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**LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY -**  
**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FLEMISH AND AFRIKAANS**  
**L1-INSTRUCTION MATERIALS SINCE 2000**

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University of Cape Town

## **0. INTRODUCTION**

### **0.1 Background to this Study**

In an attempt to answer the question as to what views on national identity can be found in language textbooks, this study examines the categories and nature of themes and situations that appear in a recent<sup>1</sup> Flemish and Afrikaans language school textbook. Central to the study is the clarification as to which themes the situations and texts in these books are linked.

Since 1991, a gradual political move towards New Right has been made 'visible' through democratic elections with sweeping victories for right-wing parties. Halfway around the world, South Africa was gradually moving out of the Apartheid-era. With a democratic win for the African National Congress in the 1994 national elections, this period seemed to be closed and relegated into history. However, based on the assumption that traces of these socio-political developments and consequent evolutions should be found in recent textbooks, I set out on this study.

### **0.2 Terminology**

#### **0.2.1 L1 Education**

Mother tongue (L1-) education is part of this study's *foci*. It will be here represented through the twin appearance of L1-education as the mother tongue of the majority of pupils being the medium of instruction (L1 as medium of instruction) as well as L1-education as the teaching and learning of the mother tongue (L1 as subject). The instruction materials for analysis are currently being used in Flemish and Afrikaans schools for the teaching of Dutch and Afrikaans.

#### **Notes:**

The South African contemporary school system:

The current South African school system is currently in transition. For clarity's sake, this will not be gone into here. Suffice it to say that the Afrikaans textbook that will be analysed, *Raamwerk 11&12*, is used in the learning process of final grade students (grades 11 and 12). The students

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<sup>1</sup> "Recent" meaning printed and in use since 2000.

from Grade 12 -the actual school leavers- are called *matrieks*, after the Senior Certificate 'matric' Exam (the school-leaving exam).

The Flemish contemporary school system

**Table 1: Diagram of secondary education**

	GENERAL	TECHNICAL	ARTISTIC	VOCATIONAL
4 <sup>th</sup> grade				(3 <sup>rd</sup> year BSO) (2 <sup>nd</sup> year BSO) (1 <sup>st</sup> year BSO)
3 <sup>rd</sup> grade	(3 <sup>rd</sup> year preparing for HE/ specialization year) 2 <sup>nd</sup> year ASO 1 <sup>st</sup> year ASO	(3 <sup>rd</sup> year preparing for HE/specialization year) 2 <sup>nd</sup> year TSO 1 <sup>st</sup> year TSO	(3 <sup>rd</sup> year preparing for HE/specialization year) 2 <sup>nd</sup> year KSO 1 <sup>st</sup> year KSO	(3 <sup>rd</sup> specialization year) 2 <sup>nd</sup> year BSO 1 <sup>st</sup> year BSO (3 <sup>rd</sup> perfection year BSO)
2 <sup>nd</sup> grade	2 <sup>nd</sup> year ASO 1 <sup>st</sup> year ASO	2 <sup>nd</sup> year TSO 1 <sup>st</sup> year TSO	2 <sup>nd</sup> year KSO 1 <sup>st</sup> year KSO	2 <sup>nd</sup> year BSO 1 <sup>st</sup> year BSO
1 <sup>st</sup> grade	2 <sup>nd</sup> year 1 <sup>st</sup> year A			BVL 1 <sup>st</sup> year B

ASO: general secondary education  
 TSO: technical secondary education  
 KSO: artistic secondary education  
 BSO: occupational secondary education  
 BVL: prevocational year  
 HE : higher education

Remark: The years between brackets are optional

Source: [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/onderwijs\\_in\\_vlaanderen/english/diagram.htm](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/onderwijs_in_vlaanderen/english/diagram.htm)

The Flemish textbook that will be studied is used in the last year of secondary school, ASO. This is the second year of the third grade in the above figure.

### 0.2.2 The School Textbook

The school textbook is still a very important document today. Discussing the question of 'whose knowledge is of most worth', Michael Apple states that much progress has been made on answering it. Yet, he goes on, "little attention has actually been paid to that one artifact [sic] that plays such a major role in defining whose culture is taught - the textbook" (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991; 1).

Texts do not just deliver 'facts'; they are the products of political, cultural, and economic struggles and activities. They were written by "real people with real interests" (id.; 2), curriculum designers, authors and publishers to name but the most important 'agents'. However, Apple and

Christian-Smith do recognise the importance of the textbook *in se*. Both through content and form, it reflects various reality constructions, “particular ways of selecting and organising that vast universe of possible knowledge” (id.; 3). This embodiment of the *selective tradition*<sup>2</sup> does not mean only one meaning pervades the text. In the case of the school textbook, there is often also room for minority discourses, or differing voices. In contexts of great national changes –e.g. the breakaway from Apartheid in South Africa, the power of the text can thus be used in a positive sense to offer a platform for various ways of creating or reading texts. This way, the textbook can echo different values –which might be contradictory- in order to help create a new cultural or social reality.

In the classroom, the textbook is a powerful ‘instrument’, too. Egil B. Johnsen (Johnsen 1993) wrote a critical survey of research that had been done into the issue of educational texts. Some of those investigations related to the teacher-textbook relationship. The claim that “established teachers are, and that newly educated teachers become, textbook users” got support from a study done by researchers at the Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique, France. The study investigated teachers’ attitudes towards schoolbooks. The results showed that almost all of the teachers regarded the textbooks as an “asset”, and as “indispensable”. At the same time, though, teachers from lower as well as upper secondary school levels made clear that the textbook was a tool, something *they* used. The textbook was not a power from a higher order. In all, school textbooks “were used more frequently in the humanities than in the natural sciences.” (Johnsen 1993; 314)

Concerning the use of the textbook, Johnsen cites two researchers who, over a two-year period (1982-1984) had conducted an investigation into –among other topics- the use of textbooks by student teachers. They established the following “vicious circle”:

*“In spite of what they had been taught in their courses, the student teachers in both programs ended up using textbook programs to teach reading, math, science, and social studies. Some student teachers felt pressed to maintain the established classroom practice. Others were simply overwhelmed by the responsibility of teaching for the entire day, and resorted to textbooks as a reasonable way to manage, or at least survive, the demands. (P.415) (Ball and Feiman-Nemser quoted in Johnsen 1993; 313)*

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<sup>2</sup> This term was borrowed from Raymond Williams. He hereby denotes the fact that a text is someone’s selection, a particular person or group’s vision of what constitutes legitimate knowledge and culture.

This way, beginning teachers become textbook users and –in order to “survive the demands” of education, they will tend to keep relying on textbooks and teachers’ guides. This goes to show that the school textbook –and definitely the language textbook being used in humanities subject classes– holds an important position in education, and it is therefore worth to be studied *in se*.

### 0.2.3 National Identity

National identity is of a different nature than other identities in the sense that it is highly dependent on a socio-political and cultural construct, the *nation*, rather than on an individual’s psychological make-up. Even though ideas like that of ‘suture’ –see 1.1.3– suggest national identity of a group of people also gets highly influenced –and at the same time in an unconscious manner– by the way lives are lived around us, by “wider cultural codes”, the concept of nation remains central in the national identity debate.

Descriptions in the literature range from Benedict Anderson’s *imagined community of people* to a “political concept that refers to an administrative apparatus deemed to have sovereignty over a specific space or territory” (Barker, 2001; 123) to more intrinsically varied definitions. A nation is thus a community of people held together by politics and/or common properties such as culture and tradition, religion, ethnos, history, definitions that clearly draw the line between one specific group of people and an Other... (Craft 1995; Giroux 1995; Thiesse 1999; Tolz 1999).

It is interesting to note that depending on the geographical and historical context, different emphasises can already be detected in the literature on nations. When talking about Europe and its nations, French writer, Anne-Marie Thiesse<sup>3</sup>, talks about the rise and political maintenance of the European nation-states since the nineteenth century. Political aspects of this nation-building seem to be foregrounded. In the literature on post-colonial –in the broad sense of the word– nations, however, the importance of (the narrative of) ethnic roots and historical events is highlighted (Craft 1995, with references to the post-colonial theory of Foucault). A.D. Smith (1991), too, distinguishes between a so-called ‘western model’ and an ethnic-genealogical model of national identity. The first “emphasises territory, a legal-political community, a common culture and a common civic ideology” (Parmenter 1999; 454), whereas the second approach accords priority “to common descent, ethnicity and blood ties” (id.). Ethnically diverse people such as the inhabitants of Russia seem to fall in between these two stools after the breakdown of

the USSR, willing to combine both approaches but not ready to let Russia be divided by matters of ethnicity and ethnical minorities (Tolz 1998). A nation is thus:

“[Since the ideological revolution that began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and conferred political power on ‘the people’]

*“a broad community united by a link different in nature both from allegiance to the same monarch and from membership of the same religion or social estate. The nation no longer derived from the ruler. It was henceforth independent of the contingencies of dynastic or military history.”* (Thiesse 1999)

*“The narration of ethnic roots and important historical events answers the question, ‘Who are we?’*

*“Ethnicity helps define the nation space from within; opposition to U.S. hegemony defines it from without and is, in fact, a compelling reason for disparate groups to unite.”* (Craft 1995)

Note: the opposition to Russian cultural, political and economic dominance from within the other ex-USSR states is actually the reason why for them it has been easier to build up a separate community within their political states than it has for the Russians themselves.

Vera Tolz, researcher into nation-building in post-communist Russia and ex-Soviet Union considers identity to provide an answer to the question: “Who am I?” Nation and national identity issues are then more closely linked to the question: “Who are we/us, when we talk about ‘we/us the people’?” They are also invariably linked to one another in the sense that without fostering the people's national identity, i.e. “their sense of belonging to one distinct community” (Tolz 1998; 993), a nation cannot be built. Giroux seems to underscore this point but calls attention to the “intersecting dynamics of history, language, ideology and power” (Giroux 1995; 4) itself at work in the nation. National identity is highly sensitive to that and is, as such, “a social construction that is built upon a series of inclusions and exclusions regarding history, citizenship, and national belonging.” (Id.)

(See also Grigor-Suny 2001 on national identity formation in the ex-Soviet Union Republic of Armenia)

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<sup>3</sup> For further reading - Thiesse, A. *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIIe-Xxe siècle*. Paris: Editions du Seuil 1999

So, national identity is about belonging to a community that in the diverse, multicultural world cannot but respond to cultural differences and constantly redefine who makes up that community. It is easy to detect in the debate on national identities the present-day notion of unstable identities, constructed through difference and intranational as well as international mirrors and relationships (cf. below Lacan and the subject-of-language approach to identities). The inclusions and exclusions from the make-up of 'the nation' (national identity) based upon this community's dynamic relationships with history, language, ideology and power (cf. Giroux) then mirror intranational images. On the other hand, communities in states like most ex-Soviet Union ones (cf. Tolz) or Honduras in South America (cf. Craft), get a lot of their national identity construction from their international relationship with the Other. The Other(s) being them 'who we are not'. In other words, they pride themselves to have built a nation that is all but Russian or United States-like (cf. also Grigor-Suny 2001). A similar voice can be heard with historian, Ian Grosvenor who talks about national identity in Great Britain, specifically focussing on the contingency of identity:

*"There is a constant interplay between Self and Other in the construction and reconstruction of national identity. [Cultural theorist -bk] Bhabha's use of the binary Other focuses on colonial and postcolonial encounters. In the present context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain this relationship can be explored productively using the political framework of black/white relations. "Each of the ... encounters between 'white' and 'black' groups has seen the construction and reproduction of subordinate racialized black identities. ... They are the 'Other'... in a relationship where the Self is 'what rules, names, defines and assigns' its Other<sup>4</sup>. The history of 'the Other' is therefore necessarily deeply implicated in the history of 'the Self'." (Grosvenor 1999; 244-245. Also see Chapter 1.2 below)*

Grosvenor illustrates this last claim by referring to post-1945 political, academic or educational speeches in which the construction of black immigrant identities was produced, and concluding that, when the speakers were defining these identities, "they were at the same time defining, constructing and affirming their own sense of identity." (p.245). Thus, while defining their 'Other', they were simultaneously taking their own definitions of their identities to the fore.

The next chapter will elaborate on these shapes of 'Self' and 'Other' in an attempt to explain the specific relationship between language education and national identity.

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<sup>4</sup> H. Cixous and C. Clement quoted in Grosvenor 1999.

## CHAPTER 1: LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

This chapter aims to clarify the relationship between language education and national identity. This will be achieved specifically by looking into the nature of the relationship between language and identity (1.1), by commenting on current studies that deal with this topic (1.2) and, finally, by exploring the socio-political space within which national identity and education in Flanders and South Africa have evolved (1.3). In doing so, this part will develop and establish the theoretical framework for this study.

### 1.1 Language and Identity

For many years, philosophers and linguists have been writing on the relationship between language and identity. The following paragraphs elaborate on these writings from two influential contemporaries, Edward Sapir and Jacques Lacan, and on a synopsis of Lacanian structuralist thought -out of which the definition of identity to be used in this study has been distilled.

#### 1.1.1 Edward Sapir (1949)

When Edward Sapir in 1949 wrote about “*Culture, Language and Personality*”, he described the dynamic process which occurs within a subject between the subject –or the ‘inner world of experience’- and his or her social context –the so-called ‘outer world of experience’:

*“A personality is carved out by the subtle interaction of those systems of ideas which are characteristic of the culture as a whole, as well as of those systems of ideas which get established for the individual through more special types of participation, with the physical and psychological needs of the individual organism, which cannot take over any of the cultural material that is offered in its original form but works it over more or less completely so that it integrates with those needs...”*(Halsted 1984;7)

So, a ‘personality’, or a subject’s identity is a (temporary<sup>5</sup>) result of the interaction between the subject and the social context as well as of an ‘intrapersonal’ process in which the internalisation and adaptation of experiences from the ‘outer world’ to the subject’s inner needs, desires etc.

happen. Nonetheless, it is suggested that there is a package of experiences –whether or not these are in transformation- which we can call ‘identity’. It is not ready-made, but it is altogether constructed through the subject’s relationship with the outside world. Finally, it is worth noting that this identity apparently coheres around a centre, i.c. the *subject*.

The relevance of language in this discussion can be found, as Isabelle Halsted explains, in its very instrumental function:

*“Language is the means by which one ‘names the world’”, and as such is a principle vehicle through which cultural norms are internalized—at first in the family, then in the broader social context.”*(Halsted 1984; 8)

### 1.1.2 Jacques Lacan (1949)

The French psychoanalyst, and central figure in the development of psychoanalytic and contemporary structuralist thought, Jacques Lacan, believed identity to be a fictional construct. In the ‘*mirror stage*’, the pre-ego child *misrecognises* itself in the mirror. So, identity comes into being through identification with the *Other* (the mirror image). And the same image “situates the agency of the ego before its social determination, in a fictional direction.”(du Gay et al. [Eds] 2000; 45)<sup>6</sup> Identity is therefore a fictional construction from the very beginning.

*“The mirror stage is a drama whose internal thrust is precipitated from insufficiency to anticipation [my emphasis, bk] – and which manufactures for the subject, caught up in the lure of spatial identification, the succession of phantasies that extends from a fragmented body-image to a form of its totality that I shall call alienating identity [my emphasis, bk], which will mark with its rigid structure the subject’s entire mental development.”*(id.; 47)

In the process of the infant’s (mis-)recognition of itself, the subject is constituted from outside. It is consequently worth remembering this from Lacan, i.e. that he, like Sapir, acknowledges a great influence from outside. However, unlike his contemporary, the Frenchman does not talk so much about internalisation or the transformation from outer experiences into inner experiences. He does strongly suggest identity is not always already present within the subject. Also, the subject’s newly gained identity amounts to nothing more than fraudulence caused by the subject’s own

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<sup>5</sup> The image of ‘carving out’ suggests that an individual’s personality is formed in stages, as a sculpture is.

<sup>6</sup> From a delivery speech by J. Lacan at the 16th International Congress of Psychoanalysis, Zurich 17 July 1949. Quoted in: du Gay, P. et al. [Eds] 2000

desire to see himself or herself in his or her entirety. That the identification with the 'Other' can later be objectified through differences with 'Others' suggests identities to be constructed through difference. Identities come into being from the place of the 'Other', such as for example... language:

*"[The] jubilant assumption of his specular image by the child at the 'infans' stage, still sunk in his motor incapacity and nursing dependence, would seem to exhibit in an exemplary situation the symbolic matrix in which the 'I' is precipitated in a primordial form, before it is objectified in the dialectic of identification with the other, and before language restores to it [...] its function as subject."*(id.)

To Lacan, language precedes the "I" as the "I" is born into an existing order of language and culture. This linguistic and cultural (already existing discourse) is termed the *Symbolic*. It is the *Symbolic* which makes it possible for the "I" to speak. Still according to Lacan, it is mainly the symbolic world, the world of speech, which influences the subject in the sense that the (position of the) subject is characterised by its place in this world; a world into which the "I" was born.

These ideas of identity construction through difference and –to a lesser extent developed by Lacan himself- of the availability in language of the subject's position would later prove to be quite influential. They were picked up again and developed by, among other people, Lacanian structuralists in the "subject-of-language" approach to identity.

### 1.1.3 Post-structuralism: Subject-of-Language Approach

Three arguments lie at the heart of this outlook. First of all, the idea that there is no such thing as the 'essential self'. As Peter Redman explains in his introductory chapter to "The subject of language, ideology and discourse"(du Gay et al. [Eds] 2000):

*"Identities are constituted or 'performatively' enacted in and through the subject positions made available in language and wider cultural codes."*(id.; 10)

Secondly, identities are constructed through difference. E.g.: "I am a student." One can only claim to be a student because there are other 'classes' of people who are not. The subject's (I) identity gets derived from the distinction from the 'Other', e.g. labourers or non-school aged children. In this view, the influence of Jacques Derrida, the French philosopher, can easily be detected. By means of the concept of *différance*, he explained that subjects derive their meaning

from their relationships with others. Or, concerning identities, they –so this concept suggests– “take their meaning from [...] relations of difference internal to language and other cultural codes.”(id.; 12) Consequently, identities are conceived as unstable nor is there a centre to which they would cling. E.g. ‘I’ as a centre. ‘I’ only exists through his or her differential relations with ‘Others’.

Finally, the subject is ‘sutured’ to the subject positions made available in languages and wider cultural codes through unconscious operations. This ‘suture’ is not to be confused with the ‘ordinary’ meaning of identification.

*“[T]he discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed – always ‘in progress’. It is not determined in the sense that it can always be ‘won’ or ‘lost’, sustained or abandoned.” (id.; 16-17)*

*“I use ‘identity’ to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture, between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to ‘interpellate’, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be ‘spoken’. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us.”(id.; 19)*

These claims are highly interesting with special regards to the discussion of this dissertation’s topic. Some preliminary questions to be answered would then be:

- What subject positions do language and cultural codes precisely make available?
- Which themes are available in (language) textbooks?
  - How do subject positions show in the textbooks, linguistically speaking?
  - How could there be ‘suture’ from the student’s point of view<sup>7</sup>?
- Which cultural codes?
  - How do subject positions show in the textbooks, culturally speaking?
  - How could there be ‘suture’ from the student’s point of view?

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<sup>7</sup> Social psychologist, Erik Eriksson (with his groundbreaking works on multi-faceted identities published in 1958, 1960), claimed that an authentic identity could not exist without so much as a “fit between the external world and the self’s talents, interests, and needs”, as Alan Roland remarked. (Roland 1994; 26) However, ‘suture’ is a concept that is part of an even more dynamic and temporary identity.

I personally can 'find myself' in the claim that language and cultural codes define a temporary moment in which a subject feels attached to a subject position. Identity is thus a dissolvable cluster of qualities but always a cluster. So there must be something. This is then the heart of our essential being. No matter what social context I am in, I may have no or little perception of who I am, I still am and it will be very hard for anyone to ignore that. This being only 'changes' once in a lifetime. There is no use in speculating about the moments beyond that point, not even about that point itself (Is it a 'terminus', a 'stop', a halting? Is it transgression? Is it transformation?).

The qualities have to do with categories like man, woman, married... and they are subject to change. The clusters continually change according to social context and subject position.

These clusters are identities that are not ready-made packages lying waiting to 'come to the fore'. They are formed at particular moments in time.

However, I believe that –arguing in the tradition of Lacan's idea of differential identities- if there is mis-recognition, there is the capacity to recognise. So, a child 'discovering' itself from the place of the 'Other' has still shown the capacity to discover a 'Self'. Lacan would argue that as soon there is recognition, all that is left is (room for) mis-recognition again. However –not agreeing on this critical point, why would the capacities be there if there were nothing 'outside' to correspond to it? Let me reverse this thinking: would we be talking about partially impaired people if no human subject had arms, legs, senses...? I believe this shows the capacities to recognise a true self are there- which does make talking about identities quite useful.

Further, at a level of national identity, the point of a 'centre-less' identity can not be entirely carried home: government policies in states like Armenia (Grigor-Suny 2001), Japan (Hashimoto 2000, Parmenter 1999), Great-Britain (Grosvenor 1999) or Honduras (Craft 1995) are orientated toward the centralisations -or even the constructions- of certain 'common' properties like socio-cultural traditions or ethnos in order to have the people they conceive or have come to regard as their own 'sutured' to these properties. Human tragedies like e.g. the loss of thousands of lives in Rwanda and Burundi resulting from a social and ethnic conflict that came to a violent outburst in 1994, are excesses of such policies put into action.

Yet, even though these arbitrary or constructed -and thus unessential- properties are centred and national identity formation subsequently happens through suture to centralised properties in language and culture, there is still no essential centre. Therefore, there can indeed be no essential national 'Self'; although it is postulated there exists such a thing as a cluster of centralised and nationalised properties with little room for other properties to be foregrounded.

As far as construction of the 'Self' through the 'Other' in national identity formation is concerned, it has already been shown above that many theorists and researchers in the field recognise this as a sub-process inherent to the conception of a sense of national belonging (cf. Chapter 0.2).

## 1.2 Current Studies on Education and National Identity

After two years of research into the development of national identity (construction) in lower secondary schools in Japan, researcher Lynne Parmenter reported in an article, entitled "*Constructing National Identity in a Changing World: perspectives in Japanese education*" (Parmenter 1999).

After her examination of the historical and current role of education in Japanese national identity formation, it is obvious that the Japanese 'Ministry of Education' has been promoting the foregroundedness of Japanese traditional values and symbols, such as the Japanese flag and the national anthem, for nearly 150 years. Principal themes in Japanese educational texts have been a/o. self-awareness as a Japanese person, love of the country and of the Emperor and respect for national traditions. Interesting for this study, is the (considerable) role of language education. To this day, the instruction of Japanese as a subject takes up more period hours than any other subject in the national curriculum of Japan. This fact obtains justification from the outlook on language as

*"the nucleus of activity as a person for each one of the national people. As such, the national language plays an essential role in the self-creation and fulfilment of each individual national citizen, as well as in the formation, improvement and progress of our nation's society, and the continuation, creation and development of its culture"* (the Japanese Ministry of Education quoted in Parmenter 1999; 457).

Preliminary to this quote, Parmenter had already demonstrated how the Ministry of Education started from the (false) premise that each of these 'national people' was a person born and raised in Japan (p.456). Furthermore, there is –still according to the Ministry– "one national language, one national culture, one national knowledge and one national way of life" (p.457). In Smith's categorisation, this fits an ethnic-genealogical view of national identity, implying common descent and, with it, exclusivity as well as a set of –invented or other- common properties. Parmenter does not go deeper into the issue of possibly 'invented traditions' but she has recorded

the voices of students and student teachers on the subject of national belonging. What she has found is that “a wide discrepancy exists between Ministry of Education ideology, and the opinions of Japanese students and student teachers” (p.453).

Education-wise, it can be concluded from her article that national identity equals cultural identity in the Japanese educational policy reports. And language education is the number one-mechanism to obtain one and the same national way of living and thinking<sup>8</sup>.

In the second study, *There's no place like home*, British historian, Ian Grosvenor (Grosvenor 1999) touches upon some interesting aspects of national identity construction in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain, considering the role of education in this process. For relevance's sake, the mentions from this research paper will here be confined to the author's findings concerning 'education' and the 'nation'. (Logically, from a historical perspective, when discussing 'Englishness', the era of the British Empire has to be taken into consideration. This was the era when 'home' was exported abroad as well as being developed through the discursive confrontations with the 'Otherness' of people, mainly immigrants, from the then British colonies.) In the section on "Educating the Nation", Grosvenor elaborates on Benedict Anderson's 1983 account of 'nation' as an "imagined political community ... because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (B. Anderson quoted in Grosvenor 1999; 246-247). Grosvenor makes the point that national identity, too, can be looked upon as 'imagined' since “it provides an 'imaginary unity' against other possible unities” (p.247). The modern classroom -equipped with text, aids and teacher<sup>9</sup>- thus became a tool for state policy makers to nurture this sense of 'comradeship'. He describes how children –regardless of class- learnt to actively love their country, and take pride in it over other –most often, grossly stereotyped- nationalities. School history texts centred on themes like patriotism, militarism and (the expansion of) the British Empire. Even though it can prove rather problematic to measure the effect of such a type of education, Grosvenor reaches the conclusion that the “hidden curriculum”, i.e. the material culture of everyday schooling, has to be looked into. This way, an overall picture of its role in the shaping and endorsement of (a stable and coherent) national identity could be produced. Aspects

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<sup>8</sup> Hashimoto (2000) corroborates Lynne Parmenter's findings: “In Japanese educational policies, the identities of Japanese citizens are exclusively connected with Japanese culture and tradition with an assumption of the sameness of individuals rather than individual differences.” The article has outlined the role of TEFL (Teaching of English as a Foreign Language) in the affirmation of *Japaneseness*.

<sup>9</sup> However, the implication that means should have been available for all schools has been refuted by a number of historical reports -as Ian Grosvenor also acknowledges. See e.g. Brindle, P. "Mr. Chips with everything" in *History today*, Vol.46 No.6, June 1996, pp.11-14

of this hidden 'agenda' include "the display of reproduction paintings, the symbols printed on exercise books ... images on shields ... medals and certificates" (p.248)

So, the task of a historian –in addition also that of a sociolinguist or educationist- becomes threefold:

- (a) From a linguistic point of view, educational spaces like text selection, symbolism (in songs, chants, and poems...) can further be explored as illustrations of this 'covert curriculum'<sup>10</sup>. Textbooks in this respect become collection of selected spaces of discourse, so that critical discourse analysis might be called upon for some of those spaces.
- (b) Whereas a historian "should aim to identify the processes, images and symbols which trivialized and patronized, gave form to the nation's 'Other', and produced racialized identities" (id.), a sociolinguist can probe into this from a contemporary point of view.
- (c) Both classes of researchers can "seek to identify those educational spaces and sites where racialized identities were [or are, bk] challenged." (id.)

Extending this last point to the field of pedagogy, it begins to resemble a critical pedagogy like the *modus discendi* Henry Giroux presents.

According to educational theorist Henry Giroux, national identity should be addressed taking into account national identity as a shifting complex itself as well as nationalism and post-national social formations linked to the theory of democracy –i.e. the theorising of the questions whether there are legal rights for all, irrespective of the cultural differences, or whether democracy allows equal access to power for all). He urges for a pedagogy that considers cultural differences and the ever-dynamic concept of national identities, which are "constantly being negotiated and reinvented within the complex and contradictory notions of national belonging." (Giroux 1995; 11) Obviously, the attempts of a/o. Japanese and British educational policy makers and textbook writers to render national identity "stable, secure and coherent" (Grosvenor 1999; 248-cf. also above) go against this view. Giroux is in fact one of just a few authors in this field who has fully made out the post-modern dynamics of shifting identities. Although he stretches the concept of national identity rather far to its ever-moving boundaries because of the very complex interaction with other factors such as cultural differences, experiences etc., the literature on education, language and identity is rather poor in this respect. It seems to focus more on ethnicity and

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<sup>10</sup> However, the term '*curriculum*' could indicate a higher degree of intent than, for example, textbook writers may be aware of when writing and selecting texts.

multicultural education, and on the education of minorities (Corson 2001; Edwards 1989; Halsted 1981; Skutnabb-Kangas ?).

The importance of Henry Giroux's outlook for this study, can be read from the introduction to a reprinted article of his in the anthology *From Modernism to Post Modernism*, outlining the tenor of his works:

*"Education for Giroux is intrinsically a political process aimed at producing a democratic, egalitarian society. The primary obstacle to this end is the marginalization of social groups by racism and sexism."* (Giroux 1996; 687)

Giroux's stance links into the social realities of both contemporary Flanders and South Africa; not only because he critically looks at pedagogy from a contemporary viewpoint as opposed to a historical one but also because the issues he discerns and takes into account are serious concerns in both the South African and Flemish society. Reflections thereof can be found in the latest policy memorandum by the Flemish Minister of Education and Training, Marleen Vanderpoorten, (Vanderpoorten 2000; 42-43) or in the Department of Education's various policy documents -e.g. *Gemeenschappelijke verklaring over de gelijke behandeling van hetero- en holebiseksualiteit in het onderwijs* (26<sup>th</sup> June 2002; *Joint declaration of equal treatment of hetero- and homosexuality in education*), *Decreet over gelijke onderwijskansen* (19<sup>th</sup> June 2002; *Decree of equal opportunities in education*)<sup>11</sup>. South African examples of such texts include *Values in Education -Programme in Action* (DoE, June 2002) -which was inspired by a/o. the 2001 .SAAMTREK-Conference and the ensuing *Manifesto on Values, Democracy and Education*; non-racism and non-sexism were two prominent values<sup>12</sup> in this document. One should be careful to assume that there is a linear relationship between educational policy reports and school textbooks (cf. Hashimoto 2000), yet especially these South African educational policies reveal an overt trend towards social value-inspired education. In the perspective of this study and its research questions (see "Introduction"), a mental note should be made of this tendency.

In conclusion, it may be said that the promotion of national identity as a social identity phenomenon has occurred in several different places in the world for nearly two centuries. To this end, language education can be a powerful vehicle in state hands in order to try and bring

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<sup>11</sup> Source: <http://www.onderwijs.Vlaanderen.be>

<sup>12</sup> "Values are seen as conceptions of the desirable which are not directly observable but are evident in moral discourse and relevant to the formulation of attitudes." (Van Deth, J. and E. Scarbrough *The Impact of Values*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995; 46 -quoted in Kotzé 2000; 438)

people together under one umbrella and, at the same time, to exclude or 'racialise' others. To identify those educational spaces where 'racialisation' of identities takes place or where it is being challenged is a possible task for socio-linguists or discourse analysts who take an interest in national identity in education. Also, however solid policy makers may want the umbrella of national identity to appear, educational theorist Henry Giroux draws attention to the intersecting dynamics of history, language, ideology and power in the formation of a sense of national belonging. He developed a critical pedagogy that considers cultural differences and the ever-moving dynamics of national identity (as a result of its multiple relationships and interplay with e.g. language and power). The values that pervade his pedagogy are intrinsically linked to fundamental themes in Flemish as well as South African educational policy documents. Hence, taking Giroux's critical assessment of the relationship between education and national identity into account when researching the themes and values in Flemish and South African language textbooks is being considered relevant.

### **1.3 Historical Survey of the Socio-political Development of National Identity and Flemish and Afrikaans L1-Education in Flanders and South Africa**

#### **1.3.1 Flanders**

When in 1830, the then United Kingdom of The Netherlands agreed to the independence of its southern (mainly Catholic) parts, the Kingdom of Belgium was born. It has been described as an upper middle-class, liberal state, a nineteenth century product of the 1789 French Revolution (Deprez 2000). The most prestigious language in this combined liberal-Church governed state was French. Flemish (Dutch) was -to the slight minority, French-speaking elite- the language of the 'common people'. It was also too closely connected to the language spoken in the regions Belgium had just broken away from, i.e. the (now predominantly Protestant) Netherlands. The political, and to a lesser extent also religious, triumph of the independent Belgium was celebrated through art. Flemish artists, including writers, helped to create and sustain one unified nation (Deprez 2000; Soetaert 2000; Deprez and Vos 1999). Mainly through literature education, language instruction, too, played a role in the idolisation of carefully crafted national symbols and personae like that of Germanic tribal leader, Ambiorix, or crusader, Godfried van Bouillon (Soetaert 2000). Soon enough, though, many of the Flemish authors emphasised the Belgian identity as being significantly marked by the nation-state's bilingualism. They believed that the fact that both French and Flemish were spoken in Belgium primarily constituted the Belgian identity in the sense that this distinct feature set the country apart from France, which actively

propagated a *French-only* policy. Despite officially recognised bilingualism in Belgium, some felt that not enough attention was being paid to Flemish. This first generation of Flemish artists, turned language activists hinging their identity on language, grouped themselves. The First Language Movement claimed more rights for Flemish Dutch and for its speakers within the reality of the Belgian nation-state (e.g. the right to use Dutch in domains such as education, court...). In hindsight, it can be explained as a movement of language-loving Belgians subscribing to a pro-Flemish agenda.

During the first industrial revolution, many unschooled Flemish-speaking people ended up in desolate situations of poverty whereas this early industrialisation process was favourable to the inhabitants of Wallonia and to the French-speaking elite in particular. So, the language activists then incorporated a social and economic dimension into their Flemish struggle. What had begun as a struggle for language rights changed into an emancipatory struggle for the speakers of one common language. The language activists began to rely on the Romantic principle of '*Volkgeist*': one people, one nation. Language was considered the unifying link between the two. In this era, the *Maetschappy van de Vlaamsche Letteren* ('Society of Flemish Arts') was founded, carrying the adage: "*De Taal is gansch het Volk*" ("Language is the entire People", Soetaert 2000; 33).

A consequence of the interplay between historical, social and economic evolutions then was the creation of a common enemy by Flemish activists, i.e. the French-speaking people; an image which would prove hard to erase, even after the Flemish people had, in political and legal respect, acquired equal rights in the next, twentieth century. Yet, the original sources of conflict could for a long time be traced back to the oppression of Flemish people by speakers of French. Discussing literature education in nineteenth century Flanders, Soetaert even talks about the "oppressed culture" of the Flemish people (Soetaert 2000; 32).

In the 1950's and '60's, political tensions between Flanders and Wallonia reached fever pitch with, among other issues, a major school funding controversy and the so-called *Koningskwestie*, which divided the country roughly along linguistic boundaries in two camps, one for and one against the King. Soon after this, a federalisation process was started which culminated in the changing of the constitution -(Belgium became a federal state and was no longer unitary)- and the transfer of legal responsibilities to the Belgian communities. Since the 1950's, Flemish nationalist parties had been striving to get more independence for the region. From the early 1990's, the highly popular far-right wing challenges both the Flemish and Belgian authorities in their struggle for a totally independent Flanders. Their political agenda targets non-western citizens and propagates an exclusively Flemish state (cf. also Rupnik 1996; Breuning M. and J.T. Ishiyama 1998; Deprez and Vos 1999).

Education-wise, the 1934 Language Acts had facilitated the introduction of double medium schools in Flanders. Some of these schools<sup>13</sup> had set up a system of alternating days; one during which the pupils received all classes in French and another on which Dutch was both the medium of instruction as well as being taught as a subject. However, it was not until after the Language Act of 1963 that the Flemish schools would become single medium schools.

Due to the federalisation of Belgium, the responsibilities related to education in the Dutch-medium schools now lie with the Flemish community instead of the federal government. It is the Flemish Department of Education which defined the specifics of the cross-curricular objectives<sup>14</sup> in secondary school education and 'attainment targets' (*outcomes*) for the teaching and learning of Dutch as a mother tongue<sup>15</sup>.

The cross-curricular objectives are:

1. *learning to learn*,
2. *social skills*,
3. *citizenship education*,
4. *health education*,
5. *environmental education*,
6. *expressive-creative education (only for second and third stage)*,
7. *technical-technological education (only for general secondary education/ASO in second and third stage)*. (Department for Educational Development, Department of Education - [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/in\\_English/cross\\_curricular](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/in_English/cross_curricular))

The curriculum 2002 'attainment targets' (outcomes) for the teaching of Dutch in the third stage mainly focus on the training of language-related skills, i.e. listening, reading, writing (including ICT-skills) and speaking. The study of literature (with special attention for the social context of Flanders and wider socio-cultural context) and linguistic topics are also important parts of these 'targets'. Even though this study is not about the analysis of curricula, they do co-determine the contents of school textbooks.

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<sup>13</sup> Beck, A., C. Burm and A. Reyns *350 jaar Berkenboom*. Sint-Niklaas: IOTA 1998

<sup>14</sup> "[C]ross-curricular final objectives refer to competencies that do not belong to the content of one or more subjects, but that can be taught, practised and applied in it, such as learning to learn and social skills."

From: *Cross-Curricular Final Objectives* - [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/in\\_English/cross\\_curricular](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/in_English/cross_curricular).

### 1.3.2 South Africa

In 1914, Afrikaans was introduced as a medium of instruction at primary school level. This happened while -and also *because*- speakers of Afrikaans were struggling to have their language and its speakers officially recognised amidst Dutch and English. The first language movement - *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners*- had begun this emancipatory struggle in 1875. From the start, the arts occupied a prominent place in this society that was founded with a view to promote Afrikaans as a European language rooted in Africa. Though it must be said that, before this, 'Afrikaans' and 'struggle' had already collided -cf. the political, separatist struggle of Eastern Cape leaders who, in order to win support from other Afrikaner farmers (*Boers*), began printing pamphlets and journals in Afrikaans. In 1925, Afrikaans came into the South African picture as an official language. Out of this, a powerful sense of Afrikaner-belonging was born. Afrikaans-speaking people identified with their language and Christian belief even more strongly (cf. de Beer 2001). However, the rather dominant position of the white Afrikaner combined with a sense of exclusive belonging caused Afrikaans to be no longer only an important element of national belonging. By the 1950s, Afrikaans had become an extreme political tool. The Apartheid-era, from 1948-1994, was the absolute zenith of Afrikaner nationalism. This was possible because of a -by the Afrikaner created- hierarchical society led by Afrikaners -in their political discourse these were Afrikaans-speaking nationalist whites. Indian people were a bit less privileged than White people; the so-called Coloured people enjoyed even fewer privileges but worst off were the Black people. Of course, this dictatorship had its impact on education. The Apartheid curriculum can generally be summarised as educating the Black people for 'servancy', and White people for 'overlordship' using Afrikaans as a means of oppression and exclusion (cf. duPreez 1983; Sparks 1990). The 1976 Soweto Uprising was an immediate protest march against this education policy. By the end of the 1980's and during the early 1990's, the still nationalist Afrikaans government began negotiations with the so-called 'freedom fighters'. This resulted in democratic elections in 1994, which saw the historic victory of the African National Congress. Speaking in terms of language policy, Afrikaans became one of eleven national languages.

The South African Department of Education has since then promoted national unity through various documents, celebrating "*our* [my emphasis, bk] national symbols" (DoE 2002) as well as "Values in Education" (DoE, 2001). These values include "An Open Society, Democracy, Equality, Accountability (Responsibility)".

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/dvo/eindtermen/eindtermdocumenten/sec3/aso> (Department for Educational Development, Department of Education)

*Curriculum 2005* envisages Grade 10-12-learners that will grow into responsible individuals and are trained to be good 'professionals'. These learners must therefore:

- *have access to, and succeed in, lifelong education and training of good quality;*
- *demonstrate an ability to think logically and analytically, as well as holistically and laterally;*
- *be able to transfer skills from one context to another;*
- *be culturally and aesthetically sensitive across a range of social contexts;*
- *organise and manage themselves and their activities responsibly and effectively; and*
- *communicate effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes.*

(DoE 2002 *National Curriculum Statement - Grades 10-12 (Schools)*)

As far as the outcomes for the teaching and learning of Afrikaans as mother tongue is concerned, for major learning outcomes have been construed, i.e. listening and speaking, reading and viewing, writing and presenting and language.

To conclude this section on the socio-political backgrounds of Flanders and South Africa, the Flemish and South African situation will be compared (1.3.3). This is followed by a critique of the impact of globalisation on education which in much of the Flemish and Afrikaans literature on national identity construction and education is often pre-supposed to be quite negative (1.3.4).

### 1.3.3 Parallels and Divergences

- "De Tael is gansch het Volk", or language as the banner of national identity construction in both Flanders and South Africa (past).
- Education to serve the mission of national identity promotion in the South African curriculum and education to (slightly) promote social citizenship in the Flemish curriculum.
- At first sight, this may appear paradoxical: South African policies have since 1994 been directed toward inclusivity while simultaneously there is an overt promotion of national symbols. In Flanders, however, there is a move toward exclusivity while national symbols are being criticised to be 'imagined constructs' (cf. Soetaert 2000).
- The South African 'inclusiveness' has grown out of criticism of a former authoritarian incumbency. This has quickly and openly been developed so that we can sum up the South African situation in three words, i.e. "Authority - Breach - Criticism". This is clearly

reflected in the South African Post-Apartheid curricula. On the other hand, the socio-political situation in Flanders underwent a gradual transformation, also in the field of education.

#### 1.3.4 The pre-supposed impact of globalisation on national identity formation and/in Flemish and Afrikaans education - A Critique

Processes of globalisation anywhere in the world are often interpreted as threatening to local traditional systems of education and national identity construction<sup>16</sup>. It is briefly argued, here, that this may and may not be the case for one of these processes and that its impact depends highly on the response formulated on grassroots levels.

Certain global changes are thus supposed to threaten the uniqueness of local educational curricula and 'regional or people's identities' are threatened by economic processes of globalisation, e.g. the introduction of new, widely-used technologies (Rupnik 1996). The institutions that introduce these new technological systems or media are actually mostly industrial branches with business associations who control companies worldwide -Which facilitates global distribution of these technologies or developments. The response that is formulated locally in one region often differs from responses in another one, which will create difference (a new kind of uniqueness) rather than homogeneity. The decision of local educational bodies, then, to inform the students of such current evolutions reflects, among other things, a belief in progress. At the core of this belief lies the covert assumption that the influence of the above-mentioned industries permeates professional life to such a great extent that one can only 'move on' in professional life if they are literate enough in certain fields. Thus, the decision of textbook authors, for example, to provide their readers with those literacies is an instance of so-called 'professionalisation' ("*professionalisering*"). This phenomenon is linked to the international exchange of goods, knowledge and people. As a result many 'national' cultures orient to a transnational market and become cultures which promote professional identities. Ulf Hannerz (Hannerz 1990) came up with the term *Occupational Cultures*. Admittedly, this can be problematic when professionalisation becomes a value as well as an aim for educators or when certain traditional views are simply replaced in the curriculum by newer insights without any further explanation. This way, 'the politics of remembering and forgetting' (cf. Giroux) can seriously steer or affect debates on national identity and, inherently (cf. Anderson's definition of national identity as an "imagined" construct), the process of national identity construction itself.

Since it can be expected that instances of professionalisation will be encountered in the analyses of both the Afrikaans and Flemish textbooks below, a nuanced reading of those descriptions is called for. In other words, if technological systems, media, ideologies... have been introduced in a lot of countries around the world, and local education authorities respond to these developments by having their students equipped with the knowledge or literacies for them to be able to make use of the new applications, it does not necessarily mean that curricula have become alike everywhere in the world. Whether it will prove a 'threat' to national identities -and if so, in what sense, exactly- might show in the analysis outcomes. Nonetheless, a negative impact of processes of globalisation on national identity construction in education is not pre-supposed in this study. The above means merely to inform on one of the dominant, economic processes that are issues in the literature on national identity and/or education (cf. also Hashimoto 2000).

This chapter has sketched the Flemish and Afrikaans socio-political backgrounds past and present in order to offer a picture of the classroom and its wider environment within which the textbooks under discussion are used. So far the issues in influential theoretical writings about language and identity, national identity and (language) education have also been described. In doing so, the theoretical framework for this study was outlined; a post-structuralist approach will determine the shape of the analysis of one Flemish and one Afrikaans L1-textbook. This has proven to be compatible with the writings of Henry Giroux, who subscribes to the post-modern idea of shifting and dynamic identities. Two other current studies on national identity and language education illustrated the subject of this study.

Before we can turn to the analysis and following conclusions, though, the questions and aims of this research need to be clarified in terms of research methodology first.

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<sup>16</sup> For examples see: Van Poecke, L. and H. Van den Bulck [Eds.] *Culturele globalisering en lokale identiteit. Amerikanisering van de Europese media*. Leuven: Garant 1994

## **CHAPTER 2: THIS STUDY**

Apart from actualising the research questions and aims (2.1) that will co-determine our method of analysis (2.4), this chapter also specifies the study's hypothesis (2.2) and rationale (2.3) before the actual analysis will be set out upon.

### **2.1 Research Questions and Aims of This Study**

Apart from answering the central research question, this study also modestly attempts to shed light on what the authors of two textbooks may achieve by tackling certain themes. Other research questions include: what values are being conveyed? What may that mean in the context of national identity? Is there a coherent vision of nation in these books? Is there or is there not such a thing being presented as the construction of a Flemish or Afrikaner identity? What is it like? And, finally, what about the values in the Flemish school textbook vs. the Afrikaans one? How do we explain the ideological tendencies in each book against the socio-political background of Flanders and South Africa?

These questions should be answered at the end of the study and analysis of the textbooks.

### **2.2 Hypothesis**

Considering the socio-political backgrounds and the 'national' curricula of both Flanders and South Africa, it is believed that the Afrikaans textbook will hold an all-inclusive image of national identities whereas the Flemish textbook will be less pronounced in its promotion of national identity as well as be more conservative in its selection of texts and symbols.

### **2.3 Rationale**

As may be clear from the literature reviewed above, three main research needs can be addressed. Firstly, few researchers incorporate the post-modern temporary and dynamic notion of identity, taking into account the place of the Other, who is generally believed to co-define one's national

identity. This study intends to do so. Secondly, the literature on national identity was especially written on a grand-scale sociological level in order to give insight into the process of nation building and national identity construction. Most research succeeds in doing so. Yet, what about education and national identity, or the place of national identity in education? I will focus on language textbooks for mainstream (upper secondary) education. The school textbooks are dealing with the language of instruction as a subject, i.e. school textbooks of Afrikaans in South Africa and school textbooks of Dutch in Flanders.

Finally, parallels between a post-communist Russia and South Africa can be drawn in the sense that the latter, too, struggles to build up its 'Rainbow nation' in a new (post-Apartheid) social context<sup>17</sup>, and so it is interesting to see what traces of that 'struggle' there are in its educational textbooks.

Flanders –as said earlier, a nation within Europe- is very much politically defined (cf. also Thiesse 1999; Giroux 1995). How does that show in the textbooks? Do they e.g. consider or formulate an answer to the fast-rising movement of exclusive nationalism in Flanders, and elsewhere in Europe?

Furthermore, the history of language struggle against a dominant language, which is part of the history of both the Flemish people as well as that of Afrikaans-speaking people and which shows many interesting parallels (e.g. emancipation of both speech communities, language operating in a multilingual context), makes it interesting to compare both the Flemish and Afrikaans textbook eventually.

## **2.4 Methodology**

Taking into account the nature of the study –i.e. the study of texts- as well as that of the key concepts -a variety of 'definitions' can be and are in fact formulated in the literature (cf. above)- a qualitative approach was chosen. The consideration of the importance of the context in which the data feature also lay at the basis of this choice.

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<sup>17</sup> One must be careful, though, to analogously compare the process disintegration of the former USSR communist block with the democratisation process that has been taking place in South Africa (Adam 1995).

#### 2.4.1 Thematic analysis: Gerth and Mills

Originally, the proposed research incorporated the analysis of final grade students' essays (written on the subject of national identity in the Western Cape and in Flanders) as well as the analysis of their textbooks. Therefore, content thematic analysis was called on. This entails the "classification of explicit and implicit [...] themes as they occur" (du Preez 1983; 30). The categories themselves are called themes. Critical discourse analysis was discarded as an option since its primary interest lies in "naturally occurring text (written) and talk (verbal)" (Barker 2001; 63 –see also Corson 2001 and Fairclough 1996 for the same idea). Barker goes on to define this interest as "'real-world data' which has not been edited or sanitized" (id.). Discourse analysis on the language school textbooks –although not unthinkable of- would have meant modifications of existing CDA-on-literature methods that would require a lot of feasibility and pilot studies until the validity was established. That did not fit my limited time frame. Also, for the results of the study to make a substantial claim of generalisability, the data would have to come from a more extensive source than only two textbooks (at least two school textbook series would be needed.)

I thus developed a method built around the thematic analysis of Gerth and Mills (1953) and du Preez (1983). J.M. du Preez used the method of Gerth and Mills, thirty years after it had been developed in order to investigate how South Africa and the Afrikaner were presented in school textbooks. A modification of that method had to enable me to perform an in-depth narrative analysis on both essays written by secondary school pupils and on the language textbooks these same pupils used. However after a feasibility study, this project was abandoned, mainly because two major weaknesses emerged from this study:

- (a) the proposed research methodology to be implemented was highly complex and might have lacked transparency especially regarding the content of the measuring tools. Also, the data-analysis method did not really formulate a satisfactory response to the criticism that there is no one-to-one correspondence between text form and ideological content. In other words, texts are not simple, straightforward representations of ideologies. (See also Apple and Christian-Smith [Eds.] 1991; 13)
- (b) the feasibility study data collected so far were highly limited due to the strict data selection criteria, and the results did not do justice to the outcomes intended by the textbook writers.

The findings had so far been quite precise yet lacked completeness as far as the overall picture of the textbook was concerned. And since that makes up the first context of the data, the analysis was orientated into a different direction.

#### 2.4.2 Thematic Analysis: J.L. Lemke

As the feasibility study showed, it had been rather difficult to present a picture that did justice to the overall character of the textbook.

Interestingly enough, Allan Luke (Apple and Christian-Smith [Eds.] 1991) warns that this may not be as easy as it may seem. He claims that there is not necessarily a one-to-one identification of school knowledge with the ideas of dominant classes. What is needed then is a more complex model of text analysis. In response to this critique, Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith suggest the post-structuralist claim of multiple readings of a text, i.e. the reading of many texts instead of just “one”, still without ignoring the effect of dominant cultures on the textbook.

Robin Melrose (Melrose 1996), who in his search for a quantum theory of language emphasises the level of indeterminacy in language, proposes one such type of analysis: the *intertextual thematic system*, developed by the American linguist and physicist J. Lemke.

*“A thematic system describes ‘the typical ideational-semantic meaning relations constructed in some set of texts [...] which are thematically relevant for one another’s meaning construction’. Elsewhere (1983)<sup>18</sup> Lemke implies that other relations constructed in a set of texts should also be considered, including interpersonal-grammatical, rhetorical and discourse structure relations.”* (Melrose 1996; 107)

Highly interesting as it may be, though, the amount of thematic systems (each system relating to a different theme) to be found in a language textbook make the application of a textual analysis of this sort on a vast body of work nearly impossible. Earlier, limiting the sample size had already been decided against for completeness’ sake. The intertextual thematic system is worth considering as a substitute for CDA on verbal discourse (talk) or newspaper editorials, since Lemke’s analysis provides us with a rather extensive and satisfactory answer with regards to the issue of multiple meanings in texts.

On the other hand, as David Birch so rightly points out: “[t]here isn’t a single theory of the way the world works, and [...] there isn’t a single theory of the way language means.” (Birch 1991; 25) Like theories of realities, theories of language are an attempt to order the world.

Thematic classification in the descriptive tradition of socio-linguistics seems to be a fairly open way of ‘ordering the world’ and collecting the data for the proposed study. It does leave room for

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Melrose 1996; 180:

Lemke, J.L. *Thematic Analysis: Systems, Structures and Strategies*. [Volume 3, Semiotic Inquiry] 1983

the analysis of multiple texts or discourses and intertextuality as well as well as that of *discursive formation* (I have borrowed this term from Michel Foucault who hereby denotes a prevalent type of discourse 'ruled' by a specific view on truth.) That, however, is not the main aim of this study.

#### 2.4.3 Thematic Analysis: the socio-linguistic approach

Since the data will be analysed thematically, grouping them into categories seems the most plausible solution to do so.

Categorising themes will allow me to investigate the question of national identity as if the categories were criteria of the degree of national identity, if such a thing existed. They are parameters and measuring tools to be used in leading the way to a depiction of the views on nation in the Afrikaans and Flemish language textbook. A theme will be defined as a broad overarching issue (e.g. the emancipation of woman). Situations highlight particular aspects of that issue (e.g. women in sport, women and division of labour...).

Yet, it is important to allow for as much interpretative room as possible as the operational definitions of nation and national identity used in this study are broad umbrella's of intersecting 'meanings' in themselves. It must therefore be borne in mind that these categories are polysemic. The categories will also be interrelated -which allows for an analytic view of the complex 'interwovenness' of shifting identities and national belonging in educational texts (see Chapter 1) as well as for an investigation based on the assumption that these categories will be interrelated in terms of values and discourses. At this point, it must be remarked that these categories are not 'watertight' compartments in the sense that some of the topics will meet issues related to more than one category (e.g. specific gender issues in both social and socio-linguistic categories). The possible effects of the suggested meaning(s) of categories in educational texts (answering the question: how can subjects be sutured?) will thus be studied.

Another reason for not indulging *too* deeply in data selection and collection for a textual analysis like Lemke's, is the fact that we may have already moved beyond post-modern thinking in some of our views on reality- perhaps without being critically aware of it.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> For a critique of the dichotomy of Modernism-Postmodernism in education, read: Stronach, I. "Fashioning post-modernism, finishing modernism: Tales from the fitting room" in *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol.22 No 3, Jun 1996, pp. 359-373. This can be read as an onset of a stream of thought recognising the existence and the incorporation of Modern ideas into so-called 'post-modern' thinking. It cannot, however, replace the meaning of post-modern ideas (like H. Giroux's) in education.

In order to find out how the possible construction of a Flemish or Afrikaner identity shows, areas like culture, multicultural discourses, language and society, the individual and society, history, environment, economy and religion need to be operationalised.

The categories of Gerth and Mills were abandoned after the feasibility study. I then looked into an international body of work on national identity (construction) in order to find out what themes were most important here. A complete survey of the articles can be found under 'References' below: Craft 1995, Giroux 1995, du Preez 1983, Soetaert 1992, Thiesse 1999; Tolz 1998.

This literature provided the following thematic categories:

(a) Culture and Folklore

Architecture, music, sport and media plus 'wider cultural codes' such as references to holidays, food, ways of coping...

(b) Cultural diversity/Multicultural discourses

(c) History

References to the historical past, e.g. nation-wise meaningful dates such as, for example 1302<sup>20</sup> for the Flemish people and 1652<sup>21</sup> for the (white) Afrikaners.

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<sup>20</sup> 11 July 1302, "Guldensporenslag": Flemish peasants –fighting side by side with noblemen from Hainaut and Namur- win the Battle of The Golden Spurs. The Knights and Army of the French king are defeated. Today, 11 July is the day of the Flemish Community, and a Flemish holiday. The help from the counts of Hainaut and Namur has been practically completely forgotten partly because of legend versions of this event (e.g. in "*De Leeuw van Vlaanderen*" by Henry Conscience). This lapse from memory is also due to the fact that the regions of Hainaut and Namur are now mono-lingually French-speaking as they are part of the Walloon region, which covers the French and German language-speaking areas in Belgium. As said earlier, language has long been an important factor in the emancipatory struggle of the Flemish people (J. Tollebeek in Morelli [Ed.] 1996; 191-202).

<sup>21</sup> Three ships from the Dutch *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnieën* sail into what is now known as the harbour of Cape Town. The ships' crews are regarded as the first settlers, and their arrival marks the beginning of Dutch rule in the Cape, and in the rest of South Africa. Afrikaner claims of 'legitimate political rule' during Apartheid and land-ownership (JM du Preez 1983,78; A. de Kock 2000) can be traced back directly to this event:

*"Jan van Riebeeck het die nedersetting in 1652 aan die Kaap begin om met dié verversingspos voorsiening te maak vir die Nederlands-Oos-Indiese Kompanjie (NOIK) se handel met die Ooste. Met die instelling van die eerste Vryburgers langs die Liesbeekrivier in 1657, het die verversingspos die eerste verandering ondergaan. Van halfwegstasie tot kolonie.*

*Met die Franse Hugenote se koms in 1688 het die eiesoortige vlam - die vryheidsvlam - suurstof gekry om sterker te brand. Dit het daartoe gelei dat die vrye koloniste aan die Kaap in opstand gekom het teen die dwingelandy van goewerneur Willem Adriaan van der Stel.*

*Met Van der Stel se terugroeping na Nederland in 1707, was die Hollandse koloniste in Suid-Afrika en die Hugenote tot een nasie versmelt -- die Afrikaners. Die enigste "wit stam" op die "swart Afrika". Hendrik Bibault kon dus met reg reeds in 1707 op Stellenbosch sê: "...ik ben een Afrikaander." (From: de Kock in "Die Afrikaner" 2000)*

- (d) Environment  
Overt references to environmental issues, discussions.
- (e) Economy  
What Gerth and Mills (Gerth and Mills 1953; JM du Preez 1983) refer to as the “economic order”<sup>22</sup>-  
References to economic issues and discussion of labour, natural resources and technical aids/industries.
- (f) Language and Society  
Socio-linguistic topics and issues
- (g) Wo/Man and Society  
Elaborations on health issues, interpersonal relationships, human rights and citizenship...
- (h) Religion  
Issues dealing with God, gods and religion fit into this last category.

The emphases in the description of themes will not just lie on national issues. The entire pedagogic context and the outcomes as described in the teachers’ guide will be taken in consideration. This will immediately be linked to the matter of values as it is assumed that the categories can be described in over-arching terms of values and societal discourses; a description which in turn will feature within the context of national identity. As Hennie Kotzé of the Political Science Department of the University of Stellenbosch discovered after 20 years of probing into the values of the South African people: people in South Africa have different values because they have different identities (Kotzé 2000).

This socio-linguistic approach will be informed by the theoretical writings of Henry Giroux and Stuart Hall, as outlined in the theoretical framework (cf. Chapter 1). The emerging identities will be constantly regarded as being dynamic, shifting and unstable, constructed through difference. Subject positions made available through language and cultural practices, religious codes, ways of handling certain situations etc. to which a subject can ‘suture’ will also be looked at –cf. categories ‘(a)’ and ‘(b)’. They will, however, be put in the wider perspective of a nation’s cultural codes. An important issue popping up in this study, then, is the way in which cultural differences are handled (incorporation or not of cultural differences as part of ‘our’ culture. If

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<sup>22</sup> “This order is made up of institutions in which labour, natural resources and technical aids are co-ordinated in order to produce and distribute goods. It is thus primarily concerned with the allocation of natural resources and the planned distribution of labour.” (du Preez 1983;32)

not, is national identity then being (co-)defined by 'Other-ness' or not? If so, what or who constitute the 'Other'?).

After a discussion of the findings, answers to the questions found in the outline of the aim of the proposed study will be formulated. Conclusions will then be drawn re:

- the representation of national identity in these language school textbooks, *NV Nederlands 6* and *Raamwerk 11&12*.
- the values in themes and situations in these textbooks
- the suspected differences and parallels between the Flemish and the Afrikaans textbook

However, before any findings can be commented on, our data need to be analysed. Chapter 3 will deal with the separate practical and hands-on analyses of the two above-mentioned textbooks.

## CHAPTER 3: THEMES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY -

### CASES

The cases that will be analysed in this chapter are recent language school textbooks of Dutch and Afrikaans for final grade students<sup>23</sup>, in use in Flanders and in the Western Cape since 2000:

Flanders: *NV Nederlands6* -textbook, workbook and teachers' guide (3.1)

South Africa: *Raamwerk 11&12* -textbook; the outcomes are printed in this volume (3.2).

Since this analysis concerns a rather complex matter, the practical set-up and intentions will be recapitulated first.

From a post-structuralist theoretical framework (Hall), identities are points of temporary attachment to subject positions. These subject positions are made available through language and wider cultural codes. The discourse of the Flemish and South African textbook will be examined for consistently recurring subject positions throughout its themes and situations to which the pupils' subjectivities could be sutured. Identity is formed at those meeting points. The themes and situations in the discourses of the two textbooks will be specifically analysed in terms of national identity construction. This means that the analysis will also focus on constructions of the "Other". Henry Giroux's post-modern approach to the issue of national identity construction and education will be called on, as these constructions of "Self" and "Other" are studied from an educational perspective.

At the same time, each of the discourses in *Raamwerk 11&12* and *NV Nederlands 6* is a *meta-text* on language and culture/ways of living so that it is expected they will not only reveal subject positions but also reflect existing views on national identity.

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<sup>23</sup> Both in Flanders and in the Western Cape, the target audience of the selected textbooks, *NV Nederlands 6* and *Raamwerk 12* will be pupils from the last grade of secondary school. The term 'student' will at some points in this proposal as well as in the study report replace the term 'pupil'. They will nonetheless denote the same persons, i.e. children who are enrolled at a secondary school (in the sector of general/state public education).

### 3.1 Raamwerk 11&12

#### 3.1.1 Introduction to Raamwerk 11&12

• List of the RAAMWERK 11&12-Units		
I.	Warm van die drukpers	p.2
II.	Jou eie beste vriend	p.14
III.	Word jy aan die neus gelei?	p.24
IV.	In iemand anders se skoene	p.36
V.	Anderkant die gereg	p.48
VI.	Sieners en profete	p.60
VII.	Dis my reg	p.70
VIII.	Buite die skoolmure	p.82
IX.	Die wêreld in die weegskaal	p.92
X.	Afrikaans Afrikataal	p.104
XI.	Tegnologie.com by!	p.114
XII.	Kuns van die woord	p.126
	<i>Pitkos</i>	p.204

Every unit has got outcomes to do with skills, as well as a 'Taalfokus'-section, focusing on grammar, writing skills, vocabulary etc. Further on we find -apart from an index- a survey of the subject matter, a list of possible exam questions and 'Pitkos'. *Pitkos* deals with "the various components of Afrikaans and with its structure" (Raamwerk, p.204). Data will not be gathered from this compendium.

#### 3.1.2 Raamwerk 11&12: Analysis

• "Voor jy begin..." ("Before you set out...")

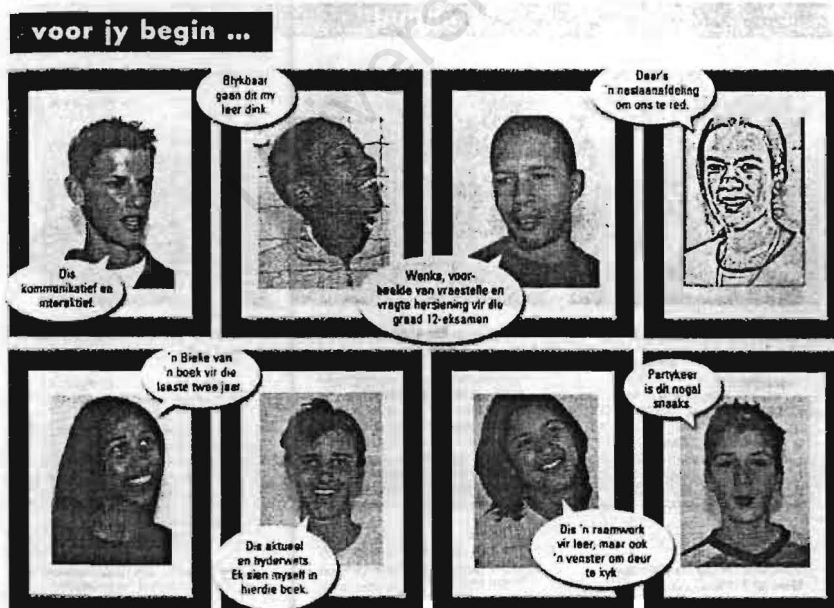


Fig.1 - Illustration p.iii

The answer to the question, “*Who are we (now)?*” could be a subject position made available through the pictures here. The response to it is -as stated earlier- a matter of national identity construction. Even though the book will attempt to confront the 11th/12th-grade reader with his/her own subject’s identity (“Who am I?”), this frame shows pictures of peers the pupils may identify with. The peculiar thing being the fact that this is an Afrikaans textbook showing people of all colours and ethnic backgrounds on its first page, not only the coloured and whites that many students might believe now constitute the Afrikaans nation. National identity is about more than just ethnic identity but ethnicity -especially within South Africa- has been a major issue in the post-Apartheid restoration era (Adam 1995; Moodley and Adam 2000). Knowing this, this frame(work) holds a major statement. It is a claim to inclusiveness: people of every colour are featured in an equal manner; they are commenting on *Raamwerk 11&12* as (matriek) students of Afrikaans. This nicely illustrates what Vera Tolz and Henry Giroux had to say about (the construction of) national identity (cf. ‘2.2 National Identity’)-

“[Nation and national identity] are also invariably linked to one another in the sense that without fostering the people’s national identity, i.e. ‘their sense of belonging to one distinct community’ (Tolz 1998; 993), a nation cannot be built. Giroux seems to underscore this point but calls attention to the ‘intersecting dynamics of history, language, ideology and power’ (Giroux 1995; 4) itself at work in the nation. National identity is highly sensitive to that and is, as such, ‘a social construction that is built upon a series of inclusions and exclusions regarding history, citizenship, and national belonging.’ (id.)

People from races other than the Caucasian were partially or entirely excluded from citizenship and political power in the days of Apartheid. Now, they have all been put on the first page of the book by the authors of this textbook. On the other hand, this way of presenting people can only offer subject positions if they are speaking to “you”. A pupil whose mother tongue is Xhosa might not entirely identify himself with the black teenager in the photograph on the top row. Nonetheless, there is still a salient message of inclusiveness behind this illustration: “*We* are young, Afrikaansspeaking students.” So, the *Afrikaansspeaking* component is stressed but the element of being a *student* is introduced, too.

According to Stuart Hall (quoted in Edley 2001), “[w]ho we are ... always stands in relation to the available text or narratives. Identity, he says, is formed ‘at the unstable point where the ‘unspeakable’ stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of a culture’” (p.210).

Let us -in addition- remember how we have defined national identity. It is *about belonging to a community that in the post-modern multicultural world cannot but respond to cultural differences and constantly redefine who makes up the nation.*

The make-up of a nation is no stable status quo (cf. Giroux). P.iii of *Raamwerk 11&12* shows how the textbook can play a role to help build up a Post-Apartheid nation. Thematically, it might be said this situation would be linked to category 'b'. This is the category of multicultural discourses. However, since it bears a rather important message of equality as well as that of diversity (cf. title + the above), it may also be assigned to 'g - Wo/Man and Society'. The authors put it thus: "[d]is 'n raamwerk vir leer, maar ook 'n venster om deur te kyk. (*Raamwerk*, cover)".

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## I. Hot off the press

Theme: the newspaper as a medium, the planning and writing of it, how it is edited; the role of the newspaper in “our” [my emphasis, bk] society.

### -Culture and Folklore

Outcomes:

- to acquire ‘newspaper literacy’
- to critically read texts
- to be able to compare texts
- to acquire visual literacy
- to be able to paraphrase
- to summarise
- to understand the concept of freedom of the press
- to write an article, an advertisement, a letter to the editor and a review.

Focus on Language: homophones, idioms, emphasis, the meaning of some prefixes, adjectives, synonyms.

• *doop jou pen in...* (dip your pen in...) -p.8/9

After having had a closer look at an Afrikaans newspaper’s front-page, ‘smart’ headlines and after having compared two fictional articles about ragging (and the reactions of the local Afrikaans community to it), the pupils have not only learnt more about the choices editors and journalists can make (and why they would do so). They have also learnt that there is a varied tradition of news coverage in Afrikaans. In the margins, they may have picked up that (school) initiation ceremonies, too, are part and parcel of Afrikaans folklore. Section E teaches them another way to communicate their point of view -to a big(ger) audience: letters to the editor. The discussion on school uniforms in the examples is fairly realistic and carries sound arguments from day-to-day reality. However, on a deeper level of analysis, these examples -i.e. one letter pro school uniforms, the other one con- also illustrate how textbook writers can direct a social debate. The person for is a twelfth-grader (almost like the target audience of *Raamwerk*). She is saying that: “*ál ons bestaande tradisies hoef nie te waai nie*”. The reader who is against is a Mrs. M. Nieuwoudt, claiming that school uniforms should be banned to where they belong -“*die museum*”. In this debate, one would possibly expect the opposite in which the teenager would be against and Mrs. Nieuwoudt would be for. The first task for the pupils here asks for a motivated answer to

the question as to who they agree with -(cf. 1.1, p.9). This subtle yet intended 'playing around' of the authors with the characters in this section turns around 'traditional' arguments. Liberal-minded does not automatically go with young and teen. Conversely, you can also say that traditional, here, does not have to stand for old and dull.

• *sê jou sê* (have your say) -p.10

The subject of this section is media and politics. It actually deals with the hot issue in South African politics vs. the press, esp. the former 'white' and leading journals and newspapers are involved in this debate. It is interesting to find this debate in this Afrikaans textbook. After all, the -commonly considered traditional- Afrikaans press is known to often criticise the local and/or South African governments. All throughout the exercises, the pupils are requested to think for themselves. However, they are asked to be constantly weighing the pros and the cons, of the advantages and disadvantages against each other. The issues raised up include freedom of speech and freedom of the press in a democracy and in totalitarian regimes -with references to some ideas of Voltaire and of Adolf Hitler.

## II. Your own best friend

Theme: see yourself as you are, accept yourself for who you are; know what values, personality and unexploited potential you possess.

-W o/Man and Society/(Culture and Folklore)

Outcomes:

- to develop reasoning skills
- to identify central ideas
- to compare and evaluate texts
- to interpret visual texts
- to make and motivate a point
- to write an advertisement
- to differentiate between facts and opinions
- to write a letter, an application letter, a CV, a certificate and a paragraph

Focus on Language: the meaning of prefixes and suffixes, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, general usage.

•Illustration -p.14



Fig.2 -Illustration p.14

The picture -taking up more than half of the page- quite literally spotlights a teenager who is shown as an obviously very uncertain young someone, lacking any sign of self-confidence even though her or his *T-hempie* she or he is wearing reads: “*I love myself*”.

This teenager is coloured. The fact that this is mentioned may seem a bit odd here... Which would support the idea that this picture is not about someone being black or coloured. Nor is it about being a boy or a girl -the illustration is not very clear in this respect either. It is definitely implied, though, that this teenager is Afrikaans-speaking. Yet, it is undoubtedly the sharp contrast between the person’s pose and the inscription on her/(his) shirt which draws the attention of the reader. Many teenagers can possibly identify with the emotions of insecurity expressed in this picture. Exercise 2 provides them with the opportunity to share their thoughts and feelings about it - (“*Wat sê dit vir jou?*”, p.15). So the subject position of the *insecure teenager* (irrespective of race or colour) will be discussed. This is an outspoken, almost literal example of negotiating (one’s individual) identity by discussing the subject position one may be ‘sutured’ to with other individuals.

•*waar pas ek in?* (where do I fit in?) -p.22

The theme of this unit stresses the importance of the individual, growing up and maturing. As such, it also deals with individual identity construction. Sections B -inspired by the comic tale of the ugly duckling, C and D are no exception to that. The idea behind all of these parts is for any youngster to become what they are... so as to be in harmony with other individuals in society (cf. section C which elaborates on Søren Kierkegaard’s ideas of adulthood, p.18. Also see exercises

5.2 and 6, p.23). Therefore section E encourages them to think about, among other things, the difference between arrogance, assertivity, self-confidence and a plain aggressive attitude, especially in socialising with other people. They are also challenged to ask themselves if young people are their own worst enemies when it comes to a positive image of the self.

Not only is this sort of questions in line with modern-day notions of language education (cf. Whole Language Education; C. Weaver), it also emphasises the role of the 'Other' in their own process of growing up -and constructing their identities. In exercises 5.2 and 6.1-6.3, we find a lot of references to a friend as this 'Other'.

### III. Are you being led on?

Theme: advertisements; how language is used creatively in order to say more with fewer words.

#### -Culture and Folklore

Outcomes:

- to understand, appreciate and use the language of ads
- to critically judge advertisements
- to interpret visual texts
- to use dictionaries better
- to creatively and critically think about advertising
- to be able to make a graph
- to discuss a matter
- to make and motivate a point
- to write good ads yourself

Focus on Language: adjectives, word accent and phrase accent, homonyms, homophones, paronyms.

•*koop.com* (buy.com) -p.28/29

From the illustrations and the discussion about this web-page, it can be seen that Afrikaans is online (cf. 'M-Web Afrikaans')! This is an important signal yet again. If a language is the banner of a nation (cf. Chapter I; cf. Webb 1997, 231), then this page shows that the 'Afrikaans' nation - no matter what its make-up is- has not missed the train of progress. This may seem a minor issue. Or it may be considered self-evident to some but for other groups of people in the South African society, it is still a privilege to have commercialised web-sites in their mother tongue(s).

Also, getting people in the townships on-line for example, would mean that access to e.g. employment could be facilitated for them. Apparently, the authors of *Raamwerk* think it important for their student readers to learn to think critically about the world wide web, esp. about the economic facilities of the internet lest they should fall into some specific traps (cf. ex.1.1-1.6). They are already being prepared to put it to use, and in some cases even exercise control. This is a good step further than the mere facilitating of access to what can be found on the internet (cf. ex.3 and 4).

#### IV. In someone else's shoes

Theme: a critical look at ourselves and examining bias towards people we do not know; the consequences of intolerance; '*Onbekend maak onbeminde?*'

##### -Cultural diversity/Multicultural discourses

Outcomes:

- better to understand the causes and consequences of prejudice
- to be able to analyse stereotyping jokes
- to be able to read critically, to be able to formulate your thoughts and to speak your mind
- to be able to listen to s.o. else's viewpoints and to be able to collaborate in groups
- to be able to roleplay a situation
- to be able to write a dialogue and a letter
- to be able to digest and to manage various bits of information
- to be able to summarise
- to be able to interpret visual texts
- to expand your active vocabulary
- to be able to discuss a case

Focus on Language: punctuation, facts and opinions, derivation, antonyms.

Illustration -p.36



Fig.3 - Illustration, p.36

This illustration on the opening page of the chapter refers to the world forum; a Jewish man and Arab woman can be seen discussing. This is another reference outside a possible *Afrikaner*, Afrikaans-speaking community. Of course, parallels between the division within the state of Israel and the former South African Apartheid society are manifold, the most remarkable being the separation and discrimination of one against another based on one key aspect. During the Apartheid years, race and ethnicity were the prime lines along which division had been set up. Israel, on the other hand, is still very much divided by religion. The comparison of a divided society brings up the question of *Race* and *national ethnicities* (cf. Adam 1995; Kotzé 2000), yet this depiction of two people who each represent adversary groups could also conjure up the image of one's own, individual 'enemy'.

The exercises 1.1 and 1.2 that go with it intend to confront the students with the construction of team spirit built on hatred towards a common enemy on the one hand, and team spirit founded on a strong sense of superiority on the other hand. Ex.1.3 is a role-play in an attempt to make the students live this experience. If they come to experience some of the hate-mechanisms that are at work within their own group, they might be able to understand how some forces work at a national or societal level, must logically be the assumption behind this exercise. Ex.4 offers the students to voice and discuss their own definitions of a/o. 'discrimination', 'homophobia', 'racism' and 'generalisation'.

*Van en kie* (p.38-39)

The situation is as follows: a series of jokes about women, Capetonians, Irish nationals... are portrayed. The first exercise analyses these jokes until the students will have caught themselves out and are made to think about possible causes of stereotyping. In the end, all of the exercises

and arguments ('theses') listed on p.39 are in fact lessons in intercultural communication with the notion of 'cultural difference' being broadened to differences beyond the scope of ethnicity (purely and solely). These students are being encouraged to reason about the relations that exist between stereotyping and differences, on a personal as well as group-level. Differences within, what at some stage may be considered, an in-group (white South Africans), too, are being highlighted by the jokes on Capetonians vs. people from the Gauteng-province. They are therefore also encouraged to acknowledge those differences and to understand some of the values and attitudes that are being passed on with respect to these differences. Nonetheless, the way in which the questions are put leave room for the pupils to either agree or disagree with particular - possibly discriminatory- views.

Sections D (p.41) and E (pp.42-43) look into detail into the social situation of women and into the dissimilarities that exist between men and women. The focus of attention in the text "The great difference" (p.42) is the social position of woman. Prejudices and truths about men and women alternate. However, the bottomline of this reading text is that:

*"die grootste verskille tussen mans en vroue is dié wat die gemeenskap aan hulle opdring. En dis nie net dat meisietjies pienk rokkies en seuntjies denim-oorpakkies dra nie. Dit sluit ook in dat 'n seuntjie soms hoor hy moenie huil nie, want dan's hy 'n tjankbalie, terwyl sy sussie getroos word."* (id.)

("the greatest differences between men and women are those pressed forward by society. And this does not just mean that little girls wear pink dresses whereas little boys are dressed in denim-trousersuits. This also involves the fact that a boy sometimes hears he should not cry, because it'd make him a crybaby, while his little sister is being comforted.")

Obviously, the most salient subject position, here, is that of either man or woman. Yet, it is put against the wider picture of society and linked to conditioning so that the individual student who otherwise might easily be sutured to either one of them is now positioned as e.g. a 'chauvinistic', manly man or 'feministic' or womanly woman. The subject's identity is neither black nor white, figuratively speaking; a whole array of greys and shades in between have now become visible.

This again endorses a view which acknowledges diversity, and encourages the students to think about that (cf. exs. 3 and 4). It is then only a small step to the following subject.

• "Miskien in eie land" (p.44)

The discussion of the poem "Aan 'n kind" is not only about a child. Reference is made to the coloured 'township child', Patrick Muller, killed by police. Yet, as the literal analysis reveals, the child serves as a symbol for once oppressed groups that have come out of a battle victoriously. It

is about "the struggle against apartheid in South Africa" (p.44). The authors argue it is a hopeful text. The students should at least think about this, and one claim that may arise from their discussions is the assertion of an identity that takes into account the oppression, once legitimised and authorised by a white, mainly Afrikaans-speaking minority. Again, a lot of subject-positions are 'released', here (and one recognises history's contribution): child, non-white, non-coloured, Afrikaans-speaking. A combination of these positions to which the students can feel attached is possible, rejection of such a combination as well as suture to just one are possibilities. The poem, however, speaks about a national belonging that was "*unrecognised*". This is important, here, since it signifies that the national or sub-national inclusiveness, often hinted at so far, would involve a conscious process of recognition of the 'Other'.

The exercises on the following pages look into the world (e.g. ethnical cleansing during WWII). They also offer multicultural discourses integrated into one text. Section H on p.47 illustrates the irony of being South African in the days of Apartheid by means of the "Miss Africa South" and "Miss South Africa" elections. Both winners competed on an equal level in the Miss World contest. It confronts the students with a change of political situation as well as with political tools that were legitimate for the one and loathsome to the other, also outside South Africa. Quotes from internationally famous intellectuals on unity and (erroneous) feelings of superiority are to be discussed by the pupils, including one from the then Archbishop Desmond Tutu-

*"Ons, van baie kulture, tale en rasse, het een nasie geword. Ons is die Reënboogmense van God."*  
(p.46)

("We, of many cultures, languages and races, have become one nation. We are God's rainbow people.")

This quote refers to the discourse of unity and reconciliation in *Asania*, the rainbow country. It is now less-often referred to and used to be criticised for allegedly emphasising cultural differences too much -cf. Eaton 2002. Yet it illustrates how SA identities have been affected by political changes -also that of the traditional white, Afrikaans-speaking 'Afrikaner' (cf. JM du Preez' 1983 publication, "*Africana Afrikaner-Master symbols in South African School textbooks*"<sup>24</sup>). The *we* throughout this discourse is first and foremost South African, and inclusive with respect to

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<sup>24</sup> Politically speaking, the author found that as far as the representation of the so-called 'political order' in South African textbooks was concerned, "[l]egal authority [was] not questioned. Whites [were] superior to Blacks who [were] essentially inferior. South Africa belong[ed] to the White Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaner." (du Preez 1983; 70)

multicultural discourses. At this point, this South African speaker of Afrikaans looks out into the world.

#### V. The other side of Justice

Theme: discuss the problem of crime, look into the effects of crime on our country and find out what contributions we can make to solve the problem.

##### -Wo/Man and Society

Outcomes:

- better to understand crime and its causes as well as consequences
- to think creatively about crime prevention
- to be able to critically read various sorts of texts and to interpret visual texts
- to be able to formulate your opinion
- to be able to paraphrase or describe
- to expand your active vocabulary
- to be able to write a diary entry, a dialogue, a minor dissertation, a speech and a newspaper article

Focus on Language: Active and Passive, types of sentences, direct and indirect speech, punctuation, prepositions, confusing words, pronunciation, idioms and idiomatic expressions, trope.

The main subject position presented in this chapter is that of the *threatened citizen*; the illustration on p.49 probably sums up the situation best. However, whereas the first few exercises deal with the students' personal experiences with crime and criminals (as either victims or witnesses), the picture is not just black or white, and it is not just one's vulnerability that is being exposed. In other words, the reader is not constructed or positioned as the threatened citizen or innocent youngster vs. the insidious criminal. Ways to 'fight crime' are also being discussed. E.g. parental responsibilities as well as some responsibilities that lie with the teenager are pointed out in the reading text, "*Steek die hand in eie boesem*" on p.50. Or the students are asked to reflect on the following proposition: "*Dink jy dis waar dat enige persoon 'n misdaad kan pleeg - as die omstandighede net reg is en jy weet jy sal nie gevang word nie?*"(Ex.1.5, p.49- "Do you think it is true that any person can commit a crime -as long as the circumstances are right and you know you will not be caught?") This way, the pupils are being confronted with a possible wrong-doing,

criminal identity in any individual, and the authors encourage them to contemplate it. In section D, well-known South Africans from various (cultural and racial) backgrounds present ways to fight crime, including ways that would serve the entire South African society. The students are given plenty of opportunities to study these suggested remedies from various angles (pp.54-56) and to discuss them. Finally, under the heading “E. Saamwerk” (pp.58-59), criminals are boldly positioned as a kind of “threatened citizens” themselves-

“Saamwerk” -Ex.2, p.58

After a reading and writing exercise which recommended that schools and local communities join forces to help parents in keeping youngsters to the straight and narrow, the authors present the pupils with an existing advert (as published in an English newspaper) reading: “*Beite dink djy ammel is bang ve jou, ma daa binne is djy bang ve ammel. Wan innie tronk issit man man ve homself, my bree.*” (“Ou’ there, ya think everyone is scared of yas, but inside you is scared of everyone. Coz inside it’s every man fer themselves, man.”).

First, the students are to read this advertisement as a warning. Their attention is then drawn to the non-standard Afrikaans in which it has been written based on the assumption that your average prisoner will not be a speaker of the highest standard variety of the language. This adds a real-life component to the ad, and thus highlights a ‘human’ i.c. anxious voice of prisoners.

So, as the theme suggests, the subject of crime ‘*anderkant die gereg*’ concerns the whole of South Africa. In addition, crime in general and universal injustice of a criminal nature are dealt with. Authentic voices from (high) society (cf. well-known South Africans), the media (cf. the advertisement on p.58) have been drawn in to endorse a humanistic outlook on crime which encourages cooperation and joining forces right through all layers of the entire South African society.

## VI. Seers and prophets

This unit studies prophecies past (e.g. Middle Ages with Dante's *Inferno* from "The Divine Comedy") and present (e.g. travelling fortune tellers). From this unit, any religious source is referred to as such. In other words, its religious value is left intact for those who feel strongly about it.

## VII. It is my right

Theme: democracy, fundamental human rights; rights and responsibilities

(Wo)Man and Society

Outcomes:

- to be able to distinguish between rights, privileges and responsibilities
- better to understand democracy
- to react emphatically to information
- to broaden your outlook
- to know more about the South African constitution and your rights
- to be able to identify principal lines of thought
- to realise that rights cannot exist without rules
- to expand your vocabulary
- to be able to compose a charter
- to write a short essay and some paragraphs; to be able to deliver a speech
- to be able to translate a text

Focus on Language: confusing words, direct and indirect speech, Active and Passive.

- "Die groot gelykmaker" -p. 74/75

After an elaborate discussion of the "fundamental rights for all", i.e. the South African manifesto on human rights in which the students met the 'Other' by reflecting on how certain abuses have already affected their rights and feelings, this section 'tackles' the South African constitution. The text targets an audience of Afrikaners, who used to be priveleged, and now feel that their rights are restricted. The article first adopts the criticism that amidst the economical and social problems, such a "Rolls-Royce" type of constitution may have been too big for a "Model-T state". However, the article weighs the pros and cons of the constitution and discovers, among other things, that these people can freely vent their feelings of exasperation precisely because of the Constitution. So, the pupils may first be sutured to the subject position of the mildly angry Afrikaans-speaking citizen (cf. ex.1.1-1.2, which enquires for an explanation and their personal opinion). However, through awareness-raising exercises that concern themselves and other South Africans, the textbook encourages them to think about creating welfare for all -the "Rainbow Nation" is referred to as being essential to create stability inside South Africa- through respecting certain fundamental rights (cf. ex.1.9). So the Afrikaans-speaking Self should respect Other in order to live in a socially, politically... stable country. Yet, as the title of this article suggests, the challenge is said to be respectful of diversity without expecting everyone to be same (*assimilation*). Exercise 1.5 has the pupils discussing this issue.

• Exercise 2 -p.75

This exercise clarifies how "being different" in South Africa is not only (to be) defined in terms of race or ethnic identity. The picture sets the students towards certain life-styles, like that of a Mohican or 'flower-girl'. The pupils are asked to formulate their opinion on it in at least three paragraphs, entitled either "*The right to be different*" or "*Etiquette*". Regarded in this context (cf. above the *Rainbow Nation* written into the South African constitution), this exercise illustrates integrated cultural diversity into the notion of the nation.

So, once more the Afrikaans-speaking people are presented as South Africans, perhaps different from other South African citizens but united through all difference.

VIII. Outside the school walls

Theme: jobs and job application

—( Wo) Man and Society/Economy

Outcomes:

- to know more about career options
- to be able to canvass opinion and to present data in graphs
- to be able to critically read a certificate and CV
- to be able to communicate effectively
- to be able to motivate your personal opinion
- to be able to edit a text
- to be prepared for a job interview
- to be able to role-play situations
- to be able to write: a paragraph, a certificate, a CV, a covering letter

Focus on Language: euphemisms, antonyms and synonyms, questions, phrase reduction, complex and simplex, superlative.

This chapter aims to prepare the students for (a professional) life after school. The contents can be read from the outcomes (see above). However, the following section will be briefly discussed since it touches upon a uniquely South African topic.

"As ek eendag groot is ..." -p.83

Four teenagers -belonging to four different ethnic identities (cf. Adam 1995)- are depicted. In one or two sentences they express their feelings about finding a job: anxious anticipation, doubt, indecisive wonder, anxiety to break away from school and to "do what I really want to do" (id.). This introduces more skill-orientated sections, yet the pupils are asked whether they can identify with any of the depicted school-leavers. The topic of job unemployment ("*Daar is soveel werkloosheid ... sal ek ooit werk kry?*"), which is a social reality, also emerges here. As such, the pupils are not only being prepared to succeed at but also to deal with possible setbacks in this area.

#### IX. The world in the balance

Theme: jobs and job application

(Wo)Man and Society/Environment

Outcomes:

- to gain insight into environmental affairs
- to be able to read a variety of texts
- to learn by listening to other people
- to be able to formulate an opinion of your own
- to be able to interpret visual texts
- to describe your ideas creatively
- to be able to detect cause-consequence sequences
- to be able to make use of reference works
- to be able to interpret a graph
- to write a pamphlet
- to be able to write an article, a poem, an essay and a speech

Focus on Language: punctuation, synonyms, idioms, language and pronunciation 'phenomena', prepositions.

The environmental revolution -p.94/95

The students read a text by a legal expert on revolution and environmentalists. They are to think about the causes of the environmental revolution and consider the topic well enough to write an article for the school magazine on the subject of environmental conservation in the world today.

This indicates, once more, a certain level of awareness that the textbook tries to instill. The speaker of Afrikaans should be aware and considerate of their environment, also in the strict sense of the word. It is in this latter sense that this reading text and the accompanying exercises should be situated. It also reveals a window and outlook into the world. Section C on p.98 concentrates on South African environmental issues but, by thinking about it, the students have to develop lines of thought that link these national matters to international matters, such as, for example the Rain Forest in South America. In section E on p.102/103, they have to link concepts such as "population growth", "farming", "industrial development" and "pollution", and come up with solutions and solid arguments. This leads them to consider the environment in a holistic way (cf. ex.3), a term which they are asked to first look up in the dictionary before explaining it against the background of environment or conservation.

Again, responsibility emerges as an important value in education; it is linked here to respect for the environment.

X. "Afrikaans Afrikataal" (Afrikaans African language)

Theme: "alles in en óór Afrikaans" (everything in and about Afrikaans -cf.p.104)

—Language and Society

Outcomes:

- to be able to critically read a variety of texts and to compare them
- to gain more insights into the origins and evolution of Afrikaans
- to find out more about the different varieties of Afrikaans
- to be able to conduct a conversation
- to be able to write an article for a magazine
- to be able to avoid the traps inherent to translating from English into Afrikaans
- to be able to compare different viewpoints
- to be able to communicate your opinions and attitudes
- to be able to do research and write a paper

Focus on Language: language phenomena, 'rules of the game', pronunciation phenomena.

- From Africa -p.105

After an introductory exercise that confronts the pupils with seven different terms for South African members of certain population groups that sometimes differ only slightly (ex. 1), exercise

2 ('match title and author') familiarises these youngsters with the titles of ten contemporary novels and their authors. This is followed by an acclamatory poem on Afrikaans, from which it is remembered that the subject, i.e. "ek", merges with the language.

The following section B displays an article that is highly in favour of Afrikaans but also includes explicit mentions to the political past of this language. So the "Other" is here the 'Apartheid-Afrikaner', remembered through the language. The article gives six reasons for the *Afrikaanssprekendes* ("ons"/we) actually to speak Afrikaans, and to speak up in Afrikaans. Exercise 2.2 promotes this affinity and asks the students to think of additional reasons. This is then discussed so that the article gets illustrated by the classroom practice. It is therefore safe to state that Afrikaans is here strongly promoted; it is a salient subject position made available through language itself. As such, the textbook constructs its readers as speakers of Afrikaans. Finally (sections C-E), the old Afrikaans (1876, the publication of the first journal by the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* -cf. 1.3) and the contemporary Afrikaans are compared. Not only structurally speaking (historical linguistics; language varieties) but also put into a historical - and in this context thus political- perspective. Exercise 5 on p.109 gives an English (!) voice to a person who used to strongly oppose to the use of Afrikaans. In this context, the 1976 Soweto uprising is briefly discussed. Again, this shows how the past of Afrikaans is remembered, no matter how violent that past might have been.

XI. Technology.com by!

Theme: technology to meet basic needs, the creative and destructive powers

(Wo)Man and Society/Economy

Outcomes:

- to understand the role of technology in your life and to be aware of positive and negative consequences
- to realise that the possibilities of technological developments are endless
- to think truly creatively
- to be informed on specific career possibilities in technology
- to be able to interpret visual texts
- to be able to debate
- to be able to create a game of crosswords

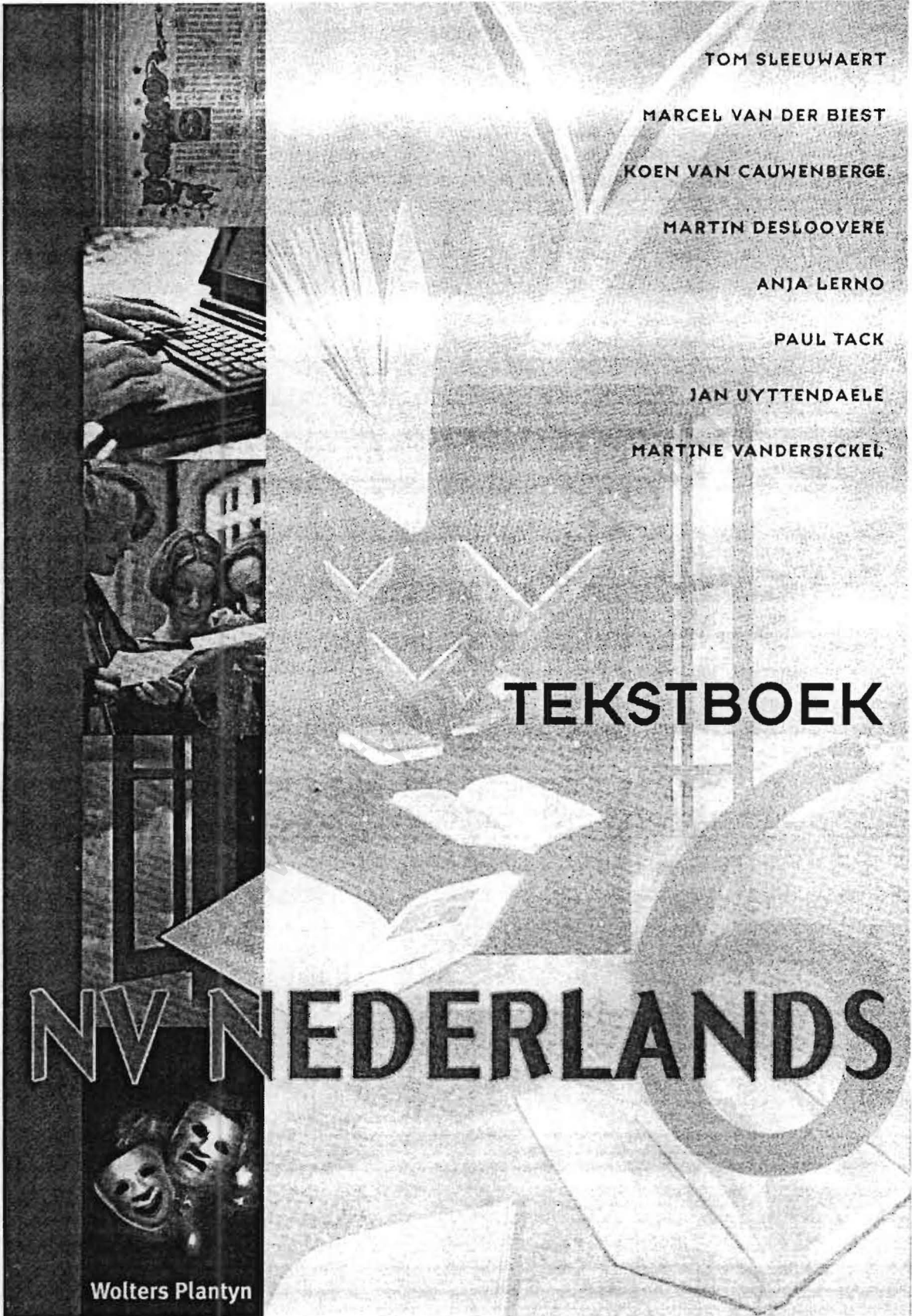
- to be able to write an essay, a formal letter, a short story, a newspaper article and a "Letter to the Editor".

Focus on Language: past participles, derivatives, vocabulary, grammar skills.

The pupils are not only introduced to technology (past, present and future), this entire chapter rather encourages them to critically think about the role of technology in their lives, as can be read from the outcomes. As said in chapter 1.4 of this study (see above- on professionalisation and processes of globalisation), the answer that is formulated on a local level, determines the impact of these technological developments to a great extent. *Raamwerk 11&12* both warns and invites the pupils. In all, they should be *aware*, according to this textbook. So through exercises, challenging poems or statements and a text on man as a "technological animal" (p.116), it 'speaks to' the pupils and in doing so, aims to empower them in terms of critical awareness.

Chapter XII. "Die kuns van die woord" (p.126) is the final unit in *Raamwerk 11&12*. It is concerned with the genre study of literature and features both national and international poems, novels... Apart from the knowledge and skills related to arts, poetry, drama and prose teach the students that arts should not necessarily be abstract but that they are actually "*rooted in reality*" (id.). The pupils then set out experiencing this for themselves by learning how to actively participate in an arts project and to 'live' a piece of art. The concept of beauty gets discussed. The selection of works respect the Afrikaans literary canon (e.g. Breyten Breytenbach and Hennie Aucamp) and complete it with Afrikaans works that have come up more recently. Excerpts from works by non-Afrikaans or western artists indicate that there is still an orientation to western culture -which should be hardly surprising since most 'Other' African sub-cultures in South Africa were smothered for a very long period of time.

In conclusion, it is clear that the individual student experience is central to the teaching here more so than promoting some sort of national identity. That has happened throughout the rest of *Raamwerk 11&12*, and the various representations of, as has been agreed, a 'new' "Afrikaner" will be amplified on after the analysis of the Flemish textbook, *NV Nederlands 6*.



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## 3.2 NV Nederlands 6

### 3.2.1 Introduction to NV Nederlands 6

The chapters in this textbook are constructed rather differently from *Raamwerk*. However, it has different (relatively short) chapters that coincide with a broad theme, too, and deal with the various outcomes and skills according to curriculum requisites. A survey of these chapters and skills can be found in the beginning of the teacher's guide as well as in the appendix to this work. The illustrations are mainly previously existing cartoons that were inserted to underline the theme. They will therefore rarely be looked into. Further, the book is rich in the studies of western literature. In the introduction to the Teachers' Guide, it reads:

*“De literaire canon bevat de bekendste verhalen uit onze westerse cultuur. Onze taal en ons denken zijn door deze meesterwerken beïnvloed en elke nieuwe trend - ook het postmodernisme - is er schatplichtig aan.”* (p.11)

(The literary canon comprises some of the best-known narratives from our western culture. These masterpieces have influenced our language and our ways of thinking and every new trend - including Postmodernism - owes to them.)

Even though it can not be compared with *Raamwerk* in this area, it might add valuable material to this study of national identity construction, which will then be discussed.

### 3.2.2 NV Nederlands 6: analysis

#### First Term

#### I. Language as communication

Theme: communication according to Jakobson, the relationship between language and communication, the differences between classical and modern languages on the one hand, the differences between natural and artificial languages on the other hand, body language and its importance in communication, the cultural (pre-)determination of body language.

–Cultural diversity/Culture and Folklore

Outcomes:

- actively to understand these themes and being able to explain and/or elaborate on them
- to scan a newspaper article

- “The Naked Man” -p.12/13

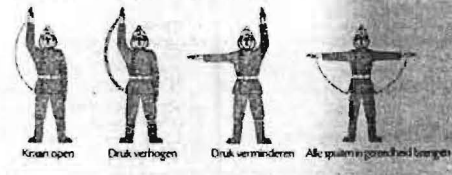
The students study illustrations from Desmond Morris’ book of the same name.

8 Geef enkele gevallen waarin we geen gebruik kunnen maken van woorden om ons zelf duidelijk te maken.

9 Bekijk de afbeelding uit De naakte mens van Desmond Morris.

9.1 Waarom zouden deze gebaren ontworpen zijn en wie zou ze gebruiken?

9.2 Desmond Morris noemt zulke gebaren technisch. Wat zou hij daarmee bedoelen?



10 Wie zou er van de volgende technische gebaren gebruikmaken? De afbeeldingen komen opnieuw uit De Naakte Mens van Desmond Morris.

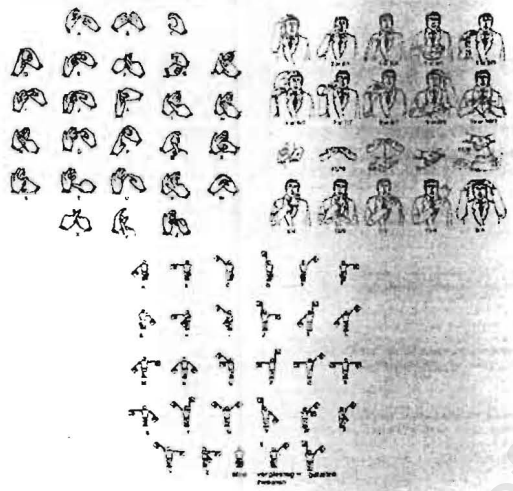


Fig. 4 -Illustration, p.12

They learn that much of our body language was taught and therefore differs from one region to another, or from one (professional) field to another. Some of the gestures the pupils see, they will have learnt. Others may be entirely unfamiliar to them (e.g. signs used in the horse races). The pupils also guess the meaning of body 'expressions' that are common in France, the UK or Japan but unknown in Flanders. This way, they observe how most of the technical gestures -e.g. signals used by the fire brigade- are only known to a small circle of people. In addition, they are made to understand that body language plays a much greater role in our daily communication. It is also explained to them that gestures are culturally determined.

They are further being instructed about computer languages and the universally-known artificial language, *Esperanto*.

So, almost immediately, these pupils gain insight into rather 'global' matters put into a theoretical perspective without any specific reference to Flanders -if it were not for the hidden insinuation

that Flemish system of gestures is 'one of many'. As we will be seeing, this emplacement of insights to be learnt within a global framework will occur on various occasions.

## II. "Man aan het woord, vrouw overboord" ("Man talking, woman overboard")

Themes: conversational styles, differences between men and women.

### Language and Society/(Wo)Man and Society

Outcomes:

- to draw conclusions from these insights (cf. themes) and
- to take these newly-acquired insights into account while speaking in a group.

Video-recording of class-interaction -p.14/15

The pupils watch a video-recording of themselves whilst having a class discussion. They are then to draw conclusions regarding the ways in which the girls and boys speak up, the number of times they speak up and, finally, regarding the length of girls' and boys' verbal interventions. After they have compared their results, they read an article that deals with verbal behaviour of men and women and answer questions on it. So once more, knowledge is being transmitted yet the pupils are encouraged (by the teachers -as outlined in the teachers' guide, p.48) to act upon this knowledge in future rounds of class debates. Also, they have been offered the opportunity to carry out a (socio-)linguistic experiment.

## III. There is life... the after-life exists

Themes: listening pleasure, handling language creatively, Dutch music

### Culture and Folklore/(Wo)Man and Society

Outcomes:

- to experience listening pleasure
- to realise that Dutch music<sup>25</sup> can be nice, interesting and beautiful.

Different to what the title of this 'chapter' suggests, it does not tackle religion. This is about a sarcastic song -rather popular in both the Netherlands and Flanders- by Dutch stand-up comedian, Freek de Jonge. It was in fact so popular in Flanders that the lyrics were changed so that they mocked particular Flemish situations (e.g. fatal air shows) and persons (e.g. far-right winged

politicians, violent soccer players) as opposed to Dutch situations and persons. Yet, it is not encouraged to go deeper into the lyrics than to the extent which is needed to answer questions about structure or genre. The emphasis lies on listening pleasure; the students are asked to sing along from “the top of their lungs” (p.17). Emphasis has also been put on the language in which the lyrics were written: Dutch. It is the teacher’s task to warm the students to Dutch music. This means that the authors start from the premise that these pupils do not listen to it very often. A probable (threatening) ‘Other’ would then be English and American music, which sells very well in Flanders, indeed.

#### IV. Guide to immortal literature

The pupils are introduced to world classics and discuss the concept of ‘literary canon’. Attention is pointed out to the fact that *we* are challenged to read literary masterpieces in the language they were originally written since “*we* belong to a little language community”, Teachers’ Guide, p.53. This cannot be negatively interpreted, merely factual. In this context, though, it could either paint a rather exclusive picture of the Dutch language community: *we*, mother tongue speakers of Dutch. Else, it could denote all speakers of Dutch irrespective of their origins and mother tongues. Recalling the authors’ intent in the introduction to the Teachers’ Guide (see , though, the most logical conclusion will be that *we* refers to the Flemish people that were born into a Flemish western society and raised to think and speak along western lines and ideas. These ideas can indeed be found in the western literary canon, indeed.

#### V. Party-animals

Themes: (traces of) ancient rituals, primitive rituals as the breeding ground of drama

- Cultural diversity/History/Culture and Folklore

Outcomes:

- to gain insight into the above-mentioned themes

- The students are invited to watch a video about carnival in the German-speaking parts of Belgium (p.19). They can then relate this to carnival festivities that they have taken part in. There is no explicit mention of festivities from non-western cultures today. In spite of that, pupils who have already witnessed Moroccan festivities could enrich this storytelling-experience by talking about it (cf. Kusendila 1999). Further on, the students are to answer questions about (the

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<sup>25</sup> Dutch music: music that is sung in Dutch.

meaning of) social as well as religious rituals today. They also have to reflect upon rituals and their witnesses 'now' and 'then', in primitive and ancient times.

#### VI. Classics from Antiquity

This chapter consists of two lists, one with the names of ancient authors, the other with descriptions that the pupils have to match so that every author will be linked to bits of information on his persona or work.

#### VII. In other words

This 'Focus on Language'-section tackles the linguistic topics of euphemisms and dysphemisms.

#### VIII. Silent Film...

Themes: differences between commercial and non-commercial films, why people go to the cinema, the discovery and evolution of film, (American) society during the era of silent films (Charlie Chaplin: biography), the effect of mime and gestures in messages/stories.

##### -Culture and Folklore

Outcomes:

- to gain insight into, reflect on and actively understand the above themes
- to experience the effect of mime and gestures in messages/stories

##### • Judge the films of 1999 -p.27

This is a video excerpt from a 1999 annual report. The students are asked to sum up the highlights of that year: the Oscars (for *Shakespeare In Love* and *La vita e bella*, directed by the Italian, Roberto Bannini, so the teachers' guide adds on p.65). However, there was also an important prize, i.e. the "Palme d'Or", won by *Rosetta*, a Belgian film as the teachers' guide points out (id.). Next, the pupils are presumed to answer that it were the United States which dominated the world of film with "commercially well-sophisticated productions". It is therefore interesting to note how the textbook authors adopt the TV assumption that everyone knows *Shakespeare In Love* -hence no further explanation- whereas information is imparted in the case of *Rosetta* and *La vita e bella*. As a result, these films are put on the map as being European vs. American, a point of view which gets readily arrogated in the textbook.

As could be read from the label 'Belgian' (as opposed to 'Flemish'), a French-speaking producer has directed *Rosetta*. Yet the Flemish film-industry, which altogether seems to have enjoyed little

commercial success in 1999, receives some attention, too. This is immediately followed by an observation about the (blooming) Walloon film business. So, the book acknowledges difference between Flanders and Wallonia based on separate cultural policies within the existing framework of the federal state of Belgium. More importantly for this study, however, is the fact that -apart from the framework that is offered from which to consider the actual differences- these differences are treated in rather neutral terms (factual statements).

Exercise 7 on p.31 asks the pupils to explain terms related to film and theatre, such as *tearjerker*, *satire* and *vaudeville*. Other, “general” terms (p.31) also require explanation. Since these words have been taken from an article on American comedian, Charlie Chaplin, and since this article was published in a Flemish magazine, they vocabulary mainly relates to exclusively American or western concepts. It may be closest to what the pupils using *NV Nederlands* know from their own, individual experiences. But then, it may be not for some. These can then learn but they are, once again, not being given the opportunity to add to the learning process of their fellow students by means of diverse concepts related to (non-western) theatre or film.

IX. The paper (1): a search for information

The pupils begin to learn how to write a paper.

X. Language as a sign system

Themes: semiotics, signs, emoticons and chatting, Derrida and De Saussure.

-Culture and Folklore/Cultural diversity/Language and Society

Outcomes:

- to gain insight into and actively understand the above themes
- to be able to use basic emoticons while chatting
- to understand that not all sign systems are made out of words
- to identify an apparent exception to the symbolic signs theory in verbal languages
- to illustrate Derrida’s criticism of De Saussure’s semiotic theory
- to roughly read and scan popular science articles

• Exercises 1-3 on pp.76-77 verifies to what extent the pupils are familiar with certain traditional and contemporary signs. Some signs are known from traffic, religion or mathematics. Signs from these areas are complemented with symbols that one comes across in computer networks or

finds in mobile phone messages (SMS). It is obvious from this that pupils are being equipped with literacies that might facilitate access to recent technological applications, such as mobile phones or web-chats. This is a manifest instance of professionalisation. Nonetheless, traditional literacies the pupils might already be familiar with are also tested which -in this local context- hints at the relevance of these domains in settings that are supposed to be part of the students' lives (see also 1.3.4).

The other exercises centre on the (historical) symbolic meaning of flowers and colours. After an exercise on the onomatopoeia (the barking of dogs in various languages), the students learn about De Saussure and critical questions guide them to induce Derrida's criticism of De Saussure's semiotics themselves.

## XI. Novels from the nineteenth century

Theme: Classic novels from the nineteenth century

–Culture and Folklore/History

Outcomes:

- to know of important nineteenth century authors
- to be able to use reference works
- to get to know a literary classic
- to compare book and film

• After a game of “Who is who?” and a number of tasks that aim at encouraging the pupils to read a literary masterpiece, the pupils are presented with a series of questions about nineteenth-century novels (pp.41-48). Generally speaking, they focus on genre study but in the case of the first novel, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* by Hendrik Conscience (pp.41-42), the contents are thoroughly dealt with. Considering the fact that the author is also known as the “man who taught his people to read” and the fact that he intended the book to strengthen the Flemish so-called *Volksgeist*, it is worth taking a closer look at.

*De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (“Flanders’ Lion”) is a very important work in Flemish literature studies as it recounts the Battle of the Golden Spurs and was published in a time when Flemish people stood up to the oppression they felt from a French-speaking elite -see also 1.3.1 and 2.4.3. During the era of this Flemish emancipatory and language struggle, Henry Conscience's book grew into a source of comfort and strength for the Flemish people.

The textbook critically looks into the subject of the book (Flemish 'underdog' vs. French gentry). They are then made to think about the link between the Flemish Movement of that time and the author (ex.1.5): what was his contribution? Where did he fail? His work is thus put in a literary and historical perspective which should cast a sufficiently nuanced light on it so as to inform the students on the book's worth. This is predominantly being achieved by highlighting the objective historical value and the subjective emotional value of this novel for the Flemish community. As a result, the students learn to distinguish between facts and fiction in this work -which is by some today considered the Bible for the Flemish Emancipation Movement while others -for fear of far-right propaganda materials- tend to classify it as 'rubbish'. These considerations have been taken into account by the authors so that the pupils can individually make up their own mind on the values and setbacks of *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen*, independent of contemporary political notions of left or right. This balanced view is the result of the combined literary and socio-historical background against which the novel is discussed.

XII. What was that again?

The construction of tension in (western) drama.

XIII. Surfing through the literature list

(Reading list)

XIV. Book review and reading file

Following chapter XII, the textbook offers suggestion on the writing of a book review.

XV. Notation (1)

This 'chapter' can be seen as another instance of professionalisation since the mastery of notation is helpful in further studies as well as in professional life. Even though the theme of the video, "Roken om af te vallen" (*Smoking to get slim*, p.54), is treated within the framework offered by the (commercial TV) documentary, it might prompt pupils to re-think their views on smoking. The theme can be categorised in 'Woman and Flemish Society' since the video is situated in Flanders although smoking and slimming are, naturally, not exclusively Flemish themes.

XVI. Classic films

This unit deals with the genre study of films. Special attention is paid to the success of musicals in Flanders and abroad before moving on to the soundtracks of two successful Belgian films (one Flemish, the other Walloon -see also "VIII.") and one American film production.

XVII. Do animals talk?

Themes: Man, animal and communication

–Cultural diversity/Language, (Wo)Man and Society

Outcomes:

- to compare inter-human communication with communication among animals and between humans and animals.
- to argue whether communication is something exclusively human
- to scan and critically read newspaper articles and popular science articles

• Ex. 1-8, p.63-67

Before reading three articles on 'talking' apes, the pupils figure out different ways for animals to communicate with other animals and with man. They then reflect on the issue of language and culture (first article) and conclude that culturally determined behaviour, i.e. behaviour passed on from generation to generation, occurs with chimpanzee families. They are confronted with criticism of over-interpretative readings of specific study results and finally compare the language of animals to human language. Apart from the conclusion that one of the greatest differences constitutes the presence of grammar with human beings (Chomsky), it should be noted that this Flemish textbook once more incorporates a broad topic, i.e. linguistic and cultural diversity, and makes it its own by addressing it in general terms. This chapter is an example of many more in this book which could be translated in any other language without losing its original pedagogic strengths. At the same time, or rather just because of this, this chapter *in se* says nothing at all about Flanders or its inhabitants.

XVIII. Hear it from your loved ones

Theme: Classical drama

–Culture and Folklore/History/(Wo)Man and Society

Outcomes:

- to get to know Classical Greek drama, esp. *Antigone*

- to gain insight into the essence of Classical Greek drama, i.e. dilemma and adaptation
- to learn about the practice of Greek drama (and traces thereof in contemporary drama)

- “Have you ever stood up for a sibling or a friend?” -Ex.1, p.68

The pupils can tell family stories from childhood but apart from “nice” or “interesting”, there are definitely no norms attached to the contents of their story. The observation that “sibling” and “friend” seem to be expressed at the same level might indicate the close relationship the pupils are supposed to have with both groups of people. It is nearly impossible to say, though, what values (e.g. family) will surface in the classroom discussions.

These introductory arguments are then followed by a genre study and history of drama explained by example of the Greek tragic drama, *Antigone*.

#### XIX. The Birth of the Modern Dutch novel -p.72/73

Themes: Literature after 1880, Modern Dutch novels

–Culture and Folklore/History

Outcomes:

- to explore the literature after 1880
- to read and discuss a realistic story
- to discuss questions about some highlights in Dutch Modern literature

- Exercise 5.2 -p.72

The Flemish and Dutch novels are discussed in a well-outlined literary and socio-historical perspective. This chapter teaches the reader on literary reception now and then in factual terms that are not open to underlying readings of any sort. However, the politics of forgetting and remembering are at work here, too. Apart from a selection from the literary canon, ex. 5.2 on p. 72 stands out. It does not go into the contents or the form of the excerpt the pupils have read from the Dutch novel, *Eline Vere* by Louis Couperus. The question here concerns the great cultural prestige of France in the nineteenth century. So the pupils are asked to trace evidence hereof in the extract.

Religion also pops up in a critical, historical context: whenever the Catholic Church is mentioned, it concerns references to a past in which the Church, which was highly influential at the time, disapproved of this sort of explicit and realistic novels (ex. 4.4 and ex.7.3).

These are small indications of the selected historical facts that will together establish the textbook's 'collective memory' (cf. Chapter 4.1.2).

The chapters "XX. The interview" and "XXI. Why don't you look it up?" prepare the students for further studies and their professional life. It is suggested that an opportunity be yielded for the students to explore the possibilities of the Internet at school so that they can formulate an answer to the question if the worldwide web makes the use of dictionaries redundant. In addition, the pupils can vent their personal opinion on the mention of "*in Belgium*" or "*regional*" that has for a long time occurred with some typically Flemish-Dutch entries in a leading Dutch dictionary. This means that the debate is being constructed along structural demarcations that have been outlined by the editors of this dictionary. An article in the workbook that has been written by a Flemish language adviser (p.78) further drives the debate. The "Self" will then be a speaker of Flemish Dutch whereas the "Other" will most logically be a Dutch speaker of Dutch. The historical reasons why these entries are referred to as 'regional', for example, are cited in the teachers' guide. It is probably safe to assume that the language teacher will rely on this information to inform their students. With respect to this study, no further indications as to the authors' opinions are given. It is thus left to the students to have their say.

## XXII. Language, thought and culture

Theme: The relationship between language, thought and culture

-Cultural diversity/Language and Society

Outcomes:

- to discuss two opposed views on the relationship between language, thought and culture
- to explicate the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis
- to enumerate a few arguments pro and con the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis
- to develop a personal opinion on the relationship between language, thought and culture

### • Exercise 3-5 and 6 -p.79

The central issue of this exercise is the question whether or not language determines the way people view the world. The questions aim both to challenge and illustrate this claim. Again, we find articles from newspapers and magazines that either criticise or support this claim. Examples are given from languages as diverse as English, Dutch, Chinese, German, Maori and French. Ex.3 specifically links the role of water and navigation in the history of The Netherlands to a

wide array of Dutch proverbs and expressions that refer to either of these elements. Next, the pupils are asked to think of French sayings that have a similar meaning and are also hinged on water or shipping. This may lead them to conclude that some of the differences among languages are determined by a country's geography or history. The book classes these as cultural differences and goes on to present its readers with Chinese ideograms "which reveal something about the way the Chinese people view or once viewed the world" (p.82).

Het Chinees heeft geen lettertekens die klanken uitdrukken, maar maakt gebruik van ideogrammen. Ieder Chinees karakter vormt een woord of een begrip op zichzelf. Een ideogram drukt een idee uit. Door Chinese karakters met elkaar te combineren, krijg je nieuwe ideogrammen met andere betekenissen. Hier volgen enkele voorbeelden.

日 = zon	月 = maan	明 = helder (zon + maan)
木 = boom	東 = oost (zon door boom)	
	林 = bos (twee bomen)	
	森 = dichte wouden (drie bomen)	
火 = vuur	車 = wagen	火車 = locomotief
門 = deur	口 = mond	問 = vragen (mond in deur)
		月門 = rust (maan in deur)
言 = rook	言 = woorden (= een mond waaruit rook komt)	
手 = hand	手手 = vriendschap	

Uit de manier waarop het Chinese alfabet nieuwe ideogrammen maakt, kun je iets leren over de manier waarop ze wereld zien of ooit gezien hebben.

Fig.5 -Illustration p.82

• Exercise 5 looks into the composition of Chinese ideograms that are related to women, e.g. 'woman = a person carrying something', 'peace = a woman under a roof', 'unfaithful = woman + one thousand'. The pupils are asked to draw conclusions from this regarding the position of women in Chinese society. Next (ex.6), their claims are being put into perspective. The exercise talks about the Chinese men vs. Chinese women in the past tense, and the question is put forward whether these views were caused by language. The answer is negative but is pointed out to the students that language can confirm and even reinforce certain views and stereotypes.

These exercises implicitly reflect the history of Dutch as rooted in the history of The Netherlands, i.e. Flemish is not mentioned because, officially, the mother tongue in mother tongue education is still called Dutch. This idea of a Flemish-Dutch union pervades the meaning of this exercise as a text. It should be added that this idea has long been realised, structurally speaking. The

*Nederlandse Taalunie (Dutch Language Union)* is a body that can be compared to the French language board, *L'Académie française*. As a result, the Dutch language has one official grammar, one official set of spelling rules... in both Flanders and The Netherlands.

Further on, the fact that the link between language and culture leads to considerations about the position of women in Chinese society reveals a little about Flemish society as a society in which the concept of woman's emancipation is very much accepted. The comment that language can reinforce certain views might indirectly inspire the pupils to reflect upon their mother tongue or second language and the society in which these languages are spoken. It is not clear why such an exercise is not inserted since it could have made the debate about the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis more concrete, and it might have given a voice to those pupils who are critical of the role of Dutch in the Flemish society, or the importance attached to it.

### XXIII. Playing games

Insights into the defining aspects of drama: Who, What, Where, When and Why.

### XXIV. International novels from 1880 up till now

Theme: international literary classics since 1880

#### Culture and Folklore

Outcomes:

- to get acquainted with highlights from the contemporary world literature
- to learn to independently check a variety of sources
- to look up data in group

#### Exercise 1 -p.87-89

As in 'VI', this exercise features a list of Modern authors and descriptions that the pupils have to match so that every author will be linked to bits of information on his persona or work. After a selection of Flemish and Dutch novels from this era, an international body of work is now introduced. Significantly absent are authors from Wallonia which leads us to conclude that the "Other" here are not Flemish, nor Dutch (cf. language union). At the same time, they are not francophone. So the definition of 'international' as 'broader than national' has to be outlined in terms of 'not Belgian'. However, Belgian francophone authors are left out of this list. This can be explained from a linguistic perspective. Difference is treated not so much in terms of Belgian citizenship as in terms of language. This textbook seems to see language as a unifying, supra-

national factor when it concerns the Dutch language and Dutch literature. The Belgian boundaries appear as an old selection tool that differentiated between 'national literature' and 'international' works. It may seem odd at first but as a result, Belgian francophone literature will most probably be discussed in the French L2-classes.

It is worth keeping in mind the now confirmed impression that this textbook considers Dutch a most important unifying link between The Netherlands and Flanders. Also, this book introduces the pupils to (western) international literature. Flanders, even though it remains fairly undefined, has thus been proven to offer a window out into the 'non-Dutch-speaking' world.

The following chapters, "XXV. Meaningless structures" and "XXVI. Notation (pt.2)" help to develop the pupils' writing and data-processing skills. Chapter XXVII, "Pragmatics", offers the pupils an introductory course to principal concepts from the field of pragmatics. The exercises confront the pupils with some of these concepts, e.g. the maxim of relevance (Grice) or Flemish politeness strategies. Finally, chapter "XXVIII. Is there an after-life? Or is it just coffee?" turns back the hands of time and discusses the issue of death in the Middle Ages, more specifically in the play of *Elckerlyc* ("Everyman"). The aim of this class is to provide the learners with insight into medieval stagecraft.

### The Second and Third Term

Both form and content of the chapters in the second and third terms build on what was taught in the previous term. The analysis of the first part of this textbook has displayed all themes that -as the index shows (see "Appendix")- will also be found in the following parts. As the textbook writers themselves have pointed out, all chapters are western-orientated (3.2.1). This is not different in the second term, nor is it in the third. This analysis will therefore now concentrate on ten chapters whose themes are esteemed to be highly relevant in national identity construction.

These chapters are entitled: (second term) I. *Regional language variation*; II. *Highlights from Flemish literature (with Highlights from Dutch literature)*; III. *A political party? What is that?*; IV. *Social language variation*; V. *Situational language variation*; (third term) VI. *Notation (pt.4)*; VII. *Dutch in the world*; VIII. *Themes in Modern Novels*; IX. *Mega and Giga*; X. *The origins of Dutch*.

#### I. Regional linguistic variation

Theme: regional language variation

→ Language and Society/Cultural diversity/History

Outcomes:

- to discuss the various types of language variation (to be able to actively distinguish between dialects, regiolects, “tussentaal” (a Flemish regiolect that can linguistically be situated between the local variety of Dutch and Flemish-Dutch so that it is also understood by Flemish people who are not local) and standard Dutch.
  - to be aware of the implications resulting from the use of one of these varieties
  - to be able to rightly read a map of dialects
  - to understand that a dialect and its standard variety are equal language systems; to point out the differences between them
  - to be aware of pronunciation mistakes resulting from a regiolect or dialect
  - to roughly read newspaper articles and popular science articles, to scan them and to read them intensively and critically
  - to assume a point of view regarding the growing disappearance of dialects
  - to explain why there are two separate varieties of Dutch in Flanders, on the one hand, and The Netherlands, on the other
  - to clarify the differences between these two varieties
  - to understand that some of the Standard Dutch that we speak sounds foreign in the North
  - to understand a few terms related to language politics in both the North and South
  - to take a position about the inclination of the southern variety of standard Dutch toward the North with reference to some articles
- The exercises cover all areas hinted at in the outcomes (cf. above). It is important that language variety is acknowledged. More importantly is the way in which it is discussed. Again, different viewpoints are presented to the pupils. First, they have to try and understand the author’s point of view. They are then encouraged to challenge it. In the end, it is up to them to make up their mind on some minor issues. As far as some of the rather major insights are concerned (see outcomes), the students are led to accept the equality of dialect and standard variety but attention is paid to the (proper) use of each of those varieties.
- Exercise 2 discusses the differences between “*northern Dutch*”, or Dutch as it is spoken in the greatest part of The Netherlands, and “*southern Dutch*”, or Flemish. The students are made understood that the Flemish language differs from the Dutch language in various respects. In

addition, the textbook quite overtly alludes to different Flemish and Dutch attitudes from which stereotypes would have originated. The “Other” (through language and mentality) is now Dutch, and is given a voice in ex.3 on p.112 when the pupils have to list stereotypical images of the Dutch -as seen through the eyes of the Flemish. Conversely, they are also expected to specify some stereotypes about the Flemish as seen through Dutch eyes. When it comes down to explaining this variation (cf ex.11-13, p.117), though, the Flemish ‘Self’ is Belgian whereas the ‘Other’ is Dutch. The deixis of ‘we’ in the outcomes should therefore be understood as Belgian-Flemish. Nevertheless the idea of one language union still stands throughout the discussion of all articles.

#### Exercise 17 -p.119-121

This exercise enquires about an interview with the secretary general of the *Nederlandse Taalunie* (see also ‘First Term -XXII’). The reasons for the foundation of the Dutch Language Union are annotated. Its task description is formulated in terms of “challenges” (p.119). The comments in the teachers’ guide are far less nuanced than the answers from the secretary general in the interview; they emphasise the Language Union’s task to restrict the influence of the English language in the Dutch-speaking regions and to protect the position of the speakers of Dutch within Europe. Secondly, the Language Union has also been founded to promote the Dutch language. The third question repeats the view of the secretary general against a standardised Flemish variety of Dutch.

The lexical choices in exercise 17.2 all refer to a threatening ‘Other’, i.e. the English language, that challenges one language, spoken in . This lesson on language variety teaches that it is a united self.

Finally, the pupils are confronted with the views of a Dutch language authority, i.e. the president of the Dutch Language Union, after having read the views from various other experts. In this sense, it must be said that the debate on whether there should be two standard Dutch varieties does not really reflect a societal discussion but one that rages among linguists. In the end, the textbook leaves it to the pupils to take a certain position in this debate based on the information that they have got.

## II. Highlights from post-second world war Flemish literature

Theme: Post-second world war Flemish literature

Culture and Folklore/(Wo)Man and Society/Environment

Outcomes:

- to get to know Flemish writers
- to read famous Flemish novels

This chapter mostly deals with the study of genre and narratives in the selected novels. Apart from that, it is worth noting the recurring mention of “*our Flemish writers, literary history...*” [my emphasis, bk] in the first exercise, which is another “Who is who?”-game. The introduction to ex.4.3 puts this Flemish “our” within “*our rich, western world*” (p.130). This ‘our’ is then inclusive as it incorporates other western economies or societies. The ‘Other’ which prompted the lexical selection of “*rich*” turns out to be the “*Third World*” (id.).

From: *Berthold 1200* by Paul Koeck -p.132

The last few questions related to the extract from the above-mentioned novel closely connect to the immediate environment the pupils live in. They deal with the issue of nuclear energy and the resentment with youngsters to talk about that. They are invited to freely discuss claims made known in a newspaper article and to take a position. This is the first time the pupils will discuss environmental issues linked to the Belgian society. (*NV Nederlands* explicitly mentions “Belgian” here). The textbook indirectly challenges the pupils’ opinions by means of this article.

“De Vlaamse Reus” (*The Flemish giant*): Hugo Claus -p.134

Often nominated for the Nobel Literature Prize, Hugo Claus could not be but taken up in this list of Flemish authors. The pupils read two excerpts from two different novels by this author. The question that goes with the second is however more interesting to this study. The textbook claims that this narrative is “*un-Flemish and very much Dutch*” and asks the students to prove this.

So, again, there is a difference acknowledged which would be due to language and mentality, a basic claim made earlier in this textbook. Practically, this comes down to Christian names, the subject (Dutch television), vocabulary and the liberal, even decadent character of the story associated with the Dutch people at the time (especially in the Flemish media). This is presented to the pupils as a conclusion but again, a ‘Self’ depicted as Flemish leads to an ‘Other’ that is Dutch.

In the third term, the pupils will also discuss highlights from Dutch literature; this is presented in a fairly factual matter, with special attention to character development and genre study. The outcomes are: for the pupils to get to know Modern Dutch writers and to improve their reading skills. However, there is one claim in the discussion of W.F. Hermans' *De donkere kamer van*

*Damocles* ("The dark room of Damocles") which deserves a mention here because of its explicitness (ex.4.4, p.195). The pupils are asked to look for the particular consequences and risks of the docile attitude of the main character. This question is preceded by the claim that "when man is afraid to make choices and take responsibility, he can wait until others decide for him. All he has to do, then, is to execute orders from the authorities (Church and State) and to obey." (id.) If the teacher finds it appropriate or needed, they can relate this theme of docility to current social or political phenomena, such as forms of political apathy. After all, some of these pupils will turn 18, the age of majority in Belgium -Which takes us to the following chapter.

III. A political party? What is that?

Themes: the political landscape today, the origins and evolution of the agenda of Belgian political parties, political tensions in Belgium

→ History/(Wo)Man and Society

Outcomes:

- to gain insight into the above matters
- to acquire a sense of citizenship

• *NV Nederlands 4*, the textbook which is used in the fourth year of secondary school, examines the Flemish political landscape. *NV Nederlands 6* now offers a text that looks into the Belgian situation. Its political history is tackled from the creation of a Belgian unitary state onwards. *NV Nederlands* accounts for the tensions between Catholics and liberal atheists, poor and rich, Flemish and Walloons (see also 1.3.1). It then checks the pupils' knowledge of various facts which are linked to these age-old tensions and explained in the text: the existence of two (ideological) education networks, the origins of the Belgian Labour Party, the federalisation of Belgium. Regarding this latter matter, the textbook repeats that the need to change the unitary state into a federal one originated from the binary opposition Walloon vs. Flemish and francophone vs. Flemish. It goes on to remark that "the Flemish and Walloons make two distinctly different peoples" (cf. Ex. 10, p.145 + teachers' guide p.220). This statement designates Flanders -for which we have struggled to find a national identity definition- in terms of "people" instead of "a nation" within the Belgian state.

Next up are facts about the Flemish national parties, *Volksunie* and *Vlaams Blok* and the environmental parties. The students have to complete the information on these facts by figuring out which "scandals" (p.145) throughout the Belgian history may have indirectly brought about

the formation of these parties. Ex.15 lists Walloon political parties and requires from the pupils that they name its Flemish counterpart. If the teachers would wish to, they could -together with their pupils- compare the political agendas of all Belgian parties more closely. So, this chapter deals with Belgian politics to, among other things give the pupils "*a sense of citizenship*" (cf. outcome and cross-curricular objectives). This indicates that the pupils are now considered (Flemish) Belgian citizens. The "Other" must therefore be persons who are no Belgian citizens. The -seemingly suddenly clear-cut- view on citizenship that we find here will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter (cf. 4.2).

#### IV. Social language variation

Themes: language variation according to social class, age, sex and occupation

##### Language and Society

Outcomes:

- to discuss various forms of social language variation; to explain the concept of sociolects
- to discuss the influence of social class, age, sex and occupation on language use
- to recognise and discuss the various stages of language acquisition
- to explain frequent mistakes in children's language
- to list a few characteristics of 'youth speak' and to explain them by example
- to elucidate a few examples of linguistic sex-ism
- to give a personal opinion about it with reference to the articles
- to roughly read newspaper articles and popular science articles, to scan them and to read them intensively and critically
- to explain group languages and jargon by example
- to explain their use
- to illustrate the term, *buzzword*.

Ex. 9 -p.152

After a discussion has tried to get rid of the stereotypes on the relationship between social class and language (ex.1-3, p.148), this exercise means to find out whether Dutch is a woman-unfriendly language. This is followed by a discussion about whether or not certain masculine professional terms should get a feminine counterpart. Two articles, again written by experts, are relied on to help guide the debate, which leads us to acknowledge -(see also "First Term, Chapter XXII")- that woman's emancipation is an accepted, even debatable topic.

Ex. 13 on p.154 confronts the pupils with an article taken from the magazine, "*Our Language*". It should help them to gain insight into different conversational attitudes between the two sexes. Introducing the subject of jargon, the pupils get to know the term *buzzword*, i.e. a fashionable term that managers use when they discuss management. Put into an economic context, the term is related to the English language, which here emerges as a dominant lingua franca in the world. The dominant position of English is being connected to the "*economic, military and cultural power*" of the United States. Finally, the textbook has selected a text that criticises the "snobbish" use of English terms in the world of computer technology.

#### V. Situational language variation

Analogously to the previously described chapter, the pupils learn all about situational language variation (f. Language and Society; g. (Wo)man and Society).

Again, there is an emphasis on the fact that English partially characterises many sorts of language variation. The pupils have to find a Dutch/Flemish counterpart, which will aid to internalise the matter and so become well aware of the issue (cf. Kusendila 1999). Chatting as language variation is elaborated on while framed within the context of the Internet as something the pupils are familiar with. A text on Dutch and chatting discloses the secrets of seemingly changing sexual identities, while still being able to be yourself to a great extent. This part thus touches upon the discursivity of identities, even though it is not being emphasised. The main drift is about particular characteristics of chatting (no new language!) and rules of politeness. At the end, the pupils find a URL that will connect them to the website of "*Onze Taal*" ("Our Language"), a language magazine that so far has had many an article featured in *NV Nederlands 6* (p.180-181). Those who have access might surf to it. To conclude, the pupils learn they cannot use any language variety in any given situation.

#### VI. Notation (pt. 4)

Theme: listening

→ Language and Society/(Wo)Man and Society

Outcomes:

- to attentively listen to a speaker
- to question aspects of spoken text
- to prepare a lecture; to outline its structure ahead
- to make notes in a pre-structured scheme

• Exercises 1-3 (p.195)

This is a listening exercise on nationalism. The text was taken from a Flemish youth magazine.

The pupils get the chance to prepare this listening exercise by giving their definition of 'nationalism' and are asked for a moral judgement of their own (nationalism: good or bad?).

Before the actual exercise starts, they receive help on the structure of the lecture.

So, although 'nationalism' itself is not the central theme of this exercise, this paragraph concentrates on the contents of the lecture. In the introduction, the students hear that nationalism can unite or separate. It is something which is definitely about belonging to a group but those criteria are not universally defined. Next (middle), the text amplifies on the various meanings of *nationalism* through the ages. As from 1789, it denoted a sense of national pride in France but it was also cause for aggravation (19th century, which culminated in WWI) and extreme forms of aggression. The text includes the Cold War as the division of Europe in two blocs. Interestingly enough, it is said that the (former) USSR "oppressed and abused" Eastern Europe whereas the United States are said to have "supported" Western-Europe during this era. As far as contemporary Europe is concerned, Eastern European people would have weak affiliations with their own state despite the occurrence of extreme tensions in the Balkan. Nationalism in Western Europe is, still according to this text, less important than it used to be, apart from the Irish and Basque paramilitary separation movements, the *IRA* and *ETA*. Finally, the speaker concludes by stating that nationalism can be both positive (when it is open and tolerant) and negative (when it is extremist and biased).

So nationalism is presented as an exclusively European phenomenon and extreme forms of nationalism that are on the rise in Flanders remains unmentioned in this text. However, more likely than not, this subject will have been discussed during the introduction. The conclusion of this text is at the same time a message that the students will incorporate in their learning and practicing of listening and notation skills.

## VII. Dutch in the world.

Themes: the position of Dutch in Europe and in the world, Frisian as a minority language, Afrikaans as a daughter language, *migrant languages* (native languages of immigrants in Flanders/Belgium) as minority languages, traces of Dutch in other languages, the influence of other languages on Dutch.

→ Language and Society/Cultural diversity/History

Outcomes:

- to discuss the position of Dutch in Europe and in the world
- to name the countries where Dutch is and has ever been spoken; to account for the expansion (historically)
- to explain the concepts of *daughter language* and *creole* by the example of Afrikaans
- to discuss the origins of Afrikaans and recognise particular characteristics of Afrikaans
- to explain the concept of language reversal
- to discuss the position of minority languages such as Frisian in The Netherlands and Dutch dialects in Northern France (region of Calais - Pas-du-Nord, bk)
- to discuss minority languages so as to illustrate the relationship between language, culture and nationalism
- to get to know the minority languages of the most important (im)migrant populations in Dutch-speaking regions.
- to predict under what circumstances a *migrant language* will continue to be spoken
- to roughly read newspaper articles and popular science articles, to scan them, to read them intensively and critically and to comment on them
- to give examples of Dutch in other languages and to account for this.
- to explain by example the concepts of *barbarisms* (these are generally lexical items that have been accepted by speakers of another language but remain officially foreign or 'wrong' in purist terms, bk) and *purisms*
- to take a position in the above matter based on proper argumentation
- to explain the concepts of *anglicisms*, *germanisms* and *gallicisms* (barbarisms from English, German and French, resp.)
- to recognise and correct frequent barbarisms
- to determine when it is acceptable for the Dutch language to adopt foreign words
- to distinguish between various levels of borrowing
- to explain some computer terms
- to account for the multitude of gallicisms in Flemish dialects from a historical perspective
- to efficiently take part in a classroom discussion

• "Dutch, a world language?" -p.196 - 198

First of all, Dutch-speaking regions are geographically put on the world map. Also, the regions where traces of Dutch can still be found, like Northern France and Indonesia, are elaborated on from a historical perspective. Belgium's colonial past seems to be remembered in ex. 3.

However, this exercise turns out not to be about Congo (formerly Zaire) but about the Belgian francophone-dominated past which accounts for the fact that hardly any traces of Dutch can be found in the Democratic Republic of Congo today. After a quiz, the pupils discuss the position of Frisian as a minority language (p.197). Again, the dominant position of French vs. Dutch pops up in ex.5. It now explains why Dutch could not survive as a minority language in France whereas Frisian could -and still can- in The Netherlands.

- "Afrikaans as daughter-language" -p.198/199

The pupils get to read an excerpt from the novel, *Bart Nel*, (by Jan van Melle) in Afrikaans and have to write down some characteristics that significantly differ from Dutch. After a translation exercise, Afrikaans purisms are put in the picture as a defense mechanism against English. Again, the pupils are asked to translate these -originally English- purified Afrikaans words. However, the wider social context is highlighted, too. Ex. 4 helps the pupils to understand a newspaper article on the socio-linguistic situation of Afrikaans in South Africa. The existence of 10 other official languages is thereby acknowledged; English is prominently present in this discourse as a threat the future of Afrikaans.

- "Migrant languages as minority languages" -p.2022/203

Note: the term 'migrants' refers to the children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of real immigrants living in Belgium or The Netherlands.

Through playful exercises, the pupils learn about the language situation of immigrant populations in Belgium and The Netherlands. They are also made to consider examples of Flemish people who emigrated, which is followed by a debate on integration. The leading question in this discussion is: "When is an immigrant allowed to say that they have been integrated into our society?" An article on migrant languages propagates the knowledge of Dutch as an important factor for migrants to find a job that will keep them from disappearing into the margins of society. Yet, it is up to the students to argue on this (socially hot) issue.

- Finally, traces from Dutch in other languages are searched for in the exercises on pp.206-208. In addition, borrowings from other languages such as Latin, German and Hebrew are found in officially accepted Dutch vocabulary items. The great attention that is paid to the influence of the French language in exercises 4-7 (including historical account) and that of English in 8-10 is particularly noteworthy, as well as the citation of "anglicisms in disguise" in ex.10.6 (p.213).

However, it is pointed out to the pupils that lexical borrowings from English, or any other language, can be useful to Dutch as well as enriching.

So, even though the French and English language have been regarded as an 'Other', it is shown how these 'Others' have co-defined the Flemish-Dutch (language) 'Self'. Dutch has also been put on the world map, carefully framed in a historical perspective.

#### VIII/IX. Themes from Modern Novels / Mega and Giga

Themes: war, the future of our world, post-modern worlds (VIII) and Hollywood (IX)

→ (Wo)man and Society/Environment

• Through these chapters, the pupils get to think about themes like war, inner values (none of which are specified by the textbook) and the future of our world. They are introduced to the writings of Aldous Huxley (*Brave New World*) and George Orwell (*1984*). This fiction is being 'factualised' by references to scientific applications today, like genetical modifications, and references to the situation in the days when these works were written. Chapter VIII looks into the attitudes of the pupils (most questions require 'open' answers) whereas "IX. Mega and Giga" has an obvious message may be clear from the outcomes:

- "- to consider the commercialisation of recent (Hollywood) film productions
- to realise that some well-established directors plunge into Hollywood-films so as to keep their commercial credibility. This will enable them to raise funds for less commercial productions.
- to characterise typical Hollywood films
- to ask oneself whether these high expenses guarantee high quality"

"Mega and Giga" thus promotes a critical attitude towards the American film industry. Remarkably, all productions that feature in this textbook are presented to the students from the assumption that they are familiar with them. So, this kind of diversity is definitely integrated into the culture of the Flemish, as the textbook writers see it.

#### X. The Origins of Dutch

Themes: relationships between languages, linguistic boundaries, the history of Dutch and the future of Dutch.

→ History/Language and Society

Outcomes:

- to know about the history of Dutch
- to discuss the relationships between languages using the metaphor of language families
- to demarcate the boundaries of the Dutch-speaking regions and to discuss the history of the language border between French and Dutch
- to explain the concept of language reversal
- to demonstrate that Dutch is positioned grammatically somewhere between the English and German grammatical systems
- to schematically present the contents of an article
- to read an informative text thoroughly and to answer yes/no-questions on its subject without making use of the actual text
- to read an informative text thoroughly in order to answer multiple choice questions without making use of the actual text
- to know about important individuals and key moments in the language struggle
- to be able to use reference works.
- to read a popular science article critically with a view to commenting on it
- to efficiently take part in a classroom discussion
- to list certain factors that may threaten the existence of a language
- to give a personal opinion on the future of Dutch

• After having identified three language families from ten listed languages, the pupils read an article about the history of the Belgian "*Taalgrens*" (p.239). This language border is a social, geographical, linguistic and political frontier that roughly divides the inhabitants of Belgium into speakers of Dutch, on the one hand, and speakers of French, on the other. This may elucidate the opposition Dutch vs. French that we have so far often seen occurring and recurring throughout the textbook.

This is followed by a "History of Dutch" -written by Ludo Permentier who is by many Flemish people recognised as a language expert. The pupils test their reading skills and knowledge of the linguistic history of Dutch during the exercises (p.242-245) before shifting their attention to the era of the language struggle. The pupils should find exercise 3 relatively easy because, in a sense, it summarises all about the language struggle that the textbook has given them. Exercise 5, then, is a massive quiz about the history of Dutch and its speakers. Therefore, additional facts and figures have been written in the margins of the book, with a select bibliography (Joop van der Horst and F. Marshall; de Vries, Willemyns and Burger; L. Bostoën; Kas Deprez) -for those students "who would like to find out more" (p.251).

Finally, the future of Dutch is discussed. The students can discuss this freely and/or argue about the claims on p.255, like: "*More and more people speak a sloppy kind of Dutch and this threatens the existence of Dutch.*"

Nevertheless, the last article in this chapter by linguist, Joop van der Horst, declares the Dutch language alive and well. This claim is taken over by the textbook in the shape of a question-answer formulation.

This final analysis also concludes this chapter in which the themes and situations from both the Afrikaans textbook, *Raamwerk 11&12* (3.1) and in the Flemish textbook, *NV Nederlands 6*, have been examined in order to see how they are related to national identity. Every chapter has been scanned for clues (cf. Chapter 2 -themes, and situations such as exercises, explicit statements...) about national identity as described in our theoretical framework (cf. Chapter 1). This framework asserted the idea that national identity was *about belonging to a community that in the post-modern multicultural world could not but respond to cultural differences and constantly redefine who made up the nation.*

The next chapter will examine the outcomes of the above analyses in order to find out what views of this nation, and of the people belonging to it, have emerged from the two textbooks.

## CHAPTER 4: VIEWS ON NATIONAL IDENTITY

### IN RECENT FLEMISH AND AFRIKAANS L1-TEXTBOOKS

This chapter brings together the outcomes of the analyses of *Raamwerk 11&12* and *NV Nederlands 6* and discusses them in terms of national identity representations (4.1) and values (4.2). Further, these findings are compared and amplified on (4.3) before a conclusion is drawn concerning the views on national identity in the two textbooks (4.4).

#### 4.1 Representations

##### 4.1.1 *Raamwerk 11 &12*

###### (a) Culture and Folklore

*We* are all speakers of Afrikaans, to some extent orientated to western culture, but *we* are South African.

###### (b) Cultural diversity/Multicultural discourses

*We*, being South Africans, are culturally diverse. Multicultural discourses have been incorporated in the text and belong to various ethnic identities.

At this point, whether we understand it in terms of an Afrikaans or South African nation- the image of identity here is one of shifting ethnicity, too. Sometimes ethnicity pops up, then it may be hidden in the background or assumed as just there. In other texts it does not seem to matter whatsoever (e.g. Chapter II - Illustration p.15). These identities, consistently mentioned through visual texts and at times given a substantial voice (cf. chapter X), appeal to the pupils as part of a 'we'- discourse (also see below - "Inclusion and Exclusion").

###### (c) History

*We* do not forget *our* past of Apartheid, which has very much defined our places in society today.

###### (d) Environment

*We* are aware of environmental issues that concern the South African people as well as the world.

###### (e) Economy

*We* are rather well off although the South African society is troubled by economic problems such as job unemployment.

Nowhere in this unit does the matter of purchasing power *in se* get questioned. This thus suggests freedom of choice for the consumer (whether to buy or not). Nonetheless, there are a lot of

people within South Africa who do not have that choice (cf. Kotzé 2000). So it is possible to speak of economic layers of SA. One of History's consequences on SA society is that this upper layer is mostly white and economically speaking they have more substantial means than other layers in the same society. From the fact that the individual's spending power is not questioned in *Raamwerk*, we may conclude that the textbook writers do take relative wealth for granted in the case of the Afrikaans-speaking person. Wealth and welfare are important but if most of your readers already possess material riches -or if you as an author have reason to believe this is the case for most of your target audience (i.c. mother tongue learners of Afrikaans), you can pay a lot of attention to welfare. And question possible excesses caused by material riches (cf. Chapter IV). In the context of a possible nation (and nationhood), this signals an important demarcation line. This time it is not rooted in colonial theories based on a sense of racial superiority, or a hunger for money and power (cf. de Beer 2001). It is rooted in reality and aimed at mentally empowering young Afrikaans-speaking persons in their abilities to judge critically, teaching them to communicate their judgements, and to carefully listen to the ideas of 'others' who may not (yet) have what they have.

(f) Language and Society

*Our* language is an African language, which used to divide but now has to be promoted for various reasons (cf. Chapter X). English gets mentioned, other African languages are 'silent'. Various speakers of Afrikaans speak different varieties of the language.

(g) (Wo)man and Society

*We* are South African citizens, striving for unity and harmony. *We* should defend others, although *we* sometimes fail to take up *our* responsibilities as individuals and South African nationals. *We* belong to a nation which is diverse on a plenitude of levels, such as language, sex, ethnic identity...

(h) Religion

It is part *our* culture.

Religion has only got a few 'mentions'. Yet, the source was mostly referred to which left intact its religious nature and value for those who feel religious.

## **INCLUSION and EXCLUSION**

The pupils are first and foremost equipped so as to be able to deal with their social and professional South African environment as successfully as possible. At a level of national identity, this approach results in a highly inclusive and discursive *we*. This can be understood from the total post-Apartheid breach with Apartheid, which has been burnt at the stake by the new

powers. As can be read in various DoE-documents (e.g. *Values in Education-Celebration of our National Symbols*, DoE 2001), it is part of post-Apartheid educational responsibilities to now build a new country, a nation "*united through diversity*" -as the South African motto goes. This textbook encourages the pupils to think about this South-African unity through diversity (cf. 3.1.2) but it also challenges certain views that are generally accepted by society (e.g., see "V. anderkant die gereg").

The issues touched upon in *Raamwerk* relate to day-to-day realities the pupils experience as school leaver, as son or daughter, as an SA citizen, as victim... irrespective of race, colour, background. So we get an ideal picture of how the existing society should be, i.e. one entire South African society of different peoples who respect one another, no longer divided in layers based on race or language. To this end, the pupils are taught to be 'aware'.

This ideal representation does not come so much out of Curriculum 2000 or 2005 -cf. the empowering texts that encourage the students to always critically think for themselves and helps them to construct critically motivated arguments. It has also been derived from the fact that on various occasions the textbook has endorsed the belief that harmony and unity are important for progress (e.g. Chapter II). Yet, *Raamwerk* also gives various views of how to challenge of even 'fight' some of today's experiences of reality. Integrated into this text were multicultural discourses, which indicated predominantly intranational relationships (e.g. chapter IV).

However, exclusions have also appeared. Firstly, the discourse consistently revealed Afrikaans-speaking-affinities, which proved that the nation here is an ideal representation, because most white people and black people will have a mother tongue other than Afrikaans (cf. de Beer 2001), yet they were represented speaking Afrikaans all the time. So in a sense, they are 'spoken' (cf. Hall). The discourse in *Raamwerk* has constructed these groups of people as a 'vehicle' for the message -which is probably the flip-side of the efforts made to have the pupils 'sutured' to as wide a variety of (ethnic) subject positions through the discourse as possible. Other languages -and their speakers as such- remain thus rather silent except where Afrikaans is seen as an African language (cf. Chapter 10). A really substantial English-speaking voice has then been given to an ex-'opponent' of Afrikaans. There is, however, also an economical argument that accounts for a certain degree of exclusion. The readers of this textbook are positioned as rather well off (freedom to spend, access to information technology...), whereas only a minority of South African people really are.

#### 4.1.2 *NV Nederlands 6*

##### (a) Culture and Folklore

*We* are Flemish with a Belgian citizenship. *Our* culture is western.

As described below (see (g)) no possibly Belgian national symbols such as, for example, the French fries are forefronted in this textbook. Culturally speaking, it is assumed that the Flemish form a people of their own. This has been clarified mainly through differential relations with "Others" at the level of language and mentality. How different that is, exactly, is not being described finely. The discourse focussed on Flemish literature, the social struggle and language conflicts in the Flemish struggle for emancipation, ... without promoting distinctly Flemish symbols. *Henry Conscience*, a writer shown to be willing to change the political situation and living conditions for the Flemish people was prominently present in the literature review. His work, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen*, has indeed been an important one in the construction of a Flemish nation, and is therefore still part of the literary canon. However, it was definitely not presented here as a nation-building piece of literature although both its historical and literary importance were highlighted.

This lack of clarity on what may characterise the Flemish culturally other than linguistic or conceptual differences with Walloons, Dutch, English... immediately affects the image of the Flemish 'Self' as somewhat vague.

##### (b) Cultural diversity/Multicultural differences

*We* are citizens of the western world.

Discourses from Western Europe, with reference to the United States flow through this book. So up to a certain level, cultural diversity is integrated. Multicultural differences are acknowledged yet multicultural discourses are absent in this book.

##### (c) History

*We* remember *our* social-political history as being structurally embedded in the history of Belgium. The history of *our* language is shared with The Netherlands. However, having been through a Language Struggle, *we*, Flemish, share a history of *our own*.

Also see (g).

##### (d) Environment

Two instances referring to environmental problems in Belgium could not paint a consistent picture.

##### (e) Economy

*We* are rich, being part of the western world and culture (one explicit mention). However, familiarity with 'luxury items' -such as e.g. computer or video- was often implied.

#### (f) Language and Society

*We* are connected to the Dutch through language yet different from them through *our* standard variety of the Dutch language. Various speakers of Dutch speak different varieties of the language, too. However, the Dutch and Flemish people should oppose to the English threat, which derives its prevalence from United States world dominance.

Also, Flemish is not Dutch nor Walloon because of differences of language and mentality, so the textbook repeatedly claims. It is also not English because of differences of language and 'dominance'. The expansion of English in the field of language *use* is exactly what constitutes the 'threatening' component of English. This construction of the "Other" as a threat is not challenged; in fact, there were quite some occurrences in the book where we found racialised positions actualised: e.g. English in expensive, commercialised Hollywood productions, English as threat to Dutch language (union) or the increasing use of English in Dutch jargon.

#### (g) (Wo)man and Society

*We* are Belgian citizens

(e.g. Second and Third Term-"III. A political party? What is that?")

In his article on "Citizenship and National Identities in the European Union", Rainer Bauböck elaborates on the traditional borderline between citizens and aliens<sup>26</sup>. Traces of the idea that citizenship ends at state boundaries emanate as far as the Belgian national identity is concerned, but the traditional borderline does not appear overtly nor is it consistently present in this book. We have noted the engendering of conflicting premises and notions or values that make it hard to defend just this one distinction between 'citizens' and 'aliens'. E.g. the silent 'Other' did not always correspond to the notion of alien in this view -e.g. francophone Belgians. Conversely, the so-called aliens were not always an 'Other', in the sense that they may have been tied to Flanders through the Dutch language. Strictly and structurally speaking, Flanders is still a region in the Belgian federal state -albeit a greatly autonomous one.

On an interpersonal level, *we* are able to communicate with and listen to lots of people.

#### (h) Religion

Religion is either past or private.

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<sup>26</sup>"In this view, the distinction between citizen and alien ought to be just as clear-cut as that between the two sides of a land border. Four basic premises underlie this conception of citizenship: (1) aliens are fully subjected to territorial sovereignty; (2) aliens are excluded from citizenship rights; (3) states are sovereign in determining rules for the acquisition and loss of their citizenship; (4) human rights effectively depend on citizenship. [...] However, once they are combined and applied by all states, they generate themselves a number of contradictions and irregularities."(Bauböck 1997; 1-2) For example, if all states would subscribe to the premise of absolute territorial sovereignty, they could not address anyone outside their territorial borders as their citizens as this would fundamentally mean an intrusion of the host country's sovereignty.

Through the historical studies of literature, religion was mentioned a couple of times in past references. Another instance saw the prayer, "Our Father" -which is central in the Christian tradition- described as "the following text" among other linguistic artefacts, and thus stripped of its core religious value (see *NV Nederlands 6* p.197 -Third Term, Chapter VII).

### **INCLUSION and EXCLUSION**

The readers of *NV Nederlands 6* are being prepared to succeed as an individual in their immediate Flemish, strongly western-orientated professional and social environment. As a result, the *we* is here discursive but rather exclusive -being the sum of a definitely western, sometimes specifically Flemish *us* and a fairly silent *them*. This can be understood from gradually changing national affinities as a result of historical developments within Belgium and across geographical as well as linguistic borders. However, it is not language in itself that renders the *we* in this textbook exclusive.

The book assigns a primary place to western topics and cultural codes based on the belief that *our* language, ways of thinking and culture are most highly indebted to western culture. Granted that suture happens through unconscious operations, it is more likely to happen here to persons who have been born and raised within a fully western tradition than those who have not. Speaking at the level of citizenship, which is also important in the creation of a sense of national belonging (cf. Tolz 1998), the latter are indeed offered plenty of opportunities to gain insight into and to connect to the Flemish culture and language as presented in the textbook. Speaking at a level of national identity, though, few subject positions to which they could be sutured have surfaced. This will complicate a task like acquiring a sense of citizenship, essentially because of the level of awareness they will need to produce. Michael Apple (Apple and Christian-Smith [Eds.] 1991: 13) distinguishes three possible ways in which people can respond to a text: dominated (acceptance "at face value"), negotiated (disagreeing at certain points but still going with the overall tendencies) and oppositional (complete rejection of overall tendencies). As these non-western pupils are constructed as 'silent Other' identities, they may well object to a dominated reading of this textbook.

At this point, it must be remarked that the Flemish ways of thinking and culture have also been influenced by other cultures than those traditionally seen as western, e.g. cultures from the East. Once that has been acknowledged, why not screen and discuss a Turkish film, for example? It would certainly make an interesting response to the textbook's critique of Hollywood's "commercially sophisticated productions" (cf. "First Term -VII."; "Third Term - IX").

The Flemish thus appear to be taken for granted as a people. They do not seem to form a distinct community, though. I.e. the textbook does not present a highly distinct image of the national 'Self' or of cultural narratives, although it may be said that they are situated in the western world. The nation's 'Other', that helps to shape the 'Self', is not clearly represented either. If they appear, they are merely *mentioned*, i.e. they have not been given a real voice nor a setting -(to then include a discussion on integration renders the entire debate utterly meaningless). It is up to the readers to fill this space of national identities by means of their imagination and personal (hi)stories. No matter how democratic it is for anyone to speak their mind, though, this can become threatening to democracy when those speakers are not well-informed on certain cultural narratives -including the more traditional ones. This is not to say that *NV Nederlands 6* adds to the development of extreme forms of nationalism. It is said that the 'taken-for-grantedness', at a superficial level, and the vagueness as to who or what constitutes the Flemish people, at a deeper level, combined with the textbook's politics of *mentioning* could lead to the (further) racialisation of (alienated) identities of Others. It is safe to say that this "vagueness" is partially caused by a preference for professional identities. This can be considered an inclusive approach however it is obvious that this can cause, not so much the 'dropping out' as, the 'dropping off' of certain pupils. Educators, esp. educational policy makers, should be careful not to underestimate the effect of education on (people's access to) society. If this society is a democratic one, it would be a huge mistake to accept that as 'given' (cf.1.3).

#### 4.2 Values through Themes and Situations

The values listed below are those that have come forth from the analyses of the two textbooks, expressing 'the desirable' in the different attitudes towards national identity.

##### Raamwerk 11&12

1. (Intra-national) affinities with Afrikaans. This can be understood from the particular historical background of South Africa (1.3). As an ideal, those speakers of Afrikaans who support inclusion and are respectful of diversity are the 'new', post-Apartheid Afrikaners. Yet, mainly through this emphasis on inclusion, the Afrikaner is a South African but through the differences and diversity they respect, they apparently expect to 'win' their place in the South African society.

2. Freedom. Freedom as a human right, freedom of speech, freedom through awareness... are but a few of the shapes this value takes in the construction of national identity. It reflects the democratic values embodied by the South African Constitution. It is therefore a small wonder the pupils get to discuss it at length. It must be added, though, that *freedom* in *Raamwerk* is far from unconditional (see e.g. Chapter V, Chapter VII). So values like *equality* (woman, the socially weaker groups of people, all South African citizens...) and *empathy* (e.g. Chapter V) can be imagined when considering the responsibilities that come with freedom.

3. Critical Awareness. The new Afrikaner is 'aware' of the so-called 'weaker' people in society, of her/his environment but also of the 'other', e.g. other ethnic identities that co-define the Self or the Apartheid, pre-transition Afrikaner. The new Afrikaner is also aware of new developments (cf. Chapter IX, Chapter XI), causes and consequences. He will, as a South African citizen, now accept responsibility to help build a democratic and liberal nation (cf. "2. freedom" and "4. diversity"). However, as outlined in the theoretical framework, the actual 'suture' mainly happens through unconscious processes.

4. Diversity as a challenge for the entire South African society. The South African motto 'unity through diversity' is here supported and completed by the principle 'diversity through respect'. The Afrikaans-speaking people are as respectful of difference and 'Other' identities as the 'Others' are.

#### NV Nederlands 6

1. Multiple affinities surface in *NV Nederlands 6*, e.g. the linguistic and historical tie between The Netherlands and Flanders or -as stated above- the connection between Flanders and Belgium. Eddy Boutmans, federal Secretary of Developmental Projects, once put it thus:

*"(...) door Brussel, door honderdzesenzestig jaar geschiedenis, en door een aantal gezamenlijke mythes, als Ambiorix, de Rode Duivels en Eddy Merckx, door een totaal gebrek aan respect voor regels, door frieten, door de Ardennen en de Kust - ook al moeten we die tegenwoordig Vlaams noemen - hebben we nog altijd die sterke identificatie met België, dat ons niet bevredigt, maar dat we evenmin kunnen loslaten, zonder onszelf grondig te verminken"*

*"(...) because of Brussels, because of 166 years of history, and because of a number of shared myths, such as Ambiorix, the Red Devils and Eddy Merckx, because of a total lack of respect for rules, because of French fries, because of the Ardennes and the Seaside -even though we should*

call it Flemish these days - we still experience this strong sense of identification with Belgium. It does not satisfy us but we fail to let go without mutilating ourselves badly).

(Boutmans 1996: 849- cited in *Nederlands in het Werelddorp*, <http://simsim.rug.ac.be/courses/NL2000>)

As pointed out in 4.1, none of the above-cited 'myths' appear in the Flemish textbook. The link with Belgium is predominantly situated on a historical and (politically) structural level.

2. *Integration* as the inclusion of the nation's 'Others'" is primarily reached through the 'Other's' inclusion of his/her 'Self'. In other words, *NV Nederlands 6* revealed a mechanism that may have been meant to be inclusive, i.e. to tell the pupils as much as there is to know about Flemish language (use) and western culture so that the "Others" or pupils from a non-exclusively western background could be integrated into society. This reflects the social view that -if opportunities are given to them- it is entirely up to the (here non-western) citizens to integrate. However, it is shown that a lack of multi-cultural discourses might not give these citizens enough opportunities really to position themselves within society.

3. *Professionalisation* (cf. 1.3.4) has been a recurring theme in *NV Nederlands 6*. It also shows in the South African textbook, *Raamwerk*, but is more prominent in the Flemish textbook, where professional identities seem to have begun replace national identities. With reference to various media, the students are being equipped with strategies to distinguish between and classify miscellaneous sorts of information. At the same time, they are taught to use the latest information technology applications.

### 4.3 Parallels and Convergences

Below is a list of the similarities and dissimilarities between the representations and values in national identity construction encountered in *Raamwerk 11&12* and *NV Nederlands 6*:

- A distinct highly inclusive South African nationality (humanistic and liberal) vs. a low degree of exclusive Flemish/Belgian nationality (structurally democratic)
  
- Inclusive multiculturalism vs. incorporated (western) cultural diversity

- Intra-national affinities to Afrikaans vs. Flemish multiple, transnational affinities.
- "Unity through diversity" vs. integration through -seemingly- equal opportunities
- Environmental awareness vs. attention for professional development of the individual
- Both the Flemish and Afrikaans-speaking people are depicted as relatively well off.
- Both the Flemish and Afrikaans-speaking people pay no particular attention to religion.

#### 4.4 Conclusions

The 'new' Afrikaner in *Raamwerk* is a re-invented Self among Others, respectful and aware of diversity and valuing this awareness as well as freedom. At the same time, because of this awareness, (s)he is constantly questioning the South African environment, of which (s)he is very much a part. The Afrikaans-speaking people, then, are constructed as a distinct community, primarily defined by language but with partial contours of material wealth, which assigns them a place in the upper layers of society. This should lead to responsibility and empathy with "Others", including all South-African ethnic identities. In a sense (language!), these identities are 'spoken' but it might help to get across the message of *equality* as the Afrikaner is also shown to have strong affinities with other speakers of Afrikaans through their language.

To sum up, the 'new' Afrikaner looks into the future for unity while also remembering a past of division (cf. the 'old' Apartheid-Afrikaner as the 'Other'). This opposition runs along the lines of the textbook's humanist ideal (of the nation), on the one hand, and its representation of today's and yesterday's discourse, on the other. As a result, the Afrikaans-speaking people can here be described as a South African people that is very much in transition.

*NV Nederlands 6* is rather low on national identity construction but fairly rich in assumptions that appear to respect existing structural differences. However, this diversity can be mainly situated in a western world and has not been defined in great detail. The reasons for this are, firstly, the premise that the (fairly taken for granted) Flemish culture is rooted in western cultural narratives - which here results in rather vaguely defined cultural codes. Additionally, (non-western) 'Others' are *mentioned* but given no real voice. Secondly, the culture of the Flemish 'Self' appears to be

gradually moving towards a professional culture where professional identities replace national ones. Deeper values underlying in this view endorse a transnational and -at the same time- an exclusive kind of identity. In this respect, the Flemish people can be generally defined as a western people with predominantly historical ties to Belgium who value multiple affinities, professionalisation and integration.

It is shown that a lot of the above can be explained from the current socio-political situation and historical as well as recent evolutions in both Flanders and South Africa. These study results also confirm our hypothesis. In addition, they account for the relation between mother tongue textbooks in language education and the development of certain social and/or political phenomena based on an inclusive or exclusive outlook on national identities. This study has shown that, even though Flemish and Afrikaans share a past of language struggle, the 'intersecting dynamics' of history (especially in South Africa), language, ideology and power (especially in Flanders) have resulted into two very different views of national identity. It is further clear from this study that the textbook writers of *NV Nederlands 6* and *Raamwerk 11&12* can play a considerable role in the development of youngsters as they contribute to define these people's outlook on a highly dynamic and complex environment; an environment of which they produce testimony.

## CHAPTER 5: IN CONCLUSION

In chapter 1.3.3, it has been described how South Africa moves towards inclusiveness on various social and political levels and combines this with educational policies that overtly promote national symbols. Flanders sees the rise of exclusive nationalism together with a criticism of its national symbols as “imaginary constructs” (Soetaert 2000; see also *Nederlands in het Werelddorp* (“Dutch in the Global Village”) <<http://simsim.rug.ac.be/course/NL2000>>). This seemed paradoxical but this study has shown how these processes are actually linked: the ideal nation in *Raamwerk 11&12* is an all-inclusive South Africa, respectful of diversity. The Flemish textbook, *NV Nederlands 6*, takes Flemish national identity constructs for granted to a great extent, whereas -at the same time- it gives no substantial voice to ‘Other’ identities who co-define the Flemish identity or who might challenge specific opinions about these constructs. Professional identities have emerged where national identities have shown to matter still.

This is an overall representation that merges with the L1-learning -indeed, L2 for some- of *matrics* or *sixth-graders* who are about to leave school and are set to make their grade in the South African and Flemish society resp. Therefore- in terms of national identity and these students' individual and social developments- the effect of their learning on the shaping of their personal outlook does not matter as much as the question whether the pupils will later find these 'national conceptions', incorporated in their learning, endorsed or challenged.

Obviously, there is no straightforward *causal* link between the findings of this study and the socio-political situation in Flanders and South Africa. Textbooks alone do not determine the face of education nor society. These findings demonstrate, however, that the contents of two particular mother tongue textbooks are affected by and incorporate societal views on national identity and educational policies. The findings also show that these effects and this incorporation happen within a space within which no constructs such as *nation* are being defined automatically and independently of human minds. The silhouettes of national identities can then -in the words of educationist Henry Giroux (1995; 46)- “only be understood within the intersecting dynamics of history, language, ideology and power.” As the highly discursive 'texts' of the Afrikaans and Dutch language textbooks, *Raamwerk 11&12* and *NV Nederlands 6* have nicely illustrated.

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