

RECONCEPTUALISING HISTORY TEACHERS' IDENTITIES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING CURRICULUM

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Educational Studies, Faculty of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal in fulfillment of the requirements for a Doctoral
Degree in Education.**

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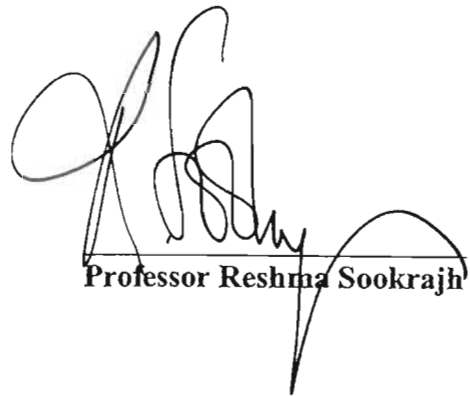
January 2005

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, unless specifically indicated in the text, and that assistance obtained has been only in the form of professional supervision. The dissertation has not previously been submitted to any other university for the award of a degree.



Suren Seetal



Professor Reshma Sookrajh

Acknowledgements

Many people have assisted in the completion of this thesis. It would be impossible to acknowledge all of them because some of the ideas that are contained in this study have grown out of discussions held over the years. In that sense the dissertation owes much to persons and organizations who helped to synthesize the researcher's views.

First among these I would like to acknowledge my great debt to my supervisor, Professor Reshma Sookrajh, for her excellent and untiring guidance that enabled me to complete this research timeously. I most definitely benefited academically and professionally from your powerful supervision. Your encouragement, constructive criticism and professional indepth guidance has motivated me to continue with my studies.

To my family: My adorable wife, Preesha, who has had to endure my idiosyncratic behaviour which researchers often display. She kept me on task whenever I wavered and lavished me with moral, spiritual and material support through the course of this research. Many thanks to my children, Smirithi, Saiuri and Suvan, who understood the nature of my work. For their patience and understanding, I am eternally grateful.

To the lecturers in the School of Educational Studies especially Dr Michael Samuel, thank you for setting a firm foundation for my study. My deep appreciation goes to Dr Renuka Vithal, Dr Daisy Pillay, Professor Cliff Malcom and Dr Labby Ramrathan (Director: School of Educational Studies), who offered me their critical comments and advice, especially in the early stages of the research when needed most.

To all my respondents, thank you for trusting me and allowing me the privilege to enter into your lives. The wisdom and knowledge I gained through your experiences have reshaped the lens through which I now view teaching of history.

To Kabitha Maharaj for her sustained and animated interest in the development of this thesis, and for her insightful and meticulous typing of this dissertation.

To my parents, Jack and Soomie, many relatives and friends who shall remain unnamed and whose lives have criss-crossed mine during this period of intellectual growth, development and maturation. Many thanks to you all.

To the Spencer Foundation, for providing funding and affording me the opportunity of sharing my research and thoughts with doctoral research fellows from universities around South Africa.

Finally, my gratitude to the National Research Foundation for awarding me a scholarship for this research.

Abstract

Teachers are considered by most policymakers and school change experts to be the centerpiece of educational change. Therefore, it is not surprising that many current educational reform efforts in South Africa are directed at teachers and their involvement in educational reform is seen as critical. Reforms must address the core processes of teaching and learning if they are to markedly change what happens in schools. Yet teachers respond to educational reforms in a variety of ways: some teachers push or sustain reform efforts, whereas others resist or actively subvert them. The question of addressing curriculum change in our schools has recently become a matter of contention. Teachers are finding it difficult to adjust to the changing educational policies that seek to coerce teachers into addressing curriculum change in their classrooms.

In response to the changes in educational policy in the new dispensation, the teaching of history, a subject that had already experienced numerous transformations in the past, was once again faced with the challenges of a renewed curriculum framework. This study aims to capture the complexities and contradictions that are associated with a transforming educational system. More specifically it interrogates the question of how history teachers see themselves within this transformation process and the impact that it has on their identities to curriculum change.

Identity formation theories were used as a lens to understand the various forces that influence the identities of teachers. A number of theories were examined in order to unfold identity development from various approaches to allow for a more holistic understanding of a teacher's life career. The main question that guided this investigation was how history teachers construct their identities within the context of curriculum change.

In attempting to unpack the messiness of the curriculum transformation process and at the same time to capture how history teachers are negotiating their roles and identities in post

-apartheid South Africa, this research study employed a qualitative method of data collection based on a life history research tradition. The richness of information that was obtained from lengthy, open-ended interviews with six history teachers from the Kwasanti circuit, provided a sound platform on which to respond to the critical questions of the study. The data was collated to develop narrative stories with the intention of understanding teacher thinking and experiences within a broad social and historical context. The wealth of information provided by the interviews enabled the researcher to examine how these teachers were constructing their identities within the context of curriculum change.

An analysis of the findings indicated that the conceptions that history teachers have about the changing curriculum are influenced by their past experiences. The study revealed that some of the major forces of influence that shaped the teachers' understanding of the changing curriculum were pragmatic and educational. Teachers come with many realities into the profession often reconstructing and creating their context based on past experiences and perceptions. Evidence from the data reveals that the plethora of policy initiatives seeking educational transformation in South Africa are to a large degree not congruent with existing teachers' beliefs. Teachers have to redefine and renegotiate their roles and identities, which is problematic because they come embedded with experiences gleaned during the apartheid era.

The study concludes with a synthesis of the findings and it makes recommendations for addressing the present needs of history teachers in South Africa. The reconceptualisation of education through new policy initiatives has to refocus and look more closely at teachers' understanding of their day-to-day realities in the work environment. Teachers need to 'own' the process of change, and reform efforts need to be grounded in an understanding of teachers' professional lives and development. Teachers must see themselves as experts in the dynamics of change. To become experts in the dynamics of change, teachers must become skilled change agents.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	:	African National Congress
HIV/AIDS	:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
C2005	:	Curriculum 2005
CNE	:	Christian National Education
COTEP	:	Committee of Teacher Education Policy
DET	:	Department of Education and Training
DoE	:	Department of Education
EMIS	:	Educational Management Information Systems
FET	:	Further Education and Training Band
GET	:	General Education and Training Band
HOD	:	House of Delegates
HOR	:	House of Representatives
HSS	:	Human and Social Sciences
KZED	:	KwaZulu Education Department
KZN	:	KwaZulu-Natal
NATED 550	:	National Education Document 550
NED	:	Natal Education Department
NSE	:	Norms and Standards for Educators
NQF	:	National Qualification Framework
OBE	:	Outcomes-based Education
RNCS	:	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SGB	:	School Governing Body

CHAPTER ONE: CONSTRUCTING THE RESEARCH STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The transition from apartheid to democracy in the South African context led to several changes in the education system and society as a whole. There was a proliferation of education policies by the government with the hope of addressing the inequalities of the past. However, De Clercq (1997) argues that most of these new policy proposals were actually borrowed from the international comparative experience and from the various policy literatures, which were then interwoven in the local South African context to address issues of equity and redress. 'Policy borrowing' was evident from the first world industrial countries and this was a serious problem because policies did not match the transforming South African context. It is evident that most policy proposals were not developed from extensive research at grass-roots levels or practice-based knowledge that should reflect the South African educational landscape. Therefore, my study argues that we need to take cognizance of the effects of educational policy change on history teachers' notion of their developing identities within the context of curriculum change.

In attempting to achieve the research outcome this chapter focuses on the research study. In the chapter, I have outlined my topic, critical question and rationale for the study. I then focus on the research design of the study and the construction of the thesis.

1.2 The Research Study

South Africa started a period of transition from an apartheid society to a democratic one since 1994. The transition affected all sectors of the South African society. These larger processes of change, i.e., transforming the South African society towards democracy, inevitably affected the entire education system. There were a number of educational

policies such as the introduction of the Outcomes-based Education¹(OBE), Curriculum 2005² and the Developmental Appraisal System³ that aimed to improve the education system. Curriculum 2005, unlike other curriculum reform in South African education, that not only marked a dramatic departure from the apartheid curriculum but also represented a paradigm shift from content-based teaching and learning to an outcomes-based one. It also marks a departure from fundamental pedagogics (a racially-based prescribed set of learning objectives) to progressive pedagogy and learner-centred teaching and learning strategies.

In the post-apartheid South Africa the contemporary educational and political language is one of 'change', 'reform', and 'improvement'. Scarcely has one set of reforms been formulated, let alone properly implemented, and another is in genesis. These 'changes', 'reforms', and 'improvements' impact primarily upon teachers. They are the people who have to implement them, even though in the current educational situation they are unlikely to have been involved in their formulation. Further, teachers are in the rather strange position of being simultaneously both the subject and the agent of change (Dale, 1988:44; Walker & Barton, 1987:58). They are required to change themselves and what they do to meet specifications laid down by the policymakers who neither know them or the contexts in which they work. They may even be required to make changes which they believe, on the basis of their professional experience, to be inappropriate or impossible and, inevitably, the very fact that they are required to implement these imposed changes means that their professional freedom and autonomy are further curtailed. Apple (1981, 1987) refers to this as the 'proletarianization' of teachers.

Teachers are continually required variously to alter their administrative and organization systems, their pedagogy, curriculum content, the resources and technology they use and their assessment procedures. What do these imposed changes mean for teachers, for their

¹ Outcomes-based Education: based on the principle that decisions about learning programmes should be driven by outcomes which pupils display at the end of their learning.

² Curriculum 2005: represents a paradigm shift from the content-based teaching and learning to an outcomes-based one.

³ Developmental Appraisal System: negotiated appraisal instrument for teachers.

perceptions and experiences of teaching? And what are the implications for the realization of the changes themselves?

My study is unique since I am focusing on the practitioner/teacher identity as it relates to policy and curriculum change. Fullan (1982: 24) notes that educational change depends on what teachers think and do – it is as simple and as complex as that. Thus, in order to gain some understanding of what the curriculum and educational change mean to teachers and their inclination to reject or adapt to (or accept or be motivated towards it) it is necessary to find out how they see and experience their work.

1.2.1 Critical Question

It is often misconstrued that policy formulation and curriculum reform are the total responsibility of the policymakers or academic researchers. It is believed that the policy implementation process is a simple technical and administrative activity, i.e., from policy to practice. My study argues that teachers have varied life experiences when they engage with a policy. The things that happen to us throughout our lives have an influence on the sort of people we become, upon our perspectives, understandings and attitudes, our beliefs and values and the actions we take. Obviously, life experiences influence the sort of teachers people become and the sort of teachers they want to be and be seen as beings (Lortie, 1975; Denscombe, 1985).

In the light of the above, the following critical question is addressed in this study:

How do history teachers construct their identities within the context of curriculum change?

This key question will be addressed through the following sub-questions:

- What factors contribute to the construction of this identity?

- What is the place of history teachers in the new curriculum?
- How did history teachers engage with the new integrated learning area of Human and Social Sciences?

What are history teachers' experiences of:

- Coming to understand the expectations of Curriculum 2005?
- Attempting to engage with Curriculum 2005 in practice?
- Did these above processes influence history teachers' understanding of their pedagogical roles?
- Do history teachers face a daunting task of transforming their identities?

Given that the nature of South African education has changed dramatically over the past decade, the above questions attempt to explore some of the complexities of the processes and mechanisms through which history teachers construct, experience and define their identities and pedagogical practices within the context of a changing curriculum. I have a research design for each of these questions asked. In this study I explore these questions through the analyses of life history interviews with six history teachers who reflect on their lives and their efforts to sustain their integrity and commitment at a time when the educational climate is fraught with complexities and uncertainties.

1.2.2 Rationale for the Study

On 24 March 1997 the Minister of Education, Professor S. Bengu, announced in Parliament the launch of Curriculum 2005, which not only marked a dramatic departure from the apartheid curriculum but also represented a paradigm shift from the content-based teaching and learning to an outcomes-based one. Underpinning Curriculum 2005 is also the integration of education and training. The sources of integration can be associated with the inadequacies of the separation between mental and manual work or

academic and vocational education in the old curriculum and concerns with the job placement needs of learners in the context of globalization.

A tailored version of Outcomes-based Education and Curriculum 2005 is inarguably the first curriculum in South Africa which attempts to integrate our previously, incoherent and discriminatory education system in a way that places learners and their needs at the centre of the educational experience. Curriculum 2005 attempts to rid the education system of dogmatism and outmoded teaching practices and to put in place values and attitudes for democratic nation building (Bhana, 2002:76).

Yet, despite the widespread support that underpins the new Curriculum 2005 (Mohammed, 1997:9), its implementation has been criticized from various quarters, i.e., teacher unions, educators and academics (Rasool, 1999; Potenza & Monyokola, 1999; Jansen, 1999). As Christie (1997:65) observes, the 1995 White Paper had almost nothing to say on implementation process. Perhaps this policy was intended to serve as a post-apartheid framing educational policy. Critics have had a lot more to say about implementation than the bureaucrats, Jansen's (1997) courageous broadside "Why OBE Will Fail" being the best-known example.

The new curriculum brings with it an almost new educational discourse and a range of new demands in terms of teaching and learning practice, with which most teachers are unfamiliar. The rearrangement of school subjects into eight learning areas and the introduction of the new forms of assessment have hampered the implementation of the curriculum. The integration of knowledge into learning areas means a collapsing of the traditional boundaries and subject disciplines. In the apartheid education system, school subjects enjoyed hallowed status. In the new system teachers are expected to work together in teams and to promote co-operative culture of learning amongst pupils, encouraging a problem-solving and project approach to curriculum. Teachers have reported (Curriculum 2005 Review Committee Report: 2001) that the necessary teacher training and support to assist them in their new tasks have not been adequate. Jansen (1997:98) alluded to the view that educators are certainly not coping well with the sudden

changes in the curriculum. There is a danger that the effect of frustrated and confused teachers will no doubt be seen eventually in our learners.

Hence, according to Parker (1999) OBE and the new curriculum have redefined teacher identity in the classroom. Curriculum 2005 requires that teachers become curriculum developers, classroom managers and learning mediators in the context of a discourse that is unfamiliar, perhaps even unrecognizable. Similarly, Jansen (1997) in his thesis states that Curriculum 2005 posited the notion of the 'disappearing' teacher or particular construction of 'the teacher'.

In the OBE classroom, the teacher disappeared into a facilitative background role while the learners emerged as the initiators and creators of learning. The teacher faded away so the learning displaces teaching; constructing meaning among learners takes priority over dispensing information by teachers.

Curriculum 2005 identifies eight learning areas. The traditional subjects are accommodated within eight learning areas: Arts and Culture; Language, Literacy and Communication; Economic and Management Science; Human and Social Sciences; Life Orientation; Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics and Mathematical Science; Physical and Natural Sciences; and, Technology. These are regarded as a way of breaking away from strict boundaries between traditional school subjects and to ensure integration within and across the different disciplines as well as developing and organizing the core curriculum. It can also be linked to the debates around the changing mode of knowledge production (Cloete, 1999:35), which emphasizes the shift from Mode 1 (disciplinary knowledge) to Mode 2 knowledge (allied, interdisciplinary knowledge). A major concern with the integration of history into the Human and Social Sciences learning area is that teachers are no longer 'pure' or disciplined history teachers but rather facilitators in a new learning area consisting of geography, home economics, ethics and values.

Although there is a body of work on the impact of apartheid or conceptions of teachers' competing professional and unionized identities (Hyslop, 1999; Chisholm, 1999) very

little is known about the way history teachers currently view themselves and how issues of teacher identity influence teacher practices in the classroom. The forces have tended to be on the impact and political dynamics of restructuring on discourses of race, gender, diversity and equity (Carrim & Soudien, 2001; Vally & Gilmour, 1997; Cross, 2002; Cloete, 1999). There are several new studies on teacher identity in South Africa (see Samuel, 2001; Carrim, 2001; Mattson and Harley, 2001; Soudien, 2001; Reddy, 2000). However, most of these studies are not related to any particular learning area of Curriculum 2005.

Most educational reforms are based on a particular conception of teachers. Policymakers generally assume that teachers are somewhere between workers and professional. On the one hand, educational policymakers may regard that teachers are closely supervised workers, bound to implement the prescribed curriculum. They view teachers as mere 'pedagogical clerks' (Popkewitz, 1987). On the other hand, policymakers may assume teachers have considerable autonomy, the notion of teachers as 'agents of transformation' (Davidoff & van der Berg, 1991). The majority of teachers in South Africa may fit none of these assumed identities.

Preliminary research on the impact of Outcomes-based Education has already begun to suggest this (Jansen, 1999).

I chose to focus on the process of how history teachers learn to become facilitators in the Human and Social Science learning area. The study around this sub-theme is an attempt to probe how history teachers understand their roles and identities in the changing curriculum and how these teachers (now known as facilitators) understand what and how the new history content is being taught. According to Samuel (1998) research in South African tradition focusing on the teacher as an agent of teaching and learning is sadly under-explored. Educational research has neglected to focus on how teachers have to grapple with the new roles and identities in a changing South African educational arena.

The literature surveyed in this study draws heavily on research on educational policy process in post-apartheid South Africa. The understandings from the literature survey crystallize the gaps and silences that exist in current research agenda. Educational research post 1994 focuses in general terms on the process of developing teachers' conceptions of their identities and roles as teachers. It consciously overlooks how the changing history curriculum policy influences history teachers' understanding of their identities and their pedagogical roles. Recent studies (Mattson & Harley, 2001; Soudien, 2001; Carrim, 2001; Samuel, 2001) at a more generic level attempt to 'get inside the minds' of teachers to understand how teachers develop conceptions of themselves (identity) and how they understand their actions, duties and responsibilities (roles). However, at a particular level (discipline: history), no or little research exists in South Africa on how history teachers develop conceptions of their identities and roles as a result of curriculum change. Hence, the present study provides an alternative vantage point from which to view the process of teachers developing conceptions of their identity as teachers of history.

Like Pillay (2003:10), I too want to focus on history teachers' who teach in Durban and to generate stories of their lives and to learn from their lives what it means to think and work within curriculum reform. As Singh (2001:iv) adds that the plethora of policy initiatives seeking educational transformation in South Africa is to a large degree not congruent with existing teachers' beliefs. This study shows how identities are produced, appropriated and contested within teachers' lives as daily-lived experiences within specific historical and educational contexts. My work thus focuses on history teachers redefining and renegotiating their roles and identities in the context of curriculum change, which is problematic to a large degree because they come embedded with experiences gleaned during the apartheid era.

1.3 The Research Design

The study is largely qualitative in nature within the tradition of life history research method. As advocated by Lather (1986), I have attempted to operationalise a research

method which emphasizes collaboration, reciprocity and reflexivity. The goal of this research is to encourage self-reflection and deeper understanding on the part of the researched. This goal was achieved by privileging teacher voices (narratives) throughout the study. This study proposes that the analysis of teachers' narratives can be used as an innovative methodology to study such questions of teachers' identity, culture, experience and beliefs (see Chapter Four for a comprehensive discussion).

1.3.1 Participants

The study participants were six history teachers from six public secondary schools in the Kwasanti circuit in Pinetown, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. These schools are located in a suburban working class area. A sample consisting of African, Indian, Coloured and White history teachers, aged between 21-50 years participated in the study.

1.3.2 Analysis of Data

I used two levels of analysis, grounded in empirical data, to generate data for this study. The following levels of analysis were used to produce the data in this study (these are discussed fully in Chapter Five).

- First level analysis: how the storied narratives were told, i.e., constructing the life histories (stories) of the participants.
- Second level analysis: what was told through the storied narratives, i.e., details of emerging issues / themes across cases.

1.4 Conclusion and Outlines of Chapters

In this chapter, I define the purpose and justification of this study. The rationale for this study and the critical question are presented. This chapter focused on identifying the gaps and silences that exist in current educational research agenda with regard to how history teachers in South Africa develop conceptions of their identities and roles as a result of curriculum change. The chapter concludes by providing a methodological position located within life history research.

This study is organized in the following way:

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Landscape focuses on the literature review and construction of a theoretical or conceptual framework for the study. The literature survey provides the conceptual platform to build the research data collection plan for this study, and develops the research instrument used in this study. This chapter also presents the theoretical assumptions that become the original framework for producing and interpreting the data about teachers' lives in these fluid times. This chapter presents and discusses some of the dominant theories that have been used to explain issues of identity, self-identity formation and teacher identity. I then fully explain and describe teacher positioning after apartheid.

Chapter Three: Educational Policy After Apartheid: Symbols of Change or Signals of Conflict serves as an entry point into understanding educational policy and curriculum change initiatives in post-apartheid South African education. I outline the historical trajectory of education policies in South Africa since 1990. The important questions that emerge are: What does policy on teacher roles and competencies say teachers should be doing? What are teachers actually doing? I then focus on:

- Recent developments in Outcomes-based Education in South Africa
- Curriculum 2005 and the Revised National Curriculum Statement
- Changes in the history curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa
- The changing conceptions of history teaching in the curriculum

Chapter Four: Mapping the Methodological Route – Process, Paradigm and Procedure discusses and provides a justification for the methodology and methods employed in this study. I begin by describing the broad methodological approach and a justification for the use of life history research as an appropriate methodology for exploring identity formation and to produce teachers' life histories. The key areas of focus are the major issues in life history research, initial research process, sampling, data collection instruments and transcription and verification of the transcripts.

Chapter Five: Analysis of Life History Data explains and describes the ways in which the data was analysed. I discuss how the two levels of the data analysis unfolded. These multiple levels were employed to document teachers' conscious positions and their less clearly articulated thoughts, wishes and anxieties. I saw this as an opportunity to move beyond the purely structural approaches to narrative and to 'explore different ways of representing the other and myself as researchers – author in life histories' (Denzin, 1989: 67). In this section I engage with a cross-case analysis by adopting a strategy of constant comparison between cases, retaining the specificities of each case where necessary. The intention of this analysis deepens the understanding and explanation of particular constructs or issues by examining similarities and differences. The section also provides a set of abstraction, explanatory concepts and discussion points which respond to the critical questions and the overarching interest guiding this study: how participants experienced and negotiated their identities and roles as a result of curriculum change.

Chapter Six: Pulling Together Historical Identity Scatterings bring a sense of closure, weaving together the theoretical, research and practical threads to answer the critical question I pose in Chapter One. Finally I discuss recommendations for future research.

In the next chapter, I critically analyse the existing literature and discuss the use of *Identity* as a theoretical framework for this study on history teachers' identity constructions within the context of curriculum change.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL LANDSCAPE

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, serving as a sketch to the main study, I identified the gaps, silences and why I undertook this study and what I hoped to achieve. In this chapter, I critically examine the existing literature in search of insights to illuminate the issues that affect the researcher and which have been researched in relation to my critical question. This review will enable the researcher in this chapter to:

- Develop a theoretical framework
- Critically examine some of the theories that have been used to explain issues of identity, self-identity formation and teacher identity
- Critically examine some of the South African research relating to teacher identity

The literature surveyed in this chapter provided me the conceptual platform on which to build the research data collection plan for this study, to develop the research instruments used in this study. It also provided the basis for the data analysis strategies employed.

The chosen focal areas arise as a result of the critical research question of this study, which is directed towards an understanding of how do history teachers construct their identities within the context of curriculum change. This research question concentrates on the process of socialization into the image and identity of a teacher of history over different periods of the history teachers' lives. Hatch and Wisniewski (1995) assert that in the poststructural theory the teacher has no fixed identity but assumes different identities at different times so that identities are constantly in a state of flux, a fleeting multiplicity of opportunities. In post-structural theories, the subject is considered a construction and identity is presumed to be created in the ongoing effects of relations and in response to society's codes (St. Pierre, 2000). Pillay (2003) argues that teachers can experience the

educational change as a terrain to denaturalize themselves and embrace change in pleasurable and fulfilling ways. Teachers may occupy a range of contradictory discourses for making sense of their lives and their world. On the other hand, this enables me to understand the local contextual specificity of teachers and identity formations. The development of teachers' identities and discourses takes place within continuing materially structured relations of power and these too are important to understand (Bhana, 2002). Pillay (2003) asserts that given this post-structuralist view and the inability to fix teachers' identities, all categories are open to transformation.

So, to understand decisions and choices that teachers take up when faced with curriculum changes, the need arises to identify discourses that constitute how they think and work as teachers, their consciously articulated positions and less clearly articulated thoughts, interests and wishes. Employing the position that the individual's construction of 'self' is situational and constantly in flux and assumes different identities at different times, this study tries to show these fleeting multiplicities of opportunities (Sparkes, 1994) through the telling of the story. In this study, the life history approach offers a greater sense of process to a life, gives a more ambiguous, complex and chaotic view of reality and a deeper understanding of the complex relations between ideology and culture, self and society (Munro, 1993). The focus avoids the romanticisation of the individual and thus reproduction of a hero narrative that reifies humanist notions of the individual as autonomous and unitary. By using narratives, I also become storyteller and co-creator of teachers' lives.

I want to argue in this study for an approach that situates teachers not as objects to be changed but as complex subjects with power and knowledge to change. Samuel (1998) effectively suggests that teachers develop experiences of teaching and learning in relation to the specific educational landscape within which they are embedded. These landscapes are characterized by the complex intersection of social, political and biographical influences, which are unique to each context. Similarly, Huberman (1993) agrees that teachers teach in the way they do not just because of the skills they have or have not learned. The ways they teach are also pounded in their backgrounds, their biographies, in

their kinds of teachers they have become. Their careers, their hopes and dreams, their opportunities and aspirations, or the frustration of these things are also important for teachers' identities, enthusiasm and morale.

Life history work has much to offer, given its focus on the construction and reconstruction of teachers' identities and the self, transformed continuously in relation to the discourses they occupy to make sense of their lives and the world (Pillay, 2003). In this study, I am interested in the participant's experience of learning and teaching history (through the lens of self-identity formation), in their life world (personal/social), over time. Personal experience is an aspect of their lives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). When people record such experience it is not recorded in raw sensory form or photographic form. These are narratives and need to be understood as such. Stories are the 'closest we can come to experience' (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994:106), hence the link between experience and narrative ways of knowing. Here I am interested in the personal meaning participants attach to learning and teaching of history in their life worlds over times and the actions they take. This notion of experience is different from traditional positivist/empiricist connotations of perceptions in two respects.

Firstly, it is an active process of creative meaning making in contrast to a single, fragmented notion of perception. It is not a passive reception of something outside the subject. Secondly, it is 'global' and organic because it incorporates an overall subjective situation that is in turn connected with the whole life of an individual (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). When people tell self-stories, or how "I" experience changes, they construct self-identities illuminating who they are and how they want to be understood. It is via these self-identities that form over time that they illuminate how they experience a particular phenomenon and how and why they act in ways they do: 'I act because I am'. It is these identities I seek to understand and the multiple and conflicting meaning they create in the participants' lives. Employing the life history approach enables me to understand teachers' lives as complex and identities as fluid and multiple.

This chapter also serves to explore key approaches on identity research, as well as studies on teachers' thinking and teachers' identities and the methodological findings and implications of such studies. The aim is to identify the dominant views and gaps in terms of theoretical, conceptual, methodological understanding and the kinds of studies that may still be explored in an era of teachers' identities research. What this means is that unless we develop a deeper understanding of the 'personal identities' (Jansen, 2001) of teachers, we might continue to not only wrongly identify problems but also generate facile solutions to the complex problems associated with teacher education reform. The rhythm of teacher education research is too familiar: once the problem is identified (teachers are not behaving as expected), the response is also announced: 'more training'. I propose that unless we understand the identity dilemma faced by teachers, we cannot begin to disrupt 'the grammar of schooling'. It is against this backdrop, that I create the theoretical frame by expanding the discussion on identity and self-identity formation.

2.2 Theorising Identity: Power and Resistance

Questions of identity, individual and collective, confront us at every turn at the end of ten years of democracy in South Africa. We are compelled to extrapolate and are interrogated by a multiplicity of voices to consider and reconsider our identities. How we think of ourselves and how we perform ourselves in terms of gender, nationality, ethnicity, race and sexuality are open to negotiation and subject to choice. In the powerful discourses of consumer culture, in advertising, magazines and pop songs, we are told that we can seize control of our 'selves' to 'be who we want to be'.

Contemporary culture offers up a variety of identity options, encouraging us to explore and harness differences in the construction of our identities. We can model our femininity on Baby Spice or Posh Spice, Sporty or Scary, KD Lang or Cindy Crawford or Naomi Campbell; we can be 'new lads' or 'new men', 'family men' or 'career men'; we can be gay or straight, dyke or queen, queer, bisexual, transsexual, transgender; we can be English, Black, Coloured, Indian, Muslim, Jewish. The options and combinations of possible identities seem to be infinite.

Roseneil and Seymour (1999) assert that we are entirely free to choose our identities, like shades of paint from a colour chart. The range of identity options available to any individual is limited, the act of choosing, circumscribed by a wide range of social constraints. Our economic situation, our spatial location, our physical capabilities and bodily appearance, our relational responsibilities, our age, our family histories, amongst many other factors, impact upon our identity choices. All identities are not equally available to all of us and all identities are not equally culturally valued. Different dimensions of identity are invoked in different contextual situations and this dynamic and shifting nature of identity makes it a challenging area for study.

In recent years social and cultural theorists have fore-grounded identity as an entity to be interrogated. This relatively new interest in identity and intricately linked to it, in difference, has to be seen in its social and historical context. It has occurred in the wake of the wave of social movements that have placed issues of gender, race and sexuality firmly on the political and intellectual agenda. These movements and the scholarship they spawned – feminist, Black, post-colonial, lesbian and gay, queer – pushed from the margins to demand attention to the identities of those who were outside the normative framework of White, European, heterosexual masculinity within which academic disciplines tacitly operated. As Marxism and concern with class interests and class-consciousness lost their centrality within social theory and their purchase in the real world of politics, a focus on seeking to understand and theorise the politics of identity and the demand for recognition of difference has developed (see Calhoun (1995) and Fraser (1997)).

There are two main strands within this recent theorizing of identity: a social theory strand, and a post-structuralist cultural theory stand. The distinction between social theory and cultural theory is not unproblematic, but it is used here as a heuristic device in order to draw attention to the explicitly sociological orientation of the former and the focus on cultural difference of the latter. There are points of contact between these two strands of theorizing, particularly in the cultural studies work of Hall (1996), who accepts the proposition that in late modern times identities are increasingly fragmented and

fractured, and locates his work within an understanding of the processes of social change discussed by the social theorists of identity. Bauman's (1996) work on difference and otherness in modernity similarly crosses this social theory/cultural theory distinction. These two strands of theory offer different ways of thinking about identity, both of which provide the theoretical backdrop to this study. The social theories offer a historicized narrative of the development of identity, which is conceptualised as self-identity, the individual's conscious sense of self. From the literature review, a particular understanding of the importance of identity in the contemporary social formation emerges, which underlines the significance of studies of identity to sociology of the late modern world. The cultural theories in contrast, are interested in the problematic construction of identity and cultural difference and in the theoretical deconstruction of identity categories.

This study highlights the importance of attention to power in the construction of identity through difference. Both strands of identity theory reject the Enlightenment philosophical tradition, which conceives of identity as essential, unitary, fixed and unchanging. In so doing, Fuss (1989) offers a challenge to common-sense notions that identity can be 'reclaimed' or 'uncovered', notions which still have much purchase, particularly amongst marginalized and oppressed groups who are seeking to create a politicized collective identity.

The social theory strand of work on identity, implicitly drawing on the agency-oriented tradition of symbolic interactionism, explores the relationship between identity, modernity and late modernity (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Kellner, 1992; Calhoun, 1995; Bauman, 1996). Although, as Calhoun (1995) points out, all cultures have paid attention to distinctions between self and other and us and them, identity takes on a new and particular importance in modernity, an importance which shifts again in late modernity. Roseneil and Seymour (1999) point out that the discourse of self - of the rational, thinking individual with an identity is distinctively modern, the product of the Enlightenment and of social processes of co-modification and urbanization. Rose (1996) rejects a singular line narrative and argues that we should spatialize our understandings of

self in order to see the multiplicity of practices of self which exist at any historical movement.

According to these social theorists of identity, identity really starts to matter as uncertainty increases, as tradition loses its hold, as 'all encompassing identity schemes' (Calhoun, 1995:195) are destabilized. In other words, identity becomes a problem as modernity unfolds, and particularly as we enter 'late modernity' (Giddens, 1991), or 'risk society' (Beck, 1992:35). In the contemporary era, globalization and rapid social change disturb the temporal and spatial certainties, which had continued to be offered through modernity by community and place, stable employment and class structures and the nuclear family. The variety of life choices is increasing and our knowledge about these choices explodes in a media-saturated world (Gergen, 1991). Less and less seems to be determined by tradition and social structure and establishing our identity becomes both more important and more difficult, as our identities are subject to ever more frequent and complex challenges.

Roseneil and Seymour (1999:78) explain the attempt to anchor our sense of "self in this maelstrom of social life, to create ontological security in a world of rapid social change, we each as individuals face the task of constructing for ourselves our biographical narratives". According to Giddens (1991:75), the self becomes a reflexive project: 'We are, not what we were, but what we make of ourselves.' Thus, 'reflective modernization' (Beck, 1992) is understood as linked to processes of de-traditionalization and individualization.

Developing in parallel with the social theories of identity and the sociological heritage, post-structural paradigm has emerged, particularly strong within cultural studies, feminist theory and post-colonial theory, which radically challenges the humanist conception of the unified, essential subject (e.g., Weedon, 1987; Butler, 1990,1993; Hall, 1996; Scott, 1993). Post-structuralist theories emphasize the instability, fluidity and fragmentary character of identities, to a greater extent perhaps than the social theorist of identity. Moreover, they reject the idea that there exists some 'ontologically intact reflexivity to

the subject', which pre-exists the subject's placing in a cultural context (Butler, 1993:12), and instead regards the subject as constituted through discourse. Following Foucault (1970), what are developed are 'not a theory of the knowing subject, but rather a theory of discursive practice' (Hall, 1996:2). Identities are, according to Hall (1996:6) 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us'.

The question of power is central to post-structuralist theories of identity. Identities are seen as constituted through discursive exclusion, in terms of binary oppositions, and in relation to their Other, their 'constitutive outside' (Derrida, 1981; Fuss, 1991; Butler, 1993): the identity of 'woman' against that of 'man', 'Black' against 'White', 'homosexual' against 'heterosexual', and so on. Yet, it can appear that the power operates all in one way. Although the agency of the subject emerges for discussion (e.g., Butler, 1993; Benhabib, 1995; Hall, 1996), ultimately post-structuralist theories of identity tend to emphasize processes of subjectivization in which human beings have little agency against the power of discourse, to resist or transform dominant discourses to produce new identities.

Butler's (1993) theory of 'performativity' explicitly rejects notions of choice and intentionality, such as are fundamental to the social theorists of identity and sees the production of the (gendered) subject as 'not as a singular or deliberate act, but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names' (Butler, 1993:2). This approach is in sharp contrast to the emphasis on reflexivity of the social theorists of identity, whose work highlights the active, creative, conscious practices of identity construction.

In this study, I make use of this substantial body of social and cultural theorizing about identity in a variety of ways. As a whole the study straightforwardly follows neither the social theory approach nor the post-structuralist approach; rather it is characterized by a theoretical pluralism and pragmatism. In the next section I examine the theories dealing with self-identity formation.

2.3 Theorising Self-Identity Formation

In framing my critical question, I have chosen self-identity formation as a prism through which I try to understand how teacher identities are transformed and reconstituted in the complex educational shifts in South Africa. I find it necessary to understand the construction of 'self' and 'identity' in various contexts, to read the way identities are explained, understood and represented and the reasons for different understandings and representations. In order to understand issues around 'self' and 'identity', with particular reference to teachers' lives, I begin with general discussions of self, identity and identity formations and thereafter examine the theoretical basis for a life history perspective to the study of identity formation.

There has been an abundance of literature around the concept of self and identity. This is evident in the many theories and research studies across disciplines and particularly in psychology and sociology in the past five decades (Bendle, 2002; Castells, 1977; Giddens, 1991; Mishler, 1999; Somers, 1994; Samuel, 1998; Polkinghorne, 1996).

In this study I am interested in how teachers form identities and understandings of themselves especially in the present shifts in our educational terrain. Self-understanding includes a combination of the personal, inner, intrapsychic dimensions as well as the understandings they create in a social landscape, that is, their private and public constructions. This approach to self-understanding, or narrative identity, brings together the multiple dimensions of experience within a single story. The focus on self-understanding places emphasis on how the person creates an understanding of himself, in contrast to an externally generated understanding. To accommodate the complexity of narrative identity and to fore-ground self-understanding, I use the term self-identity in this study. In appropriating the narratives theory of identity and Self, I draw on literature from two primary sources, Somers (1994) and Mishler (1999). Mishler (1999), offers a theoretical basis for a life history perspective to the study of identity formation which is useful here, because it links the 'what and how' of identity formation over time. Somers

(1994) brings into the discussion theories of social actions that connect the issue of identity formation with how people act.

A brief historical diversion about identity theory is necessary here to understand why self-identity is important, especially in contexts like South Africa, which are rapidly changing. The formal studies of self-identity in Western societies historically appeared in the 1800s as there was an erosion of religious teachings accompanied by the rise of romanticism (Bauman, 2001; Bendle, 2002). People began to fashion integrating worldviews of them as the value-consensus nature of society was disintegrating (Bendle, 2002). Differentiation on the basis of ancestry, gender and religion was delegitimised. It is not surprising that as social change processes have intensified in the twentieth century, a period described by various theorists as 'liquid' modernity (Bauman, 2001:45) or 'high' modernity (Bendle, 2002:147), there has been an explosive interest in identity theories and research. The literature on identity formations is symptomatic of the rapid pace at which the world is changing, creating increasing impetus for questioning who we are (Bauman, 2001).

Over the past decade, narrative as a way of knowing according to Somers (1994), in the human and social sciences has created opportunities to approach the study of identity formation and social agency empirically by bringing together at once the temporal, relational, macro-structural, cultural, institutional, personal, cognitive and emotional dimensions. Such emphasis avoids categorical rigidities in locating identity formation 'in overlapping networks of relations that shift over space and time' (Somers, 1994: 607). When people create stories of themselves they are likely to occupy multiple subjective positions, giving way to the notions of multiple subjectivities, thus leading to the notion of identity formation as multiple and fluid. Mishler (1999) uses identity as a collective term to refer to the dynamic organization of our sub-identities that may conflict or align with each other. 'We speak or sing ourselves in a chorus of voices' (Mishler, 1999:8). As Burke and Reitzes (1981:91) add: 'Identity is like a compass, helping us steer a course of interaction in a sea of social meaning'. They explain that teachers behave in ways that

conform to the meanings of their identities. In agreement, I use the notion of self-identity as 'heterogeneous' a means of highlighting multiple subjectives.

Based on the idea that the self-identity is heterogeneous, I also take the position that various self-identities are in dialogue with one another (Frank, 2000). There are always intrasubjective exchanges between self-identities or self-understandings in dialogue with one another. Agreements, oppositions, disagreements, contradictions and integrations are inherent as they are spawned from different beliefs and experiences (Hermans, 2002). The relationships between the self-identities are characterized by dominance and social power.

Samuel (1998:189) uses the notion of the 'multicultural' Self in teacher identity formations, to explain the multiplicities of Self as well as inherent power dynamics influencing identity formations. Therefore dialogic interchange and dominance are intrinsic features of heterogeneous self-identity formations. For one self-identity to be more dominant or powerful, it has to be made more actual, real, strong, which the others must be more or less suppressed (Barresi, 2002). However, because the self-identity is dialogic and dynamically fashioned, it does not mean that it is necessarily unstable or stable; it has the capacity to be flexible as well as stable over time (Valsiner, 2002).

Castells (1997) explains that whilst identities may be plural, the concept of identity should also be differentiated from roles and role-sets. He explains that people may have many roles, for example, as mother, neighbour, basket-ball player and smoker at the same time. He argues that identities are sources of meaning that actors construct for themselves through processes of individuation. Identities only become identities when social actors internalize them as such, and therefore identity as a construct has become a useful lens through which to understand experience. While identity is organized around personal meaning, role is orientated towards function. Although identity constructions may coincide with social roles, identities are stronger sources of meaning than roles. While dominant social structures may be a force shaping identity, it is only when the individual

internalizes such meaning that it constitutes identity or contributes to a process of identifying.

I consider formation of narrative self-identities as constantly 'in process'. One is always in a state of becoming, as the selves interact, over time. Cortazzi (1993:13) emphasizes the historical and process nature of the Self:

'The self then, the self now recalling then, the self now interpreting the self then from the present self's perspective, the self thinking of future possible selves, a possible future self looking back to now, to the present self seeing it as in the past.'

I use the term 'formation' in this study to reinforce the process orientation between present, past and future, but also to shift away from the notion of self-identity 'development' which has traditionally been associated with stage models of development. Mishler (1999) explains that while the early theories of Piaget, Erikson and Freud on child development and identity formation were based on case study methodologies, they were not retained because they were not considered 'scientific' within a positivist tradition. The shift to traditional, variable-orientated approach to the study of identity formation has encouraged classifications and categories (Polkinghorne, 1996), reinforcing orderly, universal, progressive stage-development understandings of identity formation over time (Corker, 1991; Mishler, 1999).

The problem with the universal orientation is that it is not universal. Most often, the data is generated in minority, Western world contexts and are presumed to be universal (Burman, 2000). However, in the contexts of increasingly diverse, complex childhoods and life courses, such models have little application in understanding the individual. The discrepancies become evident when longitudinal and cross-sectional studies on the same population reveal different patterns of development (Mishler, 1999). Qualitative studies, narrative methodologies and case-based studies are increasing in popularity across disciplines. The emphases on inter and intra-individual variability have emerged. The

tracking of the individual case stands in contrast to the stage development model, which most often does not have utility in understanding the individual child (Mishler, 1999). Therefore, a case-centred orientation to understanding self-identity formation without intention to suppress variability is intended here. I consider the formation of individual trajectories over the life course and seek to understand how self-identities are formed in the context of curriculum change. In this thesis, I find the life histories of the teachers to be particularly rich sources because if attentively interpreted they present the teacher as an active subject. Pillay (2003) adds that life history explicitly acknowledges the existence of teachers' multiple and conflicting, personal realities and perspectives as they narrate their world to give it a form and meaning. At the same time it also enables the researcher to understand how history acts on them, by providing them with the narrative codes and syntax with which to live and make sense of their lives.

Although change is a feature of everyday life and perhaps the most salient characteristic of living entities, researchers invest in seeking the threads of continuity (Mishler, 1999). This orientation to change is underpinned by a mechanistic view of development, where it is assumed that each event leads to a succeeding event within a sequential chain. Change is posited as gradual and predictable. In contrast, researchers within a narrative tradition (Bateson, 1989; Becker, 1997; Josselson, 1996) suggest that lives are perpetually conflicted and interrupted and that, therefore a single and continuous life trajectory is unlikely. Becker (1997) has argued that the notion of continuity has a culture-specific shape in western societies where the ideas of life course emphasize linearity and continuity. Based on metaphorical images like 'progress' and 'development', 'gain and loss', there is the assumption that development is orderly and progressive.

In contrast, Becker (1997) has suggested that real lives are more unpredictable than the cultural ideal. She conducted case-based analysis of various life disruptions in ethnic minority and Western subjects in America. The disruptions included infertility, midlife crises involving job losses, career changes, divorce and late life disruptions (stroke) pertaining to illness and aging. She demonstrated that the disruptions and discontinuities

are features of changing identity formations. She emphasized that identity trajectories are not even, continuous or gradual. Similarly, Josselson (1996) studied the identity formations of women between 21 and 43 years of age and concluded that they were constantly revising themselves and that there were no fixed sequences or stages in their identity pathways.

Mishler's argument for discontinuity is linked with the emphasis on variability. In a study of work identity (Mishler, 1999), he explains some identities as 'detours' or 'off-lines' in relation to the identity as worker. In contrast, he describes others as having 'on-line' identity formations as they return to an earlier interest with respect to their work. Discontinuities and disjunctures along career paths were more typical than unusual and placed discontinuity as central in the study of identity formation. This offers the opportunity to include diversity and change into the study of identity formation without being restricted by a search for continuity (Mishler, 1999). The study of identity formation must occur within social and historical contexts. It seems fairly obvious that who we are cannot be separated from the worlds in which we live. However, this has not always been the case given that the research within a positivist tradition has separated the study of the individual from the world in which they live.

The models of identity formation like Erikson's, the processes of identity formation have been restricted to the individual (Mishler, 1999). The stages and conflicts are regarded as intrapersonal, without consideration for how the social landscapes shape such processes. In contrast, disciplines like social psychology are premised on the assumption that who we are is shaped by social contexts and researchers argue that identities are embedded in societal structures, practices and processes (Howard, 2000). In the domain of social psychology, the issues of identity formation as a relational process occurring on a social landscape have been researched. From a social psychology perspective, for example, social cognition and symbolic interaction theories form the theoretical underpinnings for the study of identity. Although they differ in theoretical orientation, they share the common assumption that identity formation has a social basis.

There have been numerous studies dedicated to understanding social identities. Among these are the studies of ethnicity, sexuality, gender, disability, age and geographical identities. The politicized nature of social identities and social forces shaping identities has been explored. Gender studies have become most prominent among social identity studies. They emphasize contextual influence on the salience of gender identities (Edel, 1998) in contrast to the influence of biological or personality factors. These studies illuminate how hegemonic social forces have shaped the identities of women and contributed to a politicized understanding of social identities (Howard, 2000). In this section, Somers (1994) discusses the relational and network approach to identity formation.

Somers's (1994) relational and network approach to identity formation is useful here. She argues that all identities exist only within the context of relational and cultural matrices. They should not be analysed outside of these matrices. In supporting a social and relational formation of identity, she contests the notion of the totalizing concept of society because societies change and are plural. Instead, Somers (1994) uses the term 'relational setting'. This construct is useful in biographical research because each life is situated within a particular relational setting and a particular society. Within a relational setting (society), there are (changing) patterns of relationship among institutions, public narratives and social practices, which are appropriated into constructions of self-identity. Therefore self-identities are necessary unique constructions.

Somers (1994) also asserts that narrative identity can only be understood in the context of empirical inquiry without *a priori* assumptions. This serves the purpose of divesting the narrative of particular normative implications, as people are free to create their stories from their perspectives. Hence a teacher is free to create his identity that may stand in contrast to the normative expectations in society. Hermans (2002) reinforces a related point by explaining that when two people take on the same subject position, such as 'father', the experiences will never be the same. The same applied to teachers.

In the context of Somers' notion of relational settings, it is important to illuminate the nature of the particular relational setting in the context of individual stories. My interest is in questioning how the relational network in which one-life shapes how one forms an understanding of oneself, in relation to educational change. It is a complex task to delineate what a relational setting might be like because these setting are in themselves dynamic. However, it would seem irresponsible for me to dismiss the issue without discussion. The points I discuss are intended to problematise the concept of the relational network by presenting a broad brushstroke picture of issues relevant in South African society, but this painting is by no means exhaustive.

What would constitute a relational setting, a social world, in the context of an individual life in South Africa? As a means of theorising the dimensions of the relational setting, I suggest that the individual's relational network is embedded in a larger and particular society, which is making a significant and rapid political transition. At a political level, South Africa post-1994 is making a transition from apartheid to democracy. Within this transition there has been a questioning of who we are, as our identities are officially no longer shaped by race alone. In the transitional period all sectors of society have been challenged to reorganize themselves in the interests of equity, democracy and justice. The issues of those who have been marginalized, Black people, women, children and poor have come to the fore and have been actively debated at public levels.

Society is not homogenous and South African society in particular is characterized by diversity. People are diverse in terms of their geographical, ethnic, race, education, class and religious backgrounds. The participant's local worlds are situated within this gender landscapes that may shape identity formations in particular ways. However, South African society is also part of a larger, historical, globalizing world and these influences may also be evident in the local social networks. The nature of the world is complex, diverse, and political as Castells (1997:1-2) describes:

'Our worlds, and our lives, are shaped by the conflicting trends of globalization and identity. The information technology revolutions, and

the restructuring of capitalism, have introduced a new form of society – the network society. It is characterized by the globalization of strategically decisive economic activities.’

Against the background of a complex ‘global’ (interaction between local worlds and global trends) world, every day lives are also structured in particular ways. Institutions of society, including families and significant people, shape what happens on a daily basis. It is through social engineering that children are educated at schools, which there are hospitals and clinics to treat sick people and criminals are jailed. These institutions in turn reflect society’s dominant value systems in their modes of practices. We can also gain an understanding of how social institutions operate through discourses available. For example, people in society may talk about Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) as an illness in a way that also offers insights into how these issues are understood in society.

Bauman (2001:231) asserts that we should also consider the impact of broader projects of modernity and liquid modernity which influence how we live on a daily basis and form identities. Bauman (1996) in Marotta (2002) chooses the term ‘liquid modernity’ rather than ‘postmodern’ because modernity is still alive. However, his analysis of modernity and the construction of boundaries are useful here. He suggests that modernity is about the production of order. Human beings have become order-seeking beings, and their search for such order is commonly associated with the suppression or exclusion of ‘strangers’ (Marotta, 2002). The stranger is one who creates ‘chaos’ and represents a threat to fixed or stable boundaries modernity has established, for example, classifications of race, gender and class. This can range from criminals to anyone in a particular context sporting ‘inappropriate’ behaviour. The net effect of active ordering supported by processes of classification and construction of boundaries, entails oppression and exclusions, so that only one order remains. How are identity formations shaped where such discourses prevail?

My assertion is that the dominant and counter discourses and value systems shape how individuals live, for instance, the interest in ordering can be seen in everyday worlds, in the rules we make about how we drive cars and expectations about how we should speak and form identities. Giddens (1991:1) aptly summarizes the impact of how social discourses pervades the nature of day-to-day social life and affects the most personal aspects of our experience using modernity, as an example:

‘Modernity must be understood at an institutional level; yet the transmutations introduced by modern institutions interlace in a direct way with individual life and therefore with the self.’

How do learning and teaching experiences unfold in the midst of such discourses and influences? How are self-identities formed in the midst of social complexity?

2.4 Self-Identity and Social Action

I have an interest in understanding how participants negotiate curriculum change in the context of their self-identity formations. Why do they act in the way they do? The studies and theories of identity formation have made significant contributions to understanding social agency (Somers, 1994), by engaging the participant as an ‘active’ agency. In the domain of ‘identity politics’, there has been a strong shift in emphasis from understanding action in universalist, normative-driven ways, for example, that all teachers act in the same way, to a stance of ‘I act because of who I am’ (a situated, relational identity). This shifting stance offers people constructed on the basis of educational experience of gender and race, to be constructed alternatively and positively so that even those devalued traits come to take on new meaning. The impact of this orientation is evident in narrative feminist studies (Josselson, 1995), which have created a new frame of meaning affording an opportunity to understand why women do not act like men. In doing so, such understandings make a significant challenge to theory which has traditionally defined 50% of the population as abnormal (Somers, 1994). As a consequence, the actions of female behaviour are evaluated on their own terms, thereby transforming otherness into variation and difference.

A situated relational understanding of social action also offers the opportunity to understand the specifics of the context as a requisite to understanding action. This is a contrast to a universalist, essentialist identity which assumes that a woman or teacher will act in the same way regardless of context. Because one cannot make *a priori* assumptions about how an individual constructs herself / himself in a particular relational setting, one equally cannot make assumptions about how she/he is likely to act. In this study, therefore I consider how history teachers negotiate teaching of history in the context of their identity formation over time.

I attend to the issue of power in understanding social action. Although the issue of power had been embedded in different aspects of the discussion, such as the dominance of social discourses or the competing nature of identity formations, the issue does not belong in any one place on the discussion. I discuss it separately here for conceptual clarity, although it underpins all dimensions of relations influencing identity formations and social action. How people act and form identities is related to power. In the context of human relations, which are central to identity formations, Foucault (1980) suggests that power is always present. He maintains that in the context of controlling the other, power is mobile and can be modified, it is reversible and unstable but never fixed. He acknowledges that power relations are possible in so far as subjects are free. He notes that states of domination can also exist and that power relations can be fixed and perpetually asymmetrical. As a consequence, there may be an extremely limited margin of freedom influencing how people choose to act. Foucault (1980: 98) describes power as a complex strategy, affecting how we choose to act. The nature of power is such that it is:

‘Never localized here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is exercised through a netlike organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in a position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert target or consenting target; they are also elements of its articulation.’

Hence, in the contexts of negotiating who one is, power is constantly mediated and to exercise power over another can be regarded as an open strategic game, where it is possible for power to be reversed which is not necessarily evil (Foucault, 1980). The value in Foucault's orientation is that it does allow the possibility for those with less power to exercise power. Applied to teachers, it means that there is potential to teach differently, to take on new positions and engage in reversible strategic games to shift beyond passive, disempowering, essentialist and stereotypical constructions of teachers. For Foucault, power did not represent a static entity but an active process constantly at work on our bodies, relationship, sexuality and the way we construct knowledge and meaning in the world. Power for Foucault was not conceptualized solely within the context of domination but also in the context of creative resistance. A critical understanding of teachers' resistance within curriculum change and classroom has opened the doors to better understanding power relations within the context of teaching practice.

Having looked at the theories of identity formation in this section, I do not think it is useful for me to pin my theoretical framework to one particular theorist, since they are in some ways linked, although I do lean on Somers's "multiplicity and fluidity" theory idea in that it is necessary to deconstruct identity as non-unity, non-linear and constantly in flux. I also find Foucault's idea of power to be useful. Working within the framework of "identity and identity formation", I see the potential to begin to rethink teacher identities as what Reddy (2000) called performances. As performances, they have the possibility of reconfiguration. In the context of curriculum change, this practice to refigure teacher identity can open up a path of understanding that has been neglected. To understand how teachers' practice might be informed by identity in the next section, I examine the ways in which the literature develops these concepts.

2.5 Teacher Identity: Tensions between Roles

Both the extent of teachers' power and the nature of their professional identities have been topics of debate in recent years. I enter this debate sideways, since there now exists

a small but potentially significant literature on teacher identity especially as it relates to policy change. The fact that some of this literature is beginning to surface under the conditions of teaching and learning in developing countries, it is especially important for understanding the limits and possibilities for education policy to initiate such change. The brilliant studies emerging from the University of KwaZulu-Natal on student teacher, teacher education and biographies of scientists (Samuel 2001; Dhunpath 2000; Reddy 2000), alongside the recent works of Carrim (2001), Soudien (2001) and Mattson and Harley (2001) are exemplars of a new focus on practitioner identity and the problem of change. But what do we mean by ‘teacher identities’ in the context of this study? As Spillane (2000) explains: “By teachers’ identities we mean their sense of self as well as their knowledge and beliefs, dispositions, interests and orientation towards work and change”. In developing and refining the concept of teachers’ identities, I have drawn on theorists involved in this debate both in South Africa and internationally. A useful distinction in the definition of teacher identity is made by Weldon (1999). He defines teacher identity in terms of ‘being’ and ‘doing’. Being refers to teachers’ rights – including their contractual arrangement, pay and what they expect as a result of being a teacher. Doing is defined in terms of responsibilities – how the functions that teachers are required to conduct come to be defined. What we know about teacher identity in South Africa is the result of loose categorizations that have become part of common understanding.

The following section outlines selected aspects of theories relating to teacher identities and its role in change and development. Teachers’ identities have been variously described in relation to the nature and degree of power they have been perceived to hold and exert. In developing my understanding of teachers’ identities, I compared two views of teachers’ identities found in the literature: firstly, the view of teachers as mere ‘pedagogical clerks’ (Popkewitz, 1987: 279), and secondly, the notion of teacher as ‘agents of transformation’ (Davidoff & van der Berg, 1991:30). Other theories about teachers have tended to concentrate on the social location of teachers as ‘professionals’ and/or as ‘workers’ (Carrim, 2001:15). In these views teachers’ identities have been conceptualised in mainly functionalist and structuralist terms. In arguments

about teachers as professionals the nature of the role teachers serve in societies have been fore-grounded. Hence, the argument has been teachers' function in societies as 'intellectuals' and provision of this service to their societies. Wright (1979) suggested what defines the nature of teachers' identities: their intellectual function in societies. Debates within this view have questioned the extent to which teachers in fact function as intellectuals, the degree of professional autonomy they have, the nature and length of their training and the ways in which they compare with other 'professionals' such as medical doctors and lawyers. While each of these views was useful in helping me to develop the concept of teachers' identities, I believe that they neither adequately reflect the everyday realities of the six teachers with whom I worked in this study nor do they offer a useful analysis that shapes their identities.

In this thesis, I find the life histories of the teachers to be particularly rich sources because incisively interpreted they present the teacher as an active subject and reveal the broader material conditions in/through which the conditions for power are created. Life history explicitly acknowledges the existence of teachers' multiple and conflicting, personal realities and perspectives as they narrate their world to give it form and meaning. At the same time it also enables me to understand how curriculum change and history acts on them, by providing them with the narrative codes and syntax with which to live and make sense of their lives (McLaren, 1993; Sikes, 1985).

The view that teachers are merely 'implementers of policy curriculum and the research findings of others' (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990:2) and 'educational technicians' (Popkewitz, 1987:279) rests on the recognition of the trend towards the proletarianisation of pedagogy. By 'proletarianisation', Lawn & Ozga (1989) pointed to the lack of decision making powers teachers have despite their 'professional' qualifications. Generally, teachers are not in a position to impact meaningfully and directly on educational policy matters determining the nature of the curriculum they teach, or deciding on the rules, priorities or ethos of schools on local levels. Instead, teachers are subjected to educational bureaucratic controls, most of which tend to 'standardize' (Darling-Hammond, 1989) teaching and control teachers (Lawn & Ozga, 1989). This trend has led

to tendencies in work organization and work processes under capitalism which result in an increased division of labour, the separation of conception from the execution of tasks, increased controls over each step of the labour process, increased volumes of work and the downgrading of skills levels (Popkewitz, 1987). My conception of teacher identities takes these characteristics of teachers and organizes them around two specific categories of analysis. Accordingly, teacher identities could be described as the way teachers feel about themselves professionally and politically given the conditions of their work.

The professional basis for teacher identity: this means the ways in which teachers understand their capacity to teach as a result of, *inter alia*, subject matter competence, levels of training and preparation, and formal qualifications. In other words, the formal and prior standing that the teacher feels she has shapes her understanding of the ability to understand and implement a particular policy reform. In short, this relates to teacher understandings of their capacity to implement a proposed policy.

The political basis for teacher identity: this means the ways in which teachers understand and act on their value commitments, personal background and professional interests in the context of change demand. A teacher required to teach a new history or encourage the use of African languages or use constructivist principles (rather than a “back to basics” approach) in a learning organization might directly or indirectly undermine a particular policy mandate without this being easily recognized by an outsider. In short, this reflects teacher understandings of their *authority* to act on or withhold action in response to a particular policy reform.

I selected these two propositions for building the construct of teacher identity not only because these elements remain neglected in the general literature on teacher change, but also because they are particularly appropriate under conditions of teaching and learning in developing countries. Proponents of this view highlight the management controls which affect classroom practice and which give the lie to the notion that teachers are accorded classroom autonomy and professional status, within the larger bureaucratic structures. Pillay (2003) reported in her study that reproductionist theories on teacher

identity have tended to stress external social structures and the accompanying one-dimensional view of power as constraining and limiting. Responding to the externally regulated constructions of what it means to be a teacher (identity), according to the literature sources, leaves teachers experiencing personal detachment and mis-alignment. According to Hoadley (2000), 'external regulation refers to the pact between the state and the teacher; the ways in which the state regulates and constructs teacher identity'. In Ball's (1997) argument, the external regulation of teacher identity recasts them as 'state technicians' and attributes the loss of control to new forms of external regulation, the over-determination of teachers' work and new curriculum initiatives, all of which foster an emphasis on performativity. This perspective focuses on what the state and other forms of bureaucracy do to teachers. As Chisholm (1999) emphasized, and Jacklin (2000) argues, teachers respond to these constructions in complex ways, 'adopting some policies and identities and not others, as well as (engaging in) more open resistance or contestation of official meanings and practices'. Mattson (1999) concurs with this explanation in her study on teacher identity and socialization. She explains that while policies advocating democracy and freedom try to change teachers' identities, the strategy of mimicry is a way of side-stepping it, meaning that teachers respond by mimicking a changed identity without really committing to change. She refers to this position as Strategic Mimicry. This highlights how public constructions of teacher identity are contested and recontextualized in the schools and classrooms (Jacklin, 2000; Mattson & Harley, 1999) because of the forged separation between teacher subjectivities and the teacher position.

In these views teachers' identities are conceptualised in mainly structuralist terms, in that teachers' identities are defined in relation to the class structure of societies and teachers' location within it. This focuses on problematising the class location of teachers (typically categorized as middle-class work) in terms of Marxist and neo-Marxist arguments (Ginsburg, 1987; Lawn & Ozga, 1989). In this way, teacher work identities are examined in the light of capitalist modes of production, highlighting the ambiguous class location of their work. The contradictory class location of teachers – between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Harris, 1982) undermines the conventional wisdom of teachers' class and

status positions and the claim to professionalism (Sachs & Smith, 1988), the assumptions along which the state operates. Despite this, Lawn & Ozga (1989) engaged with issues of human agency in the actual experiences of teachers as workers, where they note the direct influence of variables such as gender, age, positions in the educational hierarchy that teachers actually occupy as well as the nature of their qualifications on the nature of the conditions of their work. Hence, arguments about teachers as workers tend to remain structuralist. Carrim (2001) noted that these theories of teachers' identities have emerged out of modernist modes of theorising. They have bipolarized structure and agents, professionals and workers. He argues that these theories of teachers' identities do not engage with particular teachers' experiences, tend not to work with teachers' actual senses of their own identities and reduce the complexities of teachers' daily experiences. Teachers are more than professionals and/or workers. They are raced, gendered, with various political opinions, religions, sexual orientations and ethnicities. These 'other' characteristics of teachers' identities tend not to be given sufficient academic coverage in the functionalist and structuralist accounts of teachers as workers and/or professionals. If we are to capture the precise nature of teachers' identities it is important that we address the actual lived realities of teachers themselves, their perceptions and their experiences.

2.6 Teacher Positioning after Apartheid

Every education policy document contains powerful images of the idealized teacher. Sometimes the policy image is explicit. More often, however, the policy image is conveyed through drastic role changes for the teacher without addressing the practitioner directly. I will now divert to discuss the historical patterns under which policy 'positioned' teachers to be like in South Africa post-1994.

2.6.1 Liberation before Education: Liberator

The images of teachers in policy positions and formal documents of the extra-parliamentary movements (1990–1994) contained ambitious and progressive ideals that, in retrospect, failed to take into account this powerful legacy in terms of how teachers

understood themselves, i.e., how teachers were framed in policy images of the apartheid state. Teachers, in the democratic ideal, were going to be knowledge producers; they would take charge of their own classrooms; they would initiate discussion; they would select liberatory content knowledge for the curriculum; they would empower learners; they would change the world. By the time of that the first democratic government was elected into power (April 1994), these images of the teacher as liberator carried over from the protests of the 1970s and 1980s, were still traceable in both politics and rhetoric and policy documents of the mass democratic movement. As late as January 1994, teacher education policy was envisaged as creating 'a more liberating, professionally challenging, and invigorating experience for teachers' (ANC, 1994: 38). In other words, not only were teachers regarded as liberators, but also policy had to create liberating environments within which teachers could be supported and developed.

It is worth recalling that the image of teachers as liberators was perhaps an effective tool for mobilizing teachers and students politically but it certainly did not change the ways in which the system functioned educationally even during the most unstable period of apartheid schooling between 1975 and 1985. It is a myth that apartheid's classrooms, even in a small part, were challenged by teacher-liberators to change into places where students could be set free or the curriculum could be transformed. This did not happen. The patterns of teaching, learning, managing and assessing remained in tact during and after apartheid (Chisholm & Fuller, 1996).

Chisholm & Fuller (1996) state that the policy lesson from this experience should be clear: new images of teachers, however, compelling in political terms, do not translate into new ways of teaching or learning. For example, it was clear from this period that teachers' professional identities (as classroom practitioners) were not neatly transferable to teachers' political identities (as trade union activists). So, conservative professional behaviour co-existed neatly with radical political behaviour (e.g., mass activism of teachers on conditions of service, salaries and political change). In other words, how teachers see themselves professionally and how they see themselves politically are two very different realities within education. It is a divide – the professional and political –

that was reinforced by the ways in which progressive teacher unions defined the terrain of activism for teachers, e.g., that curriculum matters were not, until the late 1990s, regarded as grounds for political contestation by teachers as professionals. Nevertheless, this image of teachers as liberators enjoyed symbolic and political prominence throughout the 1970s and 1980s, even though it was not the lived-experience of teachers in the classroom.

2.6.2 Teacher as a Guide: Facilitator

The image of the teacher as liberator was fundamentally challenged and undermined in the curriculum positions associated with Outcomes-based Education and Curriculum 2005. Teachers, instead of becoming the dominant force in the classroom that liberates young minds from the evils of apartheid, now became re-imaged to become facilitators of a new pedagogy. According to Jansen (2001:78) in those early curriculum documents: ‘teachers now become the guide on the side rather than sage on the stage’. Teachers would, in this image, slowly but deliberately move back from centre stage into an invisible position on the margins of the classroom: facilitating a learning process in which young minds took charge of their own learning, designed their own materials, invented their own learning opportunities and occupied the centre of what was to become ‘a learner-centred classroom’. Not only were teachers to withdraw from teaching, they were also to withdraw from the comforts offered by subject matter competence. Content was played down, learner-initiated tasks in which knowledge was to be generated from the environment, was played up. Teaching and content were displaced by learning and competences.

In short, the teacher would disappear in a classroom plan where learners and learning became the central focus of policy change under the new curriculum. The catastrophic effects of this image of the teacher are only now being understood and assessed (Jansen & Christie, 1999). The miscalculation was to think that a teacher lacking professional confidence and falling short of the required subject matter competence could be shifted to

the margins of a large and overcrowded classroom. How was the marginalization of the teacher made possible?

First, the new ‘facilitator’ had to give up the symbolic as well as physical space that she/he occupied at the centre of the classroom as ‘presenter’. Second, the softhearted facilitator had to simultaneously give up that other instrument of control: corporal punishment. And third, since the teacher had to deny content and learners generate knowledge out of environmental experience, that one source of authority for poorly prepared (and even qualified) teachers – the textbook – took a back seat. In short, the facilitator as imagined in policy lost ground in terms of symbolic space, physical control and textual authority.

The image of teachers as facilitators led, ironically, to the systematic disempowerment of teachers working under conditions where familiar ‘props’ were dismantled at the very time that new professional demands were being made of teachers in the classroom. This mismatch between policy image and teacher identity created the need for immediate coping mechanisms among teachers (Chisholm, 1999).

The first coping mechanism was for teachers to deny the distance between image and identity, between what was required and what was experienced in the classroom. This coping mechanism among professionals probably explained the now widely acknowledged problem identified by researchers, viz., that what teachers claimed they do in the classroom and what they are actually observed to do in practice, are very different. Curriculum 2005 Review Committee Report (2001) put this point diplomatically:

‘It is clear from all available evidence (evaluation reports, submissions, as well as classroom observations and interviews) that teachers generally have a rather shallow understanding of the principles of Curriculum 2005/OBE. They have, in many cases, developed a false clarity that is evidenced in the mismatch between what they claim to know and the manner in which they externalize the understanding in the classroom.’

This coping mechanism requires more detailed analytical work elsewhere, but it is important to recognize that it was deployed by both Black and White teachers – although in various ways. As Jansen’s (1998) research in Grade 1 classrooms repeatedly demonstrated, many White teachers interpreted Outcomes-based Education as continuous and their historical experience as teachers – ‘its what we have been doing all along’ – while many Black teachers interpreted OBE as something worth striving for and already being realized within their classrooms. In both cases, teacher behaviour did not reflect policy images of teachers under the new curriculum (Jansen & Christie, 1999). Mattson & Harley (2001) have made this a serious research programme, investigating ‘the strategic methods teachers adopt in their attempts to engage with a policy system that is not aligned with their personal and professional identities’.

2.6.3 Policy for the Professional Performer

The images of the teacher in the so-called “Norms and Standards for Educators” (Department of Education, 1996a, 2000a) provides yet a third and contrasting set of ‘pictures’ of what the teacher should be like. In this view, the teacher is not conceived as a facilitator-on-the-side but an officially regulated performer whose actions are not identifiable but measurable against set standards or outcomes or performances determined by the state.

The teacher as performer is a well-regulated professional, a phenomenon that has its roots in the original 1996 Norms and Standards for Teacher Educators. What does this regulated performer look like? As Parker (1999) observes, a vision of what teachers should be like is:

‘The norms, standards and criteria provide a generic picture of a teacher, their required competences and guidelines for the development of learning programmes aligned with the new Outcomes-based National Qualification Framework. The Norms and Standards for Educators have a largely

symbolic function presenting a holistic picture of an ideal teacher towards which curricula should aim.'

The studies reviewed above indicate the different images, under which policy positions teachers. Different dimensions and patterns of teachers' identities are invoked in different contextual situations and this dynamic and shifting pattern of teachers' identities or image makes it a challenging and exciting area for study.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I make use of the substantial body of social and cultural theorising about identity in a variety of ways, but I am not restrained by it. I adopted an eclectic position, which allowed me the flexibility to understand the value that each gives to this research, as well as the contradictions. I turn my gaze particularly on emancipatory and consciousness-raising knowledge, which Lather (1991) points out as an increasing awareness of the contradictions distorted or hidden by everyday understanding and in so doing it directs attention to the possibilities for social (and educational) transformation.

From the literature reviewed, there is overwhelming evidence to show that researchers are united by a sociological orientation to the subject-matter of identity, which sees identities as actively constructed, chosen, created and performed by people in their daily lives.

In this chapter I examined some of the dominant theories that have been used to explain issues of identity, self-identity formation and teachers' identities. I also looked at the South African research on teachers' identities in the context of teacher development.

In this study I hope to delve into the lives of history teachers and hear their life histories as to what they perceive as relevant to their lives. The critical question of this study necessitates an analysis of the educational policy in South Africa after apartheid.

Educational policy change will expose the espoused curriculum and reveal the realities of curriculum change in present day South Africa.

In the next chapter I discuss educational policy changes in post-apartheid South Africa. This is the context within which the researcher intends to locate interrogation of teacher identities.

CHAPTER THREE: EDUCATION POLICY AFTER APARTHEID: SYMBOLS OF CHANGE OR SIGNALS OF CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction

Post-apartheid South Africa has seen a number of transformations in education, which is an important backdrop to place in context the focus of this study. This backdrop possibly shapes not only the condition under which teachers work but also their actions, behaviour and thinking. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to present a layout of the restructuring process in education in a post-apartheid South African as a means to explore its impact on teachers' identities. Firstly, this chapter serves as an entry point into understanding educational policy change initiatives of South African education from the period 1994 to 2004 and ask questions about the impact (practice) and meaning (theory) of such changes in the field of education. Secondly, this chapter provides an overview of the changing history curriculum from the period 1994 till the introduction of Outcomes-based Education. Since the establishment of the new political dispensation, the South African government has placed emphasis on the introduction of policies and mechanism aimed at redressing the legacy of a racially and ethnically fragmented, dysfunctional and unequal system inherited from apartheid.

This is clearly conveyed in the message of the ex-State President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela (1997:5) when he wrote "When South Africa's first ever democratic election took place in 1994, it became a priority for the new government to transform education. The imbalances created by apartheid education demanded urgent and immediate correction ... by restoring the culture and learning and teaching". To realize this vision of dismantling a racist education system a number of documents were released as a consolidated effort to transform education. Together with this, several Acts and Bills were promulgated that formed part of the regulatory framework. The idea was to abandon old icons of practice in favour of new ones in keeping with the transformation process.

In this regard, South Africa has excelled in setting up a new governance system which encourages local and community participation in schools through school governing bodies (SGBs) comprising teachers, learners, parents and other relevant stakeholders, new norms and standards for school funding and professional development of educators and a National Qualifications Framework which harmonises vertical and horizontal mobility of learners throughout the education system. Within the schooling, the most significant of these developments was a radical departure from apartheid education through an Outcomes-based curriculum reform, known as Curriculum 2005. Similarly, Deacon & Parker (1999:59) recognizes that Curriculum 2005 is an attempt by the state at creating a strategic plan to change the curriculum of schooling. In a similar vein, Cross (2002:172) argues that as in many other developing countries, curriculum reform in South Africa resulted in several structural and policy tensions within the system. These tensions include: the vision *vis-à-vis* the country's realities; symbolism *vis-à-vis* mass expectations; the curriculum framework *vis-à-vis* applicability, conditions of implementation and actual practice in schools; expected outcomes *vis-à-vis* the capacity of teachers to translate them into reality; and, budget concerns *vis-à-vis* commitment to values such as equity and redress.

The new educational policies mark a shift from Christian National Education and apartheid education to a new democratic system that embraces multiplicity and partiality of all knowledge and the ongoing processes of identity formation and renegotiation (Ormer, 1992; Chisholm, 1999). In South African schools, for example, the teacher's work and teachers' identities have been identified as key forces to the transformation of the education system (Barasa & Mattson, 1996).

3.2 Since 1994 ... Policies, Bills and Acts in Education

Part of this transformation in South Africa was the introduction of policies, bills and acts in education. In order to understand how teachers are responding to the transformation process and the effect that it has on their roles and identity it is necessary at this stage to allude to some of the educational policy initiatives that are currently being implemented.

The policies that are highlighted are those that have fundamentally attempted to reshape teachers in terms of who governs them, their roles and responsibilities, what they teach and where they teach. This section also serves the purpose to familiarize the reader with policies, acts and bills in South Africa, as reference is made to them in later chapters.

3.2.1 Norms and Standards for Educators

Educator roles and competences are defined in the Department of Education (DoE) Norms and Standards for Educators policy document (2000a). There is consistent emphasis on democracy and values in all aspects of educational practice. As early as 1993, the Committee of Teacher Education Policy (COTEP) was established to make recommendations to the national minister on teacher education policies for South Africa. By 1997, these recommendations were revised to form the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE). Serving regulatory, symbolic and procedural functions, the DoE Norms and Standards for Educators affirms the roles of the teacher as crucial to the process of transformation. As a policy document it has major strengths for educational practice and it offered a holistic view of the educator as someone with a range of competences and responsibilities. While apartheid-style Christian National Education provided fertile ground for the teacher as transmitter and authoritative producer of knowledge, DoE Norms and Standards for Educators offers the space for multiple roles and dynamic social practices and relationships. This affirmation of the teacher in a position of continuing personal and social transformation and the slipperiness of such an identity is captured in the following extract taken from regulative policy of the Department of Education (2000a: 29):

‘The roles, their associated applied competences and the qualifications framework provide the basis for the ongoing professional development of educators, which will be steered by the Department of Education. The creation of multiple career and learning paths will encourage the development of educators who are competent to teach in different contexts and in different ways, playing different roles and using different applied competences.’

In this document teachers' positions are constituted through a range of discourses, including learning mediator; interpreter and designer of learning programmes and materials; leader, administrator and manager; scholar, researcher and lifelong learner; assessor and learning area subject specialist. According to Pillay (2003) these multiple 'realities' are constructed as potential spaces in and through which teachers are encouraged to adopt multiple positions in which they have to forego the security of being the source/producers of knowledge, skills and values/attitudes and to promote the emergence of new forms of thought and action. One way in which this could be operationalised was the introduction of Curriculum 2005.

3.2.2 Curriculum 2005

In 1997 the new government in South Africa inaugurated a nationwide process to transform the country's curriculum, particularly its aims and methodology. The new curriculum design of Curriculum 2005 represents a paradigm shift from content-based teaching and learning to an outcomes-based one. Curriculum 2005 attempts to rid the education system of dogmatism and outmoded teaching practices and to put in place values and attitudes for democratic nation building (Bhana, 2002). Curriculum 2005 - OBE reflects a significant shift for teachers and their changing role as educational practitioners. The role shifted from one of confident educators and authoritative producer of knowledge, to one of facilitator engaging in practices and discourses that would open up spaces for teachers' unique experiences as candidates for shaping the experiences of learners (Pillay, 2003).

Curriculum 2005 tried to do the following: (1) align school work with workplace, social and political goals; (2) emphasise experiential and cooperative learning; (3) pursue the value of diversity in the areas of race, gender and culture; (4) develop citizens who are imaginative and critical problem-solvers. Curriculum 2005 identifies eight Learning areas. The traditional subjects are accommodated within eight learning areas: Arts and Culture; Language, Literacy and Communication; Economic and Management Sciences; Human and Social Sciences; Life Orientation; Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics and

Mathematical Sciences; Physical and Natural Science; and, Technology. These are regarded as a way of breaking away from strict boundaries between traditional school subjects and to ensure integration within and across the different disciplines as well as developing and organizing the core curriculum.

Curriculum 2005 calls for radically new approaches to programme design, teaching methods, power relationships and assessment. It redefines the roles of teachers, learners and school managers and of textbooks and assessment. This means that teachers are able to create a range of practices relevant and useful to their subject position within the specific institutional contexts (Pillay, 2003). While Curriculum 2005-OBE has created spaces for discursive practices, for many teachers this shift in position is deeply problematic. As Singh (2001:56) explains: “Educators are now working in an educational climate that does not necessarily get on with their own formal schooling and teacher education training”.

3.2.3 Curriculum 2005: The Critics and their Critique

By critics here I refer not only to those who from outside Government and bureaucracy have implicitly or explicitly expressed their concerns about particular policies and dimensions of a policy but also to those within Government who have voiced their opinions on similar issues. The critique of the Outcomes-based curriculum has been waged with reference to the following main dimensions: (1) its origins and conceptual basis; (2) process issues such as the management of its formulation, adoption and implementation; and (3) design issues.

Cross (2002) adds that debates within the labour movement led to ‘borrowing’ of an Outcomes-based approach to curriculum as a solution to skills and job concerns among workers. In this sense, the emergence of Outcomes-based education can be seen against the backdrop of globalization and consequent converging tendencies within national education systems as educators increasingly learn from each other across borders (Steiner-Khamisi, 2000). In the minds of the main role-players, though restricted to a

small pool of countries in the western world, OBE was regarded as ‘the state-of-the art thinking on Western schooling’ and ‘the best of international experience’ to address South African problems (Christie, 1999). Those who see OBE as an imposition of the western world or, in other words, another manifestation of cultural imperialism met this view with criticism. This is present, for example, in Kallaway’s (1997:1) words:

‘In South Africa educational politics has increasingly been reduced to a matter of policy implementation. In the name of change and redress, and because of the need for politicians to produce demonstrable innovations in a short space of time, a range of policies, often hastily borrowed from foreign contexts without adequate research into their success and effects, have been bundled together with insufficient consultation or research.’

The quotation refers to the borrowing of an Outcomes-based strategy without considering the contextual changes needed to make the strategy effective. Education systems are part and parcel of the fabric of the societies in which they operate. For one to understand them one must take into account their historical, political, social and cultural settings. This is not to deny the national education system in different parts of the world are converging and that educators increasingly learn from each other across national boundaries (Steiner-Khamsi, 2000), but to emphasize that effective educational borrowing requires solid understanding of how ideas, concepts and educational innovations are borrowed, adapted and implemented locally.

Further, shortcomings are experienced at the process level. They concern the management of the curriculum process from its conceptualisation, formation, adoption and implementation. Two charges were leveled at Curriculum 2005. The first charge here was the lack of alignment between curriculum development, teacher development, selection and supply of learning materials (Potenza & Monyokolo, 1999). This lack of co-ordination and interface of the three key components of curriculum led to poor implementation, with *ad hoc* workshops in place of teacher training, trying to a cascade training model compounded by lack of relevant OBE materials and delays as well as non-

delivery of such materials. As Christie (1999) clearly points out, the curriculum was poorly planned and hastily introduced in schools with teachers being insufficiently prepared, with inadequate resources. It is also argued that the curriculum process did not carefully consider resource constraints, nor the inadequate databases of, for instance, simple matters such as the number of schools or teachers in the country and that it suffered from lack of or inadequate planning and co-ordination, coupled with poor strategic interventions in the introduction of OBE.

The second charge is about the political process that should have informed the curriculum development. After labour's active involvement in initial curriculum debates, it is alleged, the technocrats (experts), including foreign consultants, hijacked the process at the expense of the role of practitioners. The consequences were twofold. The role of the teachers in curriculum design became marginal and the curriculum was framed and mystified by impenetrable and obscure jargon. Curriculum 2005 has been criticized for using inaccessible language to teachers who are supposed to implement it, which makes it an elitist system with profound political implications for the Government's redress project (Christie, 1999; Jansen, 1999). There is also a proliferation of new terminology in the implementation of OBE. For instance, the procedures for developing a learning programme are deemed complex and hence, the need for better prepared teachers, many of whom, especially in the previously disadvantaged groups, are inadequately prepared for basic teaching let alone comprehending the new curriculum.

At the design level, there seemed to be consensus that Curriculum 2005 fell short of constituting an effective curriculum framework for teachers and learners. First, it focused too much on outcomes and neglected issues of content that were left to individual teachers to construct. However, given poor training of teachers and lack of resources, as well as the toll that apartheid had inflicted on the education system, the majority of teachers found it difficult to know what to teach and tended to act as mere technicians without the necessary conceptual and content tools.

There seemed to be general consensus that there are problems facing curriculum reform in South Africa. As Muller (2000:12) clearly points out, that there is a need to reclaim the pedagogical and cognitive aspects of schooling that have been lost through too much emphasis on outcomes, to bring back to the fore the role of the teacher, devalued in progressivism. This claim was validated by the decision of the Department of Education to appoint a Policy Review Committee to evaluate the key dimensions of Curriculum 2005.

3.2.4 The Review Committee on Curriculum 2005

The Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, announced the establishment of the Review Committee on Curriculum 2005 on 8 February 2000. The Review Committee was not expected to do away with Curriculum 2005 or to question its approach (OBE) and basic assumptions, though these have been an object of contestation. It was primarily concerned with addressing what has been perceived as an implementation crisis and proposing measures to deal with it. At a more practical level, the Committee had to investigate how enabling Curriculum 2005 was for achieving the goals of growth and competitiveness for the 21st century, how implementable it was, or whether it provided a good basis for achieving its stated critical outcomes.

Several shortcomings were identified within the curriculum itself and within the system. These include:

- Varying levels of understanding of Curriculum 2005
- A skewed curriculum structure and design (e.g., complex and cumbersome language and terminology, overcrowding and learning areas)
- Policy overload and limited transfer of learning into classrooms
- Lack of alignment between curriculum and assessment policy (too much assessment - oral, written, individual, group, *ad hoc* and fragmented)
- Inadequate orientation, training and development of teachers and follow up support unavailability

- Learning support materials that are not variable in quality, often unavailable and not sufficiently used in classrooms
- Shortages of personnel and resources to implement and support Curriculum 2005

Against this background and to strengthen the process of implementation, the Committee proposed:

- A revised and streamlined Outcomes-based curriculum framework
- The production of learner support material
- A national teacher education strategy
- Relaxation of the pace of implementation

Finally, the experience of the Review Committee highlights another important dimension of South African Curriculum reform. After the release of its Report, the government endorsed most of its recommendations. Given the nature of the recommendations, the government devised the Revised National Curriculum Statement in 2003 and it reflected a major surgery on the existing curriculum approach and content. The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) keeps intact the fundamental values and principles of Curriculum 2005 and Outcomes-based Education.

3.2.5 Implications of Educational Policy Changes

The reconceptualisation of education is what teachers have been calling for over the years in the struggle against the apartheid government. According to Singh (2001) teachers to a large degree welcomed the transformation that is taking place in education. However, on the other hand there arises contention amongst certain teachers. In debating this it is important to look at the positionality of teachers in relation to the new policies that are being implement. In unpacking how teachers see themselves in relation to the new policies, a number of questions are generated. What inputs have teachers made to policy formulation and design for forge ownership of them? Do teachers see themselves as loyal implementers of policy or are they questioning their role in the process as practitioners?

These questions open up interesting debates. As Fullan (1991) and Dyer (1999) have made clear, the *status quo* is difficult to change if the designated change agents – overwhelming the teachers – do not perceive themselves as having any stake in the process. Without such a stake, South African teachers are unlikely to undergo the radical changes in behaviour and beliefs that the new curriculum demands.

In the light of the above comments it is important to realize that the way in which teachers position themselves in relation to policy change is a complex issue. According to Cele (1998) just as the government said it needs time frames to put redress and redistribution into the agenda, so does the evolutionary process of developing teachers to change. Having been educated in an apartheid era, many teachers may feel a sense of inadequacy in meeting up to the demands of a transforming South Africa. Teachers are possibly not equipped to think critically and this means that their existing knowledge is being challenged. For many teachers it means engaging in a radical paradigm shift, which involves new ways of thinking. Forcing teachers into changes that they themselves have not digested is not a sound basis for transformation. There is a need to rethink the teacher's position in policy formulation and implementation with the idea of creating space to allow them to relate to new principles and practices.

3.3 The Status of History Teaching in South Africa – Post 1994

The status of history teaching in South Africa is undergoing changes. The crisis in the present-day South African school history was investigated (DoE, 2001b) and it was pointed out that although the quest for the right kind of history at school in a multicultural society has been carried out, the matter on how to teach history is still controversial. The History and Archaeology Panel was established by the Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, and launched on 12 September 2000. Its brief was to advise the Minister of Education on how best to strengthen the teaching of history in South African schools. The terms of reference of the panel were to undertake a critical analysis of:

- The quality of the teaching of history in schools
- The state of teacher training
- The quality of support materials (such as textbooks)

The overarching argument of the Report of the History and Archaeology Panel was that the current history curriculum does not effectively help to explain the formation of the present. In South African history, under the revised core syllabus of 1996, there has naturally been a broadening of the overarching narrative to move beyond 'White' history. Thus, attention was paid to a record of the liberation struggle and of the role of leading political and cultural figures in the making of a post-apartheid country. Yet, while adapting to the needs of a democratic order, the syllabus retains an essentially traditional approach to history. According to the Report the method of providing a chronological list of suggested empirical content to the point of tedium, reduces history to a recital of facts and dates from textbooks that pupils then regurgitate without really understanding the context of events.

Secondly, the curriculum was seriously disjointed, with the history of South Africa presented as a separate, decontextualised chronological entity to both the African past and that of the rest of the world. To cite merely one example, where South African conflict over land and resources (1800-1902) is tackled, this phase of capitalist revolution is not placed in the context of global struggles for and over land. There are attempts, in varying school standard levels, to position South Africa within a world history, but this is ultimately limited to the two World Wars, with the Union's part in the 1939-45 war effort not listed as an examinable topic. Much the same kind of picture may be deduced of other significant historical phases.

At the same time, the crowded and content-driven Senior Certificate phase of history and the system of assessment create syllabus pressures on time which not only curtails the freedom in classrooms to delve more deeply into the richness of history. It also negates source-based historical skill acquired in earlier grades and provides little incentive to stretch teachers to expend energy in an already tightly packed school year on engaging

with content not prescribed for 'examination purposes'. At the level of demand, the bifurcated content structure means that students need not be examined on the 1948 -1976 era, permitting conservative teachers the latitude to stick to the 1910 – 1924 period and thereby to avoid confronting the challenges posed by proper teaching of the apartheid decades.

Turning away from South African national history, general history is still taught in a fairly narrow and conventional way. Here, for example, the interim syllabus for grades 10-12 remains overwhelmingly Eurocentric in conception. Africa is mostly inert and treated within the context of European impact through colonisation. Moreover, the study of Africa comprises only a small portion of the 'General History' curriculum for this learning phase and is only officially prescribed for study in grade 12 and that as international relations terrain for the 1945–1994 period. In other words, through world power involvement in Africa, European realities remain the major point of reference and historical meaning for the continent's history. Decolonisation, independence movements and the post-1970s development of modern Africa are not processes for student examination.

Curriculum issues are certainly deserving of ongoing attention. However, in arguing the case for improved teacher training, the obvious starting point is the fact that the first problem with teacher education at present begins with the prior educational preparation of teachers. Many individuals who begin teacher training tend to have been taught in a questionable way at school, in both methods and content. There is a natural tendency, however, unconscious, to mimic one's own classroom learning experience in conducting one's own teaching. Here, an ideal aim of teacher training should be to push student teachers to 'unlearn' almost everything that they have already learned, in order to prepare them to assimilate improved pedagogical methods.

The second problem associated with this blockage is the underlying persistence of the legacy of teacher training from the old apartheid history system. At the level of method, teachers are taught to teach a fixed historical narrative based on agreed facts. As to

content, there are substantial areas of South African history, quite apart from African and world history, with which many teachers are wholly unfamiliar. Most teachers are not being trained in new pedagogical methods in their pre-service training, nor are they taught to understand themselves as creative bearers of historical knowledge, with the potential to shape historical imagination. Teachers are not taught the crucial skill of question formulation and critical interrogation, those who have themselves been disadvantaged in their educational experience find it especially hard to challenge the weight of customary practice, in which the absorption of great chunks of content is rewarded.

Furthermore, teachers who have been trained in highly partial apartheid history are often left feeling shaky about their own knowledge, are reluctant to discard old historical themes to embrace new materials, to produce their own sources or to criticize textbook dogmas. This, in turn, leads to an uncritical reliance upon or even ‘fetishing’ of the available history textbook, even when the text may be inadequate, ideologically distorted, or even incomprehensible. A related point could be made of the teacher relationship to curriculum documentation. No matter how advanced or sophisticated a curriculum document may be, it remains a dormant document without improved professional training in becoming an enlivened history educator. It is because these teaching difficulties comprise both human and material factors that these unresolved matters are of such significance and their resolution so important.

Clearly, the educational environment and its pressures on teachers in schools are not conducive to good teaching methods. On the one hand there is the chronic shortage of libraries, textbooks, photocopiers, and other essential resources, sometimes even including paper. On another, many teachers in earlier grades are uncertain of what to do with the space they have under the new curriculum, generally because they have not been adequately trained in how to use such space. Higher up, from grade 11 in particular, there is a consuming focus on Senior Certificate needs, which obliges a reversion to rote learning, even for those motivated educators who are grappling with the challenge of implementing new history methods.

Thirdly, following formal teacher training, teachers do not receive adequate subject backup and support from school management and the Departments of Education. This is manifested in key areas, such as the lack of ability of subject advisers to provide assistance in teaching methods, as opposed to administrative skills. Insufficient time is being allocated to in-service training to equip teachers to be able to implement the new Outcomes-based approach effectively. Teachers in 2000–2001 also had to adjust to abrupt changes in grade-related curriculum policy, on the basis of quite perfunctory bouts of training and preparation time. While education commentators in the past often argued that the rigidity and heavy content demand of the schools Senior Certificate examination inhibited meaningful curriculum development, currently it is perhaps more an inadequate grasp of historical knowledge by many educators which impedes the transformation of the examination.

Lastly, teachers who are teaching the apartheid period and the history of other painful and sensitive national subjects are often not adequately prepared to deal with the challenge of their learners' responses. This is exacerbated by the lack of necessary grounding to foster debate and judicious reflection because of their own limited grasp of the topic at hand.

What aggravates this situation even further is a diminishing of the place of history in learning. The History and Archaeology Report indicated that amongst many educational administrators, there is a general and pervasive discrediting of the value of history as a subject. In contrast to educational practice in neighbouring states like Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique, history is no longer seen as a core-schooling subject (Kallaway, 1997). A large part of what lies behind this is the perception, based on a very narrow definition of vocational education, that history has no obvious relevance to the needs and pressures of the contemporary world. While students would generally acknowledge that history is 'interesting' or even 'important', they would not perceive any connection between the history learned in schools and the significance of current affairs programmes, contemporary political events or even news of the economy. There is also an influential perception amongst parents who are largely, but not exclusively White, that studying history is 'not relevant' for securing the future careers of children, unlike commerce or

mathematics. This has had a particularly gendered impact, narrowing the learning paths of male students, many of who have developed an aversion to studying important periods of South African history.

History teaching has also suffered from the corrosive effects of rationalization and teacher redeployment policies when, after 1997, the new Post Provisioning Norms began to be applied. When hard decisions have to be made under the imperative of economic austerity, mathematics and the sciences are given protective priority and humanities subject like history are elbowed aside. In addition, and possibly unintentionally, the absorption of history into the Human and Social Sciences grid by Curriculum 2005 is commonly perceived as confirming the marginality or even irrelevance of the discipline.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I began with a discussion of educational policy change initiatives on South African education post-1994 and asked the question “What does policy say teachers should be doing?” I then examined Curriculum 2005 and the impact of this policy on learning and teaching in the classroom. A brief assessment of the problems of Curriculum 2005 identified by the Review Committee and its respective recommendations were also presented. This chapter also focused on the status of history teaching in high schools since 1994.

In the next chapter, I discuss my methodological consideration in the design of this study on history teachers’ changing identities within the context of curriculum change. Further, the methods and instruments employed in this research are described in detail.

CHAPTER FOUR: MAPPING THE METHODOLOGICAL ROUTE- PROCESS, PARADIGM AND PROCEDURE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion and justification of the methodology and methods that I employed in this study to collect the data in pursuit of the following critical research question:

How do history teachers construct their identities within the context of curriculum change?

The critical question has its origins in the following sub-questions:

- How are history teachers framing their identities in relation to many contextual, personal and biographical issues?
- How history teachers interpret their identities in the context of the changing curriculum policies?
- Does the history curriculum policy “images” or “expectations” have any (if any) influence on history teachers’ construction of their pedagogical roles and responsibilities?

With these sub-questions as background, my thesis is simple: Does contextual, personal and biographical issues only frame history teachers’ identities or that ‘policy images’ of teachers make demands that conflict with their ‘personal identities’ as practitioners or whether both issues of the puzzle shape history teachers’ identities, or is it either or perhaps other possibilities that exist?

I begin this chapter by outlining the broad methodological approach. This area of research begs many questions about research relations and methodological issues, such as how to access the invisible, i.e., teachers’ minds, especially if it includes issues that are considered private? (Reddy, 2003). These issues have been the focus of much life history

approach. My methodological considerations included the choice of a methodology that 'constructs a grand narrative, either intellectual or political, that will give us ultimate truth and will lead us to our freedom has been shattered in many ways' (Lather, 1991:vii). What does this mean for social research in the postmodern world? The only way to an accurate view and confident knowledge of the world is, in the words of Marcus & Fischer (1986:15 in Cray, 1999) 'through a sophisticated epistemology that takes full account of intractable contradiction, paradox, irony and uncertainty in the explanation of human activities'. Furthermore, the development of a trusting relationship between researcher and researched and the goal of using social research to further the interests of the participants have been the aim of many life history research studies. Using a qualitative method of data collection within the tradition of life history research method was the most appropriate in this study.

As advocated by Lather (1986), I have attempted to operationalise an emancipatory research method, which emphasizes collaboration, reciprocity and reflexivity. For Lather (1986), reciprocity implies give and take, a mutual negotiation of meaning and power. It has long been recognized as a valuable aspect of fieldwork, in creating the conditions that yield rich data because the researcher moves from the status of strangers to friend and this is able to gather personal knowledge from subjects more easily (Lather, 1991). The goal of emancipatory research is to encourage self-reflection and deeper understanding on the part of the researched at least as much as it is to generate empirically grounded theoretical knowledge. To achieve this, interviews were conducted in an interactive, dialogic manner that required self-disclosure on the part of researcher to encourage reciprocity. This goal was achieved by privileging teacher voices (narratives) throughout the study.

The study of teachers' narratives is increasingly being seen as central to the study of teachers' thinking, culture and behaviour. There are those who argue (see Kagan, 1990; Thomas, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 1990 and Elbaz, 1991) that it is crucial to understand these aspects of teachers' lives if current efforts at improvements and reforms of a number of educational systems around the world are to be effective. Any real change

in the curriculum is not likely to be effective or is not likely to be carried through unless teachers' perceptions and experiences are taken into account. Among these advocates is Louden (1995:86):

'The teacher is the ultimate key to educational change and school improvement. Teachers don't merely deliver the curriculum. They develop it; define it and reinterpret it too. It is what teachers think, what teachers believe and what teachers do at the level of the classroom that ultimately shapes the kind of learning that young people get.'

To improve educational systems, curriculum reforms and classroom practice, we need to know more about teachers' perspectives. We need to know how teachers themselves see their situation, what their experience is like, what they believe and how they think. In short, we need to know more about teachers' culture, from the inside. This is an important area of education which until recently has received little attention from researchers. Hence, this chapter proposes that the analysis of teachers' narratives can be used as an innovative methodology to study such questions of teachers' identities, cultures, experiences and beliefs.

This chapter provides the landscape to understand the issues related to doing life history research. I presented an argument for the use of a qualitative method of data collection within the tradition of life history as the most appropriate method to addressing the critical questions raised in this study. In doing so I am able to go beyond having access to 'a life' as told, to the exploration of 'a life' as experienced. This shift was crucial for my exploration of teachers' practices as well as to understand that the structures of identity and the positions that teachers take up in the present educational context of continued shifts and constantly changing images are complex and contradictory. I also highlighted the limitations of life history research and how I resolved these different dilemmas, which presented itself in the study. In the following section, I discuss the rationale for a qualitative methodology.

4.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

In justifying my choice for using a qualitative research methodology, I needed to examine what constitutes qualitative approach and how it is different from the quantitative approach. Rist (1977) sets out several principles of qualitative methodology:

- *Qualitative research is inductive.* Researchers develop concepts, insights and understanding from pattern in the data, rather than collecting data to access preconceived models, hypotheses or theories. In qualitative studies researchers follow a flexible research design. They begin their studies with only vaguely formulated research questions.
- *Researcher looks at setting and people holistically; people, settings, or groups are not reduced to variables, but are viewed as a whole.* The researcher studies people in the context of their past and the situations in which they find themselves.
- *The qualitative researcher suspends or sets aside, his or her own beliefs, perspectives and predispositions.* The researcher views things as though they were happening for the first time. Nothing is taken for granted. Everything is a subject matter of inquiry.
- *For the qualitative researcher, all perspectives are valuable.* The researcher seeks not 'truth' or 'morality' but rather a detailed understanding of other peoples' perspectives. All people are viewed as equals.
- *Qualitative methods are humanistic.* The methods by which we study people of necessity affect how we view them. When we reduce peoples' words and acts to statistical equations, we lose sight of the human side of social life. When we study people qualitatively, we get to know them personally and experience what they experience in their daily struggles in society. We learn about concepts such as

beauty, pain, suffering and love whose essence is lost through other research approaches. We learn about, as Shaw (1982:4) asserts ‘the inner life of the person, his moral struggles, his successes and failures in securing his destiny in a world too often at variance with his hopes and ideals.’

- *For the qualitative researcher, all settings and people are worthy of study.* No aspect of social life is too mundane or trivial to be studied.

In recognition of this, a qualitative method was preferred because it is usually seen as richer, more vital, as having greater depth and is more likely to present a true picture of a way of life of a teacher, of a teacher’s experience, attitudes and beliefs. Many researchers have argued for a replacement of quantitative, positivist, objective research with qualitative, interpretative, ethnographic reflective research (see Denzin, 1989, Haig, 1999; Mies, 1993). Much of this debate has been around the claim that quantitative research techniques, involving the translation of an individual’s experience into categories that have been preconceived by researchers, distort women’s experiences and result in a silencing of women’s own voices (Reddy, 2003). Advocates of qualitative methods have argued that the interest in qualitative research stems from its potential to offer a more human, less mechanical relationship between the researcher and the researched. For example, Oakley (1981:41) suggests, ‘the goal of finding out more about people though interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her personal identity in the relationship’. These principles of qualitative research methodology suggested elements that were appropriate to achieve the goals set out in my study of trying to understand deeply how history teachers negotiate the landscape of the rapidly changing policy and practice environment within which they work.

4.3 Situating Life History Research Methodology

In this study I am interested in understanding how history teachers' identities are transformed and reconstituted in the complex educational shifts in South Africa. My own specific background that includes my training and teaching experience as a teacher of history and my knowledge of teachers' identities and professional development shapes the research design that I devised for this study. This knowledge has equipped me with a particular perspective and theoretical view and has definitely influenced and shaped the approaches that I employed to focus on particular issues of understanding 'a life' as told and as experienced. A powerful means of inspiring this illuminative experience is the telling of one's life history. According to Clandinin & Connelly (1994) life histories are the closest we come to understanding experience. Since we are story-telling beings, then narrative is a fruitful effort to 'approach the understanding of lives in context rather than through a prefigured and narrowing lens' (Josselson, 1995:32).

In recent research (see Bowen, 1968; Clifford, 1970; Edel, 1984) we find life histories being used in a number of different ways. In some instances it is primarily a device that allows for the effective presentation of data that is rich and voluminous and would otherwise be difficult to convey. For others it is the methodology itself; the work consists of getting the narrative – for example, for life history – and using it to make a point about the works of teachers. But a few researchers see some form of life history as the very purpose of their work; I am referring in particular to the work of Clandinin & Connelly (1986, 1987) on narrative and that of Butt & Raymond (1987) on biography as well as Elbaz (1983). For this work, the story is not that which links teacher thought and action, for thought and action are not seen as separate domains to begin with. Rather, the narrative is the very stuff of teaching, the landscape within which we live as teachers and researchers and within which the work of teachers can be seen as making sense. This is not merely a claim about the aesthetic or emotional sense of fit of the notion of story without intuitive understanding of teaching, but an epistemological claim that teachers' knowledge in its own terms are ordered by story and can best be understood in this way. This constitutes an important conceptual shift in the way that teachers' knowledge can be

conceived and studied, and it is also (in my opinion) the direction in which the field should be heading.

Life histories fall in the broad genre of narrative research which, in the words of Casey (1995: 235) 'confirm the arrival of a post-paradigmatic age', an age that seeks to affirm and actively sponsor the voices of the teacher, the teacher educator and the student; voices that have long been absent from educational research and policy. Recent accounts of the perspectives and interpretations of people in a variety of educational settings are both significant and pertinent, for they provide valuable 'insights into the ways in which educational personnel come to terms with the constraints and conditions in which they work' (Goodson, 1983). Life histories, Goodson argues, 'have the potential to make a far-reaching contribution to the problem of understanding the links between personal troubles and public issues, a task that lies at the very heart of the sociological enterprises'. Their importance, he asserts, 'is best conformed by the fact that teachers continually, most often unsolicited, import life history data into their accounts of classroom events' (Goodson, 1983).

In this research, studying teachers' lives might provide new insights into how teachers might approach reform and change to cope with the challenges of the postmodern world since, ultimately knowledge can only be produced through an intimate interrogation of individual experience. To date much of the educational research employed in teacher education has been developed from a foundational disciplinary discourse with its philosophical, psychological, historical, sociological components – far removed from educators' personal knowledge and experiences. It has been produced by 'scholars writing within their own contexts and resonates with their own career concerns in a publish or perish environment' (Goodson, 1994:15).

Dhunpath (2000) contends that studying lives through narrative research enables us to reconceptualise our studies of teaching and curriculum in fundamental ways. It facilitates a deeper appreciation of an individual's experience of the past, the present and provides a means of challenging the future (Measor & Sikes, 1992). It facilitates the construction

and interpretation of subjectively meaningful features and critical episodes of an individual's life, allowing us to see the unities, continuities and discontinuities, images and rhythms (Cortazzi, 1993). Dhunpath (2000) carries this idea a step further by suggesting that without this new way of seeing the teacher educator and teacher, our insight into how they develop and change can only be myopic.

Throughout the 1980s, a different kind of academic inquiry gained momentum that invited the voices of previously marginalized individuals, through life history research. It has since become popular in many disciplines, e.g., psychology, anthropology, sociology and education where there has been recognition of marginalized voices, where the need to understand the human perspective is considered important and valid (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2001). The literature I have reviewed clearly indicates that life history research attempts to locate the individuals in their overall life experiences as well as broader socio-historical background within which they live.

Closely related with the term life history are oral history, life stories, narrative, personal documents, autobiography and case study. Part of the reason for this array of terms maybe that these types of scholarship have a history of use in the different disciplines. Researchers' definitions of life history research are influenced by their epistemological orientations and by their professional or scholarly autobiographies, that is, the school, discipline, or profession within which they are situated. Regardless of discipline, researchers who pioneered life history research in their respective fields each recognized the individual as a window into broader social and societal conditions (see White, 1952; Langness, 1965; Thomas & Zanlecki, 1920; Plummer, 1993). My purpose is not to get caught up in the terminology, or debates about it, or to pretend that the lines among the various approaches are clearly drawn. Rather, I want to point out that the language is important. Words used to describe different research methods are codes that reflect among other things, featuring of epistemology, purpose and process. I am not purporting to offer definitions of the various methods, but merely laying a code to help clear how we understand life history research and how we talk about it throughout this study.

Life history research must also be differentiated from other types of biographical inquiry. Life history is interested in gaining a first-hand, retrospective, historical account of the individual's personal experience elicited via the interview (Reddy, 2000; Smith, 1994) and supplemented with written and other expressive forms the participant chooses to admit. It is clearly distinguished from autobiographical writings which are self-initiated and drawn from the participant's privileged perspective (Cole & Knowles, 2001). Life history is biographical. It involves another person writing one's life via interviews with relevant people and through documents.

A distinction between case history and life history is of relevance here. A case history is typically a clinical tool used primarily in the social and health services as a means of tracing the life history of a disorder. A life history in contrast is a research tool that traces the life experience of a person who has a disorder or impairment (Sachs, 1985). In this study life histories provide valuable insights into the ways in which teachers come to terms with the constraints and conditions in which they work.

Although a life history may be complete, topical or edited, it contains the central features of the individual's telling of his life, its social and cultural dimensions and the sequences of events over time. A topical, complete (full life course) approach is used here. Sparkes (1995) differentiates between the life story and life history. While the life story provides interpretive accounts of lived experiences, it tends to exclude the social structures and processes, which have shaped that account and have the danger of romanticising the subjective reality. Life history expands the life story and through a collaborative process between the participants, seeks to contextualise the story in a broader sociopolitical, historical and economic landscape. In drawing on the biographical, historical and contextual / situational strands, people are not divorced from their history and context, thus laying the groundwork for agency. The data produced relies heavily on the relationship between the story-teller and the researcher throughout the research process. The importance of educators' biographies or professional lives is being acknowledged by several educationists, who share similar views about life histories (see e.g., Goodson, 1992; Huberman, 1993; Belenky, 1986; Casey, 1995, Calderhead & Gates, 1993;

Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Witherall & Noddings, 1991). As a theoretical approach, Kelchtermans (1993) characterizes the biographic perspective as having five general features. They are 'narrative, constructivistic, contextual, interactionistic, and dynamic'.

The narrative element refers to the subjective, narrative form in which educators present their career experiences. The focus is not on the factual accuracy of the story constructed, but on the meaning they have for the respondent. In this regard, the approach is also constructivistic since the story is a composition of construed meanings and self-representations (Ball & Goodson, 1986). Markus & Wurf (1987) emphasize that the self-concept is not a monolithic entity but rather a collection of different types of self-representations. Since one never has access to the complete set of representations of oneself, Markus & Wurf (1987) see the term 'working self-concept or self-concept of the moment' as 'a continually shifting array of accessible self knowledge'. Markus & Wurf (1987) further assert that we achieve our personal-identities and self-concept through the use of 'narrative configuration' and make our existence into a whole by understanding it as an expression of a single unfolding story. There is no formula for representing the configuration in a particular life, only the interests and point of view of the biographer. According to Labov (1981), biographers achieve this configuration by crossing disciplinary boundaries, allowing a number of disciplines to converge, while each discipline maintains its own integrity. For example, Huberman (1993) foregrounds the psychological discipline, embeds his stage model of teacher development in a sociological analysis of how educators change.

It is crucial that life histories be located in a larger tapestry of individual, community and institutional enquiry. Without a clear focus on this contextual intersection of life in relation to history, social science, education, feminist and minority perspectives, writing biographies are indeed trivial pursuits. In a narrative discourse therefore events are always presented in their context. Context that refers to the physical, institutional environment as well as the social, cultural and interpersonal environment includes significant others such as parents, mentors, colleagues and peers. The interpersonal context provides both powerful positive and negative influences that shape an educator's

practice. The institutional context, which manifests itself through the education system, its organizational and bureaucratic structures, roles and relationships also significantly, influences an educator's practice and career phases (Huberman, 1993).

Within the existing educational context, this study argues that educational policy reflects a poor understanding of the specific realities that teachers have to deal with. The various factors which shape teachers' identities and roles are neglected as are policy after another is introduced making new demands and expectations on teachers. As Samuel (2001) reiterates that the teachers chose how to relate to which policies based on their unique histories that have been forged under varying social contexts. The specific historical, geographical, political, cultural, gendered and racialised contexts of the teachers is given little attention within many policy initiatives. This study reflects an understanding of the complex forces that shape what and how teachers interpret educational policy. The methodological technique of life history research is used to get the teacher to reflect on their exposure to teaching and learning history. The overlap, contradictions and coherences between the changing contextual environment of educational change and the teacher's own life history is the subject of this research. I present an argument in which teachers' identities are being pushed and pulled by various forces: biographical, contextual and educational. I begin by analysing human behaviour and then by looking at biographical forces that shape identity.

Since human behaviour always results from a meaningful interaction with the social and cultural environment and with other actors, biography may be said to be interactionistic (Kelchtermans, 1993). Clandinin & Connelly (1996), argue that story-telling is the organizing principle in educators' lives, a principle by which they organize their experience and knowledge about the social world. It is the 'primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful. People are story-telling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives' (Polkinghorne, 1988). Goodson (1992) adds, 'The story of my life is always embedded in the story of those communities from which I derive my identity'. When people tell stories, anecdotes and other kinds of narratives, they are engaged in 'a perceptual activity that organizes data into a special pattern which

represents and explains experience' (Bruner, 1990, in Cortazzi, 1993:19). The study of narrative is therefore, the study of the ways in which humans experience the world.

My purpose in the preceding discussion was to demonstrate that life history methodology has its own sophisticated organizing principles. Whether retrospective or contemporaneous, a life history involves five broad research processes. These have been identified by Plummer (1993) as preparation, data collection, data storage, data analysis and data presentation. Contrary to the belief amongst empiricists that with life history research 'anything goes', I want to assert that while narrative research challenges the canon imposed by propositional discourse, it is not a *laissez-faire* indulgence. While these organizing principles cannot and should not be equated with the principles of validation associated with empirical research, they provide a framework, which enables the biographer to preserve the credibility of his/her artistic endeavour without constraining the fertile imagination from discovering its limits (Eisner, 1981).

4.4 Life History Research: Methodology for Exploring Identity Formation

In this study I am interested in exploring identity formations of teachers of history in the present educational context of continued shifts and constantly changing images. The various factors that shape teachers' identities and roles are often neglected as one educational policy after another is introduced making new demands and expectations on teachers. Teachers' identities, Samuel (2001) argues is being pushed and pulled by various forces: biographical, programmatic and contextual. What this means is that unless we develop a deeper understanding of the 'personal identities' of teachers, we might continue to not only wrongly identify 'problem' but also generate facile solutions to the complex problems associated with teacher education reform (Jansen, 2001).

Teachers choose how to relate to which policies based on their own unique histories which have been forged under varying social contexts, that is, the drawing together of the personal, social and temporal dimensions of experience in a single life. Life history

research is suitable because it allows engagement with all of these dimensions, the personal, social and temporal.

Life history research foregrounds individual subjectivities in the process of knowledge construction. It is methodology that is biographical, person-centred and a science of the singular (in society) that seeks to understand the particular and illuminate diversity rather than suppress variability. Life history is always concerned with the history of a single life and is designed to 'explain, describe and reflect upon life' (Tillman-Rogers in Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). Since it is characterized by a focus on the individual, the data are produced with the participants themselves. Within the context of individual lives, life history has particular appeal as Sparkes in Hatch and Wisniewski (1995), explains:

'The ability of life history to focus upon central moments, critical incidents, or fateful moments that revolve around indecision, confusion, contradiction, and ironies, gives a greater sense of process to a life and gives a more ambiguous, complex, and chaotic view of reality. It also presents more 'rounded' and believable characters than the 'flat', seemingly irrational, and linear characters from other forms of qualitative inquiry.'

The individual subjective account is celebrated as a singular strength because it allows each to speak his own truth. Life history creates a space for the researcher to suspend his own views and beliefs. This is not done to agree necessarily with the participant but to empathise with the worldview and beliefs of reality that are constructed by the individual. It illuminates how s/he views the world, interprets experiences and attaches meaning to such experiences (Armstrong, 1987). In the context of exploring identity formations, Sachs (1985) explains that it is through life stories that people make sense of that which they are creating their identities and act accordingly:

'It might be said that each of us constructs and lives a narrative ... this narrative is our identities ... if we wish to know about a man, we ask what

is his story, his real innermost story? – for each of us is a biography, a story. Each of us is a singular narrative which is constructed, continually, unconsciously by, through and in us – through our perceptions, feelings, our thoughts, our actions; not least our discourse, our spoken narrations. Biologically and physiologically we are not different from each other historically, as narratives, each of us unique' (Sacks, 1985: 105-106).

I want to endorse what Cremin (1976), in Walford, 1994:99) said:

'Individuals come to educational situations with their own temperaments, histories, and purposes, and different individuals will obviously interact with a given configuration of Education in different ways and with different outcomes.'

Dhunpath (1998) suggests that the life history approach is probably the only authentic means of understanding how motives and practices reflect the intimate intersection of institutional and individual experience in the postmodern world.

Life history methodology illuminates the changing nature of experience and identity formations over time and is suited to this study. Researchers (Portelli, 1991; Thompson, 1988; Denzin 1989; Plummer 1993; Hatch & Wisniewski 1995) have highlighted the contributions life history research can make. The focus on the individual is the primary characteristic that sets life history work apart from all other qualitative research. In sociology, Denzin (1989) and Plummer (1993) argue that by using a life history approach, human phenomena can be studied and understood from the perspective of the persons involved. The centre of life histories is the continuous lived flow of historical situated experience with all the ambiguity, variability, malleability and uniqueness that such experiences usually implies (Plummer, 1993). Life history research uses primarily oral sources. Oral sources have the advantage to tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing and what they now think they did. Lives are flooded with moments of indecision, turning points, confusion, contradictions

and ironies. The life history technique is peculiarly situated to discover the confusion, ambiguities and contradictions that are played in everyday experiences (Reddy: 2000). Life histories allow a reconstruction of the economic, political, cultural, migratory and an educational history that are inaccessible through written documentation (Thompson & Perks, 1993). Bogdon (1974:4) shares this view.

Life history is unique in allowing us to view an individual in the context of one's whole life, from birth to a point at which we encounter the person. Because of this it can lead to a fuller understanding of the stages and critical periods in the processes of development. It enables us to look at subjects as if they had a past with successes as well as failures and a future with hopes and fears. It allows us to see an individual in relation to the history of time and how he/she is influenced by the various religious, social, psychological and economic currents present in his/her world (Reddy, 2000). It permits us to view the intersection with the history of their society, thereby enabling us to understand better the choices, contingencies and options given to the individual.

Since a life history constantly moves between the changing biographical history of the individual and the social history of his/her lifespan, it can provide powerful insights into the process of change. In life history research a proper focus of historical change can be attained in ways that are lacking in many other methods. The gathering of a life history will enable a subject moving to and fro between the developments of his/her own life cycle and the ways in which external crises and situations (wars, politics, religion and economics) have impinged on this. A life history cannot be told without a constant reference to historical change and this central focus on change must be seen as one of life history's values (Thompson, 1981).

In accessing understanding of experience over a lifespan, life history approach provides a critical temporal dimension to understanding lives and engages an understanding of variability of identity formations (Kathard, 2003). The retrospective, longitudinal approach provides an orientation which allows the life cycle of a single individual to be taken as a unit for study. There is an appreciation that with the perishing of each moment

the individual is left a different creature, never to repeat itself exactly. No moment or epoch is typical of the whole (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). The focus on the individual allows for a deeper understanding of the complex relationships between ideology and culture, the self and society. The human experience is relational and is shaped by (and shapes) the institutional and structural organization of society. A question often raised by life history researchers is, 'do participants embed their stories and interpretations within a social landscape?' Goodson (1995) suggests that they might or might not locate their experiences in a social context. To prevent a macro-blindness, it is imperative that the researcher is an active participant in the process to broaden the concern of personal truth and to consider the wider socio-historical concerns even if this is does not appear as part of the consciousness of the individual (Goodson, 1992; Thompson, 1981). In illuminating the sociopolitical and historical contexts, there lies the possibility that participants will gain an understanding of their experiences within a sociological context, by appreciating the forces shaping their lives and possibly leading to changes in how they understand their experiences.

Life history research has been used as means of understanding human action from a subjective perspective, that is, by linking identity formations and action. By placing the individual as active within a story, we can explain why he/she acted in a particular way. Personal agency of participants is encouraged rather than a passive role (Dhunpath, 2000). It is by nature, a positive, celebratory methodology that affords a discursive space for creating and celebrating self-understanding. It allows the researcher to gaze afresh, perhaps in astonishment, at a part of the world he/she thought had already seen and understood (Dhunpath, 2000).

I want to argue in this thesis for an approach that positions teachers not as objects to be changed but as complex subjects with power and knowledge to change.

Life history work has much to offer, given its focus on the construction and reconstruction of teachers' identities and the self, transformed continuously in relation to the discourses they occupy to make sense of their lives and the world. There are many

ways to consider the career of teaching, the reasons for becoming teachers and the factors associated with shaping teachers' identities. In this study I attempt to recognize the struggle over identity (who am I?), as inseparable from the struggle over the meanings of identities and subject positions that may be occupied by teachers in teaching discourses and practices (how do I make meaning of who I am?). It is these complex identities I seek to understand, and the multiple and conflicting meanings teachers they create in their daily lives. Employing the life history approach enables me to understand teachers' lives as complex and identities as fluid and multiple.

4.5 Major Issues in Life History Research

There has been much written about the theoretical and methodological issues in life history work and life history research as has been demonstrated in the literature review. Researching lives is always a delicate affair, often highly intrusive. Life history researchers step into lives only to retreat after a time; yet, those examined lives live on both within and without the researcher's experience. The business of doing life history work is complex and consuming, exhilarating and elusive, demanding and defining, but with understanding the lives of others comes the possibility of understanding oneself and one's location in the world. This section illustrates some of the complexities of life history research and provides an overview of the kinds of issues related to some of the debates in the life history field. I begin by examining the concept of relationships and positionality, memory in life history research, sampling and representativity and then move to the paradox of trust in life history.

4.5.1 Relationships and Positionality

Life history research is premised on a good relationship between the researcher and participants given that meaning-making is a dialogic. It is through this relationship that the data is produced and analysed. The nature of the relationship must be problematised. The social nature of the process could be said to occur on a continuum. The one end is formal and distant to allow the researcher to maintain his/her objectivity and necessary

rigour. On the other hand, the researcher sees it necessary to develop a reciprocal relationship that affords the opportunity for deeper engagement (Lawrence – Lightfoot & Hoffman-Davis, 1997). Researchers are somewhere on this continuum.

In fostering a reciprocal relationship in life history research, it is also important to consider how researchers and participants are positioned. Clandinin & Connelly (1994:419) point out ‘these intensive relationships require serious consideration of who we are as researchers in the stories of participants, for when we become characters in their stories, we change their stories’. Measor & Sikes(1992) suggest that the researchers’ position in relation to the research stories to be acknowledged, examined and explicated. Who is the participant I want to research? How do I construct Myself? What are the expectations and boundaries of the research relationship?

Researchers, (Hammersely, 1979; Cole, 1989; Cole & Knowles, 1995) aptly talk about the importance of building rapport with participants in order to engage in the intrusive work of interviewing. Siedman (1991) maintains that the level of rapport needs to be carefully controlled so that the researcher and participants do not become too familiar, so that interviews do not become conversations and so that meaning does not become distorted.

Although there is intimacy in the relationship there is also a need for boundaries between the researcher and the participant and a need to protect the vulnerability of the participant. In writing about the role of intimacy in research relationships, Busier (1997), asserts that the more blurred the boundaries between the personal and professional became, the closer he/she was able to get to ‘knowledge producing’. Life history work can be deeply emotional, but it is not therapy. These are difficult lines to draw, but the researcher must keep in mind the question and guide the research. In the process of navigating intimacy the researcher must learn how to discern his/her own motivations and to see the difference between legitimate inquiry and voyeurism. As Oakley (1981) remarks, the teller is not the only person telling the tale. The listener also shapes the

story. Questions, too, determine the direction and emphasis of the narrative. Even interviewer silence can have its meanings.

During the research process I adopted the role of an empathetic listener. The research relationship was professional with the participants clearly committed to answering the questions to the best of their abilities and me trying to steer the discussion in a way that will provide me with data to answer my research questions. The next concern was about the reliability of memory in life history research.

4.5.2 Memory in Life History Research

In life history research, the participant is engaged with the process of recounting his experiences over time. This process relies on memory and the issue must therefore be considered. Thus, there are questions about how well memory serves us: the reliability of memory, memory being distorted by other events or memory being mediated by subsequent events and happenings. How will these issues impact on the research interest? Traditional historians who seek factual truths have challenged the use of memory as evidence. The main criticism was that memory was unreliable as a historical source because it was distorted by physical deterioration and nostalgia in old age, by the personal bias of both interviewer and interviewee and by the influence of collective and retrospective versions of the past. In addition, Reddy (2000) indicates that memory depends not only on individual comprehension, but also upon interest - one chooses to remember from a long time ago and indicated by our present state there can be a tendency to glamorise these experiences.

However, the purpose of life history research is different from historical research. It is not intended to generate factual truth, but to generate personal truths. Therefore memory must be understood differently.

Life history research is an active process of recollecting, rediscovering and creating. Memories may be said to be working at many different, interconnected levels (Plummer,

2001). Firstly, at the personal psychological level one considers how well and what a person can remember given his individual constraints such as time of day or diseases affecting memory. Secondly, memory in narrative research has been understood as more of a socially shared experience than an inner psychological phenomenon. Memories are our habitual stories about what we have come to believe is true, and in this regard, can be considered as a narrative memory. Bruner (1994) explains that what we remember of the past is what is necessary to keep a story well informed. A third level of narrative memory is a collective memory where the emphasis is on the social framework of memory. Life stories are narrated within a broader cultural frame. Story-tellers rely on the collective memories of events passed on through generations and include in their stories aspects of cultural heritages. They are able to relate events that they have not directly experienced but which have become part of their 'vicarious' experience through stories told by others, for example, atrocities during war times or living in apartheid times. Memories of living conditions, experiences of families and critical events may become part of an individual's experience as stories are passed down through generations. Memory can be constructed as an active, personal/social process of linking the past to present, which has relevance for the construction of a particular story.

Memories serve to construct identities. In creating ourselves we always rely on our memories (Bruner, 1994). Without such memory how would we know who we are? It is a process that extends from childhood to adulthood and is under constant revision.

In the context of research one must then ask the difficult question about whether it is plausible to rely on individual memory as a basis for theorising. If one is interested in personal experience, then it is the interpretations of those memories that must serve as evidence. It may be irrelevant whether or not a participant can remember the exact date and time of a life event, but it is important that he can place it within a meaningful temporal context. In the interview, the researcher may want to check for internal consistency by revisiting aspects of the experience and comparing with other sources, e.g., artifacts, if necessary and possible. According to Cole & Knowles (2001:86) artifacts are primarily representations of the life. These are usually physical objects or

documentations of a life as lived in the present. Examples include: photographs, journals, diaries or logbooks.

The challenge for the narrative researcher lies in appraising the particular kinds of questions he asks, and the ways in which he asks these 'watershed' questions. These questions unlock a stream of memories that may be considered extraneous to the researcher's objective but also create the possibility of illuminating unanticipated rich data (Barone, 2001). However, the unlocking of such memories is also built on a solid bridge of interpersonal trust, respect and dignity (Antoinette, 2000). As a counterpoint, Dhunpath (2002) suggests that we should also ask what about silences – about what is not said or remembered. It is unlikely that we will know with any degree of certainty whether silence on particular issues are a conscious or unconscious act and the extent of self-censorship or strategic selection an individual is likely to make. The dilemma is a difficult one for the life history researcher and perhaps it can only be approached with an attitude of sensitive caution to what the participant wants or chooses to make public. What is said, what is not said, what can or can not be remembered, are part of the story. It is a difficult path the researcher must negotiate. It is here that the ethics and politics of the research process become paramount.

4.5.3 Sampling and Representativity

One major issue of the method of narrative research is that they usually deal with small samples (Cortazzi, 1993:19). This is because narrative inquiry involves protracted observation or extended interviewing with each participant to explore the participant's narrative to what is believed to be the necessary depth. An issue for the life history research is the decision of whom to research about. Given the research focus, what kind of consideration needs to be given to participants' characteristics? To what extent is it important to take into account socio-economic, socio-political, or demographic factors? How many participants are enough or optimum or manageable? Hence life history research is exploratory and intensive. There is little chance of a large, representative sample. Similarly, Cole & Knowles (2001:67) suggest that in life history research we are

opting for depth over breadth and the aim in participant selection is not population representativeness. Therefore the sampling is strategic rather than random.

It is good to keep this in mind when making commitments to one and to others about who and how many participants to involve. It is much more important to work thoroughly, meaningfully and authentically with one participant than to end up with very partial and sketchy understandings based on work with several or many.

I decided to write the life histories of six history educators. The number six was a statistical choice. I explain this fully in section 4.6.2.8. The participants in the sample had to reflect the population demographics. The South African population is made up of Africans, Coloureds, Whites and Indians. In the sample I interviewed three Africans, one Indian, one White and one Coloured. In choosing the participants in the study I initially chose educators whom I knew and could access easily, in the teaching of the field of history. I knew that the life history method involved an empathetic, intimate stance. I chose people that I knew because I felt that this would allow for a more open interview. Sample selection is discussed further in this chapter (see section 4.6.2).

4.5.4 The Paradox of Trust in Life History Research

The issue of trust in the work that involves experience is a complex one. Critics of life history say that authors of personal accounts can say what they want to say, hold back what they do not want to say and slant things to suit them. Can narratives be trusted? Several prominent researchers have suggested caution in trusting stories for reasons that have not occurred to more traditional educational research methodologists (Barone 1995:1). The issue of truth in work that involves experience is a complex one. Grumet (1998), for example, describes narratives as 'mask through which we can be seen' and asks about trustworthiness when 'every telling is a potential prevarication'. Nespor & Barylske (1991) contended that a portrait of oneself with the 'specific situation within fields of power, history and culture'. For other narratives, a life story unaccompanied by textual analysis exhibits a deficiency. If this argument goes, narratives, may recreate life

experiences, but they cannot critically examine the political, cultural and ideological systems engendering experience. Thus, the narrative may caution a record of constrained consciousness (Goodson, 1992). For Goodson, life stories are less than 'critical' because they cannot be trusted to challenge stereotypical, taken-for-granted ideas and beliefs or to shed light on the cultural forces conspiring to constrain the awareness of the 'self' being described.

Reddy (2000) describes four types of truth that were relevant to the work of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1998): factual or forensic truth; personal or narrative truth; dialogue or social truth; and healing and restorative truth. Personal or narrative truth gives meaning to the multi-layered experiences of a story. This truth is told in the form of a story rather than through argument and it provides unique insights into the past. It captures peoples' experiences, perceptions and stories.

Reddy (2000) elaborates by quoting Passerini (in Personal Narratives Group, 1989:261) in that all autobiographical memory is true. It is up to the interpreter to discover in which sense, where and for which purpose. To understand what is communicated in a personal narrative we have to consider the conditions that create these narratives, the forms that guide them, and the relationships that produce them. The life history researcher should determine the biases, silences and exaggerations and the analysis must include an explanation of these biases, silences and exaggeration.

In this study I accepted the narratives told by the participants. I was not looking for forensic truth but wanted personal truth. It was my responsibility as the researcher to interpret the experience.

4.6 Research Process

In this section, I discuss three central parts of the research process as preparatory stages of data production: the pilot project, sampling issues and research instruments. The pilot stage entailed interviewing two history teachers, which I completed from beginning to end, that are from preparation to data analysis, including a review of concerns and slippages. In the pilot study, I present emerging issues and concerns. Sampling issues and the inceptive contacts are discussed and followed with a description of participants presented in Table 4.8. The research instruments include discussion of the interview schedules used and a range of alternate modes.

4.6.1 The Pilot Study

As a novice researcher engaged in life history research, it was important to understand the theoretical, practical, professional and personal qualities of doing sound life history research. The study served the needs of:

- Developing a theoretical frame for the application of life history research with regard to teacher identity construction
- Learning about the methodology, data production, interviewing skills and data analysis

My learning and reflection began with a pilot study of two history teachers in two selected co-educational secondary schools situated in the Pinetown District in KwaZulu-Natal. KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is comparatively small, geographically. It comprises only 7,6% of the land area of South Africa. But by population, estimated at 9,1 million in 2003, it is the largest province, making up 25% of the total population. About 63% of this province is regarded as non-urban (Statistics South Africa, Stats in Brief 2003). KZN is one of the three mainly rural provinces that in 2002 accounted for almost 58% of the 12,3 million learners in the school system in South Africa. Based on both the number of

learners and educators employed, KwaZulu- Natal Department of Education is the largest Provincial Education Department in South Africa.

One teacher was a Black, male, 35 years old and was a Head of Department⁴: Humanities. The other teacher was an Indian, female, 28 years old and was a senior history teacher. The teachers were interviewed using interview schedule 1 and 2 (see Appendix B). We completed the interviews in eight sessions, a total of eight hours per participant. The intention of this pilot project was to evaluate whether:

- Any questions were ambiguous and confusing
- The data being generated has substance
- The respondents considered the interview to be lengthy and time consuming
- The respondents considered the interview to be valid and appropriate

Alongside the above areas of concern, the researcher also wanted to gain insights into the overall perceptions of the respondents towards the value and appropriateness of such research. The pilot study was useful in that it pointed to one question in the interview schedule 2 where adjustment had to be made to sharpen its focus. The purpose of interview schedule 2 was to trace how the changing history curriculum policy influenced history teachers' understanding of their pedagogical roles and responsibilities. The 'open-ended' question 3 in interview schedule 2 needed to be changed. The 'open-ended' question: Do you feel that the changes in the syllabus and the introduction of Curriculum 2005 were necessary/unnecessary? Needed to be reworked. It was clear that the language was grammatically confusing and that respondents either responded 'necessary' or 'unnecessary' which was required by the question. Hence, question 3 required some adjustments. The question was then changed as follows: Describe what changes were introduced in teaching of history with the introduction of Curriculum 2005?

After making the required adjustments I was confident that the interview schedule was then a valid instrument that pointed progression to continue with the research at hand.

⁴ Head of Department: this is a management post at school. Head of Department is in charge of subject teachers within the department.

Thereafter, I experimented with the story as a representation device, which they received. I was aware that the data could be represented in many ways. During the pilot phase I experimented with different forms of representations, e.g., abstracts of *verbatim* data, edited dialogues and *vignettes*, but I found the story to be an appealing form of representation. However, there were many issues I needed to consider in writing research stories, for example, issues of voice, plots, themes, characters and writing. Having generated masses of data, I faced the task of making sense of all of this. The challenge was, how to reduce the volume of data without losing its essence and identify significant themes. I used grounded analysis approach (data are not coded in terms of predetermined categories, but from themes that emerge from the data). The following themes emerged: 1) Status of history teaching 2) Teacher autonomy 3) Curriculum changes 4) Teachers' pedagogical roles.

4.6.2 Research Participants

In this study I had to make decisions in which I needed to explore the following:

- How do I come to define the criteria by which history teachers were selected for this study?
- Who from the hundreds of history teachers do I select for this study?
- How do I arrive at a final sample?

In life history research, one has to choose a few participants for large-scale survey research where there is an interest in large numbers of participants. The researcher must make choices from the many potential participants (Plummer, 2001). In this study, I wanted to know about history teachers' lives, the construction of identities and the daily practices that constitute and give meaning to the multiple positions they occupied in making sense of their pedagogical roles and responsibilities. The ability of life history to focus on central moments, critical incidents and fateful moments that revolve around contradictions and challenges, offers more 'rounded' and believable characters than the 'flat', seemingly linear characters from other forms of qualitative inquiry (Sparkes, 1994). I wanted the teachers to be representative of the history teacher population in the

province of KwaZulu-Natal. Thus, I needed to access history teachers in terms of their race, gender, different points of the teaching experience and geographical specificity. In South Africa these factors continue to determine that apartheid⁵ constructed educational experience. It is these history teachers that I seek out in this report in the next section.

A detailed letter was sent to the Department of Education on 10 March 2002 for permission to conduct research in secondary schools in the Kwasanti circuit. The letter provided a detailed explanation of the nature of my study, my research focus, the type of data collection strategies to be used and the benefits of my research findings to the broader community. Permission was also requested to make use of the various Educational Management Information Systems (EMIS) records to collect statistical information from the Department, to identify target population and sample group. It is important to locate the Kwasanti circuit in relation to the province KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). There are four educational regions in KZN namely: eThekwin, Umgungundlovu, Ukhahlamba, and Zululand. The largest region is the eThekwin Region. There are three districts in the eThekwin region namely Ilembe, Pinetown and Umlazi. The Kwasanti circuit is one of the three circuits in the Pinetown district.

The sampling, to begin with, was purposive. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2001:103) note that in purposive sampling, researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality. In this way, they build up a sample that is satisfactory to their specific needs as its name suggests, the sample for this study has been chosen for a specific purpose. Pinetown district was selected for both practical and purposive reasons: the researcher was based in Pinetown, thereby allowing not only for easy access but also low evaluation costs (Patton, 1990). More importantly, this district represented the typical South African contexts required for the evaluation (Jansen, 1997) that is, small urban centres with a large distribution of peri-urban and rural areas; large discrepancies in educational resources across racial and spatial divides; and, generally

⁵ Apartheid: introduced by National Party in 1948 to protect the interest of the whites in South Africa.

low standards of performance in the schooling system. History teachers from this district participated in this study.

4.6.2.1 The Target Population

It is essential that I define my target population so that my sample can be clearly described. I obtained a list from the district office of all public secondary and combined schools in the Kwasanti circuit offering history as a school subject. Unfortunately, EMIS records were not captured from the various schools in the Kwasanti circuit. I captured the statistics manually on paper. These statistics provided me invaluable information on the names of the various schools, their location and number of teachers within each school, age, teaching qualifications and teaching subjects. This data set gave me a broad picture of the characteristics of the sample population. The number of high schools offering history and number of teachers teaching history in the Kwasanti circuit are indicated in table 4.1 below:

Number of high schools offering history	18
Number of schools offering history to grades 10; 11; 12	9
(The remaining 9 schools stopped at grade 9)	
Number of educators teaching history	36
Number of educators teaching history in grades 10; 11; 12	21

Table 4.1: Number of high schools offering history and number of teachers teaching history in the Kwasanti circuit

4.6.2.2 Sample of High Schools

One of the greatest challenges of designing my sample population was to make it as comprehensive as possible. I was always concerned about the question of ‘sample size’. A sample will make more sense if the target population is also known. I read around the

different types of sampling to decide on the best method of sampling for my study. At the time of the study there were 18 secondary and combined schools in the Kwasanti circuit offering history as a school subject. At the same time, only 9 schools in the circuit offered history as a school subject in General Education and Training (GET) Band and Further Education and Training (FET) Band. In this study I needed to research schools where the same teacher taught history in the GET and FET bands. This was one of the outlined conditions and criteria used to determine the choice of the educator for this research agenda. This totalled to 21 teachers. I accepted the 9 schools to be part of my sample. The reason for the choice of nine schools was that the greater the average of the target population the more valid and representative the results would be. All these schools in the Kwasanti circuit have different history teacher compositions in respect of the age group of educators and differences in gender and race groups. The 9 schools can be described as urban, peri-urban and rural schools.

4.6.2.3 The Sample by School

The sample is a widespread of history educators across small, medium and large school establishments. The number of history educators within each school and the valid percentage are indicated in table 4.2 below:

SCHOOL	NO. OF HISTORY TEACHERS	PERCENTAGE
1	3	14
2	2	10
3	3	14
4	3	14
5	2	10
6	2	10
7	3	14
8	1	4
9	2	10
TOTAL	21	100

Table 4.2: The sample by school

4.6.2.4 Distribution of History Teachers in terms of Gender and Race in the Kwasanti Circuit

Table 4.3 describes the sample in terms of gender and race.

Gender	Race								Total	%
	African	%	Indian	%	Coloured	%	White	%		
Male	2	33	2	33	1	17	1	17	6	29
Female	6	40	4	27	3	20	2	13	15	71
Total	8	38	6	29	4	19	3	14	21	100

Table 4.3: The sample in terms of gender and race

There are 29% males and 71% females in my sample. Generally, the females make up the largest population of the teaching force. The males account for the smallest portion of the profession. This is a normal breakdown of gender distribution of educators in the teaching fraternity. There are 38% Africans, 29% Indians, 14% Whites and 19% Coloureds. The Africans make up the largest percentage of educators while the Whites make up the smallest percentage of history educators in Kwasanti circuit.

There are only 33% of African males as compared to 17% of Coloured males. On the other hand there are 40% of African females as compared to 20% of Coloured females. The lowest number / percentage ($n=1$; 17%) of educators were the White and Coloured males. The highest number ($n=6$) of history educators was the African female.

4.6.2.5 Distribution of History Teachers in terms of Age

Table 4.4 describes the sample in terms of history teachers in the different age groups.

AGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
21 – 30	7	33
31 – 40	8	38
41 – 50	6	29
TOTAL	21	100

Table 4.4: The sample in terms of history educators in the different age groups

There are 33%, 38% and 29% of educators in the 21-30; 31-40 and 41-50 age categories respectively. This implies that there are fewer novice (21-30) and fewer experienced history educators (41-50) in the Kwasanti circuit as compared to the middle-career history teachers (31-40). The majority of the history educators (38%) fall within the 31-40 age group.

It is important to become aware of the complexities surrounding the nature of teachers in respect of why do teachers think and develop the way they do. The teachers are at various stages of their career and I believe that they behave, think and develop differently at different age groups. However, I do fully understand that this may not be a straight forward linear way of categorizing the educators according to age. Finally, the data findings will eventually provide in a detailed way how and why educators develop the way they did according to the different age groups hence, the reasons for the initial choice of the various age groups are as follows:

- The 21- 30 age group (the novice teacher) hoped to capture the experience of the early entry stage of novice educators. The educators try to fit into their new school context and became acquainted with the various stakeholders, viz., the learners, other teachers, parents and school management members so that they are able to gain confidence in dealing with everyday classroom complexities.

- The 31 – 40 age group (the middle career teacher) hoped to capture the experiences of educators who are generally seeking to build up their competencies and improve their teaching abilities during this phase of their teaching career.
- The 41 – 50 age group (the veteran teacher) hoped to capture the teachers who gained a good reservoir of teaching knowledge, teaching skills and different strategies to take care of the dilemmas of the classroom. This is also a period of questioning. Teachers at this stage are generally disinterested in finding new ways for personal and professional development.

4.6.2.6 Distribution of History Teachers in terms of Age by Race

Table 4.5 describes the sample in terms of age and race.

Age Categories	Race								T O T A L	%
	African	%	Indian	%	Coloured	%	White	%		
21 - 30	3	37,5	2	33,3	1	25	1	33,3	7	33
31 - 40	3	37,5	2	33,3	1	25	2	66,7	8	38
41 - 50	2	25	2	33,3	2	50	0	-	6	29
Total	8	100	6	100	4	100	3	100	21	100

Table 4.5: The sample in terms of age and race

The highest percentage (66,7%) of the white history teachers in the Kwasanti circuit fell within the 31-40 age category. The lowest percentage (33,3%) of the Whites fell within the 21-30 age category. There were no educators in the 41 – 50 age category. The number of Indian history teachers in the Kwasanti circuit was evenly distributed (33,3%) for the 21-30, 31-40 and 41-50 age categories.

Similarly, the number of African history teachers in the Kwasanti circuit was evenly distributed (37,5%) for both 21-30 and 41-50 age categories. The lowest percentage (25%) of the Africans fell within the 41-50 age category. The highest percentage (50%)

of the Coloured history teachers in the Kwasanti circuit feel within 41-50 age category. The number of educators was evenly distributed (25%) for both the 21-30 and 31-40 age categories.

4.6.2.7 Distribution of History Teachers in terms of Age by Gender

Table 4.6 describes the sample in terms of age and gender.

Age	Gender				Totals	%
	Males	%	Females	%		
21 – 30	3	50	4	26,7	7	33
31 – 40	2	33,3	6	40	8	38
41 – 50	1	16,7	5	33,3	6	29
TOTAL	6	100	15	100	21	100

Table 4.6: The sample in terms of age and gender

The largest percentage of the males (50%) fell within the 21-30 age category. The lowest percentage of the males (16,7%) fell within the 41-50 age category. On the other hand, the highest percentage of females (40%) fell within the 31-40 age category unlike the males who fell in the 41-50 age category. The lowest percentage of females (26,7%) fell in the 21-30 age category unlike the males who fell in the 41-50 age category.

4.6.2.8 The Sub-Sample for Life History Interviews

I realized that this issue of sample size is highly complex given the above distribution. I decided to choose a sub-sample for the life history interview that best depicts and is truly representative of the main sample. I used stratified sampling to arrive at my selected sub-sample for interviews.

Cohen & Manion (1995:87) defined stratified sampling as ‘dividing the population into homogeneous groups, each containing subjects with similar characteristics’. Stoker (1983) states that the basic reason for using stratification is that the same precision of

estimates can be obtained with a much smaller sample by using stratified sampling. Stratified sampling enabled the researcher to break up the population into various sub-groups or strata represented by:

- Gender
- Different categories of ages of the teachers
- Race of the teachers

There were 7 participants in 21-30 age groups; 8 participants in the 31-40 age group and 6 participants in the 41-50 age group. I examined each age category and separated each participant into race, that is, Indians, Africans, Coloureds and Whites. Thereafter, within each race category I further separated the participants into gender, that is, males and females. This amounted to eight sets of participants within each age category namely: Indian Male, Indian Female, African Male, African Female, Coloured Male, Coloured Female, White Male and White Female. This gave me a comprehensive picture of my sample for my interview. A proportionate number of the participants to be consulted for each age, gender and race variables were guided by the sample size.

Taking into account the fact that stratification is a 'very powerful tool in determining a representative sample' (Stoker, 1983:35) and that a large sample would not necessarily yield profoundly different findings in survey research, it was decided to choose 12% of 21 history educators from Kwasanti circuit to arrive at my sub-sample for the life history interviews. This resulted in 6 interviewees to be included as part of my data collection. I then worked out the proportionate percentages in relation to each age category.

In the first step 6 interviewees were proportionately distributed to the various age groups according to the calculations below:

- Age Category: $21-30 \div 7 \div 21 \times 6 = 1,9 = 2$ interviewees required.
- Age Category: $31-40 \div 8 \div 21 \times 6 = 2,2 = 2$ interviewees required
- Age Category: $41-50 \div 6 \div 21 \times 6 = 1,7 = 2$ interviewees required

In the second step the interviewees were selected within each age category. Taking the age category “31-40” having the highest interviewees required as an example. The 8 participants were separated into four sets namely 1 Indian Male, 1 Indian Female, 1 African Male, 2 African Females, 1 Coloured Female and 0 Coloured Male, 2 White Females and 0 White Male. The proportionate number of interviewees for each was calculated as follows:

Indian Male

- $1 \div 8 \times 2 = 0,25$
zero participants required.

Indian Female

- $1 \div 8 \times 2 = 0,25$
- zero participant required

African Male

- $1 \div 8 \times 2 = 0,25$
- zero participant required

African Female

- $2 \div 8 \times 2 = 0,50$
- 1 participant required

Coloured Male

- $0 \div 8 \times 2 = 0$
- zero participant required

Coloured Female

- $1 \div 8 \times 2 = 0,25$
- zero participant required

White Male

- $0 \div 8 \times 2 = 0$
- zero participant required

White Female

- $2 \div 8 \times 2 = 0,50$
- 1 participant required

Likewise this was done for each of other age categories and the number of interviewees required for the research study is outlined in table 4.7.

Age Group	Race and Gender																	
	A	S	B	S	C	S	D	S	E	S	F	S	G	S	H	S	T	S/R
21-30	0	0	2	,57	1	,28	2	,57	1	,28	0	0	1	,28	0	0	7	2
31-40	1	,25	1	,25	1	,25	2	,50	0	0	1	,25	0	0	2	,50	8	2
41-50	1	,33	1	,33	0	0	2	,67	0	0	2	,67	0	0	0	0	6	2

Table 4.7: The description of the interviewees

Key:

A = Number of Indian Male participants

B = Number of Indian Female participants

C = Number of African Male participants

D = Number of African Female participants

E = Number of Coloured Male participants

F = Number of Coloured Female participants

G = Number of White Male participants

H = Number of White Female participants

S = Denotes sample required.

T = Total participants

S/R = Sample required.

The following conditions and criteria were used to determine the choice of the educators:

- Participants must be teaching history in both General Education and Training (GET)⁶ Band and Further Education and Training (FET)⁷ Band. Currently, Grades 1 to 9 (GET Band) are implementing Curriculum 2005. Grades 10 and 11 are implementing the curriculum under NATED 550. These participants were able to compare history been taught in Grade 9 (Social Science learning area) and history taught in Grade 10, 11 and 12.
- These educators were at an advantageous position to cite their personal experiences and how these experiences shaped their identity. This criterion was necessary in my study because it allowed me to explore how history teachers interpret their identities in the context of the changing curriculum policies.
- Participants must be articulate and be good informers. Good participants for a research project are those who are articulate, able to tell a story and have a grasp of a particular cultural world. It is important that the story illuminates the issue being studied. This could mean that the stories of the most disempowered, which do not feel confident to articulate their experiences or reflect upon their experiences, might never get told. Participants were required to speak English as a language for functional communication. I felt that it was important to engage personally with participants as a novice researcher I did not want to complicate a delicate and sensitive process by working via an interpreter.
- Teachers were chosen at different points of their teaching experiences. The history teachers selected provided a good sample for comparison since each

⁶ General Education and Training phase: this includes Grades 8 and 9.

⁷ Further Education and Training phase: this includes Grades 10, 11 and 12.

teacher taught history for a different length of time and encountered different 'lived' experiences. These teachers were selected according to the number of years that they taught history. The participants fell into three distinct time periods, i.e., a novice teacher (1-5 years of history teaching experience); a middle-career teacher (15-20 years of history teaching experience); and the veteran teacher (25 years and over of history teaching experience). My interest rested in understanding and interpreting the social processes that informed the teachers' 'lived' experiences and therefore the choice to employ time periodization was most appropriate. In this case the history teachers were selected according to their level of teaching experience in order to determine how each one of them experienced the history curriculum during their teaching years and to understand how history teachers interpret their identities in the context of the changing curriculum policies.

- Accessibility of the participants to conduct interviews. Participants were required to be willing informants who were able to sustain a prolonged period of engagement. In life history research the open-ended nature of asking teachers to 'tell about their life' means that the time devoted to an interview can run on indefinitely. Life history interviewing can mean more than one interview with a respondent and intensive life history interviews with a single respondent can stretch over many sessions. Some respondents may simply be unwilling or unable to commit the time. The study was largely dependent on lengthy interviews (3 – 4 hours long) with the teachers and this determined partly the small number of teachers that I was able to include in this study.
- Race, gender and age of the teachers were also considered in the selection of the participants. South Africa has a well-known history of racial segregation. I felt it would be important to engage with participants from all race backgrounds. I wanted the teachers to be representative of the teacher population in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Choosing teachers of the different race, gender and age groupings allowed me to understand teachers who actually inhabit different

locations within the social structures, but also as a way of mapping out within these differences a place of commonality, a connection and concern in their lives and practices as teachers of history. The intention is to explore issues of identity and difference in all its forms but to also find a commonality in the experience of difference (Pillay, 2003).

I limited my study by defining certain categories that were relevant and useful to my study. These included teachers from different learning sites (geographical location) who taught in different phases of schooling and different teaching experience as teachers of history. These categories, including the six different participants were selected to participate in the project. It is necessary at this point to provide a more detailed description of the teachers. Of the six participants three are classified as African⁸; one Indian⁹; one White¹⁰ and one as Coloured¹¹. The racial label I used in my description of the teachers in this study refers to the historical apartheid racial classification. The use of the labels (African, Indian, White and Coloured) in this study is used to provide the racial and class fragmentation of the educational experiences under the apartheid system from 1948 to 1994.

Prior to 1996, five race-based education departments functioned in the province of KZN. The Department of Education and Training (DET) and KwaZulu Education Department (KZED) catered for the needs of African pupils and teachers, House of Delegates (HOD) catered for the needs of Indian pupils and teachers, House of Representatives (HOR) catered for the needs of Coloured pupils and teachers and Natal Education Department (NED) catered for the needs of White pupils and teachers. In the interest of diversity I invited participants of varied educational backgrounds. Although it was my intention to invite teachers of diverse educational backgrounds, participants of this research studied either at a university or a college of education. Four had history majors at undergraduate level and two had history honours. However, the specific contexts of their primary,

⁸ African: generally referred to South Africans with an African origin.

⁹ Indian: generally referred to "diasporic" South Africans who traced their origins to India.

¹⁰ White: generally referred to South Africans with European origins.

¹¹ Coloured: generally referred to South Africans with mixed racial origins.

secondary and tertiary education varied. This group lived, schooled and trained as teachers in a society that was politically, economically, socially and educationally unequal during the apartheid years from 1948 to 1994. My primary interest was in their life experience. It was difficult to gauge the socio-economic circumstances of participants especially because this changed over their life courses.

I guaranteed that all participants will remain anonymous and that I would not disclose any information that would identify the school in which the study was carried out. Pseudonyms were chosen to reflect the names of history teacher and the institutions. The description of the sample of history teachers and biographical profiles are indicated in table 4.8 below:

Experience	Names	Name of School	Race	Gender	Historical Context	Geographical Context
Novice	Anna	Jupiter Secondary	African	Female	Ex DET	Peri-urban
	Anisha	Mercury Secondary	Indian	Female	Ex HOD	Urban
Middle-Career	Leslie	Venus Secondary	White	Female	Ex NED	Urban
	Beauty	Neptune Secondary	African	Female	Ex DET	Urban
Veteran	Moreen	Mars Secondary	Coloured	Female	Ex HOR	Urban
	Patsy	Earth Secondary	African	Female	Ex KZED	Peri-urban

Table 4.8: Description of sample of history teachers and biographical profiles

4.6.2.9 Gaining Access and Consent

As in much social research it was necessary to obtain the consent and co-operation of the participants who are to assist in the production of the data. According to Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2001), the principle of informed consent arises from the subject’s right to freedom and self-determination. They add that being free is a condition of living in a

democracy and when restrictions and limitations are placed on freedom they must be justified and consented to, even in the research proceedings.

I established contact differently with each participant. Mostly, I contacted them telephonically or met personally with them and explained the nature and purpose of the study. I invited them to participate after a brief screening process to establish that they had a story to tell. The format of interviews, the processes that followed the interviews, and the prolonged nature of the process were explained to each participant. Participants were allowed time to contemplate their involvement prior to providing consent.

Participants were also required to confirm their voluntary participation in all aspects of the research process. A sample copy of the consent form is in Appendix A.

I agree with Measor & Sikes (1992) that the research process should be negotiated and that the expectations, rules and the nature of the research relationship should be discussed as a way of developing respect and fairness. The initial points raised were:

- The process was interactive and was intended to explore how history teachers interpret their identities in the context of changing curriculum and how are history teachers' framing their identities in relation to many contextual, personal and biographical issues. The selections and choices were theirs and they were free to include aspects they thought relevant.
- The conversations would be tape-recorded for the purposes of transcribing and data analysis. Interviews were audio-taped with the permission of the participants.
- They were not obliged to share information they regarded as confidential; and needed to inform me of issues they were not comfortable talking about or preferred to talk about at another point.

-
- They also needed to make me aware of their general well-being during the interview, to request a break or to discontinue should they feel physically or emotionally strained.
 - Participants were made aware that their identities would be protected. I contracted not to reveal the names of participants and schools and to limit the contents of the cassettes to myself and those involved in transcription and analysis processes. Pseudonyms were used for representation purposes. Anderson (1993) supports the idea of using pseudonyms since the reader of the research will not be able to deduce the identity of all the teachers and schools.
 - They were invited to participate in various parts of the research process including the processes of data representation and analysis, insofar as they chose. Their feedback and comments were important and would be considered in the process of theorising.

4.7 Research Instruments

In this section I present a detailed overview of the interview schedules and the interview process that served as the primary data production method. Although the life history interview process invites participants to tell their stories, it is not without direction, given that the project addresses specific critical questions. Interview schedules were constructed with the aim of structuring the process and keeping the life history as a deliberate orientation.

- Temporal emphasis: the schedules were structured to trace changing life experiences from childhood to adulthood.
- Social emphasis: it had to assist with accessing experiences within a social frame, as the influence of society, family, school and life circumstances were important.
- Personal frame: participants' personal sense making of their experiences and issues of importance to them was critical.

4.7.1 Interview Schedules

The interview schedules were revised after the pilot process in which minor adjustments had to be made to one question to sharpen its focus. I prepared two related schedules each with a specific purpose (Appendix B). The interview schedule followed a semi-structured format using more open-ended questions in order to probe more deeply and thus obtain more complete data about the teachers' biographical, programmatic and institutional experiences. Borg (1989) believes that the semi-structured interview has the advantage of being reasonably objective while still permitting a more thorough understanding of the respondent's opinions and the reasons behind them than would be possible using a mailed questionnaire. He further explains that the semi-structured interview is generally most appropriate for interview studies in education. He concludes that it provides a desirable combination of objectivity and depth and often permits gathering valuable data that could be successfully obtained by any other approach. Through the use of interviews, teachers provide qualitative information about the critical questions underpinning the research study. The response received, enabled me to understand how these teachers were experiencing the changing history school curriculum in the way that they did.

The purpose of the interview schedule 1(Appendix B) was to trace the career life history of teachers of history. The interview schedule attempted to elicit information on the subject life history, focusing particularly on the influences that shaped their image as a teacher of history. The interview schedule had a chronological set of questions, focusing primarily on:

- Initial, secondary and tertiary educational experiences to illuminate their formative years as teachers.
- Their life both inside and outside the institutions they served as well as their family and community influences.

-
- Their life cycles as a teacher in relation to their professional development during the different stages of their career.
 - Their educational ideas/philosophies they subscribed to and how these impacted on their relationship with educational authorities.
 - Other significant or critical events in their life related to the career history.

The interview schedule 2 (Appendix B) attempts to gain insight into how the changing history curriculum policy influenced history teachers' understanding of their pedagogical roles. The interview schedule focused on the following critical issues:

- Teachers' understanding of the goals and approaches of the history curriculum in respect of the (1) old curriculum (2) curriculum 2005 (3) revised national curriculum statement.
- Teachers' understanding of the changes in pedagogical practices with the introduction of Curriculum 2005.
- Teachers' understanding of the obstacles and challenges in the teaching of history in the context of a changing curriculum approach.

4.7.2 Interview Process

The interview as the primary method of data production was scheduled over a three-month period from May 2002 to July 2002. A minimum of three interviews was scheduled with each participant. Each interview ranged between two hours to three hours. The days, times and venues for the interviews were negotiated and varied for participants (Appendix C). The interviews were held over weekends at the participant's home. The reasons for this decision were: (1) participants had more spare time available over the weekend for these lengthy interviews; (2) during the weekdays the participants were too

busy with school-related work and family chores e.g., picking their children from school and tuition, shopping and attending to prayer services; (3) schools were not a quiet location for the interviews and participants preferred the emotional and physical comfort of their homes; (4) in some cases the school management refused participants to be interviewed at school during their free periods.

The interviews did not overlap between participants because I needed to afford optimal time with each participant to engage intimately with each story and gain clarity of emerging issues across participants. All the interviews were audio-taped with the permission of the participants. Initially, the participants were distracted and uncomfortable by the use of the cassette recorder, but settled in after the first five minutes. The recorder was placed between us to make the participants feel comfortable. The participants were reassured that I would not disclose any information from the tape-recordings to anyone. They were informed that a tape-recording of the whole interview provided an invaluable backup for any system of note-taking. During the interview process I used the strategy of memorandum writing to track issues that receive emphasis and those issues requiring further exploration. After each interview I noted points where the interview proceeded well and where it did not and why this was so. This strategy assisted in enhancing my interviewing skills and documenting the emerging themes.

4.8. Transcription and Verification of the Transcripts

Having completed the set of interviews, it became necessary to consider how the data would be managed. The generation of transcripts was the logical step requiring careful decision making, given the multiplicity of conventions that exists about the theory and method of transcriptions in the research process (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). Each researcher makes a choice about whether it is necessary to transcribe, what should be transcribed and by whom, in the context of the project (Easton & Fry, 2000). I decided that I would transcribe the interview myself because I wanted to familiarize myself with the data. The transcription process would enable the researcher to make better sense of the data. I attempted to transcribe the conversation in detail by capturing all details.

Hesitations, half thoughts and false starts were not noted because it was not relevant to writing a story of what had happened. I opted for a verbatim transcription of what was said or the actual words used in the research interview. I combined my readings of the verbatim transcription with memorandums and listening to the audio-recordings, to generate an interpretive understanding. The transcriptions therefore served the purpose of representing in written form the actual spoken words of the participants without editing.

After the transcripts were ready I gave them to the participants for verification. Guidelines were presented to the participants for the story review process (refer to Appendix D). It was my ethical responsibility to see that the teller of the story was not diminished or written out of their telling in the narratives. This was one way of validating and ensuring that the content details were accurate. By allowing the participants to go over the transcripts in effect constituted an additional interview (Muller, 2000) giving the participants the chance to expand upon the points that they with hindsight see as requiring additional explanation. Both Butt (1992) and Woods (1985) see participant validation as being crucial. In this way it is claimed that the teacher initiates and controls the interpretive activity with the researcher as facilitator. Three transcripts were returned to the researcher with no corrections whilst the other three transcripts had factual aspects corrected. Written consent from the teachers for the final representation was procured (refer to Appendix E). The next step was to represent and analyse the data.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how the study unfolded. I presented an argument for the use of a qualitative method of data collection within the tradition of life history as the most appropriate method of addressing the critical questions raised in this study. The broad methodological approach used in this study, including some conceptual issues relating to the methodology that guides this research were also discussed. I then detailed the sampling procedure and discussed the various research instruments used to generate data in this inquiry. In doing so, participants were invited to participate based on specific criteria guided by strategic sampling. Data were produced dialogically and shaped by a

life history theoretical lens, intended to draw together the social, personal and temporal dimensions of experiences of history teachers and how they negotiate their identity formations in relation to competing or / and contradictory forces.

In the chapter that follows, I present the details of how I approach the analysis of data. The two levels of data analysis are explained.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF LIFE HISTORY DATA

SECTION 1: PROCESSES AND ISSUES OF REPORTING

5.1 Introduction

In this Chapter I offer an analysis of the data I represented as research stories and discuss how the two levels of the data analysis unfolded. The analysis I offer is one possible interpretation generated via a series of rigorous processes. The steps involved in my data analysis process are as follows: preparing the raw data for analysis by reading and checking the data, organizing the data in order to make sense of the information by arranging it into a manageable form, e.g., categorizing according to themes or patterns and representing the data in narrative form to provide meaningful summaries of the large amount of data (Vithal & Jansen, 1997). Within the context of the study, the multiplicity of interpretations and voices are encouraged and considered strength. My intention in the analysis of teachers' identities is to employ an eclectic approach to explore the multi-dimensional view of power that makes teachers fluid identities and the social structures through which the conditions of power and human agency are created. The issues of data representation, individual case and cross-case analysis and theorising processes are problematised.

For example, in my study I wanted to know through the stories about history teachers' multiple and potentially fluid identities, how they are constructed in their lives in relation to many contextual, personal and biographical issues and how meanings about them open up spaces for history teachers to interpret their identities in the context of the changing curriculum policies. In this chapter I commence with an overview of the processes and issues involved in data analysis. Thereafter, I will proceed with the first level analysis, i.e., generate the individual narratives. This entailed constructing the life histories of the participants. The first level of analysis was generated via an interpretation of the interview data, memorandums and listening to the audio-tapes. In the second level analysis the data is pulled apart and reconstructed into themes that have emerged. Details

of emerging themes across cases and explanation of particular constructs by examining similarities and differences are presented in response to the critical questions raised in this study.

5.1.1 Analysis: Issues and Guiding Theoretical Influences

It is usually at the point of transition from the information-gathering phase to the analysis phase that researchers set out in search of a set of tools, techniques or 'tried and true' methods to aid in the analysis process. Cole & Knowles (2001) posits that there are no formulae or recipes for life history analysis and writing. Plummer (1993:99) describes the analysis of life history data in a way that accurately captures the process:

'In many ways this is the truly creative part of the work. It entails brooding and reflecting upon mounds of data for long periods of time until it make sense and feels rights, and key ideas and themes flow form it.'

My raw data was like a chaotic jungle of ideas and words. The data had to be slowly unravelled as I went through each stage of new understanding. I tried to order the dense information from the narratives by identifying common themes. Analysis involves working with data, organizing them into manageable units, synthesizing them, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned and deciding what you will tell others. The orally generated stories were transcribed and transformed into written texts. According to Van Mannen (1988, 1995), the stories have to be 'textualized' for only in textualized form do data yield to analysis.

There are two levels of analysis in this study. The first level of analysis was generated via an interpretation of the interview data, memorandums and listening to the audio-tapes. Polkinghorne (1995) has classified this level of analysis as 'narrative analysis' of the six cases. The story served as a data representation device and is the outcome of the first level analysis. The second level of analysis involved a cross-case analysis for the purposes of theorising from research stories drawn from interview data.

Throughout the research action I constantly went back and forth between the research narratives, the transcripts and recorded interviews in generating the analysis. After I prepared the research narratives and received feedback from participants, I returned to the interview data and continued to search and select aspects that had not received adequate attention. I removed aspects, which did not seem appropriate to responding to the critical questions. I assembled and re-assembled the narratives after gathering further information and being guided by supervisor’s review. Hence, the analysis was guided by a reflexive-iterative stance (Kathard, 2002) which unfolded as a series of processes which are presented here as the first, second and third levels of analysis. However, there was a constant interplay between the empirical data and level of analysis. Kathard (2003) adds that this interplay affords the opportunity for the data analysis to be strengthened by a combination of interactions between and among theoretical perspectives and processes at different levels of analysis. In the following figure 5.1 I illustrate how these levels of analysis unfolded.

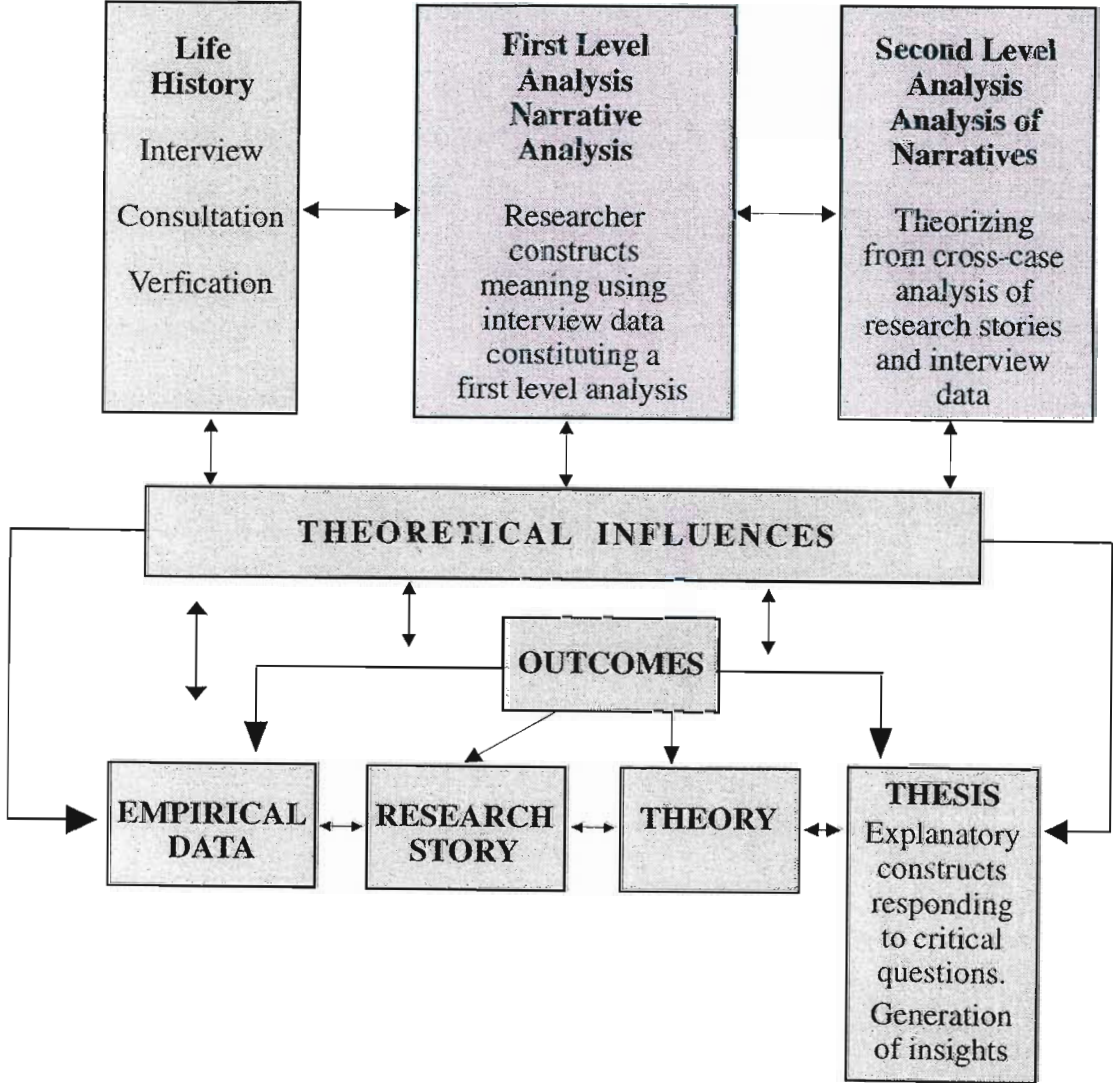


Figure 5.1: Levels of Analysis, Theoretical Influences and Outcomes

5.1.2 First Level Analysis

The process of moving from a transcript to a narrative involves making a number of decisions. There were two decisions I took at this point as I considered the formal analysis. The first pertains to the choice to undertake a representational analysis and second to use story representation device. Freeman (1996) differentiates between representational and presentational analysis when using language as data. Representational analysis refers to 'what was said', whereas the presentational analysis refers to 'how it was said'. I chose the representational analysis because the study has an interest in what was said about identity formations and experiences.

Secondly, I decided that an analysis of narrative would be preferable because I was analyzing life stories and not reports or responses to a questionnaire. Using Bruner's (1986) categorization of the paradigmatic and narrative cognition, Polkinghorne (1995) has classified two types of narrative inquiry. He calls the types of analysis that employs paradigmatic reasoning (*analysis of narratives*) and the type that uses narrative reasoning (*narratives analysis*). In 'analysis of narratives' researchers collect stories as data and analyse them with paradigmatic processes, which result in producing themes that hold across the stories. In 'narratives analysis' researchers collect descriptions of events and happenings and configure them by means of a plot into a story.

The outcome of the data analysis is a narrative or story. In this study I have chosen story as a representation device because of its utility in holding complex and interrelated aspects of the data produced. One of the significant issues considered was in whose voice the story was to be written. The choices included first person, or third-person narrator, with the researcher as the writer and the participant the storyteller. In all cases, I explored two voices for the purpose of representation and realized that they both have merits and limitations. During the pilot phase, I chose to write the story in the role of 'interpreter'. I resorted to a third person narrative which allowed me the opportunity to critically comment as omniscient narrator on the plot of the story as it unfolded in the lives of the different individuals.

I then experimented with writing the story in the first-person narrative to evoke a sense of immediacy of the teller. I also chose in doing so to reflect as closely as possible the unique dialectical variation of language usage of the particular participants. Therefore, I chose to remain close to the direct transcript records in the telling of the story. The story seemed more genuine because the participant's words could be represented making the research story more life-like. With this choice, however, the analytic voice of the researcher can be muted. However, I felt that the research story should remain close to the voice of the participant, especially because I had an interest in issues of self-identity formation in this study. It also seemed easier to read the story about identity formations when narrated from the various I - positions, that is, in the first person.

I chose to retain the story supplemented with verbatim transcriptions in the text because I felt that the story as a representation device was appropriate and useful in the context of this study. Extracts of the verbatim text support the second level analysis by providing a direct account of the participant's voices to enhance the credibility of the analysis and adds texture to the process as well.

The choice of narrative analysis and story as a representation device requires the researcher to address many issues about the purpose of the story, textual representation and language, truth-value, the intended audience, voice, style and artistic devices in constructing the story (Reddy, 2000). In the ensuing discussion I explain how these issues unfolded.

In this study the researcher wanted to know through the research story, how history teachers' constructed and negotiated their identities in the context of the changing curriculum policies.

Therefore, the research story is constructed with the purpose to answer the critical questions. Kathrad (2003) describes this as analytic-descriptive in nature because it addresses critical questions whilst providing the descriptive details of each participant in context. The research stories are structured chronologically to explain a particular

endpoint in each narrative. The research story in this instance can be described as having a life history orientation in that the social, personal and temporal lenses have been used in the construction.

An immediate concern in writing a research story is the question of truth-value when shifting from the interview data to the research story. I am interested in the personal truths of participants. However, these truths about the individual's experience are manufactured within the context of the dialogic interview. Some narrative researchers see their roles as similar to artists who reconstruct a situation to convey something about it (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997). Other researchers contest the issues or refer to truth-value by using terms such as believability (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997), credibility (Polkinghorne, 1995), or fidelity (Blumfield-Jones, 1995). In what remains a debatable issue I considered the plausibility of the plot and the issue of coherence in the story as two ways in which to reflect on truth-value. The plot is constructed after the researcher has been immersed in the data and it is the explanatory potential (Cole & Knowles, 2001) of the plot I considered to be a means of gauging truth-value. I was guided strongly by the fidelity of the plot with regard to what the experience was like for the teller of the tale, that is, as experience in the context of a particular life, showing faithfulness to the teller.

A further dimension of fidelity comes through the researcher constructing a larger network of personal, social and historical relationships. The researcher has the responsibility of weaving the personal story into a more complex set of social issues. It is here that issues of truth and fidelity become more complex because the researcher has the unenviable task of locating a personal narrative within a social, political and educational context and while doing so, runs the risk of losing the original teller's perspective. The task of bringing together both the individual story and social context is the challenge of writing an interpretive story (Goodson, 1995). In all research stories there was a systematic effort to locate participants within the contexts. I did this by gaining insights into the participants' nature of contexts during the interviews and knotted them together as a plausible plot. I highlighted the time period in which the story unfolded, the place/s

in which participant's spent much of their time and the significant socio-political events, social discourses, value systems, and participant's interpretation of how these influenced and impacted on them at a personal level. The narratives were not simply a matter of compiling happenings or events: they also had to be drawn together into a systemic whole. As a researcher, I faced the complex task of constructing a 'story' of people's lives, 'of complex human experiences unfolding through time, as it stands out at any present moment through recollection and imagination' (Heidegger, 1962 quoted in Polkinghorne, 1995). These storied narratives are not objective representations or mirrored reflections of the teachers' lives as they actually occurred; they are rather a series of constructions that go beyond just representing the narratives.

I was aware as researcher that I had to make certain inclusions and exclusions in generating the story from the data, decisions that were shaped by the research question that this study sought to explore. How are history teachers constructing their identities within the context of curriculum change? Therefore as much as the relationship between the researcher and researched is a dynamic one, it was very difficult sustaining and maintaining that dynamism as the researcher. By virtue of our roles as researchers, and our access to a collection of information rather than to a single personal story, our interpretations are differently informed. There is considerable debate over whether and how much researchers need to interpret or translate participants' life texts or, whether and how much researchers need to translate or explain their own renditions. As life history researchers, it is our position to understand and make explicit as best we can the complex relationships between individuals and the contexts within which they live, work, and develop. I did have the final authority without altering the truth to describe and re-inscribe the stories in the way that I did in terms of the research focus and my responsibility to offer an explanation for the study I set out to research.

Although the researcher is the writer/author and the participant is the storyteller, the data was jointly constructed between two unique individuals. This is how I came to the decision that the participant should also contribute to establishing the credibility of the research story. In this study the participants were invited to review the research story and

to influence it so that it was faithful to the meanings generated in the interview process. I provided them with information about how the research story was constructed and its purpose and asked for their comments regarding analysis. The guidelines presented to participants appear as Appendix D. Having written the research stories and presented them for review, I became anxious about their response. I was concerned about whether I had understood and represented their experiences in a faithful and sensible way. I met with each of the teachers, thereafter in their homes and workplaces. When we did meet my questions to them was simple: What do you think about the story I have finally written? What aspects of the narrative do you disagree with? What do you like about the story?

Their responses were varied and the issues raised in the story review process were very interesting and contentions. The following issues emerged from the review process:

- Editorial and other corrections were brought to my attention, for instance, misspelt names and incorrect dates, or mixing events between high school and professional training as a teacher
- One participant requested that I remove from the story certain details about her family members. But she also offered me additional; information on other aspects of her life, which I found very helpful and which assisted me in writing up the story
- The review process afforded the opportunity to extend the interview process to generate a more sharpened analytical interview, which produced additional data. Hence, I was able to revisit key issues/concerns and clarify aspects that needed further discussion. It also provided an opportunity for the participants to “sharpen” the story and contribute to analysis

On receiving feedback from participants, I rewrote the stories using a significant proportion of actual spoken word of the participants. The interpretative position was

maintained and the research story served as a first level analysis. I requested participants to comment on the revised version of the stories with the intention to enhance their 'truth value'. Few changes were suggested and these further revised versions are presented in Section 2 of this chapter as research stories.

All the comments and discussion revealed to me that the writing process is neither an innocent nor a romantic one. It was an occasion for me to reflect on the power of the written word and how dangerous constructing research stories can be.

5.1.3 Second Level Analysis

Thus far, I have discussed how the individual narratives were constructed. Although data analysis was continuous throughout the fieldwork, when it formally ended, it was time to consolidate the final analysis. Having generated the individual narratives, I faced the task of making sense of all of this. The challenges were, how to reduce the volume of data without losing its essence, identify significant themes and communicate these findings in a written document and how does one push from first to second level analysis without structure? In moving to the second level analysis, I used all six narratives for the purpose of explaining how and why their identities formed over time and how and why they negotiated curriculum change.

In the second level analysis, I used the research stories for the purpose:

- Of critically examining the opportunities that participants had, the constraints they met, the contradictions present in the decisions they took and the compromises they made shaping their image/identity as a teacher of history
- Of explaining how and why the participants interpreted and negotiated their identities in the context of the changing curriculum in policies

According to Reddy (2000) there are no standard approaches to the analysis of qualitative data. However, the process was informed by analytic and grounded theorising as discovery-oriented approaches to analysis of qualitative data (McMillian & Schumacher, 2001). In the context of life histories, the process was an intuitive one in which I intended to develop a configurative understanding of the unfolding experience. Therefore methodologically, I have chosen the approach of negotiated analysis.

Freeman (1996) explores this negotiated analysis within a framework based on three elements in data analysis and interpretation process. He calls them stance, process and categories. By stance he refers to the attitude the researcher adopts towards the participants in the research process. By process he refers to the linear or iterative process of data handling through the research. He regards both as binary choices. Either the researcher adopts a participatory stance where the participants are regarded as co-analyst in the data analysis process or declarative stance where no further input is required of the research participants.

Freeman says the both stance and process in the data analysis are shaped by categories the researcher uses. Grounded categories (Freeman, 1996:372) are developed from data itself without prior assumptions of what their significance may be. On the other extreme, *a priori* categories (Miles & Huberman, 1996:152) are determined and used as a framework to organize and classify the data so that the findings emerge as responses to these predetermined areas. The *a priori* and grounded concepts, he says, forms the two ends of a continuum, which have at least two other categories: negotiated categories and guided categories.

Guided categories and negotiated categories are shaped by the interaction with the data. Negotiated categories are those developed through participatory and usually iterative, analysis of data. These may begin with grounded categories but are modified and confirmed by researcher and participants in the meaning making process. Guided categories, while springing from *a priori* categories, responds to what the researcher actually finds in the data and are thus modified.

It is within this understanding of negotiated analysis, that the approach I used to analyse and interpret data, falls within the ‘hypothesis generating’ side of the continuum (see Figure 5.2)

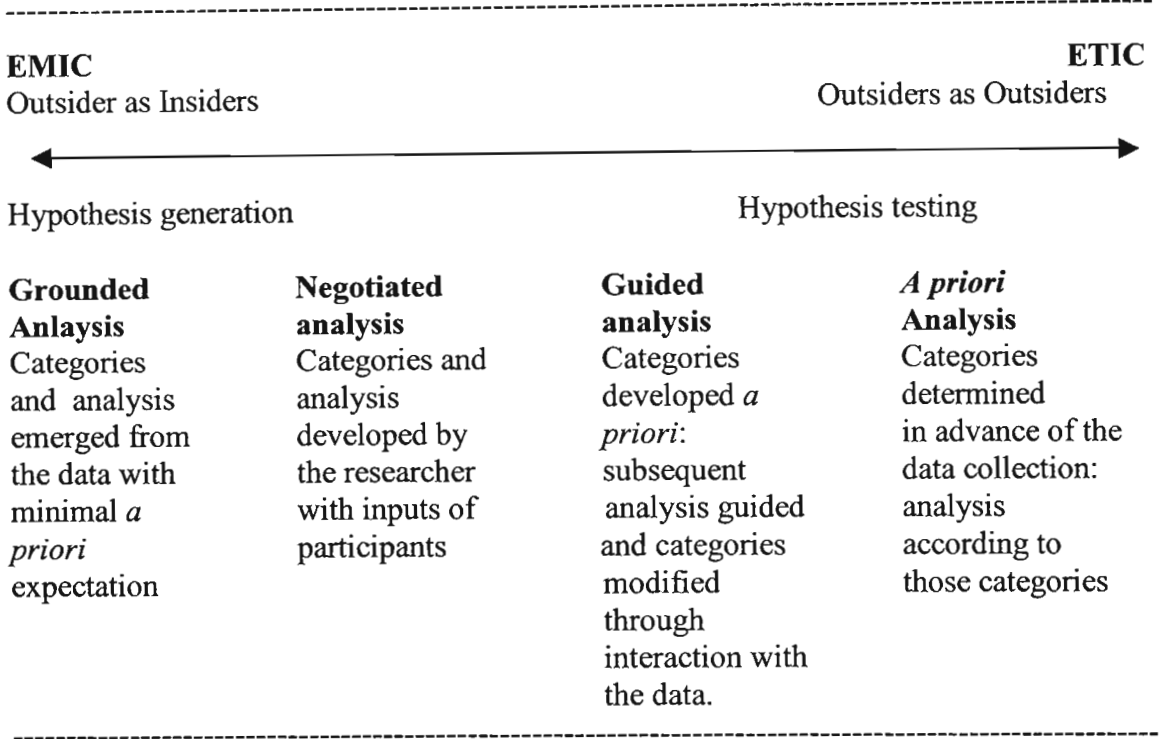


Figure 5.2: Model for Data Analysis and Interpretation (Samuel, 2002)

In relation to the study, the process was informed by analytic induction and grounded theorising as discovery-oriented approaches to analysis of qualitative data. In the context of life stories, the process was an intuitive one in which each story described what happened in the lives and, by configuring the different dynamics through a plot, provides an explanation of why the life unfolded as it did.

The grounded theory approach to analyzing qualitative data has roots in the work of Glaser & Strauss (1967). Using a grounded theorising approach I wanted to generate explanatory constructs from the data, explaining how and why the changing history curriculum policy influences history teachers’ understanding of their pedagogical roles. The strict application of the original method has not been applied (Plummer, 2001), especially in life history research. The single long case is not amenable to the traditional

notions of theoretical sampling, where the researcher moves from one sampling source to the next according to strict theoretical criteria. In addition, the main emphasis of discovery of theory through rigorous engagement with the empirical data has remained as an important guiding principle in qualitative research.

In this study the inductive nature of analysis assumes an openness and flexibility in the process wherein the patterns and issues emerge from the data. Of course, it is argued that it is almost impossible to arrive at the analysis process with a 'blank slate'. It is important not to force preconceived ideas into the data analysis process but to nevertheless interact with theory for the purpose of enhancing it. This study included the application of inductive strategies for the purposes of engaging with the data.

The process of grounded analysis did not begin at this point but was embedded in the interview and story construction processes. My intention was not to be guided by *a priori* theoretical categories but to rely on the empirical data to generate possibilities. The process began with a close reading and re-reading of data. Researchers like Hammersley & Atkinson (1983), Miles & Huberman (1994) and Polkinghorne (1995) recommend 'immersing oneself in the data and then searching out patterns, identifying possible surprising phenomena and being sensitive to inconsistencies, such as divergent views offered by different groups of individuals'. In this study, I studied different facets of the emerging data in many ways and for varying purposes.

In the second level analysis, I first listened to the audio-tapes for the purposes of transcription and to gain a general understanding of the stories. I then re-read the transcriptions again, checking for accuracy. The third time I listened to the tapes and reviewed transcriptions was to generate an interpretative understanding and coding data. The fourth time was to attend carefully to word choices, tones and emotions, what was repeated and what was not said. After the story revision I reviewed the data again and continued to do so throughout the analysis process. Having read and listened to the interview data many times, I found that I became very familiar with the stories. The continued immersion in the data allowed me to generate new and different ideas. I also

combined the emerging empirical understanding and theoretical position with intention to theorise creatively. I was also guided by the issues that participants thought were important in their research stories in forming my analysis.

During the initial stages of analysis my own frame of reference was limited. Having expanded my scope of understanding to various narratives and social texts I was able to read the data differently. For example, the experiences at school emerged as significant, but it became necessary to problematize this issue by understanding the school as a social institution and examining the power dynamics embedded in the experience. I remained guided by issues of variability, multiplicities and discontinuities, rather than only on seeking stable, coherent patterns across the data. At points, I realized that I slid towards seeking only regularities and that this did not serve the data well. I, therefore, remained vigilant about remaining grounded in empirical data. Life history data are rich and complex and I sometimes found that I was 'laying out or separating the threads' (Dhunpath, 2000) rather than to weave a tapestry of sorts.

I read across the individual research stories and interview data for the purpose of generating an analysis and looking for prevailing themes that I could use to classify the data. The fluid conception of identity formation and social relations presents particular problems for formation of fixed categories, which have the potential to reify and essentialise social categories. I coded the data and searched across the research stories data to find similar or conflicting themes or issues. The emerging themes were clustered and categorized. I used the assistance of a colleague, who is an experienced 'history' researcher, and who is familiar with my research, to do a form of analytical check. I gave him a list of the selected themes that I decided upon and the research stories and asked him to read through the stories and 'label' different responses in the margins (according to the chosen themes).

There was much agreement on the classification of categories between my colleague and myself. Ambiguous and doubtful themes were negotiated. There were some important

insights that emerged from the different ways in which two people look at the same set of data.

There was also a need to consider relationships across categories and over time in the second level of analysis. I then began the cross-case analysis (Patton, 1990). As Patton explains in this case, I approached cross-case analysis using a process of constant comparison between the six cases over time in relation to emerging constructs from the study. Reddy (2000) describes this as a mixed strategy which combines the case and issues / variables making it a preferred strategy in the context of life history research. I structured the analysis chronologically, looking for themes across the cases and examining how various themes / constructs unfolded over time. The discussion of each theme is generated through constant comparison between individual cases or by the clustering of cases that share certain patterns or configurations. An example of this type of analysis of what Miles & Huberman (1994) refer to as interactive synthesis of writing individual cases; then cross-case narratives with themes; then a general explanation and then going back to the individual cases to see how the explanation works there. My intention was to theorize in a way, which contributed to understanding experience as dynamic, human, social and political, that is a 'lively' theorizing (Cortazzi, 1993).

The analysis process stretched over a period of five months during which time I moved between emerging issues and the data and made notes when a theme began to emerge, around issues of identity formation there was also a need to re-read data in the context of the emerging issues and categories. As the process unfolded iteratively, there was a constant and intuitive play with constructs and categories across stories.

The intention of the cross-case analysis in the second level of analysis is to consider the issue of transferability of the emerging issues across cases and to deepen the understanding and explanation of particular constructs or issues by examining similarities and differences. I began by analyzing each case thoroughly, in relation to emerging themes. The details of the individual case analysis are not presented in the cross-case analysis. In life history research the cross-case analysis introduces a dilemma about

whether the individual story will lose its unique value as one seeks generic understandings across cases. In this study I have attempted to accommodate the value of both these orientations by retaining the specificities of the individual case through the research story (first level analysis), and offering a cross-case analysis as a second level analysis. The analysis moved from particular to general issues across cases. My intention here was to present a set of emerging constructs which dialogize with the purpose of the study. The abstractions are not specific of the individual case but reflect the outcomes in the context of the critical questions raised in this study.

In this section I have explained how the process of data analysis unfolded. The data analysis process was iterative and influenced by the researchers' theoretical stance. Two levels of analysis, grounded in empirical data, contributed to theorizing in the context of critical questions. Two levels of analysis are provided:

- How the storied narratives were told (first level analysis): details concerning the choice of representation of different narrative forms are explored
- What was told through the storied narratives (second level analysis): details of emerging issues across cases and explanation of particular constructs or issues by examining similarities and differences are presented in response to critical questions raised in this study

In the section that follows, I present the first level analysis - the research stories.

SECTION 2: FIRST LEVEL ANALYSIS - THE RESEARCH STORIES

5.2 Introduction

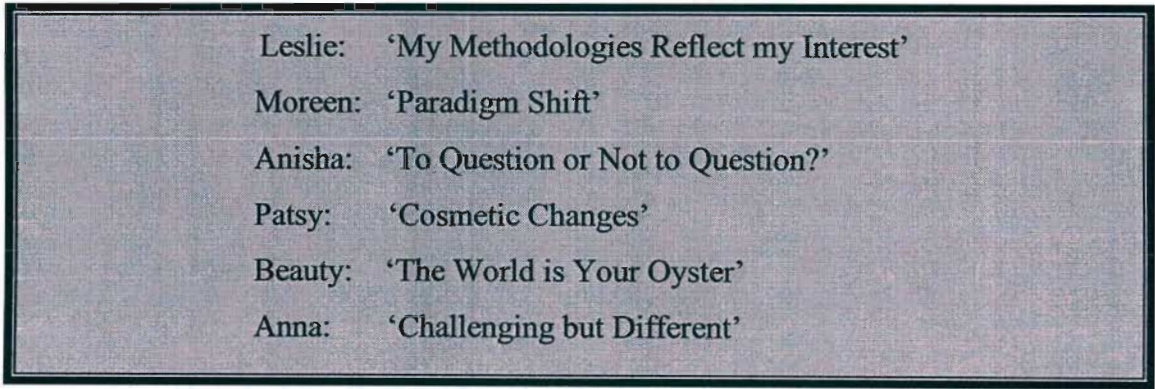
In this section I represented the data produced as research stories. Six research stories constitute the first level analysis. I assume the first person narrator of six of the history teachers who were part of the research process. Each research story is a biographical account of the life world experiences of history teachers over time. The story spans a period from their childhood and family background, to their teaching and learning experiences at school, college of education/ university in the teacher preparation programme; back into the changed and changing world of post-apartheid South Africa schooling. The texts I present are as much a product of the owners of the experiences as it is of my narrative voice. I have tried as far as possible to use the actual spoken and written words of the texts that the history teachers yielded during data collection. This representation of their stories is the first level of analysis of the data generated.

All these participants teach in the same circuit of Kwasanti, which is about 22 kilometers north from the city of Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. These stories in their similarities and differences tell the tale of becoming teachers of history. These history teachers, coincidentally all females, draw on their experiences of growing up in a racially segregated society and their ability to cope with the demands of teaching history in a plural and diverse school context than the one they had lived in during their schooling. This section presents six stories of the process of becoming teachers of history. It documents how the teachers experienced history learning and teaching over different periods of their lives and how they interpret their identities in the context of the changing curriculum policies. The intention is to identify some of the influences that shaped their image as a teacher of history. These stories have been organized using the following chronological signposts to assist readability and comparison between the teachers.

- Primary schooling
- Secondary schooling
- Professional training
- Changing history curriculum influencing their understanding of their pedagogical roles and responsibilities
- Obstacles and challenges in history teaching in the context of a changing curricular approach

Each of these stories is captured in a unique font to signal the teachers' individual voice. I have also used font variation as a stylistic device:

"Times New Roman Italics" captures the participants' voice in the narratives in this chapter – Section 2. It is also used to present their voices in Section 3 of this chapter. Other sections that are largely academic in style are presented in a more conventional "Times New Roman" font. These six stories are entitled:



Leslie:	'My Methodologies Reflect my Interest'
Moreen:	'Paradigm Shift'
Anisha:	'To Question or Not to Question?'
Patsy:	'Cosmetic Changes'
Beauty:	'The World is Your Oyster'
Anna:	'Challenging but Different'

In the following section, six stories are presented in the following manner:

- Preamble with a brief history
- Stories
- Commentary of the stories

I began with the story narrated by Leslie entitled 'My Methodologies Reflect my Interest'.

5.2.1

LESLIE'S STORY

'My Methodologies Reflect my Interest'

Leslie told the story you are about to read. Leslie is a White female and a mother of two children. She was 42 years old at the time I conducted these life history interviews. She had been working as a history teacher since 1984.

I can honestly say that the only thing I remember at all about primary school history is that we called it Social Studies and that at some stage I had to draw an ox wagon! (Appendix G). I was useless at drawing so I got a boy in my class to draw it for me. Admittedly it was 34 years ago since I left primary school but I remember my Standard 4 and 5 history lessons fairly well so it is obvious that my early history lessons meant very little to me - so they had no impact on my life. Our teachers taught all the subjects - we had very few specialist teachers - so perhaps none of the people who taught me had any particular passion for history so their emphasis lay elsewhere. I always got good marks for Social Studies so I obviously didn't find it difficult.

However, Mrs Veal, my grade seven-history teacher made me feels special. I remember being interested in current affairs and learning hard for history. I would take my books home and go over everything that was done for the day at school. I would ask my mother to read to me and help out with my homework. Miss Veal cared about me and when she established that I was not "happy" girl that I looked, she wanted to help me and she went to the extent of phoning my mother at work to find out about me. I knew that if I had a problem I could go to her.

She had this confidence in me and that confused me, because I was expected to perform much better than I could. I was always worried and I always carried a book with me everywhere. In the June exams I got a "C" mark for history and I remember Mrs Veal called me into her office and told me, "this is not your mark and you are not going to accept this". I worked hard and in the December examinations I got a "B" aggregate.

As much as there was the pressure Mrs Veal made you do your utmost. I think that was very important because as students you tend to be lazy and not realize your full potential. It really helped being on my toes all the time. I learnt from her that there must be some environment that should exist for teaching and learning to occur and it's interesting for me when I talk about this because these values stayed in my mind for a long time.

I did study history at school through to matric. History at school was compulsory for the "A" stream pupils. The only alternative was a subject called "Commerce" and that was only done at "B" Stream level (1969 - 1973 Transvaal Education Department). I am quite sure that if I had been given a choice I would have chosen history any way because I found it interesting and enjoyable.

I suppose one thing that sticks out in my mind is the Trial that our class prepared in standard 9. We put Napoleon Bonaparte (Appendix H) on trial for incompetence (I think our focus was foreign policy). We had judges, a prosecutor, a defence attorney, stenographers - everything - and we did a really professional job of it. The Trial lasted for over a week! (I cannot remember the verdict though). We thoroughly enjoyed the experience and everyone seemed to pull their weight. It taught us how to present a convincing, substantiated argument as well as how to detect bias.

My favourite teacher was a rather eccentric man by the name of Mr West. He was incredibly knowledgeable and also passionate about History. His primary methodology was chalk and talk but he was a wonderful storyteller. He could talk and act with such enthusiasm and skill that we all sat and listened, sometimes with bated breath. He used humour and irony extensively so we always had something to laugh at. He hardly ever gave us notes - when we finished every section we had to use our textbooks, the library resource and the memory of his lessons, to write an argumentative essay - from which we would study. Looking back I realise he did have quite a few flaws (but at the time, I never noticed them) such as: - he only taught sections he enjoyed so we didn't cover a lot of the South African History that we were supposed to do. Fortunately for us, our school (Benoni High School) was a project school so we wrote internally set externally

moderated exam papers in matric. That meant that he could set South African History questions on the sections he liked. Once the project was over, I believe his pupils had difficulty writing the South African paper.

I had Mr West in Standard 9 and 10 and the only style questions we ever answered were discursive essays and cartoon analysis. No rote learning questions at all. We did lots of research on our own and I really believe that he, more than any of my teachers, prepared me for university.

My 'worst' teacher was Mrs Havenga, who taught me in Standard 8. She made us read the textbooks, underline key facts and make notes. Having said that, when she explained something it was done in an animated fashion and she often allowed us to debate controversial issues during which she enjoyed playing devil's advocate. I really enjoyed those lessons!

For me - history teachers were very knowledgeable: interested in film, drama, literature, politics (etc.) as well as history. They encouraged us to form our own opinions and were able to pass their enthusiasm onto us. Most of them were critical of the 'official textbooks' and even of 'the official syllabus'. We were allowed to make up our own minds.

I enjoyed history, was fairly good at it and I felt it was the best subject to take in the Humanities field if one wanted a good, broad education.

The curriculum I was offered at university was interesting enough but it lacked flexibility and choice for the student. My preference is for modern history but our entire first year course was from Ancient Times to the Middle Ages. We had done nothing beyond about 1918 by the end of the 3rd year.

My worst misconception was that people generally find history and politics interesting. I have discovered that this is not the case. I still believe that for anyone studying at tertiary level, history is one of the most preparatory subjects if it is properly taught.

I have tried to develop the image of a teacher who encourages debate, critical thought and intellectual agility - rather than someone who simply knows a lot of facts. You know to me the most important thing, which really affects me very much or even makes me feel that I would just as soon leave teaching is the feeling that I have for children. My feeling to watch children destroyed really hurts me a lot.

The goals and approaches of the history curriculum prior to 1994 in the old Natal Education Department were skills based. Our aim was to use knowledge as vehicle to teach the skills of analysis, synthesis, essay writing etc. Our 'inspectors' as they were known then, allowed us the freedom to use the syllabus as a starting point, not as an end in itself, provided our motives were to encourage pupils to choose history as a subject and to teach the higher order skills stipulated in the curriculum. Contrary to popular belief we were not compelled to adopt a pro-government, nationalist viewpoint and many history teachers I know were openly critical of that type of propaganda. We were not textbook bound either - most of us used our own notes and a fairly big variety of textbooks for our pupils.

The goals and approaches of Curriculum 2005¹² were evidently to counteract the emphasis on rote learning and Christian National Education¹³ that existed in many schools. From my point of view, in attempting to do this, they overreacted. They tried to change the old system so completely that knowledge of the past was widely regarded as unimportant by many teachers. Outcomes-based Education¹⁴ is a very idealistic, complex system, which requires high levels of skill and competence, which many of our teachers do not have. It purports to be flexible but was presented in a very rigid way, demanding an enormous amount of energy and time from teachers whose workload is already excessive. The extensive use of acronyms and terminology was bewildering and/or annoying for many.

¹² Curriculum 2005: represents a paradigm shift from content-based teaching and learning to an Outcomes-based one.

¹³ Christian National Education: education of Blacks must be based in the life-and world-view of the Whites during apartheid.

¹⁴ Outcomes-based Education: based on the principle that decisions about learning programmes should be driven by outcomes which pupils display at the end of their learning.

I don't think that the input was as democratic as people claim at the top. What I experienced (was that) the document would come to us for discussion and that document would have been accepted already at the top-level structures, so we were used to always be one phase behind. We were told, "your inputs are crucial", but then the next document would come and the document that we were busy discussing had been finalized already and people got fed up. People got tired of that kind of process.

The Revised National Curriculum Statement¹⁵ is now clearer, less reliant on acronyms and it has been streamlined in such a way that it is now more practical.

Other than including new, more recent sections of history in our syllabus, I haven't noticed any really fundamental changes. I remember teaching Apartheid and reaction up to 1964 in 1985 and 1986. In the 1st year of teaching (1979) I taught the Cold War and the Middle East section up to the Yom Kippur War (Appendix I).

Curriculum 2005 was not such a major change for me. I don't do much junior high school teaching and what I did do had always been skills based. I think perhaps I did increase the number of co-operative learning and group work lessons but I had always used these methods of teaching (learning and assessment before).

It made me more aware of the need to make use of a wide range of assessment tools.

I haven't really experienced difficulties as such, but we have had less adaptation to do than many other teachers. We have also moved to the 'new system' slowly and cautiously because we know that new systems have teething problems. Our primary concern is that our pupils learn what they need to learn (content and skills) so as to prepare themselves for matric and beyond for example; we have kept History and Geography separate. The latest documents indicate that this practice will continue in the Further Education and

¹⁵ Revised National Curriculum Statement: due to the criticism that emanated as a result of impractical implementation of Curriculum 2005 – a more streamlined curriculum was implemented in 2004.

Training phase¹⁶. (I last did Geography in Standard 6! Who better to teach Geography skills than a Geographer!)?

If they (teachers) are particularly enthusiastic and keen on History, then I think they're going to highlight the historical aspects of this, perhaps to the detriment of otherside, particularly if like me, they have not got a Geographical background. A teacher whose strengths isn't History for instance will just forget about it and it will just lose out of it doesn't have to be taught as an essential section of work. But somebody who's more into Geography will just ignore it.

These have been modified. I have always tested skills but have not previously assessed each skill individually. I find the bureaucracy and time involved in the latest assessment techniques very onerous. I feel sorry for those with far bigger classes than I have! The number of times I see my junior classes in a cycle makes it difficult to know them all well enough to assess them according to so many different criteria. The theory is good but in practice the burden is enormous.

Without resources, the system cannot work efficiently. I am very fortunate to have every resource I need available to me but I know that many teachers have none.

Responses from teachers have been varied. Most see the value and enjoy experimenting with new techniques and methodologies for some of the time - but to do it all the time is, in a way, counterproductive because it becomes routine. Some of the exercises we have done at our school have been extremely time consuming and the teachers have felt that the amount that has been learnt (knowledge and skills) is disproportionate to the time spent.

Group work and Co-operative learning are difficult to monitor - particularly in a large class. Some students benefit but others do not - some participate others do not.

¹⁶ Further Education and Training phase: this includes Grades 10, 11 and 12 at high school.

The fact of the matter is that we still have a matric exam. Even if the latter falls away, examinations are the primary assessment tool in tertiary institutions. Learners have to be taught to cope with them. The theory and practice of Outcomes-based Education is incongruent with the examination system. It is going to be very difficult to marry the two. It is also a reality that some people are more intellectual and academically able than others. The current trend, in trying to do away with the marks and competition will eventually try to bring everyone to one of 4 common denominators - better than average, average, weak and very weak. While that might be good for some peoples' self image, it is not designed to encourage people to strive for excellence and to be designed to encouraged people to strive for excellence and to be the best. Lots of my History learners are better than average. Only 3 or 4 of them are really excellent. They need to be acknowledged for that and I know of no better way than an exam to do.

As indicated elsewhere in my responses, I do not believe that there has been any fundamental change in my methodology in response to the curriculum changes indicated. Obviously I have grown as a teacher so my skills have improved and my repertoire of ideas has expanded but this has been more a result of a desire to strive towards excellence throughout my career than to the curriculum.

I still make a lot of use of chalk (Overhead Projector pens actually!) and talk when I am explaining the actual content of a section. I always begin with an overview so the learners understand where we are going. I try to provide the section with content: geographical, political, and historical, in an attempt to relate it to my students' prior knowledge. If there is one central character involved in the section I will usually spend a whole lesson giving them a biographical overview, showing them pictures etc. This is so that they can emphasis with the individual and sees him/her as a real person rather than just someone to learn about. I try to use story-telling techniques, humour to pique their interest. Once further into the section I use questions and answer sessions often to assess their level of understanding, to reinforce what is important and to engage discussion and debate. Most of the worksheets I give them are skills based - very few deal simply with knowledge.

I make extensive use of maps, cartoons, written sources - primary and secondary, posters, graphs, tables, etc. This enables me, and the learners themselves to assess how much has been understood rather than remembered, and at the same time they can practice and hone their skills. I use videos a lot to consolidate a section after it has been completed. I try to use a variety of fun/different techniques at some point in each section, e.g. group work, role play, structured self study, debates/discussions, etc. but I find the syllabus too crowded to employ these techniques more often as they are very time consuming. I spend a lot of time on the teaching of skills such as essay writing, analysing and defining biased sources (for example cartoons, propaganda, speeches or posters). I do make use of peer assessment as a technique for example when they first do empathy exercises, I get them to swop with one or two of their friends and ask them to advise their friends on how to improve. When my standard 8's write their first full-length argumentative essay, I usually have 3 examples types and printed (usually from the previous year). I then ask each girl to read the essays, indicate wherever there is focus and then rank the 3 giving reasons for their rankings. Then in groups they compare their findings and then we have a class report back when I give my input.

I think these teaching strategies are ones I have always used - I just do them a bit better now than I did when I first started out and perhaps a little more often now because I have grown in confidence and I have a better idea about what works with classes of different abilities. Where I am going to have to change is in the way I record my assessment so as to de-emphasize the formal testing component.

What does all this say about me as a person and as teacher? I think my methodologies reflect my interest in people and what makes them tick and that I like things to be done thoroughly or not at all. I find it difficult to teach sections for which I see no real purpose or relevance to the children.

I believe that History, if done properly, is a very academic subject and that is where its real value lies. The really weak child, who perhaps remembers a few historical facts,

does not fully benefit from taking History as a subject if he or she cannot internalise and utilize the skills we teach.

Leslie is an excellent storyteller. She responded effectively to the chronological signposts that were designed in the interview schedules. Leslie has always enjoyed my company who continued to question and challenge the ways of life and living as a White in South Africa. Growing up in a middle-to-upper-class neighbourhood in Gauteng provided Leslie with a particular orientation to the meaning of success and wealth, crucial signifiers of class and élitist forces that have shaped and continue to shape her varied and contradictory subject positionings. Leslie's advantaged context has helped shape her teacher identity formation because the new transformation process in education made very little difference to her and the change was less traumatic for her than for the other participants.

The next story was narrated Moreen entitled 'Paradigm Shift'.

5.2.2

MOREEN'S STORY

'Paradigm Shift'

Moreen tells this story. She is a Coloured¹⁷ woman, a mother of three children teaching History in 'Mars Secondary'. This is an ex-House of Representative school, which was historically created to serve the needs of the Coloured learners who reside in Mariannridge (see Appendix F), approximately 12 kilometers north from the city of Durban. Moreen has been teaching in this school since her career began 26 years ago. The teachers in this school are predominantly Coloured.

I never liked primary school. I often ran away to be home with my mum. I would cross the busy street only to be "whacked" by mum all the way back to school. She was the driving force behind getting all of us through school. We were still very much settled living in and around Mayville. There was no segregation that came about in the [middle] fifties or so. So at that time, I was still living amongst the Indian areas and grew up amongst the Indians and had friends there. Two years after I began school. My family was finally forced to move from Mayville to Austerville, an area established as a Coloured suburb outside Durban. So from Austerville I started Standard one. Now I attended a pure Coloured school.

Austerville primary was a small Catholic School, where I spent my early years of schooling. Miss Martin was a very firm teacher, but the same time I admired her strength. She was very enthusiastic. My voice actually sounds like hers. There was a lot of rote learning and a lot of hiding. Maths was my weakest subject. Schooling was very traditional. Everything was done more out of fear of not succeeding. In those days history was called Environmental Studies. I can only remember my fascination with maps. I first learnt history in my sixth year of schooling. This was the first time I had seen books in history.

¹⁷ Coloured: generally referred to South Africans with mixed racial origins.

I went to secondary school in 1968. It's now the sixties-just at the time of the Poqo. Poqo refers to a period during the early 1960's when intense government suppression faced the creation of a number of underground antigovernment movements. We have got era here. It's called Poqo¹⁸. We can also call it one of the great moments in the liberation movement...we remember that Poqo era, a very terrible time when things were being burned. Our school was also burned.

In high school, I had the same History teacher from Grade eight to Grade twelve. My History teacher, Mrs Roberts, used to be interested in our participation in the class. She would always speak with several questions in between her sentences. For example, she used to constantly use phrases like "Hitler was trying to develop what in Germany? To develop a united nation, to do what?" This made us to be on our toes to constantly try and work out the next argument he would be making. She also tried to get us to see the value of us participating in the class. Mrs Roberts was an excellent teacher and I enjoyed history even more because I loved the subject.

She was my favourite teacher in school. She was a "fighter" in the apartheid era. She fought for the freedom of African people and she brought that stance into the classroom and that strengthened my attitude towards life. I think in a way she was my mentor. Mrs Roberts would never teach from a textbook. She showed me that you don't have to act as a teacher to be this disciplinarian, and have this firm so-called "a teacher should be" attitude. She taught me to "let my guard down, enjoy the children, enjoy the day, enjoy teaching".

Mrs Roberts had a vast general knowledge. On bad days, especially in Grade 12 she should read out of the textbook and make us underline. However, she was the teacher who was a cut above the rest. What I learned from her was to "go the extra mile". Having her at school kept me on track. It made me determine to do better all the time, knowing that there was always someone watching over me. I wanted to improve, to prove that I could achieve and do better. I had to prove that I was good.

¹⁸

Poqo: anti-apartheid army formed by Pan African Congress in 1961.

I chose history at secondary school because I loved history of different parts of the world. The images of being a teacher of history were that you need a vast general knowledge and you must tell interesting stories. We did not have any books, or magazines or TV in our home. Also it was not customary for Coloured children, more especially from the working class families, to have parents read to them when they were small. We just couldn't afford those reading materials.

From small I used to admire the teachers in my area. They were always smartly dressed. I always used to say as a child that I wanted to become a teacher. Even in my primary school, I used to walk like those teachers; I used to imitate how they used to carry their bags. I was so proud of wanting to become a teacher.

I chose history as one of my majors because at university I was exposed to different ideologies and how that shaped history. I was more interested in politics and leaders. The course was essentially based on European History and South African History 1919–1961. We did one module on Africa (Appendix J). Although the lecturers did very little for me, I enjoyed having to go out to teach and speak about History. History is real, I loved it. I have always had a fascination for history. Teaching history is what brings out the best in me.

The grades of the old curriculum were to acquire sound knowledge of world affairs. Learners must be able to look at information objectively and search for the truth. In Curriculum 2005 the History curriculum is inter-active and linked with Geography. It encourages critical thinking. However, I have heard stories about other countries abandoning the OBE approach and the question does arise why have they thrown it out? Why haven't we learnt from them? I see that somewhere or other, somebody is going to say, right listen we made a mistake, let's change it. Yes we made a mistake. We should have read the lesson that came out from other countries. There are already people that are saying, and I'm talking about people here that are right up in the committees for Curriculum 2005, that this is going to hit the wall and it's all going to have to change and reorganize and we're going to have to reconstitute and look at other ways.

With the introduction of the new curriculum, syllabus content has drastically changed. Greater emphasis is placed on democracy and human rights, which was non-existent prior to 1994. The impact of Curriculum 2005 has changed the teaching of History in the classroom. For example, the use of new materials (textbooks) and other new forms of assessments.

I have always done a sort of Outcomes-based Education, not necessarily group work, but I have always done things differently. I found the flexibility that it allowed me as a teacher important. I always felt teaching is not only about talk and chalk. Quite frankly education is a bore when it comes to just learning from a textbook. Engaging learners in activities makes education a lived experience. I love teaching and discussing issues on the school grounds sometimes, but many of the teachers look at me strangely as if to say, "you are not really teaching the child". But I have seen my children having learnt to respect each other, learning to speak freely. They have grown.

But I am really finding it difficult coping with fifty learners in the classroom and only forty minutes to teach. I don't mind the preparation for my teaching but I hate the amount of paperwork that I am expected to do. The volume of assessment and recording is unreal. The more I try to put my finger on the pulse; there is something else coming from the Department of Education and office.

Currently my teaching involves more pupil activity. In the General Education and Training band¹⁹ the focus is on skills, knowledge, attitude and values. The assessment involves integration with other learning areas and informal assessment is very important. Teachers are responsible for compilation of notes and learners are encouraged to do research. History teachers equip themselves with skills to teach the new integrated curriculum by attending professional workshops, buying new textbooks and attending history subject committee meetings.

¹⁹ General Education and Training band: grades 8 and 9

Moreen was able to give voice to her desires, thoughts and needs of Black women through the narrative. In this space she gains pleasure from being involved in relationships that affirm “who I am”. Towards the end of the interview process, after I had asked her about how she felt about telling me about her life, Moreen asked me how I felt about the process and listening to her story. I commented that she underplayed the various high and low experiences in her life – she has a very pragmatic approach to her life and will not labour on her experiences. In writing her story I was again made aware of how much I felt she had underplayed her experiences in life. My challenge, as the writer, was to emphasize those experiences. However, her reference to some of the critical incidents when ‘being Coloured’ opened their lives to inalterable injustice to the heart and mind, assisted me in making sense of the kinds of relationship and practices that she invested in and the meaning she cultivates in such spaces.

The following story was narrated by the novice history teacher Anisha called ‘To Question or Not to Question’.

5.2.3

ANISHA'S STORY

'To Question or Not to Question'

Anisha is a novice teacher who has been teaching history at 'Mercury Secondary' for the past 5 years. The school is located in a predominantly Indian residential area of Shallcross (see Appendix F) that caters for the lower socio-economic community. It presently serves the needs of Indians²⁰ as well as African learners. This is the second school she has taught at since the commencement of her professional career as a teacher. She is presently teaching History in the Further Education and Training band and Human and Social Science within the new General Education and Training band.

On reflecting on my primary school experiences, I look back with nostalgia because I can recall my primary school days as being very exciting and interesting. This was due to a very influential history teacher that we had at the time. My primary school was one of the few schools that used to embark on a number of excursions for the year, which was very structured and beneficial to the learners. The approach to history teaching at primary school was basically rote learning. The teacher just stood in front and told you everything, and very little discussion took place between the teacher and us. There was very little communication. They basically told you everything and they said learn it. Even for exams they said learn this and learn that. That's how I recall History being taught at primary school.

At secondary school I was inspired to choose history up to Grade 12 because I was motivated by a very dynamic history teacher, Mr A.M.G Asmal, who influenced my decision to a large extent. I enjoyed history because the teacher could convey his lesson across properly and he encouraged discussion in class. He believed that learners must be a part of the learning process by becoming actively involved in class discussion so that learning has more value and purpose in their lives.

²⁰ Indians: generally referred to "diasporic" South Africans who traced their origins to India. Their forefathers arrived in South Africa in 1860.

The history curriculum at university was very different from that which was taught at school. At university the history curriculum focused on critical analysis, making inferences, doing project work and conducting research. These aspects of the history curriculum were not taught at both primary and secondary school. The perception I had about teaching during my training years was that I thought that it was easy to become a teacher, but it most certainly is not. It is extremely taxing and difficult job, especially to motivate children. What I thought about teaching before I became a teacher is not exactly in keeping with what I'm doing now, because I always thought that it would be easy to lead children to think along your lines.

My early experiences of teaching history was very exciting, but very trying, especially since in my second year of teaching I was left in the deep end with a matric class because I was the only history teacher at the school at the time. A normal class is 48 students, all of them sitting there. Here there is a desk and then is another desk- they are really overcrowded. You know I felt the kind of theory, which we were being taught at the University, it doesn't apply when you get in front of the class.

As a newly qualified teacher it is important that one gains the support and guidance of peers and colleagues at school. There is a need for peer support and induction structures to be put in place at school. School management team regarded that the newly qualified teachers as "the OBE generation of teachers". Some of them had a mindset against transformations of teaching and they simply said that it was all too theoretical and that it is unimplementable. Although I have worked with creative ways of teaching History, I think that these approaches did not in any way alter the practices of some of the teachers because they were set in their methods of teaching.

One of the key issues to consider when preparing history lessons for Grade 12 learners was to ensure that there is relevance to the outside world. I believe that lessons should not be confined to the classroom, and therefore everything that we do must have relevance to society and the world in general. I encourage group participation and class discussions as a method of addressing the diversity of learners in the class.

However, the present curriculum is somewhat irrelevant and outdated and it therefore needs to change in order to incorporate current issues such as politics of the world and current events with which we are confronted (Appendix L). Due to the confusion in Outcomes-based Education, many history teachers seem to be using the same traditional methods of teaching based on a teacher-centred approach to teaching where concepts are merely defined, and there is very little evidence of pupil participation. It's not been well thought and we need to see this as a number of stepping-stones. Anyone (who thinks) that by 2005 we will have a new curriculum that does all the things it say right now, is bordering on lunacy really.

Many teachers do not support the new curriculum changes. My sense is that they're not supporting it all because they've been bombarded with a whole lot of new literature and concepts in education. They've got to learn a new language and if you look at the outcomes, performance indicators, assessment criteria- how are they going to get familiar with those concepts, for one and secondly, who's going to demonstrate how to use and implement these concepts. In many cases the format of the lesson is very prescriptive and there is little or no use of teaching.

Lot of my teaching is still teacher-centred, but I am hopeful that it will change. One wonders who is going to make that change – shouldn't it be the teacher?

Resources are an important part of planning meaningful learning activities. There is a need for learners to be actively involved in the learning process. Large class sizes impact negatively on the availability of resources, since often learners have to either share resources or do without them.

School population is made up of diverse learners in terms of their race, ability and gender. The learners are both male and female, Indian and Black and also of mixed ability. Therefore, I encounter a problem with addressing this diversity because I was not adequately trained to deal with multicultural learners in the class, which points to the gap between theory and practice in my training years. I think I've erred in that because I

haven't adapted my style to the changing environment that we are placed in. I tend to do an 'across-the board' lesson, so I think that I need to change my style of teaching to adapt to the new types of learners in terms of race and so on.

I follow the criteria embedded in the official curriculum to a large extent and I am familiar with the contents of the curriculum. Curriculum changes are necessary because we need more life skills, we need to make history something that one can use when one finish school with the changing history curriculum, my teaching methods have changed and I feel less confident and now I have to incorporate learners into the lesson and class discussions.

Some of the assessment techniques I use in the class include testing, assignments and projects. The introduction of continuous assessment had brought in a whole new dimension to assessment. This method of assessment requires the child to be assessed on an ongoing basis throughout the year and therefore enabled the consistent learner to pass his grade well at the end of the year. This assessment strategy involves a change in my pedagogical approach. Assignments and projects are good because it encourages learners to frequent the library and seek more information. I will not advocate testing as a form of assessment because I regard it as being an awful way of finding out the true potential of the learner. I view testing as a form of rote learning and therefore find no merit in it.

With the morale of teaching so low at this time, I wonder if teaching is ever going to be a success. I think motivation is one thing we all must have and we must show the learners that we have the drive to get ahead, and I think with the changes taking place with Outcomes-based Education and Curriculum 2005; I believe that the style of teaching must change. My major concern is the decrease in time allocation for the teaching of History education at schools. Well I can only go on what is happening at the moment in the schools - the time has been cut down for the History and Geography to one hour per week. It used to be 90 minutes a week and it's now down to 60 and I think in some

schools that are even further reduced to give more accents to other areas. It going to be much more wasted down.

For history teaching to be successful, the curriculum must be more relevant to the current climate in South Africa. The National Department of Education²¹ should assist schools by providing resources, which will enable learners to prepare for the future. Whilst I feel highly demoralized about the teaching profession, I still believe that there is some hope for history teachers if they are motivated to teach.

I battled with Anisha who stuttered severely. And I felt that the process was very taxing for both of us. There was a struggle to get the story, but the story was there and most valuable. I found that even a few significant words told me what was crucial. It felt good for us to be able to construct this story that would have possibly not been heard had we not gone through the process. Finally, as an Indian, Anisha's experience in the world of education, her racial identity and gender were crucial in shaping access to and success as a teacher of history.

The next story was narrated by Patsy entitled 'Cosmetic Changes'.

²¹ National Department of Education: formulates educational policies in South Africa and oversees the nine provincial education departments in South Africa since 1994.

5.2.4

PATSY'S STORY

'Cosmetic Changes'

Patsy is an African²² female teacher who teaches at 'Earth Secondary School', an historically African institution offering a range of classes from Grade R to Grade 12. It services a predominantly African learner population living in a township community of St. Wendolins (see Appendix F). This school is one of the two teaching and learning sites at which Patsy has taught. Her experiences are diverse, ranging from teaching history in a rural²³ primary school, a part-time tutor in history at a distance education university and currently to teaching history at an urban combined school.

I recall my primary schooling experience as being quite meaningless because history was regarded as a "knowledge subject" and not as a "science". I refer to a "knowledge subject" as being a set of codified knowledge or information gathering process where the teacher's job was to dictate copious notes, "swat up" the textbook content and regurgitate it in the classroom. Even at senior primary history was taught as a subject where you acquired a great deal of information rather than the importance of the information. There was no correlation between the information and reality, yet history supposed to be a living subject.

Mrs Mkhize was my standard four history teacher and I didn't like her. She was a Xhosa and she didn't like us Zulus. When my friends and I came into her class she always pushed us aside. I remember the day a girl tore my history worksheet in class and I got the hiding because I pinched her. She actually threw me out of the classroom. I thought she was unfair. Mrs Nonjabulo, who was also Xhosa, bored all of us. I remember her teaching us Geography. I enjoyed her and actually did so well in all her tests.

My experience of history as a learner at junior secondary was one of factual description and knowledge transmission with the image of the learner's mind as a bucket. Mr Nene

²²

African: generally referred to South Africans with an African origin.

²³

Rural: schools situated in poverty stricken areas. Such schools lack basic infrastructure, e.g., flush toilets, electricity or well built classrooms.

(Standard 6 and 7 history teacher) regarded learner's minds as empty buckets that needed to be filled with information. He made history boring in the classroom. He was obsessed with "completing the syllabus". In the history class this involved learning historical facts with each lesson devoted to learning about names and dates. Mr Nene used to read history stories to us in class, but there was no deep analysis of those stories. We were asked simple questions; who did what? What were the characters names? What happened to them...? Anyone could answer those questions.

My standard nine history teacher Mrs Mbatha who was also our school guidance counsellor, was one who stands out vividly in my mind when I recall my experiences at secondary school. What I learned from her was to "go the extra mile". Having her at school kept me on track. It made me determined to do better all the time, knowing that there was always someone watching over me.

During one Guidance lesson, she gave us an essay to write on our career choice and the reasons for such a choice. I wrote about wanting to become a history teacher like her. In the essay I also wrote about how strange I felt that we teach people about their rights yet as teachers we infringe those rights, and as learners there is very little they can do about it. Being a teacher, I wrote, would give me a chance to understand the learners as total beings. The aim of history is to educate individuals of their rights. Mrs Mbatha was not pleased with rote teaching because she felt that it merely tested your memory and recall of facts without any understanding of these facts. She believed that education should be meaningful and relevant to her learners. Now that I am an experienced teacher I do not want to repeat the poor teaching styles adopted by my own teachers in the past.

Deciding on what to study after matriculating was quite a debate. By the 1970s the grips of apartheid had begun to tighten under the leadership of H.F Verwoerd²⁴. Hence the whole of the seventies seemed as if everything was normal, everything was just suppressed. The government was going on as it wished. Being African meant that I was

²⁴ H.F. Verwoerd: Prime Minister of South Africa in 1958 and was the architect of the apartheid policy.

not eligible for a loan to study further. I wanted to do physiotherapy, but there were a limited number of Blacks being accepted into the department. I wanted to do law but money was an issue, so I just didn't follow it up. I phoned Mr Van de Walt, the rector at the college of education, and he agreed to accept me. I spent four years at college registered for a Teacher's Higher Diploma²⁵ in Education majoring in History and English. I did not really enjoy being at college but I just saw it as a means to getting the diploma. I found it boring and tedious.

The type of teacher training and the history content matter taught at college was absolutely superficial. The knowledge and information gained at college was not adequate enough for teaching in a school situation. The exciting history knowledge that I have acquired was obtained through institutional influences of the school as a context and not through what I learnt at college. In the entire four years at college I think there was only three times that we did a section on African History, and when I got to school situation, I was shocked that there was an entire exam paper, and although I came out with history major, I had to virtually learn from scratch. It is the experience of teaching it over and over the years that I believe that I have become the better person, but not through the background knowledge of college. I feel it was too superficial.

There was an overemphasis on history as a content driven subject at college, as opposed to the pedagogical approaches to history teaching and learning. There was a discontinuity between school and college education where each institution focused on different aspects of the history curriculum as well as its pedagogical approaches. It should be pointed out, however, that the college academic curriculum is not geared towards school education.

It must be emphasized that the teacher training course and the reality of school classroom teaching and learning is very different. As a student teacher one have enough time to 'put on a good show' in order to impress your teaching practice supervisor, but in

²⁵ Teachers' Higher Diploma in Education: three year professional teacher's training diploma offered at ex Teachers' Training College in South Africa.

the school situation it is completely different because of the many teaching constraints such as lack of resources, overloaded classes, increased lesson periods and lack of available time.

I taught in different schools during my twenty-eight years of teaching experience. Initially I started teaching at a primary school. The school was very meagerly. It was a shack of corrugated iron but quite strong corrugated iron. All the houses around there were also shacks. The windows would be creaking and banging in the wind. The partition inside was made of a kind of thin board. The two classrooms was just one big room divided into two. We had that ply board, when that noise got out, this side could hear the other side. Sometimes there were music activities taking place so the teacher would decide, okay we're going to our music outside!

In 1976 the Soweto uprising²⁶ occurred (Appendix K). My participation in support of the Soweto uprising led me branded as a political activist and I was threatened by the Education Department of being dismissed as a teacher. At the primary school, the children could not understand what was going on. As soon as things started getting worse, I started getting mad with the student activists because they were so militant that they would send groups of them to all different schools and these kids were very scared. That was really bad for us in the primary school – we just couldn't bear that kind of sight.

There was an emphasis on strict record keeping and entire school structure was very rigid. Teachers displayed a lot of respect for upper management members at school. The schooling system was very autocratic and teachers were not allowed to contribute to the decision-making process of the school. There was enormous emphasis on bookwork and all school records had to be meticulously kept. I used to go to school every Sunday to check all the children's books to see if I marked them correctly because when the inspectors came they did come to see if you grew professionally, but they came to find out

²⁶ Soweto uprising: In 1976 black pupils in Soweto schools refused to attend classes where lessons were taught in Afrikaans. This led to a major wave of pupil's resistance and deaths.

how many errors you made. At this school I has little exposure to history teaching because a primary school teacher was required to teach all subjects. As a novice teacher at a primary school I was still 'finding my feet' in terms of my teaching experience.

In 1980 s during the time of the student boycotts, I was teaching at a combined school. It was terrible seeing children fighting with each other. Among the children there would be that groups who would like to go to school and learn and there would be that group would like to go for the political aspect of it. That's were the clashes came in – on the school grounds and in the classrooms while you were teaching.

The nature of the supervision was not one of guidance and support but one of intimidation and humiliation. It seemed as though the job of supervisors was to engage in a faultfinding and not-picking mission. This kind of supervision often resulted in feelings of insecurity and poor self-esteem on the part of many educators. As I was gaining more experience in my teaching practice, I witnessed the gradual collapse of this rigid structure in the education system. Teachers were dissatisfied with the previous history curriculum and wanted to now be part of the decision-making process of the changing education process. In the past, teachers played a subordinate role in the development of history teaching and learning.

All decisions about the curriculum were taken at departmental level and teachers were merely required to faithfully follow such decisions without contradiction (Appendix L). This new curriculum structure allows teachers more flexibility and freedom of choice in the implementation of the school curriculum and thus very little "supervision" takes place in schools. While this idea is welcomed, it results in some teachers adopting an apathetic attitude towards their profession. Therefore, the present state of our schools, which lacks a culture of teaching and learning, could be due to this lack of accountability and non-commitment from teachers today. At present I am experiencing a radical change in the education system. There is a tremendous decline in "the morals of children in the present school situation". This condition may be attributed to the poor socio-economic conditions that people were experiencing.

In the past, my pedagogic style was based mainly on the imparting of factual knowledge and recall of information. Previously it was important to learn facts in order to recall information for testing and assessment purposes, since the focus of schooling was on the learning of content material in order to pass an examination. All tests and examinations were purely objective in nature with very little allowance for questioning between teacher and learner. I am not comfortable with the old questioning methods because it did not allow for understanding the purpose of the information that was taught.

Resources are very important for History teaching and learning at schools. Some of the teaching resources used in the classroom vary from world maps to models. At times, these resources are inadequate at school due to a lack of funds to purchase teaching aids. The lack of resources impacts on learner's performance in school. A teacher who is hardworking and committed, but to institutional problem and rapid transformations taking place in education, I am not prepared to go the extra mile.

Presently all schools in South Africa are potentially open to learners of all races, cultures, religious convictions and value systems. Many teachers are presently faced with teaching multicultural and multiracial learners at school and in their classrooms. The extend to which multicultural education will be successful in the classroom situation mainly depends on the knowledge, attitude, views and conduct of the teacher as facilitator and manager of the educational and learning practice.

Learners at my school are diverse in terms of gender, race, ability and socio-economic status. I am disappointed and disillusioned with the poor attitude and lack of interest shown by most of the learners in the class. Teachers need to equip themselves adequately for the changing and diverse experiences of multicultural classroom contexts. This new experience should entail some kind of intervention for teachers in the form of pre-service and in-service training programmes so that teachers are thoroughly prepared for teaching in a multicultural classroom. Teaching in large classes creates problem for the teaching and learning process. Learners in large classes are not given individual attention and the teacher therefore had to resort to teaching in the lecture method.

The lack of classroom space results in learners being left without desks and testing becomes a real problem because half the class has to sit inside the room and the other half outside the room in order to avoid copying. This is directly impacting on the way I now deliver my lessons and sometimes I don't have enough maps to go around the class, so I don't use them. As a result of the large numbers we are carrying, discipline also becomes a problem. I am no longer prepared to make huge sacrifices in order to keep up with the current educational changes, and often I prefer to do without the resources because they are insufficient.

The focus of the history curriculum in the past was on content matter and factual information whereby learners were required to name, list or write short notes on particular sections of the syllabus. However, over the past years there have been changes made to the existing theory curriculum (Appendix M). The content matter has changed to a certain extent whilst cosmetic changes were made to the syllabus in terms of reducing content matter. While policy and teaching strategies are changing all the time, to some extent content matter has basically remained the same. I support this argument by providing an example of this change when the section on the Cold War in Latin America was removed from the syllabus because it had no relevance to the South African situation. However, curriculum changes are taking place according to the current political changes in South Africa. This new curriculum structure allows teachers more flexibility and freedom of choice. I believe that changes are taking place at a fast pace and that the curriculum needs to be reviewed and revised on a regular basis.

Contrary to the system used in the past, assessment now takes place on a continuous basis and by making use of a variety of methods and strategies. The teacher is now known as the facilitator of the learning process and he has to constantly monitor the learners' progress at scheduled times and in established ways. Continuous assessment is a good method of evaluation because it allows learners to develop their potential in different areas of their schoolwork. I believe that learners benefit more from the informal assessment, which include oral work and project work, rather than the formal assessment of tests and examinations because the learners are more comfortable and at ease with

these aspects of assessment since it involved greater choices and freedom of expression. I am not comfortable with the old questioning methods because it did not allow for understanding the purpose of the information that was taught.

It is important to understand the past and present in order to make predictions about the future. Many history educators are skeptical and pessimistic about the future of history teaching due to the current status of the subject as a Human and Social Science²⁷ learning area in Grades 8 and 9 history has experienced a paradigm shift in the way we think about teaching and learning, from its early beginnings when it was taught as a theoretical discipline then a Humanistic discipline and finally as an applied discipline. I believe that there is a fear amongst educators that the identity of history, as a subject will be lost because it is now integrated with other subjects like geography.

Although the subject might be grouped together and called Social Studies like history and geography together, the emphasis of history as such would be lost and I believe that is not auguring well for the future. I believe that it's one of the few subjects in the school curriculum that is so relevant to life itself. I am concerned about the status of the subject (history) in the future and the resultant consequences of the subject status for all stakeholders, including teachers. However, if the subject lost its identity it will impact on a number of history teachers who will be required to teach the subject, since the integration of the subject will result in fewer classes and less teachers needed to teach the subject. In conclusion, I suggest that the Department of Education and Culture must work together with teachers in order to address and find solutions to the current problems affecting schools before embarking a major curriculum changes.

Patsy narrated her life history with much excitement. She spontaneously responded to the probes in the interview schedules. It was a pleasure conducting the interview with Patsy.

The following story was narrated by Beauty entitled 'The World is Your Oyster':

²⁷

Human and Social Science: one of the eight learning areas in Curriculum 2005.

5.2.5

BEAUTY'S STORY

'The World is Your Oyster'

This is a narrative of Beauty, an experienced history teacher who has been teaching for a period of seventeen years. I use the metaphor 'an expert in the field' because this teacher have made a tremendous contribution to the field of history and knowledge and experience has been shared and conveyed to many history educators. The teacher represents a dedicated and committed history teacher who has a real zest for the subject. She exhibits a passion for the subject by conducting workshops and developing resource material for history teachers. She has been instrumental in working with curriculum issues related to teaching strategies in the field of history. She worked closely with History Subject Advisors from the Education Department and in 1999 she published workbooks on Outcomes-based Education for Grade 9 and Grade 11 history learners. Beauty has recently been appointed as Head of Department: Humanities at 'Neptune Secondary'. This secondary school services African learners who live in an economically deprived area of KwaZulu-Natal (see Appendix F). This is an African urban township about 22 kilometers from the city of Durban.

I recall having a varied primary school experience where I attended three different schools. During this time the apartheid government implemented the Group Areas Act (1950)²⁸. According to this Act, different areas were set-aside for the different racial groups, thus resulting in territorial segregation of the population of South Africa. During this period many families, including my own were forced to leave their former places of residence and move to other areas set aside for the different racial groups. Foremost in my mind was the fact that I had to be constantly on the move and thus the forces of location and relocation become significant in my life influenced my teaching in history.

²⁸ Group Areas Act: This act set aside separate areas where each racial group, i.e., Indian, Coloured, African and White could trade, live and own property.

The approach adopted by my teachers to the teaching of history as with most other subjects at both primary and secondary school was rote learning. I can describe my own schooling experiences as dull and boring. There was nothing stimulating. Excursions were not the order of the day. We were in a very cocooned and isolated world where we never saw teaching and the realities brought into play. So each was isolated. Therefore, narration or rote leaning was a common method of instruction used in the classroom because teachers perceived the child as an empty vessel; ready to receive whatever knowledge the adult would pour into him. This resulted in a passive concept of learning, which centred on the teacher and the subject matter.

In 1980 the student boycotts²⁹ occurred. They were always the same things, they were boycotting for books, classrooms and the teachers. I did take history at secondary school. My decision to take the subject was based on the fact that I enjoyed it and I had a very good teacher. His passion for the subject rubbed off on me. I found Mr K. Khulu to be an exceptional teacher. He was very eccentric and also slightly weird. One day he walked into our class dressed like Adolf Hitler (Appendix N). It was kind of strange teaching German Foreign Policy with Mr Khulu dressed in such a manner. This guy was good. He would take us to the library to do research or watch history movies.

I enjoyed history in high school and I will always remember the “weirdo” Mr Khulu. I think a critical event, which I will never forget was the help of Mr Khulu, gave me in writing history essays. Unfortunately, I was not one of those students who were blessed with a God given ability to write from the beginning excellent history essays. It took me lots of practice to get it right. I will never forget the extra mile my teacher went with me on many afternoons trying to get it right. Mr Khulu was very knowledgeable, passionate about the subject who brought a great deal of variety to how the content was imparted. He was very innovative. Most importantly, he cared about his students. I saw the reward in being involved in a career where you had some involvement in the development process of people.

²⁹

Student boycotts: This was the extension of the Soweto uprising of 1976. Students opposed the authoritarianism in schools and inferior Black education.

When I completed my matriculation examinations I decided to register for a Bachelor of Arts at the University of Zululand³⁰ to major in history. I obtained a distinction in history in the matric examination. By this stage I had a passion for the subject. The history curriculum at university was challenging, but different from the realm of high school. It involved a lot of reading, completing assignments and conducting research. I believe that it was an integrated approach towards history and students had to be independent, unlike the norm that existed in the school situation where learners were given little responsibility and independence. Therefore, I enjoyed the history curriculum at varsity. It was varied and involved both South African and World History. I also liked the fact that there was room for much longer emphasizes on research at varsity. I would have liked it more if there was scope for more engagement with the lecturers. However, the numbers did not always allow this.

After teaching for a while, one realizes the huge gap that exists between what is taught at university and what goes on practically as a teacher at a school. The perception that I had about teaching during my training years was that teachers need to be very authoritarian and that they should take command of the class. However, in the actual classroom situation it was quite different because teachers have to develop a good rapport with the learners in order to ensure a cordial relationship. The role of the teacher is also changing today because teachers are now seen as mediators who would guide and offer assistance to learners rather than being there to merely pass on information to learners.

I taught in two schools during my seventeen years of teaching history. Immediately after qualifying from university I was posted to a secondary school in Pietermaritzburg, a small town, in the Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal. I spent one year at this school and thereafter I was transferred to my current school. I spent the last sixteen years teaching History at this school. The critical experience for me occurred at the point where I was able to examine myself and consider the type of contribution I could make as a History

³⁰ University of Zululand: is located in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This university only enrolled African students under apartheid education system.

teacher, instead of sitting back and passively accepting information from others. I wanted to be the innovator, to go out and try out new ideas, new techniques and whatever.

I think the Outcomes-based Education has given every teacher a new kind of experience, go out and experiment, go out and mess your hands. It's trial and error challenges are good if you are prepared to be a contributor. I am prepared for the challenges that confront me and I have adopted a positive attitude towards these changes in education, and more especially in the changing context of the history curriculum. I believe that teachers play an important role in the education of their learners and they should therefore exhibit proper knowledge, attitude and values in class.

When I started teaching history the approach did tend to be "Euro-centric" but also it was very skills based. Certainly at Neptune Secondary School a very balanced view of history is taught. Obviously before 1994, the history syllabus did try and reinforce the National government³¹ ideas. On reflecting on my teaching experiences, over the years, I see an evolutionary growth myself. It came in little increments, it was a step-by-step growth, and it didn't come all at once. It was just a matter of learning the 'tricks of the trade', learning from your colleagues, definitely there has been that evolution from a novice to an experienced and finally, if I could call myself, a expert teacher, I have been actively involved in upgrading and developing new resource material in order to assist and support classroom facilitators in teaching history from an Outcomes-based approach.

History in the present school curriculum, I believe, is living through some exciting times. On the one hand we have history as it is, untainted, the old; and then you have a history, that is being swallowed up by Outcomes-based Education framework. Now that is the big stumbling block for many of us at the moment as we're very, very scared that the discipline will get lost and then it becomes such a hazy mish mash of everything. This is the big dilemma that has to be sorted out by history in the school curriculum. There is concern about the inclusion of History curriculum into the Human and Social Sciences

³¹ National government: refers to the National Party ruling South Africa from 1948-1994.

since a lot of the content matter will also change together with the teaching styles. Geography, which is regarded as a natural science, is also included in the Human and Social Science learning area.

The reality is that history is very much under threat of losing its name and many teachers fear that the subject is going to lose its identity. This fragmentation of the History curriculum will also impact on the course selections for learners at school. However, I am optimistic that Curriculum 2005 which is based on a transformed Outcomes-based Education will give new hope to history teachers and that this discipline will have its rightful place in the school curriculum.

I use a variety of assessment methods, such as evaluating workbooks, assignments, teach-backs, mini-thesis, project work, participation in class and formal tests. I use many tools to get a holistic view of the learner. I regard this method of assessment as being a complete shift from the previous methods of assessment that focused on examination and tests only. I believe that the assessment method presently being used caters for various aspects of the learners' ability, and I regard this as being a more holistic approach.

The ongoing assessment is most beneficial to learners because you can see the learner developing in stages. I also propose that there should be a balance between formal and informal assessment. The recall of knowledge is a good method of assessment because "you cannot throw the baby out with the bath water". The point I am making here is that content can never be thrown away. I further contended that a content-driven education is equally important as a skills-driven or values and attitudes approach. I believe that content must be taught and this is the basic foundation for learners.

I do not have the basic teaching resources such as textbooks for each grade, atlases, maps, posters and an overhead projector. I believe that the lack of such basic necessities cannot 'make magic happen in the classroom' and therefore, the lack of resources does impact on learner's performance. The absence of these resources is seriously affecting learner's performance in class. Teaching the new curriculum becomes a nightmare and a

serious challenge for teachers. Therefore, resources play an important role, especially in allowing the teacher to have variety in their teaching. I feel sorrow for those schools that have very little resources. I can only admire those teachers who have to try and motivate their learners day after day with little resources to aid them.

While I follow the guidelines of the official curriculum, I have gone beyond the criteria embedded in the official curriculum and I incorporated other disciplines and learning areas to create a holistic kind of teaching in keeping with Outcomes-based Education. Whilst the syllabus changed five or six times in terms of the content matter, the critical changes have only come about in Curriculum 2005. I believe that there is a complete paradigm shift from a content-driven to a holistic and learner-centred approach to teaching. This approach to teaching ensured that teachers are not textbook reliant and they therefore require a variety of resources from which to work.

I recommend that curriculum changes take place because of the kind of apartheid education that didn't give us the truth and we had to really transcend those racial connotations of gutter education. We have to revisit the way we teach, the content, the skills, the values, the attitudes etc. Curriculum 2005 saw these critical changes taking place and a complete paradigm shift of what the government saw as education per se.

The following positive changes took place in the teaching of history as a result of the curriculum changes:

- i) The lessons changed from being teacher-centred to being learner-centred;*
- ii) It also changed from being reliant on a particular resources to a variety of resources; and*
- iii) The focus shifted from content-driven skills to value-laden education.*

My own teaching methods have changed in relation to curriculum changes. I have not come across a teacher who likes the new integrated learning area of Human and Social Science. Both history and geography teachers want to keep their subjects distinct. This seems to have been addressed by the national curriculum statement. However, I would

think of myself as an innovator. I have changed with the changing curriculum and so I haven't been caught stagnating. I was able to adapt when the time came, so I made these critical changes with the curriculum. Whilst there may be technological innovations like the computer, CD rom and other electronic equipment, the history practitioner will still be around to transmit the information more humanely and to act as a facilitator. I believe that no stimulus material can replace the educator and therefore the human element will always be present.

How significant is the relationship between the researcher and the teller? Would Beauty have told a different story to a female, for example? I could not ask Beauty some questions because she was an older lady, although I think at points we did get to places we never thought we would get to. It is also a 'male' thing to tell a story that may appear less emotional. However, it would be wrong to generalise and stereotype. Some females participants were able to openly communicate their feelings more intensely. Beauty and I shared a close story because we had been through similar experiences. Her story could only happen between us, because of who she was and who I was. We had a long-standing relationship prior to the research. Both of us belonged to the Pinetown History Teachers' Forum. I think the nature of the relationship was critical but was never the same with other participants.

The final story was narrated by Anna entitled 'Challenging but Different':

5.2.6

ANNA'S STORY

'Challenging but Different'

Anna is a novice African female teacher at 'Jupiter Secondary' in Kwandengenzi (see Appendix F), a historically African suburb about 15 kilometers north from the city of Durban. This is an African peri-urban township. Anna lives in Namibia (see Appendix F), which is adjacent to Kwadengezi. She is a mother of a baby girl. Anna has been teaching history and human and social science at this school since she was transferred from the Gauteng province, one of the nine provinces in South Africa. Anna previously taught at a government-subsidised school that was historically African in the province of Gauteng. She got married in Durban and eventually was transferred to her current school. Anna began her teaching career in a period when schools became multi-cultural and hence, she found herself grappling with the problems related to diversity in education.

I was born in the African township of Soweto about 23 kilometers from central Johannesburg. This township was established by the apartheid regime to separate the Africans from the White South Africans. My father was a history teacher and my mother was an English teacher. I remember being surrounded by many family friends who were teachers. From a very young age I was taught to speak and read English.

On reflecting on my primary school experiences, I look back with nostalgia because I recall my primary school days as being very exciting and interesting. This I believe was due to a very influential school principal that I had at the time. Our primary school was one of the few schools that used to embark on a number of excursions for the year, which I regard as having been very structured and beneficial to the learners. The approach to history teaching at primary school was basically rote learning. The teacher just stood in front and told you everything, and very little discussion took place between the teacher and us. There was very little communication. They basically told you everything and they said learn it. Even for exams they said learn this and learn that. That's how I recall history taught at primary school.

I attended Jabavu High School in Soweto. This school was a fore-front for the Soweto riots of 1976. Many pupils from this school played a significant role in the pupil boycotts of 1976. Jabavu Secondary is steeped in pupil resistance politics and history is a popular subject at school. At secondary school I was inspired to choose history up to Grade 12 because I was motivated by my father and a very dynamic history teacher who both influenced my decision to a large extent. I enjoyed history because Mr D L Dube, my history teacher, could convey his lesson across properly and he encouraged discussion in class. Mr Dube believed that learners must be a part of the learning process by becoming actively involved in class discussions so that learning has more value and purpose in their lives.

I remember my secondary school as being largely in the "look and listen" mode. This dominated the strategies used by the teachers. They would simply stand in front of the class with all the pupils seated in rows facing the board. The teacher would talk for the most of the time telling us the kind of knowledge that they would be testing in the examination. The classes were largely textbook bound. We would only discuss issues that were in the textbook without any analysis of what the textbook authors' biases were. Our job was to be passive learners, to develop our memory skills.

Mr Dube was different. He used to help us develop our memory skills, by writing our responses to his questions on the board. We were expected to copy down these summaries on the board. These summaries were useful when learning for the examinations. I remember in my matric examination I wrote five pages on a history essay because I remembered those notes that the teacher used to jot down on the board.

I always wanted to become a teacher; many people in my community became teachers and they regarded teaching as a good career. I was accepted at the University of the North-West where I pursued a Psychology and History majors. The history curriculum at university was very different from that which is taught at school. At university the history curriculum focused on critical analysis, making inferences, doing project work and conducting research. These aspects of the history curriculum were not taught at both

primary and secondary schools. They made history come alive and inspired us to want to study it. They did not speak down to us. They spoke with us. However, I soon realized that university taught little I did not already know. That which they wanted me to know, I knew could not work in the 'real' classroom situation.

During my professional training years, I always thought that it was easy to become a teacher, but it most certainly is not. It is an extremely taxing and difficult job, especially to motivate children. What I thought about teaching before I became a teacher is not exactly in keeping with what I'm doing now, because I always thought that it would be easy to lead children to think along your lines.

I started teaching history at Daveyton Secondary School in Daveyton, an African township, about 18 kilometers from Johannesburg, where poverty, crime and ills of society thrived. Before I went out to teach I felt that I was fairly confident about what was expected of me as a teacher of history. Nevertheless, there was still a degree of fear, anxiety and unpreparedness because I did not know what Daveyton Secondary School was like and whether the new teachers would be welcomed at the school. My first year of teaching was just survival and figuring out how things worked.

I thoroughly enjoyed my teaching at this school and I attribute much of my success to my Head of Department and mentor, Mr F Chonco. For me the first two years were very crucial, and especially teaching history, which is very strong on content. I learnt more about the subject and its content from my mentor than I did from the history lecturers at university. As a novice teacher, mentoring, proved most valuable as it provided me the support for the ideas and views that I wanted to initiate in my history classroom.

At the beginning teaching was very exciting, but very trying, especially since in my third year of teaching I was left in the deep end with a matric class because I was the only history teacher at the school at the time. As a new qualified teacher it is important that one gains the support and guidance of peers and colleagues at school. There is, therefore, a need for peer support and induction structures to be put in place at schools.

At the end of the first year of my teaching, the school management team organized a live-in workshop experience for the educators in which we discussed the new Curriculum 2005. We focused on organizing and designing curriculum programmes according to the principles of outcomes-based education. The course was held at a chalet. It proved to be a most enriching experience both personally and professionally. I found that we were discussing in a very relaxed atmosphere, the complex issues of the new learning areas in the new curriculum. There was no pressure of time constraints as we have in school. The various head of departments who attended were fully involved in the preparation of this entire two-day workshop and all of us were committed to making it a worthwhile experience.

We engaged in numerous games, design activities and presentations about curriculum development. The facilitator was able to demonstrate how learning can be both entertaining and educational. The weekend focused on developing learners' experiences with the change in the curriculum in a holistic way, integrating all four skills of reading, writing, speaking and listening.

We rummaged through several exemplars of curriculum projects of teachers who had designed materials to support teaching and learning within specific school environments. We spoke about what were our fears about the Outcomes-based Education programme, which we were about to embark on. Teachers offered each other support and advice about the issues they saw as problematic about school.

I found the experience enriching because it dealt with specific issues that were close to my heart at that time. Since we ate, partied and worked together for two full days, I felt that I got to more personally the people with whom I work as a team in the school. I also learnt further how to deal with people with different personalities. One of the major results of the weekend was that I was able to reconcile with one of my colleagues with whom I had a longstanding disagreement.

I left Johannesburg to take up a teaching post at the current school in KwaZulu-Natal. My teaching at this school is an exciting experience. I actually underwent a personality change. I became a very caring and understanding teacher and that was something that I was pleased with. I felt, in order to prepare our high school students for university, we really have to move from this spoon-feeding method. I'm trying to build confidence so that they can be proud.

Furthermore, teaching History at Jupiter Secondary is an exciting experience. The History curriculum adopted in Grades 8 and 9 are very fluid and dynamic. The teacher is allowed to "experiment" with new topics and teaching strategies. I enjoy teaching at this school and I have great admiration for the kind of support that I received from my principal, in allowing me the space and time to initiate new ideas. I find this very comforting because I always consider being a teacher a developmental craft, more especially because the learners are changing all the time.

The present curriculum is somewhat relevant and dated (Appendix M). It has changed in order to incorporate current issues such as politics of the world and current events with which we are confronted. However, it must be noted that many teachers seem to be using the same traditional methods of teaching based on a teacher-centred approach to teaching.

Resources are an important part of planning meaningful learning activities. I believe that there is a need for learners to be actively involved in the learning process. Due to financial constraints the school has only the basic teaching resources such as textbooks, a globe of the world, maps, poster and overhead projectors. Since most of the learners come from a lower income group, many of them are unable to purchase basic instruments required for map work and this makes teaching of this aspect difficult.

I believe that the large class sizes impacts negatively on the availability of resources, since often learners have to either share resources or do without them. In order to overcome this problem I arrange the learners into groups so that they could share the

resources within their groups. Large class sizes affected the quality of teaching because as a teacher you cannot concentrate on so many learners at the same time. In order to keep track of current events in education, I encourage learners to read the newspaper and to be aware of what is happening around them.

The school population is made up of diverse learners in terms of their ability and gender. I, therefore, encountered a problem with addressing the diversity because I have not been adequately trained to deal with multicultural learners in my class, which points to the gap between theory and practice in my training years. I think I've erred in that because I haven't adapted my style to the changing environment that we are placed in. I tend to do an 'across-the-board' lesson, so I think that I need to change my style of teaching to adapt to the new types of learners in terms of race and so on. I followed the criteria embedded in the official curriculum to a large extent and I am familiar with the contents of the curriculum.

There is very little changes made to the curriculum as such, with minor changes made to history content. Curriculum changes are necessary because we need more life skills; we need to make history something that you can use when you finish school. With the changing curriculum, my teaching methods are basically the same, except I feel more confident over the years and I have learnt how to incorporate learners into the lesson. I use the group method of teaching more often so that learners can become involved in class discussions.

My own experience resonates with the new approaches to teaching and I do not see the need for change in my teaching strategies. I am not worried about the fact that history loses its name in the new curriculum. It won't be called history but that doesn't matter to me at all. I don't mind whether it's been left out at all. I don't mind whether it actually gets called something else. I see substantial concepts being covered across the curriculum.

Some of the assessment techniques used include testing, assignment, and projects. The introduction of continuous assessment had brought in a whole new dimension to assessment. This method of assessment requires the child to be assessed on an ongoing basis throughout the year and therefore enabled the consistent learner to pass his grade well at the end of the year. This assessment strategy is a change in my pedagogical approach (Appendix O).

Although I initially resisted the whole idea of continuous assessment and Outcomes-based Education, the need to be "accountable and out of trouble" compelled me to read the documents. I've heard from a fairly good source that it's not working in New Zealand at the higher level. That's why they've thrown it out. They say it tends to work very well at the lower levels- it doesn't work at higher levels. Similarly, some Europeans OBE consultants were reported to have said in four years time you'll be back to the old system-it's not going to work. Continuous assessment was something I had been exposed to "when we were kids". I believe that these initiatives lend themselves to the professional growth of the teacher by way of encouraging them to become more committed and accountable. When properly managed it gives teachers self-confidence and the kids believe in their capacity to do things for themselves.

Although I tried to share with the other teachers my ideas for managing the Outcomes-based Education, Curriculum 2005 and continuous assessment, very few have expressed any "desire to change". I found collaborating with teachers from other neighbouring schools most helpful. When I experience problems in aspects of the history curriculum I called on Mrs Mkize for help, and now work collaboratively, at times sharing on teaching on our respective areas of expertise.

With the morale of teaching so low at this time, I wonder if teaching is ever going to be a success. I think motivation is one thing we all must have, and we must show the learners that we have the drive to get ahead, and I think with the changes taking place with Outcomes-based Education and Curriculum 2005; I believe that the style of teaching will change.

For History teaching to be successful, the curriculum needs to be more relevant to the current climate in South Africa. The Department of Education and Culture should assist schools by providing resources, which will enable learners to prepare for the future and to become technologically advanced. Basically the whole system has to be changed. In fact, I believe it has to be changed drastically in order to fulfill the needs of the oppressed people. The best way to fix education was to force the government to completely subsidize our education.

Anna can be seen as breaking free from the rigid stereotypes of work and family and thus testing out other ways of being and doing teacher. These moments through which teacher is redefined against the traditional static definitions of what teachers do are powerful. In these spaces meanings are created that have the potential to recast teachers' identities.

5.2.7 Conclusion

This section is a representation of the stories and provides the first level of analysis. It includes six life stories written in first person account. The purpose for the inclusion of the appendices within the text of the narratives was to provide visual and material references to issues that were highlighted within the story. If what I explored is limited to scratching the surface, it does provide the best way to break through to the second level of analysis. As can be expected, striking differences between participant responses did emerge, but some significant similarities were evident as well. This is presented in the next section.

SECTION 3: SECOND LEVEL ANALYSIS - THEMATIC GLIMPSES**5.3 Introduction**

In this section I will present the second level of analysis of the data collected during the research process. I choose to call the second level analysis, a thematic glimpse, arising from the thematic ensembles. This section also provides a cross-analysis and a synthesis of the key themes, which get fore-grounded about the process of learning and teaching history in the transitional context of post-apartheid South Africa and curriculum reform.

Having generated the individual narratives in Section 1 of this chapter, I faced the task of making sense of all of this. The challenge was, how to unbundle the data without losing their essence, identify significant themes and communicate these findings in a written document? I read across the individual research stories to identify themes. A system for coding and categorizing the data was developed. Through the use of highlighter pens, relevant passages, sentences, ideas and similar or conflicting categories were marked. Categories and ideas were collated and codified according to colours. As the process continued, themes began to emerge. Coding and categorizing is intuitive and is also informed by the researcher's metatheories and explicit theoretical frameworks (LeCompte & Priessle, 1993). This method of analysis is an iterative process of reading, reflection and examination of each transcript. The iterative process was continued after each new transcript became available. There was a constant refining process, moving backwards and forwards between the raw evidence of the transcript and the developing analyses. There was a need to go over data carefully and to allow for contemplation of the data, because there are possibilities for uncovering rich meaning of the participants' lives through the data.

The approach used to analyse and interpret data, falls within the 'hypothesis generating' side of the continuum (see figure 5.2). The collaborative-grounded analysis method

included inputs from the participants, research colleagues and myself in co-constructing the data. In this way there was a focus on the limits of the researcher's own interpretations and conceptualisations. I used a combination of a grounded analysis approach (data are not coded in terms of pre-determined categories, but from themes that emerge from the data) and two parallel processes of negotiation: one in collaboration with my peers and the other in collaboration with the research participants. I had decided on tentative themes, which I discussed, with my research colleagues and, in separate instances, with research participants.

The grounded approach helped me to focus on the meaning of the participants. In the grounded approach, categories are developed from the data itself without assumptions of what their significance may be. Through involving both the participants and a research colleague in the construction of themes (categories), to interpret and analyse the data, I not only strengthened the analysis themes, but also saw the value of knowledge building in teams.

I selected emergent themes from frequently voiced understandings and experiences as well as those that were exceptional, the often-overlooked voices. These developed into the themes within which I eventually grouped the responses. In developing these thematic ensembles, I was able to firstly shift my stance as narrator to another layer of making meaning in which I critically explore the effects of curriculum change on teacher identity.

The first emerging theme from the data involves *Time Periodization*. The primary purpose of this section is to provide an account of the participants who attended schools and began their respective teaching careers during different periods of South African socio-political history. In order to contextualise this theme, the participants' experiences are considered in relation to selected elements of the legislation and political history of South Africa. The empirical result is a historical description of education in South Africa, illustrated by the personal stories and professional experiences of the six practising history teachers.

The theme, *Curriculum Change* looks at the impact that educational policies and curriculum initiatives have on pedagogical practices of teachers in the post-apartheid era. The next theme relates to identity in *Teacher Professional / Personal Identity*. In this section, I discuss how role-models, contextual and biographical heritages have an enduring presence in shaping how the participants develop a sense of what it means to be or become a teacher of history. Further, this theme examines how history is 'experienced' by the participants as a scholar in their primary and secondary schooling; as a student in their teacher preparation institutions and as a teacher in their school contexts within which they practise.

5.3.1 Time Periodization: Sands of Time

The primary purpose of the present theme is to provide a more personalised and narrative account of what it has meant to be educated as a student and to work as a teacher during different periods of South African socio-political history. Since the narrative description obtained from the teachers follow a chronological scheme, the presentation of results in this section is initiated by considering first the interview findings and related political events for the veteran and middle career teachers. The discussion of their experience remains the focus until the early 1980s. At the point in the narrative description, the experiences of the novice teachers are introduced. From about 1980s onward, the experiences of all three categories of history teachers are discussed in a parallel fashion. Consequently, the reflections on selected political happenings (e.g., Soweto school protest) are often presented in the form of a dialogue whereby the sometimes - disparate perspectives of the history teachers from different generations are integrated with historical information to describe education under various time periods (Molteno, 1984).

There is a substantial body of writing that described the nature and origin of apartheid and its effects on education. Most notably, the South African Institute of Race Relations has produced annual reports that have provided statistical information about *per capita* spending, student to teacher ratios and other resource allocation issues since 1935. The same reports have offered brief reviews of the curricular revisions, policy developments,

and political activities that have affected schools in South Africa. Other writers have given attention to the historical background of segregated schooling in South Africa (e.g., Cross & Chisholm, 1990; Hartshorne, 1992; Molteno, 1984), teacher resistance (e.g., Hyslop, 1990) and the political involvement of students (e.g., Naidoo, 1990). Thoughtful analysis of certain features of South African society have demonstrated how the racist ideals associated with apartheid have been perpetuated and protected in educational settings and in society in general (e.g., Dube, 1985). More recently, the implications of post-structuralism have been explored for teacher training in South Africa (see Macleod, 1995). Overall, the research cited above provides a comprehensive analysis of the material conditions, social circumstances and historical origins of apartheid and education.

Most of the research has produced reports that address macro level issues related to policy initiatives, fiscal inequalities, structural aspects and societal complexities of apartheid education. One shortcoming of much of the research on South African education is that while it has offered descriptions of schools, teachers, and students, the style of presentation is somewhat depersonalised. Because of the long-standing political oppression in South Africa, it is important to understand the experiences and to hear the voices of those who were long silenced by legislative mandate and social sanctions against free expression. One example of the type of research that serves this interest can be found in *"The Implementation and Response to Bantu Education 1954-76"* (Diseko, 1990), in which the author made selective use of interview transcripts to highlight the views and experiences of individuals involved in political struggles in educational contexts. Earlier, in *"The Hearts and Minds of the People"*, Maree (1984) made use of student essays to describe problems in the education of Black South Africans. It is clear that the research of this variety can provide important insights into the everyday lives of students and teachers who have suffered the consequences of apartheid rule.

In order to accomplish this objective, a life history approach (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990) was combined with an archival review (Hill, 1993; Peltó & Peltó, 1978) to construct a narrative account of selected aspects of the education provided for South

Africans. Because of the long-standing political oppression of South Africa's Black population, it was considered important to develop such a record by listening to the voices of individuals who, as students, endured poor educational conditions only to find themselves, as teachers, practising under circumstances that were largely unchanged.

The decision to use life histories to elicit voiced, individualised responses can be justified both epistemologically in relation to the importance of personalised or local forms of knowledge (Lyotard, 1984), and methodologically in relation to the practical potential associated with narrative forms of data (see Casey, 1996; Gitlin, 1990). Within the life history approach, interview data were obtained from six history teachers, who attended schools and began their respective teaching careers during different periods of South Africa's socio-political history. In order to contextualise the findings, the participants' experiences were considered in relation to selected elements of the legislative and political history of South Africa.

The archival review relied on the year of annual reports published by the South African Institute of Race Relations. Within the archival review, legislative reports, extant historical records and critical commentaries were used to develop a general description of the recent history of apartheid. The overall objective of the archival review was to identify key government actions and social reactions associated with apartheid, particularly those happening that many have affected education.

Using a life history methodology, combined with an archival review, I developed a chronological record of selected aspects of the education provided for South Africa for a period of approximately forty-eight years (see table 5.1). The selection of the particular time frame examined, 1952-2004, was based on the fact that the beginning point marks the initiation of an aggressive and sustained campaign to entrench apartheid in South African law and society. The end point represents the dissolution of formal government policy that supported apartheid rule and signalled a democratic Africa.

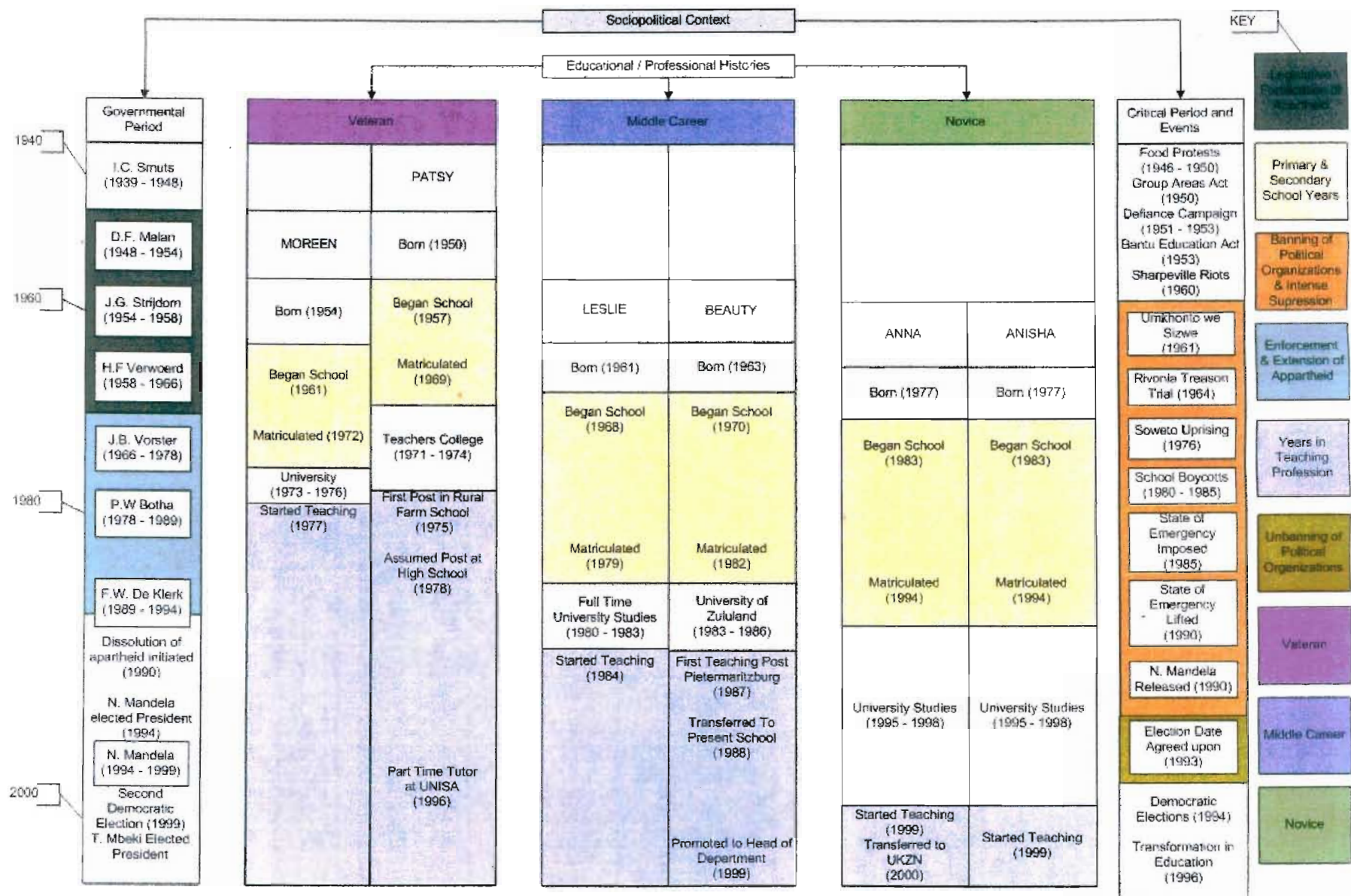


Figure 5.1

The Educational / Professional Histories of Six Teachers within the Sociopolitical Context of South African Society: 1940 - 2000

The figure 5.1 on the opposite page titled ‘The Educational / Professional Histories of Six Teachers within the Socio-political Context of South African Society’ conveys important chronological markers within the archival data and within the life histories which were identified. For the archival data, the aim was to establish a general ‘socio-political context’ for the study. For the life history data, the objective was to generate ‘educational histories’ by identifying key events and periods of obvious importance (e.g., interruptions in schooling, graduations, career transitions). Le-Compte & Priessle (1993) has termed this stage of analysis as ‘typological analysis’.

Each of the separate case studies deserves a full typological analysis. Unfortunately, I shall for the sake of brevity and space, only highlight issues pertaining to the educational and professional histories of the veteran, middle career and the novice history teachers, occasionally referring to individual participants.

Many of the educational experiences and professional activities of the veteran, middle career and novice history teachers varied considerably. Additionally, the parts of history they did share coincided with different phases of their respective educational careers. The relevance of these distinctions becomes apparent when one examines the lives of these teachers in the context of the series of governmental periods and social reactions that have occurred over the last four decades. However, each category of participants had been educated under different historical conditions and each was exposed to a different set of political circumstances. Given these differences, it was expected that the range of schooling experiences, professional development and personal reflections introduced by these teachers would provide a poignant and diverse set of illustrations of how apartheid affected the educational lives of Black South Africans. The table also conveys the basic information about the national leadership (Governmental Period) and the important social reactions (Critical Period and Events) that correspond with the educational histories of the teachers. A general analysis of historical context demonstrates how these teachers, representing a different generation, experienced different aspects of apartheid.

Following the election of D.F. Malan in 1948, the National Party reached its peak of authoritarian power and racial domination. Although the previous government, under the leadership of Jan Smuts and the United Party, had certainly contributed to the development of apartheid, the election of Malan marked a turning point in the history of South Africa. Beginning in 1948, both the legislative framework and the administrative infrastructure for apartheid were more fully developed. While there were a number of strong anti-government movements, such as the Defiance Campaign against the Pass Laws during the early 1950s, most anti-government actions were rendered ineffective by brutal police action and sustained military presence.

The Pass Laws required individuals to carry and display on demand by police, documents verifying racial identity. Thus, Moreen's and Patsy's years as young students can be characterized by a climate of increasing oppression. From 1954 to 1958 the government of J.G. Strydom worked ardently to accomplish the objectives of 'residential apartheid' as stipulated in the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Kallaway, 1997). Strydom also worked to establish "a cultural apartheid" through the State aided Institutions Act of 1957, a law that permitted the government to enforce segregation in libraries and at cultural events. By the end of the 1950s, the election of H. F. Verwoerd signalled the government's deepening commitment to the development of apartheid. As the veteran teachers began their careers as teachers of history in the 1970s, South Africa had entered a period of intensified political oppression.

In 1963, the year Beauty was born, apartheid was firmly rooted in South African society, both legislatively and socially. The geographical separation of racial groups, a key part of the development of apartheid, was the first element of legislation enacted under the newly elected National Party. The Group Areas Act of 1950 stated that the people of certain races were legally prohibited from residing in certain areas. She described her early schooling in the following manner:

'I recall having a varied primary school experience where I attended three different schools. During this time the apartheid government implemented the Group Areas Act

(1950). During this period many families, including my own were forced to leave their former places of residence and move to other areas set aside for the different racial groups. Foremost in my mind was the fact that I have to be constantly on the move and thus the forces of location and relocation became significant in my life influenced my teaching in history.'

Moreen experienced similar events in her early years of her life:

'We were still very much settled living in and around Mayville. There was no segregation ... that came about in the [middle] fifties or so. So at that time, I was still living amongst the Indian areas and grew up amongst the Indians and had friends there. Two years after I began school. My family was finally forced to move from Mayville to Austerville, an area established as a Coloured suburb outside Durban. So from Austerville I started Standard one. Now I attended a pure Coloured school.'

The changes the veteran and middle career teachers experienced during the early years of their education were strongly affected by the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which assured that the schooling of Black South Africans would be inferior to the schooling of other racial groups. The Minister for Bantu Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd, who became Prime Minister in 1958, argued strenuously for a separate educational system for Black South Africans. One of the guidelines of Bantu Education specified that instruction had to be offered in the mother tongue. As a result many of them had to cope with three different languages of instruction (Afrikaans, English, Zulu or Xhosa) during their first years of school.

By 1970s, the veteran and middle career teachers entered high school; the grips of apartheid had begun to tighten under the leadership of Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd. The man whom many consider the 'architect of apartheid' dedicated much effort to building a legislative infrastructure both to support the racist ideology of apartheid and to suppress anti-government actions that may have threatened the viability of enforcing the laws of apartheid across the nation (Molteno, 1987). Despite the government's vicious

attempts to suppress anti-government activity, there were periods of political protest against the government during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Moreen reflects on some of this activity and provides her analysis of why it occurred:

'I went to secondary school in 1968. It's now the sixties – just at the time of the Poqo. Poqo refers to a period during the early 1960's when intense government suppression faced the creation of a number of underground antigovernment movements. We have got an era here. It's called Poqo. We can also call it one of the very great moments in the liberation movement ... we remember that Poqo era, a very terrible time when things were being burned. Our school was also burned.'

During Patsy's four years at the training college, the country was reasonably quiet, mainly as the result of a heavy police presence in the Black townships. The government possessed both the legislative powers and the means of enforcement to prevent or quell any disturbance Patsy remembers that:

'The whole of the seventies seemed as if everything was normal, everything was just suppressed. The government was going on as it wished'.

Patsy completed teacher training college at the end of 1974. Her first position was in a rural school, a considerable distance from her home. In the following interview excerpt Patsy described the basic conditions of the school:

'The school was very meagerly. It was a shack made up of corrugated iron but quite strong corrugated iron. All the houses around there were also shacks. The windows would be creaking and banging in the wind. The partition inside was also made of a kind of thin board. The two classrooms were just one big room divided into two. We had that ply board. When that noise got out, this side could hear the other side. Sometimes there were music activities taking place so the teacher would decide, okay we're going to do our music outside!'

The period between January 1975 and May 1976 was a stable period of Patsy's career. She felt secure in her position and believed that she had a chance to 'settle into' her teaching. She became more confident and indicated that her sense of caring for students grew steadily during this reasonably uneventful stage of her career. In June 1976, approximately one and half years after her career as a teacher had begun; the nature of her professional work underwent a series of profound changes. Following the Soweto uprising, during June of that year, civil unrest in schools changed almost all aspects of education and every day life across South Africa.

Eldest among three children, Anna was born in 1977 in Soweto, an African township just outside Johannesburg. Anna's recollections about her primary schooling were focused mainly on the school principal and on the teaching and learning styles:

'I look back with nostalgia because I recall my primary school days as being very exciting and interesting. This I believe was due to a very influential school principal that I had at the time. The approach to history teaching at primary school was basically rote learning. Even for exams they said learn this and learn that. That's how I recall history taught at primary school.'

Anna's recollections about her secondary schooling were focused on her experiences in Soweto. The Soweto uprising, which occurred one year before Anna was born, marked a personal turning point for Anna. In June 1976 student protest was organized to voice disapproval of the government's new requirement to designate Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in all Black schools. The police met the students' protest with violent action and a number of students were killed. Anna discussed how her developing political awareness was affected by the Soweto uprising of 1976:

'I attended Jabavu High School in Soweto. This school was a forefront for the Soweto riots of 1976. Many pupils from this school played a significant role in the pupil boycotts of 1976. Jabavu Secondary is steeped in pupil resistance politics and history is a popular subject at school.'

The events of 1976 made an indelible mark on the mind of Anna. From a socio-political perspective, the student uprisings symbolised a new period in the history of South Africa. Cross & Chisholm (1990) argued that the revolt of 1976 was the first sign that the educational terrain was to become a more important site of struggle than it had hitherto been and that the youth were to play an important part of the emergence of organized opposition. Similarly, Kallaway (1986) claimed, 'the upsurge of student power marked the beginning of a new era of resistance to apartheid'.

Around the time of the Soweto uprising, Patsy had been teaching for more than a year. Prior to 1976, Patsy had a limited amount of direct contact with the turmoil in her role as a teacher. After the events of Soweto, she described the disruption and violence that descended on the primary school where she was teaching at the time. Her response as a teacher provides an interesting contrast with Anna's views:

'At the primary school, the children could not understand what was going on. As soon as things started getting worse, I started getting mad with the student activists because they were so militant that they would send groups of them to all different schools and these kids were very scared. That was really bad for us in the primary school – we just couldn't bear that kind of sight.'

By the middle of the 1980s a strong and more unified protest movement had developed and operated according to the slogan 'liberation before education'. As Beauty said: '*...they were always the same things, they were boycotting for books, classrooms and the teachers.*' Although students were fairly unified in their decision to protest, there remained a small minority of students who defied the call for "liberation for education". Those students who tried to attend classes regularly were often subject to threats and violent actions by the protestors. At the time, Patsy was teaching at a high school where conflict of this existed:

'It was terrible seeing these children fighting with each other. Among the children there would be that groups who would like to go to school and learn and there would be that

group who would like to go for the political aspect of it. That's where the clashes came in – on the school grounds and in the classrooms while you were teaching'.

Approximately two years after Beauty began teaching, in the latter half of 1989, Botha, State President who had held firmly to the essential policies of apartheid, was replaced by F. W. de Klerk. On de Klerk's initiative, all of the restrictive apartheid laws were expunged from the legislative books.

Anna and Anisha began their careers as history teachers in the year Nelson Mandela was succeeded by Thabo Mbeki as the President of South Africa. At the beginning of her first year of teaching, Anisha felt quite optimistic, both politically and educationally. However, she soon began to question the utility of her university education:

'A normal class is 48 students. All of them sitting there. Here there is a desk and then here is another desk – they are really overcrowded. You know I felt the kind of theory, which we were being taught at the University, it doesn't apply when you get in front of the class.'

Anna described her first year of teaching as *'just survival and figuring out how things worked.'* During her second year, she felt more confident and decided to alter her style of teaching. In the following interview excerpt Anna explains some of her ideas:

'I felt, in order to prepare our high school students for university, we really have to move away from this spoon-feeding method. I'm trying to build confidence so that they can be proud.'

The process of liberation initiated by de Klerk was set in full motion by the eventual election of Nelson Mandela as State President in 1994. As examples of two different political perspectives, Moreen and Anna expressed different views about the future of South Africa. Where Moreen assumed a posture of reconciliation, Anna expressed a justifiable distrust of a White presence in South Africa's new government which led her

to adopt a revisionist position. From a political perspective, Moreen considered herself a 'moderate'. Her hopes for non-violent change were apparently realised by her observations of how political change had occurred in South Africa:

'You know to me the most important thing which really affects me very much or even makes me feel that I would just as soon leave teaching is the feeling that I have for children. My feeling to watch children being destroyed really hurts me a lot.'

Anna's ideas about change were linked to broad political reform:

'Basically the whole system has to be changed. In fact, I believe it has to be changed drastically in order to fulfill the needs of the oppressed people. The best way to fix education was to force the government to completely subsidize our education.'

The collection of experience, emotions and coping strategies reported by the veteran, middle career and novice teachers, combined with historical evidence, was meant to provide a glimpse into the way in which education in South Africa was manifested in the individual lives of these teachers. The conclusion of historical information provided the canvas on which a portrait of education in South Africa could be sketched. The second theme focuses on regarding their perceptions of and responses to curriculum change in post-apartheid South Africa as well as their perceptions for teachers to teach history content within an integrated framework.

5.3.2 Curriculum Change : Joys, Tears and Strains

The implementation of Curriculum 2005 and Outcomes-based Education within the South African education system was posing a considerable challenge to history teachers and teacher educators. Many fears were expressed that the place of history in the school curriculum is under severe threat and that much more than the name 'history' will be lost as history content is fragmented across different learning areas (Leggasick, 2001).

Regardless of the problems facing history teachers and teacher educators or their feelings about Curriculum 2005 and OBE, future teachers are going to have to be trained to teach within the new learning areas. Accordingly, history teachers occupy an important strategic position and will play an important role in determining the future of the subject and how it is taught in South African Schools. How do history teacher educators feel about the introduction of Curriculum 2005 and OBE? How do they perceive the place of history within the new curriculum? How do they intend to train teachers within the learning areas framework? How do they perceive the future of history education in South African universities and schools?

This section attempts to answer some of these questions presenting ‘voices’ from stories with six history teachers regarding their perceptions of and responses to curriculum change in post apartheid South Africa as well as their perceptions for teachers to teach history content within an integrated framework.

Some participants were less than impressed with the planning process, which gave rise to the adoption of Curriculum 2005 and with the motivation behind the changes. The planning process was seen to be ‘top down’ with little meaningful consultation occurring between planners and the education community – the process was not transparent. This is illustrated by the following observation made by Leslie:

‘I don’t think that the input was as democratic as people claim at the top. What I experienced (was that) the document would come to us for discussion and that document would have been accepted already at top-level structures, so we were used to always be one phase behind. We were told, ‘your inputs are crucial’, but then the next document would come and the document that we were busy discussing had been finalized already and people got fed up. People got tired of that kind of process.’

Due to the perceived inadequacies in the planning process as illustrated above, it is very clear that Leslie is not satisfied with, or supportive of, the changes proposed in Curriculum 2005. The following comments illustrate this:

'The goals and approaches of Curriculum 2005 were evidently to counteract the emphasis on rote learning and Christian National Education which existed in many schools. From my point of view, in attempting to do this, they overreacted. They tried to change the old system so completely that knowledge of the past was widely regarded as unimportant by many teachers. OBE is a very idealistic, complex system, which requires high levels of skill and competence, which many of our teachers do not have. It purports to be flexible but was presented in a very rigid way, demanding an enormous amount of energy and time from teachers whose workload are already excessive.'

In the following excerpts from the novice, Anisha comments that a number of teacher educators express concern regarding the value and effectiveness of the Outcomes-based learning approach itself:

'Due to the confusion in OBE, many history teachers seem to be using the same traditional methods of teaching based on a teacher-centred approach to teaching were concepts are merely defined, and there is very little evidence of pupil participation. It's not been well thought out and we need to see this as a number of stepping-stones. Anyone (who thinks) that by 2005 we will have a new curriculum that does all the things it says right now is bordering on lunacy really.'

Moreen, for example, had heard stories about other countries abandoning the OBE approach and wished to find out *'Why have they thrown it out? Why haven't we learnt from them?'* Anna comments that:

'I've heard from a fairly good source that it's not working in New Zealand at the higher level. That's why they've thrown it out. They say it tends to work very well at lower levels – it doesn't work at higher levels. Similarly, some Europeans OBE consultants were reported to have said that in four years time you'll be back to the old system – it's not going to work.'

It was interesting, that when probed, Moreen felt that the insurmountable problems facing the implementation of curriculum change will soon be clearly exposed and the government will reconsider its decisions and revert to the old system. As she remarked, *'I see that somewhere or other, somebody is going to say, right listen, we made a mistake, let's change it. Yes we made a mistake. We should have read the lesson that came out from other countries. There are already people that are saying, and I'm talking about people here that are right up in the committees for Curriculum 2005, that this is going to hit the wall and it's all going to have to change and reorganize and we're going to have to reconstitute and look at other ways.'*

In reaction to the above extract, it is interesting to note that the National Department of Education appointed Curriculum 2005 review committee under Professor Linda Chisholm to streamline and to work around the problems experienced by educators. The end product was a revised curriculum aptly named Revised National Curriculum Statement.

Some participants spent much of the time discussing their perceptions and concerns regarding the loss of the name 'history' in the school curriculum, the integration of the subject with other disciplines, the split of the subject into different learning areas, time constraints, how history content is likely to be taught in schools, examination implications and the predictions for history in the Grade 10 – 12 curriculum.

Beauty is worried about the fact that history is losing its name in the new curriculum. She feels *'very much under threat'* and equates the loss of the name with the loss of the subject's power and position in school education – the teachers fear that subject is *'going to lose its identity'*. As Beauty stated in relation to the name loss:

'Now that is the big stumbling block for many of us at the moment as we're very, very scared that the discipline will get lost and then it becomes such a hazy mish mash of everything. There is concern about the inclusion of history curriculum into the Human and Social Sciences since a lot of the content matter will also change together with the

teaching styles. Geography, which is regarded as natural science is also included in the Human and Social Science learning area.'

However, Anna, although clearly in the majority, was not as pessimistic and felt that as long as the content of history remained the same, the name loss was of secondary importance. As Anna remarked:

'It won't be called history but that doesn't matter to me at all. I don't mind whether it's been left out at all. I don't mind whether it actually gets called something else. I see substantial concepts being covered across the curriculum.'

Major concern of Anisha is that Curriculum 2005 will lead to a decrease in the time allocation to what is traditionally history education in the schools. Such an outcome reinforces the views that history education is being de-valued by the planners of Curriculum 2005. She feels that this problem as it affects both the quality and quantity of what is taught:

'Well I can only go on what is happening at the moment in the schools – the time has been cut down for History and Geography to one hour per week. It used to be 90 minutes a week and it's now down to 60 and I think in some schools that's even further reduced to give more accent to other areas. It's going to be much more wasted down.'

Despite these fears, Leslie expected that teachers would continue in much the same way as they do now. For instance, it would be possible for schools to teach history and geography as separate entities rather than integrate them under the heading of Human and Social Sciences. This is logical as most teachers in the schools have only been trained in one of the disciplines and have not been taught how to integrate them. Accordingly, it is expected that:

'If they (teachers) are particularly enthusiastic and keen on history, then I think they're going to highlight the historical aspects of this, perhaps to the detriment of the other side,

particularly if, like me, they have not got a geographical background. A teacher whose strengths isn't history for instance will just forget about it and it will just lose out of it doesn't have to be taught as an essential section of work. But somebody who's more into geography will just ignore it.'

It is thus feared that someone who has been trained in history will basically go through the new syllabus and teach all the history content areas and largely ignore the geography. Conversely, teachers who have majored in geography will teach a lot of geography and little history. Teacher actions in this regard will be pragmatic as they struggle to implement a new curriculum that they neither understand nor necessarily agree with. As Anisha commented when asked whether teachers supported the new curriculum changes:

'I think no. My sense is that they're not supporting it at all because they've been bombarded with a whole lot of new literature and concepts in education. They've got to learn a new language and if you look at outcomes based education, these words like outcomes, generic outcomes, specific outcomes, performance indicators, assessment criteria – how are they going to get familiar with those concepts, for one and secondly, who's going to demonstrate how to use and implement these concepts.'

As well as the difficulties involved in resourcing and preparing teachers to implement the changes proposed in Curriculum 2005, a number of participants expressed concern regarding the value and effectiveness of the Outcomes-based learning approach itself. As Patsy remarked:

'At times, these resources are inadequate at school due to a lack of funds to purchase teaching aids. The lack of resources impacts on learner's performance in schools.'

Beauty shares similar views about the lack of resources in the classroom:

'I believe that the lack of such basic necessities (resources) can not 'make magic happen in the classroom' and therefore the lack of resources does impact on learners'

performance. Teaching the new curriculum becomes a nightmare and a serious challenge for teachers. Therefore, resources play an important role, especially in allowing the teacher to have variety in their teaching. I feel sorrow for those schools that have very little resources. I can only admire those teachers who have to try and motivate their learners day after day with little resources to aid them.'

It is evident from the responses above that resources are very important for effective implementation of the new curriculum. On the other hand, it is clear that certain participants display contradictory ideas of curriculum change. Beauty constructs curriculum change as an important goal for education in South Africa and she carries this view throughout the discussion. Later she states:

'I think that OBE has given every teacher a new kind of experience, go out and experiment, go out and mess your hands. It's trial and error challenges are good if you are prepared to be a contributor. I am prepared for the challenges that confront me and I have adopted a positive attitude towards these changes in education, and more especially in the changing context of the history curriculum.'

Patsy shared the similar view:

'This new curriculum structure allows teachers more flexibility and freedom of choice.'

As it can be expected, participants placed immense value on assessment in the new curriculum. As Patsy mentioned:

'I am not comfortable with the old questioning methods because it did not allow for understanding the purpose of the information that was taught.'

However, Beauty and Leslie share different views on assessment in the curriculum. Beauty remarked that:

'I regard this method of assessment (continuous) as being a complete shift from the previous methods of assessment that focused on examination and tests only. I believe that the assessment method presently being used caters for various aspects of the learners ability and I regard this as being as more holistic approach.'

Leslie points out:

'I find the bureaucracy and time involved in the latest assessment techniques very onerous. The number of times I see my junior classes in a cycle makes it difficult to know them all well enough to assess them according to so many different criteria. The theory is good but in practice the burden is enormous.'

Drawing on Leslie's comment, it can be suggested that the primary strategy adopted by her is one of strategic mimicry (Fuller, 1991) which is an attempt to 'look competent'. The strategy adopted by Leslie is an attempt to engage with a policy system that is not aligned with her practice. The concept of mimicry as a strategy is applied to South African education policy in transition, with the observation that the state must "mimic the tools and means of policy implementation borrowed from the western state [or run] the risk of not looking modern" (Chisholm & Fuller, 1996:698). Policy documents claim that these important western ideals (meant to ensure South Africa's competitiveness in a global information economy) are integrated with local ideals of social justice and democracy, on the assumption that 'you can't have one without the other'.

Although the participants felt that they have lost the battle for history to remain a subject in its own right on the primary phases, they are taking a pragmatic yet positive approach to the impact of Curriculum 2005. They are trying *'to get them involved in this new way of thinking and new way of doing'*. They are still loyal to the cause of history and will attempt *'to promote history because the values of history and the possibilities of history and the contribution of history is still there. It hasn't been cut out. It's still there. We must just put it back into place and integrate it with other subjects.'*

In the next theme, attention was given to contextual and biographical forces shaping the participant's identity as a teacher of history.

5.3.3 Teacher Professional Personal Identity: Dialogical Tension

In this section, I discuss how contextual and biographical heritages have an enduring presence in shaping how the participants developed a sense of what it means to be or become a teacher of history. I have borrowed the analogy of a force field presented by Samuel (1998) to indicate the varied forces competing for influence over the teachers' identity formation. The conception of a 'force' needs to be explored. It is perhaps erroneous to regard the participants merely as being at the mercy of forces, which exist externally. This would slide into seeing the participants as passive recipients of the system. I believe that this research study shows that the participants emerge into this complex force field with a large amount of 'inertial forces' or 'the apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1975). These inertial forces arise from the rich biographical experiences they have inherited from past schooling and learning environments. The forces being exerted within the force field originated from both within the teachers themselves as well as from the external environment of the teacher preparation programme and the school contexts within which they conduct their teaching practicum (Samuel, 2000).

The internal forces are constituted by the biographical heritage accumulated from the years of experience of the learning and teaching of history gleaned during their formative years in their homes, community and schooling. The external forces (contextual forces) are constituted by the quality of curriculum that is experienced during their teacher preparation programme: both in the teacher education constitution and the school context.

Participants placed within the field of these competing influential forces begin defining their identities in relation to biographical history and individual personality, as well as in relation to the institutional biographical culture within which they are placed to learn about and practise history teaching. In a similar vein, Casey (1995) argues that teachers

develop their understanding of their role and identity as teachers through the lens of their personal and experiential biographies. Within rapidly changing educational, social and political contexts, the forces themselves are not always aligned in the same direction. Each individual force has its own rationale and potential power to influence the teacher. Contradictory messages are being offered to the developing teachers. This arises partly because the agents of these forces are individuals who, within a changing context, are themselves being pulled by several different forces. Forming an identity that is coherent and stable is not always possible. It is this possibility that the participants may offer contradictory signals in what they profess (say), practise (do) and ponder (believe), since they are likely to be influenced by particular forces constraining them to dialogue in a particular manner in particular context.

The important fact that the experiences of teachers in South Africa are different, contradictory and complex needs to be considered in our account of teachers' identities. The purpose of this section is to open up the category so that teachers comprehend the other identity categories for our understanding of the complex set of interrelationships that exist across other identity categories, for example, race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity in specific socio-cultural contexts. Such specificities are important to consider in order to understand how they have constrained as well as enabled teachers to effectively intervene in the process of curriculum transformation.

Apartheid education, as a framework, has impacted on the making of a teacher. It is impossible to understand the making of teacher (identity) without understanding 'forces' (Samuel, 1998) that is constitutive to teachers' identities. In post-structural theories, identity (teacher) is presumed to be created in the ongoing effects of relations and in response to society's codes. Pillay (2003) adds that the process of identity-construction is one upon which the contradictions and dispositions of the surrounding socio-political environment have a powerful impact.

The structure of the discussion:

- I examined the forming of *self/teacher identity trajectories over time*. Therefore I have arranged the analysis *chronologically* to trace how self/teacher identities form over time through two time windows, viz., school years and post school years
- Within each time period the *forces* shaping self/teacher identity are discussed. The forces are:
 - Broad socio-cultural forces including political forces, socio discourses and value systems
 - Social contextual forces influenced by their teacher preparation programme both in the teacher education institution and the school context
 - Biographical / Individual forces which include the immediate home, school and community

Although these ‘forces’ have been separated into socio-cultural, contextual and biographical / individual, these divisions are artificial. The forces are interlinked. I therefore combine the influence of these forces on self/teacher identity formation to achieve configurative understanding for each of the participants below.

5.3.3.1 Leslie: Advantaged Context

Growing up in a middle-to-upper-class neighbourhood in Gauteng provided Leslie with a particular orientation to the meaning of success and wealth, crucial signifiers of class and elitist forces that have shaped and continue to shape her varied and contradictory subject positionings.

Being of middle-class background marked out the territory where pleasures, status and vocation circulated in close proximity to a life of success and wealth. She was separated, cocooned, protected and unaware of the ‘false realities’ within which her stability existed. Born in the early 1960s, and attending a whites only school till the late 1970s, she was never aware of the crisis within the apartheid regime, which her African contemporaries struggled with outside this false reality. The new transformation process in education /

curriculum she explained made very little difference to her and her position as teacher. She says: *'Curriculum 2005 was not such a major change for me.'*

As a young girl, Leslie explained how Miss Veal, her grade seven history teacher has made her feel special at school. In this construction she described: *'Mrs Veal cared about me ...I learnt from her that there must be some environment that should exist for teaching and learning to occur and it's interesting for me when I talk about this because these values stayed in my mind for a long time.'* Leslie's favourite teacher *'was an eccentric man by the name of Mr West. He was incredibly knowledgeable and also passionate about History.'* According to Leslie, how history was taught and learnt varied in her high school years. The teaching styles adopted by Mr. West and Mrs. Havenga varied considerably.

In the case of Mr. West *'no rote learning questions at all. We did lots of research on our own and I really believe that he, more than any of my teachers, prepared me for university.'* On the other hand Mrs. Havenga *'made us read the textbooks, underline key facts ad make notes'.*

The history curriculum taught at university *'lacked flexibility and choice for the student.'* Yet at school as a history teacher *'we were not compelled to adopt a pro-government, nationalist viewpoint and many history teachers I known were openly critical of that type of propaganda.'* Hence' there is clear evidence of change between tertiary education and school history. Further, Leslie acknowledges her advantaged context and the use of such a context. For example, the approaches of the history curriculum prior to pre-democracy (1994) were skills-based. Leslie was able to effectively intervene in the process of curriculum transformation. The change was easy and less traumatic. She was used to this practice *'Curriculum 2005 was not such a major change for me ... what I did do had always been skills base. I haven't really experienced difficulties as such, but we have had less adaptation to do than many other teachers.'*

Leslie's advantaged context have helped shape her teacher identity formation because the new transformation process in education made very little difference to her and the change was less traumatic for her than for the other participants.

5.3.3.2 Moreen: Thirst for Identity

Austerville, a residential area for Coloured people in KwaZulu-Natal, was a place / space that brought Moreen immense pain, embarrassment and powerlessness. Her reference to some of the critical incidents when 'being Coloured' opened their lives to inalterable injustice to the heart and mind, assisted me in making sense of the kinds of relationship and practices that she invested in and the meaning she cultivates in such spaces.

Life as a Coloured trapped her in a Coloured culture and placed her in a racially segregated township. Exiled in her own land, her personal history is also reflective of the intersection with the broader cultural, political and ideological climate in South Africa. Both her challenges and choices reflect the impact of the apartheid legacy on her ways of knowing and being. Moreen confided, *'Now I attended a pure Coloured school.'*

As a teenager living in a racially segregated country, she remembers their daily lives marked by barriers as a hierarchical power-based relationship between 'Black' and the 'White' population groupings. No matter how hard they tried to live 'normally' in their country, it was the White people that had alienated Moreen from life. It was only through the policy of apartheid, that their racial status as Coloured was affirmed. She reminisced:

'My family was finally forced to move from Mayville to Austerville, an area established as a Coloured suburb outside Durban.'

In trying to acquire a more positive orientation to who she is, she constantly positions herself in relation to people, who have shared the same experiences, to have strength and to strive to fight against the atrocities of apartheid. She described Mrs. Roberts whom she admired endearingly:

'She was my favourite teacher in school. She was a "fighter" in the apartheid era. She fought for the freedom of African people and she brought that stance into the classroom and that strengthened my attitude towards life.'

In renegotiating her life as a learner, Moreen positions herself relationally to people and to subjects that gave meaning to her life. She identified Mrs Roberts, her history teacher as 'her mentor' not only because of the subject she taught, but spaces affirmed in positive ways. In these moments are spaces that open up that make her visible in the real world within public spaces in which she could question, challenge and disrupt the unnatural barriers that imprisoned her (Pillay, 2003).

Moreen invests in her ability to resist and disrupt the prejudice and her resistance is enabled through self-knowledge, the desire to *'improve, to prove that I could achieve and do better. I had to prove that I was good.'* In this way she claims and confirms power for herself as Coloured with the capacity to question. These prejudicial, oppressive barriers that worked against Coloured people are not fixed but dynamic and open to change.

Moreen's determination to renegotiate her identity altered her despair and sense of disconnectedness to one of hope. *'What I learned from her was to go the extra mile'*, highlights the special significance of her history teacher in her personal life/world. Mrs Roberts's strength, love and caring for Moreen positions her with possibilities, to not fear visibility, not to 'play down' her difference and selfhood (Witherell and Noddings, 1991).

While the choice to become a teacher was decided from her young age, *'from small I used to admire the teachers in my area... I used to walk like those teachers...so proud of wanting to become a teacher'*, it came as no surprise when she chose to major in history. *'History is real, I loved it. Teaching history is what brings out the best in me'*, she emphasized. This subject discipline offers her the space to explore the magic of creation, the uniqueness of life and the beauty of living. History gave meaning to her life. It also assisted her to make sense of her fixed homogeneous identity. History provided her with the space to negotiate her historical identity. She explained, *'I enjoyed having to go out to*

teach and speak about history'. Engaging such discourses, Moreen is able to create the spaces to resist and break old patterns of knowing and being. When she describes her experiences as a history teacher she reinforces her connectedness with the subject as a space where she can think, feel and act in ways that empower her. History affirms her; it makes her more active and productive. She explains: '*...the impact of Curriculum 2005 has changed the teaching of history in the classroom. Greater emphasis is placed on democracy and human rights, which was non-existent prior to 1994*'.

In this shifting, ongoing and changing curriculum, Moreen expresses her struggle: '*The more I try to put my finger on the pulse, there is something else coming from the Department of Education and office.*'

Blurring the personal / professional identity relation is a continuous challenge. In this fluid state, discourses enable and constrain her.

5.3.3.3 Beauty: Spin Doctor

Clearly in Beauty's telling of her life and her choice to become a history teacher, the relations she creates in this position have been based on the racial structures of apartheid. The continued seeking out for practices that reveals her desire to be a teacher who can 'connect' with the learners in a way that makes her desirable and that can evoke in them a desire to progress, is prompted by particular forms of racialism she experienced as an African. As she points out: '*I recall having a varied primary school experienced where I attended three different schools. Foremost in my mind was the fact that I had to be constantly on the move and thus the forces of location and relocation became significant in my life influenced my teaching in history*'.

Beauty's main reason for becoming a history teacher was '*based on the fact that I enjoyed it (history at high school) and I had a very good teacher*'. In negotiating her life as a learner, she positions herself relationally to people and to subjects that gave meaning to her life. She identified Mr Khulu, her history teacher, not only because of the subject

he taught, but spaces affirmed in position ways. *'Passionate about the subject ... He was very innovative ... He cared about his students.'*

Her love for history goes back to her early years as a university student, actively engaged in completing assignments and conducting research. This is captured in this statement she makes: *'History curriculum at varsity was varied ... there was room for much longer emphasis on research at varsity.'*

Beauty described education as a shared experience and a shared responsibility, a position in which power relations are fluid and shifting. Within the spirit of transformation, she argues *'...the role of the teacher is also changing today because teachers are now seen as mediators who would guide and offer assistance to learners rather than being there to merely pass on information to learners'*. The image of the teacher has changed dramatically by and large, but unfortunately one finds many teachers are still sticking to the traditional image of being very authoritarian and that they should take command of the class.

However, this is significant because Moreen adds that there is *'the huge gap that exist between what is taught at university and what does on practically as a teacher at a school'*. Herein lies the significant issue of the 'training model' vs. 'applied model'. In the 'training model' as dictated by the teacher education institution, the teacher is expected to be authoritarian and that they should control the class. On the other hand in the 'applied model' (teachers' applying their trade /skill), the teacher unions have made great strides in trying to change the image of the teacher. Teachers have been given the opportunity to empower themselves in their practice, they have given carte blanche to become the kind of teachers they want to be, and not the image the Department wants to see. Therefore, negotiating her identity as a history teacher was challenging.

Within these conflicting and contradictory discourses of being and doing teacher differently, Beauty described her teaching differently; Beauty described her teaching as a 'positive' experience. She says, *'I am prepared for the challenges that confront me and I*

have adopted a positive attitude towards these changes in education, and more especially in the changing context of the history curriculum.'

Herein lie the possibilities for better relations in what she wants to teach and how she wants to teach history. Within the spirit of curriculum transformation, Beauty adds that: *'I see a evolutionary growth myself'*.

In questioning and challenging policy requirements, Beauty was negotiating her professional status as a teacher. She openly accepts the new role that history teacher are expected to play in curriculum transformation. Beauty confirms, *'...that Curriculum 2005 which is based on a transformed OBE will give new hope to history teachers'*, reproducing the hegemonic structures, Beauty believes very strongly now that *'...this discipline will have its rightful place in the school curriculum'*.

In fashioning her teacher identity, Beauty is also able to successfully negotiate her role as history teacher and as an agent for change: *'I would think of myself as an innovator. I have changed with the changing curriculum and so I haven't been caught stagnating. I was able to adapt when the time came, so I made the critical changes with the curriculum.'* However, on the other hand she presents a contradictory view how *'...teaching the new curriculum becomes a nightmare and a serious challenge for teachers'*.

In her desire to change and the pressure to prove, she also manages to construct other related identities. Beauty describes how as 'head of department', she had the opportunity to conduct workshops and develop resource material for history teachers and the closeness she managed for forging later development into the publication of workbooks on OBE and the teaching of history in Grade 11.

5.3.3.4 Patsy: Challenging Spaces

From my many readings of Patsy's personal account of her life, multiple positionalities have emerged. For the purpose of this story and in terms of the critical questions that this study seek to answer, I have chosen to explore her professional / teacher identity as one such positioning and the discourses that she has taken up with the teacher position as a way of making sense of her identity. She states: *'Mr Nene regarded learners' mines as empty buckets that needed to be filled with information. He made, history boring in the classroom.'* This adequately shows attempts to understand how issues of race, gender, impact on history teachers on career development and the impact of history teachers on personal / teaching identity have left their imprints upon how she think and act as a teacher of history. More importantly, it creates the possibility of being a teacher differently.

Patsy, an African, lives in a township community in St. Wendolins. Townships such as St. Wendolins were engineered by apartheid to keep African people separate, apart and economically impoverished. Poverty and apartheid legislation created unevenness and a sense of powerlessness for the majority of the people. It is in the township specifically, that official apartheid violence was used to quell the struggles against it. Apartheid thus validated violence as a way of dealing with power inequalities, producing race and class hierarchies and hostilities. It created the condition of differential public spending and the provision of schooling also reflects this differentiation. While schooling reflects the material and human resources of privilege. Being a child of the 60s, Patsy spent her early years growing up in a township demarcated for African people and received an education designed specifically for African people. An education preparing them for certain forms of labour only. She described her primary schooling experience: *'as quite meaningless'*, saying: *'History was regarded as a knowledge subject ... the teachers' job was to dictate copious notes "swat up" the textbook content and regurgitate it in the classroom. History was taught as a subject where you acquire a great deal of information rather than the importance of the information. There was no correlation between the*

information and reality'. This was another apartheid construction to fragment and stifle the lives of black learners.

The learning at junior secondary school continued to fuel unequal educational opportunities, reproducing through unqualified or under-qualified teachers 'dwarfed minds' that cannot challenge and question. Patsy describes this as a critical time in his life: *'Mr Nene regarded learner's minds as empty buckets that needed to be filled with information.'* The crowded classrooms and the ill-equipped teachers assisted very little in improving the lives of the African youth.

Patsy found company with Mrs Mbatha, standard nine history teacher, as a space to make her career choice. She spent many hours teaching Patsy and other African learners to *'go the extra mile'*. Patsy describes her as one who prepared her for life. In an essay she was asked to write, she remembered with fondness Mrs Mbatha, the lady who taught her what it means to teach history and respect the rights of learners. She confided, *'I [want] to become a teacher like her'*. Aligning herself with Mrs Mbatha also meant that Patsy's career choice was dependent on the identity model of her own teachers. Patsy shows how Mr Nene and Mrs Mbatha had different teaching styles. *'Mr Nene regarded learners minds as empty buckets whilst Mrs Mbatha believed that education should be meaningful and relevant to her learners'*. In fashioning her professional identity, Patsy is also able to successfully negotiate her teaching style. She admits: *'Now that I am an experienced teacher I do not want to repeat the poor teaching styles adopted by my own teachers in the past'*.

On completion of her matriculation examination, Patsy was convinced that she would like to train to become a physiotherapist. However, *'...being African meant that I was not eligible for a loan to study further...limited number of Blacks being accepted into the department'*. Faced with identities of exclusion and inaccessibility to certain careers and opportunities made available to an African and as a woman by the apartheid state, Patsy found very little to lose when she attended a teacher college of education. She says, *'I did not really enjoy being at college but I just saw it as a means to getting the diploma'*.

Patsy faced many contradictions and tensions once she became a history teacher. She openly challenges the mismatch between teacher education training and school practice. She struggles to apply her historical knowledge at school. However, within these discourses is revealed when she explains: *'There was a discontinuity between school and college education...different aspects of the history curriculum as well as its pedagogical approaches... college academic curriculum is not geared towards school education'*.

Patsy's involvement in the 1976 Soweto uprising articulates her repulsion at the apartheid education and this alignment provides the laws through which her future as teacher in poor African schools is understood and experienced. Her participation in the support of the Soweto uprising makes visible the disruption of the African identity of *'being a passive unquestioning African teacher'*. Her activist position makes visible her contestation against apartheid education. This period marked a critical time in her life. She completed her formal secondary education to train as a teacher, the onset of her personal involvement in the fight against apartheid education and challenging the pattern of African teacher identity as fixed and unchanging.

Contrary to the normative structures and bureaucratic control that confer particular oppressive meaning of what it is to be a teacher, *'teachers played a subordinated role in the development of history teaching and learning'*. Patsy argues that *'...this new curriculum structure allows teachers more flexibility and freedom of choice. In striving for accountability as teachers in these changing times, some teachers [are] adopting a apathetic attitude towards their profession'*. She emphasises the centrality of the teacher in these changing times, particularly African teachers and their role in determining the future of South Africa, because they are able to mediate and define the educational process. But she realizes that 'just teaching' the learners will not change the ways things are. She explains in the following extract:

'This new experience should entail some kind of intervention for the teachers...teaching in large classes creates problems ...this is directly impacting on the way I now deliver my

lessons...I am no longer prepared to make huge sacrifices in order to keep up with the current educational changes'.

While Patsy realizes that the school is a formal institution linked to the state, within which structural and ideological discourses silence and alienate teachers who desire to change, it can create opportunities to develop new ways of knowing and being. Through particular collective culture, ideas can be discussed and challenged.

5.3.3.5 Anna: Young Blood

Growing up in an African township in Soweto, provided Anna with a particular orientation to life. This has shaped and continued to shape her varied and contradictory identity.

Being of middle-class background marked out the territory where status and vocation circulated in close proximity to a life of a teacher: *'My father was a history teacher and my mother was an English teacher...surrounded by many family friends who were teachers'.* Her desire to *'choose history up to grade 12'* was motivated by her father and influenced by her history teacher, Mr Dube. She described Mr Dube whom she admired endearingly, *'Mr Dube believed that learners must be part of a learning process by becoming actively involved in class discussions'.*

Her choice to become a teacher was a childhood ambition, *'I always wanted to become a teacher; many people in my community became teachers and they regarded teaching as a good career'.* It came as no surprise when she chose to major in history. Anna faced many contradictions and tensions in negotiating her identity as a novice history teacher. She explained: *'What I thought about teaching before I became a teacher is not in keeping with what I'm doing now'.* However, there are contradictions to this deficit. Anna realizes that alternative ways exist, and that she has power. In renegotiating her life as a teacher, she positions herself relationally to people that gave meaning to her teaching life. She

identified Mr F. Chonco, her Head of Department, as her mentor because *'as a novice teacher, mentoring proved most valuable'*.

Anna experiences a *'personality change'* at her current school. Jupiter Secondary provided her with the terrain to question traditional teaching and learning practices for new practices through which she was able to re-engage with the help of the principal. This viewpoint is most clearly evident when Anna said: *'I enjoy teaching at this school...allowing me the space and time to initiate new ideas'*. In this way, she embraces pedagogical processes that seek to question, challenge and rupture the established order of history teaching and teacher practice.

During these self-reflexive and rejuvenating moments at Jupiter Secondary, she struggled with the problem of *'addressing the diversity because I had not been adequately trained to deal with multicultural learners'*. The dilemmas and struggles she faced and the experiences thereof cultivated in her the desire to *'change my style of teaching to adapt to the types of learners in terms of race'*. Anna's confidence to be able to contribute responsibly to the process of curriculum change and to re-negotiate her teacher identity is enhanced by her close, *'collaboration with teachers from other neighbouring schools most helpful'*. She realizes that within this redefinition, she has the potential to initiate change.

5.3.3.6 Anisha : Desire for Change

As an Indian, Anisha's experience in the world of education, her racial identity and gender were crucial in shaping access to and success as a teacher of history. Faced with unfairness and exclusion as an Indian and as a woman, Anisha found, *'primary school days as being very exciting and interesting'*. However, at high school she contends *"I chose history because I was motivated by a very dynamic history teacher"*. Mr Asmal's teaching style influenced her decision to a large extent. Anisha adds that her perception of teaching during her teacher-training year is different from the real situation: *'it is an extremely taxing and difficult job'*.

In negotiating her identity as a history teacher, Anisha, '*...was left in the deep end...I am the only history teacher at school*'. Multiple identities are constructed and foregrounded in her teacher position, organized around obligations and responsibilities. In shaping her professional identity, she expresses the need for '*peer support and induction structures to be put in place at school*'. Due to confusion in OBE, negotiating her identity as a novice history teacher was challenging. She explained: '*lot of my teaching is still teacher-centred, but I am hopeful that it will change*'. Anisha creates the possibility of being and doing teaching differently.

Finally, in questioning and challenging policy requirements, Anisha was negotiating her professional status as a teacher. She openly accepts the new assessment strategy in OBE: '*it involves a change in my pedagogical approach*'. She thus '*cultivates a desire for change*'.

In this section I have troubled the structures that shape teachers' identities. Understanding teachers' lives through life histories has opened up the category of teacher as a single identity to a framework in which other categories (race, gender, class) are able to explain the complexity of everyday lived experiences and why teachers make choices that they do. Teachers' personal biographies and experiences (of family, community life, schooling experiences) are shaped by specificities of race, class, gender and have been identified as the crucial sites to understand the construction and regulation of teachers' identities.

The meanings that are cultivated in the positions that teachers invest in across other identity categories are constituted through the range of discourses teachers locate themselves in their everyday experiences. Simultaneously, the discourses influence the practices and relationships teachers invest in, to resist being slotted into hierarchical grids that serve to regulate and oppress teachers. Meanings are continually being reworked and can be strategically interpreted. According to Pillay (2003:191) the agency of a teacher is continually open to formations that are not fully constrained in advance and identity is constructed in the desire to make sense of the world in better ways. The process of

identity construction is one upon which the contradictions and dispositions of the social context have a powerful impact.

5.3.4 Cross Decade Analysis

Whereas the individual research stories were presented in Section 2 to illuminate the specific biographical experiences of the history teachers, in this section I engage with a *cross-case analysis* by adopting a strategy of constant comparison between cases, retaining the specificities of each case where necessary. This could be described as a mixed strategy that combines the case and issues/variables making it a preferred strategy in the context of life history research (Reddy, 2000).

The data of the six teachers as sample of the population are analysed and summarized in comparison with each other with special reference to identified categories of: professional histories, learning experiences, programmatic experiences, teaching experiences, curriculum changes and teaching resources. I signal the kind of convergences and divergences between these six history teachers' experiences across decades. The selection of this particular time frame-decade is based on the fact that the veteran teacher (Patsy) was born about a decade earlier to the middle-career teacher (Leslie) whilst the middle-career teacher (Beauty) was born about a decade earlier to the novice teacher (Anna or Anisha). Furthermore, the selection of the particular time frames of 1950, 1961 and 1976 were co-incidental and are historically significant in South Africa. The beginning point (1950) marks the initiation of an aggressive and sustained campaign to entrench apartheid in South African law and society. In the early 1960s, South Africa had entered a period of intensified political oppression with most anti-government actions rendered ineffective by brutal police action and sustained military presence. The end point (1976) represents the year when the educational system in South Africa was on the verge of eruption, culminating in the student uprising in Soweto.

I approached cross-case analysis using a process of constant comparison between the cases over time in relation to emerging themes and issues relating to teachers'

philosophy, pedagogy and interpretation of the changing history curriculum within the broader context of educational transformation in South Africa.

5.3.4.1 Professional Histories

The veteran teachers have been referred to as seasoned teachers because they have taught history for the longest period compared to the other two sets of teachers used in the study. These teachers adopted a very conventional and traditional approach to history teaching since as learners themselves, they experienced history being taught in a very rigid and traditional manner. They portray an image of a teacher who abides strictly by the rules and regulations handed out to them and they go 'by the book'.

Unlike the veteran teachers, the middle-career teachers were critical in their approach to history teaching because in the past they were subjected to apartheid education which made them re-look at the whole educational scenario and try to correct the ills of the past.

The novice teachers display the potential of being enthusiastic history teachers, but due to educational policy changes they feel de-motivated to pursue the challenges of the changing history curriculum. They find great difficulty in coping with the diverse learners in their class and admit that they have to change their teaching strategies in order to overcome the problems affecting their history teaching.

5.3.4.2 Learning Experiences

As learners the veteran teachers experienced history as factual knowledge and the transmission of information without any understanding or relevance of the information that was being taught. They argue that there was no correlation between what was taught and why it was taught. Their interpretation of the history curriculum was largely influenced by their own schooling experiences, which followed a traditional approach to history teaching.

Beauty (middle-career teacher) recalls her primary schooling as being influenced by the Group Areas Act when she was forced to attend three different schools at the time. She also declares that the approach to history teaching at both primary and secondary school was based on rote learning and dissemination of information. This approach to history teaching was similar to that proposed by the veteran teacher.

The newly qualified novice teachers reflect on their schooling experiences at both primary and secondary schools with great nostalgia because they regard those days as being exciting and interesting. They describe the approach to history teaching especially at primary school as mainly rote learning and teacher-centred approaches. They suggest that history learning should involve active participation between learners and educators in order for it to be meaningful.

5.3.4.3 Programmatic Experiences

The veteran teachers stated that there was no continuity between the teacher-training course and the school curriculum. They commented that there was a huge discrepancy between the school pedagogy and that of the teacher training institutions. They stated that the teacher-training course focused on theoretical aspects and neglected the practical component. This resulted in a huge gap between history experiences at teacher training institutions and history experiences at schools.

As a student teacher, Leslie (middle-career teacher) experienced the history curriculum at university as being very challenging, but different from the realm of school. The perceptions she had about teaching during her training years were very different to that which she is presently experiencing at school. She argued that the history curriculum at university entailed an integrated approach, which encouraged independent learning and critical thinking. However, she did not see this approach being applied in the school situation.

Anna (the novice teacher), just like the other teachers, also described the university history curriculum as being very different to that being offered at schools. She stated that the university history curriculum was based on a more critical and analytical approach, whilst schools adopted a more theoretical approach to history teaching. She confessed that the perceptions that she had about history teaching at university were different to what she is presently experiencing in class. She commented that history teaching was a very difficult and taxing job and that it was not easy to motivate children in class.

5.3.4.4 Teaching Experiences

The veteran teachers described their formative years of teaching as being very rigid and prescriptive, because as a teacher at that time one had very little choice about curriculum issues relating to teaching and learning. The nature of supervision was also very stringent and authoritarian during that period, often resulting in feelings of insecurity on the part of many educators. As the teachers gained more experience in their teaching years they witnessed changes in the implementation of the school curriculum. At present the teachers are confronted with major changes and restructuring of the school curriculum, which is directed towards Revised National Curriculum Statement. The teachers also suggested that the present state of the education system in schools could be attributed to the different socio-economic conditions that learners are experiencing.

The middle-career teacher, Beauty, saw her role in education as an innovator and a contributor because she was concerned with making a contribution to history education rather than trying to see how much she could get back from other educators in the field. She was prepared to experiment and take challenges so long as it made a contribution to the education of the learner. This prompted the teacher to conduct history workshops and to engage in compiling resources material for outcomes based education. This exercise has been a major accomplishment for the middle career teacher since it has benefited many educators in the field of history.

The novice teacher, Anisha, explained that she had a very limited teaching experience because she only taught for a period of five years. She described her brief teaching period as being exciting but also very difficult, especially since she was requested to teach matriculation pupils in her second year of teaching. She suggested that when teachers prepare lessons they should consider the relevance of the information to the outside world and lessons should not be confined to the classroom. She also proposed that lessons should be simple enough for all learners to comprehend. The teacher claimed that she encouraged group participation and class discussions as a method of addressing diversity in her class.

5.3.4.5 Addressing Diversity

According to the findings, the diverse learners that the veteran teacher is presently confronted with have seriously impacted on the quality of teaching and learning at their school. The teachers feel inadequately prepared to deal with the diversity of learners in terms of their gender, race, ability and socio-economic status. The participants state that schools and teachers are not yet equipped to cope with the diversity of learners since this is a new concept in South African education. The data findings indicate that both the middle-career and the novice teacher are experiencing great difficulty in addressing diversity in their classroom teaching. However, the middle-career teacher, Leslie, has adopted a positive attitude to these changes in education and she is coping well with the diverse learners in her class. She does not view the diversity of learners as a problem in her history teaching practice.

In terms of addressing diversity, Leslie explained that she is confronted with learners from different races, gender, ability and socio-economic backgrounds. She seems to be coping well with her geography learners because she believes that teachers have to adopt the right approach to teaching in diverse situations. The common type of teaching strategy that she uses in class is the group work system, which she believes promotes critical and divergent thinking amongst history learners. She also advocates the use of

correct language in addressing diversity in class and she suggests that language should be simple and understandable.

The novice teacher, Anisha, admitted that she has a problem with addressing the diversity of history learners in her class. She also asserts that there is a general lack of interest and learner apathy at her school, which ultimately affects the quality of history teaching and learning.

5.3.4.6 Curriculum Changes

The veteran teachers identified the history curriculum changes as having being very superficial in the past with a few changes being made to the existing curriculum. They assert that real changes are only taking place now with the introduction of Outcomes-based Education. The teachers described their own teaching as being more narrative and teacher-centred in the past, with the focus now shifting towards a more learner-centered approach towards history teaching.

These teachers suggest that there is a fear amongst educators that the future of history teaching seems very uncertain due to the present status of the subject as a Human and Social Science learning areas in grades 8 and 9. They believe that educators fear that the identity of history as a subject in the school curriculum will be lost because it is now integrated with other subjects like geography.

Middle-career teacher, Beauty, indicates that while there may have been some changes to the history curriculum in the past, the critical changes have only come about now, with the implementation of curriculum 2005. She recognized this curriculum change as a complete paradigm shift from a content driven to a learner driven approach to history learning, where the focus shifted from factual learning only, to that of critical and divergent thinking. The teacher declared that she was able to adapt and adjust to the changes and challenges that took place in the history curriculum without any resistance.

The novice teacher, Anna, suggested that there has not been much progress in the history curriculum since she started teaching. She advocated the need for change in the present history curriculum in terms of addressing the current political issues that confront us in the world today.

5.3.4.7 Teaching Resources

The data findings indicate that resources formed an important part of the teaching and learning of history in schools. Whilst the veteran teacher and the novice teacher believed that a lack of resources impacted negatively on learners' performance in history, the middle-career teacher argued that teachers need to improvise and use whatever resources are available in order to achieve their desired learning outcomes. This teacher suggested that history teachers need to stop complaining about poor resources but rather use their ingenuity and devise ways of overcoming such problems.

5.3.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the study reveals that although all six history teachers were taught and trained under the same education system during the apartheid era, each one of them interpreted and enacted the history curriculum in a different way. This could be attributed to their biographical experiences, programmatic experiences and institutional experiences, which are powerful curriculum experiences brought to bear on the quality of curriculum they develop for their learners. The six teachers used in the study were uniquely different in terms of their ages, their years of teaching history, the teacher training institutions that they attended as well as their biography. These factors have their own potential power to influence history teachers' identities formation and approach to the teaching of history.

I have chosen to use the analogy of a force field (see Samuel, 2000) to indicate the varied forces competing for influence over the history teachers' identity formation. According to Samuel (2000) teachers are being pulled or pushed by the power of particular forces that

exert themselves on the developing teacher. These forces are similar to the kind of competing tensions facing teachers' identities in post-apartheid South Africa. The consequence is that teachers develop a teacher identity, which is fluid, flexible and a product of the specific contextual forces within which they practise (see figure 5.3).

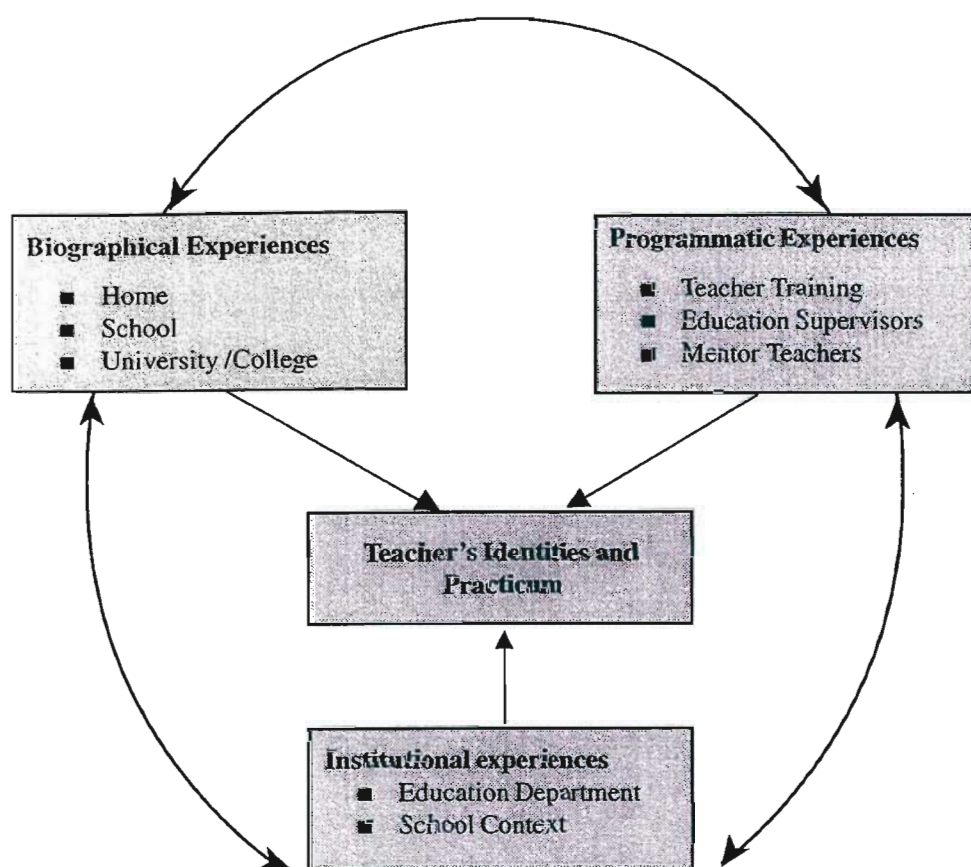


Figure 5.3: Forces of Influence on Teacher's Identities and Practicum

In this chapter, I have explained how the process of data analysis unfolded. The data analysis process is iterative and influenced by the researcher's theoretical stance. Two levels of analysis, grounded in empirical data, contribute to theorising in the context of critical questions. Two levels of analysis are provided:

- How the storied narratives were told (first level analysis): details concerning the choice of representation of different narrative forms are explored

- What was told through the storied narratives (second level analysis): details of emerging issues across cases and explanation of particular constructs or issues by examining similarities and differences are presented in response to critical questions raised in this study

In the chapter that follows, I attempt to synthesize the data generated from the (empirical) study, with the methodology employed in this research. Further, the existing literature/research in this field is also utilized, in an attempt to interrogate current theoretical conceptions of teachers' identities, especially in the context of curriculum change.

CHAPTER SIX: PULLING TOGETHER HISTORICAL IDENTITY SCATTERINGS

6.1 Introduction

Many truths were uncovered from exploring the life histories of the teachers and in this chapter I pause a while to make sense of these truths. Smith (in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:211) suggests that truths refer to the multiplicity of ways in which a woman's life story reveals and reflects important features of her conscious experience and social landscape, creating from both her essential reality. At this point, I present my insights, conclusions and recommendations to fellow scientists or archaeologists interested in historiography and life history and who would perhaps use these findings to pull together the scatterings as they dig ahead. However, it must be noted that I am using the metaphor archaeology to describe this chapter and not as a concept to work throughout the insights.

Privileging the life histories of the participants has facilitated an understanding of teachers' identities through their perspective. The critical focus for life history work, is to locate the teacher's own life history alongside a broader contextual analysis. In the words of Stenhouse in Goodson (1992:6), 'a story of action, within the theory of context'. One of the most significant features of work on teachers' lives is that it provides insights into teaching as a 'gendered profession' (Goodson, 1992:14) as well as the production of a feminist teachers' pedagogy within a particular socio-political context. Studying teachers' lives provide new insights into how teachers might approach reform and change to cope with the challenges of the post-modern world since, ultimately, knowledge can only be produced through an intimate interrogation of individual experience (Griffiths, 1995). To date much of the educational research employed in teacher education has been developed from a foundational discourse with its philosophical, psychological, historical, sociological components - far removed from educators' personal knowledge and experiences. The process of recalling and reuniting one's history is a pedagogical tool for

self and professional development. It allowed me to document the teachers' reflections of the range of influences and experiences on their own identities and roles, tracing back to the teachers' home and family environments, their own primary and secondary schools, their decision to enter into teaching as an occupation, their teacher education programmes and their induction experiences as newly qualified history teachers.

6.2 Data - Based Approach to Identity Development

The findings from this study concludes that the process of identity formation embeds a complex intersection of various complex and asymmetrical shifting valences of power, knowledge, culture, economics and self (see Soudien, 2001; Carrim, 2001; Samuel, 2001). Teachers are constantly 'in movement', displaying discontinuities, contradictions and compliance making it difficult for researchers to truly know them. Indeed, as Samuel (2001) argues, the research context of developing teachers in post-apartheid South Africa is characterized by the rich intersection of several layers of complexity, complementarity and contradiction. Policymakers have continued to frame teachers as objects of gaze, objects of manipulations. They have attempted to impose on teachers their 'preferred identities and roles' that fulfill the goals of their policy agendas.

Whilst these policies might profess to be aimed at reversing oppressive interpretations of the teachers, the opposite is often achieved. Samuel (2001) adds in a world where more and more the market related issues infuse all levels of society, teacher educational policy has its agenda crafted in the imperatives of economists and agents of cultural assimilation to a globalised discourse. However, the analysis of the data for this study reflects the contrary. The participants do show some evidence of being able to develop and work with the new history curriculum change. The evidence for this assertion derives from the positive discussions that history teachers present about the teaching of history as a result of the curriculum change. Teacher tentativeness and preparedness to engage in the process of curriculum change is noted in their pedagogical practice.

The study suggests that policy for curriculum change cannot be directly translated within the educational institution without recognition of the complex biographical heritages that teachers bring with them to the school. These biographies rather than being a hindering force should be embraced by policy makers as the initial theoretical understanding of teaching and learning that teachers bring with them into the institution. Curriculum change programmes should be constructed as 'critical discursive spaces' (Samuel, 2001) within which the varying dialogues of the personal, political and policy expectations about teaching are negotiated. Teachers need to 'own' the process of change, and reform efforts need to be grounded in an understanding of teachers' professional lives and development (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996). If teachers are involved in planning and implementing reform, they are more likely to assume responsibility for it, rather than attributing it to others (Sarason, 1996). Rather than condemning the teachers' past, curriculum planners must allow for a richer debate about the kinds of identities that teachers themselves wish to negotiate. This does not simply mean abandonment to the personal level. Teachers must be given the latitude to develop their personal spaces of identities as a deliberate response to the various forces they encounter. This is also recognition that teachers be given the freedom to negotiate constantly their own sense of self and their roles within a framework of curriculum change. Fullan (1991) suggests that teachers who find that their ideology, which is rooted in their life experiences and interactions, are consistent with the proposed reform typically supporting change. On the other hand, teacher resistance to change results when teachers feel that their vested interests or taken-for-granted beliefs and values are threatened by the reform agenda (Muncey & McQuillan, 1996).

Participants' sense of identity is a product of their experiences of their own teachers who executed their sense of self within the racialised and classed contexts of the apartheid education system. The White participant, Leslie commented positively about her teachers as role-models, but that these role models inspired her with the desire to want to become a teacher, given that the career options that were potentially available were broader than just teaching. For the Black participants, like Moreen, Anna, Beauty and others the teachers tended to be more influential: participants wanted to be like their teachers,

perhaps notably because they represented an access to the lifestyle of the middle-class that the teacher represented. This approach is often referred to as modelling approach. Black and White participants both reflected good teachers as those who displaced a charismatic presence and were able to show their mastery of the subject within the specific contexts of primary and secondary schools and the process of induction that the participants experienced contribute to the shaping of the teachers' identities and roles.

The study also recognizes that teachers are not necessarily averse to alternative approaches to their pedagogy as expressed in policy. However, their own training as teachers has not sufficiently prepared them to embrace these roles. For example, teachers are expected to promote a cross-disciplinary / inter-disciplinary approach to enacting Curriculum 2005 learning areas. Many of the under-prepared teachers still, however, have to grapple with the basic foundational knowledge base of the disciplines, which they previously taught as discrete subjects for example geography, history, biology. Teachers seem to be suggesting that their professional development is welcomed as a contribution to reconstructing the educational system. But how these professional development interventions are designed, and how they frame the teacher in the process of its curriculum design is an important factor. Mattson & Harley (2001) argue that teachers develop a 'strategic mimicry' of policy expectations that are counterforces to the traditional conceptions of teaching/ learning that teachers themselves believe. By trying to 'look modern' (Fuller, 1991) the teachers offer semblances of the expectations of new regulatory policy, yet reflect only superficial understanding of the proposed shifts being dictated.

This research has provided evidence for the uncoerced and voluntary engagement of teachers' identities. Using the concept of engagement, recasts teachers' identities as a process, rather than as a fixed set of characteristics. This, then means that as a process, there are possibilities and space for negotiation (Reddy, 2003:189). The process of negotiation is often between competing forces such as biographical, programmatic, contextual and curriculum changes. In this study, the data suggest that the participants engage with the new history curriculum in an uncoerced and voluntary manner.

Reddy (2003) further adds that identity construction is an active process on the part of those involved and struggling to acquire a means to represent oneself to self and others in part of one's development. This process exists under socially given conditions, which include structures of power and social relations, institutional contests and opportunities as well as the available cultural expectations.

The conjunction between policy discourses and teachers' identities provides insights for curriculum theories and identity theories into how teachers experience their developing identities and practices and the meaning that they have made of policy.

My analysis suggests that teachers actively interpret and re-interpret their life experiences, creating their identities as teachers. It is evident that educational and curriculum changes in post-apartheid South Africa have in many ways led to a change in the ways in which teachers' identities are produced and experienced. As teachers' identities and teachers' practices shape one another, they form a background against which policy is experienced. Policy in turn impacts on the construction and reconstruction of teacher identities and practices. For example, in the present study, I examined one particular aspect or effect of teachers' mimetic strategies, which I called 'false clarity' (after Fullan, 1991) and suggested that the often unfounded confidence of new Outcomes-based teachers is partly a survival strategy under the current conditions of job insecurity created by rationalization and redeployment, and partly a mimicry of the false clarity of policy publicity which oversimplifies and overhypes the new approach to education. In my view teachers' false clarity is an effect of the superficiality of a policy system more concerned with bolstering the state's credibility by signalling a dramatic move away from apartheid education and by 'looking modern, than with the modalities of change at the classroom level'(Jansen, 1999:145).

The triad relationship between educational policies, teachers' identities and teachers' practices is evidenced in the data from this study. This relationship among, and shaping of the three domains: policy, teacher identity and teacher practice, which I refer to as "*uncoerced and voluntary engagement*" is shown in figure 6.1.

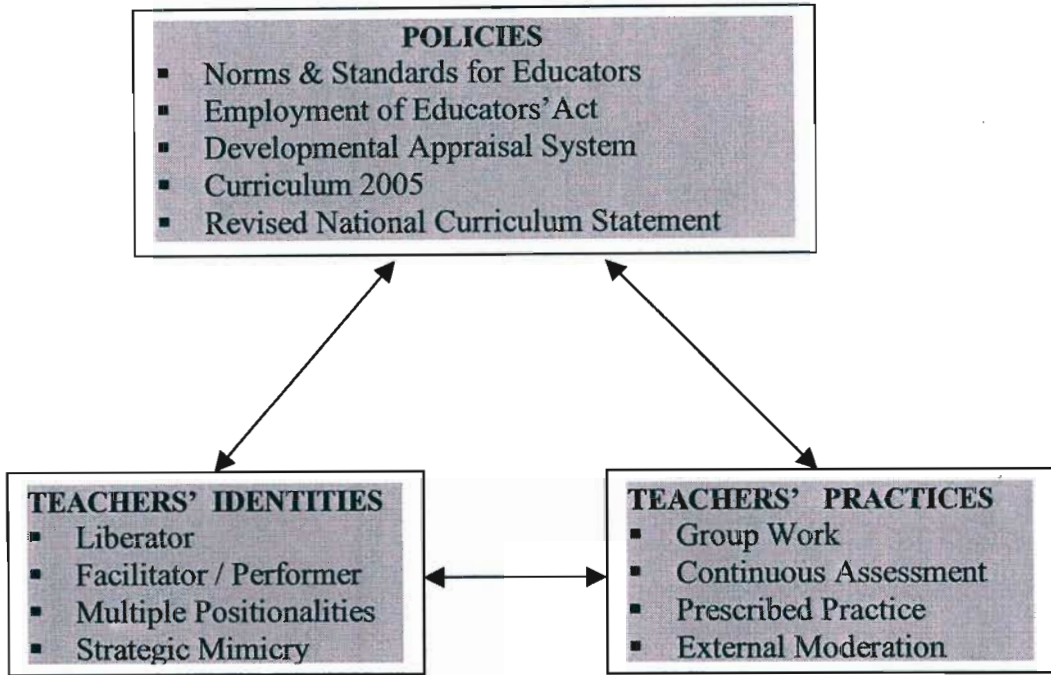


Figure 6.1: Interrelatedness of Policy, Teachers' Identities and Teachers' Practices

Throughout this research I have been especially concerned with the triad relationship among policies, teachers' identities and teachers' practices. Why is it that across different countries and variable research contexts, the problem persists that what policy claims and what practitioner's experience, remain dislocated from each other?

This in itself is neither a novel nor interesting finding, but it nevertheless remains a vexing one to change theorists. Some suggest that this distance between policy and practice might be inevitable and that 'mutual adaptation' of intentions and outcomes is what happens in real-life schools (McLaughlin, 1998). Others suggest that the problem of distance is highly treatable, if only we inject the same logic into policy reform that guided the campaign to rid the planet of smallpox (Pratt, 1999).

My research has shown the ‘policy images’ of teachers make demands that engage with their ‘personal identities’ as practitioners. Every education policy document contains powerful images of the idealised teacher. Whether explicit or implied, whether conscious or unconscious, policymakers hold preferred and cherished images about the end-user of an education policy, i.e., about the teacher. Sometimes the policy image is explicit, contained in normative statements like ‘the teacher should’. More often, however, the policy image is conveyed through drastic role changes for the teacher without addressing the practitioner directly.

Reddy (2003:181) states that we require a response to the curriculum changes that includes changes in policy and practice to accommodate identities and diversity within these experiences and knowledges. It is evident that there are multiple ways in which teachers respond. We need to take these varied responses into account and place interventions that acknowledge this diversity. It is necessary that interventions articulate with the realities of the teacher taking into account their confusions and contradictions. The strategic task is to create dialogues of meaning among policy, politics and practice in transforming education in developing countries.

6.3 Methodological Reflections to Identity Development

The following critical question was interrogated in this study: How do history teachers construct their identities within the discourse of curriculum change? I use the metaphor of pulling together the scatterings, in the critical postmodernist sense to illustrate that there are no dead certainties in life or research (Hargreaves, 1995). The great question is what is to be believed? Are there any answers? I do not claim to know all the answers. In my quest for the truth I found that a rigorous search for empirical evidence is imperative in research. There is a need to develop a theory to understand the making of lives in transitional times (Samuel, 2001). How do teachers develop a sense of identity in a rapidly changing political, social, economic, cultural and educational context? It is within

this context of understanding teachers' lives in transitional times that I present my research method insights.

The various factors, which shape teachers identities and roles, are neglected as one policy after another is introduced making new demands and expectations on teachers. The seriousness of this agenda necessitates the obligation from researchers and policymakers to seek emancipatory and innovative approaches and to be critical in both their epistemological and methodological undertakings. As a researcher I had to examine the impact that the change in the curriculum had on their life world. In this study I conducted in-depth life history interviews of six practising history teachers. Tuckman in Cohen & Manion (1986:292) succinctly describes the interview as providing access to what is 'inside a person's head'. It makes it possible to measure what a person knows, the 'knowledge or information' that a person likes or dislikes, values and preferences and what a person thinks.

There are many reasons that make life history approach so fascinating. First of all, I believe that many of our explicit actions have their roots in our own life histories and previous experiences. I believe that we have implicit values and beliefs that guide our thinking and everyday action. Furthermore, life history research concentrates holistically on teachers' life experiences and the meanings they attach to their work.

I documented the teachers' reflections of the range of influences and experiences on their own identities and roles, tracing back to the teachers' schooling experiences, their decision to enter into teaching as an occupation and their experiences as history teachers. In life history research I engaged in the history teachers' story telling in such a manner that I became aware of their multi-layered contexts and to discover the insights of 'the figure under the carpet' (Edel cited in Dezin& Lincoln, 1998:95).

This mixed metaphor aptly illustrates how the researcher reconstructs a pattern from the data one has of the life of the person studied and written about. In this study the history teachers who are under the carpet are not so much found as constructed. Since life history

is my major tool, the concern is for the history teachers in this study. Recent life history research has underlined the importance of listening to the voices of the study subjects, especially subjects who belong to the marginal groups. Narrativity aims to penetrate deeper than traditional research by letting the subjects tell their stories and present their views, including people whose voice is generally not heard in the stories of the majority population (Lensmire, 1998; May, 2001; Wengraf, 2000).

Life history research has become very popular in teacher research and it highlights subjective interpretations of teachers. According to Goodson (2000), the project of 'studying teachers' life and work' represents an attempt to generate a counter culture that will resist the tendency to overshadow teachers. Moreover, this research approach aims to place teachers at the centre of action and seeks for the 'teacher's voice' (Goodson, 2000:16). Generally speaking, it can be said that life history research explores the narrator's experience and the meanings he or she attributes to these experiences (Kelchtermans, 1993). In the interpretative approach the researcher begins with the individual and sets out to understand her or his interpretations of the world. This method relies upon the subjective verbal expressions of meaning given by teachers studied, which are like windows into the inner life of the person. By using this approach I was able to have a clearer understanding of the history teachers' world in co-constructing their life histories.

Furthermore, it gave research participants an opportunity to take responsibility to do their own thinking in the area. The life history interviews offered the teachers the space to be reflective; it allowed them the discursive space to delve deeply into issues of identity, early childhood, political and educational experiences. It also helped to explore their feelings as teachers and to talk about their dreams and aspirations for the future. The narrative opened a window for me as the researcher to look into the subjective world of the teacher. An impact study of this type is incomplete without delving into the consciousness, 'looking into the invisible' (Samuel, 2001), i.e., teacher's mind and emotions. Designing methodologies, i.e., instruments to probe into these aspects of the human psyche is complex and challenging. Using a critical feminist postmodern

perspective in this research, I have demonstrated that educational research is a non-linear and complex activity because there is no tangible reality out there. The methodological insights cited provided a more adaptable way of dealing with multiple realities because the methods exposed more directly the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

In constructing teachers' life stories, it becomes imperative to make use of methodological tools that will reflect and reveal a teacher's life story in a multiplicity of ways. My task in using life history was to engage in teachers telling their story so that the truth emerged. But truth is an elusive concept and difficult to attain because each individual constructs reality from their perspective and this depends on where the reality is being constructed. Smith in Denzin & Lincoln (1994:292) articulates this tension: "Virginia Woolf was half-right: Writing lives is the devil. But a strand of intellectual excitement, approaching ecstasy, also exists. If one is fortunate to find a heroine or hero from another time, place, and culture, the biographical activity takes on a strong cast of ethnography". Although not a perfect instrument, the life history methodology provided me rich data to make trustworthy pronouncements. The narrative inquiry that focuses on personal narratives is intended to be emancipatory (Gough, 2001:21). Gough (2001) finds that reflecting critically on stories that one reads, writes, hears, lives and tells may help one to understand how one uses them more responsibly and creatively and frees one from constraints.

As a pedagogical tool, the narrative in the form of life histories has enormous possibilities for the teacher. In this study the narrative became a vehicle for consciousness-raising, self-reflection and emancipation of the mind. The narrative was also cathartic for the teachers as it gave them the space for an outflow of suppressed, marginalized voices. For example, Patsy adds: *'My participation in support of the Soweto uprising led me branded as a political activist and I was threatened by the Education Department of being dismissed as a teacher'*. Through their narratives they demonstrated their ability to articulate the often invisible, marginalized, female voice.

I use feminist research methodology because it gave voice to the experiences of women who have long been oppressed, repressed, ignored or denigrated. It is in feminist philosophy that women's experiences are highlighted and used as material for philosophical discussion (Code, 1988). Walford (1994) explains that the subjects of inquiry are usually the forgotten and less privileged, which are often women. The distinctive power of feminist research is that it generates its critical issues from the perspective of women's experience. The purpose of feminist research has an emancipatory goal, where research and analysis should provide useful information that will empower people so that they can challenge and fight their manipulation and exploitation. Beauty summed up her feelings about being a history teacher: *'The critical experience for me occurred at the point where I was able to examine myself and consider the type of contribution I could make as a history teacher, instead of sitting back and passively accepting information from others. I wanted to be the innovator, to go out and try out new ideas, new techniques and whatever.'*

In this study, the teacher's life histories encompass the multiplicity of ways they reveal and reflect important features of their conscious experiences and social landscape, from both their essential realities. Prell (1989) cites Myerhoff's life histories where she talks about the reflexive nature of culture. She was interested in finding out about cultural settings where people created their identities. According to Perumal (2004) citing Prell (1989), the human/cultural process of finding stories within stories was an example of reflexivity, which is the capacity to arouse consciousness of ourselves as we see the actions of others and ourselves. Reflexivity allowed me to understand persons as active and self-conscious narrators of their own lives. In life history, people talk about their lives. They lie sometimes, forget, exaggerate, become confused and get things wrong yet they are revealing truths. The teachers in this study show how their identities are complex, contradictory and shifting within the teacher positions, circumscribed and organized within normative frameworks in which they think and work.

6.4 Implications for Further Research

This study has opened up several sites for future research. The following are suggested areas.

The first major area of future research should attempt to explore the convergence and divergences of teacher preparation programmes within different societies undergoing rapid changes in the social, economic, political and educational environments. Such research should attempt to address the growing global concern amongst teacher educators about the relationship between these macro-educational concerns and the day-to-day design, delivery and implementation of teacher preparation programmes. Issues around exploring for more useful models of ensuring quality teacher education may emerge from this kind of research.

Research into teacher thinking in the South African context has been an under-researched area. Teachers have usually been on the receiving end of educational research. Future research should be engaged in order to reveal the sophisticated and complex process that are involved when dealing with teaching process in the context of a rapidly transforming society. Teaching involves the teacher making decisions all the time during the process of engagement with the learners. More detailed analysis of the thought process needs to be conducted to reveal how teachers make sense of the act of teaching their pupils. This research study has presented a creative methodology accessing teachers' thinking, and of analyzing the data produced during the data collection processes. Future research should extend these methodologies of data collection and analysis by looking at practising teachers within school sites. Besides elevating the status of the voice of teachers themselves in the educational research area, it will provide insightful perspectives on how teachers make sense of the intended policy initiatives that are characteristic of a transforming educational context.

A more deliberate investigation needs to be conducted exploring the nature of the relationship between the teacher education institutions and their school partners. The

process of setting up more democratic partnerships is a valuable area for future research, which will benefit both the teacher education institutions and the school sites.

The school is no doubt a significant arena where teachers' identities are negotiated and acted out. This study importantly foregrounds teachers' voices in the production of data. An important area for further research is that of the structural components of the education department, policymaker's conception of teachers' identities and their influence on teachers' identities constructions.

Curriculum issues are certainly deserving of ongoing attention. Given the teachers' identities struggles that the findings of this study demonstrate, teacher development programmes focusing on curriculum changes in education is an important research area. How are teachers being prepared for curriculum changes?

More research needs to be conducted on the effectiveness of the national education department in supporting and supplementing the implementation of the Revised National Curriculum Statement.

Much has been written about the advantages (or disadvantages) of OBE but not much research information has been offered to teachers to deal with its practicalities in the South African classroom.

The narrative in the form of life history writing provided a rich data source. This source allowed me to peep into the minds of history teachers. Since there has been paucity of life history in the field of education and the effects of curriculum change in South Africa this opens up another avenue for further investigation.

In a country as diverse as South Africa, especially noting its apartheid history, racial and cultural differences influencing teacher identity production is another interesting area that deserves further research.

6.5 Closing Comments

In this chapter I used the metaphor of an archaeologists excavating the life histories of history teachers. Archaeologists work like detectives in an 'unearthing' process (Foucault, 1970) and that the artifacts and ecofacts they find as clues to the lives of the people who used them. I privilege the use of the concept archaeology in this chapter to summarize the insights in an executive way. Everything that archaeologists investigate from the most magnificent building to the tiniest pollen grain helps them to form a picture of ancient societies. Archaeologists look for information about how, where and when cultures developed. Like other social scientists, they search for reasons why major changes have occurred in certain cultures.

Some archaeologists try to understand why ancient people stopped hunting and started farming. Others developed theories about what caused people to build cities and to set up trade routes. Extending the use of this metaphor in this study enables one to understand the relationship, the complex interaction between life and context, self and place. It is about comprehending the complexities of a teachers' day-to-day decision making and the ultimate consequences that play out in that life so that insights into broader, collective experience can be achieved. Cole and Knowles (2001:11) add that every in-depth exploration of an individual life-in- context brings us that much closer to understanding the complexities of lives in communities.

In Chapter Two and Three I surveyed for archaeological literature searching for pertinent theories and archaeological reports in guiding my research methodology and analysis in Chapter Five. Chapter Two focused on the literature review and construction of a theoretical framework for the study. Chapter Three served as an entry point into understanding educational policy and curriculum change initiatives in post-apartheid South African education. In Chapter Four I searched for an appropriate method of excavation and location of the excavation site for this careful and arduous dig of discovery. I used the pick (life history research methodology) to dig around exploring the life histories of the teachers I chose to excavate. To understand the lives of the people

who occupied a site, archaeologists must study the relationship among the artifacts, features and ecofacts found there. Chapter Five explained and described the ways in which data was analysed.

This thesis explores an under-researched area within educational research in South African context. It focuses on the crucial area of teacher development and identity during the era of reconstruction of post-apartheid context and curriculum change. This context is marked by rapid changes within the society and this had an important impact on the process of conducting research.

This study attempts to present insights into the ways in which history teachers experience the teaching and learning of history during various periods of their lives: within the primary and secondary schooling, their university or college experiences during the teacher preparation programme and during the period of their engagement as teachers during the school-based practicum. The research study employs the methodology of life history research in order to gain insight into history teachers' thinking of curriculum change as they engage in the process of teaching history.

The study presents the argument that teachers' development is a complex process, which involves developing critical perspectives of one's biographical experiences of teaching and learning. In particular, this study looked at how the history teacher develops perspectives of teaching and learning history through the lens of their life history experiences. Various forces compete for dominance during the course of this process of development: the internal forces of teachers' biographical experiences, the forces of the teacher education institution and school environment and the macro-forces of the rapidly transforming social context.

The study extends the constructs around developing identity as teachers of history into an analysis of the process of identity formation within the context of a rapidly changing social, political, economic and educational environment. My analysis suggests that teachers' identities are negotiated processes and are produced in many different contexts,

often with competing intentions and representations which include all aspects of everyday life as well as all the discourses and interactions with educational demands and changes. It is evident from the data in this study that teacher identities are accomplished or rejected as individuals interact in local situations that are powerfully influenced by broader educational patterns of expectation and restriction.

The study has particular relevance for teacher educators, policy makers and educational practitioners in their united quest for improving the quality of teaching of history.

In exploring the framing of teachers' identities as 'educators' in current South African legislation, teachers are positioned as purveyors and 'reproducers' of human rights, democracy and citizenship, whilst, ironically, their rights as subjects of human rights tend to be ignored. Through the Revised National Curriculum Statement particularly, South African teachers are to be reprofessionalised with a greater sense of professional autonomy and decision making powers. However, data from the research conducted and of the report of the Review Committee of Curriculum 2005 indicate that contemporary teachers are caught in anxieties of transition feeling caught in ways of the 'old' and wanting to work in 'new' ways. They also lack professional autonomy and competence to fulfill what is officially expected of them. In addition, as agents of human rights, teachers experience ongoing forms of discrimination in their daily routines, mainly in terms of gender, age and freedom to teach in a school of their choice. Significantly, though, South African teachers do not currently see themselves as 'owning' the transformation of education in South Africa but as subjects of it.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Copy of Consent Form

Consent and Participation in Research Process: Life Histories of History Teachers.

I, _____, hereby confirm my voluntarily participation in the following phases of the above-mentioned research project:

- Interview process;
- Story review process; and
- Story review feedback process.

Name : _____
Signature : _____
Date : _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1: CAREER LIFE HISTORY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Background

The purpose of this interview is to trace the career life history of teachers of history. The interview questions will guide the discussion with the history teacher about identifying their conceptions/images of being a teacher of history.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1

The intention of this interview is to identify some of the influences that shaped your image as a teacher of history.

Early Schooling Experience

Primary Schooling:

- How would you describe the history class in your primary school?
- Describe a critical incident in your experience of learning history at primary school.
- Describe your worst/best history teacher at primary school and explain why you make such a judgment.
- What images of being a teacher of history did you develop during your primary schooling?

Secondary Schooling

- Did you study history at secondary school? Why? Why not?
- If so, what influenced your choice of study of history till matric?

- Describe a critical event from your experiences of learning history at secondary school.
- Describe your favourite/worst history teacher and explain why you make this judgment.
- What images of being a teacher of history did you develop during your secondary schooling?

Professional Training

- What were the reasons that encouraged you to choose history as your specialist subject in your professional training?
- What is your opinion of the history curriculum course that you were exposed to at the tertiary institution?
- Relate some of your conceptions or misconceptions you had about teaching history during your professional training years.
- What images of being a teacher of history did you develop during your professional training?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2

Background

The purpose of this interview is to trace how the changing history curriculum policy influenced history teachers' understanding of their pedagogical roles and responsibilities.

- What did you consider to be the goals and approaches of the history curriculum in respect of
 - (a) The 'old' curriculum (1994)
 - (b) Curriculum 2005
 - (c) Revised National Curriculum Statement
- Evaluate the fundamental changes (if any) in the history syllabus since you first started teaching.
- Describe what changes were introduced in teaching of history with the introduction of Curriculum 2005.
- What impact did these changes have on your teaching of history?
- Describe whether you experience difficulties in your teaching strategies when you teach history and Human and Social Science in the Further Education and Training phase and General Education and Training phase respectively.
- Evaluate whether your assessment techniques have changed in your classroom before and after the introduction of Curriculum 2005.
- How does the availability of resources impact on learner's performance and on teacher's preparedness, in the context of changing school curriculum?
- How do you think history teachers' engage with the new integrated learning area of Human and Social Science?
- What do you consider to be obstacles and challenges that you likely to find in the teaching of history in the context of a changing curricular approach?

APPENDIX C

TIMETABLE FOR DATA COLLECTION

DATE	INTERVIEWEES NAMES	TIME	VENUE	PURPOSE
11/05/2002	Anna	3.30-6.30	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 1
12/05/2002	Anisha	10.00-1.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 1
18/05/2002	Leslie	9.00-12.00	Home	Date Collection-Interview Schedule 1
	Beauty	3.00-6.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 1
19/05/2002	Moreen	2.00-5.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 1
26/05/2002	Patsy	1.00-4.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 1
1/06/2002	Anna	10.00-1.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 2
	Anisha	4.00-7.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 2
2/06/2002	Leslie	11.00-2.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 2
	Beauty	4.00-7.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 2
15/06/2002	Moreen	9.30-12.30	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 2
	Patsy	2.00-5.00	Home	Data Collection-Interview Schedule 2

20/07/2002	Anna Anisha	8.30-10.30 1.00-3.00	Home Home	Verification of transcription Verification of transcription
28/07/2002	Leslie Beauty	9.15-11.15 4.00-6.00	Home Home	Verification of transcription Verification of transcription
29/07/2002	Moreen Patsy	10.00-12.00 3.00-5.00	Home Home	Verification of transcription Verification of transcription

APPENDIX D

Guidelines presented to participants for story review process.

Dear _____

You will be glad to know that the story is almost complete, after many hours of listening, transcribing and interpreting. The story has been written based on the meaning I made by listening many times to the tapes and reviewing the transcripts. I have tried to narrate to the best of my intentions your thought, ideas and practices you have embodied and engaged with over different times in your life. As you would realize, I have included certain data and excluded others, as I believe it to serve the intention of the study.

I have chosen the aspects, events and issues you emphasized as important for you. The story is written in first-person, i.e. have written the story as if it were you speaking. In the final presentation of the story in my research all the names will be changed.

However, this is the story of you and your life and in paying this tribute to you, I believe you have to read it and acknowledge that my narration of the story of acceptable and that is encapsulates your life. If there are any additions, deletions, changes, please record these.

You may call me at any time if you have any queries about this process. As soon as you have completed the task, I will arrange a follow-up discussion where we can discuss the story and your comments.

Thank you for taking the time to share your story with me. I am grateful for your participation.

Regards

Suren.

APPENDIX E

This is to confirm that I have read my life-story recorded and written by Suren Seetal. I hereby declare that all the facts written are true and correct and giving the researcher the right to publish my story.

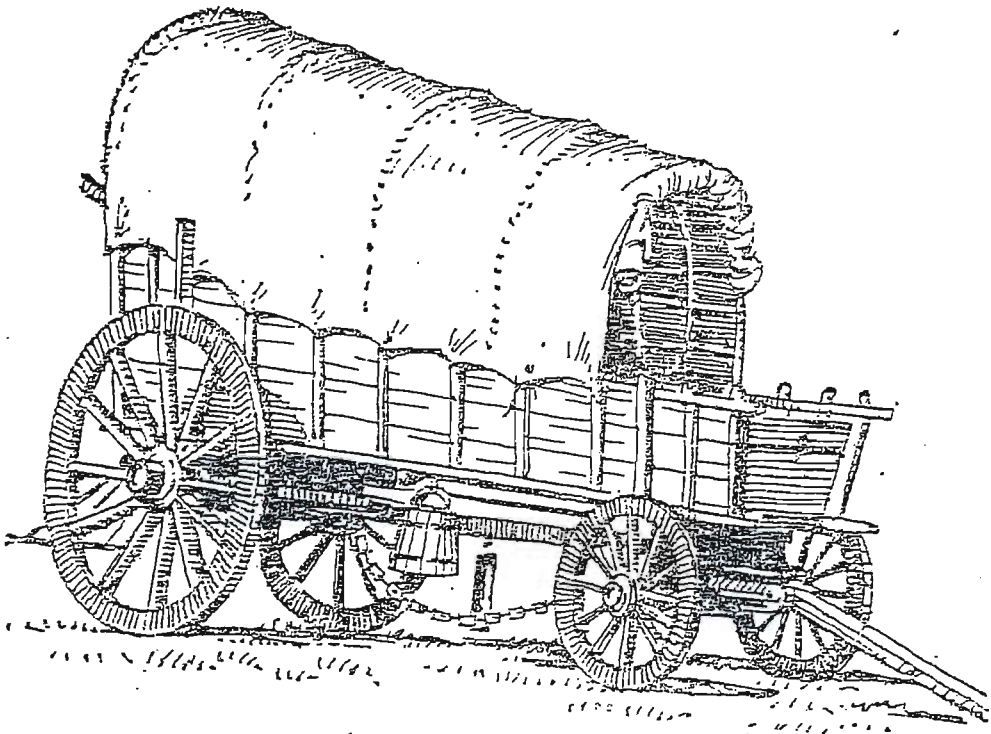
Signed : _____

Date : _____

Map of Pinetown District



APPENDIX G



A Voortrekker wagon

Lambrechts, H. 1973. *New History for Standard 6*. Nationale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery. Cape Town.

APPENDIX H

Napoleon Bonaparte



Graves, F.E. 1985. *History for Today Standard 8*. Juta & Co. Cape Town.

APPENDIX I

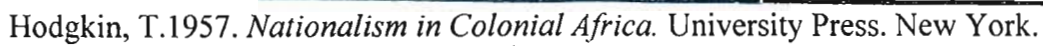
The Middle East Conflict

COOL IT, QUICK!



Heater, D.1992. *Our World this Century*. Oxford Press. London.

Map showing colonial rule in Africa in 1939



The 1976 Soweto Uprising



APPENDIX L



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

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Private Bag X895

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0001

Mr L. T. Mbatha
KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education
Private Bag X04
ULUNDI
3838

8 August 2000

Dear Mr Mbatha

PROVINCIALISED GRADES 10-12 HISTORY SYLLABUS

Your request regarding the above was tabled on 25 and 26 July 2000 at a joint meeting of the Curriculum Management Committee (CMC) and the Co-ordinating Committee for Vocational Education (CCVE).

Owing to the fact that core syllabi only contain the minimum content, provincial education departments are therefore allowed to provincialise such syllabi and to offer additional content, provided they cover the minimum content as stipulated in the core syllabi.

In view of the above, the Committee decided to approve your Department's request, namely to grant permission for the use of a newly developed provincialised History Syllabus for Grades 10-12, provided that it complies with the current interim Higher and Standard Grade History core syllabi for Grades 10-12, as developed by the National Education and Training Forum (NETF) in 1995.

Kind regards


^ DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
(059N1337000808)

THE NEWLY APPROVED SYLLABUS

HISTORY

GRADES 10 - 12

1. PREAMBLE

History textbooks in South Africa have been attacked for promoting racial conflict, regurgitation of facts, uselessness, boring content and colonial brainwashing. Richard Pares, a distinguished British historian, said: "Good history cannot do as much service as money or science, but bad history can do almost as much harm as the most disastrous scientific discovery in the world." Thus, history in South Africa needs re-writing because it exercises as profound an impact upon and in society as it does upon people in their individual capacities; for, like individuals, societies draw constantly upon past experience for making decisions from the most trivial to the most important. A society needs a unifying vision of itself if it is to know itself as a society and imagine where it is going; it needs a known history in order to establish its dignity, its social identity and its self-awareness.

2. GENERAL OUTCOMES

The notion of history determines that the course of study offered in Grades 10 - 12 in South Africa and modern World History has been structured to achieve, *inter alia*, the following general outcomes:

- 2.1 to contribute in helping learners emulate good actions of their forebears, and to lay sound social foundations for posterity;
- 2.2 to help promote and encourage the development of learners spiritually, educationally and politically;

R.A. and Elizabeth Humphreys, eds., *The Historian's Business and other Essays* by Richard Pares (Oxford), 1961, p. ix.

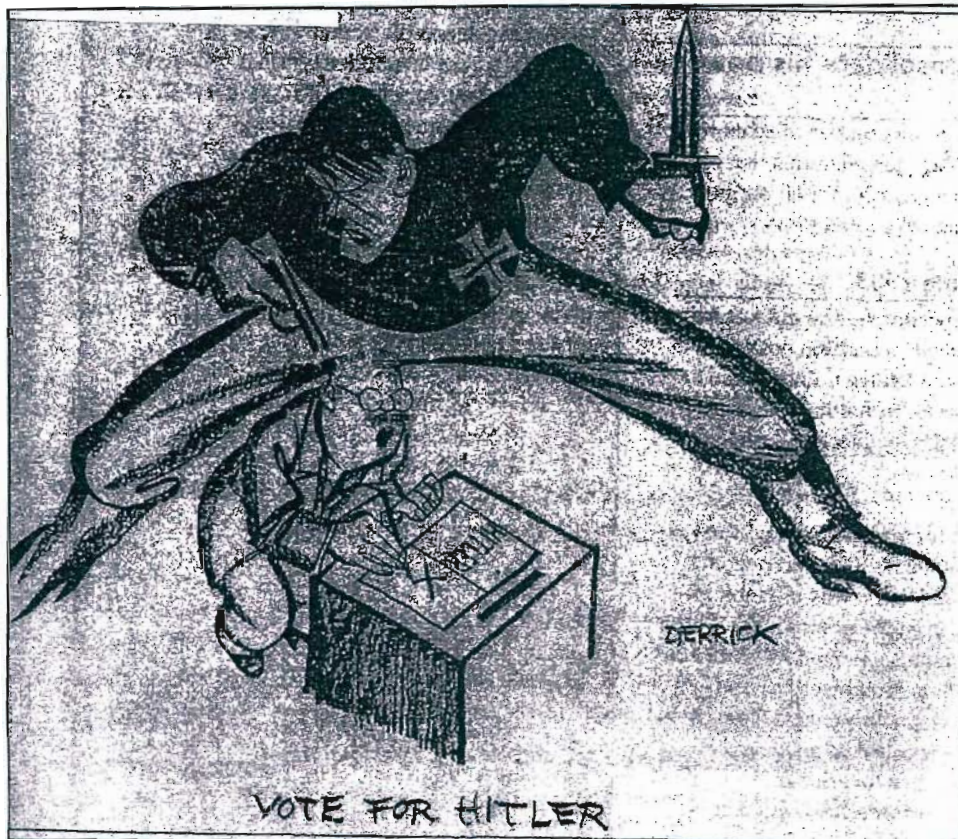
- 2.3 to motivate for the improvement of learners' quality of life;
- 2.4 to develop learners in particular look far for their salvation and liberation from the of society;
- 2.5 to instil pride in learners of their past and this establishes valuable identity for it and prepare for the future;
- 2.7 to present history as a variable in the process of socializing learners for the envisaged social change.

3. SPECIFIC OUTCOMES

- 3.1 learners get a clear conception of their social and economic environment, taking in account that they must of necessity adapt themselves to the environment in which they will have to live as adults;
- 3.2 learners to realize their relationship to others and the nature of their social responsibilities and duties, based on the knowledge and experience gained at school;
- 3.3 learners to grow to be useful, resourceful, effective and uninhabited adults;
- 3.4 learners to evolve a well, considered contextual perspective for themselves and their society by discerning some injustices and atrocities committed by powers of the world;
- 3.5 learners to identify priority social needs of their community and apply whatever social knowledge to the benefit, especially of the lower income group or the disadvantaged democracy, peace and justice.

APPENDIX N

Hitler and a voter during the 1933 election in Germany



Prockter, R.1997. *Germany in the Twentieth Century*. Heinemann. London.

APPENDIX O

History

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