Trying to Make Sense of the Trojan Horse Incident:
Using Historical Documents to Prompt Discussion of Politically Sensitive Issues in Secondary Schools in Cape Town.

by

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

SIGNATURE DATE

Signed by candidate 14 February 2003

TRYING TO MAKE SENSE OF THE TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT: USING HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS TO PROMPT DISCUSSION OF POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN CAPE TOWN

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ABSTRACT

In this qualitative research, I hoped to get some impression of ways teachers and learners in five Cape Town schools deal with the process of making sense of a violent past. I offered five teachers material on the Trojan Horse Incident, partly generated by the T.R.C., and pondered the questions what for them and their learners is politically sensitive and how they position the people involved in the incident and how they position themselves. I understand by 'politically sensitive issues', issues centering on political and social divisions of the past and their ramifications in the present in this country. Applying a 'Foucaultian' approach to discourse analysis, I used the concepts 'indescribable' and 'undiscussable' as structuring categories, next to a differentiation between the discourse of classroom talk, and informal discourses outside the classroom situation. I also differentiated between the sense making processes of teachers, being part of a generation that lived through Apartheid, and of learners, the 'new' generation who didn't have that experience.

The results of this research are: Firstly, teachers and learners in the five schools positioned themselves, the people involved in the incident and the researcher through dynamic practices of in- and excluding (shifting between 'us' and 'them') and of past and present framing (shifting between past and present tenses). Both groups seem to prefer to position themselves as 'observers'. In most classes, most of the time was spent on how exactly the Trojan Horse Incident took place (when, where, which tactics the policemen used, consequences,...). Moral questions ('why' questions) were left for the end of the period or left implicit.

Secondly, there was not a lot of space during classroom interactions for emotions and personal stories. The power/knowledge structure of the discourse of schooling seemed to be very strong, although it was also a matter of personal choices by teachers and learners. An 'official' image of Apartheid, with clear differentiations between victims and perpetrators prevailed. Personal stories were only situated in formal discourses of schooling before or after the actual lesson (learners speaking with the teacher about their personal experiences of or reactions to violence) or when 'others' were present, be it learners from 'another' community than the majority of learners and the teacher, or be it the researcher. Thirdly, a discourse of reconstructing personal histories and identities had more space in informal discourses (for example learners talking to one another during breaks) and during interviews with me. South African youth might have (similar to German and Irish youth) a 'fatigue' towards 'official', 'consensus' knowledge of the past and they might not to be able or not want to make sense of the 'wall' of silenced personal stories of those who have experienced the conflicts in the past. Fourthly, 'sensitive issues' were mostly expressed outside the classroom interactions. These were violence in past and present; moral stances towards violence and responsibility; schooling (teaching but also disciplining); and stereotypes people have of 'other' South Africans and the separate lives they have.

'Knowledge is like an ocean:
many arms are needed to embrace it'
(Swahili expression, Schipper, 1999:170)

'The highest degree of belief is doubt, and the highest degree of doubt is belief.
The world is a very narrow bridge. One should learn how to walk on it without fear.'
(Rabbi Nachman of Brazlav, as cited by A.Green 1978, in: Bar-On, 1999:125)

I dedicate this research to young South Africans and to South African teachers, that they may have the courage to embrace themselves and 'the other' without fear.

PREFACE

I wish to thank the following persons and institutions for their invaluable assistance:

- The teachers, learners and principals of five schools in urban Cape Town, who shared with me two weeks of school life, their stories, thoughts, hopes and fears.

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Sofie Geschier, February 2003.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: Trying to Make Sense of the Trojan Horse Incident: Using Historical Documents to Prompt Discussion of Politically Sensitive Issues in Secondary Schools in Cape Town.

Sitting outside a classroom, on the stoep, together with two black learners of a former D.E.T. school, two days after they have watched the documentary on the political unrest in South Africa in the 1980s:

Matthew[1]: I don't like watching those violent scenes when I sit in the same room with you. [...] it's a good thing we are sitting here together. White and black. [...]*
Sofie: Do you have contact with White South Africans?
Matthew and Sandile*: No.*
Sofie: But you see them on the street?
Matthew and Sandile: Yes.*
Sofie: Don't tell me I am the first 'white' you're talking with!
Sandile: No, we meet them in the houses where our mother works. And they are nice, they talk to you and give you money.*
Matthew: But the police ask you what you are doing there, in those white areas. [...]*
Sofie: So there didn't change a lot?
Matthew: No, but it's right because blacks break into whites' houses.[...]*
Sandile: And blacks don't want other blacks to move ahead.*
[...]

1.1. The Rationale for this Research: Making Sense of Violence and Opening a Dialogue.

1.1.1. A Dialogue with Young South Africans

This reconstructed[2] conversation between Matthew*, Sandile* and myself reflects the complexity of the research I conducted in the past year. It reflects the various and complex ways South African teachers and learners – each of them having a history, dreams and fears - make sense of violence, and how this sense making process influences their perceptions of the possibility to open a dialogue with 'the other' in post-Apartheid South Africa. It also reflects the complexity of the research process, my trying to make sense of their sense making, as a researcher, but also as a person with my own history, dreams and fears. In this conversation I positioned myself as an outsider, being a 'foreigner', coming from Europe, but at the same time acknowledging the double labelling by these two young persons of me as an outsider but also as 'a white' with whom they want to communicate in the specific South African context. The concern that Matthew* and Sandile* expressed here is also my concern, namely that the

[1] Asterisks indicate that these are not the speakers' real names.

violence of the past and the present and the geographical and socio-economic divisions between and inside communities nowadays in South Africa impede this dialogue with 'the other'.

1.1.2. My Own History: Trying to Make Sense of and Opening a Dialogue on the Holocaust and the Mau Mau

How do people in a 'post-totalitarian era' reconstruct their histories and identities? How do they make sense of the violence from that past? And how do they communicate with people who didn't experience that past but also with 'the other side of the conflict' during and after this violence? I have already pondered these questions in my own country, as a Flemish teenager reading Anne Frank's diary and various literature on World War II and the Holocaust. I constructed my knowledge of the history of World War II and the Holocaust through school, but more importantly through conversations with my grandfather who urged and still urges me to keep on reading about this European trauma. I battled emotionally with the questions 'what did my grandparents do?' and 'what would I have done?' Even though I knew that my grandfather was a communist, I was not sure if I could believe him, stating that he went underground in France, or if I had to believe my grandmother and one of his friends, who says he hid himself on the farm of his grandmother somewhere in Flanders. I also battled and still battle with my own reluctance to confront him with these different versions of his life.

Visiting Kenya, and studying history I became fascinated by colonialism and post-colonialism and I pondered the same questions: how do people make sense of violence in this context, and how can they come together, communicate with 'the other', during or after that violence? I pondered these questions in two dissertations (written to obtain my degree in history and in postgraduate development studies). In the first dissertation, being aware of the complexities of my own identity as an academic, I examined ways in which academics studying the Mau Mau [3], make sense of the violence during the Mau Mau uprising and how they position themselves and the people immediately involved in the conflict. In the second dissertation, I examined ways in which literate ex-Mau Mau, directly involved in the conflict, present themselves and 'others' in their Mau Mau memoires, and where they allocate responsibility for violence.

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[2] This conversation is as remembered, not as transcribed. I did not record or make notes during the actual conversation.
[3] An uprising in Kenya during the 1950s.

I was also confronted by these questions while on a programme for the training of history teachers and while working as a guide for young people at an Anne Frank exhibition. Through this experience, I became even more aware of the complexities of talking about violence with 'a new generation' and I got an idea of how difficult it must be for somebody who has been living through a totalitarian era, to talk about it with somebody who didn't have that experience. Even for me, not having experienced World War II and the Holocaust directly, it was extremely difficult, but also challenging, to talk about it with young people at the site of an Anne Frank exhibition.

The thread running through my encounters with responses to the Holocaust and the Mau Mau is thus this set of questions: How do we talk about painful events and stories? What kind of language do we use? Are there words to reflect the feelings these stories evoke in tellers and listeners? Looking back on the two previous dissertations I wrote, I wonder if the ex-Mau Mau and the Western academics I studied have something in common. Both groups situated what is illegitimate or not acceptable (like killing of people) outside themselves or the group they defined as theirs. Also as a guide on the Anne Frank exhibition and in reading on the Holocaust I saw that practices of 'othering' (distinguishing between a 'we' and a 'they' group and allocating 'guilt' outside the 'we' group) can be found in different situations where people (have to) deal with painful pasts and presents.

1.1.3. My Current Research: Making Sense of the Trojan Horse Incident in South African History Classes

Two years ago, I came to South Africa because I wanted to get an idea of how South Africans make sense of violence in history classes and in schools more generally. I also wanted to know if the use of violent stories of the past in the history class could foster dialogue within and between individuals and groups of people in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Looking for literature on ways people make sense of violence and on ways people communicate with 'the other', I was impressed by Bjorn Krondorfer's *'spontaneous communitas'* of third generation Germans and Jewish Americans, who come together spontaneously to discuss the meaning of Holocaust for their identity (Krondorfer, 1995)[4]. I

[4] Every second summer, Bjorn Krondorfer facilitates a group of young Jewish Americans and Germans spending two weeks in the USA and two weeks in Germany in which time period they have workshops (role-playing, discussions, ...), visit museums (like the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington), Auschwitz, meet survivors, ... Through these shared experiences of sites, both 'sides' are urged to challenge their own prejudices and the ways they construct their identities through their own and their parents' and grandparents' memory and reconstruction of the Holocaust.

was also impressed by the attempt of the psychologist Dan Bar-On, to find words for the *'indescribable'* and to open doors for dialogue around *'undiscussable'* issues in traumatised families and societies.

Dan Bar-On has explained in his study *The Indescribable and the Undiscussable: Reconstructing Human Discourse after Trauma* (1999) that people do not merely change their identities and values as political or social changes occur. He defines societies that have moved very quickly out of totalitarian regimes, as *'semi-democratic'* (idem:4). The citizens of these societies have to invent a new discourse, *'relearn or reinvent the flexibility to doubt and ask questions concerning facts and resume the social responsibility abolished earlier'* (idem: 255; see also Cohen, 2001:13). Especially questions like 'what is normal?', 'what is discussable?' and 'what is describable?' are difficult to answer, on an individual and a collective level. Krondorfer's 'spontaneous communitas' shows that the intergenerational transmission of personal stories and values is complex. The younger generations do need time and courage to confront themselves and also their family members who did experience the totalitarian era with the questions Bar-On raises (Krondorfer, 1995).

In South African schools the following questions are important in the context of the transition from Apartheid to a democratic society. How do teachers (who lived during Apartheid) represent a violent event from the past, like the Trojan Horse Incident, to a generation that did not experience Apartheid personally? And how do these children make sense of this story? More specifically: how do teachers and learners make this specific story understandable in the post-apartheid era? How do teachers, learners (and also I) reconstruct an 'indescribable' and 'undiscussable' violent event from the past in 'new', 'normal' discourses?

In this dissertation I investigate the possibility of using representations of a violent event from the past as a way in to discussing problems of a politically sensitive nature regarding violence in South African society in the past and the present. I understand by 'politically sensitive issues': the issues centring on political and social divisions of the past and their ramifications in the present in this country. I asked five history teachers (of grade 9 and 10) in five schools in urban Cape Town to use in their classes material provided by me on the 'Trojan Horse Incident'. I wanted to see whether teachers' and learners' response to the material generated discussion of (whatever they saw as) 'politically sensitive issues'.

The Trojan Horse incident took place in 1985 in Athlone, a suburb in Cape Town classified during the Apartheid era as 'coloured'. The 1980s was a period of intense political unrest,

school boycotts, rallies, stoning of governmental possessions, and police invasions of black areas and schools. On 15 October 1985, around 5 p.m., policemen came into Athlone, hidden in boxes at the back of a South African Railways truck (as, according to legends, did Greek soldiers entering Troy, hidden in a wooden horse). When people started stoning the truck, they came out and shot into the crowd. They killed three young persons, Michael Miranda (age 11), Shaun Magmoed (age 16) and Jonathan Claasen (age 21), and wounded several people. The video-footage by journalists who were on the spot, went out all over the world. Although magistrate Mr. G. Hoffman held an inquest to determine the circumstances surrounding the deaths of Michael Miranda and Shaun Magmoed in February 1989, and stated that there was no evidence that the children were throwing stones and that the police couldn't hide behind a state of emergency, the Attorney General of the Cape at the time, Mr. N. Roussouw, declined to prosecute and this decision was supported by the then Minister of Justice, Mr. K. Coetzee. The families of the two children then launched a private prosecution but were unsuccessful. On 20 and 21 May 1997 an Event Hearing was held on the Incident as part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (T.R.C.)[5] process (Press Release T.R.C. 'Four subpoenas served for Trojan Horse Hearing, 29/4/97).

I selected the Trojan Horse Incident because of the differentiated sources available (written transcripts of oral testimonies, video material, newspaper articles, etc.) and the different voices within the different texts (children who were on the spot, a mother, a teacher, journalists, policemen, etc.). I specifically chose the Trojan Horse Incident because of the possibility of identification (children were killed, very nearby, namely in Athlone). The case was very controversial at the moment of the event itself and also during the T.R.C. hearings, both in South Africa and in the international community. (See chapter three).

The link between the T.R.C. and the Trojan Horse Incident is important for practical and disciplinary reasons: the T.R.C. generated specific material that is interesting for an historian studying narratives about violent pasts. These narratives are encounters of victims and perpetrators with a Commission that was established to assist South Africans in dealing with the past, by listening to each other's stories. The narratives are encounters of individuals and a Commission trying to make sense of their individual past, but also of the past of communities, and South Africa as a nation. Although the T.R.C. was established in an attempt to 'heal the soul' of the South African nation, and not everybody agreed/agrees with

[5] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up by the Government of National Unity to help the government and the citizens to deal with the Apartheid past. The T.R.C. is based on the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, no. 34 of 1995 and contains three committees: the Amnesty Committee, Reparation and Rehabilitation (R&R) Committee and Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee. See for more information: http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/index.html. accessed on 3/12/02.

this purpose or the outcomes of the process, the T.R.C. generated an opening for discussion and reflection on individual and collective level. By offering five teachers material on the Trojan Horse Incident, partly generated by the T.R.C., and pondering the questions what for them and their learners is politically sensitive and how they position the people involved in the incident and how they position themselves, I hoped to get some impression of ways these teachers and learners deal with the process of Truth and Reconciliation, the process of making sense of a violent past. (See infra, chapter two and five).

1.1.4. The Possibility of Reconciliation and Peace

Throughout the different research projects I have done, I have shared an assumption with other researchers, like Bar-On, Giroux and Krondorfer, that opening a dialogue with people who did experience a totalitarian past, but also with people 'from the other side of the conflict', **might** have a positive influence on reconciliation and peace. I want to stress however, that this research is a case-study, done in a short period. I thus don't have any grounds to claim this positive influence on reconciliation and peace; I can only express my hope and keep on researching ways people make sense of violence and dialogue with each other in societies which have come out of a totalitarian era.

1.2. Research Questions

Based on literature and my past experiences, I formulated the following research questions:

My primary research questions are:

1. How do teachers and learners of grade 9 and 10 deal with source materials (such as video-material, newspaper articles and T.R.C. transcripts) regarding a violent event in which South African policemen killed three youngsters in Athlone (October 1985)?
2. Can this material be used as a way of opening classroom discussion on politically sensitive issues?

These primary research questions, together with the two subsets of more focused questions they contained, were used to analyse data from my case-study carried out in five secondary schools in the Western Cape. The first subset of questions focused on perceptions of what is politically sensitive:

(i) What is 'politically sensitive' according to the teachers and the learners in the five schools?

(ii) A. Did the teachers and the learners perceive this material as politically sensitive?

B. Why?

(iii) Were grade 9 and 10 teachers willing to use this material on the Trojan Horse Incident in their history classes as texts to stimulate discussion on politically sensitive issues?

(iv) If so, how did the teachers deal with it?

(v) And how did learners react to it?

The second subset of questions are more focused on the teachers' and learners' perceptions of 'the other' and 'I'/'we' and on their emotional reactions manifested in the period(s) in which the Trojan Horse Incident was discussed. In these questions I distinguish between what on the one hand teachers do and say (questions i and iii) and on the other hand what learners do and say (questions ii and iv), because they belong to two different generations, experiencing Apartheid in different ways.

(i) A. How did teachers in the five schools position or define people involved in the incident? Did they for example use labels such as 'victim', 'perpetrator', 'by-stander' or did they question the use of labels?

B. How did they position themselves?

C. How did they define themselves?

D. Did they attribute (feelings of) guilt and shame? How?

E. In what way(s), if any, did teachers link the Trojan Horse incident to present event(s) in South Africa?

(ii) A. How did learners in the five schools position or define people involved in the incident? Did they for example use labels such as 'victim', 'perpetrator', 'by-stander' or did they question the use of labels?

B. Where did they position themselves?

C. How did they define themselves?

D. Did they attribute (feelings of) guilt and shame? How?

E. In what way(s), if any, did learners link the Trojan Horse Incident to present event(s) in South Africa?

(iii) A. How did teachers in the five schools talk about the event? What kind of language did they use? In other words: did they talk in a 'factual' manner and/or 'emotional' manner about it?

B. Did teachers provide a safe space for the learners to deal with these kinds of stories emotionally? If not, what were the indications that they did not?

C. Did teachers reflect explicitly on the feelings these narratives evoke?

D. Were there indications that teachers find some of these issues problematic to discuss?

E. Did they use other ways of expressing feelings these narratives evoke?

(iv) A. How did learners in the five schools talk about the event? What kind of language did they use? In other words: did they talk in a 'factual' manner and/or 'emotional' manner about it?

B. If the teacher provided a safe space for the learners to deal with these kinds of stories emotionally, how did the learners use this space? And if not, how did the learners respond?

C. Did learners reflect explicitly on the feelings these narratives evoke?

D. Were there indications that learners find some of these issues problematic to discuss?

E. Did they find other ways of expressing feelings these narratives evoke?

1.3. Outline of Dissertation

In the following chapter, I explore literature on the T.R.C. process and the questions of whether and how conflict stories in history lessons can foster discussion of sensitive issues. In the third chapter, I explain my research design and methodology. Chapter four includes a presentation and initial interpretation of the data I gathered. In chapter five, I try to answer my research questions through a more in-depth reflection on the data. And lastly, in chapter six I summarize my findings and formulate recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review: Making Sense of Violence and Opening Dialogue in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The question of how people deal with painful pasts and the present is crucial in Post-Apartheid South Africa, and especially in an educational context in which teachers, having experienced Apartheid, teach 'the new generations'. In this chapter I first explore the impediments to the Truth and Reconciliation process. Secondly, I deal with the question of whether and how conflict stories used in History lessons can foster dialogue and reconciliation, by exploring not only literature on South Africa but also literature on dealing with conflict stories of the Holocaust, racism in the U.S.A. and the conflict in Northern Ireland. And lastly, I explain why I chose to use a Discourse Analysis Approach in this research.

2.1. Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa

Giving sense to a violent past is a complex matter and in this regard the educational field is as such intertwined with the whole society. A myriad debates on the function and legitimacy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa generated and continue to generate the following questions: What happened?, Why? Who or what is responsible for what happened? and Where are we going from here? (Ignatieff, 1996&1998 and Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000). But also: who has the 'right' to write history? Who is heard? Who is listening? And in how far is every South African, not necessarily part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearings, yet part of a more general process of working towards truth and reconciliation in the new South Africa?

An important factor in the reconstructing of the history of post-Apartheid South Africa, is the acknowledgment of a far wider range of voices, instead of privileging an exclusively male, white view on the history of the country. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (T.R.C.) was designed to assist in this process. The core idea of the T.R.C. was to uncover *'as much as possible of the truth*[6] *about past gross violations of human Rights*' which was necessary for

[6] The T.R.C. differentiated between four categories of truth: firstly, factual or forensic truth is the familiar legal or scientific notion of truth, based on evidence obtained through reliable procedures. The second notion is the personal and narrative truth, referring to the specific experiences of the persons appearing for the T.R.C, related in different languages. Thirdly, social Truth, is *'dialogue truth', 'the truth of experience that is established through*

'the promotion of reconciliation and national unity' (T.R.C. Report, vol. 1: 49). The moral mandate of the T.R.C. was, in the words of Posel (1999:4-5) *'the project of nation-building, 'imagining' a new form of national community based on a 'collective memory', a 'shared' history' '.* But how do people create a shared history? How do they reconstruct their identities and discourses? How do they move from an Apartheid era into a new ideological era?

Identities and discourses are not monolithic. The discourse analyst Gee (1996: 132) situates our narratives of identity in a broader field, as a kind of cross-roads or meeting point for different discourses. The individual, encapsulating different voices, thus, is *'the meeting point of many, sometimes conflicting socially and historically defined discourses'.* Bar-On explains in his study *The Indescribable and the Undiscussable: Reconstructing Human Discourse after Trauma* (1999) that this process of reconstructing identities and discourses is something not to be taken for granted because it is something very complex and does not always happen. (See Chapter one and infra).

This complexity of an individual's make-up, his or her different voices, combined with the identities attributed to different groups by the Apartheid narrative, have serious implications for the success of the T.R.C. and a process of establishing and promoting truth and reconciliation. How can some form of consensus on the past be reached? Could the T.R.C. achieve its goal of contributing to nation building? Various researchers argue that the process of trying to find consensus in truth and reconciliation at the same time, embodies a paradox: *'If the idea of individual, interpersonal and communal catharsis validated the impulse towards completeness, the version of reconciliation as a national rupture with a divisive past pulled in a different direction'* (Posel, 1999:7). Ignatieff (1996: 113-4) pinpoints the paradox as follows: *'The idea that reconciliation depends on shared truth presumes that shared truth about the past is possible. But truth is related to identity. What you believe to be true depends, in some measure, on who you believe yourself to be. And what you believe yourself to be is mostly defined in terms of who you are not'.* In South Africa, the Apartheid narrative created ruptures between those it classified as white, black, coloured and Indian people. Stereotypical representations and understandings of people different from a person's self or a person's group are integral parts of the narrative of identity of most South Africans, who mostly still live in 'their own' areas with 'their own' people.

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interaction, discussion and debate'. And lastly, healing and restorative truth, is truth focussing on the restoration of the dignity of victims. T.R.C. report, vol. 1, pp. 110-114.

Another impediment in the T.R.C. process is that the T.R.C. simplified the identities of those participating in the hearings into two broad categories, those of 'victim' and 'perpetrator' and left most ordinary South Africans in the detached position of spectators, or bystanders. The T.R.C.'s emphasis on individual perpetrators and specific deeds of gross human rights violations[7] has made it easy for South Africans to put the blame for apartheid on these individuals, instead of involving themselves in personally reflecting on the trauma of the past, and their possible involvement in, or benefit from that past, in order to move on in the present (Gibson & MacDonald, 2001 and Verwoerd, 2000; Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000).

A recent research report of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (Gibson and Macdonald, 2001) highlights a distant and a mixed evaluation of the T.R.C.: *'The emotional release generated by watching victims and perpetrators confronting each other, often with forgiveness, is now a distant memory in the minds of many South-Africans.'* (Gibson & MacDonald, 2001:1). And, *'Generally, whites are displeased with the T.R.C.; blacks are relatively happy with its performance'* (idem:4; see also Theissen & Hamber, 1998; Verwoerd, 2000). According to the report, racial groups still live isolated in 'their own' groups, and there is a surprising tolerance amongst all groups towards the Apartheid-idea (the idea of separate racial development, not racial hierarchy and domination) (idem:14-18, see also Soudien, 1996 & 2001a:311).

Taking these constraints into account, can I assume that there is not much talk about these painful stories across (and maybe within) the different groups nowadays? Can talking about these painful stories, for example through dealing with material on a painful event such as the Trojan Horse Incident in History classes, foster dialogue and reconciliation? Answering this question depends on one's stance towards the following two questions: Firstly: Can we, assuming that we can change the world through knowledge, achieve dialogue and reconciliation by talking about a past of conflicts? And secondly: if we do believe that this is possible, how then do we deal with stories of suffering in the classroom? How do we talk about these stories with a generation that didn't experience that past? The following section will deal with these two questions.

[7] Individuals were heard in Victim Hearings, Event Hearings and Special Hearings (on women, children and youth and compulsory national service). The T.R.C. also held Institutional Hearings on the health sector, Legal sector, Media, Business, Prison and Faith Communities. A fifth category was the Political Party Hearings. See T.R.C. Report, vol.1, pp. 146-9.

2.2. Dealing with Stories of Suffering in the Classroom

Various researchers argue that previously divided people should meet and communicate with each other to make reconciliation and nation building possible. According to Gibson and MacDonald: *'racial isolation impedes reconciliation, even if racial integration does not necessarily result in greater racial harmony'* (Gibson & MacDonald, 2001:17). And as already stated by T.R.C. commissioners and historians (Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000: 65-7, 220; T.R.C. Report, 1998, vol. 5:260) reconciliation is not achieved solely through the T.R.C.; it is a process, which all South Africans have to engage with. In the words of Krondorfer (1995:16): *'Reconciliation is not a monument but a process, not a museum but a 'growing inventory of an active memory' (Maier, 1988:121), not a theory but an experimental practice.'* (see also Shriver, 1995).

But how do we put this into practice in the context of South African History Education, taking into account the impediments discussed above? There has been a struggle before and after the end of Apartheid, on how to teach history, with which values. This struggle often concentrates on conflicts over texts and is related to literacy as a means of reproducing knowledge and power positions: who writes and produces history books? And how do teachers and learners use them in the classroom? Do they use the history books to support or to question existing power positions? This struggle has been and still is related to the questions on truth and identity pondered above, and to the question whether change through knowledge is possible or not (Abdi, 2001; Bam, 1999:7, 2000b:3, 2001; Greenstein, 1996: 10; Hartshorne, 1992; Masokoane, 1993; Morrow, 1996; Soudien, 1996 & 2001a). History, in the sense of historical consciousness, which, in the words of Giroux, provides *'a much-needed historical perspective on some of the most pressing problems of our time'* (Giroux quoted in Bam, 1999:4), has been evaded or only paid lip service to (Taylor & Methula, 1993:296). Before and after the end of Apartheid, teachers were and are not participators, but distant observers in the (re)creation of the curriculum (Bam, 1999:2; Christie, 1993:113; Muller & Taylor, 1993:321-2). Old textbooks written by male, Afrikaner historians are still widely used (Abdi, 2001:231; Bam, 1999:2, 5). However a reading of Dryden (1999: 111-124) suggests that this is true for the official discourse, but not for the formal and informal discourses within schools (see Soudien, 1996 & 2001a): teachers do rewrite the curriculum, even if there are differences between visions and practices of different teachers and schools, and learners create an environment for themselves outside the teaching and learning moments.

Researchers, often directly involved in alternative education during Apartheid (like People's Education), vigorously defend the use of conflict stories as a means of developing historical

consciousness and as an important step towards reconciliation. According to the Values, Democracy and Education Report (2000, see also Bam, 2000a:7) and discussants at the T.R.C. conference in August 1999 (Bam, 2000b:3), the use of T.R.C. sources is important, to minimize the risk of repeating past mistakes. At the same time however, critics are saying that the T.R.C. reflected the truth through *'narrow lenses'* (Bundy in Bam, 2000b:4), and that T.R.C.'s struggle for consensus silenced the stories of violence, division, pain (Bam, 2000a:5-6). According to Bam, consensus stories violate the development of historical consciousness: *'there is no room in consensus history for intellectual, moral and political conflict. This impedes rather than promotes critical inquiry and creates new forms of mystification which make the social world seem mechanistic and predeterministic.'* (Bam, 1999:11, see also Abdi, 2001:240-1, Kros & Vadi, 1993:94-8; Giroux, 1988:96; Hooks, 1994:28-33; Krondorfer, 1995:74&95) Bam and other researchers, like Hartshorne, Giroux and Salmons, state that education which challenges prejudice and self-interest plays a role in people's learning to live together, fighting economic inequalities, changing reality (Bam, 2001: 44-9; Hartshorne, 1992: 94-8, 331-3; Giroux, 1993:20-30; Salmons, 2001). Although I agree that consensus stories impede the development of historical consciousness, I do not perceive all T.R.C. narratives as 'consensus stories'. Even though a major part of the Commission's agenda was eliciting stories of gross Human Rights Violations, and even though the oral is canonized into written transcripts and finally into the T.R.C. Report, victims' and perpetrators' narratives in the various hearings include daily life conflict-stories, which can be found in the written transcripts of the hearings. The Commissioners did not always take up these daily conflict-stories in their interaction with the witnesses, probably because these stories did not fit into their (broader) agenda of finding consensus (see Geschier, 2001a).

These different ways of dealing with conflicts of the past are also highlighted in research on the intergenerational mediation of stories on the holocaust, racism in the U.S.A. and the conflict in Northern Ireland (see Bar-On, 1989 & 1999; Bergmann & Jucovy, 1982; Caplan, 2001; Hammond, 2001; Kinloch, 2001; Krondorfer, 1995; Salmons, 2001; Sichrovsky, 1988; Giroux, 1983, 1988, 1991, 1993&1996; McCully et al., 2002). Reflecting on their research in Northern Ireland, McCully and his teacher colleagues stress that bringing conflict stories into the class and engaging the learners in critical thinking, may not change the preconceptions of learners (see also Bam, 2001 on History education in South Africa). The willingness of learners and teachers to engage with the stories not only in an analytic, rational way, but also in a more personal, emotional way is pivotal but is often difficult to achieve (see also Giroux, 1993:249-55; Hammond, 2001; Hooks, 1994:8-16). As is highlighted in research on Holocaust education, teachers, learners, families, peers, and media can construct an emotional 'wall' when contentious issues are too confronting (McCully et al., 2002: 7, Bar-On, 1989 &

1999; Krondorfer, 1995; Bergmann & Jucovy, 1982; Sichrovsky, 1988). This wall does not necessarily imply an indifference towards the conflict stories (Cohen, 2001:9; Hammond, 2001:22-3). McCully et al. stress the importance of the ethical responsibility of teachers, who have to make a choice between perceiving their role as *'neutral arbiters of historical enquiry within the parameters of the prescribed curriculum'* or as people who *'encourage young people, directly, to apply their historical learning to contemporary issues.'* (2002:7). Giroux (1983:108-111; 1993:20-30) adds that this is also a choice between a pedagogical language of empathy and possibility as a positive, democratic resistance on the one hand and questioning, but negative resistant language that rather perpetuates the existing power positions and violence on the other (see also Bam, 2001; Kinloch, 2001:9).

Bringing stories of suffering into the classroom, thus, needs careful action. As Todd states: *'such pedagogical strategies and the responses they incite require careful consideration in terms not only of what it is we hope to do but of the actual effects of our educational encounters.'* (Todd, 2001:597, see also Christie, 1993: 119; Dryden, 1999:123; Salmons, 2001) Listening to painful stories involves feelings of guilt, suffering and responsibility, even for people not directly involved in a painful event. According to Todd: *'Our susceptibility to another means that we are guilty for deeds we have not committed; for guilt is not about deed or action, or about the content of suffering of the other, but is a response to the trauma incurred through the other's telling of such suffering, [...] one is persecuted by the speech act itself; in speaking her suffering, in addressing the self, the other inflicts a wound upon the self. The saying is a demand to be heard and it requires a response.'* (Todd, 2001:608). Narratives – or the telling of stories and listening to them - are per definition dialogues, which define us as humans, and *'are one of the natural cognitive and linguistic forms through which individuals attempt to order, organize and express meaning'* (Mishler, 1986:106, see also Dryden, 1999: 124; Gee, 1996: 132; Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000:128, 173; Botman & Petersen, 1996: passim). Russell (quoted in Giroux, 1991:243) states rightly that *'the oldest form of building historical consciousness in community is storytelling'* (see also Shriver, 1995:230).

Can we thus assume that working towards reconciliation is not merely listening to 'dangerous memories' or conflict stories; that it demands an active participation and self-reflection? Researchers as Giroux, Hooks and Shriver state that active listening and self-reflection are necessary even though they are highly painful and confronting, not only for those who lived through a totalitarian era, but also for those who didn't experience it; it is painful and confronting for those who are or were 'victims' in the totalitarian system, but also for those who are or were 'perpetrators', 'benefitors' and 'bystanders' (Giroux, 1991: 94-99, 243-4,

1993:26-7, 59-61, 120-1; Hooks, 1994:28-43, 88-102; Shriver, 1995:69). According to Giroux and McCully et al. the teacher plays a pivotal role in the classroom, in creating a safe space for learners and the teacher her/himself to make this open and self-reflective dialogue possible (Giroux, 1993:25; McCully et al., 2002:7). And a crucial point here is that the teacher has not only to listen critically to the learners' stories and experiences but also to include her/his own stories to make a genuine dialogue with the learners possible (Giroux, 1991: 94-9, 254-5; Hooks, 1994:8-21). Research on dealing in the classroom with the Holocaust and the conflict in Northern Ireland shows that young people in different countries in transition express a 'fatigue' towards the past. Young people state that they know it already. But there is a split between 'official', 'consensus' knowledge of the past and 'informal', 'personal' knowledge of the past. According to Bar-On and Krondorfer the young generations are bombarded with 'official', 'consensus' knowledge of the past and they can't or don't want to make sense of the 'wall' of silenced personal stories of those who have experienced the conflicts in the past (Bar-On, 1989, 1999; Krondorfer, 1995: 82-7, 98-104; see also McCully et al., 2002). There might be skeletons in the closet; *'not knowing anybody who admits his or her involvement is the same as suspecting that everybody is hiding something'* (Krondorfer, 1995:100).

2.3. A Discourse Analysis Approach

Although I am qualified as an historian, I borrow in an interdisciplinary way from linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and theology through the work of academics, such as Bar-On, Gee, Krondorfer, and Martin and Rose, who are often difficult to pin down in one of these disciplines. In all these disciplines texts and discourses - as manifestations of language, ways human beings make sense of the world and construct their identities - are pivotal (see Blommaert, 1992:283). I use a Discourse Analysis Approach in this research, not only as a world view, but also as a methodology in analysing my data (see for the latter, chapter three).

Discourse Analysis has a long history and encompasses different approaches (Mesthrie, 2000:316-341). Moreover, the term 'discourse' is the least defined, although it is often interchangeably used with the related terms 'language' and 'text' in various studies, and with the widest range of possible significations (Mills, 1997:1-27). In this study I choose a flexible interpretation of Discourse Analysis, with more emphasis on a broad and open definition of discourses as conflicting social and institutional constructions organised around practices of in- and exclusion, than on the linguistic approach as it was defined and worked out by sociolinguists in the seventies and by Fairclough (1992) in his Critical Discourse Analysis

(C.D.A.) (see also Blommaert, 2001 and Kress, 1996). I would describe my world view as 'Foucaultian': there is no pre-existing, linear reality in the sense that we can grasp and predict it; the only way we have to know reality is through discourse (see also Mills, 1997: 18-76 and Popkewitz et al., 2001:45-8, 151-183). The individual, as already stated above, is a cross-roads or meeting point for different discourses (see Gee, 1996: 132). I take on Foucault's argument for the imbrication of power with knowledge ('power/knowledge') (Mills, 1997:21-22). Power/knowledge is not 'sovereignty' (power/knowledge as something possessed by certain individuals and not by other individuals) but 'governmentality': *'the knowledge or rules of 'reason' as generating the principles by which individuals act and participate in the world as a 'knowing' being. (....) Knowledge, in this sense, is productive and an active, material practice in constructing the world, rather than negative, repressive, or as an epi-phenomenon of the world.'* (Popkewitz, 2000:16). Knowledge is a productive power, *' 'making' the world and individuality by interning and enclosing possibilities'* (Popkewitz et al., 2001:19). I indicate hybrid borders of discourses and the complex working of power/knowledge by using Bar-On's concepts of the 'indescribable' and the 'undiscussable'. The 'indescribable' points in my view at what is difficult to be put in words because of the grey zone between language and what is going on inside us (knowledge and feelings). And the 'undiscussable' points at what is difficult to be put in words because of the grey zone between language and social conventions (see above, chapter one and infra, chapter three). I thus define the ways teachers and learners make sense of the material on the Trojan Horse Incident as constructing educational knowledge, a social practice related to issues of power. But these ways of making sense are also constructed by that educational knowledge or 'school discourse' (see Gee, 1996; Mills, 1997 and Popkewitz, 2000&2001). Their sense making practices are situated on fluctuating cross-roads of conflicting discourses, 'school discourses', 'learner discourses', 'teacher discourses', ... and their very individual discourses. These discourses do not only entail mind but also body, words but also silences, describable and discussable knowledge and feelings, but also indescribable and undiscussable knowledge and feelings (see infra, chapter three).

The approach and definitions I use here are part of – in the words of Martin and Rose (2002) – a 'Positive Discourse Analysis' rather than a 'Critical Discourse Analysis'. Critical sociolinguists, like Fairclough, clearly state that their political project is to alter existing power inequalities. Various researchers, like Kress and Martin and Rose, however, question their 'deconstructive activity' and state that one should move to a 'productive activity', move beyond determinism (with only sovereign power) and mere analysis of texts, and include positive changes of relationships between individuals and groups in communities (Kress, 1996:15-6). Analysing Mandela's 'Long Walk to Freedom', Martin and Rose argue for a

'Positive Discourse Analysis': *'If Discourse Analysts are serious about wanting to use their work to enact social change, then they will have to broaden their coverage to include discourse of this kind – discourse that inspires, encourages, heartens; discourse we like, that cheers us along. We need, in other words, more positive Discourse Analysis (PDA?) alongside our critique; and this means dealing with texts we admire, alongside those we dislike and try to expose (...)'* (Martin and Rose, 2002: 51). *'We are arguing that we need a complementary focus on community, taking into account how people get together and make room for themselves in the world – in ways that redistribute power without necessarily struggling against it.'* (Martin and Rose, 2002: 224). I perceive my research about ways teachers and learners reconstruct a violent past and open (or close) dialogue in a post-apartheid South Africa as part of this more 'positive' approach: I realize and respect that they make sense of the Trojan Horse Incident and their own positions in unpredictable, often conflicting ways, ways I can understand and 'admire' but also ways I don't always understand and 'admire' but at least try to understand.

Analysing ways people make sense of a story of the past in their 'own' present, is complex and the sense making practices of the analyst are as important as the sense making practices of the subjects because of the specific interaction with the subjects and the production of data. The analyst not only positions the subjects, but is also positioned by them, included in and excluded from certain discourses, knowledge and feelings (see Ignatieff, 1998:175). I am fully aware of the fact that my analysis of data is an ongoing process, which already started before my actual visits to the schools, through my own background and experiences, the reading of academic literature, and the pilot-project I did last year[8]. I perceive 'analysis' not as a 'looking for the truth', but rather as organizing and bringing meaning to my data. So it is by definition a personal process, a personal representation, which has to be as open and reflective as possible (Struwig and Stead, 2001:169). In studying ways people communicate a story of the past, I perceive representations as dialogues (not necessarily between persons within the same space and period) as a myriad of voices, socially constructed and historically situated at a cross-point of discourses (see supra, Gee, 1996:132; see also Mesthrie, 2000:322). Moreover, dialogues are subjected to conditions of sayability (Blommaert and Maryns, 2000:4; Blommaert, 2001:27) and therefore shaped by evaluations (Toolan, 1988:159-160). Discourse Analysis in this sense is a highly self-reflective way of trying to

[8] As part of the PG.Dip in Applied Language Studies - option 'Literacies in education. Language and learning in secondary and tertiary contexts' (taught by Lucia Thesen and Rochelle Kapp) in 2001, I did a project on T.R.C.-transcripts dealing with the Trojan Horse Incident in a former House of Representatives school (Geschier 2001b, 2001c). Because of the complexity of my own position (as a non-South African teaching and observing at the same time) I decided not to do action research for my Masters Dissertation. I decided not to position myself as the

make sense of dynamic encounters between people, including statements, ways of acting, and feelings (see Gee, 2000). In chapter five, I will focus more on the complex relationships between my subjects and myself and how these relationships might have influenced the creation and interpretation of data.

Having highlighted in this chapter the complex ways people in South Africa but also in other countries 'in transition' make sense of traumatic pasts, I can now explain, in the following chapter, my methodology and research design. I will indicate the importance of studying ways people make sense of the world and construct their identities and how I use linguistic categories of Discourse analysts like Fairclough and Martin and Rose and how I structure my data.

person who is teaching, and using the material together with the learners, but to ask South African teachers to use the material and to give me permission to observe this process.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology and Research Design.

Planning, conducting and interpreting a research project comprises intertwined phases. In this chapter I want to describe and reflect on my methodology and research design. This includes also a reflection on the context in which the fieldwork took place, because my initial expectations influenced my design, but were also challenged by the specific encounters with teachers and learners in the five schools.

3.1. Methodology

3.1.1. Qualitative Research

This research is qualitative. I explore the positions of grade 9 and 10 teachers and learners towards the use of a particular kind of source material. More specifically I am looking for representations of experiences, ideas, and feelings of the subjects. The nuances and flexibility in the interactions between the subjects, the ways they present themselves, are thus very important, and cannot – in my view - be taken into account by quantitative research, for example through a questionnaire on a bigger sample of people. Whilst Foucault studied discourses in a very broad way and in a large time-frame ('sexuality', 'punishment', 'knowledge/power' in nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Mills, 1997) and linguists such as Fairclough and Martin and Rose studied smaller units of discourses (specific texts), I choose to undertake five case studies, which positions me more in the ethnographic field[9].

I am aware of the following limitations of qualitative research: this study cannot claim to be a representative study, although the richness of data is valuable (Struwig & Stead,

[9] The terms 'qualitative research', 'case study' and 'ethnography' have been used interchangeably (see Schurink, 1996:201). I understand them as follows:

- The term 'qualitative research' points to the focus of this research, which *'involves the gathering of evidence that reflects the experiences, feelings or judgments of individuals taking part in the investigation of a research problem or issue whether as subjects or as observers of the scene.'* (Verma and Mallick, 1999:27)
- The scope of the research is limited to five case studies. According to Hammersley (1992:185) a case study is *'the investigation of relatively small number of naturally occurring cases'*. Case studies do not lend themselves to generalisations (Atkinson, 1990: 91-93, Carspecken, 1996:25-6; Verma and Mallick, 1999:10, 42).
- And finally, ethnography is a way of looking for an understanding of that focus. According to Hammersley (1990b:1-2) ethnography attempts to interpret meanings of insiders and functions of people's behaviour in a relatively small everyday setting. The data in such studies are gathered from a range of sources such as thick and general observations. (In my case these were, respectively, detailed notes made during classroom interactions and general notes on what happens in the school, including informal conversations, which are mostly made after the actual conversations).

2001:121-5). Credibility (or validity) and consistency (or reliability) are terms more easily associated with quantitative studies, nevertheless validity and reliability can be strived for in a qualitative study by triangulation of different data and methods, checks and counterchecks by others (supervisors, subjects and peers) (Struwig & Stead, 2001:134-5, 143-6), and by language awareness. Critical reflection on language use by the researcher in representation of context, data and analysis/interpretation, is pivotal (Atkinson, 1990 and 1992; Carspecken, 1996; Pierre Hugo, 1996). According to Atkinson (1992:29): *'The reflective ethnographer will need to be sensitive to the ways in which her or his representation of speech establishes the speaking subjects as 'others' in a dialogue of difference, or assimilates them to a complicity of identity with ethnographer and reader'.* The fieldwork and the texts created through it, can be interpreted as multiple dialogues within a specific time-frame: 'then' between researcher and social actors and 'now' between researcher and readers (Atkinson, 1990:82). But these dialogues are also situated within specific spaces: the specific setting that will later be 'imagined' through reading the ethnographic text. This attention to language and context (spaces and interaction situations) links ethnography with discourse analysis. I highlight the linguistic categories of discourse analysis one can use in qualitative research in 3.2.6.

3.1.2. Definitions of Terms

In this section, I explain what I mean when using the following important terms in my research-questions: 'positions' and 'politically sensitive issues'.

1. Positions

In this research I focus on the positions of some grade 9 and 10 teachers and learners in post-apartheid South Africa towards the use of material on the Trojan Horse Incident in the history course. I perceive positions as hybrid, fluctuating and dynamic entities, the ways individuals situate themselves and others (and are positioned by others) towards the official, formal and informal discourses in the school environment (see Soudien, 1996 & 2001a). Soudien (1996, 2001a:312-3) defines the official discourse of a school as *'embodied in the symbolism of the state'.* The formal discourse is the structured environment of the school or the commitment of a school to education, *'represented by the curriculum and regimen of the school'.* And the informal discourse is *'the world of social relationships, which young people inhabit, associated with their social, cultural and leisure interests'* (idem). These discourses are constantly balancing between unity and diversity, because they are formalized and dynamic at the same time (see Gee, 2000:23). (See also chapter two).

2. Politically sensitive issues

What is sensitive? This can be defined differently according to the person speaking and according to the context. I am aware of the difference between 'sensitive issues for teachers and learners' and 'researching sensitive issues'. What is sensitive for teachers and learners is one of my sub-questions (see above). Lee (1993:4) defines sensitive research as *'research which potentially poses a substantial threat to those who are or have been involved in it'*. More specifically, research can be threatening in three ways: (1) dealing with areas which are private, stressful or sacred; (2) the study of deviance and social control (the threat of stigmatising or incriminating) and (3) the study of political and social conflict (the exercise of coercion and domination) (Lee, 1993:4). But it is not possible to distinguish clear boundaries between these three kinds of threats. As Lee states (1993:5), *'the kind of threat posed by a particular piece of research, as well as its level, is a highly contextual matter.'* In that regard, I was fully aware before I visited the schools that it was likely that there would be differences between the schools, teachers and learners in perceiving my research as threatening. In chapter five I explore the problematic formulation of 'politically sensitive issues' and the 'sensitivity' of this research in more detail.

3.2. Research Design

I provided a package of materials for use in classrooms and examined its use, the effects thereof, and related issues.

3.2.1. Material on the Trojan Horse Incident

The package of material on the Trojan Horse Incident included: a B.B.C. documentary[10], full T.R.C. transcripts of the Event Hearing on the incident, held in 1997 in which 'victims' as well as 'perpetrators' told their stories[11]; and newspaper articles from 1985 and 1997. I provided each teacher with this package. Unfortunately, I could not locate audio- and video-records of the hearings.

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[10] 'No easy road' (Journalist Michael Buerk on his experiences in South Africa in the eighties) Film editor: Seel R. (1988) (42 minutes). Buerk reflects in this documentary on his stay in South Africa during the eighties, which were characterized by political unrest. The Trojan Horse Incident is one of several violent scenes and is only shown for 1 minute. See infra, chapter 4.

[11] This in contrast to the Human Rights Violations Hearings (in which victims were heard) and Amnesty Hearings (in which perpetrators were heard).

As already stated in chapter one, I selected the Trojan Horse Incident because of the differentiated sources available (written transcripts of oral testimonies, video material, newspaper articles, etc.) and the different voices within the different texts (children who were on the spot, a mother, a teacher, journalists, policemen, etc.). I specifically chose the Trojan Horse Incident because of the possibility of identification (children were killed, very nearby, namely in Athlone). The case was very controversial at the moment of the event itself and also during the T.R.C. hearings, both in South Africa and in the international community. Appendix 5 includes the list of the material on the Trojan Horse Incident I provided to the teachers. I also included a weighting of the positions of the newspapers at the time of the incident and at the time of the Hearings, by South African journalist Tony Weaver (personal conversation, e-mail from Tony Weaver, 18 December 2002).

Approximately one month before my visit to each school, I provided the teachers with the package of material on the Trojan Horse Incident. I did not make any selection of which parts of my package the teachers should use for classroom presentation. The teachers were invited to supplement the package. Two teachers added written sources on the ancient Trojan Horse Incident; one teacher also used the documentary 'A long night's journey into day' (see appendices (5) List of material on Trojan Horse Incident, and (8) Table 2: Material used by the teachers).

3.2.2. School Sample

The human sample of my research is five history teachers each with one class of learners (four classes of grade 10 and one class of grade 9[12] learners), from five different urban schools in Cape Town. The sample includes one former Department of Education and Training (D.E.T.) school, one former House of Assembly school and three former House of Representatives schools; two of the latter group are situated in the Athlone area[13].

I selected the grade 9 and 10 history class because I am qualified as a history teacher and because of research done by other people on talking about sensitive issues in these specific

[12] The original plan for the research was to focus only on grade 10. Because the grade 10 History teacher of one of the schools didn't feel comfortable with a researcher in the class, while the History teacher for grade 9 was eager to cooperate, I made this exception. I do not think it will affect the results in an important manner. The ages of most of the children are between 14 and 16.

[13] The differentiation of these three types of schools, was based on the former differentiation of people according to their 'race' identity (as such identified by the Apartheid government): the House of Representatives Schools were for coloured people, House of Assembly schools were for white people and Department of Education and

grades (June Bam, personal conversation, 9 November 2001; McCully et al. 2002). I chose to work with one teacher and one class of learners in each of the five schools, so that I would be able to do a qualitative in-depth study and because of time-management constraints. I wanted to complete the fieldwork in ten weeks, and the dissertation as a whole within one year. I selected the five schools, with the assistance of Rob Siebörger, an academic who was familiar with the range and locations of Cape Town Schools, because I needed to take into account the approximate distance from U.C.T. (transport facilities), and 'representativeness' in terms of the 'former colour'-labels used[14]. Although the discriminatory framework is rightly discredited and dismantled, the Apartheid labels under which people were categorized have ongoing effects on South African socio-economic structures. It also has effects in terms of how people construct their identities and that of others (see Gibson & MacDonald, 2001 and Druker, 1996:53). The use of these labels in academic research does not imply that the researchers condone the classification system, but it indicates that they recognize the effects of that classification in the fields they work in. This is the case in my study (see also Gibson & MacDonald, 2001:3; Soudien, 1996:16-18).

I respect the anonymity of the schools and the persons involved in the project and I discussed the planning of the project throughout with all the persons involved. The Department of Education of the Western Cape (W.C.E.D.) was asked for permission to do this research in W.C.E.D. schools. The schools (principal and/or Department of History) decided with which teacher I would work. I asked written consent of the principals and the teachers. (see appendices (2) Letter from W.C.E.D.; (3) Letter to the school and (4) Participant consent form).

3.2.3. Pseudonyms

In order to guarantee the anonymity of the schools and persons I worked with during my fieldwork, I use pseudonyms. For the same reason I do not mention the specific dates of my visits to the five schools. I visited the schools in the period April-August 2002. I also want to stress that the order of mentioning the schools is random. All the schools are situated in urban Cape Town; two of them are situated in the area where the Trojan Horse Incident happened, namely Athlone. In my analysis I will use the pseudonyms of the schools and the teachers without the asterisk.

Training schools were for black people. From the mid eighties schools got the opportunity to open up to 'other races'.

[14] I already had contact with two out of the five schools in 2001 in the context of a PG.Dip. in Applied Language Studies course (see above, footnote 8). At the start of the selection of schools, I approached two Afrikaans medium former House of Assembly schools, but they did not want to cooperate in the research.

Pseudonyms Schools	**Former classification & medium of Instruction**	**Pseudonym of History teacher & number of learners**
School 1 Forest High*	Former Model C school (medium of instruction English)	Christine* (Officially 24 learners, mostly between 20 and 24 attending)
School 2 Mountain High*	Former Department of Education and Training School (medium of instruction English)	Jabulani* (Officially 57 learners, mostly around 50 attending)
School 3 Garden View*	Former House of Representatives School (medium of Instruction: English and Afrikaans)	Jonathan* (Officially 46 learners, mostly between 30 and 38 attending)
School 4 Athlone High*	Former House of Representatives School (medium of instruction English) ATHLONE	Harry* (Officially 36 learners, mostly between 32 and 26 attending)
School 5 Athlone View*	Former House of Representatives School (medium of instruction English) ATHLONE	James* (Officially 43 learners, mostly around 40 attending)

Table 1: Mode of Referring to Schools and Teachers

In Table 3 (see appendix (9)), I give an overview of the number of periods and the specific activities teachers and learners were involved in while dealing with the Trojan Horse Incident, in and outside the classroom. In this table I also indicate which periods were videotaped.

3.2.4. Method of Data Collection

- Time and general planning

In keeping with ethnographic principles, the final form of this research was influenced by the specific contexts of the schools and the preferences of the teachers. I visited the five schools in the period April-August 2002. I stayed two weeks in each school, following one History teacher through history classes with one focus class of learners as well as with other classes of learners[15]. My initial expectations were (and I also made this explicit to the teachers) that I could observe the teachers during the first week in their 'usual', planned teaching and that the teachers would only start using the provided material in the second week. However, two teachers did focus on the Trojan Horse Incident from the first days that I was in the classroom. I did not expect all the teachers to be eager to use this material or to deal with this incident. I said so explicitly, but everybody was willing to use this specific story and this specific material. It was fully in their hands how exactly they used the sources and how time was managed. All teachers spent three or more periods on the case.

- Observations in the schools

I made thick and general observations in and outside classrooms. Thick observations are detailed notes made during classroom interactions, by which I tried to write down as much information and as many impressions as possible of what was happening in the classroom. General observations are less detailed notes on what happened in the school, including informal conversations, which I mostly made after the actual conversations. (See also Carspecken, 1996: 45). During the general observations and the thick observations of the periods in which the Trojan Horse case was used in the classroom I focused on interactions between teacher and learner(s), and between learner(s) and learner(s). And this with specific attention to teacher- and learner-centred teaching practices, the topics dealt with, and the way topics are dealt with ('factually' or with space for emotions). I also paid attention to the access to and use of textbooks, the creation and use of their own material (see Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999:183) and use (and perceptions) of languages (written, oral; home languages and language of instruction). To give an impression of how I made notes (thick observations) in the classrooms, I included one period of each of the five schools in appendix 1. In this appendix, I also explain in more detail how these notes are constructed. (See also 4.1.)

[15] During the first week I observed more classes to get an impression of the teaching style of the teacher. I followed also other grade 10 classes of Harry and other grade 9 classes of James while they were dealing with the Trojan Horse Incident. In the three other schools, the teachers had only one grade 10 class to teach history to.

- Video-records of periods

To have a more detailed record of what happened during periods in which teachers and learners worked on the Trojan Horse Incident and to have a counter-check for my written observations, I asked a cameraman to make video-recordings of one period of each history teacher and his/her focus class working on the Trojan Horse Incident.

- Interviews and informal conversations

I had individual semi-structured interviews with every teacher in the course of the two weeks, in which I asked about relevant aspects of their personal backgrounds (where they live, their education), their views on education (and specifically history education) before and after 1994, and their use of sources in history classes. I also asked what 'politically sensitive issues' mean for them and how they would use the package on the Trojan Horse Incident. (See appendix (6) for interview questions). Although I initially planned that this interview would be conducted before the teacher used the material on the Trojan Horse Incident, the interviews mostly took place within the same time period in which the material was used in the classroom, and mostly needed several meetings (see Table 3, appendix (9)). A formal debriefing interview was held with Christine and James[16]. In the three other schools, the first interview took longer than planned but I included debriefing questions in this interview as far as possible. I also had informal conversations with each history teacher and with other teachers in each school (in staff rooms, passages, classrooms). I had a brief look at notes on History of one learner from each focus class to have an idea of the topics dealt with over the year, and the modes of teaching and learning used in the History classes. I also had informal conversations with learners in and outside classrooms. I conducted a group interview with 5 to 8 learners from each focus class[17], on a voluntary basis after the periods in which they had been confronted with the sources. In these group interviews I asked the learners questions like why they study history, what their parents and teachers think of the importance of history and what their opinion is on discussing violent events in the classroom. (See appendix (7) Interview questions for learners).

Four of the teachers I worked with are male and in their forties. One teacher is female and in her twenties. So all of them had had a longer experience of Apartheid than of the post 1994 democratic era. In Table 1 I indicate which pseudonyms I use (see above). Though I fully realise the 'sensitivity' of its use, I often utilise 'colour' labels, because of the residue of the

[16] During the debriefing interview I asked the teacher to reflect on the periods in which she/he dealt with the material on the Trojan Horse Incident; what was different from her/his expectations. I didn't prepare specific questions for the debriefing interview because I wanted to give the teachers the space to reflect in an open way.
[17] In the former D.E.T. school, I conducted the interview with assistance of a Xhosa interpreter.

Apartheid policy of racial discrimination, which shows in 'race' still being used by the subjects as a basis of differentiation in their discourses. Though I initially planned to focus on both teachers and learners, I got closer to the teachers than to the learners, because of the choices I made in gathering data and because of the specific, teacher-centred, relationships in the classroom. Though I have certain impressions of the learners, I realise that I should have interviewed them personally, to get as 'profound' an image of them as I have of the teachers. This is however beyond the scope of a minor dissertation.

- Data

The data (or 'texts') I gathered include: thick and general observations; audio taped recordings of interviews with principals, history teachers and groups of five to eight learners from each school and finally, one video-taped period of each History class, working on the Trojan Horse material. Additionally, I visited the place where the Trojan Horse Incident happened and talked informally with a person living there, who knew the children who had been killed, and who had witnessed the incident. I also interviewed a young man, Mohammed* (pseudonym), 16 years old at the time of the Trojan Horse Incident, who was shot and wounded on that day and whose friend was one of the children killed by police. This interview was videotaped.

3.2.5. Method of Analysis of data

I explained and defined Discourse Analysis in chapter two as a highly self-reflective way of trying to make sense of dynamic encounters between people, including statements, ways of acting, and feelings. In this section I explain why it is important to look at language and discourse and how a closer reading of 'texts' can assist in interpreting ways people make sense of the world and construct their identities. I also explain how I structure my data on a broader level by using Bar-On's concepts 'indescribable' and 'undiscussable' and by differentiating between what is said/done in the classroom situation and during other interactions.

Martin and Rose define Discourse Analysis as follows: *'Discourse Analysis employs the tools of grammarians to identify the roles of wordings in passages of text, and employs the tools of social theorists to explain why they make the meanings they do.'* (Martin and Rose, 2002:4). Discourses can be defined as dynamic interplays between language and social context, in the form of written or spoken texts. Looking at language, discourse and texts are pivotal because language enacts and constructs our social identities and relationships (Halliday's interpersonal function of language). At the same time language represents our experiences and thus

contributes to the construction of systems of belief and knowledge (Halliday's ideational function of language). And lastly, language is rhetorical, it organises discourse as a meaningful text (Halliday's textual function of language) (Fairclough, 1992b: 64-5; Martin and Rose, 2002: 3-7). It is however difficult to distinguish between these three functions of language, and the use of a specific language feature does not always have the same meaning or impact. What and how something is said and evaluated is not just dependant on choices of individuals but also on discursive structures of for example 'classroom talk' (Martin and Rose, 2002: 48-76). When a teacher for example uses the pronoun 'I' in a classroom interaction, there may be other rhetorical effects than when a learner uses 'I', and other social identities and relationships, and other systems of belief and knowledge are implied. Learners don't have speaking rights in classrooms, unless the teacher allows them to and personal stories and evaluations (using the pronoun 'I') are only perceived as valuable when they are (seen as) part of the canonized educational knowledge. Interpretation of the use of 'I' or another language feature also depends on the position of the interpreter; in how far she/he can infer what it means, depends on ways the subjects position him/her as an insider or outsider. This positioning of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' is dynamic: it can be done to a greater or lesser extent and it also depends on the type of interaction between subjects and researcher.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, I will use Fairclough's and Martin and Rose's linguistic categories to do an in-depth analysis of the ways learners and teachers make sense of the Trojan Horse Incident and construct their own positions/identities but also the positions/identities of people involved in the incident and people around them (like teachers, parents, learners, family, politicians, researchers,...). The following concepts are useful:

- Linguistic cues of evaluative positioning: Modality indicates the level of certainty or level of authority. Modal indicators are modal auxiliary verbs (may, can, must, ...), tense (eg. categorical modality: simple present tense), modal adverbs/adjectives ('definitely', 'possible'), hedges ('sort of'), intonation patterns, tag questions, ... (Fairclough, 1992b:158-160; Martin and Rose, 2002:19-58). Martin and Rose (2002:17) align these linguistic cues with the interpersonal function of language, the ways human beings negotiate attitudes (feelings and values).
- The teacher/learner's linguistic positioning of him/herself, his/her audience, present events, things and feelings but also of the persons, events and things more directly related to the Trojan Horse Incident can also be achieved through the following linguistic cues of evaluative positioning: negation, juxtaposition, active or passive voice, repetition, the use of metaphors,

use of nominalizations, use of pronouns ('I', 'we', 'they'), use of irony, back- and foregrounding of information, specific sequence of points, presuppositions.

- Another way of positioning persons is double-voicing. The speaker/teller enacts not only his/her voice, but also other voices. Double-voicing is mostly ambivalent, because it is not clear whose voice is speaking and if voices are blended. This is a concept of Bakhtin (see Fairclough, 1992b:108 and Martin and Rose, 2002:39). Martin and Rose (2002:17) align these linguistic cues not only with the interpersonal function of language but also with the ideational and textual function of language: human beings represent experiences, connect events, track people and things through the use of these cues.
- Turn-taking indicates the power-positions in a specific interaction, ways people are in- or excluded. Who sets the agenda? Who is talking when, how long and in which manner? (Fairclough, 1992b:152-3). This concept is valuable in analysing 'classroom talk' which differs from, for example, informal talk between learners on the play-ground or the interaction between subjects and researcher during an interview. These different types of interactions (or discourses) have specific rules to be followed to make the interaction worthwhile and 'acceptable'.
- Intertextuality: linguistic links within texts, but also across different kinds of texts and discourses (Fairclough, 1992b: 101-136). This concept is valuable when looking at ways teachers and learners make sense of different texts used in the classroom interaction, for example their dynamic - similar but also different - sense making practices of the images of the B.B.C.-documentary during the classroom interactions and during the interviews.

I present and analyse my data (or 'texts') in the two following chapters. I use linguistic categories, such as those mentioned above, to analyse the transcriptions of what people said during the classroom interactions or during interviews (respectively recorded on video- and audio- tapes). I don't apply an in-depth linguistic analysis and this for two reasons. In contrast to research conducted by Fairclough and Martin and Rose, the amount of material collected in this research is too large to analyse in depth. Moreover, the written notes are not quotations but paraphrases of what is said during the classroom interactions. I do a more 'rough' analysis of the thick observations, focussing on for example learners' and teachers' use of pronouns 'we' and 'they' and ways they describe people involved in the Trojan Horse Incident. These written notes give the reader some 'flavour' of what was (according to me) going on in the classrooms and the schools, and of the ways I interpreted this. (See appendix 1).

I use three ways of structuring my data:

- I differentiate between the interactions during the history lessons ('classroom talk') and the interactions outside this specific situation, because the situation and type of interaction influence for example whether or not people open up and say what they feel and think about sensitive issues such as violence. Teachers and learners can talk freely in a classroom for example during a break, even if they might not have talked during a lesson. (See also Blommaert, 2001 on the importance of context).
- A second way of structuring my data is according to the three former types of schools, because of my expectations of different reactions of teachers and learners to the material, according to these former divisions. Although often the findings do not confirm my expectations that teachers and learners in the five schools react differently, especially in the context of discussing violence, I did observe differences between on the one hand the former House of Assembly school and on the other hand the two other types of schools. These differences depend on the background of teachers and learners, where they live and the degree to which they are confronted by violence in their daily lives. The differences also depend on which voices dominate the interaction in the class, interviews and informal conversations. In schools with learners from different backgrounds for example, the 'other' is mostly in the minority (blacks and coloureds in the former House of Assembly school and blacks in the House of Representatives schools). The space that these 'minority' voices get to talk in the different sites of discussion depends on the topic discussed.
- A third way of structuring the data is using Bar-On's concepts 'the indescribable' and 'the undiscussable', to highlight the grey zones and silences between discourses or in other words between language, social conventions and our heads and hearts. These concepts point at ways of including and excluding knowledge and feelings in specific encounters. Trying to make something describable or discussable does not only depend on the willingness, power and knowledge of individuals, but also on the power/knowledge structures of discourses. The 'indescribable' points to the difficulties often encountered in communication between people. These impediments are often caused by wrong assumptions we make of what another person might think and feel. We often think too quickly that we can easily make sense of somebody else's sense-making (Bar-On, 1999:6). The 'indescribable' thus points at what is difficult to put in words because of the grey zone between language and what is going on inside us (knowledge and feelings). When we don't know how to describe something (a thing, event or a feeling) because we don't have the words or the knowledge, we talk about the 'indescribable'. Bar-on defines 'the undiscussable' as those issues which are too difficult to talk about (Bar-on,

1999:12)[18]. Although Bar-On defines the 'undiscussable' in an extreme way, as 'the unknowable', and locates this in all spaces (idem: 17-20), I wish to differentiate between the 'indescribable' and the 'undiscussable' in a 'lighter' way: I define the 'undiscussable' as the silenced or avoided facts in a specific situation or type of interaction, i.e. the classroom, this in contrast with other situations such as an interview or an informal conversation. In this research I thus explore whether there is space in the classroom to deal with this kind of story emotionally; whether teachers and learners acknowledge feelings of guilt and shame; and whether there are silences. The 'undiscussable' thus points at what is difficult to be put in words because of the grey zone between language and social conventions in a specific situation. When we can't describe or express something because of social conventions, we talk about the 'undiscussable'.

In this chapter I gave a more practical out line of my research design and methodology. I defined qualitative research and terms as 'positions' and 'sensitive issues'. I also highlighted in detail the way I planned and conducted the research and how I will apply discourse analysis to the data I gathered. In the following two chapters I will present and interpret the data in an attempt to find answers on the questions I pondered at the start of this research.

[18] See also Foucault's concept 'prohibition' or taboo; Mills, 1997: 64. Compare also with Martin and Rose's resources for amplification of attitudes (2002:33-37): 'turning the volume up or down' (adjusting how strongly we feel about people and things by using for example intensifiers as 'very', 'extremely') and 'sharpening' or 'softening' categories of people and things by using for example 'kind of', 'about', 'exactly', ...

CHAPTER 4: Making Sense of the Trojan Horse Incident in the Classroom: A Discourse Analysis.

4.1. Introduction

Making sense is something complex. In the previous chapters I tried to present my own sense making of literature on how people make sense of a traumatic past and on how to conduct research on this topic. In this and the following chapter I present the data I created and the interpretations I made of what (I think) was going on in five schools in Cape Town during my visit there. To give the reader some 'flavour' of how I made thick observations of the classroom interactions, I have included my notes on one period of each school in appendix one. I chose the first period in which teachers and learners dealt with the Trojan Horse Incident. In Jonathan's school this was the very first period I observed. And in the other four schools it was the first period after the BBC documentary was shown. These notes give an impression of what I think was going on in the classes, (teaching and many 'asides') but also of ways I constructed the notes and positioned the subjects, their talking and acting, and also of the ways teachers and learners positioned me, and how they positioned each other and the people involved in the incident. (See appendices 1 and 9 (Table 3)).

The main questions I posed at the start of my research were: firstly, how do teachers and learners in the five schools use the material I provided? And secondly, can this kind of material be used to open discussion on politically sensitive issues? Finding an answer to these two broad questions is, however, difficult. I therefore formulated sub sets of questions that are more specific, which can be found in chapter one, section two. In this chapter I present an initial interpretation of my data and thus initial answers to the questions. In 4.3. I will focus generally on the teachers' selection and use of the material and in 4.4. I will focus more intensively on each school, and the ways its teachers and learners positioned people involved in the incident, and how they positioned themselves and me. In 4.5. I examine firstly ways teachers and learners make sense of some violent scenes from the BBC documentary to highlight the indescribable aspect of communication in classroom discourse. Secondly, I look at how teachers and learners talk about violence outside the classroom and seem to make this issue thus undiscussable inside the class discourse. Thirdly, I explore the impact of the teachers' and learners' belonging to different generations on their interactions in the classroom discourse. And lastly, I focus on ways teachers and learners bring personal stories in the classroom. In the following chapter I try to formulate more elaborated answers

on the questions I pondered in this research and I also highlight the difficulty of answering the second main research question on 'sensitive issues'.

4.2. Abbreviations and Selection of Quotations

4.2.1. In the analysis of the data, I use the following abbreviated references to my data:

- The number in front refers to the numbered school
- The letters in the middle stand for:
  - OC: observations in the focus History class (thick observations, made during the class-activities)
  - GIL: group interview with learners (recorded on audio tape)
  - IT: interview with teacher (recorded on audio tape)
  - ICL: informal conversation with learners of the focus classes (written notes made after the actual conversation)
  - ICT: informal conversation with teacher (focus teacher) (written notes made after the actual conversation)
  - GO: general observation (written notes on observations outside the classroom, and on conversations with other teachers and learners; mostly made after the conversations)
  - PRE: written observations made before the actual stay at the school (first meetings with teachers, made after the actual encounters)
- The number at the end refers to the specific period (compare with Table 3 in appendix 9)

If I use an 'x' at the end instead of a number, I refer to observations made in grade 9 and 10 classes other than the focus classes.

For example: '2OC3' refers to my data on Mountain High, thick observations of the focus History class, third period.

4.2.2. I indicate my editing and cutting of sections of quotations from the audio taped interviews and the videotaped periods with '[...]'. Observer's comments are indicated with '(...)'. I tried, as far as possible, to include false starts, hesitations and (seemingly) incoherence of subjects' talking. In appendix 1 I explain in more detail how I constructed the

thick observations notes, which are, in contrast to the audio- and videotaped recordings, not always literal.

4.3. Overview of the use of the material in the five schools

I did not expect the teachers to allocate such a large amount of time to the use of the material I provided, nor did I expect that the ways teachers and learners dealt with material in the classroom would be so complex to observe and to analyse. Elements like the specific selection of material, the time allocation to specific activities (involving material), the teaching modes, reactions of learners and other, 'non-teaching' activities in the classroom, made the observation and the analysis complex. In this section I will try to give an as clear picture as possible of how the teachers selected and used/presented the material I provided on the Trojan Horse Incident. In 4.4., I will focus in more depth on the ways teachers and learners position people involved in the incident and how they position themselves.

The five teachers used the material provided in the same order: they first showed the BBC Documentary 'No easy road'[19] and then discussed the newspaper clippings. Some teachers only focussed on the headlines, others used the full texts. Only Christine and James used the T.R.C. transcripts as a third source in their classroom interaction. Harry and Jonathan gave as reasons for not using the transcripts: time constraint and not knowing how to select pieces out of the huge quantity of transcripts (4IT9, 3IT8).

The Trojan Horse Incident is only shown for about one minute in the BBC documentary but all the teachers showed the full video to the learners. In two schools, the History teacher did not watch the video together with the learners. James saw the video together with another grade. I am not sure when or if Jabulani watched it. During most of the discussions in the five schools held after this video (in the classroom or in the interviews with the learners), other, 'more violent', scenes in the documentary were discussed, more than or as much as the video-footage on the Trojan Horse Incident (see infra). All five teachers used newspaper-articles, but made selections (which article, only headlines and/or full texts). James additionally quoted selectively from T.R.C. transcripts and Christine gave her learners three selected T.R.C. transcripts, which they had to use as a source in their group-work. Jonathan and Christine gave their learners additional material on the ancient Trojan Horse incident and

[19] Journalist Michael Buerk on his experiences in South Africa in the eighties; Film editor: Seel R. (1988) (42 minutes).

Christine gave her learners additional visual material (namely, the documentary 'A Long Night's Journey into Day[20]'). Table 2 (appendix (8)) gives an overview of the material selected and used by the five teachers.

The teachers' talking took up most of each History period. However, all five teachers allowed space for discussion and mostly even opened the floor explicitly themselves, though there were differences between teachers in how far they gave space to learners to express personal thoughts and feelings (see infra). Christine and Harry gave their learners a worksheet with questions which partly had to be answered as homework and partly in the classroom. In Harry's class these questions had to be answered individually and in writing, while in Christine's class learners had to answer some of the questions individually and other questions in group, both orally and in writing. Christine's learners had to come to a consensus within their group and write a group-report with their (group) answers. (See Christine's and Harry's worksheets in appendix 10).

I observed between 5 and 8 periods in each of the five schools. Most teachers, except for Jabulani and Jonathan, indicated clearly to the learners how the periods were structured and how the Trojan Horse Incident fitted in. For Christine and James the time allocated for the Trojan Horse Incident was a project in a bigger package on Apartheid and Racism that respectively also included a visit to Robben Island and a study of Anne Frank's diary. Jabulani had to make a huge jump in historical time between the periods on the Boer War and the Trojan Horse Incident. Harry chose to recapitulate first the Soweto uprising (which the learners had already studied in the first semester with another teacher while Harry was abroad) before focussing on the Trojan Horse Incident. Jonathan explained to me that he first wanted to find out what the learners' perceptions were of the T.R.C. and only then confront them with the Trojan Horse Incident and the material (3ICTpre, 3IT8). Only in the videotaped period did he explain to the learners how the period would be structured (3OC5+6). In Table 3 (appendix (9)) I tried to provide an overview of the ways teachers used the selected material and which teaching modes they used.

[20] 'A Long Night's Journey into Day', (1999) 35 mm documentary, directed by Frances Reid and Deborah Hoffmann.

4.4. Representing people involved in the incident and representing one-self

In trying to find an answer to the questions how teachers and learners use material on the Trojan Horse Incident, I did not pay attention only to the topics discussed, but I also assumed that the way teachers and learners dealt with the material (more specifically silences and whether or not there is place for discussion and emotions in the classroom) would tell me something about the 'sensitivity' of the material or the story for them in that specific discourse of a classroom interaction. I assumed that the presentations they used, the ways they identified the persons involved in the incident and maybe more importantly how they positioned themselves and me, would illuminate in how far this story or the discussions it triggered, were sensitive for them. In the following paragraphs I try to give an impression of what happened in each school, using some of the linguistic categories I described in chapter 3:

Forest High:

As already stated Christine used more material than the other four teachers. The class was composed of 15 white, 7 coloured, 1 Indian and 1 black learners. During the periods in which the learners worked in groups on the worksheet, she urged them several times to work more quickly, so they would have dealt with all the material and answered the questions posed in the worksheet (1OC4-5-6). She didn't explicitly explain why she gave this amount of material, but in the interview she said she wants her learners to love history, and to teach them *'the arts of history'*. She juxtaposed the *'big men's' theories'* with *'little people (who) help make history'*, and stated that the T.R.C. is a good starting point to look back at Apartheid (1IT2). In the debriefing interview she said *'it's nice that there are so many different angles on the same story'* and the T.R.C. Hearings are part of the learners' lives, they remember having heard about it when they were younger (1IT8). She didn't give specific details about the people involved in the incident (like names and ages) in the classroom, but she constantly referred to the sources the learners had to work with in their individual and groups work (1OC2-3-4-5-6). She seemed to pre-empt a class discussion, by setting so much material to be dealt with and thus being constrained by time. For example, in the period after they saw the documentary, I wrote the following down in my thick observations (see also appendix 1):

> *'A boy asks if they [the police on the truck] had orders.*
> *Teacher [Christine]: 'when you come out, shoot!'*
> *(OC: it was difficult to 'see' if she was serious or cynical here)*
> *'<u>Your</u> instruction for tomorrow is: write down the different perspectives and make notes.' [her emphasis] (1OC2)*

The teacher sets the agenda very clearly by switching topics and activities (from a possible group discussion to an individual activity). This switch is established by changing the referents of the pronoun 'you' (respectively referring to the policemen in the past, and to the learners in the present). The use of the simple present tense seems to exclude any possibility of challenging this switch. The learner might have wanted to open a discussion on following orders; the choices individual policemen made then and the choices teacher and learners might have made (imagining they were in the position of the policemen).

Mountain High:

In the last period allocated for the Trojan Horse Incident (2OC6, video2) Jabulani repeatedly said that the soldiers (sic) [21] on the truck came into Athlone, with the purpose to kill. In contrast with the attention he paid to the 'perpetrators' in the incident, he hardly referred to the 'victims'. Names and ages or other details of people involved in the incident, were not given by the teacher; only when he asked the learners to read passages of some newspaper articles aloud, were the names and ages of the killed children mentioned. Although he asked the learners what they would feel being those soldiers (sic), he did not explicitly open a discussion on whether or not they had been following orders or if the learners would have done it if they would have been in the position of the policemen (2OC6).

As is also highlighted in my thick observations (see appendix 1), it was very difficult for me to follow the discussion Jabulani initiated in the period after the learners saw the documentary (2OC5) because teacher and learners switched between English and Xhosa and often laughed when watching and discussing violence; which was unexpected for me. He asked them how they would feel if they would have been, for example, the white man attacked by a black mob, the soldiers (sic) on the truck in the Trojan Horse Incident or the black 'spy' that was killed by a black mob (one of the more violent scenes in the documentary). The teacher laughed while talking about and miming violence. Teacher and learners laughed often but I also had the impression some learners felt uneasy (looking down at their tables, remaining silent or talking amongst each other in Xhosa). It is difficult to interpret the position of the teacher towards the violence as depicted in the documentary and also the violence he located in the lives of the learners, because of his laughing and miming violence and expressing evaluations about the learners (such as *'you are violent people. Some of you will kill your wife, your husband'*). He described the violence as being related to colour, in the way he formulated his questions, but also the learners wanted him to *'use colour'* in imagining themselves being

the soldiers (sic) on the truck, or at least that is how Jabulani presented it to me by translating what the learners said in Xhosa. I am as well positioned in the following dialogue:

> *They all look at me and teacher asks: 'Do you want to stop now, Sofie?'*
> *I reply I don't know what is going on.*
> *He[Jabulani] says: 'They are saying, they would start with you'.*
> *He and the learners laugh.*
> *I am shocked and embarrassed; I don't know what to say. I say 'thanks'.*
> *[Jabulani:] 'You are violent people! Some of you will kill your wife, your husband. '*
> *The learners are talking very animatedly in Xhosa.*
> *[Jabulani:] 'Why don't you accept God? Let God deal with the matter.'*
> *(OC: to me he said he is not a believer)*
> *He goes on in Xhosa and claps his hands, (OC: as to bring the learners to order/silence)*
> *Learners are talking.*
> *[Jabulani:] 'Let's have a controlled discussion'.*
> *(2OC5)*

In this dialogue, the learners and teacher position me inside their imagining practices by labelling me as a white person they *'would start with'*. I must confess I had difficulties with interpreting these quite complex ways of including and excluding. The language of jokes is difficult to interpret, it can be inclusive but also exclusive and I am not sure in which sense the learners made this joke and it is also possible I took it too seriously (because I felt intimidated by it). The teacher seemed to position himself as separate from the learners and from me throughout the period: he took on the role of translator, a link between the learners and me. He positioned himself through this role quite powerfully, for example when he labelled the learners as *'violent people'*, while using the simple present tense (which claims truth) and positioned me as somebody who can't understand what the learners say. He asked them what they felt and he asked me if I wanted to stop now (implying I must be shocked) but he didn't say what he would have felt or feels today about violence as depicted in the scenes of the documentary or in his daily life. However, in the second interview (tape recorded), which took place before the last two periods allocated to the Incident, and thus before the period I just have analysed, I asked him what he would have done being a policeman on that truck. (In his answer he talked about soldiers, while in reality it was policemen. I didn't correct him but used the same label in my subsequent questions):

> *[...]*
> *[Jabulani:] Let's leave it that those soldiers were whites. Even if they were black soldiers, they would have shot at the crowd. [...]*
> *[Sofie:] But you as a person, imagine you would be the soldier, would you do it?*
> *[Jabulani:] Ja.*
> *[Sofie:] I'm just wondering.*
> *[Jabulani:] I would do it.*

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[21] The teacher used this term, although in reality policemen were on the truck. In 2OC5, he also used the term 'cops'.

[Sofie:] Even on a child?
[Jabulani:] [silence] 'Now, Sofie, I will be honest with you. The humanitarian grounds, they come – they don't count when there is an order from your superior in a system of government. Whether it's a baby or what, the order is to kill-kill. You're a soldier, you understand? You kill! That's why in the T.R.C. they were forgiven. Because it was not their own decision to shoot at the crowd. They were given orders. [...] Because in such a situation you kill or you'll be killed. Because, serious, [...] [if] you don't want to take orders, who are you not to take orders from the authorities? [...] [he refers to friends who worked for the police and who killed people. They are happy today and still sleep peacefully, he says] [...]Me and you, we are just citizens ok? We were not involved – actively- in such a situation. But I'll be honest with you. I mean, I know myself, [silence] I know myself.
[Sofie:] So you would do it? You know it that you would?
[Jabulani:] If given the orders, I would have done it! As a soldier. No! As a soldier, I would have done it.
[Sofie:] OK
[Jabulani:] I would have done it, as a soldier. Because I've no choice. I have no choice.'
[Sofie:] OK.
[Jabulani:] No choice.
(2IT3) (tape recorded)

In this dialogue, I asked Jabulani to identify, to imagine being *'in that situation'*. Instead of labelling violence as something that is colour related, he stated that everybody would do it if they would have been given the order. He is more inclusive here, not only towards the perpetrators in the past but also possible perpetrators (note the quick switches between past and present tenses and between the pronouns 'they', situated in the past and 'you'/'I', situated in a 'possible' time). He is also more inclusive towards me, talking about *'me and you, we are just citizens'* and about being *'honest'*. This inclusiveness is also expressed in constructions as *'let's [let us] leave it that ...'* and his use of tags as *'you understand?'* and *'ok?'*. He didn't use these inclusive practices in the class. In the interview, he didn't mention those who were shot by the policemen as victims; rather the ones who had/have to follow orders seem to be victims: they didn't/don't have a choice. In the classroom interaction between Jabulani and the learners, victims easily seem to be constructed as perpetrators, taking revenge for what others have done to them. I will explore the difficulties I had in interpreting Jabulani's classroom practices more in chapter five.

Garden View:

In the interview Jonathan from one of the former House of Representatives schools, the oldest teacher of the sample and the only counsellor, spoke at length about the differences between teaching People's History[22] in the eighties and working with O.B.E. (Outcomes Based Education) expectations of his History Department and the provincial and the national Department of Education nowadays. Stories like the Trojan Horse Incident don't fit into the

[22] Bam (2001:13) defines this as a *'populist campaign in the eighties for bringing the 'true' and 'relevant' people's history back into schools'.*

O.B.E. approach, because of the emphasis on administrative issues and outcomes. He admitted however that also for him the Trojan Horse Incident is a vehicle for establishing skills in the learners (3IT8). And although he reflected in the interview (not in the classroom) on the feelings he had at the time of the incident, he considered space for personal, emotional reflections in the classroom as limited, also for himself as the teacher:

> *[Jonathan:] [...] 'It's important not as a particular event or a myth – it is not because of that. It is interesting because I can use it to develop skills, to get them to read, to understand, to interpret, to interrogate [...] that's how I see the material. [...] For them [the learners], there are going to be emotions attached to this, you understand?'*
> *[Sofie:] 'Only the learners? What about yourself?'*
> *[Jonathan:] 'Maybe, I don't know. I've- I've-I've been aware of this [...] the Trojan Horse, I've read something on this years ago, like on many other issues for that matter, what happened in Germany, what happened in the Middle East . [...]. We're having an interesting history. Obviously, this is like – you know- like Greek Mythology to me, for that matter. [...] It's a nice, interesting story – what can I bring home? [...]. I always say to them [the learners] 'when I go to a movie [...] then I always think 'what am I bringing home with me?' [...]'*
> *[Sofie:] 'What do you bring home? What do you take out of the Trojan Horse, I mean for you as a person? [...]'*
> *[Jonathan:] '[...] it shows how devious people are, can be, and how a life means absolutely nothing. [silence] And I was extremely angry when it happened at that particular time [...]' (3IT8).*

Like Christine, Jabulani and Harry, Jonathan didn't give specific details of the people involved in the incident, like names and ages. As in Jabulani's classroom, names and ages of the children who were killed are only mentioned when learners read passages of the newspaper-articles aloud (3OC5+6, video3). But he constantly linked with the daily lives of the learners (by referring, for example, to their unresolved pains from the past, like child abuse), the experiences of their parents, and the past and present of other countries (like the current situation in Israel, the colonisation of the African continent, World War II, ...) (3OCpassim). In contrast to Jabulani, Jonathan spent most time on explaining the necessity of talking about the past, to cleanse a wound, and thus to be able to move on. He double-voiced a policeman in the Trojan Horse Incident, saying *'I am terribly sorry'* (3OC5+6, video3), with an 'emphatic' intonation, suggesting a certain identification. In contrast to Christine and Jabulani, Jonathan linked the Trojan Horse Incident very clearly and repeatedly with his own experiences of the past, the learners' experiences and the stories they heard from their parents. Using the simple present tense, and providing space for different voices (the people involved in the Trojan Horse Incident, himself, parents, learners, ...) he seemed to bring the story very close-by, although most time was spent on other stories than the Trojan Horse Incident itself. The aim of the T.R.C., which he defined as *'a mass-therapy'*, seemed to be of more importance (3OCpassim).

Athlone High:

In the periods dedicated to the Trojan Horse Incident, Harry foregrounded *'simple people like you standing up for their rights' (4OC6), 'ordinary people, ordinary coloured people' (4OC8).* He asked the learners questions like *'Was it a worthwhile struggle?', 'Was it normal?', 'Was it justified?' (4OC6x).* He also asked them what they felt when they see those scenes on the screen, knowing their parents lived through it (4OC6x). He is the only teacher who showed the Trojan Horse scene a second and third time after the learners had seen the BBC documentary as a whole (4OC7). He made comments while the scene was running like *'Which could have been friends, family of yours.' (4OC7x) 'What do you feel - it happened on your doorsteps?' (4OC7) 'Does it make you angry or is it just something that South Africa went through?'* (4OC7x) When a male learner commented that his father was there, Harry asked what he did, *'Standing there or doing something?'* The male learner replied: *'I don't know sir'* (4OC7x).

Harry referred less to the 'other side', the policemen on the truck or politicians. When they discussed the Trojan Horse Incident in detail (4OC8, video4), and Harry asked *'What do people normally do when protesting?'* Harry said they have to *'take the police out of the picture'*. The learners didn't agree: *'You can't say 'Take the police out', because they were there'*. He then played the devil's advocate (he stated this explicitly) asking them *'What would you do if your life was threatened?'* He commented *'Good answer'* when a learner said: *'To them [the policemen] it was justifiable, not for us'*. (note their use of a 'historical' 'us': identifying with people who lived through a past they hadn't lived through). While discussing their answers to part (i) of question 6 of the worksheet (see appendix (10)), *'what was the reaction of (i) the community, (ii) the government/police, (iii) the international community'*, he asked them *'Do you think an incident like this can bring a community together?'* It was not clear to me what he meant with *'a community'*. The teacher and the learners (the latter answering that it indeed brings a community together) seemed to interpret it as the coloured community (4OC8, video4). Neither teacher nor learners reflected on the impact of the incident (and the talking about the incident) for the South African community as a whole, and for the possibility of reconciliation in a new South Africa.

In another of his grade 10 classes that I observed, the presence and reactions of Alex*, one of the three black students in grade 10, seemed to challenge the teacher's representations (4OCx). While the teacher didn't tell the other grade 10 classes that there was a 'coloured' amongst the policemen, he mentioned this in Alex's class when the learners where discussing the alternative choices the policemen could have made: When Alex* commented *'those were white people [...] they could have chosen to be manager <u>because</u> they're white' [his emphasis]*, Harry pondered the question *'Were they all white?'* and said *'There was also a coloured policeman on the*

truck'. Alex* reacted: *'I am disappointed'* and immediately after that: *'I'm joking Sir'* as if he was afraid to offend the coloured teacher (and possibly the coloured learners) (see also Druker, 1996:86). It is also in this class, and again in contrast to the focus class, that Harry said the following: *'you know lots of people accepted it [...] but they also bear the fruits of democratic South Africa [...] what do you feel about those?'* He didn't however specify who these people were and what the fruits of democratic South Africa are. (4OC9x).

In the focus class, Harry's and the learners' use of pronouns seems to confirm a clear 'we'-'they' division. While the presence of black learners in another grade 10 class challenge this division (the 'we' and 'they' shifted), teacher and learners seem to choose not to discuss this further. As I will explore in 4.6.4 Harry left himself and his own experiences of the past completely out of the picture. This contrasts with his repeated questions about the learners' feelings about what happened in the past.

Athlone View:

James is the only teacher who mentioned the names and ages of the children who had been killed, and he did this more than once (while the documentary was running in another grade and during the period in which he quoted from newspaper-articles and T.R.C.-transcripts, 5OC4-5). Compared to the other teachers, he gave far more details about the actual incident, for example the 17 seconds the shooting lasted and the 39 cartridges that were fired (5OC5, videotape5). In contrast to Jabulani, but similar to Jonathan, he first talked about the victims (who they were, quoting parents and victims) and only then about the policemen. Similar to Harry (in his focus class), James didn't mention the coloured policeman on the truck. He set the structure of the classroom interaction, when learners spontaneously related to their parents' experiences or expressed their opinions, by explicitly asking them to give him the space to relate more details about the incident, adding that at the end of the period he would give them space to answer questions. These questions were: *'Did you know about the Trojan Horse Incident?', 'what would your reaction have been, if you were one of the parents?', 'Why did the police act like they did?', 'Were there other options for the policemen?'. 'Why were people throwing stones?', 'Do journalists screen too much violence?'* (5OC5, videotape5). The use of pronouns in his questions suggests a more easy alignment with the parents of the children who were killed ('what would your reaction have been, if you were one of the parents?') than with the policemen ('Why did the police act like they did?'). In the debriefing interview he said it was *'a good learning experience for the kids' (5IT6)*. When I asked him if there was space for emotions in the classroom, he referred to the emotions of the people who experienced the Incident directly. When I asked explicitly why he didn't tell the learners what he experienced

personally in those years, he said there was material to be dealt with, the time to be taken into consideration, and the learners asked lots of questions (5IT6) (see infra, 4.6.4).

4.5. Reconstructing discourses on violence

'[...] there were emotions for various reasons and in fact much of the discussion and the debate ultimately had nothing to do with the Trojan Horse [...]' [Jonathan,3IT8].

Looking back over the period I spent in the five schools, I am tempted to say that what Jonathan is saying here, applies to each History class I observed. I realised, while observing, that it is not just the number of details of this specific incident teachers and learners focus on, which determines the ways they make sense of this specific story. Teachers and learners also (and maybe even more profoundly) make sense of this incident by spending more time on their own stories and perceptions of the past, that are triggered by the Trojan Horse Incident, and on questions like 'what would you have done'. The material on this specific incident can thus be perceived as a springboard for other topics, discussions and stories. Also avoidance and silence can have meaning.

In the previous chapters, I have referred to the book by the psychologist Dan Bar-On (1999), *The indescribable and the undiscussable. Reconstructing human discourse after trauma.* In it, he states that citizens of *'semi-democratic'* societies have to invent a new discourse, *'relearn or reinvent the flexibility to doubt and ask questions concerning facts and resume the social responsibility abolished earlier'* (1999: 255; see also Cohen, 2001:13). Especially in the context of the history class, where two different generations negotiate the meaning of a violent event, this re-inventing process can be confronting. The reason for this is that the socially 'indescribable' and 'undiscussable' needs to be reconstructed, fitted in a new 'normal' discourse. But borders between different discourses and discourses of the past and the present are difficult to pin down. Harry's learners' positioning in their statement *'To them [the policemen] it was justifiable, not for us'* (see above) is a clear example.

In this section, I focused on the following four themes: (1) ways the teachers and learners dealt with/ made sense of some very violent scenes (labelled as such by them) in the BBC documentary, which seemed to make an even more profound impact than the video-footage on the actual Trojan Horse Incident. (2) Ways the teachers and learners brought violence in their daily lives and generally in South Africa into the periods allocated to the provided material. (3) Ways the teachers and learners, two different generations, made sense of each other's

sense-making of what happened in the past. And related to this, (4) ways the teachers and learners brought their own personal stories in, in the History classroom. As already stated in 3.2.5, I use Bar-On's concepts 'indescribable' and 'undiscussable' as structuring categories in my analysis. In the analysis that follows I differentiate between what emerged during the lessons and in other situations, and I differentiate between the three former types of schools (see 3.2.5. for definitions and nuances).

4.5.1. The 'indescribable': how can we make sense of watching violence in the class?

In this section, I concentrate on the discussions arising from the video, because of its prominence both in time allocated, and in the responses of learners. This section is linked with the sections below through the following interrelated questions: How do we describe or make sense of violence, violence visually represented on TV or experienced/witnessed in real life? And how do we describe or make sense of somebody else's sense-making of violence? I was confronted with these questions especially while I was observing the learners and teachers watching the BBC-documentary. In this specific situation, the 'indescribable' is situated in the following four sites (the order is random): (1) the ways teachers and learners make sense of each others' sense-making in and outside the classroom; (2) my reading of the teachers' and learners' sense-making; (3) the ways we all make sense of what people experienced during the era of the Trojan Horse incident; and (4) the ways we make sense of the images on the screen. These intertwined sites highlight the complexity of observing (and making sense) of (shifts in) ways people make sense and the (shifting) workings of discourses.

As already stated, all the five teachers showed the documentary fully to their learners. During most of the discussions held after this video (in the classroom or in the interviews with the learners), other, 'more violent', scenes in the documentary were discussed, more than or as much as the Trojan Horse scene. Especially the scene where a policeman hit a white student and the scene where a black man is chased and stabbed to death by black people, made big impressions. As observer, I sat next to or at a small distance away from the TV, facing the learners while also able to see the TV screen. I was interested in what they thought and felt while watching those violent scenes; how they perceived violence. The reactions of the learners in the five schools were quite similar: learners made noises like 'oh', 'shsh' as to express disgust; they looked away, frowned, closed or covered eyes, bit their nails, cried. One specific reaction was difficult to interpret, namely laughing during violent scenes (in schools 2, 4 and 5, learners even clapped their hands while laughing). This did not occur during the scenes mentioned above, but during the scene where a black man ran away from a

shop and fell down after being shot in the leg, and a scene of a play in which a black actor expressed his anger by telling the audience that he imagined himself attacking white school children with a baseball bat. The laughing occurred in all the groups, to a greater or lesser extent, and mostly learners talked vividly amongst each other during and after these scenes. I wasn't able to hear these conversations because I sat in front of the classroom and the learners whispered to each other.

One could say that the first meaning of laughing, as a non-verbal cue, is showing happiness, amusement. And there were moments when all the learners (of all the five groups) laughed in this way, for example, because of the 'funny' way people were dressed in the eighties. But how does one interpret the laughing while they watch a violent event? What thoughts and emotions occur at that moment? Some of the teachers also seemed to have difficulties with interpreting the learners' laughing. This is what (I think) Bar-On means with the 'indescribable'(see above, chapter 3):

In Forest High, after the learners watched the documentary, Christine said to them: *'you did get the message; he [black actor] didn't kill. He said 'I saw myself ...' so you know he didn't kill those kids'*. She added that the violence on the tape was very disturbing. After she addressed the learners, she came over to me and apologised for the laughing. When I commented that it also happened in other schools and that it might express a feeling of discomfort, she said that it might be that or that it didn't affect them. Learners however addressed themselves individually to the teacher, asking why the black man was killed. A male learner commented that *'it makes me feel sick'*. She replied: *'you're supposed to, to be disturbed' [...] 'learn from the past, and make the future better'* (1OC1). During the following period (the next day, 1OC2) the learners kept on asking questions about the violent scenes. A female learner commented: *'it was like a movie! [...] they didn't care they were filming'*. Another female learner said: *'it's shocking'*. The teacher commented: *'they didn't care, now South Africa is liberal; now it's shocking.'*

Just after the scene with the black actor with which the learners laughed, Harry asked them *'Why is the man angry?' (4OC6)*. During the interview, he wondered if they realised it was real what they had seen on the screen (4IT9). He also explicitly said to the learners immediately after the flight-scene (and their laughing) *'he was shot, that's why he fell!'* (4OC5). James made a similar comment (5OCx3).

I had the impression that for Christine, Harry and James the laughing was unexpected and inappropriate. One reason could be that for the teachers these scenes stand for real, serious

things; things which happened in their lifetime; things the learners probably can't understand and thus need to have explained. Another reason could be that for the teachers 'laughing' can't have a place in classroom discourse, especially because of the 'serious' character of the material. For the learners laughing might have been a way of releasing emotions. It might also be a literacy issue: for the learners the medium of TV might more easily be coded as entertainment instead of formal learning. In the following two sections I explore these two impediments in the classroom conversations: In 4.5.3. I go more into detail on the difficulties teachers and learners seem to encounter in their inter-generational communication. In 4.5.4. I go more into detail on the difficulties teachers and learners seem to have to express their emotions (like laughing, but also pain of personal experiences) in the classroom.

4.5.2. The 'undiscussable': Taking the discussion on violence outside the classroom

Teachers and learners brought in their personal experiences of violence in their present lives while discussing the Trojan Horse Incident. They also talked about South African people still living in their 'own' areas and the impact of media on the images they have of each other. Learners' talk about personal experiences of violence, 'separateness' and stereotypes occurred mostly outside the classroom, during the group-interviews. The way learners perceived and discussed violence in the group-interviews differed between the three types of schools:

- Only during the interviews with two groups of learners, in one of the Athlone schools and in another former House of Representatives school, did the learners start speaking about the scenes from the video spontaneously, when I asked them if they thought that speaking about violence in the classroom was 'appropriate' (3GIL5, 5GIL6). In the third House of Representatives school, the scenes in the documentary were not discussed during the interview (4GIL9). During one of the group-interviews with the learners from one of the Athlone schools, we spoke about how we physically, rationally and emotionally react when we witness violence on the screen or in real life. A coloured female learner said she couldn't believe it; the scene of the stabbing stayed in her mind. She also said that you didn't see those scenes on the news (they only show clips, not full versions) but only in movies, and *'that' s different, because they're not really* [doing it]*'*. The other coloured learners said they live in violent environments and see gangsters shooting, but that they had never seen a scene like this in their lives. A black male learner, attending that school, commented that he was used to seeing such violent scenes in his daily life. *'when I saw that [scenes in documentary] , I thought, 'something usual' [...] I mean I see it everyday.'* When I asked him if he didn't have physical reactions on seeing violence, he told us that he once saw a human brain: *'two parts of a brain [...] and I started wondering: is that the left or the*

right brain?' He also told the group that gangsters had once pointed a gun at him. When I asked him how he reacted, he said: *'I urinated myself'*. The other (coloured) learners were very silent while he was recounting. The coloured female learner said that when you watch the news on TV, you just think *'oh just another person'*. But when you go into detail, as with the documentary in class, it makes you emotional, *'because you get attached to that person'*. The black male learner then commented: *'it actually – I think it hurts me, right, cause I knew how it felt and everything, but once you're dead, you're dead.'* This male learner and female learner tried to explain why people do those things and how they can make sure their children *'won't follow that example'*: they said that parents have to explain what good is and what wrong, and explain why. It is not good to keep silent about violence of the past (5GIL6).

- At the former D.E.T. school, a black male learner said to me in a personal conversation, while sitting on the 'stoep' (see reconstructed conversation in chapter 1), that he didn't like to watch those things while being in the same room with me (a white person). He didn't say why exactly he didn't like that, but he added that it is a good thing that we were sitting next to each other, white and black (2ICL5). In the group-interview, the learners talked about an incident in the school (learner killed by another learner) and about gangsterism in their neighbourhood, but they didn't go into detail and didn't describe their emotional reactions to violence (2GIL7).

- In contrast to the other schools, the focus group at the former House of Assembly School (4 white and 1 Indian learners) spent most of the discussion during the group-interview on the question 'are we responsible for what happened', and talked about Affirmative Action and whether or not they would leave the country, but also about what they could do to change the situation in a positive way. They stressed that they have to know what happened in the past. When I asked them what they thought about talking about a violent event as the Trojan Horse Incident, the Indian male learner said that the sole intention of the policemen was *'killing people, and that was what they did and that's, that's cold blood murder. They can't justify that afterwards. No ways they can justify that.'* They didn't talk about violence in their own, daily lives. On the one hand, one could say, 'violence is not seen as part of their life' (see Giroux, 1996:42-3), but on the other hand, they are very aware of the violations done by the Apartheid government in the past and that they are still today benefiting from that system. They talked about leaving the country during this interview, but did not talk explicitly about the reasons of leaving which might include violence and fear for security. The fact that they did not talk about violence and its impact (in the past and the present) during the classroom interactions and the group-

interview does not imply that they don't talk about it at all. When I asked them what it does to them emotionally, to talk about violence from the past, two white female learners responded:

> *[Jessica*:] 'I think it's good because it's no use - it's like affecting us from (sic) the truth, ja, I mean I think it's good that we get to know about it, how, what exactly what happened. Why, why should, why should it be a secret?'*
> *[Bronwen*:] 'Censored.'*
> *[Jessica*:] 'Ja, or censored.'*
> *[Bronwen*:] 'I think that most people in the class feel very strongly about, about this particular event that we have learnt about now. We haven't watched the Guguletu 7 video yet, but my friend in the other class did last week and, and she told me she actually cried in the video and how she was like depressed the rest of the day. Cause it made her feel so strongly. So I think, even those [scenes] really violent and, hm, painful to watch. I think it's really good that we are [silence] watching. And, hm, hm, learn about it.*
> *[other learners make agreeing sounds]' (1GIL8).*

- Teachers seemed to reflect more on the personal (emotional) reactions of learners on violence than on their own reactions. The interviews seemed for them more a place for 'factual' and 'practical' reflections on how one should teach. As already indicated above, Jabulani didn't show his personal reactions to violence during the interview (see 4.4.), but he did tell a very personal (and painful) story to the learners (see 4.5.4.). Harry for example reflects on Alex*'s positioning in the class (coming from a township with lots of violence and a community that was victim of the Apartheid system) (4IT9) but he doesn't reflect on his own perceptions and personal reactions to violence, that could have been challenged especially by Alex*'s presence. Harry as well as Jonathan said during the interviews that the images of violence will have an impact on the learners (see 4.4.) but didn't reflect on their own reactions. As I highlight below, Harry said explicitly that he normally doesn't share personal experiences in the classroom (4IT3-4-9) and Jonathan said that he got insensitive to violence because he has to deal with it every day as a counsellor (3IT8). Christine said the following about South Africans' reactions to violence:

> *[Christine:] 'Maybe we are hardened to violence and death and [pause] we go 'shame', you know, 'another child has died', 'shame that poor mother'.*
> *[Sofie:] 'OK'.*
> *[Christine:] 'But we stopped taking things too personally. One maybe, I mean, me too. I mean I'm; everyone still cries [?] being killed' [pause].*
> *[Sofie:] 'Why do people do that, according to you?'*
> *[Christine:] 'I suppose it is a coping mechanism. I suppose it's so; yeah, it doesn't help to take things too personally if you're gonna have to see them everyday, day in and day out. Your body needs to start saying 'oh, that again. oh, that again'. 'I'm interested, but I can't take it too seriously.' And I don't think that that <u>always</u> shows disregard or [pause] no, no interest. because in South Africa people need to <u>not</u> be too bogged down and in depression of it all – they need to still be hopeful and think 'o yes, I know what's going on, terrible situation but it's still worthwhile staying in South Africa. We can't get too devastated and 'oh look at this , and it's terrible and people are dying [?]'.*

[Sofie:] 'OK'
[Christine:] 'I don't know, so; I don't know, at the same time it's maybe empathy and at the same time, you know, just not caring anymore. [...] Or it is a coping mechanism. [...] (2IT8)

***

In the previous two sections I dealt with ways the teachers and learners made sense of the violent scenes depicted in the B.B.C. documentary in- and outside the classroom. They reflected more explicitly on past and present violence and its impact during interviews or informal conversations. There didn't seem to be much space in the classroom interactions for these reflections. In an attempt to explain this, I focus in the two following sections on the generational aspect of the discussion, namely the fact that teachers did experience Apartheid and the learners did not, and on the ways teachers provide space in the classroom to bring 'truth and reconciliation' closer by, on a more personal level.

4.5.3. Two different generations discussing violence of the past

What do the teachers say about the learners' sense-making of the past in which their parents and teachers lived? What do the learners say about the teachers' sense-making of a past they lived through. And what do the learners say about their own sense-making of that past? Interestingly enough, they didn't discuss this together, in the classroom, but mostly during the interviews or in informal conversations.

A comment often made by teachers (the history teachers I worked with and also other teachers) is that learners nowadays are not interested in the past and that they do not understand what happened in the past. Harry for example said that for the learners the Trojan Horse Killing is *'just one of those stories. It's the period of life they're in now; they have their own problems. So for them it is: 'it happened, so now let's move on'.' (4ICT7).* Jonathan said to his learners: *'you don't appreciate the sacrifices made by your parents.'(3OC1).* In the interview, however, he explained that they are not interested, *'because they didn't experience it'* and *'it's the era now that counts to them' (3IT8).* James made similar comments (5IT4). Jonathan spoke about this 'not being interested' explicitly in the classroom, addressing the learners: *'it should be a concern for you that it's not evoking feelings.'* But he didn't give them space to react, although learners were making movements with their heads to express their disagreement (3OC1, see appendix 1). He also said to them that he was interested to see how they would react to the documentary: *'your perceptions of violence [...] will it make it worse, will you change? [...] if you see it, and you're honest, will you change thoughts?'* (3OC4) While some teachers

stated that the children nowadays are 'different', 'changed', 'not politically conscious'; an English teacher in one of the Athlone schools expressed her surprise that parents don't talk about the past (5GO1). Christine made the following reflection in the interview:

> *'they [the learners] say they are not interested in it, because they've got too much of it, they have been hearing it since their first day. They are bored of it now. I think they are growing up in a time when people talk about Apartheid a lot and South Africa a lot. [...] they think they know it already, 'what else is there to learn?' And, and also, they think it's not their fault, it's not their problem. Why do they have to be apologising [...] and feeling guilty for something they've absolutely no part in? If they were 1 year old when Nelson Mandela was released – or 2 years old- they don't- don't feel any guilt at all. So ...Whereas I think people of my age, we have a certain sense of guilt. We feel maybe, maybe we should have been freedom fighters.'* (1IT2)

Another comment often made was that the learners find it difficult to relate to stories from the past, because they can't read properly. James and Jonathan referred to the impact of media. Jonathan: *'everything must be visual for them [...] they want to see it there.' (3IT4).*

Learners' comments in the classroom didn't always support the teachers' claims. The learners claimed during the classroom interactions and during the group-interviews that the subject of Apartheid is taught over and over again; *'we know this already'*. Another comment learners often made was: *'we did not live then'*. These two claims only partly supported the teachers' claim that learners can't and don't want to understand Apartheid, because they didn't live then. A claim both learners and teachers made about the learners' sense-making was that they are focused on the here and the now, stating *'let's move on; that is the past'*. But the learners were as a group and also personally divided over this claim. In the first period I observed in Jonathan's class, the learners told me, after Jonathan had claimed that they were not interested in what happened in the past (see supra), and once he left the room to collect material in his office, that they should know what happened, what their parents went through (3OC1, see appendix (1)). One comment recurred in several group-interviews (1GIL, 3GIL, 4GIL): learners find new material and detailed stories from the past interesting (like documentaries and the Trojan Horse Incident).

The tensions between the two generations in their sense making practices co-occur with discourses of classrooms and interviews. The teacher organises and authorises what happens in the space of the classroom. He/she mostly stands in front on the room but can also move around, this in contrast to the learners who sit in rows, on chairs, facing the front of the classroom. When the teacher leaves the room, as happened in Jonathan's class, learners can reposition themselves, move around, might say whatever and when they want to. In contrast to the classroom discourse, learners face each other during interviews, and move around, but

the specific interaction with me influenced again what they said and how they behaved. They might have wanted to say what they thought I wanted them to say, when they stated for example that new material and detailed stories from the past were interesting.

4.5.4. Bringing 'truth and reconciliation' closer

As elaborated above, reflecting on each other's sense-making regarding violent events from the past only happened outside the classroom interactions. Another pattern, on which I already touched in my analysis of the ways teachers and learners position themselves and people involved in the incident, emerged from my analysis: teachers and learners mostly seemed to keep Apartheid 'out-there'. I will give some examples in the following paragraphs.

Although learners reacted with surprise and shock at two violent scenes mentioned above (the white student attacked by police and the black man stabbed to death by blacks), none of the teachers took these scenes further by opening a discussion on the surprise of the learners that *'they [blacks] killed a black'* and *'that is a white [attacked by white policemen]!' (5OC4).* In other words they did not elaborate on the fact that these scenes seemed to challenge the learners' (and perhaps their own) perceptions of the conflicts in the Apartheid era. Though in all classes, except for Jabulani's class, there were remarks, which pointed to the learners' and teachers' realisation that they have stereotyped images of the conflicts in the past:

- Christine and the learners agreed that not only Afrikaners, but also English-speaking whites have a responsibility towards what happened in the past (1OC3). And Christine warned her learners as follows while they were doing the group-work: *'you must be careful. You must be careful to think that black people always say the truth and whites lie. It's their truths'* (1OC5).

- Jabulani repeatedly stated that the conflicts in the past and the present are about ethnicity. He seemed to distance himself and the learners from violence by laughing at it and stating that he and the learners are not extremist, but moderate. A moderate person was somebody *'who rationalises things, who doesn't react emotionally to things.'* (2OC1). During another period however he asked the learners *'who are the murderers and the witches in this class?'* (2OC5). The learners seemed to depict a unified image of 'us', 'the blacks' during the group-interview, for example stating that blacks can reconcile amongst each other when there are feelings of hate and anger: *'let other blacks talk to them. they'll understand'.* For me, this image seemed to clash with the 'spies' in the documentary and current violence in their neighbourhoods, but the learners didn't seem to see that as a contradiction. When I asked them what they thought about the stabbing scene, they responded that *'that person was a spy, so you have to kill him'.*

'they had no choice in those days. Spies, you must kill them.' (2GIL7). The learners seem to position themselves as outsiders here, using the third person that refers on the one hand to the spies and on the other hand the ones who had to kill them. The learners are not part of this conflict; it was something that happened in their community in the past, *'in those days'*. But how can we interpret their use of a second person in *'you have to kill him'* and *'you must kill them'*? It sounds like an instruction, a rule that has to be followed to keep a community unified, 'healthy'. Interestingly, these 'instructions' are put in the simple present tense, which seems to make the whole issue less past, more present; the issue is brought closer by the learners themselves.

- In the former House of Representatives schools, teachers and learners talked more in depth about the stereotyped images they have of the past conflicts in the interviews, and barely touched on it in the classroom. Harry for example stressed throughout the periods on the Trojan Horse that these were *'simple people like you, standing up for their rights' (4OC6).* Once he said: *'and yes, there are elements using the situation [pause] for their own purposes' (4OC7x).* But he didn't elaborate on this. In the interviews with the learners from two former House of Representatives schools, the learners said they hadn't seen themselves, 'the coloureds' as part of the struggle (3GIL5, 5GIL6). They didn't know (before they saw the documentary) that police shot coloureds and whites, and that blacks were killed by blacks. The two violent scenes made them realise that blacks didn't only *'take white people'*, and that the police also attacked white people. Learners at one of these schools also expressed an uncertainty in the interview about their own position, 'as coloureds' in the present society, stating that they will always be *'in-between' (3GIL5).* During the interview Harry said explicitly that the scenes challenged the learners' perceptions (4IT9). He also spoke at length about the *'ambiguous position'* of coloureds (4IT4). Also teachers at these schools (other than the history teachers) expressed this, saying that *'the coloureds are divided'*. (3GO7). When a teacher in one of the former House of Representatives schools said that young people don't know about the past and that they're living now and for the future, I asked why, is it because of schools or parents not talking about the past? She responded: *'maybe it is another situation in black communities and white communities – [...] they both feel comfortable in their own history, but coloureds are messed up, are in-between'*. (3GO1)

This last remark points to a specific pattern in the classroom interactions: teachers and learners in the five schools (with the exceptions of Jonathan and Harry) mostly made statements about their own and other communities as outsiders (using third person positions instead of first person positions). This third person positioning occurred together with two other patterns:

- Teachers and learners barely challenged the image of Apartheid with clear borders between victims and perpetrators and bystanders. Listening to teachers and learners, Apartheid seemed to have been a clear struggle between baddies and goodies. There are no bystanders. And it was a struggle between communities, not between individuals who might have been from the same community.
- Most of the teachers (with the exception of Jonathan) also left out the present dealing with this past through a personal 'truth and reconciliation process' (in contrast to the T.R.C. hearings). Personal stories, from teachers, learners or parents, be they situated in the past or in the present, didn't seem to have a place in the most classroom interactions. I want to explore this further:

* Although two learners in the class lived in the Athlone area and had told this to the teacher (individually, before the period started), Christine didn't ask them to tell to their peers what they knew (1OC3, 1IT8). Only Jonathan and Harry provided space in the classroom interaction for stories learners heard from their parents. Christine and James asked their learners if they had heard about the Trojan Horse before, but didn't ask them what exactly they had heard (5OC5). And Jabulani didn't ask this at all. But he asked them to say what their relationship with the police is in their community nowadays, after he had stated that the old police system is still in place (2OC6, video2). It might have been a specific choice of the two learners in Christine's class to talk about their personal link with the story 'at the side' of classroom discourse (see infra, chapter 5).

* The personal experiences of the teachers were touched on in the classroom only by Jabulani and Jonathan. Most of the other teachers talked about personal experiences only during the interview.

In what follows, I give my personal impression of how teachers brought concepts and experiences of truth and reconciliation into the classroom and how they did and did not incorporate their own and the learners' personal voices in the classroom interactions.

Forest High:

Christine explained truth, amnesty and reconciliation in the classroom through double-voicing a possible victim: *'now I know and can move on' (1OC1)*, while in the interview she reflected on reconciliation as follows: *'reconciliation doesn't necessarily mean forgiving, does it, it just means coming to terms with something and being able to move on' (1IT2).* When a learner commented in

the period in which they worked in groups on the T.R.C. transcripts, *'It's boring'*, she reacted: *'Not boring. Maybe you get tired'* and later on, making a link with 'the world': *'I know it is long but I know you found it's interesting. The world looked at the T.R.C.'* (1OC6) and in the following period she said: *'I hope you will have respect for the T.R.C. According to me it is a very interesting part of South African history.'* (1OC7). Compared to the four other teachers, she referred several times to 'the world's expectations'. Commenting on the grim expectations of the journalist in the documentary, she said: *'We did much better than people in the world expected'* (1OC1). And, in another period, again reflecting on the journalist's expectations: *'They were impressed. They were expecting Afrikaners were going to create their own nation'* (1OC3). She defended the use of the T.R.C. in history classes at length in the interview, depicting it as an ideal opener to the Apartheid history of the country (1IT2), but she didn't relate to truth and reconciliation personally. In the interview she stated that the learners don't perceive themselves as guilty, in contrast to her own generation (see supra). But in the classroom, she vividly reacted to learners who raised the question explicitly 'are we not responsible too?' She said to them: *'You don't have to be a martyr, to suffer because of mistakes in the past' [...] you can't do everything'*. (1OC3). Although she said to the learners that her generation feels guilty, she didn't relate personal experiences. Nor did she do this during the interview. Neither did she ask the learners for stories of their parents. She said to the learners that they can't judge; they can identify with the people of that time, *'but as historians we have to see biases.'* (1OC5)[23]. Is the question of responsibility confronting for her? When she commented in the class that those scenes and the screening of those scenes are nowadays shocking (see supra 4.5.1, 1OC2), did she imply that it was not shocking in those days, for people involved and/or for bystanders? Who is 'they' and 'we' in her statement? I noticed also that when she talked about guilt in the interview, she used the present tense (see supra 4.5.3., 1IT2). What did she feel and think in those days? Is this something she didn't want to talk about? Reflecting on the way she orchestrated the activities, material and time in the classroom and her reaction to the question of a learner *'are we not responsible too?'* (1OC3) it seems to me that Christine wanted them to look at the incident as 'observers'. But in contrast to the four other teachers, she defines this position as that of academic historians (see above, 4.4.).

Mountain High:

Jabulani's use of the terms 'reconciliation' and 'amnesty' did not coincide with the use of these terms by the T.R.C.. His learners in the group-interview seemed to use the words 'forgive' and 'forget' interchangeably and stated that one should forget the past and live in the present (2GIL7). In the classroom, Jabulani only once used the word 'reconciliation', during

[23] Compare with a similar comment made by a white teacher in Bam's research (2001:151-2).

a period on the Anglo Boer war, by double-voicing Afrikaners and English people *'We are white. Let us not hate each other. Let us form one nation'*[24] and linking this to the present by referring to Mandela: *'that is the same as Mandela stands for, but then it was only whites.' (2OC1).* He didn't utter the word 'reconciliation' in the periods designed for the Trojan Horse Incident, though he defined Amnesty as follows: (note the strong Initiation-Feed back-Response (IFR)[25] structure of the interaction)

> *[Jabulani:] 'Although what you did was a crime, but if now it was an order given by the g-?'*
> *[Learners:] 'government'*
> *[Jabulani:] 'government, it will mean that now you must be granted a-?'*
> *[learners:] 'amnesty'*
> *[Jabulani:] 'amnesty. Amnesty meaning that now you can not be found guilty of the crime you did.' (2OC6, video2).*

Jabulani mentioned that the parents of the children who were killed, also had to come before the commission, *'as part of the stakeholders. They suffered.'* He said, that they had to *'re-tell, re-live, re-tell what transpired – by transpiring I mean what took place on that fateful day, you understand? The commission is there to listen at both sides of the s-? story.'* (2OC6, video2). But he didn't mention the connection between telling/listening to each other (being victims, perpetrators and bystanders), truths and reconciliation, which was the main aim of the T.R.C. In the interview he seemed to define reconciliation as reliving the past, which according to him is not good for the whole country, *'more for the Rand anyway. Because [...] we are linked to the outside world by this new globalisation.'* But further on, he said he wants the learners to be *'reasonable'* and that he tries to change their behaviours, by talking about Mandela, *'preaching for reconciliation', 'a powerful example'*, though he emphasised that he doesn't know how they will take it home (2IT3). In the classroom, however, he stated more than once that conflicts are about ethnicity and seemed to distance himself from violence by laughing at it (2OCpassim), This contrasts with his statement in the interview that *'it is very difficult to unwind attitudes'* (2IT2-3) and that *'we need to work on it, very hard. It's the schools, the classes which has to change everything. School. We need to have good material to change the mindset'* (2IT4). He only once told about a personal experience in the classroom, illustrating how blacks were restricted in their movements during Apartheid (he introduced it with *'I will tell you a story'*): on his way to his mother, he was put in a police van with dogs.

> *'Today I hate dogs. If I would be God, I would kill all dogs.*
> *[learners comment in Xhosa]*
> *because of that experience. They think I am a thief! A school child visiting his mother'*
> (2OC3).

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[24] It was difficult to interpret Jabulani's interpretation. It sounded cynical, not emphatic.
[25] Initiation-Feed Back-Response (IFR) is shown by research to be a cross cultural standard way of communication in formal schooling, see Leap and Mesthrie, 2000:360-1.

Jabulani portrayed himself as a victim in this story, very scared (though he didn't say this explicitly) but at the same time as somebody potentially violent with regard to dogs. This might be anger deflected from policemen onto the dogs. At other moments he related generally to his own experiences in the classroom. The teacher and learners might have been relating to their personal experiences when they talked in Xhosa.

Garden View:

Jonathan, the oldest teacher in the sample, and the only counsellor, labelled the T.R.C. as a *'mass therapy'* and compared it to a personal counselling with a psychologist. Amnesty is *'saying sorry instead of getting a trial'* (3OC2) and reconciliation is healing a wound by cleansing it, talking and grieving about painful experiences of the past (3OC3). This healing is important because *'things in your past, you've forgotten, are influencing now'* and violence *'is not in your nature'*. Most of the time the teacher and learners spoke about and discussed issues other than the Trojan Horse Incident itself. Jonathan told them that he still today feels hate for rugby and cricket. He asked the learners to explain why he still feels that hate. He commented: *'I'm not telling I'm right. I don't claim that. I'm telling where I come from'*. He said that, because of history, the experiences of older people are different. He reprimanded his learners when they laughed while he was talking about child abuse: *'it's not a bloody joke men!'* He told them about his family (no father, six children) and made explicit links to the present and the learners' daily lives, being confronted themselves by things from the past like sexual abuse and gangsterism. (3OC2). In the videotaped period (3OC5+6, video3), he opened the discussion by asking what their knowledge was on the Trojan Horse Incident: *'did you know about it before Sofie came?'* While discussing the sources, he often asked their opinions, mostly signalling out individual learners by calling their names. He also gave them space to tell what their parents experienced in the past. When Jonathan took on the role of a policeman, saying he was following orders, a male learner asked what would have happened if they had not carried out those orders. The teacher commented that it was a very good question and opened it to the whole group, asking them *'what would you have done? Was it an order thing or are there some moral issues involved?'* A discussion followed on various topics, for example: why the government had not executed Mandela; the situation under Apartheid compared with the situation in Israel nowadays and with the sixties in the U.S.A. (Marthin Luther King, Malcolm X). They didn't, however, take the 'moral issue' further; only at the end of the period, when Jonathan asked for his opinion, a male learner said that they have to respect other people and that violence is unnecessary; they could have talked about it. While the bell was ringing, other learners expressed their disagreement, by stating that the whites ruled and they would never have allowed discussion. (3OC5+6, VIDEO3). During the interview

Jonathan admitted to me that he might become insensitive to violence and negative experiences because he hears about it every day in his function as a counsellor (3IT8).

Athlone High:

Harry expressed the following thoughts in the interview:

> *'[...] to me [the T.R.C. was] a very abstract situation, [...], it was there and I wasn't directly involved in it, [...] But my general opinion, I think that it was something that was necessary. You know, I'm not sure that the mechanisms or the outcomes, you know, wasn't [sic] possibly channelled in a direction [...] But I think the concept, you know, the concept in trying to elicit basically what happened, you know, I think, was an excellent concept.'* (4IT9).

Reflecting on his *'ambiguous'* position as a *'coloured'* coach in a *'white man's sport'*[26], he pondered the rhetorical question: *'do I battle with truth and reconciliation?'* (4IT3-4-9). I had the impression that he also referred to reconciliation when he highlighted in the interview the importance of *'mixed or multicultural school groups'* in *'bridging differences'* (4IT4). When Alex*, a black learner in one of his classes, reflected aloud, *'despite all our opinions, what now is the role of the T.R.C.? [...] I don't know [...] [the perpetrators] apologize but they didn't feel sorry'*, Harry responded that the T.R.C. was about *'eliciting the truth from all people involved, to reconcile [...] Some did forgive, others couldn't.'* (4OC9x). In the classroom, he constantly asked the learners how they felt about the Trojan Horse incident (see supra 4.5.), but he kept his own personal experiences completely out of the picture in the interaction with the learners. He said in the interview that he normally doesn't share personal experiences. He also said that he doesn't have *'those experiences that's interesting'*; he grew up in the Athlone area, but went to a private school. He was not part of the struggle, he said. He labels his present situation as *'ambiguous'*: a coloured coach in a *'white sport'*, being able to travel around the world (4IT3-4-9). When a learner asked *'And what did Mandela do to chase Apartheid?'*, Harry didn't respond himself but gave the floor to the learners. The learners did critique their parents and 'the coloureds' in general, stating that they didn't stand up and that they (the learners) would have done so (4OC9x).

Athlone View:

In the classroom James described the T.R.C. as follows: *'you see, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's main task was that people [pause] tell exactly what happened. We lied before but please let us tell the truth now and then we'll decide whether we'll forgive you or what other actions will be taken'* (5OC5, video5). It is difficult to interpret his different referents for the pronoun 'we' in

[26] Harry is not only a teacher in history and sports, but is also a coach in a sport that was previously only for whites.

this quote: first it seems to point at perpetrators and then at the commissioners; a third 'we' (including teacher and learners) seems to be left out. This positioning of himself and the learners, as outsiders, prevailed during the period, although he stressed that he wanted to bring the story of the Trojan Horse Incident closer to the learners: He quoted at length from the transcripts, often very emotional speech of parents of children who were killed. He contextualised the silence of a father as follows: *'and then, he can't speak any further. He's so overcome with emotions'.* He explained the reason for his elaborated quoting as follows: *'I'm just trying to give you the details that what you saw on the video actually becomes more personal rather than just another incident which you see on TV.'* He told the learners he wasn't on the spot, because it happened *'5 o'clock in the evening. When the schools were closed, we all got home. We only found out afterwards, the next day.'* He also told them he was amongst the audience when the special T.R.C. hearing was held on the Trojan Horse Incident. When the learners ask him what he would have done if he would have been a parent of one of the children who was killed, he responded he wants justice to be done, those people should be put in prison. He wouldn't take revenge with violence (as some of the learners said they would). He didn't however tell them what the T.R.C. meant for him personally (5OC5). James emphasised in his interaction with the learners that discrimination and prejudice are wrong (5OC1, passim). In the interview he stressed that every teacher must be an example for the learners. He hopes to influence them positively, to accept other people, to be better people, because at the age of 15 ideas and perceptions are not yet stabilized (5IT3). The learners wrote down a pledge in their notes: *'we the 9x class of 2002 promise to fight prejudice in all its forms.'* (5GO6) However, like the four other teachers, James didn't address the issue of conflict within white and black communities as depicted in the violent scenes in the documentary (only Harry mentioned the coloured policeman on the truck in Alex*'s class). In our conversation during the interview, he first seemed to evade a personal reflection on the meaning of reconciliation, but later on he talked about himself, running away together with other teachers on the day in 1985 when the police came to the school to arrest the teachers:

> *[James:] 'I still said while we were running down the road; I still said 'Do you think we're doing the right thing? I don't think we are doing the right thing.' And the guys who were with us said 'No, we need to get away, cause the police are, you know, gonna arrest people'. [pause] So I suppose that particular incident probably wounds me. If I would have to do it all over again.'*
> *[Sofie:] 'You wouldn't.'*
> *[James:] 'I would certainly not have run away. I would have stayed over there. Because some of my colleagues were arrested and taken to the [X] police-station. [pause] So that is always a issue that's - wounds me when I think of it.'*
> *(5IT4).*

James seemed to keep a distance from the emotional impact of this event by hedging[27]: *'I suppose that particular incident probably wounded me.'* But although he allocated the final responsibility for their action in the hands of *'the guys who were with us'* and the wounding in the hands of *'that particular incident'* (as if it is a person), it is obvious that this experience, and more specifically his own decision of running away, disturbed him up till today (this is clear in his last answer, using *'certainly'* and *'always'*). He didn't mention this experience in the class, although he said to me, afterwards, during the debriefing interview, that he had talked about it with learners in the past. He told me that they reacted with *'Hey Sir, you were scared nè?'* He explained that he didn't keep it out consciously in this class. There was material to be dealt with, the time to be taken into consideration, and the learners asked lots of questions (5IT6).

In this chapter I have presented an initial interpretation of the data I gathered. I can summarise this as follows: The teachers and learners seemed to portray the past conflicts as a struggle they, as observers, don't have part in. This is mostly mirrored in the way teachers and learners used pronouns (using a third person position, talking about 'them' instead of a first person position, talking as 'we'), although in some occasions the alignments are blurred (who is 'we' and who is 'they'?) and time locations are unclear (what is the past and what is the present?). Personal stories of teachers and learners had hardly any place in the classroom interaction. Personal links to the Trojan Horse Incident or more general, experiences of Apartheid, were touched on as asides in the classroom and had a more central place in the interviews. In the following chapter, I give a more in depth interpretation of the data and answer to the research questions I pondered. I also highlight the difficulty of answering the question about sensitivity.

[27] Hedging has a low claim of truthfulness.

CHAPTER 5: Trying to Make Sense of the Trojan Horse Incident: Interpretation and Self-reflection

The main questions of this research are: How do teachers and learners in five schools in Cape Town deal with material on the Trojan Horse Incident? And can this material be used as a way of opening classroom discussion on politically sensitive issues? As already stated, the former question actually encompasses the latter, in the sense that a discussion on politically sensitive issues is a possible way to deal with the material on the Trojan Horse Incident. In the same sense the two sets of sub questions are possible ways to address these former questions. In this chapter, I try to formulate answers to these questions by interpreting the findings presented in the previous chapter. I first try to answer the second subset of questions: how do teachers and learners position people involved in the incident and how do they position themselves? Do they do this in factual and/or emotional ways? Secondly, I formulate an answer on the second main research question and the first subset of questions. These questions about 'sensitivity' are intertwined with the questions formulated above. This happens in a complex way. Not only is the sensitivity of 'issues' that are discussed or silenced during the classroom interactions, intertwined with the ways teachers and learners make sense of the incident, by positioning people involved but also themselves in a factual and/or emotional way. But also the sensitivity of my attempt to make sense of the teachers' and learners' sense making of the Incident is intertwined with the ways teachers and learners make sense, and whether or not they open a discussion on politically sensitive issues.

I must stress that, as mentioned in chapter three, I conduct a more 'Foucaultian' analysis of discourses and thus focus on ways people construct meaning and identities through language. I thus did not do an in depth linguistic analysis of teachers' and learners' ways of making sense of violence and/or of opening (or closing) possible dialogues in a 'new' society. I did, though, do some linguistic analysis of teachers' and learners' use of pronouns, modality, verb tenses and turn-takings (see previous chapter).

5.1. Material as a starting point of discussion

As shown in the previous chapter, the video was the element (of the package I provided) that received most of the attention of teachers and learners. Especially two scenes which questioned a stereotyped image of the conflicts in the past (clear distinction between victims

and perpetrators, which are mostly labelled respectively as 'blacks' and 'whites'), made more impact than the Trojan Horse scene, although the latter was subject of further class activities (like group discussion, worksheets). The video did not lead to elaborated discussions in the classroom, nor did it lead to explicit classroom exposure by individuals (teachers and learners) of their feelings about the violence and the politics that produced it. The use of the video however did lead to some shifts in perception but these were mostly shown only in interviews and informal conversations. In the classroom, the teachers focused mostly on analytical knowledge and not on experiential knowledge (see Hooks, 1994:89 and Krondorfer, 1995:103). The teachers didn't incorporate their own personal experiences of Apartheid but asked the learners 'what would you have done?' The learners often stated that they would have acted differently, and some expressed critique towards their parents and politicians. They didn't however ask these 'sensitive' questions to their teachers ('what did you do?', 'what did you feel?', 'what did you think?').

One of my expectations was that there would be a difference in dealing with the Trojan Horse Incident between the two Athlone schools and the three other schools. I expected this because both schools are situated in the area where the Trojan Horse Incident took place and both schools were involved in the struggle during the eighties. But analysing the data I gathered, the geographical location of the schools doesn't seem to play an important role. It seems that for most people (regardless of the area they are living in) the Trojan Horse Incident was 'one of the many' events of the past[28], 'an example'.

5.2. Breaking the silence

The findings of this research suggest that the use of material on a violent event such as the Trojan Horse Incident does not necessarily open a discussion, in the sense that teachers and learners do not position themselves 'close by', especially not in classroom interactions. Both groups seem to prefer to position themselves as 'observers'. In most classes, most of the time was spent on how exactly the Trojan Horse Incident took place (when, where, which tactics the policemen used, consequences,...). Moral questions ('why' questions) were left for the end of the period or left implicit. Questions such as 'what would you have done' seemed to

[28] Christine and Jonathan located the incident in Belgravia Road instead of Thornton Road. The principal of one of the Athlone schools showed me newspaper articles of 1985 and a lot was written on 'the Belgravia Battle'. It is possible that these two teachers confused the roads because there was a lot of unrest in Athlone and specifically in Belgravia Road.

imply a moral lesson, but were not used to create space for a personal involvement with the Incident and the material.

In trying to account for why the teachers incorporated so few personal stories in the classroom, whether these be their own, those of learners, or those encountered in the T.R.C. and other documents, I will draw together what I explored above: the difficulties of interpreting the ways people make sense of violence, the ways teachers and learners related to violence in their daily lives, the ways the two different generations made sense of each other's sense-making of what had happened in the past, and the more personal alignments of teachers and learners with 'truth and reconciliation' in the classroom interactions and during the interviews.

On the one hand, one could say, as James pointed out in the interview, that teachers, as facilitators of 'knowledge', 'material', don't have the time for detailed or personal stories. Christine, Harry and Jonathan said this explicitly (1IT8, 4IT9, 3IT8). The Trojan Horse Incident is interesting to (in the words of Jonathan) *'develop skills, to get them to read, to understand, to interpret, to interrogate [...]' (3IT8).* Teachers give similar reasons for not using the T.R.C. transcripts: Jonathan and Harry said explicitly that it is time consuming and difficult to select pieces out of the huge amount of transcripts (3IT8, 4IT9). On the other hand, there might be a very specific reason for teachers not to use the T.R.C. transcripts and not to relate to personal experiences in the classroom. Access to and selection of the T.R.C. transcripts is not only a practical, 'time' and 'selection' problem. Maybe these transcripts are also problematic because of their very personal character. Selecting and using specific material is a personal choice, but at the same time that 'old' classroom discourse that splits body and mind in classroom interactions, might speak (Hooks, 1994:129 and further). It might be confronting and challenging to bring the voices of 'victims' and 'perpetrators' into the classroom when the classroom discourse is mainly body-mind (emotion-intellect) split. It would then not only be a challenge to bring those personal voices into the classroom, but also to find a 'good' and 'comfortable' way of incorporating them into the classroom discourse, which is something educational institutions do not teach you to do (Krondorfer, 1995:33-4, 103). And related to this, the classroom might not be a 'safe' space for teachers and learners to tell their own, personal stories, because that is not part of the ethos of the school. So, opening up that space for personal stories through the use of the T.R.C. transcripts, might be confronting because then the personal stories of teachers and learners would be more easily asked for. And maybe teachers are – in the context of O.B.E. – not focussing any more on political but on economic struggle and consciousness. Additionally, there might be a tension between the T.R.C. stories and the personal stories of teachers and

learners. This for the following two reasons: firstly, as highlighted in chapter three, ordinary South Africans have difficulties with identifying with the 'victims' and 'perpetrators' directly involved in the T.R.C. process, and this also seems to be the case for teachers and learners, as my analysis shows in 4.5.4. The T.R.C. (as a national initiative) didn't seem to affect these teachers personally, or help them personally to deal with their own pasts. Secondly, this seems to go together with the idea that voices recorded by the T.R.C., focussing on gross human rights violations, are so strong and important that the voices of the teachers are 'not worth enough' to be mentioned, because the teachers didn't have those kinds of experiences. Teachers thus seem not to perceive themselves as 'authoritative' enough to include their own voices.

This downplaying of their own personal stories/voices is not only done by the teachers, but also by learners. Research on ways teachers and learners (but also the broader society) in Germany position themselves while dealing with the Holocaust, shows a similar pattern. Bar-On (1989, 1999) calls this the *'double wall of denial'*: parents (or teachers), but also the younger generation, avoid relating personally to the Holocaust, because this is too sensitive. It might be easier to locate evil in clear stereotyped images of the 'bad other' than challenging the question what our own (grand)parents did or what our own responsibility was/is/would have been/should be[29]. (See also chapter two). The same might be the case in post-apartheid South Africa. It is an important question to ask: does the new generation want to know what exactly happened and what roles their parents and teachers played? Druker mentions in her research on adolescent intergroup contact in South Africa (1996), that according to their cognitive development, *'adolescents have a tendency towards the absolute, resulting from a desire to reduce uncertainty and confusion'* (1996:69). Giroux (1991:163) points at a possible explanation but also a contradiction in ways youth deal with the past: 'What is often mistaken as youth conservatism or youth indifference is, in actuality, an active refusal to politicise reality. Youth often accomplish this by *entering the present more fully* as part of an affective rather than merely intellectual investment' [his emphasis]. Especially after observing Harry's classes, I realised that learners don't ask their teacher specifically if they can relate their personal experiences. Although his learners critiqued their parents and asked what Mandela did *'to chase Apartheid'*, they didn't ask this question ('what did you do?') to their teacher. This is the case in all the five schools. Though this silence doesn't exclude the possibility that this question exists in their heads, consciously or unconsciously. It is highly possible that for the learners, asking that kind of question is confronting, especially during classroom interactions. It is also confronting to deal with their own fear and suspicion.

Perceiving the teacher only as the 'authoritative' voice, the person who brings 'knowledge' and 'material' across might be safer than including the personal identity and history of the teacher.

Most of the teachers, however, asked the learners what they would have done in those violent situations. The fact that teachers can and do ask learners questions of this kind, but that the reverse doesn't happen, is part of the authority ethos of the school. It is however also possible that the teachers didn't talk about their personal experiences because it might have elicited these kinds of confronting questions towards themselves. Opening up the pattern of silencing inside the classroom, by critically incorporating personal experiences, asks courage of teachers and learners. The heavy administrative load of O.B.E. seems to be a stumbling block for most teachers (see also Giroux, 1988:92), although some teachers, like Jonathan, showed that it is possible to engage with personal experiences in the classroom.

It might thus be 'safe' for both teachers and learners to hang onto that 'general', 'clear' story of the past, with clear borders between 'bad' and 'good' instead of questioning one's own position and the position of people around them (like parents, teachers and colleagues). But there are differences between the ways teachers and especially learners relate to the event during the classroom interactions and during the interviews. Reflecting on the interviews where the learners explicitly talked about the impact of the violent scenes, I realise that learners do take violence and its impact seriously, but that the teachers don't always make space in the classroom to talk about it openly (see also Giroux, 1991:163 & 1996:118-9). It might also be possible that for the learners, the interview was a safer space or type of interaction (discourse) to speak about these things. As Cohen (2001: 9) states: *'Passivity and silence may look the same as obliviousness, apathy and indifference, but may not be the same at all. We can feel and care intensively, yet remain silent.'* I think this is a possible 'window' in 'the wall of the indescribable': if both teachers and learners would discuss violence and its impact in a genuine way (i.e. an open, trustful and fearless way), they might understand each other and the differences between each other's sense-making better. But sensitive issues might be silenced, made undiscussable by both teachers and learners in the space of the classroom. It is thus not only an issue of 'different generations' and an issue of discourses or types of interactions. It is also an issue of how institutions function. Moreover it is an issue of grey zones of overlapping discourses and an issue of trust.

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[29] Krondorfer writing about encounters between third generation Germans and Jewish Americans, states something similar, but he applies it only to the German third generation. See Krondorfer, 1995:97-128.

The teachers and learners agreed for example about the importance of visual media, the usefulness of the documentary (and compared it with the use of written material) in getting an understanding of what happened during the Apartheid era, though they didn't say this during the classroom interaction:

- Most of the teachers claimed that the use of audio-visual material was 'better' than the use of written material, because the learners will see what really happened. While Harry wondered if the learners really got the message that these things happened in real life (see supra), he said afterwards, during the interview, that *'it touches home' (4IT9).* James asked his learners explicitly what they think of violence shown on TV. The learners responded that it is a good thing to see it, because it is the truth and by seeing it you realise it is true (5OC5, video5).
- A female learner in one of the Athlone schools commented in the class: *'now we also get the feeling of how they felt' (4OC9).* During the interview with the group of learners at a former House of Representatives school, learners said that because they saw it, they now understood better what the teacher, but also their parents, talked about. A coloured male learner said:

> *'the movie actually changed my –changed everything in me because I heard it before, nè. And I didn't look at it like, like that, like I saw it on the movie now. [...] yo, how did it happen like that? And I heard, maybe I only heard that they shot people and stuff like that [...] I saw then, them stabbing this man, they're killing him. I mean I can see it man. The way I – It's because I heard it somewhere, but I didn't take it so, so emotionally like, like now. So the movie made sense [...].'* (3GIL5).

Some of these learners even said to their teacher that they want to see the documentary again together with their parents (3IT8).

The ways teachers and learners represented the Trojan Horse incident are thus ingrained with notions of sense-making (constructions of 'truth'); they talk about 'seeing' things, and thus knowing/accepting it is 'true'. But their ways of representing the Trojan Horse Incident are also intertwined with notions of sensibility, how to deal with stories emotionally and dialogically, as members of a certain community. The learners seemed to express the latter more easily than teachers, during the classroom interactions but especially during interviews.

5.3. Discussing 'Sensitive' Issues and Conducting 'Sensitive ' Research

The second main research question of whether the material on the Trojan Horse Incident can be used to open discussion on politically sensitive issues for teachers and learners is difficult

to answer, because, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, sensitivity of issues is related to sensitivity of interactions, not only the interactions between teachers and learners but also those between teachers, learners and myself. At the beginning of my research, I defined 'politically sensitive issues' as issues centring on political and social divisions of the past and their ramifications on the present socio-political context in this country. Lee (1993:4-5) differentiates between socially, personally and politically sensitive issues (see Chapter three). It is not easy to differentiate between these categories in my data. The categories seem to overlap. For example, teachers and learners related constantly to their present lives, and more specifically to violence in various forms (see infra). Into which category of sensitivity do these references to various forms of violence in their own life fit? They can be interpreted as politically, socially and personally sensitive at the same time. Moreover, it is not easy to deduce from the data what the interpretations of the term 'politically sensitive' are among teachers and learners. All teachers agreed to use the package, but this doesn't mean that the material wasn't sensitive for them, in one or more of the three given meanings. Whether or not the material I provided was politically sensitive for teachers and learners, was not explicitly mentioned in or outside the classrooms, by teachers, or by learners. This might be exactly because of the sensitivity of the material. I did not ask the question explicitly because I was ambivalent about the effect of direct questioning. I thought teachers and learners might respond in a way they thought I expected them to respond. In the interview with each teacher, I asked simply what according to him/her, were 'politically sensitive issues' (see interview-questions, appendix (6)). For Harry and Jonathan there were no politically sensitive issues (4IT4, 3IT8). Christine listed politics, religion and *'racial stuff'* as sensitive issues (1IT2). For Jabulani *'this black and white war'* was sensitive (2IT3). And lastly James listed as politically sensitive issues: issues of race, namely being classified in the past, and the loss of somebody during the past struggle (5IT4). The teachers' answers can be labelled as 'politically', 'socially' and/or 'personally' sensitive at the same time. The group-interviews with the learners were less structured. Because violence in the past and present was mostly discussed in the classroom and during the interviews, I asked them if it is 'good', 'appropriate' to talk about/discuss violence in the classroom.

Looking at the discussions that were initiated during and after the periods in which teachers and learners dealt with the material, I nevertheless have a slight impression of *possibly* sensitive issues. Teachers' and learners' construction/interpretation of 'sensitive issues' seemed to be highlighted in the moments they relate to their own experiences, thoughts, and feelings and in the silences around their personal experiences, thoughts and feelings by positioning themselves as observers. But again, it is impossible to decide whether these issues are politically, socially or personally sensitive. An important finding is that these

discussions were situation-related: different discussions were held during the history classes and during interviews and informal conversations outside the classroom. 'Sensitivity' of material is thus related to the physical space but also to the specific situation in which the discussion is held. In chapter two I already pointed at the importance of the dialogue between subjects and researcher. In what follows, I highlight four – according to me– sensitive issues. I formulate these issues as challenging the assumptions I had before I started the research, to highlight the connection between my own sense making of what happened in the schools and the sense making of the subjects through our interaction, both in the classroom interactions and during the interviews and informal conversations.

First of all, education is not just about 'teaching' within the space of the classroom. I thus couldn't claim to focus only on what is happening in the grade 9 and 10 history classes. A lot was happening 'aside' and these 'asides' influenced what happened in history classes. The following problems have a bearing on 'teaching': violence in and outside the school, contacts with parents (who might not (be able to) pay fees or come to meetings), pregnant learners, lack of resources (books, classrooms, sport facilities...), language problems, crowded classrooms, absenteeism and burn-out feelings amongst learners and teachers. Additionally teachers, especially in the former House of Representatives schools, expressed uneasiness towards the expectations of the Department of Education and the establishment of Outcomes Based Education (O.B.E.). The impact of these problems differs enormously between the schools, according to the socio-economic situation of the schools and the communities from which they draw their learners and teachers, but also and as (or maybe more) important: the attitude and coping mechanism of the staff and learners (see also research conducted by Druker, 1996 & Dryden, 1999).

Secondly, reference to the fact that most people in South Africa still live in their 'own' racially defined areas and that they mostly get to know each other through the media, which depicts often only negative images, and which affects the images and stereotyping they have of each other, was made by lots of the learners and some of the teachers, even though all except for one school, had learners from different racially defined groups (see also Druker, 1996:73, 80). They expressed concern about this mostly in the interviews. Little reference was made to socio-economic divisions by learners. The teachers spoke about it in the interviews, but didn't address it in the class (see also Druker, 1996:100).

Thirdly, although my supervisors and I assumed that using material on and talking about a violent event as the Trojan Horse Incident could trigger negative reactions from learners and parents, I very soon realised that violence is part of daily life of most teachers and learners,

which of course doesn't imply all subjects were 'used' to it or 'accepted' it as something 'normal' or as 'one of those many stories'[30]. Although teachers and learners discussed violence in the classroom, they did not go into detail. During the classroom discussions, but mostly during the interviews, the topic of violence in daily life (in schools, families, on the streets, in the communities, on television) was raised often. Many of the teachers and learners live in violent contexts. Teachers as well as learners discussed (in group and/or in personal conversation with me) violent actions like corporal punishment, sexual abuse/harassment, gangsterism, vandalism, theft, fighting and bullying. Though violence was often perceived as something 'normal' in their lives, not everybody perceived it as a legitimate practice: some of the teachers and learners explicitly questioned the existence of violence in their lives, stating that it is wrong. These statements were mostly made in the interviews and informal conversations. I also witnessed some violent actions in some of the schools, such as corporal punishment, fighting and vandalism. In three schools it seemed that corporal punishment happened but was 'undiscussable' with me or in front of me. In two of the schools corporal punishment was 'silenced' by not talking about it, but referring to it or indicating it with non-verbal cues, such as gestures of hitting. In the third school, the principal stated that everybody is working on the problem of residual corporal punishment, but it is something that will take time to change. This was clear from a teacher's comment, which was: *'that's how we deal with those kind of things in our culture.'* It is clear that reconstructing discourse on violence in schools, shifting away from using violence and giving the children the message that violence is not a way of solving problems, is difficult for all people involved (teachers, principals, learners and parents). (see also Cohen, 2001: 111-113). Eradicating violence from schools is thus not just a matter of passing a law in Parliament (see South African School Act, 1996, section 10[31]).

Fourthly and lastly, teachers and learners deal with the personal stories as depicted in the material in different ways, according to their personal moral stance, agenda and history. This is also a question of addressivity: I also have a specific background, expectations, assumptions and a specific 'reading' of what happens around me (see chapter one), and most people are aware of the observer. Furthermore, not everybody is used to being intensively listened to and taken seriously (Carspecken, 1996:154; Verma and Mallick, 1999:9-10) and social researchers may even place people in stressful, anxiety producing situations (Bam, 2001:89). This can be seen as a problematic, but also as a valuable part of research (see Mishler, 1986; Lee, 1993:99-101; Sharp, 1996:230). From the start of my research, I was

[30] See also Giroux (1996) writing about education and violence in the U.S.A.
[31] 'South Africa's constitutional court says 'no' to spankers in Christian Schools', Report to Friends, August 8, 2000 in: http://www.nospank.net/sacourt2.htm, 18/8/2000, accessed on 7/10/2002.

fully aware of the likelihood that the teachers and learners would use the material on the Trojan Horse Incident from different perspectives - that is exactly what I was looking for. But only by going into the schools and interacting with teachers and learners did I realise fully how difficult and complex this is and how important the present interaction was and thus my and the cameraman's presence[32]. I and the cameraman were positioned in and outside the classes by teachers and learners, in inclusive ways but also exclusive ways; our sense making was intertwined. It is thus not just a question about what they, but also I, think and feel about 'the past', but also and even more important what they and I think and feel, fear and hope for the present and the future. I want to explore this a bit more.

Starting from my own vision of a 'good' teacher, the importance of teaching history and the hopes I have for this country, I assumed that the Trojan Horse story (through the material I provided to the teachers) would be used in the context of 'peace education', and that even in schools which did not (yet) have learners from different race groups, the use of this kind of material could be a start of an understanding and a dialogue. I also assumed that teachers see themselves as important figures in the education of the learners, passing on not only knowledge but also positive values such as respect, hope and self-esteem. But not all teachers position themselves like that, and some did not use the story and the material in a peace-oriented way. Observing and interacting with the five teachers, I realised that the personal stance and history of each teacher is pivotal. Differences between the moral stance of a teacher and my own moral stance, could make the observation and analysis of what is happening in the classroom difficult. A discourse of observing[33] thus co occurred with the discourse of schooling. Most of the teachers included my presence in their teaching practices in a positive, confirmative and straightforward way. But I often had difficulties understanding the ambivalence and at other times hostility that occurred in the communication with Jabulani. For example, he once said to me that his learners were *'semi-criminals'*. He said this while we were in the classroom and the learners could hear him (2OC2). A third person position was often taken by other teachers and learners in other situations, possibly because of my presence : learners and teachers might choose to take a third person position, drawing a picture of their (and other) communities as an outsider for an outsider. This third person positioning can also work as a kind of 'protection': keeping me out of things happening inside communities they don't want me to know. In this situation Jabulani seemed to 'define' the learners for an outsider, explaining why *'these children need*

[32] Jonathan and Harry explicitly said during the interviews they were aware of my presence, 3IT7, 4IT3-9.
[33] At what point does something become a discourse? I assume my observing can be perceived as a kind of 'surveillance', although it doesn't have the same connotations as the surveillance of for example school inspectors.

discipline', but also and maybe more importantly to demonstrate his power-position: being able to make such a statement in front of the learners and me and/or to shock me and the learners who don't get space to 'label' themselves. The language barrier made the interaction more complex. Teachers and learners often switched between English and Xhosa. I didn't anticipate this because it is an English medium school. (So I didn't provide a Xhosa interpreter for the class observations. But I asked for interpreting assistance for the group interview with the learners). As I indicated in chapter four, it was very difficult for me to make sense of discussions in that school. During the videotaped period (2OC6, video2), the teacher only switched to Xhosa when he disciplined learners. During the previous periods, the teacher and learners switched to Xhosa especially when the discussions became heated and more personal, which made it impossible for me to understand what they were saying (especially in 2OC5, see supra and appendix 1). An additional problem was that when the teacher asked them to read the newspaper articles aloud, several learners didn't seem to be able to read. The teacher however interpreted their responses as discipline problems rather than literacy problems. He stated that they didn't want to obey and punished them by sending them outside (2OC6, video2). In the other schools, some learners and teachers switched between English and Afrikaans. This mostly happened outside the classroom, during interviews or informal conversations or inside the classroom when the teacher disciplined learners. However, because of my own mother-tongue (Dutch), I had no serious problems in following these conversations.

5.4. Conclusion: Truth and Reconciliation in the classroom?

The stories depicted in the material could have been confrontational for teachers and learners, because these stories elicit questions such as 'what was normal?, 'what is normal?' and 'what should be normal?' The question 'what was/is/should be normal?' encompasses the questions 'what was/is/should be discussable?' and 'what was/is/should be describable?' Confronting these questions, and thus shifting discourses, demands a constructive dialogue over a period of time, opening up the pattern of silencing. It does not only require 'factual' knowledge of the atrocities committed in the past (see Bar-On, 1999:130 and 201; McCully et al., 2002:11-12).

It seems that the discourse of schooling but also the discourse of observation, as depicted in the classroom interactions, doesn't allow much space for personal reflections on truth and reconciliation. Individuals, teachers as well as learners do, however, construct and reconstruct or challenge these discourses. By using Bar-On's concepts 'the indescribable'

and 'the undiscussable' I highlighted in the previous chapter the grey zones and silences between discourses or, in other words, between language, social conventions and our heads and hearts. Trying to make something describable or discussable does not only depend on the willingness, power and knowledge of individuals, but also on the power/knowledge structures of discourses. Personal stories of pain and fear with 'white men's sports', 'dogs' and 'policemen' (or 'soldiers') seemed to depict symbols of the power of Apartheid, in the past, but also in the present. It is however difficult to 'label' these ever-changing and internal inconsistent discourses and to differentiate between 'past' and 'present' discourses. Christine and Jonathan for example seemed to depict a 'critical' teacher's discourse, that can be called both 'old' and 'new': Jonathan offered the resistance discourse of People's History. And Christine offered an 'academic' and 'globalised' discourse.

The discourse of reconciliation and storytelling (if I can define this as a genuine and open reflection on past and present violence and divisions with full respect for each other) is found in interviews and informal conversations but seeps through in classroom interactions when Jonathan for example tells about his family and asks his learners to explain his hate for rugby and cricket and when learners ask what Mandela did to chase Apartheid and say that images of violence make them sick[34].

A new South Africa is thus definitely in the making, but this happens largely outside institutions such as the T.R.C.. The T.R.C. had as aim to promote truth and reconciliation, not to achieve it 'from above' (T.R.C.report, vol.1, p.55). Reconstructing identities and histories can only happen 'from below', by individuals and communities. Schools are possible sites where this can happen, but this happens more likely on stoeps than inside classrooms.

Having revisited the research questions I pondered at the start of this research and having explored the difficulties in responding these questions, I now move on to the next chapter for conclusions and recommendations for further research.

[34] Compare with Soudien's (1996:318-347, 2001a) differentiation between the formal and informal discourses at school.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Research

Looking back at my experiences in the five schools and my attempt to make sense of what is happening in the History classes, I realise that teachers and learners are confronted with many things, like violence in and outside the school, lack of resources, pressure from the Department of Education to adapt to a new teaching and learning approach (O.B.E.), a 'new' South Africa in which existing borders are extended and blurred, and a need to search for a place for themselves in that 'new' South Africa, a need to search for a feeling of belonging, a 'new' identity.

By offering five teachers material on the Trojan Horse Incident, partly generated by the T.R.C., and pondering the questions what for them and learners is politically sensitive and how they position the people involved in the incident and how they position themselves, I hoped to get some impression of ways these teachers and learners deal with the processes of establishing truth and reconciliation, the process of making sense of a violent past. Conducting this research, as a non-South African, was an enormous learning experience. I am impressed by how teachers and learners try to make sense of their past, present and future. I want to stress that the reflections and recommendations in this conclusion, are made tentatively.

6.1. Conclusion

My main research questions are: How do teachers and learners in five schools in Cape Town deal with material on the Trojan Horse Incident? And can this material be used as a way of opening classroom discussion on politically sensitive issues? I summarise my findings as follows:

6.1.1. Dealing with material on a violent story from the past happened in the five schools in the specific context of discourses of schooling and of observing. These discourses influenced but were also influenced themselves by individual choices, histories, dreams and fears of learners, teachers and myself.

6.1.2. Teachers and learners in the five schools positioned themselves, the people involved in the incident and me through ways of using language, i.e. dynamic and fluid

practices of in- and excluding (shifting between 'us' and 'them') and of past and present framing (shifting between past and present tenses). Both groups seem to prefer to position themselves as 'observers'. In most classes, most of the time was spent on how exactly the Trojan Horse Incident took place (when, where, which tactics the policemen used, consequences,...). Moral questions ('why' questions) were left for the end of the period or left implicit. Questions such as 'what would you have done' seemed to imply a moral lesson, but were not used to create space for a personal involvement with the Incident and the material.

6.1.3. There was not a lot of space during classroom interactions for emotions and personal stories, in the sense that these were not always acknowledged by the teachers. The power/knowledge structure of the discourse of schooling seemed to be very strong, although it was also a matter of personal choices by teachers, but also by learners. Anti-apartheid, previously a resistance kept as an 'aside', became orthodoxy in the discourse of schooling after 1994, both in the official and formal discourses. There is however a discrepancy between the general, 'big' story of Apartheid (with clear images of baddies and goodies) and more personal stories of doubt and pain. The latter are left out or pushed to the margins of the official and formal discourses of schooling. These personal stories seemed to be only situated in formal discourses of schooling, before or after the actual lesson (learners speaking with the teacher about their personal experiences of or reactions to violence) or when 'others' are present (see infra, 6.1.6).

6.1.4. A discourse of reconstructing personal histories and identities had more space in informal discourses (for example learners talking to one another during breaks) and during interviews with me. South African youth might have (similar to German and Irish youth) a 'fatigue' towards 'official', 'consensus' knowledge of the past and they might not to be able or not want to make sense of the 'wall' of silenced personal stories of those who have experienced the conflicts in the past.

6.1.5. Teachers and learners in the five schools talk about violence of the past and the present in their own ways, in their own spaces and with their own rules. Learners in the five schools expressed concern about violence in past and present. Teachers didn't express this that easily, although they reflected during interviews on feelings the narratives evoked, mostly of learners but not of themselves. 'Sensitive issues' were thus mostly expressed outside the classroom interactions. These were violence in past and present; moral stances towards violence and responsibility; schooling (as not only teaching, but also disciplining); and stereotypes people have of 'other' South Africans and the separate lives they have.

6.1.6. These reflections of learners and teachers in the five schools seemed to have been influenced by the presence of 'others'. In schools with learners from different communities, stereotypes and other reconstructions of histories and identities seemed to be challenged. And my presence (the discourse of observing but also my identity as a non-South African) could have triggered reflection, but it also might have hindered reflection. Teachers might have wanted to give me a 'good teacher' image, for example, and not a 'personal' image (as someone who has feelings about having lived through apartheid and having made specific choices).

6.1.7. Bringing specific material in history classes doesn't have one specific, for example 'peaceful', outcome. Making reconciliation possible is thus not just a 'practical' question.

6.2. Recommendations for Further Research

Reflecting on the findings of this research, I think those who are interested in curriculum studies have to think about and do research on how we can influence this in a positive way, i.e. that, in the context of conflict resolution and conflict prevention, 'peaceful' outcomes are more likely to happen. The following ways are possible:

6.2.1. Can we (and do we want to) achieve this through the discourse of schooling? If so, one can look at or develop specific projects with teachers and/or learners that focus specifically on ways people reconstruct histories and identities. The research done by Dryden (1999) on ways teachers and learners deal with the past of Apartheid in history classes and research done by Druker (1996) on learners' experience of intergroup contact through a theatre project, are good examples. Research on how teachers are taught to teach might also be helpful in getting an idea in how teachers construct their image of a 'good teacher' and how educational institutions like universities and technikons construct and challenge the discourse of schooling.

6.2.2. How can we research ways teachers and learners reconstruct histories and identities outside the discourse of schooling? Research can focus on interactions between learners and their parents/family/ community in their ways of dealing with violence of the past and the present. Another option (which I choose to follow in research towards my doctorate) is looking at how people (from different generations and communities) deal with traumatic pasts at the site of museums and how specific projects that bring together youth 'from both sides of the conflict', like Krondorfer's

project, affect ways youth talk, think and feel about violence of the past and the present.

6.2.3. I must stress that I used in this research a more 'Foucaultian' approach to the analysis of discourse and thus focused on ways people construct meaning and identities through language. I did not do an in depth linguistic analysis of teachers' and learners' ways of making sense of violence and/or of opening (or closing) possible dialogues in a 'new' society, although I did some linguistic analysis of their use of pronouns, modality, verb tenses and turn-takings. This mode of analysis is thus situated on the edge of Applied Language Studies. In both sites mentioned above, i.e. sites inside and outside schooling, a more 'linguistic' discourse analysis is however pivotal and should be subject of further research.

I hope this research has raised awareness of and reflection on ways people reconstruct histories and identities in traumatised societies. This kind of research is pivotal, not only for teachers, but also for learners and societies as a whole. It is crucial to ask: what are we going to say to our children so that it won't happen again? As Shriver (1995:120) says about young people in Germany and the USA who do not see the story of the Holocaust as important for their future: *'Their vulnerability to great evil can only increase if they believe themselves immune to it'*.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Written Notes (Thick Observations) made on one lesson on the Trojan Horse Incident in each of the five schools.

What follows are the expanded, typed versions of my notes on one lesson on the Trojan Horse Incident in each of the five schools. The original notes that I made in the class were full of not standard abbreviations and truncated sentences. I expanded these original notes in two ways:

- After the actual period, on the same day, I added things and comments I remembered but could not write down during the actual period. I indicate my comments made during and after the actual period with '( )'.
- Formal and more substantive expansions came when I typed the notes up and in doing so I wrote full sentences and added interpretative comments. These comments are indicated with '[ ]'.

For this appendix, I selected the first period of Jonathan, because he immediately started talking about the incident. These notes are, in contrast to the notes on the other schools, not made during but after that specific period. Of the four other schools, I selected the lesson after the documentary was shown to the learners; these are, as can be read in appendix 9 (Table 3): the second period in the class of Christine, the fifth period in the classes of Jabulani and James, and the seventh period in the class of Harry.

Forest High: (day two)

I had an interview with the principal just before this period. He brings me to the classroom. On the passage he makes remarks on the uniforms of the learners, reprimanding them, e.g. On shoe-laces and neck-ties. 'I deliver her' he says to the teacher. [very polite, as if he doesn't want that I get into trouble because of our long talk]. They were waiting for me. They stand up. The teacher says to me: 'they wait till you greet'. (I am shy!)
A girl comes in later, explaining why she is late: another teacher took longer. The other learners are laughing.

I see 24 learners, 13 boys, the boys are sitting together and the girls are sitting together.

Teacher gives them a worksheet [I also have a copy]. She says they first have to do individual work. She reads the introduction aloud, also the questions. She comments [on the journalist]: 'though he says he's not giving a personal view' [he does give a personal view]. She also says [as she said the day before already]: 'he had another view on the future' [of SA]. A boy comments (I didn't hear). Teacher: 'it affects your life'. She gives as example the difficulties for white men to get a job, so they

have complaints about the new SA. She also talks about job ads where AA [affirmative action] is mentioned.
Not all the learners are following, some are playing with their pens, looking at me [though it is possible they still hear what the teacher is saying].
Teacher: 'you're white men, shame' the learners laugh. [the teacher differentiated herself as being a woman, which makes the AA less of an impact on her life].

Some learners ask where the Trojan Horse happened. Teacher says it happened in Athlone, Belgravia Road [she makes the same mistake as Jonathan. I wonder why, maybe the Belgravia road is more known than the Thornthon road]. A female learner says that she knows the area, she says it's a long road; but she doesn't know the story.

Learners are talking. Teacher: 'shut up'. (she repeats it more than once).
A girl asks if the people knew that it was a military truck.
Teacher explains that tomorrow they will see different perspectives, she mentions a soldier, a mother, newspaper-articles, ... she says that the only thing they know from the video is: it was an unknown truck. 'The police said: if it was a police truck the people would start stoning it and setting it alight' [though this is not 'given' on the video].
A male learner asks why people were stoning.
The learners are talking at the same time.
Teacher says: 'that's not a reason for police men to shoot on kids!' [she said that quite vividly].
The boy repeats his question.
The teacher: 'they did it for nothing'.
A girl comments: 'it was white people in it' [does she gives here a possible explanation for the throwing or is this just a comment?]
The teacher links with the broader world: 'in other areas in the world suppressed kids throw stones and [back to SA] the 1980's in SA was a violent time'. 'maybe they saw it as a potential threat'. 'But either way', she says, 'they -six police men- came out and shot people dead'. She comments: it is not easy to see the truth. 'There is not one truth, but different perspectives'.

Learners put hands in the air [to catch attention: they want to say something]. A boy asks if they had orders. Teacher: 'when you come out, shoot!' [it was difficult to 'see' if she was serious or cynical here] 'Your instruction for tomorrow is: write down the different perspectives and make notes'.
A girl says very vividly: 'they came a second time. They wanted that reaction!'
Teacher tells about journalist [who was at the spot]. Police saw her (I thought it was a man) and still shot. She refers to G7. 'that's on video! Why did the police videotape that?' she asks.
Girl: 'it looks normal.'
Teacher: 'yes, they're doing that job'.
A boy says something similar, namely that they wanted that reaction.
The teacher elaborates; she refers to the white lady (ridiculing her) who talks about a wire around her house. She also refers to the Holocaust museums: they {Nazis] have been keeping all those details. 'yes, it is weird to us'.

Teacher reprimanding: 'I'm going to say it only one time again: if you want to talk, wait your turn'.
A girl refers to the orders given to the police and the way journalists were treated.
Teacher asks them what they think of Botha.
They laugh with him [ridiculing]
Teacher: 'he's an ugly, white Afrikaner boldly man'.
Teacher and learners are talking through each other.
A girl asks why the student got the whip. 'Was it U.C.T.? Why was the journalist banned?'
Teacher says it is not U.C.T., 'I don't know, maybe ...' in the end she concluded that the journalist was banned because he had proof they're torturing people.

Learners ask about the stabbed spy. They speak at the same time. 'Why was he stabbed?'
Teacher says that the government turned a blind eye to gangsterism. Namely it is easy to get rid of specific people.
A girl comments: 'it was like a movie!' (...)
Teacher says what the journalist said [on the tape].
Learners are talking through each other. [difficult for me to follow]
The same girl says: 'they didn't care they were filming.'
Another girl says: 'it's shocking'.
Teacher: 'they didn't care, now SA is liberal; now it's shocking'.

[...]
Male learner: 'you can't force a journalist to be witness in court'
Teacher: 'they don't judge, they report'
She refers to a book and the moral dilemma of watching a vulture that is going to eat a dying child in Ethiopia
Learners ask questions about the questions on the work sheet.
Teacher double-voices the journalist on the documentary, saying ' I don't feel I did my job properly (...) sanitizing violence for the news. I didn't see a peaceful solution' she also mentions he talked about the dilemma of judging.

Teacher: 'you see the questions you need to answer' she reads them aloud and says what they have to do for homework.
Male learner asks how long the answers must be
Teacher: '100 , 200 words'.
The learners react [don't seem to agree]
Teacher: 'there is plenty to say!'; 'you might ask your parents about Boussak'
She quotes him, saying 'to betray'; and the learners say in chorus 'the end is near' [see documentary]
They are talking at the same time. (difficult to follow)
Teacher and male learner say he stole money. Teacher: 'thousands'.

Learners leave.

Colourful posters at the back of the room (made by learners) (eg. 'why do you wear Levis? Be individual!')

Teacher asks everybody to stand. 'silence!' she checks the time. 'good noon'. Learners: 'good noon'.

[...] I say [to the teacher] I feel like I don't have enough ears and hands to see and record everything.
[...]
(1OC2)

Mountain High: (day 5)

I go to the classroom already. Jabulani says he's coming. I ask one of the learners sitting at the table I always sit at (the nearest at the door) if I can see into their notes. The learners are taking notes from the board on climatology. I have the impression the girl thought I asked for those notes, because she wants to give them to me. I say that I would like to see into their notes on history. A male learner gives his notes. I see two to three pages on the French revolution (notes, and exercises) and the notes on the Union of South Africa, they received this week. I ask if that is everything they have seen during the year, from the beginning on. Yes, is the answer. (It is the end of [month X]!)

I have first conversation. It is as if they are getting used to me (the ones sitting at the table where I am sitting). I don't have the impression we have difficulties with understanding each other. I understand their English. The girl sitting the closest to me says something to the girl sitting next to her in Xhosa, while looking at my writing. I guess, and say that everybody says I write quickly. They are amazed I understood what they were saying. I reply that I was guessing. The other learners are talking amongst each other in Xhosa; some are taking notes from the board. Some are saying 'shshshshsh' as if to ask the talkers to be silent. One girl has a big bag with sweets, she gives some to different people (by throwing it through the room) and some of them come over to her to pay. (Is this a little 'business'?)

There are not more than 40 learners. (Where are the others?)

The other history-teacher (female) comes in the room with a class-list. She asks me 'can I disturb you for a minute?' I don't know immediately what to say because I am not the teacher. I say 'sure'. I am wondering for what she is checking the learners. She is talking Xhosa.

At 9.25 Jabulani comes in (it is 15 minutes after the start of the period). He wants to wipe the notes on the board on climatology, but the learners don't agree (they speak Xhosa). A third teacher enters the room, speaks Xhosa to Jabulani. The learners are speaking amongst each other.

Jabulani: 'Shut up. History now.' 'You finish this [notes on climatology] another time.'
Some learners: 'Shshshsh'
Jabulani: 'yesterday at the library you saw a video on the past happenings in South Africa. I wanted to give you a picture how it was then, during the year 1985' [he is very vague, which strengthen my impression that he didn't watch the video]

He elaborates: there was no schooling. (he repeats this several times during the introduction). 'There was no schooling with regard to black townships because of the unrest. There was a lot of violence. ' he writes down: '1985 violence'. 'there was not only violence of blacks against government but also government was using violence against blacks. Do you think that was right?'
Learners: 'NO'.
Jabulani: 'how can you make it not happen now? How would you solve problems now? Or let me rephrase this: what is your reaction to violence?'
The learners react with 'no'.
He asks 'why?'
They respond in Xhosa.
He says in English: 'you can kill a person. Won't you feel great? So you believe in violence?' 'So violence is bad?' '
Learners: yes'
Jabulani: 'who is saying violence is good?' 'what will you do when you walk home and friends ambush you?' (lots of questions at the same time; he doesn't wait for answers, nor goes deeper into his questions; the learners seem to be confused. Maybe they can't figure out what he wants them to answer?).

Jabulani: 'I want to address some scenes of the tape' he writes down on the board (and read aloud):
(I think: is he copying the question I used in the interview the day before where I asked him how he would act if he was one of the soldiers at the truck)
'1. White man-black mob
2. black man hacked to death (he discussed the use of 'hacked' he wanted to write 'killed' first but changed this into 'hacked')
3. lorry with soldiers shooting youths'

(He does not give any context. I really wonder if he saw the video. It is the first time (during these observations) that he writes so much on the board (normally it is only difficult or important words). I wonder if he is using my 'imagine'-strategy so to please me in one way or the other.)

He asks the learners: 'Imagine you're that white man. Sitting in your easy chair in front of the TV and you see yourself, and you have your legs, and arms in bandages. What do you think, what do you feel?' 'how would you feel inside?' 'bitter? Kak Hey?'
learners laugh but don't react
Jabulani: 'you want revenge hey?'
yes, they say.
(He is not going deeper into the matter)

Jabulani: 'now, let's reverse the position. You are part of the mob, beating that man. And you see yourself on TV. You and that brick. (he throws something to the girl in front, his chalk?) The learners laugh.
Jabulani: 'how would you feel?'
The learners talk in Xhosa.
Jabulani: 'no. don't cheat me. you're cheating yourself.' 'you're excited hey? Cause you're on TV' the Learners laugh. Some of them react, I have the impression they don't agree. They talk very silently and in Xhosa.
Jabulani: 'how would you feel? There is your face, your brick.'
A female learner reacts and Jabulani translates: 'she would sit and cry'.
A male learner asks 'why?'
They go on in Xhosa.

Looking around, I see that not all are following the discussion [not participating nor actively listening, they look at their tables].

Jabulani asks why they feel sorry while at the moment itself they did it, 'cause you want to see that person dead'. He gesticulates as if he is carrying a very heavy brick and acts as if he is throwing it to the female learner in front.
The learners laugh. A female learner sitting at the window says something in Xhosa
and Jabulani says 'this one says the truth: she would feel happy.'
Other learners react, in Xhosa.
Jabulani: 'How are you feeling seeing yourself doing it?' he asks them to put hands in the air, those who would be happy and those who won't, but feel sorry.
Circa 15 say 'happy', 5 say 'feel sorry' (but some of them also put their hands up with 'happy'!)
'what about the others', Jabulani asks. 'you don't know?' (he does not elaborate)

He moves on to the second scene.
The learners react very excited, vividly. They shout 'yowyow'. (same as during the period when they saw that scene).
Jabulani smiles and asks 'did you manage to see everything?' He asks them to explain what they saw.
They respond in Xhosa.

Jabulani: 'what were your feelings?'
A male learner says it was a right thing because that boy was a spy.
Jabulani: 'spies must die like that?
The reactions are mixed: some say yes, others no, lots are speaking Xhosa.
Jabulani reacts. They laugh. [I CAN'T FOLLOW!]
He asks to put hands in the air: 'who is feeling sorry for the boy and who thinks it is a right thing?'
Circa 8 raise their hands 'sorry' and circa 14 'right'.

[The group is very restless], lots of talking going on. I don't understand what they are saying (xhosa).

Jabulani: 'imagine you're that boy'
The learners react very vividly, in Xhosa.
Jabulani: 'imagine, you're that boy and a small miracle happened: you don't die, but you have one lip, one leg, one eye (he gesticulates, learners are laughing). How would you feel?'
The learners react in Xhosa again.
Jabulani translates parts.
A male learner says that he would commit suicide.
Another boy says he would continue being a spy (learners are laughing)
And a female learner would kill the mob, one by one.
There is lots of reaction (in Xhosa).

Jabulani: 'now, imagine, you're part of the mob, stabbing him'.
The learners react in Xhosa.
Jabulani elaborates: 'there is a funeral and you see the coffin, there's going your victim. Will you say 'amandla'?' 'who will feel happy seeing that coffin going to the graveyard?'
Again he asks them to raise hands.
5 learners react positively. And 5 would feel sorry. [what are the other learners thinking?]
There is lots of Xhosa-talking going on.

(he never asks WHY)

He moves on to the last scene: 'you're one of the soldiers in that truck, shooting at those young boys and girls. And you see yourself on TV. How would you feel?'
The learners react in Xhosa. I hear 'I-white'.
Jabulani: 'let's leave the colour'
Again reaction in Xhosa.
Jabulani: 'you want me to use colour?'
They react with 'yes'.
Jabulani: you are a white soldier'.
Again reaction in Xhosa.
Jabulani: no, please feel white!'
Reaction again.
Jabulani: 'OK, suppose you are black soldiers, shooting at whites.'
Reactions in Xhosa and laughing.
They all look at me and Jabulani asks: 'do you want to stop now, Sofie?'
I reply I don't know what is going on.
He says: 'they are saying, they would start with you'.
He and the learners laugh.
[I am shocked and embarrassed, I don't know what to say. I say 'thanks'.]
Jabulani: you are violent people! Some of you will kill your wife, your husband. '
The learners are talking very vividly.
Jabulani: 'why don't you accept God? Let God deal with the matter.'
(to me he always say he is not a believer)
He goes on in Xhosa and claps in his hands
Learners are talking.
Jabulani: 'let's have a controlled discussion'

Jabulani: 'let me deal with you now. If you see your girlfriend with another boy, what would you do?'
A male learner reacts in Xhosa; the others listen to him and laugh.
Some learners are saying 'shshshsh', but they keep on talking and laughing.
Jabulani: 'so you would 'moor' the boy and the girlfriend? fine, then they go to the police and they have a party and you're behind bars.'
[learners are talking] Xhosa-Xhosa-Xhosa.

Jabulani: 'HELLO people. I want us to understand. Violence is the answer to any problems. Sometimes. When?'
A learner: 'yes, sometimes'.
(I got the impression he didn't want to say 'sometimes' himself, but that they would say it)
A male learner talks in Xhosa.
Jabulani: 'why? What drives you man?' 'you don't want to be seen as a sissie hey?'
He elaborates: imagine you see your girlfriend hand in hand with a man. (he takes the hand of the girl in front and kisses it – the learners laugh).
They speak Xhosa, one says "I would kill [Jabulani]'.
They keep on talking and laughing.
Jabulani: 'HELLO, you're not in a shebeen!'
He tells what a girl just said in Xhosa: 'she's saying 'forget her cause she is not trustful'. [addressing himself to the learners] 'you say: violence is an answer. The boys are saying this. what about the girls?'
Jabulani says 'shshshshsh' and claps in his hands to make them listen to him and each other.
But the learners keep on talking and laughing.
He claps in his hands again and whistles. 'HEYHEY'.

I see that some learners are not joining the discussion. What are they thinking?

A girl in front (she has a strange ear, as if it has been burnt) tells a story in English: 'you're married and you find out your husband cheat on you. [...] I will smile.'

Jabulani asks what the time is. He asks them to think about this thing. 'who are the murderers and the witches in this class?'

While going out the room, he says to me: 'pity that you didn't understand'
I: 'why don't you speak English?'
Jabulani: 'you see that is the problem. Those kids don't know English, they don't want to speak English'
I: 'so you will have to summarize for me'
Jabulani: 'that's not difficult' he says we can talk about it and finish the interview during lunchtime. [the interview did not take place that day]

I: 'they were very excited'
G: 'yes, cause it is very emotional. They're involved.'

[...]
(2OC5)

Garden View: (day 1)

Last period – I write this down around 3 pm. (after school, teachers have to stay an extra hour).

Jonathan really involved me! I didn't expect this. The learners could ask me all kind of questions. Firstly however he held a monologue, addressed to me but the learners were sitting there (they were with 30; I asked later with how many they normally are and a learner showed me a list with the names, 46 in total; a male learner said: 'lots dropped out').

In the period before this one, Jonathan took me to a grade 9 class where he checked their presence. He spoke mostly Afrikaans, asking if this or that learner is 'still dead').

His monologue made me feel uneasy because it extrapolates himself vice versa <u>the</u> learners (as one homogeneous group). He said that they were not interested cause 'they were not around compared to their parents or older brothers and sisters.' He asked them how old they were in 1994 (8 to 10 years old, was the answer) and in 1985 (they were not there yet!)

He introduced me as Sofie ('I have difficulties with pronouncing her surname') from Belgium; staying with us for some time, doing a project on the TH. I have the impression he already told them before this period. For a moment I was thinking that it should have been better if I've asked him <u>not</u> to mention the purpose of my presence. But I think now it's OK; it's his choice to position me like that. Though, I didn't feel fully comfortable with his monologue cause he draw a general monotonous image of them and he didn't gave then space to react. Some learners were making movements with their heads to express their disagreement. He was defending his teaching practices: saying that he keeps on trying to get them to read, although they are not interested in it. He also said that's the reason why he has to make notes for them ('lazy' image). He said that reading will give you interpretative skills. 'you only need to read; that's enough'. He also said that the parents and their older sisters and brothers struggled; also to get education and that THEY (the learners) don't appreciate that. He asked me to explain my project; I kept it brief, saying that the question I am struggling with is the way South African teachers and learners deal with sensitive, painful stories of the past; how they talk about it with each other. I asked if they have questions. First they were quite shy (J. said it explicitly) then some questions were pondered, like: 'where is Belgium', 'which language do you speak', 'is there apartheid in your country', 'how then come that they speak French in Congo'. (My answers: I situated B geographically, said there were three languages, Apartheid not in laws but in minds and explained about the language struggle [to explain French in Congo]) I Also replied on the third question that it is obvious that you have stereotyping, racism everywhere; the difference is that in SA it was constitutional, it was in the laws.

After a while J. left the room for a while; learners came over to me to ask some more questions like: 'why did you choose history?' 'Can you take me to your country so I can get a Belgian girl-friend?' 'Do you have a boy-friend?' I started a discussion with a group on choosing what you want to do in life. A girl asked me if you can use history when you want to become a lawyer. I replied: why not? Cause you learn to understand how and why people act, think, believe, ... you can use that being a lawyer. The girl is involved in the 'navy school'. (on Saturday). A boy said that that girl can make that choice because the family has money (they own a shop). He added: 'so we – those who have no money- have only gangsterism to choose'. (he made a movement with his hands as if he was holding two guns). I replied that it is not only that: also your will; cause you can get scholarships.

What J. also said at the end of his monologue: he hopes that my presence will trigger their attention for history and reading. He thanked me even for coming to SA and showing interest in their history, saying I could have chosen to do something else. When he left, the boy said to me that history is not interesting because they know it already (the history of their parents). It would be more interesting to know what happened in Belgium. I agreed, saying it would be a nice idea to organise a discussion with Belgian peers on history, so people get to know each other.

One female learner asked me why I chose TH. I told about reading T.R.C. stories, told by normal people, [that I wanted a story about young people, and that I finally chose the Trojan Horse out of] Guguletu 7 and the Trojan Horse. A similar question was asked when J. was still in. I said that I gave J. the material on the Trojan Horse and I am wondering how he's going to use it and how they the learners are going to react on it. J. replied: 'so I could throw these papers in the air and you catch and read it'. [addressing himself to the learners].

Compared to Mountain High!!!! More open, explicitly. Learners less shy, coming up to me; more critically.

[what I recall a day later]

- *J. also said in his 'monologue' that those learners use words like 'kaffir'. 'In the past we fought against it, we <u>were</u> Blacks; now they use 'kaffir' and laugh with it.'*
- *A male learner during our conversation (some learners and me): 'they take foreigners to the black areas, so they have there sports fields, libraries, ... and they don't come to our areas, the coloured areas. They just pass by. So we have nothing. We have crime.' ([quotes are] not literally).*

(3OC1)

Athlone High (day 7)

Teacher asks why so many learners are absent. I see 31 learners.
He recapitulates [...] "We'll look at the scene twice to get you in the mood".
Learners are talking silently.
Teacher: "See if you recognize the area, know the incident."
TV on. Learners are looking. A female learner points at the screen.
Harry: "OK. Watch it a second time. Look at aspects like (silence, he's rewinding) the condition of the township, ... (he has difficulties with finding words) the crowd, the reaction of the police [...] again: it happened on your doorstep, your parents, aunts [...] could have been involved."
Learners are looking! commenting.
Teacher turns TV off. "who lives in Athlone, Thronton Road, Belgravia Road?" one person (a girl) reacts positively. "who heard about it before" a boy reacts, together with the girl who lives in Athlone. [not a lot learners knew about it in ALL schools]
Harry: "What's [sic] your feelings about it?"
Girl at the back: "they're cowards, the whites, they were covered, came out [...] innocent children killed."
Teacher asks what the others think. he asks a boy at the back. "doesn't it bother you, is it just another story?"
The male learner: "I am sad sir".
Teacher: "why?"
Male learner: "children died".
A female learner repeats this.
Harry: "it gives you a better perspective, how people lived, what they went through."
A male learner: "my History books don't say people resisted. [...] there were shots, people killed [...] but I can't say I'm sad, I feel sorry for them [...] I am happy South Africa, the constitution changed." (Teacher asked in-between: "but your parents, your country").
Teacher asks what the name was of the incident.
Male learner: "Trojan Horse"
Teacher: "Where did you hear it?"
Male learner says he doesn't remember
A female learner knows about it, but vaguely (she tells the story of the 'gift') she says often "I don't know if I'm right sir".
Teacher: "absolutely correct" (he says this twice) (but he doesn't locate it, in Greece)
He asks her why she knows that.
she responds that there are tourists everyday. She tells about the monument.
Teacher asks what the link is.
Male learner: "the truck sir"
Female learner: "people didn't expect people in it."
Teacher asks the girl to tell more about it tomorrow.
He refers to the sources and worksheet.

and says "resistance started with simple people like you and your parents and the brutality of the police." (he says 'OK' a lot)
They don't seem to listen all the time.
Teacher asks a girl in the front why she is so silent. "Headache sir!" she asks me if I have a tablet. [I didn't]
Teacher gives learners sources. Learners start reading.
Outside male learners playing with a ball.
Teacher is reading sources (first paragraphs) and refers to picture [in newspaper article]
Female learner front: "wasn't it 15 injured?"
Teacher: "newspapers always get their statistics incorrect". he goes on [with reading] "you know what the T.R.C. is".
He gives the worksheet. "so we can open a discussion on your understanding on the significance of this event."
Female learner front: "did policemen go to jail?"
Teacher: "read sources, you'll find the answer".
He reads the questions aloud and elaborates.
Female learner front: "can we ask our parents?'
Teacher: "Ask your parents."
Teacher asks female learner [the one who lives in Athlone] to ask her mother and the male learner [who knows about the incident] who lives in the road (family, neighbours).
He announces the cameraman's visit.
Learners laugh and comment.
Teacher: "don't worry. It is not a pop-idol search".
Some learners comment: "I'll be absent".
They ask me why I do history.
Teacher says I want to interview some learners and asks if there are volunteers.
[learners] "will we miss a class?" "what kind of questions?" (we have a nice chat)
Bell rings.
They ask to see killing of the black man again, they are commenting and laughing [while they watch it again].
(4OC7)

Athlone View (day 5)

[the cameraman was present in this period]

(Very noisy! They're excited!)
Teacher: 'you don't have to write it down. I just write it down' [he writes on the board]
(he uses the board to structure his thoughts)
Black male learner front says Trojan Horse is a Greek story.
Teacher: 'can we settle down?' (he says this twice)
He repeats again that videotaping is 'to assist in Sofie's research'.

He refers to the video [documentary] and the discussions [held in previous periods]. 'there is no right or wrong'.
Female learner asks to repeat what the Trojan Horse was about, 'I forgot'.

Learners are silent now; they ask him questions
Teacher: 'that is where the name comes from'

Male learner in front pulls faces to the video!
Some learners laugh nervously

Teacher: 'you're all familiar to the road'. He refers to specific houses and people living there and to the visit he paid together with me to a woman living there.
He list the names and ages of the children killed in the incident.
Learners react 'joh' when he mentions the ages '16' and '11'.
He also lists the 'masterminds' [term used in one of the newspaper articles to point at the perpetrators]
He says the footage went all over the world.
Male learner: 'why didn't they throw the first time?'
Female learner: 'they couldn't see' [that police was hidden in the truck]
Teacher says it is difficult to say why/why not.
Male learner says somebody threw a stone at the window
Black male learner front says there were no cars allowed.
The learners refer to teachers who were there! [so the teachers have been talking about it with the learners]
(why doesn't he ask what they knew before? Their family links?)
Teacher says the shooting only took 76 seconds
Male learner at the back refers to the older teacher [who was a witness of the incident]
Male learner in front: 'somebody else told me ....'
Teacher doesn't seem to be very happy with their comments??? (he wants to tell it or keep control over the interaction) [he said explicitly that they can ask questions at the end of the period]
He jumps to the T.R.C.
He uses notes [his own notes, looks at them] (is he nervous?)
Teacher speaks about the trial at Supreme Court
Black male learner front: 'what if you go straight to Supreme Court?'
Teacher explains you can't.
Female learner: 'was that judge white?'
Teacher says judges belonged to the National Party
Male learner at the window asks if the parents went for another appeal. 'if I was him ...'
Black learner front asks if judge is brought to court now. (this learner always raises his hand and asks questions)
Teacher doesn't respond this question.
Teacher reads parts aloud of the newspapers.
'it is just down the road ... something more personal to us' he comments
They know the house of the woman who lives in Thornton Road

Some learners look at me (I wonder if they are listening)
Teacher asks male learner at window to explain 'birdshot'
Female learner front: 'did they have to pay for doctors?'

(I have the impression not all learners are following – looking around, staring)

Black male learner front wants to ask something ; teacher doesn't respond

Teacher mentions a teacher who was at the hearings. The learners know him!

(I don't think there will be discussion - - - - he doesn't tell where he was himself that day)

The cameraman looks tired
Teacher reads aloud from the T.R.C. transcripts
He says Magmoed was in standard 7, that is grade 9 now, so he was their age.
Learners react 'joh'.
More learners listening now (they are looking at the teacher)
Some have frowned faces

Teacher reads from a transcript in which mother describes the bullets found in the body of her son.
He compares it with what they saw on the video and says that this becomes more personal.
He asks them what 'pikkie' means [a term used by a father of one of the victims]
Some learners talk amongst each other. (other learners say 'shshshshsh')
Teacher quotes 'the pig is dead' and translates it to Afrikaans, mentioning that the policemen probably said it in Afrikaans
Learners ask 'is this the sixteen year old?'

Teacher quotes from the transcripts of the policemen.
Learners make noises as if to express their disagreement with what the policemen say.

Teacher: 'I've been talking a lot. I ask you questions'
Answers of learners [see questions teacher: video]

- *only 2 to 3 knew about the Trojan Horse*
- *if they would have been parents*
  - *take revenge*
  - *death penalty*

They fire this question back to the teacher!
He says he would have wanted justice, not revenge. (but what is justice?)
Black male learner front: 'but judges don't do justice'

- *Why did policemen act as they did? Asks the teacher. Learner: Why stone throwing? Another learner: 'they wanted a reason to kill'*
- *Other options to policemen, asks teacher. [Answers see video - - - this is going too quickly to write every answer down]*
- *Do journalists screen too much violence? Asks teacher. Learner comments that people need to know the truth. They refer to the scene in which the black 'spy' was killed. More hands up, not everybody gets the floor. Female learner 'then you really feel it'*

Teacher says he was there [on the hearings]
Bell rings
Learners leave very noisy, some keep on asking questions to the teacher. Teacher fills in presence-list.
(5OC5)

Enquiries IMibuzo: Dr Frances J Wessels
Telefoon Telephone IFoni: 425 7400 ext 2238
Faks Fax IFeksi: 425 7445
Verwysing Reference ISalathiso: 20020416-0011

Wes-Kaap Onderwysdepartement
Western Cape Education Department
ISebe leMfundo leNtshona Koloni

Ms S Geshier
Faculty of Humanities
University of Cape Town
RONDEBOSCH
7701

Dear Madam

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH TO THE TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT: THE USE OF TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISION SOURCES AS A WAY OF OPENING CLASSROOM-DISCUSSION ON POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES.

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and learning sites should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Observation of lessons and interviews are allowed as long as these do not impinge on educators' programmes.
5. The investigation is to be conducted from 17 April 2002 to 21 June 2002.
6. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the schools, please contact F Wessels at the contact numbers above.
7. The investigation is not conducted during the fourth school term.
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal of each school where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to [(names of the schools selected for the research)]
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

    The Director: Research
    Western Cape Education Department
    Private Bag 9114
    CAPE TOWN
    8000

We wish you success in your research.
Kind regards.

ACTING HEAD: EDUCATION
DATE: 16/04/2002

APPENDIX 3: Letter to the schools

[date]

The Principal
[name and address school]

Dear Sir/Madam,

Request: Permission to do research in your school.

I am a Masters student in Applied Language Studies in C.A.L.L.S.S.A. at U.C.T. My research aims to open discussion on the question of how learners and teachers can discuss sensitive issues in History at Grade 10 level. The issue I focus on is the so-called Trojan Horse Killing on 15 October 1985. Details of how the issue will be researched and discussed are outlined in the attached document.

I would be very grateful if you would permit me to visit your school during two weeks in [month X] to conduct this research. Any queries may be directed at my supervisor, Prof. D.N. Young, phone 650-4110.

I will phone you next week to ascertain if you agree to my request.

Yours sincerely,

Ms. Sofie M.M.A. Geschier

Endorsed by my supervisor

Prof. D. N. Young

As a Masters student in the Centre for Applied Language and Literacies Studies and Services in Africa (C.A.L.L.S.S.A.) in the University of Cape Town, I would like to do research in some Cape Town schools for my Masters dissertation this year. I am an international student from Belgium where I studied History and qualified as a Teacher. In 2001, as part of my studies in C.A.L.L.S.S.A. for the qualifying Post Graduate Diploma in Applied Language Studies, I became interested in how people here deal with stories of the past and how they give sense to past and present.

The aim of my research is to open the discussion on the question why and how learners and teachers can discuss sensitive issues in History in grade 10. Learners and teachers are the people directly involved in the re-writing of the History-curriculum. How do they deal with the painful past of their country and present tensions in their daily lives? The so-called Trojan Horse Killing on 15 October 1985 in Athlone where policemen killed three youths, will be the case study to open this discussion. The discussion is not only a focus on the exploitation of possible data to find answers to the questions 'what is truth?', 'How can we make sense of this past and this present?' It is also a step in the process of developing life skills such as giving sense to painful stories, and coping with violence, anger, bitterness and racism.

Five schools in the suburbs of Cape Town are selected: a former D.E.T.-school, one former House of Assembly school and three former House of Representatives schools. I will respect the anonymity of the schools and the persons involved in the project and I will discuss the planning of the project throughout with all the persons involved. The Department of Education of the Western Cape is informed about the project.

My initial ideas on the fieldwork are the following (which can be discussed): I would like to spend approximately 2 weeks in each school within the period [X]. During these two weeks I would like to follow one history teacher (teaching one grade 10 group) and make some general observations in and outside the classroom to have an impression of the way the school 'works'. Secondly, I would like to interview the teacher on the question whether or not a case study like the Trojan Horse Killing can be used in the classroom. These two steps can be done in the first week. Thirdly, in the second week, I would like to observe how the teacher applies the material and how learners react on it (in case the teacher does not want to do the experiment, the third step will not be part of the research). And lastly, I would like to ponder more profoundly the question why and how learners and teachers can discuss a sensitive issue like this, through formal and informal interviews with teachers and groups of learners, and/or group discussions, written work of learners, diaries of teachers and learners, video-recording etc. Data-material on the case-study can include video-shootings of the event, written narratives of witnesses in the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, newspaper-articles etc. I can

provide most of these materials, but the teachers are invited to construct their own package. It is fully in their hands how exactly they will use the material and how time is managed.

I will be very grateful if you would allow me to visit your school and conduct this research.

Yours sincerely,

Sofie Geschier

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E-Mail : sofiegeschier@hotmail.com

APPENDIX 4:

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Research title: A discourse analysis approach to the Trojan Horse Incident: The Use of Truth and Reconciliation Commission sources as a way of opening classroom-discussion on politically sensitive issues. Positions of grade 9 and 10 history teachers and learners in 5 schools in Cape Town. *(work title)*

Supervisors: Prof. Douglas Young and Assoc. Prof. Kay McCormick

Researcher: Surname: Geschier First name: Sofie

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callssa@beattie.uct.ac.za

We appreciate your willingness to cooperate in this research.

- Your involvement in this study is voluntary. You are not obliged to divulge information you would prefer to remain private. You may withdraw from the study at any time provided you give the researcher/ C.A.L.L.S.S.A. a week's notice.
- The researcher will treat the information you provide as confidential. You will not be identified in any document, including the interview transcripts and the dissertation, by your surname, first name or any other information. You will be referred to in the documents under a code name. No one, other than the researcher and the supervisors will be informed that you participated in this research.
- The research may include risks to you, but these will be minimal and no different to those encountered by people on a daily basis. Every effort will be made to minimise possible risks.
- The research findings will be made available to you should you request them.
- Should you have any queries about the research, now or in the future, please contact us at the above address.

I understand the contents of this document and agree to participate in this research.

Signature Date

APPENDIX 5: List of Material on the Trojan Horse Incident

1. BBC- documentary 'No easy road' (Journalist Michael Buerk on his experiences in South Africa in the eighties) Film editor: Seel R. (1988) (42 minutes).

2. Newspaper articles

1985 CAPE TIMES (copies)

16-10-85	''At least 28 arrested. Three shot dead in Athlone''
17-10-85	'' Three shot dead in Nyanga and Crossroad. Shopping centre attacked.''
	'' UK outraged by shooting''
	''The Athlone film''
18-10-85	'' Day of running battles. PFP warns on civil war''
	'' Police 'will kill' in self-defence''
	''Two shot dead from truck''
19-10-85	''Complaints after deaths in Athlone''
	'' Restrictions on rally''

1997 CAPE TIMES, CAPE ARGUS AND THE STAR

(source: www.iol.co.za)

27-3-97	Cape Argus:	''Probe into Trojan Horse tragedy''
30-4-97	Cape Times:	'' 'Masterminds' to account for Trojan Horse killings''
	Cape Argus:	''Police, soldier to testify at 'Trojan Horse' hearing''
6-5-97	Cape Times:	''Political briefs- Tuesday, 6 May 1997''
14-5-97	Cape Times:	''Trojan Horse blue-print?''
20-5-97	Cape Argus:	''Flame still burns for Athlone's three victims''
		'' 'It was a pikkie against a gun...' ''
		'' Special hearings starts today''
	Cape Times:	'' Dad wants to see justice done''
	The Star:	'' Trojan Horse killings revisited''
21-5-97	Cape Argus:	'' Former editor defends coverage by Argus''
		'' Trojan Horse tactic used after killings''
	Cape Times:	'' Parents victims relive Trojan Horse horror''
		'' White South Africans 'were not told the truth' ''

'' Trojan Horse aim was to effect arrests''

The Star: '' Trojan Horse operations confirmed''

Weighting of newspapers by Tony Weaver:

'Cape Times: broadly speaking, supportive of the liberation movement, with many activist reporters; but with obvious contradictions, e.g. rightwing sub-editors, crime reporters, etc. Editor and senior staff supportive of ANC underground. Several staff members underground.

Argus and Star: Broadly supportive of the liberal parliamentary opposition, i.e. the Progressive Party, but again with contradictions, e.g. MK guerrillas in the ranks, as well as right wingers on staff.'
(personal conversation, e-mail Tony Weaver, 18 December 2002).

3. transcripts of the T.R.C. Special Hearings on the Trojan Horse event:
(source: cd-rom or http:www.doj.gov.za/trc)

Day 1: 20 May 1997

1. Witness Ebrahim Rasool (community context-statement)
2. Witnesses Moegamat Shafiek Magmoed (on the death of Shaun Magmoed) and Georgina and Theo Williams (on the death of Michael Miranda)
3. Witnesses Zainab, Shafwaan and Ismail Ryklief (relating their own experiences)
4. Witness Charmaine Jacobs (on the death of Jonathan Claasen)
5. Witnesses Amina and Toyer Abrahams (on their own experiences and the death of Ashraf Abrahams)
6. Witness Basil Swart (teacher in the community, gives context-statement)
7. Witnesses Sharifa Fridie and Ebrahim Akoojee (relating own experiences and the death of Abdul Kariem Fridie)
8. Witness Chris Everson (reporter, was on the spot)
9. Witnesses Dennis Cruywagen and Willie De Klerk (reporters, were on the spot)

Day 2: 21 May 1997

10. Witness Brigadier Christiaan Loedolff (police, heading the operation, was not on the spot)
11. Witness Douw Vermeulen (former railway policeman, headed the operation, was on the spot)
12. Witness Salmon Pienaar (soldier, attended the police meeting in the morning of 15-10-85, not at the scene)

XXX

APPENDIX 6: Questions for Interviews of Teachers

GENERAL QUESTIONS:

1. A. Where do you live?
   B. What is your mother tongue?
   C. What do you perceive as problems in the community where the school is located?

2. A. How long have you been teaching history?
   B. What schools did you (as a student teacher) visit and what did you experience in these schools?
   C. In which schools have you taught history?
   D. What memorable history teaching experiences did you have in these schools?

3. A. Why do you teach history?
   B. What do you see as your role(s) as a history teacher for grade 10 pupils?
   C. What do you see as the purpose of History class?

4. A. Have your teaching, in approach and methods, changed since 1994?
   B. Have you experienced any difficulties or problems, in approach and methods, since then?

5. A. What is the importance of the past for the new SA?
   B. What is the role of the study of history in reconciliation for individuals/groups?

6. What do you see as the future of History teaching in SA?

7. A. What textbook(s) do you use for the grade 10 class?
   B. Do you like it?
   C. Why/why not? (can I have a look at it?)
   D. Do you believe it is a good textbook?

8. A. What is the importance of source-material in history teaching?
   B. What kind of material do you (the teacher) use?
   C. What kind of material do the learners use?
   D. Do you experience differences between 'old' and 'new' materials (before and after 1994)?
   E. Why?

MORE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS:

9. What do you understand as 'politically sensitive issues'?

10. A. Do you initiate discussions in the classroom on such sensitive issues?
    B. Or do the learners do so?
    C. Can you give an example of a specific situation?
    D. How did it turn out in class?

11. A. What do you understand by the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission'?
    B. Would you use the material created by the T.R.C. in your history class?
    C. Why /Why not?

12. A. Would you like to use the material on the Trojan Horse Killing, I have assembled?
    B. If you would use it, how?
    C. And what are your expectations of pupils' reactions?
    D. Can I observe you teaching this topic in class?

APPENDIX 7: Questions for Group Interviews of Learners

Note: The group interviews with the learners were not as structured as the interviews with the teachers. I always stressed that they don't have to answer these questions, but that they can choose to talk freely about what according to them, is happening in the history classroom. Most of the learners however, agreed in answering these questions.

1. Why do you study history?
2. Do you like it?
3. Does your history teacher think that history is important to study? Why?
4. Do your parents think that history is important to study? Why?
5. Do you think learning history will help you in your life?
6. What is the importance of the past for South Africa?
7. Should teachers teach about Apartheid?
8. Is it 'good', 'appropriate' to talk about violence in the classroom according to you? Why/why not?
9. How did you experience my presence in the classroom? And the presence of the cameraman?

Appendix (8) Table 2:
Material on the Trojan Horse Incident used by the five teachers in the Classroom

Material	Christine	Jabulani	Jonathan	Harry	James
B.B.C documentary 'No easy road'	X (in 1 period)	X (in 1 period)	X (in 2 periods)	X (in 2 periods, and additional focus on TH scene in a 3rd period)	X (in 1 period)
Newspaper clippings	X (given to learners, as sources for individual and group work)	X (reading headings aloud plus giving articles to learners to be read aloud)	X (reading headings of 11 articles of 1997 aloud plus giving articles at random. Asking one learner to read her article aloud)	X (on the worksheet)	X James relies on notes compiled of fragments from newspaper clippings, and T.R.C transcripts. He quotes from:
1985	**X Cape Times 18/10/85** 'Police 'will kill' in self-defence'			**Cape Times, 19/10/85** 'Complaints after deaths in Athlone'	**Cape Times, 18/10/85** (title not mentioned) **Cape Times, 19/10/85** 'Complaints after deaths in Athlone'.
1997	**Cape Argus, 27/3/97** 'Probe into Trojan Horse tragedy' **Cape Times 30/4/97** "Masterminds' to account for Trojan Horse Hearing' **Cape Argus, 20/5/97** 'It was a pikkie against a gun …'	**Cape Times, 21/5/97** 'Trojan Horse aim was to affect arrest' (partly read aloud) **Cape Times, 21/5/97** 'Parents victims relive Trojan Horse Incident' (partly read aloud) **Cape Times, 21/5/97** 'White South Africans were 'not told the truth' (partly read aloud)	**Cape Argus, 20/5/97** 'Special Hearings starts today' (whole article read aloud)	**Cape Times, 17/10/85** 'UK outraged by shooting' **Cape Argus, 27/3/97** 'Probe into Trojan Horse Tragedy' **The Star, 20/5/97** 'Trojan Horse Killings revisited'	

Material	Christine	Jabulani	Jonathan	Harry	James
T.R.C transcripts	X (given to learners, as sources for individual and group work) * Vermeulen * Abrahams * Ryklief * Everson	0	0	0	X (reading aloud) quoting from: * Rasool * Shafiek Magmoed and Williams * Ryklief (by quoting from a newspaper article 1997, T doesn't say which one) * Loedolff * Vermeulen (by quoting from a newspaperarticle 1997, T doesn't say which one)
Extra material produced by teacher	X * text on ancient Trojan Horse incident * documentary 'A Long Night's Journey into Day' part 1 (Amy Biehl and the Cradock 4) *part 2 seen after my visit*	0	X * text on Helen of Troy, ancient Trojan Horse incident	0	0

Note: *'X' stands for the material being used by the teacher. '0' stands for material not used by the teacher.*

Appendix (9), Table 3:
Teachers' selection and use of the material, and the timing of the interviews with teachers and learners (*T and *Ls)

Teacher	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6	Period 7	Period 8	Period 9
Christine	Viewing of B.B.C. documentary with introduction by T. Ls go individually to T at the end and after period to ask questions and express thoughts & feelings.	T gives Ls worksheet for individual homework. Class discussion on TH and more violent scenes in the documentary *T *Individual homework given to Ls*	(shorter period, 30min) T checks individual homework. Class discussion on media, stereotypes, expectations of the world, question of responsibility for what happened in past.	Group work in class on the worksheet. T checking groups & often giving instructions to work faster and skim the material. Small discussions in the groups (T often joins) **Videotaped**	Group work in class, idem as period 4. But T first asked questions to the whole class about the incident.	Idem as period 5. *Homework given to Ls: report on group work*	Viewing of 'A Long Night's Journey into Day', part 1 (Amy Biehl and the Cradock 4) with introduction by T. Individual Ls go to T afterwards and ask her questions.	0 *T *(Debriefing by Sofie)* *Ls	0

Teacher	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6	Period 7	Period 8	Period 9
Jabulani	Repetitive, factual transmission mode on Boer war, T uses 'worksheet'-language: prompting Ls to complete his sentences using a particular word, by giving the first syllable. Ls have printed notes in front of them, only allowed to speak to fill in his 'spoken worksheet'. T laughs/jokes about violence. He writes difficult words on the black board and explains them orally.	Boer War. T recapitulates previous period using worksheet-language. He gives Ls puzzle to fill in, individually in the class. T writes difficult words on the black board and explains them orally. *T	Boer War. T gives notes to Ls to help them filling in puzzle. He uses worksheet language but more open questions than previous periods. He writes difficult words on the black board and explains them orally. *T	T introduces B.B.C. documentary very general ('about 1985') and leaves the room. Ls view the documentary *T	T asks 'imagine you were' questions related to three violent scenes in documentary (mob attacking a white, black mob attacking and killing black spy, Trojan Horse Incident). T writes scenes on black board, asks questions, prompting a specific answer and laughs about violence as depicted in the documentary	T tells story of ancient and Athlone TH. Starting off with explanation of the Trojan Horse tactic. He writes the terms 'Trojan Horse Killing', 'T.R.C.' and 'Amnesty' on the blackboard and explains them orally. He gives Ls newspaper articles from the package provided, Ls have to read parts of them aloud. **Videotaped**	0 *Ls *(during a History period)*	0	0

Teacher	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6	Period 7	Period 8	Period 9
Jonathan	T speaks in monologue about Ls not being interested in history and reading. He doesn't give Ls space to defend themselves. He introduces me and my research & states he hopes my presence will trigger their interests. He gives Ls space to ask me questions about my country.	T talks about meaning of TRC. He tells Ls what the Trojan Horse Incident was in a very broad way; he immediately makes links with his own life, their lives & the T.R.C. defining it as 'a mass therapy'.	T talks about ancient Trojan Horse, colonialism bringing violence to Africa, and the meaning of TRC. He talks most of the time. He has some material from the package in his hands; he refers to it but doesn't give it to Ls.	Viewing of B.B.C. documentary. Part 1 (up till scene with black actor). Confusion in the beginning: T thought that the video would only show some minutes on TH incident, but it is 45 minutes about the 1980s in general.	(Two periods after each other on the same day). Viewing part 2 of B.B.C.documentary. T gives Ls text on Helen of Troy. T speaks most of the time, initiates discussion in which he mostly signals out Ls to be participants in the discussion and to answer his questions. He gives Ls newspaper article, Ls have to read it aloud.		0	0	0
				*T	**Videotaped** *Ls		*T *(during a history period. T gave Ls time to catch up with homework)*	*T	

Teacher	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6	Period 7	Period 8	Period 9
Harry	T eliciting factual knowledge about Industrial Revolution through asking questions to Ls. Linking with Cape Town, and daily life (cells, cars, ...) Strong Initiation Response Feedback (IRF) teaching mode. He asks me to talk about Europe (distances between countries, education)	Revision on Soweto. Strong IRF teaching mode. T writes on board Apartheid's 'colour' categories. He asks them how they would feel and think living in 1960s. He links it to current problems (violence) in Ls' lives. He asks them if they are happy in the area they live in now.	Revision on Soweto. He first asks them why they study history. He then asks them specific questions on Soweto uprising and links it to now ('do you have rights now?') T reads notes aloud, Ls have to write them down. T writes titles & difficult words on board and explains them orally. *T	T reads notes on Soweto aloud, Ls have to write them down. Ls ask questions; T seems to want to finish notes first. As in previous period, he checks often if they understand the words used in the notes. At end of period he gives them individual homework (writing paragraphs, imagining (1) they are student leader, addressing students and (2) area commander, addressing soldiers, during Soweto Uprising) *T *Homework given to Ls*	Viewing B.B.C. documentary, part 1 (just before scene with black actor he stops the video) T first ask them to read their statements (as student leader or area commander during the Soweto Uprising) aloud. Before video starts, he says they have to form their own opinion and think about a good title for the documentary. T comments and asks questions while video is running.	Viewing B.B.C. documentary, part 2. T comments while Trojan Horse scene on ('do you recognize the area?') he asks them to come up with titles for part 1 and 2.	T recapitulates documentary and discussion on titles. He shows them the Trojan Horse scene for a second and third time. He asks Ls if they knew about it, 'it happened on your doorstep'. He initiates discussion in strong IRF format. He also mentions ancient Trojan Horse. He gives them worksheet with sources, reads questions aloud. When Ls ask questions: 'read sources, you'll find the answers'. He announces visit by cameraman and Ls' interview. Ls ask to view again violent scene with killing of black spy. T shows it again. *Homework given to Ls*	T addresses questions in worksheet, singles Ls out to read aloud their written answers. He initiates class discussion on the answers and additionally on normality of the protest in Trojan Horse Incident ('What do people normally do when they protest?', 'Was the protest violent?') **Videotaped**	0 *T *(two different days)* *Ls *(during a history period)*

Teacher	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6	Period 7	Period 8	Period 9
James	T gives Ls worksheet on Nazism, to be answered individually and in writing. T guides them through the first question. He talks most of the time, but Ls ask a lot of 'imagine' questions ('what would have happened if …')	T and Ls discuss answers on the worksheet. As in previous period T and Ls often make links to Apartheid.	T gives Ls new worksheet on Nazism. What they don't finish in class, will have to be finished as homework *T *Homework*	Viewing of B.B.C. documentary. T is not in. There is an other T, an older man, who lived through the 1980s. He gives comments all the time while the video is running. *T	T presents Greek and Athlone Trojan Horse Incident to Ls. Starts off with explaining the Trojan Horse tactic. Writes 'TH (Greece)/T war Greece Troy' on board. He talks most of the time.; gives lot of details and checks his notes regularly. Ls complete his sentences spontaneously (without being prompted by the T). He quotes from newspaper articles and T.R.C. transcripts. He often cuts Ls short when they want to ask or add something to be able to give as many details as possible. At the end he asks them questions like 'what would your reaction have been if you were one of the parents?', 'why did the police act like they did?'. **Videotaped**	0 *Ls *(during history period)* *T *(debriefing by Sofie)*	0	0	0

Trojan Horse Killings

Having watched the video made of South Africa's apartheid system in the 1980s, you are now able to see how quickly history is made. Within your lifetime, enormous changes have taken place in South Africa and you have been fortunate to have witnessed these changes. You may not remember details of the apartheid years but you should most definitely remember details which came to the surface during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

This short module is aimed at looking at the complexities with which we live now in the New South Africa. The aim of the TRC was to enable people to move forward with their lives after hearing the "truth" and having their own pain and suffering validated.

The Trojan Horse Killings was just one of the many atrocities committed during apartheid. After working through the documents and questions on the Trojan Horse Killings, you will watch a video called "A long journey into night" which documents other high-profile human rights violations which the TRC endeavored to expose. This module should make you aware of the pain in South Africa's past and the optimism with which we can go forward because the TRC showed us truth. South Africans survived apartheid and embraced democracy. The rest of the world thought this would never happen and it did.

On your own

After watching the first video:

- What did you learn about Cape Town?
- What did you learn about journalism and the role of the press during apartheid?
- What did you think of the Alan Boesak clips, and why?
- What did you think of the final words of the documentary?
- Imagine you have made a follow-up documentary. Script your opening and closing words and suggest some people you would interview, with reasons.

In your groups

After reading the mythology, newspaper cuttings and TRC transcripts:

- Find as many similarities and differences as you can between the mythology of the Trojan horse and the Apartheid shootings? Do you think this is an apt name for theses killings? Why?
- How do you feel about the way in which the Trojan Horse killings were dealt with by the press in 1997?
- Write an article which you believe would have been published in the Cape Times at the time of the shootings?
- Write annotations in the margins of the transcripts which capture your responses to what was said.
- Do you feel the TRC was successful? Explain.

TROJAN HORSE WORKSHEET

Refer to sources A,B,C and D and answer the questions that follow.

1. List reasons for the protest in Thornton road.
2. What people do you think made up the protesters?
3. In your opinion was the protest violent? Explain your answer.
4. Give an account of how the police reacted to the protesters in Thornton Road on that day.
5. Do you think the police action was justifiable?Explain
6. What was the reaction of (i) the community
   (ii) the government/police
   (ii) the international community
7. In your opinion, what was the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
8. Did the TRC in your opinion have any value /or serve any purpose. Explain your answer.

9 **" This incident is but one that reflects how ordinary people stood up, fighting for their rights, heeding to the call to make the country ungovernable. How ordinary people's lives were sacrificed and the police brutality in dealing with the people who opposed the apartheid government"**

Write a paragraph expressing your feelings on the apartheid governments methods when dealing with those who opposed it (protesters) and the sacrifices made by non white people in their struggle for freedom!

Complaints after deaths in Athlone

CAPE TIMES ...

By CHRIS ERASMUS

COMPLAINTS have been laid against security force members after the incident in Thornton Road, Athlone, on Tuesday when three people were killed and about 15 injured.

At a press conference on Wednesday night six of those injured when security force members hiding in an SATS vehicle opened fire gave their accounts.

All six were members or friends of the Ryklief family outside whose home most of the shootings had taken place.

Toyer Abrahams, 10, said he had been shot while sitting on a bed in the Ryklief home.

'Hit in leg'

"A truck came past with policemen in it. They shot some children and a bullet came through the window and hit my leg. My brother was also hit."

Ismaiel Ryklief, 12, said he had gone outside with some friends and relatives when the truck came by and the shooting started. He was hit in the leg and buttocks by birdshot.

Shaun Magmoet, the 16-year-old killed in the shooting, had tried to push past but was hit in the head, said Ismaiel.

"Shaun crawled into the bedroom and asked me how I was and I said 'All right', and I asked him how he was, but he ... diers kicked in the door."

Ismaiel said Shaun was "grabbed by the head" and dragged from the bedroom to the front door.

"One of the ambulancemen said Shaun was already dead but the police didn't believe him and they trampled on him."

Ghalieb Ryklief, 17, said the security forces in the truck had deliberately challenged the crowd.

"The truck drove up and down the road and the third time it came past it was travelling very slowly. That was when the shooting started."

Mrs Zanap Ryklief, who was also hit by birdshot, and her foster sister, Mrs Latiefa Muller, who received 15 birdshot wounds, gave the same account of events as the children.

'Anger'

Others who spoke at the conference were Bishop D Hart and Pastor Godfrey Kraatz, both of the Lutheran Church, Mr Trevor Manuel, secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape, and Moulana Faried Esack.

Mr Manuel said: "The UDF is outraged. We can fully understand the anger generated by these actions and why members of the community fired on police in Thornton Road on Tuesday

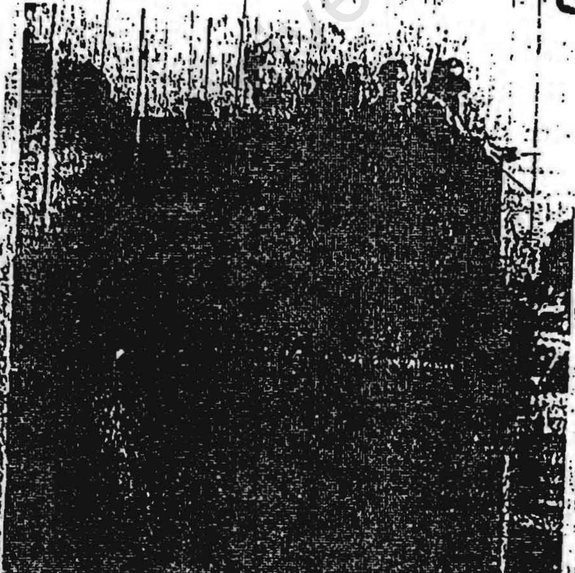
SOURCE B

Troops patrol Belgravia Road, in Athlone, yesterday afternoon as a truck carrying ...

CAPE TIMES 17 Oct 1985

● More pictures, page 11

UK outraged by shoo...



Members of the railways police special task force take up positions on the back of a truck in Belgravia Road, Athlone, on Tuesday afternoon. Two youths and a child were confirmed killed and at least 11 injured after being shot at from the truck.

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Outrage swept Britain yesterday over the fatal shooting of two youths and a child in Athlone on Tuesday.

Opposition politicians and anti-apartheid organizations united in their condemnation of what was termed "a repugnant spectacle".

The shooting of the three by policemen hiding in crates on the back of a railway truck dominated television news bulletins. The graphic horror of the fatal shooting was beamed to millions of viewers in Britain.

Last night's news bulletins dwelt on continued police and army action in Athlone yesterday afternoon. More pictures of dead and injured people being carried from the streets were shown.

Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Donald Anderson, described Tuesday evening's shooting as "horrific".

He said: "Sadly, we have become used to the day-by-day killings but nevertheless, this shooting was of a particularly gruesome variety."

Yesterday afternoon the shooting of the three was the main item on the news on Independent Television.

The television film, shot by a CBS network crew ... truck with seve... cruising past a g... dren standing on...

The truck return... er and as it appro... it came under a... other objects. So... shattered the win...

Suddenly the wo... open and five or si... opening fire with ... guns. Mayhem foll... screaming in agon... ran away. Two bo... dead were shown.

Several people ... lets were shown be... bystanders.

A mother wept ... limp body of her ... house to a waiting...

BBC Radio bro... with pupils and ... Athlone school ye...

A teacher said t... school early as a... with the families ... Tuesday evening.

● Athlone shootin... wealth, page 4

● 'Brutal' Athlon... page 2

CAPE ARGUS

SOURCE C

Probe into Trojan Horse tragedy

7/3/1997

ormer police officers to testify over killings

ORMAN JOSEPH

taff Reporter

he Human Rights Committee of the Truth Commission is to hold a special events hearing into the famous 1985 Trojan Horse killings in Thornton Road, Athlone.

Committee member Pumla Gobodla-Madikizela said the hearing would take place on May 20 and 1 at a venue to be decided soon.

he hearing would focus on the killings during widespread rioting and police counter-action in October 1985 in Belgravia Estate. The violence made world news.

Ms Gobodla-Madikizela said adults who were children at the time would testify.

hree people, including a boy, died in the clashes and 15 were wounded.

sworn statements witnesses said eight policemen hid in crates on the back of an unmarked South frican Transport Services truck and leapt out and opened fire on people in Thornton and other oads in Belgravia, Rylands, Silvertown, Bridgetown, Hazendal and Bokmakierie. The committee as summonned several former police officers to give evidence on events related to the killings.

he entire hearing would be devoted to revealing how human rights were violated, Ms Gobodla-ladikizela said. Statements of witnesses would reveal how police kicked open doors to enter omes and arrest students. In St Simon's Road, 20 teenagers were arrested and thrown head-first to police vans. Last April, the Truth Commission heard evidence that police dragged the body of 5-year-old Trojan Horse victim Shaun Magmoed out of his house, kicked it and proclaimed: "The g is dead".

fter he was shot, Mr Magmoed ran to his home, fell on to a bed clutching his head and died oments later. A relative told last year's hearing that police burst into the house, dragged his body utside and kicked it in front of onlookers.

THE STAR

SOURCE D.

Trojan Horse killings revisited

20/5/1997

Sapa - Cape Town

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's investigative unit has uncovered documents shedding new light on one of the most controversial security force actions of the apartheid era - the so-called 1985 Trojan Horse shootings.

This disclosure comes on the eve of the TRC's two-day hearing in Athlone, Cape Town, on the police ambush in which three people, including two children, were killed.

"The investigative unit has numerous documents in its possession which throw new light on the incident," TRC spokesman Christelle Terblanche said yesterday.

She said witnesses to the shootings and relatives of the three victims were among 11 witnesses due to give evidence today, the first day of the hearings.

Michael Miranda (11), Jonathan Claasen (21) and Shaun Magmoed (16) were killed on October 15 1985 when security force members opened fire on a group of alleged stone-throwers. The incident caused an international outcry but police defended the ambush.

Terblanche said four minutes of film footage shot by a CBS film crew who witnessed the shootings would be screened on the second day of the hearings.

The footage is expected to be followed by the testimony of seven security force members subpoenaed by the TRC in connection with the incident.

All but one are former or serving policemen. The seventh is a serving member of the SA National Defence Force, Lieutenant-Colonel Salmon Pienaar, a former officer commanding of SA Defence Force personnel on the Cape Flats.

Terblanche named the six policemen as Director Christian Loedolf, a former commander of the SA Railway Police's regional unrest task force; Inspector Andrew Smit; Sergeant Alexander Rossell; Sergeant Albertus Smit; Sergeant Frank van Niekerk; and Lieutenant Douw Vermeulen.

Although a 1989 inquest found that police had been negligent in causing the youths' deaths, former Cape attorney-general Niel Roussouw declined to prosecute, a decision supported by then justice minister Kobie Coetsee.

The families of Magmoed and Miranda took the case to court in South Africa's first private