental education in some form has existed in British schools for a number of years and so several generations of British pupils have been exposed to environmental ethics. However, one must consider what is meant by the term 'ethic'. Andrew et al. [1996] provide a useful introduction to the notion of environmental ethics. They also present a concise discussion of ethics as a code [in which ethics are used to reinforce existing power relationships and support the status quo] and ethics as a process [whereby they are associated with investigation and evaluation]. It is the latter that is required for meaningful and active participation in any democratic debate, including those relating to social and environmental justice.

5 The primary focus of environmental work in English schools has been "litter collection, recycling and saving the rain forest". Is this your experience? What should be the role of environmental education in education for democratic citizenship?

The predominant focus of environmental work in schools has reflected ethics as a code, and as such can be criticised. Litter collection and recycling are not enough. Bloomfield [1998] calls for an examination of the underlying issues; perhaps, as well as encouraging pupils not to drop empty soft drink cans, they should also be encouraged to consider if they should be buying them in the first place. If environmental ethics is approached as a process, in which pupils are provided with the knowledge, values and skills necessary to participate meaningfully in their environment and their community, the mantra of *"Act Local, Think Global"* may be replaced by one that better reflects the processes of globalisation that shape the world environments - *"Think Local, Act Global"*.

"break out of the local ... primary or exclusive emphasis on the local can also lead groups to become colloquial and blinkered to other acts of resistance around the world or even their own religions, leaving them exposed to defeat or even destruction by not building sufficient social alliances" [Amoore, et al. 1997, p190].



6 *"People who start to think about green matters usually begin at the shallow level - cleaner rivers, protection of the ozone layer. Then, if they go much deeper; what ways of thinking, what ways of being, have led us to mistreat the earth and abuse each other?"*

Damien Green [quoted in Job, 1996].

How does your subject contribute to an environmental education that is an important aspect of citizenship education and that supports pupils in getting to Green's deeper level? What role has your subject area got in developing an environmental ethic that is a process, rather than a code?

13 Conflict resolution and peace

"Reconciliation values difference and diversity as the basis for unity: it means accepting that South Africa is made up of people and communities with very different experiences of what it means to be South African, experiences which have often been violent and conflictual"
[Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy, 2001a: 20].

Clarifying the concepts

The term conflict refers to hostilities between at least two parties. It is most often regarded as destructive and hence much energy is spent suppressing or eliminating it. However, it can have a positive effect, stimulating innovative thinking and re-evaluation. Equally, if conflict is viewed as normal and inescapable, attention can be focused on managing it. Left unresolved, conflict festers and is divisive, fuelling stereotypes and hatred, harming relationships and hindering co-operation.

Hence it could be argued that conflict resolution is at the basis of all effective interactions, and by enabling young people to begin to resolve their conflicts the foundations can be laid for greater mutual understanding and respect for non-violence.

"Inclusive schools and communities are characterised by a sense of security, wherein individuals do not have to struggle to assert their own differing identities but can work for the good of the whole community." [Carter and Osler, 2000]

The concepts of justice and peace are intrinsically linked. The absence of the former is often at the expense of the latter. Oppressed groups might prize 'justice' more than 'peace' and may be prepared to inflict or endure high levels of violence to achieve their rights to citizenship. A meaningful democracy can only be established where peace and justice coexist, where there is a sense of mutual interdependence [reciprocity] and where people are prepared to take into account and, indeed, defend the rights of others [solidarity] [Starkey, 1992: 127]. Education has a key role to play in making this a reality.

"...The world is malleable, not immutable, and [schools] should be teaching how in practice human beings can unite and mobilise and fight to get things changed." [Richardson, 1991:7]

1 Conflict is a normal part of human existence. The question is how we deal with it. What are the advantages and disadvantages of conflict for schools?

2 What skills could an education for citizenship course offer to enable students to resolve their conflicts more effectively?

South African context

"Schools have long been violent places for South African children. South Africa has only recently emerged from a history in which violence was routinely used by the state as a means of exerting power. Years of violent enforcement have fuelled a culture of violence." [HRW, 2001: 5-6]

About 21,000 South Africans are murdered annually, with a similar number of unsuccessful attempts being made, often by family members or others known to the victim. South Africans are more likely to be shot dead than to die in a car accident. [Guardian 06/12/01]

Undeniably South Africa is a violent society. This is a consequence of multiple factors: gross economic and political inequality; the social dislocation caused by the physical removal of whole communities; brutal repression by the apartheid state [unavoidably resulting in violent resistance to it]; the widespread availability of guns and patriarchal values and behaviours. As a result, South African society carries a violent legacy. Schools, as microcosms of, and operators within, the wider society, cannot fail to be fundamentally affected [Harber, 2001].

In addition to being plagued by external violence, schools reproduce and create their own conflict. The majority of teachers are products of the apartheid education system and are unfamiliar with democratic education. As a result, they are sometimes wary about becoming less authoritarian. especially at a time when they feel their classrooms and selves to be already vulnerable [Harber, 2001]. As a result, although caning is officially banned it is still widely deployed, despite evidence that corporal punishment encourages anti-social aggression, vandalism and perpetuates the cycle of violence [Holdstock, 1990; Vally, 1999].

3 51% of British parents recently surveyed concerning corporal punishment, supported the re-introduction of caning [Carvel, 2000]. What do you think about the application of corporal punishment in schools and what consequences would you anticipate seeing as a result?

Breaking the mould:
moving towards reconciliation

The South African Constitution calls on its people to *"heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights"* [Preamble to the Constitution]. Reconciliation has been identified as one of the ten fundamental key values underpinning post-apartheid education [see chapter 3].

While there is a plethora of literature on the nature and causes of violence, there are still too few examples of interventions to reduce it. What has occurred stems largely from the initiatives of non-governmental organisations. Their overriding rationale is to foster a climate of understanding and a real sense of ownership and committed responsibility within and beyond the school community. The goal is not the reduction or elimination of conflict, but rather to increase the capacity to deal with conflict and to make conflict non-violent.

As of yet direct intervention by the government in conflict resolution remains in its infancy, though there is a commitment to address 'non-violence' training through the conflict resolution and peace education components in the Life Orientation learning area of the Out Based Education curriculum [Manifesto on values, education and democracy, 2001a: 70].

While the agenda can be addressed through the formal curriculum, good work can be easily neutralised and/or destroyed by the context of the school and the wider community. As a minimum, schools need to ensure learners and teachers are physically secure and that the infrastructure and resources of the school and the individual are not denigrated. Learning is not possible in an environment where individuals feel victimised and unsafe. In addition, engendering a democratic culture of non-violence is inextricably linked to nurturing a culture of communication and participation in schools where there is a sense of common purpose. The work conducted by some non-governmental organisations addresses these issues, helping schools to create transparent and well-documented procedures and structures for dealing with conflict, to foster communication and interaction between individuals and groups in the school. Two case studies of non-governmental organisation work in peaceful conflict resolution are provided below.

Case study 1

Independent Projects Trust [IPT] has played a central role in peaceful conflict resolution in Durban, KwaZulu Natal, for over a decade. Originally, it focused attention solely on school-based conflict resolution work. Training pivoted on raising self-awareness with staff, then empowering these individuals to handle conflict in confident, creative and constructive ways. Once this new knowledge and understanding was internalised, teachers were able to cascade the practice, gradually embedding it as a core and valued component of students' formal and informal education.

However, in 1996 IPT realised that, while a necessary approach, school-based conflict resolution work is not sufficient to reduce the external violence that frequently encroached on schools and neutralised their efforts. As a result, in addition to its existing work, IPT facilitated a task team known as Community Alliance for Safer Schools [CASS]. They produced a practical course for school governing bodies, addressing the key aspects of creating a secure school environment. Of particular interest to democratic citizenship are the elements of inclusive school management and teaching and learning about peace and safety. In addition, attention focused on other areas, including working with the police, improving relationships with the community and developing a written school security plan.

With the backing of the provincial Ministry of Education, a year long pilot study commenced in April 1999. It operated within three geographically clustered, urban schools. Official recognition was found to be important in the success of the work. Equally, the involvement of pupils in the workshop training was perceived by all participants to be a valuable part of the work. The most important outcome was a change in perceptions, with schools considered to be safer places twelve months on. [Harber, 2001b]

Case study 2

The Centre for Conflict Resolution [CCR] is based in Cape Town. It engages in research, consultation, training, mediation and facilitation with an emphasis on capacity building for conflict resolution. Work is undertaken with all areas and levels of public life. In relation to schools, its Youth Project works primarily with teachers to promote conflict resolution with young people.
There are two training programmes. Participation in the first is a prerequisite for the second:

- Creative and Constructive approaches to Conflict [CCAC], which focuses on understanding conflict and developing skills associated with constructive conflict resolution.
- Mediation in School Communities [MISC] focusing on conflict resolution strategies and mediation.

In addition, there is an outreach programme, sending resources out into schools from an extensive borrowers' library. The outreach programme reached approximately 500 schools in the greater Cape Town region in 1999-2000.



The Youth Project enables schools to:

- Teach children to deal with conflict in creative and constructive ways as a core entitlement of the formal and informal curriculum.
- Cultivate mutual respect and to recognise the inherent human worth and dignity of all human beings. With this entitlement comes the responsibility to treat others as we would like to be treated.
- Develop inter-generational partnerships with young people, to engage actively with them and hear their voices in homes, schools and other institutions and in the media.
- Help young people to broaden their social literacies and to build strategies for empowerment in terms of decision-making, taking responsibility, skills training, visioning alternatives and making them happen.
- Develop internal vocabularies of hope and empowerment.

[Dovey, 1998]

"Your training course… was fantastic, exciting, empowering and mind-opening. You surely are succeeding in changing people's lives for the better."
Workshop participant and secondary school teacher

"Mediation has changed my life. I was a fighter but now I am a fixer. I fix problems instead of walking away."
Lindsay, Grade 7 learner
[CCR Annual Report, 1999-2000: 33]

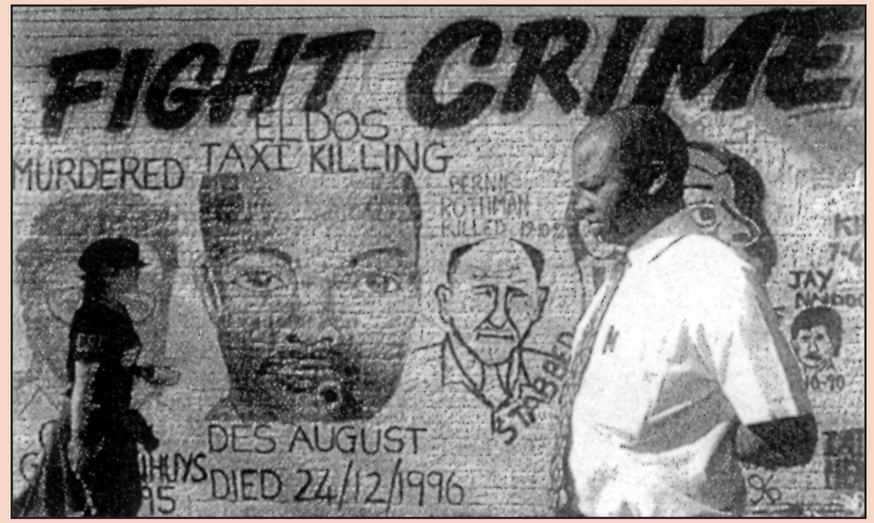
4 Discuss how the adoption of the principles behind IPT and CCR might help create a climate to support democratic citizenship within an educational context known to you.



Violent crimes

South Africa's shocking statistics

- South Africans are more likely to be shot dead than die in a car accident, according to government statistics
- About 21,000 South Africans are murdered each year, with a similar number of attempted murders, many of them in their own homes by members of their families or people they know
- Four out of five murder victims are male, mostly in their twenties and thirties.
- Johannesburg is the most violent city, with a murder rate three times the national average. About 80 policemen have been murdered this year
- About 50,000 rapes are reported each year. South Africa has been shocked by a sharp increase in the numbers of rapes of young children. The targeting of babies just a few months old - sometimes in the belief that sex with a virgin is a cure for Aids - has sparked outrage in a country hardened to crime. Some babies have been gang-raped. More than 32,000 children have been raped over the past two years
- About 100,000 violent robberies are reported each year, and 300,000 burglaries



Faces of victims on a wall in Johannesburg, where the murder rate is three times the national average

Extract from The Guardian, December 2001

United Kingdom Context

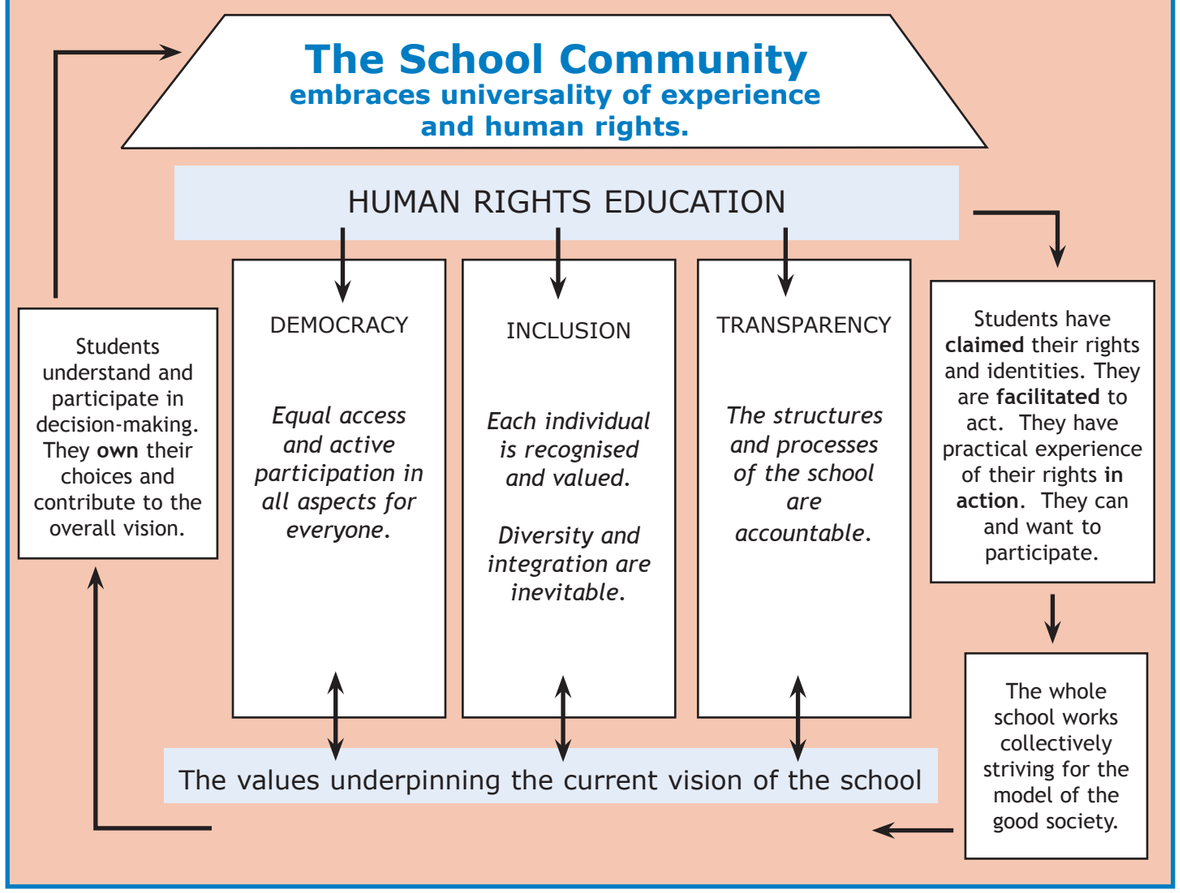
While South African colleagues work in a considerably more violent and changeable environment, violence and crime are more commonplace than desirable within schools in the United Kingdom. In terms of conflict resolution, the South African examples indicate the importance of creating a culture of democratic citizenship in the UK, where schools teach 'about', 'for' and 'in' human rights [Lister, 1984; Cunningham and Starkey, 1986: 21]. Developing the context for participation but no skills is as redundant as providing the skills with no context for participation. As earlier chapters have indicated

"Human rights should permeate the whole school life - the ethos and the organization of the school, as well as the content of the curriculum. Schools should, therefore, show respect and consideration for all their members, encourage solidarity and promote dialogue" [Stobart, 1991].

The diagram below illustrates the realization of a democratic culture within a school community. Through democratic practice, the students develop the skills to access their rights and can claim their full entitlement and identity. They understand and participate in the whole-school decision-making process. Collectively the school is able to shape a living values system that supports good practice and positive relationships. Students own their choices and value being able to contribute to the overall vision of the school. This creates a sense of responsibility to the collective and strengthens notions of solidarity and reciprocity. Not only are students able to participate but wish to do so. Gradually they develop practical experience of their rights in action and feel increasingly empowered to act. Each individual is valued and recognized for who they are within the community. The whole school works collectively, striving for the best imagined solution to the challenges and conflict it faces [Carter, 2000].

Adopting a democratic classroom may on the face of it seem unwise or potentially threatening. However, a study was conducted with PGCE students, where Francis [1993] set out to encourage her trainees to listen to 'learners' voices' and to obtain their own accounts of what was happening. She found that when her trainee teachers put this 'listening' approach into practice, their perceptions of their pupils changed and the pupils' learning improved. Far from their 'losing control', the work in their classrooms and the relationships they built were much improved.

Yet democratic schools are still a rarity and for many students authoritarianism is commonplace. There may even be a sharp mismatch between the school's policy and many students' experiences with some schools unable to provide a democratic or safe environment for all students. At their worst, practices sent out a contradictory message [Trafford, 1997; Cunningham, 1991; Lister, 1991]. For example, students may be told they have rights, but experiences clearly indicate that this is not the case. As Cunningham suggests, for some teachers it is a case of 'Don't do as I do, do as I say'



Young People's Parliament - *"Cool School Indicators"*

The Indicators

1. The quality of teachers and teaching in the school as a whole.
2. A wide range of learning opportunities, taking account of individual differences in learning styles.
3. Systems for checking student progress that consider all aspects of development, and don't concentrate too much on GCSE results, SATs and other forms of external testing.
4. A school environment in which ALL feel safe and secure and have a positive self-image.
5. Good relationships between the school and the surrounding community.
6. An emphasis in the school on rewards and celebrating success at all levels.
7. A democratic school culture, in which students can consult with each other and be consulted on matters affecting their school life.
8. Physical environment, including general cleanliness, classroom furnishings and fabric of the school building.
9. Quality of relations between staff and students.

[Cunningham, 1991: 97]. Teachers themselves need to model for young people the benefits of using discussion and dialogue rather than conflict and confrontation. Proclaiming human rights in an authoritarian classroom conveys a contradictory and hypocritical message.

Students learn about justice, equality and peace from the experiences they have, and the examples they live through, not simply from the words they hear spoken [Cunningham, 1991: 97].

5 Consider 'democratic school culture' and its role in conflict resolution and peace in relation to your current situation. What reforms would need to happen to provide the school experience depicted in figure 1?

6 As part of the Birmingham City Council's commitment to creating more effective learning environments, the city-based Young People's Parliament was asked to share ideas. Discuss their response, the "Cool School indicators". Few schools currently facilitate pupil participation or provide the opportunity to develop the skills for participation in the future. How important is it to consult young people? What challenges would you anticipate in such a process? What do the indicators tell you about creating a peaceful school?

Conclusion

"I have come to the frightening conclusion that I am the decisive element in the classroom. It is my personal approach that creates the climate. As a teacher I possess tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous. I can be a tool of torture or an instrument of inspiration. I can humiliate, humour, hurt or heal" [Ginott, 1972].

The impact of an authoritarian education regime in both South Africa and the United Kingdom, suggests that rigid discipline reduces positive relationships and responses, opposing citizenship and inclusion and often leads to violence rather than positive conflict. A democratic school is proposed as providing the best climate for facilitating positive conflict resolution. It represents a community where everyone is valued and participates, collectively shaping a peaceful ethos which values diversity and unconditional relationships. Inconsistency and negative conflict can be challenged because school structures and policies are transparent and accountable to everyone. This could create a sense of self- and group-responsibility, strengthening notions of solidarity and reciprocity. Such issues cannot be addressed as 'quick fixes', for this work to be successful in schools and wider society it needs to be sustained.

14 Teaching controversial issues

"A controversial issue is an issue about which there is no one fixed or universally held point of view. Such issues are those which commonly divide society and for which significant groups offer conflicting explanations and solutions. There may, for example, be conflicting views on such matters as how a problem has arisen and who is to blame; over how the problem may be resolved; over what principles should guide the decisions that can be taken, and so on."

The above definition of a controversial issue comes from the Crick Report on education for democratic citizenship in English schools [1998]. The Report further argued that,

"Education should not attempt to shelter our nation's children from even the harsher controversies of adult life, but should prepare them to deal with such controversies knowledgeably, sensibly, tolerantly and morally.

Of course, educators must never set out to indoctrinate; but to be completely unbiased is simply not possible, and on some issues, such as those concerning human rights, it is not desirable. When dealing with controversial issues, teachers should adopt strategies that teach pupils how to recognise bias, how to evaluate evidence put before them and how to look for alternative interpretations, viewpoints and sources of evidence; above all to give good reasons for everything they say and do, and to expect good reasons to be given by others."

Recognising bias

Much that is presented to us as information or 'fact' through the media is in reality often presented in a biased way and reflects the values of those constructing the article or programme. This is done through what is chosen or omitted, the language used to present information and even the pictures and captions used as illustrations. This can also be true of the material used in schools. Teaching learners to be critical readers of texts of all kinds is therefore an important aim of education for democratic citizenship. As we have seen, history is a school subject that is receiving special attention in the new South Africa, though it takes time to change established ideas when they have been taught for many years.

Two sets of extracts from school textbooks follow.

The first set of extracts is from *Southern Africa : A History* by H.E.Pegg and published in 1961 for use in secondary schools in southern Africa.

The second is from a British geography textbook in use in schools in the early 1980s].

1 What are the biases and values involved in each? [Note:We have deliberately chosen older texts to illustrate bias clearly for the purpose of this exercise. Newer school texts should not contain such negative bias, though all will contain political values – hopefully of a more democratic nature].

2 What are the biases and values that appear to underpin this book, 'Towards Ubuntu'?

Extract 1

'A very long time ago, possibly two thousand years, the Bushmen began to appear in southern Africa... They were often ugly on account of the large stomachs of the men and the fat buttocks and thighs of the women.'

'These were a people finer, more numerous, better organised and much more advanced in their ways than the Bushmen. As a distinctive racial group they are best known as Bantu…'

'A third branch of Bantu belief can be described as devil-worship; it shows itself in "possession" by wandering spirits, sometimes those of animals. It was, and is, a debasing superstition. Magic, the belief that by spells etc. the forces of nature could be made to work for man, played a great part in the lives of the Bantu.'

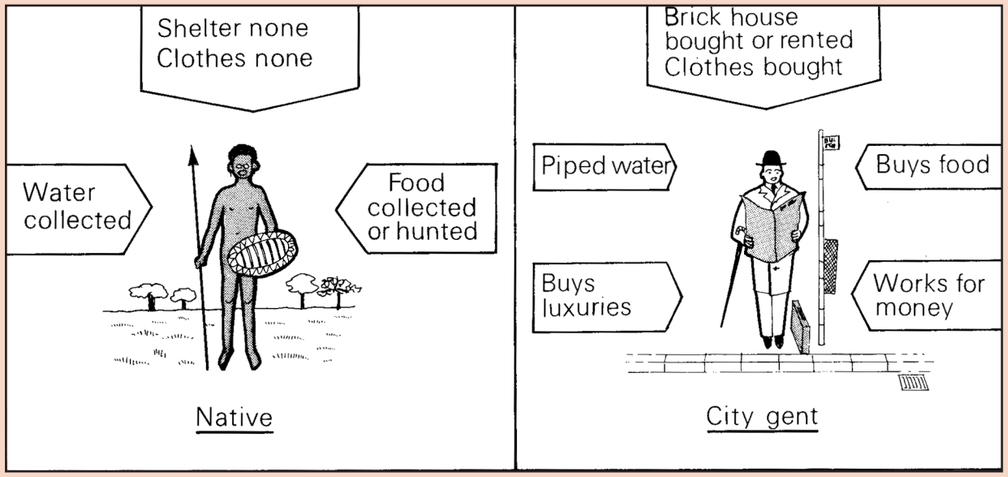
'We must picture, then, southern Africa before the Europeans came, thinly inhabited by restless people... We must picture these people moving ever southward in shifting processions into the great blind alley of southern Africa, there perhaps to be killed off by their stronger neighbours or to be driven into the deserts and mountains and in the end to meet a stronger people than any of them.'

'So there grew up in the eighteenth century a new type of colonist – the trekboer. This type is of the greatest importance in the history of southern Africa. They were the pioneers of southern Africa who pressed on into the interior, generation after generation, and whose wandering spirit was the spirit which marked out the path of the white man from the Cape to the Zambezi.'

'As the trekkers held that the white man's portion was land and the black man's was labour, so the diamond diggers insisted that the white man's portion was skilled work and the black man's unskilled. This was not simply the result of colour feeling but came about through the very great difference between the energetic, skilful and ambitious white employers and the raw and ignorant black labourers.'

'Poor Whiteism may be regarded as a social sore which is not yet cured. Happily it was not left to fester. True to its tradition, South Africa tackled the problem by deliberately sacrificing economic gain to social welfare. A white man was paid a white man's wage whatever his ability, special classes of unskilled labour were reserved for Europeans and many measures for the rescue of poor whites were undertaken. Economists pointed to the unsound economics of it, but South Africans felt that anything was better than the complete submergence of white people into the sea of black.'

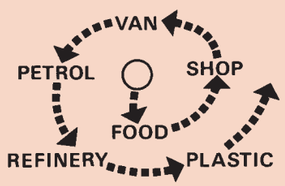
Extract 2



Primitive and civilized ways of life

when, at the same time 5000 years ago, Egypt was already civilized? [Chapter 1.]

5 Copy the sketches above into your notes and say which way of life - primitive or civilized - is more complicated. As civilized life evolved, it became more complicated because people became specialists in only one skill. To show this on your copy of the sketches, take one need for each, and try to add another one related to it, and so on, to build up as big a spiral as possible without a repeat, e.g.



On your sketch who has the biggest spiral? Who depends most on his surroundings and who most on other people? Underneath the sketches list the advantages and disadvantages for the people and for their own environments. [Chapters 3 to 7.]

While a primitive way of life has the advantage of being relaxed and in harmony with nature, a civilized life is healthier and more comfortable. Future development may combine these good points but a major ~ stumbling block is the sheer weight of numbers in the world [4000 million]. The people of Third World countries, such as India, will be unable to do more than survive until a drop in their population allows resources to be divided into larger shares. Rising populations in Developed countries, like Britain, will force the expansion of industrial landscapes into 'wildscapes' unless birth rates can be checked. Other goals of rising production, wages and wealth may have to be rethought for they put increasing strain on resources, the environ-ment, on people and on society. Perhaps 'small is beautiful' and 'zero growth' will enable survival, which primitive people know is all important, plus a little luxury, which they do not yet have for their long hours of nonactivity.

From *Patterns Around the World*, Philip Galbraith

The role of the teacher

The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority guidelines on the teaching of citizenship [2000] suggest the following in relation to teachers.

Experienced teachers will seek to avoid bias by resisting any inclination to:

- highlight a particular selection of facts or items of evidence thereby giving them a greater importance than other equally relevant information;
- present information as if it is not open to alternative interpretation or qualification or contradiction;
- set themselves up as the sole authority not only on matters of 'fact' but also on matters of opinion;
- present opinions and other value judgements as if they are facts;
- give their own accounts of the views of others instead of using the actual claims and assertions as expressed by various interest groups themselves;
- reveal their own preferences - by facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, etc.
- imply preferences by a particular choice of respondents or by not opening up opportunities for all pupils to contribute their views to a discussion;
- neglect challenging a consensus of opinion, which emerges too readily.

Experienced teachers would also feel secure in establishing a classroom climate in which all pupils are free from any fear of expressing reasonable points of view that contradict those held either by their class teachers or by their peers.

Teachers will need to consider the following:

- ensuring that pupils have access to balanced information and differing views on which they can then clarify their own opinions and views, including contributions made by visitors to the classroom
- deciding whether and, if so, how far, they are prepared to express their own views, bearing in mind that they are in an influential position and that they have to work within the framework of the school's values
- ensuring pupils establish ground-rules about how they will behave towards each other and how issues will be dealt with
- judging when to allow pupils to discuss issues confidentially in small groups and when to support by listening in to these group discussions
- ensuring they take due care for the needs of individuals in the class when tackling issues of social, cultural or personal identity.

What would you do?

The table *Four approaches to handling controversial issues* [see page 72] summarises pros and cons, identified by teachers, in handling controversial issues in the classroom [Stradling, Noctor and Baines 1984]. There is no one right way to handle all situations involving teaching controversial issues – different stances, or combinations of stances used at different times will suit different issues and contexts. There is a need to be flexible and use the strategy appropriate for the particular situation. For example, in terms of the suitability of expressing one's own opinion as a teacher in relation to an issue it might not always be a case of yes or no but when [for example, at the end of a topic rather than at the beginning, or during the year when trust has been established, rather than right at the beginning when class and teacher are new to each other].

2 The following are four possible situations that could arise during a citizenship course. Bearing in mind the ideas outlined above and the approaches on page 72, what stance or strategy would you take in each case?

a. You are teaching the topic of 'race' [or ethnicity or religion] in a mixed race class and a pupil makes a racist comment in discussion.

b. You are teaching a topic based on crime and punishment. The subject of capital punishment arises and the class are uniformly and strongly in favour.

c. You are discussing trade unions during a topic on 'work' and pupils raise the topic of a recent teachers' strike about which the teachers in your school have been divided. They have expressed their views and now they want to know your views.

d. The newspapers reveal that a government minister is homosexual. Subsequently your citizenship group persistently makes derogatory and violent remarks about homosexuals in general.

Four approaches to handling controversial issues

Procedural neutrality:

In which the teacher adopts role of an impartial chairperson of a discussion group.

Potential strengths

Minimizes undue influence of teacher's own bias.

Gives everyone a chance to take part in free discussion.

Provides scope for open-ended discussion, ie the class may move on to consider issues and questions which the teacher hasn't thought of.

Presents a good opportunity for pupils to exercise communication skills.

Works well if you have a lot of background material.

Potential weaknesses

Pupils find it artificial.

Can damage the rapport between teacher and class if it doesn't work.

Depends on pupils being familiar with the method elsewhere in the school or it will take a long time to acclimatize them.

May only reinforce pupils' existing attitudes and prejudices.

Very difficult with the less able.

The role of neutral chair doesn't suit the teacher's personality

Stated Commitment:

In which the teacher always makes known his/her views during discussion.

Potential strengths

Pupils will try to guess what the teacher thinks anyway. Stating your own position makes everything above board.

If pupils know where the teacher stands on the issue they can discount his or her prejudices and biases.

It's better to state your preferences after discussion rather than before.

It should only be used if pupils' dissenting opinions are treated with respect.

It can be an excellent way of maintaining credibility with pupils since they do not expect us to be neutral.

Potential weaknesses

It can stifle classroom discussion, inhibiting pupils from arguing a line against that of the teacher's.

It may encourage some pupils to argue strongly for something they don't believe in simply because it's different from what the teacher thinks.

Pupils often find it difficult to distinguish facts from values. It's even more difficult if the purveyor of facts and values is the same person, ie the teacher.

A Balanced Approach:

In which the teacher presents pupils with a wide range of alternative views.

Potential strengths

Essential: I think one of the main functions of a humanities or social studies teacher is to show that issues are hardly ever black and white.

Necessary when the class is polarized on an issue

Most useful when dealing with issues about which there is a great deal of conflicting information.

If a balanced range of opinion does not emerge from the group, then it is up to the teacher to see that the other aspects are brought out

Potential weaknesses

Is there such a thing as a balanced range of opinions?

As a strategy it has limited use. It avoids the main point by conveying the impression that 'truth' is a grey area that exists between two alternative sets of opinions.

Balance means very different things to different people. The BBC's view of balance is not mine. Teaching is rarely value free.

This approach can lead to very teacher-directed lessons. As with BBC interviews you are always chipping in to maintain the so-called balance.

The Devil's Advocate Strategy:

In which the teacher consciously takes up the opposite position to the one expressed by pupils or in teaching materials.

Potential strengths

Frequently used by me. Great fun, and can be very effective in stimulating the pupils to contribute to discussion.

Essential when faced by a group who all seem to share the same opinion.

Most classes which I have taught seem to have a majority line. Then I use this strategy and parody, exaggeration, and role reversal.

I often use this as a device to liven things up when the discussion is beginning to dry up.

Potential weaknesses

I have run into all sorts of problems with this approach: kids identifying me with the views I was putting forward as devil's advocate; parents worried about my alleged views, etc.

It may reinforce pupils' prejudices.

Only to be used when discussion dries up and there are still 25 minutes left.

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