

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL  
IDENTITY AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS :  
A CASE STUDY OF HISTORY STUDENTS AT  
SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES**

**KWANG-SU, KIM**

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(M.A.)

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree **Philosophiae  
Doctor in History** of the **Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër  
Onderwys**

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Potchefstroom

1999

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

My mother, Ock-Sun, Yun  
my brothers, Hyung- Su, Kim and Chun-Su, Kim  
my wife Jin-Kyung, Park

my special friend, Hyung-Tag, Lim

and my father, Jong-Kye, Kim who is in heaven


**SOLEMN DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, declare herewith that the thesis entitled:

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL IDENTITY AND HISTORICAL  
CONSCIOUSNESS : A CASE STUDY OF HISTORY STUDENTS AT  
SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES**


which I herewith submit to the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education in fulfilment of the requirements set for the Ph.D. degree, is my own work and has not already been submitted to any other university.

I understand that the copies that are submitted for examination are the property of the University.

Signature: 

Signed at: **POTCHEFSTROOM** this **22nd** day of **September 1999**.

Declared before me on this **22nd** day of **September 1999**.

  
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**Potchefstroom**  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	:	Afrikaner Broederbond
ACC	:	African Catholic Church
ACDP	:	African Christian Democratic Party
AICA	:	African Independent Churches Association
AME	:	African Methodist Episcopal
ANC	:	African National Congress
APLA	:	Azanian People's Liberations Army
APO	:	African Political Organisation
AWB	:	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
AZAPO	:	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASM	:	Azanian Student's Movement
BC	:	Black Consciousness
BPC	:	Black People's Convention
CAC	:	Coloured Advisory Council
CAD	:	Coloured Affairs Department
CAIC	:	Council of African Independent Churches
COD	:	South African Congress of Democrats
CORE	:	Community Outreach Forum
CP	:	Conservative Party
CPNU	:	Coloured People's National Unions
CPRC	:	Coloured Persons Representative Council
CPSA	:	Church of the Province of South Africa
CRC	:	Coloured Representative Council
DP	:	Democratic Party
DRC	:	Dutch Reformed Church
FAK	:	Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings
FCAIC	:	Federal Council of African Indigenous Churches
FCPP	:	Federal Coloured People's Party

FF	:	Freedom Front
GK	:	Gereformeerde Kerk
GNU	:	Government of National Unity
GRA	:	Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners
HNP	:	Herstigte Nasionale Party
ICU	:	Industrial and Commercial Union
IFP	:	Inkatha Freedom Party
NEUM	:	Non-European Unity Movement
NGK	:	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
NHK	:	Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk
NIC	:	Natal Indian Congress
NP	:	National Party
NUSAB	:	National Union of South African Students
OB	:	Ossewa Brandwag
PAC	:	Pan African Congress
PAC	:	Presbyterian Church of Africa
PAGAD	:	People Against Gangsterism and Drugs
RCC	:	Roman Catholic Church
RDP	:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RICA	:	Reformed Independent Churches Associates
SACC	:	South African Council of Churches
SADC	:	South African Development Community
SAIC	:	South African Indian Council
SANDF	:	South African National Defence Force
SAPCO	:	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SASM	:	South African Students Movement
SASO	:	South African Students Organisation
TRC	:	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCM	:	University Christian Movement
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
UDM	:	United Democratic Movement
ZAR	:	Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek

## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the nature and level of historical consciousness and its relationship with the cultural identity of those students presently studying History at selected South African universities. The overall objective of this research is to determine and measure the nature and level of historical consciousness in a particular population in present-day South Africa. To achieve this objective the study is divided into a theoretical study of the concept of historical consciousness and an empirical study to measure historical consciousness among a sample group by means of a questionnaire.

The thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter and sets out the aims of the study, the necessity for such a study, the method used (particularly with regard to the theoretical literature study) and also contains a synoptic overview of the contents of the different chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 are based on a literature survey and serve as a theoretical background to the empirical study which is covered in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The second chapter is a theoretical chapter about the concept of historical consciousness, based on a literature survey. Various aspects of historical consciousness - its development, structure, functions, importance, relationship with history education, etc. - are discussed. It serves as an extended definition of what is understood by the term historical consciousness. Chapter 3 investigates the contending cultural identities of the range of cultural groups forming the multicultural South African society. This investigation was done mainly in terms of language, class, gender and religious diversity. The ideal of nation-building – it is the formation of some sort of national identity – is stated and its feasibility evaluated. The significance of history education in the process of nation-building is emphasised. In chapter 4 the method which was followed in the empirical study by means of a questionnaire is set out in detail. Chapter 5 forms the core of the thesis, and contains the analysis and evaluation of the results of the empirical study. Chapter 6 consists of the conclusions and recommendations.

It appears from the results of this research that the respondents has formed a sound historical consciousness

In order to further develop a sound historical consciousness, I would like to suggest the following:

- It is recommended that History should be taken as a compulsory subject in South African schools up to grade 12 because of its suitability in establishing a national identity and contributing towards nation-building, reconciliation and co-operation.
  - The multilingual policy of maintaining 11 national languages should change to focus on English as the lingua franca and their mother tongue in terms of bilingual policy.
  - South Africans should perform historical and cultural events/performances in order to understand other culture groups and avoid antagonism and jealousy between cultural groups.
-

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 AIMS OF STUDY

It is the purpose of this study to do a theoretical and empirical investigation into the relationship between cultural identity and historical consciousness among history students at South African universities.

The main premise is that historical consciousness as a psychosocial and cultural phenomenon is not universal and unchanging, but that it is socially constructed within a particular culture through a process of experience which leads to particular modes of interpretation of past, present and future. It consists of an internalisation of external historical reality. In the multicultural South African context this implies the existence of a range of forms of historical consciousness.

In order to break down the central premise into manageable research units, which can be analysed statistically, the following hypotheses will be tested:

- Various methods of transmission of historical knowledge in different South African cultures, underpinned by different ideological orientations, have resulted in distinct differences in modes of historical thinking.
- Historical reality and the experience thereof, particularly in terms of the political and socio-economic stratification in South African society and resulting feelings of injustice and deprivation, have had an impact on the interpretation by members of different South African cultures of their past, present and future.
- Differences in terms of race, class, gender and religion have affected the social construction of the historical consciousness of different cultures in South Africa.
- In view of the differences in historical consciousness between different South African cultures, special efforts will be required, inter alia through the method and content of history teaching, to integrate separate cultural identities into a

broader national identity.

There is a close relationship between cultural identity, historical consciousness and political action. But what exactly is the nature of that relationship and how does it manifest itself in a multicultural society such as South Africa? The following questions arise in this regard and will be used to test the above-mentioned hypotheses:

- How does the method of the transmission of historical knowledge impact upon the mode of historical thinking in a particular culture?
- What effect does the political and socio-economic standing of a particular community as it has historically developed within a society have on the interpretation of members of that community of their past, present and future?
- To what extent do aspects of cultural identity, such as race, class, gender and religion, affect the historical consciousness of a particular culture?
- What are the prospects in a multicultural society of the integration of separate cultural identities into a broader national identity?

The eventual aim of the study will be to (1) draw conclusions about the level and maturity of South African students' historical consciousness and (2) to make recommendations with regard to guidelines for the development of a system of history teaching which might cultivate a higher dimension of historical consciousness. If history education is planned and practiced in accordance with the students' maturity level, they could absorb history teaching well and develop their capability of historical consciousness towards a higher level. It is hoped that the cultivation of a higher level of historical consciousness might make a contribution towards nation-building in terms of the fact that it can be expected that a stronger sense of historical consciousness will (1) foster human dignity among communities, especially deprived communities, and (2) give people an enhanced sense of belonging to and ownership of the assets of the broader South African society.

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## 1.2 NECESSITY OF RESEARCH

Chapter 2 indicates that historical consciousness is absolutely essential in the process of national development. Much attention has been given to the role of historical consciousness in other parts of the world. In Korea an extensive research programme has been conducted on the historical consciousness of school children.<sup>1</sup> However, in the Republic of South Africa very little research has been done on the development of historical consciousness. The real situation is that there is almost no existing work for clarifying the development level of historical consciousness or understanding the characteristics of its development. There is an almost complete lack of extensive research on the concept of historical consciousness and its functioning in the South African context. In my MA dissertation, *Historical consciousness experienced by Tswana-speaking students at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education; A 1997 case study*, I made a start towards the investigation of aspects of historical consciousness in a particular South African culture. A questionnaire was developed as a measuring instrument. My intention with this thesis is to use the experience gained from this exercise to further expand this field of research. Various cultures in South Africa will be investigated in terms of their historical consciousness to be able to draw comparisons between them and to make recommendations with regard to the possibilities of cultural integration.

## 1.3 METHOD OF RESEARCH

The study comprises of two methodological components, i.e. a theoretical study through a literature analysis of the concept of historical consciousness (chapter 2) and of cultural diversity in South Africa (chapter 3), and an empirical study by means of a questionnaire of differences in historical consciousness between different cultures (chapters 4 and 5).

The available literature on historical consciousness as a theoretical concept and on the diverse forms of cultural identity in South African society has been studied. The following data bases were used:

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<sup>1</sup> H.H. Yang, *et al.*, *The theory and method of history education*, pp. 529-530.

- RSAT (South African journals)  
 SANB (South African books)  
 PAIS (Public Information Service)  
 INEG (Instituut vir Eietydse Geskiedenis - newspaper clippings)  
 GKPV (Gesamentlike Katalogus van Proefskrifte en Verhandelings - catalogue of theses and dissertations)

The Theses and materials of KOREA

Humanities Index

Social Sciences Index.

Jörn Rüsen's *Studies in metahistory* (1993) was particularly useful in this study and Rüsen's insights, particularly his typology of historical consciousness and his ideas about the functions of historical consciousness and narrative as medium of historical consciousness, form the basis of some of the subsections in chapter 2. He is one of the foremost European experts in the field of theoretical history and, having been involved in research programmes in South Africa, he possesses thorough background knowledge of the South African situation.

A foremost proponent of theoretical history among South African historians is Pieter Kapp. His suggestions about the operationalisation of historical consciousness in the South African context have been extensively used in chapter 2.

There are many Korean scholars who have researched the concept of historical consciousness. The two foremost proponents of historical consciousness in Korea are J. Kim and W.S. Lee. These two history-pedagogists have systematically studied the concept of historical consciousness from the perspective of historical education, incorporating ideas from the work of C.H. Lee, Y.H. Kim, K.J. Han, and S.Y. Jung, who have researched the concept of historical consciousness, the problem of historical consciousness, the development of historical consciousness and the teaching of historical thinking. Their contribution is reflected in Chapter 2.

Erika Coetzee's *Stereotypes in contemporary South African cultural discourses* (Masters thesis, University of Stellenbosch) and M. Cross's *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (Doctoral thesis, University of Witwatersrand) were used extensively in Chapter 3. Coetzee explains the social relationship

structure of all cultural groups in South Africa in a way relevant to my own research, while Cross's study is useful to grasp the strands of South African ideologies and consciousness.

The method of the empirical study will be explained in detail in chapter 4.

#### **1.4 SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF THESIS**

The thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter and sets out the aims of the study, the necessity for such a study, the method used (particularly with regard to the theoretical literature study) and also contains a synoptic overview of the contents of the different chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 are based on the literature study and serve as a theoretical background to the empirical study which is covered in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The second chapter is a theoretical chapter about the concept of historical consciousness. Various aspects of historical consciousness - its development, structure, functions, importance, relationship with history education, etc. - are discussed. It serves as an extended definition of what is understood by historical consciousness. Chapter 3 investigates the contending cultural identities of the range of cultural groups forming the multicultural South African society. This investigation is done mainly in terms of language, class, gender and religious diversity. The ideal of nation-building, it is the formation of some sort of national identity, is stated and its feasibility evaluated. The significance of history education in the process of nation-building is emphasised. In chapter 4 the method which was followed in the empirical study by means of a questionnaire is set out in detail. Chapter 5 forms the core of the thesis, because it contains the analysis and evaluation of the results of the empirical study. Chapter 6 consists of the conclusions and recommendations.

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## CHAPTER 2

# THEORETICAL STUDY OF THE CONCEPT OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

### 2.1 THE CONCEPT OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

"The past cannot exist as an object apart from the consciousness of it".<sup>1</sup> This statement by Anthony Kemp emphasizes the importance of historical consciousness. It implies that the past can never be brought back as a physical reality, but exists as a mental consciousness. Historians interested in the theoretical and philosophical aspects of history have realized the importance of an understanding of the concept of historical consciousness.

What does the concept of historical consciousness (alternatively called historical awareness or a historical sense) entail? The term "historical consciousness" is a compound of the words "history" and "consciousness". The word history can be traced back to the Greek word "istoria", which originally meant inquiry or research or, in its extended meaning, knowledge obtained as a result of inquiry.<sup>2</sup> "History" has acquired several principal and subsidiary meanings. Some of the principal meanings are (1) events that happened in the past, (2) written accounts of past events, or (3) the activity of historians in studying and writing accounts of historical events.

"History" is sometimes linked to the mental process of thinking about the past or (re)imagining the past. One of the subsidiary meanings of history involves conceptions of historical events. Idealist philosophers believe that external events have no real existence other than our knowledge of them.<sup>3</sup> History is also regarded as collective memory, the storehouse of experience through which people develop a sense of their social identity and their future prospects.<sup>4</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal speaks of "the dammed up force of our mysterious ancestors within us" and of "piled up layers of accumulated collective memory" which acts as a conscious or unconscious influence on

<sup>1</sup> A. Kemp, *The estrangement of the past: A study in the origins of modern historical consciousness*, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> P. Bagby, *Culture and history: Prolegomena to the comparative study of civilizations*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> P. Bagby, *Culture and history: Prolegomena to the comparative study of civilizations*, pp. 25-26, 68, 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, p. 1.

the decisions of individuals as well as on the collective action of the great social forces that move in history, that is, there are basic historic experiences that clearly affect the mentality of groups, and can give rise to conflicting attitudes or lead to lasting antagonisms within a nation.<sup>5</sup> The links between the actual events of the past, human mental conceptions of those events, and the recording of the past by historians are clear.

Rauche (1990) defines historical consciousness as an awareness of a person's current socio-political position being conditioned by a string of historical events of the past, events of a cultural, social and political nature. The contingent nature of man's historical experience is demonstrated by the fact that it is the product of what Hegel has designated as *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of the age.<sup>6</sup>

Rüsen defines historical consciousness as "the general category that deals not only with the learning and teaching of history, but covers every form of historical thinking: through it one experiences the past and interprets it as history. Its analysis thus covers historical studies as well as the use and function of history in private and public life".<sup>7</sup> In the narrow sense historical consciousness refers to the self-conscious attitude and methodology of the "scientific historian". The phrase can also be taken in the more general sense of an understanding of man and reality in historical categories.<sup>8</sup>

As was stated above the past cannot exist as an object apart from the consciousness thereof. History, according to Marcus, serves the phenomenology of mind presenting in a temporal order the forms of consciousness and sensibility that man has experienced. It exhibits in sequential arrangement the accumulated range of world views and conceptions of self-identity by which man has lived. History treats the forms of conscious being as "lived realities" that men have actually undergone, and it approaches the modes of unity not as detached ideas to be grasped but as felt states of mind, concretely shaped by the cultural and temporal conditions of their existence. Its object is to reveal the modes of order and the manifestations of disorder of the human state.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> T. Schieder, "The role of historical consciousness in political action", *History and Theory*, vol. 17, no. 4, 1978, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> G.A. Rauche, "The concept of history", *Historia*, vol. 35, no. 1, May 1990, pp. 14-15.

<sup>7</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> L.W. Gibbs & W.T. Stevenson, (eds.), *Myth and the crisis of historical consciousness*, p. vii.

<sup>9</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral consciousness*, p. 205.

From the above it is clear that historical consciousness is linked to a range of mental processes. The general concept of "consciousness" mentioned here indicates a kind of psychological function and self-consciousness entailing "intelligence", "emotion" and "will", and a mental experience of "feeling", "sensitivity", "sense", "emotion", "volition", etc. Consciousness means that man is aware of his own existence, feeling, thinking and circumstances. In other words, it means the feeling and thinking in his own mind, and the psychological content expressed in his own actions.<sup>10</sup>

Historical consciousness is viewed as not only a mental phenomenon containing wisdom, emotion and justice but an awakening of the self.<sup>11</sup> It is a psychological process leading to a consciousness of existence that enables one to orientate oneself historically.<sup>12</sup> R.G. Collingwood stated that historical consciousness based on historical thought was self-consciousness and reflective actuality of self-existence.<sup>13</sup> Historical consciousness is "the experience of seeking to give meaning to our lives, of trying to understand the history of which we can become the active agents".<sup>14</sup>

Through historical consciousness the self is linked to the group. Historical individuality takes on shape and form by depending upon the broader group's memories. The requirements of group identity and legitimacy emerge through the medium of history. It is understood that the conception of historical individuality is formulated through the greater human groups and that a self-recognition through a person's life becomes meaningful only in the context of the bigger human group.<sup>15</sup>

Historical consciousness is considered by Brightman as a culturally and historically conditioned construct. History is unquestionably relative to the social situation of the

<sup>10</sup> C.H. Lee, "Content of historical consciousness and education of history", *Education for the Social Affairs Division*, vol. 22, August 1989, p.307; A.L. Kim, *A study on the development of historical consciousness of middle school pupils* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Chungbuk University, Chungju, Korea, 1993, p. 4.)

<sup>11</sup> J. Kim, "A survey on the development of historical consciousness; Centering around elementary school children", *Kwangju Teacher's College, A collection of learned papers*, vol. 12, 1976, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> K.J. Han, "History understanding: Teaching methods for the development of historical consciousness", M.H. Lee, (ed.), *Lee Won Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60th birthday*, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> R.G. Collingwood, *The idea of history*, pp. 7-10.

<sup>14</sup> H.J. Kaye, "Historical consciousness and storytelling: John Berger's Fiction", *Mosaic*, vol. 16, no. 4, 1983, p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> M.H. Lee, "Historical consciousness of postwar generation: looking through history and history education", C.S. An & I.S. Choi, (eds.), *The sense of value and ideology of postwar generation*, pp.16-17.

historian.<sup>16</sup> Historical consciousness depends on the cultivation not only of a certain imagination, but of a certain kind of memory. It should be evident that the kind of memory nourishing historical consciousness involves something more than mechanism: we do not enter into the past through causality alone but through sudden mental "jumps" of recognition, activating a kind of sympathetic or interested participation. The functions of remembering, therefore, transcend space and time and mechanical causality. As the child's experiences are remembered by the grown-up man, a new dimension occurs and this is what the evolution of historical consciousness is all about. Historical knowledge is potential, not only actual: historical recognition is the actual perception of something about which we already know something; it is the development of potential knowledge at the conscious level. The remembered past is, of course, miniscule when compared to the entire past, but there is not very much difference between the nature of our knowledge of those fragments of the past that we personally "witnessed" and of our understanding of those that we had not.<sup>17</sup>

The basic theoretical orientation of this study comes from careful analysis of existing theories of historical consciousness. The various components of historical consciousness, as identified by authors who investigated the concept, will first be analyzed and then an attempt will be made to summarize these components in some form of working definition of the concept.

## **2.2 THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF AWARENESS OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN HUMAN SOCIETY**

In a survey of the course of development which historical thinking has taken since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible to discern three main shifts in the modernization process.

- The first was brought about by Enlightenment. It moved the human capacity of reason to the centre of the historical stage by making reason the criterion of historical judgment for the subject of historical understanding. For its object, similarly, it placed human cultural achievements, made possible by reason, at the centre.

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<sup>16</sup> R.A. Brightman, "Primitivism in Mississippi Cree historical consciousness", *Man*, vol. 25, no. 1, March 1990, p. 109.

<sup>17</sup> J. Lukacs, *Historical consciousness of the remembered past*, pp.340-341.

- The second shift, begun by late Enlightenment, was brought to full completion within historicism. This new pattern highlighted the aspect of change, making it the dimension which was truly meaningful and of consequence for the orientation of human actions. Hegel made an in-depth study of historical consciousness for the purpose of understanding history on the whole. His intention was to understand man from the viewpoint of historical consciousness, which he saw as a kind of dialectic experience, a speculative reasoning regarding the realm of objective consciousness.<sup>18</sup> During this phase in the development of historical thinking the rapid expansion of compulsory education in the Western world disseminated all kinds of historical information among millions of people, especially when history as a subject was taught for the first time at almost all levels of schooling. About 150 years ago the historical approach became a form of thought, implying that it is possible to study everything (including history) through its historical development. Meinecke called it "the greatest spiritual revolution which Western thought has undergone" in modern times. In 1936 Huizenga said that "historical thinking has entered our very blood".<sup>19</sup>
- The third shift, originating towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was effected by a development in historical thought exemplified by Marxism, the Annales school, and social and structural history. A new social depth in historical experience was tapped by turning the historical perspective from events driven by purposive human action to focus instead on changing constellations of factors conditioning action, and their systematic interconnections. During the last 100 or 120 years two complementary intellectual developments have both compromised and retarded a fuller recognition of what the historical form of thought may mean for the awakening consciousness in the Western world. First, the historical form of thought became confused in many minds with the deterministic concept of progress. Second, the emerging concept of history as science gradually replaced the previous practice of history as literature.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Y.H. Kim, "A critical study of Hegel's history consciousness", *The Educational Development Research Institute*, no. 11, February 1991, pp. 129-132.

<sup>19</sup> J. Lukacs, *Historical consciousness or the remembered past*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>20</sup> J. Lukacs, *Historical consciousness or the remembered past*, pp. 18-19.

To sum up, ever since its first definite emergence about three centuries ago, the evolution of historical consciousness may have developed through the following phases:

Eighteenth century: History as literature; the narrated past.

Nineteenth century: History as science; the recorded past.

Twentieth century: A dual development: on the surface, history as a social science; the ascertained past. But, in a deeper and wider sense: history as a form of thought; the remembered past.<sup>21</sup>

All three shifts represent epochs in the rationalization of historical thought. Through rationalization, such thought takes on its distinctive shape, fashions its own self-image and, of course, acquires the prestige of science. Thus history, as an independent discipline equipped with its own methods and disciplinary identity, evolved.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.3 CONTEMPORARY CRISIS IN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Twentieth century developments have led to a crisis in historical consciousness. It is not only a crisis of historical knowing, but a crisis of historical meaning as well. The more it seems that we cannot learn the lessons of the past, the less we are in a position to fathom their relevance for us.<sup>23</sup>

The most powerful challenge to historical consciousness has been the work of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung and their followers. They have challenged ideas essential to post-Enlightenment historical consciousness: history is linear and future-oriented; it proceeds on the basis of rational cause and effect; it is the privileged form of human understanding. Freud and Jung showed that an exclusively linear, empirical, rationalized appreciation of experience is simplistic.

A second major challenge to historical consciousness is the general social and cultural experience in the West since World War I. Global wars, genocides and betrayals seem to have caused a distaste for the study of history. The dramatist Samuel Beckett referred

<sup>21</sup> J. Lukacs, *Historical consciousness or the remembered past*, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp. 226-227.

<sup>23</sup> J.L. Esposito, *The transcendence of history: Essays on the evolution of historical consciousness*, p. 88.

to the "accursed time".

A third challenge to traditional perceptions of historical consciousness was posed by the history of religions, which showed that most religions and cultures do not depend upon historical consciousness for their ordering of experience in the modern Western way. This development has had the effect of relativizing historical consciousness, and challenges its claim to be a privileged form of understanding.<sup>24</sup>

Psychoanalysis, twentieth century social and cultural experience, and the history of religions have thus brought about a crisis in historical consciousness. We are not experiencing the demise of historical consciousness, but must realize that the way in which we have come to conceptualize that consciousness is seriously inadequate.

The historical mode of modern consciousness has been called into question. Attacks have been launched against "the terror of history" and "the tyranny of modern historical consciousness". The so-called counter-culture has called into question both the conventional scientific worldview and the conventional interpretation of reality and the being of man as historical in nature. Various protests have been raised against the imperialism of modern historical consciousness.<sup>25</sup>

#### **2.4 DIFFERING CONCEPTIONS OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA**

Perceptions of historical consciousness are culturally determined. From the following examples it can be deduced that conceptions of historical consciousness in Europe, Asia and Africa differ.

The intellectual, cultural and philosophical elements are emphasised in the European perspective. Rösen argues that historical consciousness cannot merely be equated with the simple knowledge of the past. Historical consciousness structures historical knowledge as the medium for understanding the present and for anticipating the future. It can be analyzed as a coherent set of mental operations that define the peculiarity of historical thinking and the function it plays in human culture.<sup>26</sup> This links up with Collingwood's statement that historical consciousness is the experience of historical

<sup>24</sup> L.W Gibbs & W.T. Stevenson, (eds.), *Myth and crisis of historical consciousness*, p. vii.

<sup>25</sup> L.W Gibbs & W.T. Stevenson, (eds.), *Myth and crisis of historical consciousness*, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> J. Rösen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp. 195-197.

thinking, reflection on it, self-consciousness and insight into its historical existence.<sup>27</sup>

Marcus explains historical consciousness as man's "peculiar power to project a self-reflective temporal sensibility upon the world around him, and to transfer the temporal organization of his own experiences to the ordering of the collective life of the community". The basic temporal dimensions of historical thought - origins and development, growth and decline, rise and fall, stasis and process, being and becoming - are all extrapolations from this self-reflection and personal memory.<sup>28</sup>

The primary function of historical consciousness is to provide a frame of reference for the integration and valuation of experiences. Furthermore it provides an intimation of meaning in things and of purpose to life for the individual, while it furnishes the community with a unifying value orientation and the continuity of its identity.

Historical consciousness provides insight into the "relatedness" of things in the perspective of their participation in the continuum of time. In this form, the historical sense posits a "teleological view of an historical becoming", which assumes the future-directedness of a person's consciousness of history. The various types of historical teleologies are all based on the sense of a merger of being and becoming, or on the idea that becoming approaches, in a non-cyclical movement or linear time dimension, the eschatological finality of ultimate being.<sup>29</sup>

Modern historical consciousness is founded upon a dialectical awareness of the relationship between human actuality and human potentiality, an awareness that present events are meaningful only as they are measured against a larger vision of what man has been and what he can become.<sup>30</sup>

In the Asian context the psychological and educational components are highlighted by Korean and Japanese scholars. Before the advent of scientific history historical consciousness meant a simple consciousness regarding the past or history gradually formulated in the mind of an individual in the process of psychological development.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> R.G. Collingwood, *The idea of history*, pp. 7-10.

<sup>28</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral consciousness*, pp. 192-193.

<sup>29</sup> J.T. Marcus, "The consciousness of history", *Ethics*, vol. 73, no. 1, October 1962, p. 38.

<sup>30</sup> L. Tremaine, "Historical consciousness in Stepleton and Malraux", *Science-Fiction Studies*, vol. 11, July 1984, p. 131.

<sup>31</sup> J. Kim, "A survey on the development of historical consciousness: Centering around elementary school children", *Kwangju Teacher's College: A collection of learned papers*, vol. 12, 1976, pp. 89-90.

Historical consciousness may be regarded as the awakening of an historical sense, which starts before history teaching impacts on the intellectual and psychological development of the individual and becomes the basis of historical understanding.<sup>32</sup> As historical consciousness develops it enables a person to distinguish between the past and the present in terms of differences.<sup>33</sup> An evolving historical consciousness develops the ability to understand causal relations, periodic structures, and development, and fosters historical criticism.<sup>34</sup> Through historical consciousness it becomes possible for the individual to evaluate historical facts according to the particular *Zeitgeist* in which they occurred<sup>35</sup> and imbue them with significance for the contemporary situation.<sup>36</sup> Much emphasis is placed on historical consciousness as a self-discovering consciousness which functions as a means of enabling individuals to take part in society in such a way that they can survive and prosper.<sup>37</sup> It helps a person's own existential "I" to recognize his/her historical nature.<sup>38</sup> As existential consciousness and self-concept it becomes the foundation of human behavior.<sup>39</sup> It facilitates participation and solidarity in society.<sup>40</sup> As a social construction historical consciousness is changeable, creative and future-directed.<sup>41</sup> It implies that the past is retrospectively viewed from the contemporary position at a certain point in time. The purpose is to connect the present society with the past and the future.<sup>42</sup> It facilitates problem-solving on the basis of a recognition of historical realities.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> J. Kim, "A survey on the development of historical consciousness: Centering around middle school students", *Kwangju Teacher's College: A collection of learned papers*, vol. 14, 1977, p. 235.

<sup>33</sup> M.H. Lee, "History and a sense of sovereignty", *The Korean History Education Review*, no. 13, 1970, p. 131.

<sup>34</sup> Japanese Social Affairs Division Education Association, *Research of historical consciousness*, pp.708.

<sup>35</sup> Lecturers' Meeting for History Education, *History Education*, p.9.

<sup>36</sup> Y.H. Kim, "The study on historical consciousness' structure of high school students", *The Korean History Education Review*, no. 21, 1977, p.5.

<sup>37</sup> Y.C. Kim, "Study on the goal of history education: Centering around education course of elementary, middle and high school", *The Korean History Education Review*, no. 17, 1975, p.23.

<sup>38</sup> J.H. Choi, *Philosophy of history*, p.232.

<sup>39</sup> K.J. Han, "History understanding: Teaching methods for the development of historical consciousness", M.H. Lee (ed.), *Lee Won Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*, p.912.

<sup>40</sup> S.S. Kim, "Does it have historical consciousness?", *Monthly Chosun*, January, 1981, p.119.

<sup>41</sup> U.C. Kang, "History education and historical consciousness", *The Korean History Education Review*, no. 24, 1978, pp.140-141.

<sup>42</sup> B.S. Cha, "A theatrical performance and historical consciousness", *Journal of the National Academy of Arts*, vol. 23, December 1984, p.216.

The African understanding of historical consciousness focuses on its pragmatic usefulness in terms of the development of skills. P.H. Kapp, a South African historian, identifies the following main components of the development of a historical consciousness:

- The development of a chronological sense and perspective by which a sensitivity is acquired for the relation between historical phenomena and events and the time and context in which they occur.
- The development of an understanding of the special nature of the historical process of cause and effect, continuity and change, similarity and difference, in order that the unique and general aspects of historical phenomena and events are taken into account.
- The fostering of both an historical open-mindedness regarding issues and phenomena and a critical appreciation of the value of historical heritage and the role of tradition.
- The development of insight into and understanding of the historical background of contemporary problems and phenomena.
- A national and international vision by means of which knowledge and understanding of the interdependence and the uniqueness of human relations on micro and macro level are acquired.<sup>44</sup>

A person will possess the abovementioned abilities to the degree in which his/her historical consciousness is developed.

N.S. Kekana defines historical consciousness from the perspective of a black South African as "one's own history, that one belongs to a particular nation with a past; and the role it plays in the world, and one's own contribution".<sup>45</sup> The past of black people is mainly presented through oral tradition, which therefore forms the core of their historical consciousness. Their historical experience being different to that of Europeans, blacks have evinced a form of historical consciousness which is unique to them<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> The Ministry of Education, *Explanation on teaching course of history subject at high school*, p.131.

<sup>44</sup> P.H. Kapp, *Standpunt oor geskiedenis en geskiedenisonderrig in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing* (ongep. Referaat, Geskiedeniskommissie van die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, Pretoria, 9 Februarie 1996, p.2).

<sup>45</sup> N.S. Kekana, *African languages and the development of historical consciousness among the black people*, p.1.

<sup>46</sup> N.S. Kekana, *Proposal on historical consciousness among the black people*, p.2.

## 2.5 THE STRUCTURE OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

On the surface historical consciousness does not seem particularly structured. It is sometimes suggested that history is only "common sense". However, our knowledge of the past is as structured as our knowledge of the phenomenal world. Historical consciousness has structural elements including consciousness of differences between the past and present, of cause and effect, of change, advance and historical development. Historical consciousness includes aspects such as consciousness of the flow of time, of changes in human thought, of human relationships, of historical transition, of the psychological and spiritual aspects of human aspirations, and of historical issues.<sup>47</sup>

The structure of historical consciousness is discussed in detail in the next section:

### 2.5.1 Consciousness of time

Time is the essence of history. History without a time dimension is impossible. History is an account of human activities through time in a social and natural environment. History does not occur in a vacuum; each act in the historical drama has a certain stage and a particular setting. History is predicated upon a time-dimension, and time is a measure of change while progress is patterned change.<sup>48</sup>

The basis of historical consciousness is an understanding of time. This includes an understanding of the definition of time, of chronology, of duration/length of time and of time perspective. Some concepts about time are simple (e.g. yesterday as opposed to today), others are more complicated and encompassing (e.g. concepts such as modern, century, the past).<sup>49</sup> Time in history is not a simple physical aspect.<sup>50</sup> It should be illuminated from the point of change to infuse it with historical meaning.<sup>51</sup> An awareness of change in human life with the flow of time should be stimulated:

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<sup>47</sup> W.S. Lee & J.I. Lee, *The theory and reality of history education*, p.61.

<sup>48</sup> D.F. McCall, *African in time-perspective: A discussion of historical reconstruction from unwritten sources*, pp. 130-133.

<sup>49</sup> S.Y. Jung, *Survey of systematization characteristics of history contents in social studies education*, p.166.

<sup>50</sup> W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *An essay on history education*, p.156.

<sup>51</sup> S.Y. Jung, Contents of history education for student's development approaches, *New Educator*, vol. 386, December 1986, p.70.

"The cardinal features of historical thinking reflect an interest in the dimension of time in human life. The historian approaches the past through the categories of diversity, change and continuity in time."<sup>52</sup>

The range of recognition of the concept of time is part of the cognitive development of a child. Human beings show differences regarding the conceptualization of time according to levels of intellectual maturity. At the age of 5-6 years old a child is able to distinguish between today and tomorrow. By 11 years a child has a perception of chronicles. The concept *era* or *time* becomes operational at senior primary or secondary school level.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.5.2 Consciousness of transition

History enables man to develop a sense of the depth of time. He learns that all things are transient and that not only generations, but also nations and civilizations succeed one another.<sup>54</sup>

The consciousness of transition is rooted in time consciousness. It implies the ability to recognize change and development which occurs in society with the flow of time.<sup>55</sup> This ability does not include a knowledge of social facts and phenomena and their significance and is therefore an artless (unsophisticated) ability that one reaches step by step. History education begins in earnest through the consciousness of transition.<sup>56</sup> Thus, the concept of transition is a very important foundation of history education.

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<sup>52</sup> T.R. Tholfsen, *Historical thinking: An introduction*, p.6.

<sup>53</sup> W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *An essay on history education*, p.156.

<sup>54</sup> F.A. van Jaarsveld & J.I. Rademeyer, *Theory and method of teaching history*, p.84.

<sup>55</sup> W.S. Lee, *The education of history department*, p.59.

<sup>56</sup> J. Kim, "A suvey on the development of historical consciousness: Centuring around middle school students", *Kwangju Teacher's College: A collection of learned papers*, vol. 14, 1977, p.238.

### 2.5.3 Consciousness of causation (causality, cause and effect)

E. H. Carr said, "The study of history is a study of causes."<sup>57</sup> The whole process of historical development is one of cause and effect. To develop the ability to determine causality is therefore essential for a contemplative faculty in history and thus for historical thinking.<sup>58</sup>

Each event has multiple causes. The ability to establish causation implies more than just identifying causes. It also implies the selection and prioritisation of causes in order to arrive at plausible generalizations about the nature of events and their relative position in the chain of causes and effects.

E.H. Carr said: "The hierarchy of causes, the relative significance of one cause or set of causes or of another, is the essence of historical interpretation."<sup>59</sup>

The development of consciousness of causality reaches a stage in the junior secondary school phase where students can begin to recognize the sequence of direct and indirect causality. This specific ability correlates with the general intellectual ability of individual students.<sup>60</sup>

### 2.5.4 Consciousness of periods

In order to understand the nature and scope of broad historical development and the significance of particular historical events within the framework of the time-structure of history it is essential for the historian and history student to be able to periodize. The ability to periodize is the ability to distinguish between historical periods in terms of an evaluation of the historical development of each period in a synthetic and broad

<sup>57</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is history?*, p.81.

<sup>58</sup> S.C. Yoon, "Causes of the problem in history lectures", M.H. Lee (ed.), *Lee Won Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*, p.856.

<sup>59</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is history?*, p.97.

<sup>60</sup> S.C. Yoon, "Causes of the problem in history lectures", M.H. Lee (ed.), *Lee Won Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*, p.862.

way.<sup>61</sup> Periodization is thus more than a mere chronological division of simple physical times.<sup>62</sup> It is a high-level historical consciousness, because it presupposes the ability to identify the important characteristics of individual periods in the context of the broader time-structure of history. It implies a capacity to understand the significance of individual events and place them in the context of their time, and then to proceed through a process of generalization to determine characteristics of periods.<sup>63</sup>

Because periodization implies an understanding of periods in terms of their political, economic, social and cultural features, the understanding of periods is very hard for primary school students and still open to misunderstanding to students in the senior primary and junior secondary school phases.<sup>64</sup> The intellectual development of students in the senior secondary phase is such that mature historical thought starts evolving.<sup>65</sup>

### 2.5.5 Consciousness of development

E.H. Carr said that "the essence of man as a rational being is that he develops his potential capacities by accumulating the experience of past generations. The transmission of acquired characteristics is the very foundation of social progress. History is progress through the transmission of acquired skills from one generation to another. History can be written only by those who find and accept a sense of direction in history itself. The belief that we have come from somewhere is closely linked with the belief that we are going somewhere. A society which has lost belief in its capacity to progress in the future will quickly cease to concern itself with its

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<sup>61</sup> C.Y. Song, "Considerations applications to the expansion of thinking power regarding the use of archival material", M.H. Lee (ed.), *Lee Won Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*, p.937.

<sup>62</sup> H.S. Cha, *Understanding of history*, pp.23-27.

<sup>63</sup> H.G. Son, *A study on the development of historical consciousness among Korean high school students* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Dan-Kook University, Seoul, 1980, p.9).

<sup>64</sup> J. Kim, "A survey on the development of historical consciousness: Centering around middle school students", *Kwangju Teacher's College: A collection of learned papers*, vol. 14, 1977, p.250.

<sup>65</sup> H.G. Son, *A study on the development of historical consciousness among Korean high school students* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Dan-Kook University, Seoul, 1988, p.10).

progress in the past.”<sup>66</sup>

The consciousness of historical development is linked to the idea of human progress. It implies the ability to recognize and evaluate from a developed vantage point the course of development of the human race from one period to the next, which has always been accompanied by continuous progress or improvement. To be able to trace development in various spheres of society is an important element of historical consciousness.

An understanding of the concept of development could be followed by the act of recognizing history as development. In the philosophy of history different viewpoints exist regarding the potential of the human race for progress. Some schools in the philosophy of history hold the optimistic view that there are infinite possibilities for upward human development till a utopian situation is reached. Other schools concede that there has been and will be scientific and technological development, but that this is not necessarily accompanied by moral or ethical development. Since history deals with how things have developed in human society from the earliest records through to the present the standard of development in the present constitutes the norm against which development stages are measured.<sup>67</sup>

## 2.6 RÜSEN'S TYPOLOGY OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In his suggested typology of historical consciousness Rüsen distinguishes between four types of historical consciousness based on four different principles for temporal orientation of life:

- The "traditional type" which affirms given orientations.
- The "exemplary type" which is based on the regularity of cultural patterns and life-patterns (*Lebensformen*).
- The "critical type" which implies identity formation by the force of negation.
- The "genetic type" which involves the transformation of topical orientating patterns.

<sup>66</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is history?*, pp.108, 126-127. .

<sup>67</sup> H.G. Son, *A study on the development of historical consciousness among Korean high school*

These are all brought about via the agency of historical memory. Historical consciousness works through the medium of memory.

These types can be described in terms of six elements and factors of historical consciousness:

1. the dominant experience of time;
2. the patterns of historical significance;
3. the mode of external orientation;
4. the mode of internal orientation;
5. the relation of historical orientation to moral values; and
6. its relation to moral reasoning.<sup>68</sup>

The following table summarizes Rsen's typology of historical consciousness:<sup>69</sup>

**Table 2.1: The four types of historical consciousness**

	<b>Traditional</b>	<b>Exemplary</b>	<b>Critical</b>	<b>Genetical</b>
Experience	Origin and repetition of an obligatory form of life	Variety of cases representing general rules of conduct or value-systems	Deviations problematizing actual forms of life and value-systems	Transformations of alien forms of life into proper ones
Patterns of historical significance	Permanence of an obligatory life form in temporal change	Timeless rules of social life, timeless validity of values	Break of temporal wholes by denying their validity	Developments in which forms of life change in order to maintain their permanence
Orientation of external life	Affirmation of pre-given orders by consent about a valid common life form	Relating peculiar situations to regularities of what had happened and should happen	Delimitation of one's own standpoint against pre-given obligations	Acceptance of different standpoints in a comprising perspective of common development
Orientation of internal life	Internalization of pre-given life forms by limitation-role taking	Relating self-concepts to general rules and principles-role legitimation by generalization	Self-reliance by refutation of obligations from outside-role making	Change and transformation of self-concepts as necessary conditions of permanence and self-reliance-balance of roles

<sup>68</sup> *students* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Dan-Kook University, Seoul, 1988, p.11).

<sup>68</sup> J. Rsen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp.69-76.

<sup>69</sup> J. Rsen, *Studies in metahistory*, p.81.

Relation to moral values	Morality is pregivenness of obligatory orders; moral validity is unquestionable stability by tradition	Morality is the generality of obligation in values and value systems	Breaking the moral power of values by denying their validity	Temporalization of morality-chances of further development become a condition of morality
Relation to moral reasoning	The reason of values is their effective pregivenness enabling consent in moral questions	Arguing by generalization, referring to regularities and principles	Establishing value-criticism and ideology-critique as important strategies of moral discourses	Temporal change becomes a decisive argument for the validity of moral values

## 2.7 NARRATIVE AS MEDIUM OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Narrative, the telling of a story, is an important element in the development of historical consciousness. Because of its strong narrative component Kemp regards historical writing fundamentally as a literary genre. In asserting that the past is a literary reconstruction, he assumes that historical consciousness is structured in the form of language. For Kemp narrative and consciousness are one.<sup>70</sup>

Rüsen investigates the "narrative competence" of historical consciousness, because the narrative is the linguistic form within which historical consciousness realizes its function of orientation. It is in narration, the telling of a story, that the human mind realizes the historical synthesis of the dimensions of time simultaneous with those of value and experience. Narration as a coherent form of communication is related to the historical identity of both the communicator and the receiver. Narrations are products of the human mind; with their help the persons involved place themselves in time in a way acceptable to themselves. The memory of historical consciousness is thus determined by the claims and will of the historians and their audience.<sup>71</sup>

The specific and essential competence of historical consciousness can, according to Rüsen, be characterized as "narrative competence", which boils down to "making sense of the past". He subdivides this competence into three different subcompetences:

<sup>70</sup> A. Kemp, *The estrangement of the past: A study in the origins of modern historical consciousness*, pp.vi-vii.

<sup>71</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp.65, 68.

- a) The "competence of experience", involving the capacity of learning how to look at the past and grasp its specific temporal quality, differentiating it from the present. In a more elaborate form it develops into "historical sensitivity".
- b) The "competence of interpretation", which denotes the ability to bridge time differences between past, present and future by a conception of a meaningful temporal whole comprising all time dimensions. This competence comprises the translation of experience of past actuality into an understanding of the present and expectations regarding the future, which forms the core of the meaning-creating activity of historical consciousness. Fundamentally this is the "philosophy of history" which shapes every historical thought.
- c) The "competence of orientation", which entails being able to utilize the temporal whole with its experiential content for the purposes of life-orientation. It involves guiding action by means of notions of temporal change and articulating human identity with historical knowledge.<sup>72</sup>

## 2.8 EXPERIENCE, INTERPRETATION AND ORIENTATION AS KEY ELEMENTS OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In his discussions on the subject of historical consciousness Rösen emphasizes these three elements of experience, interpretation and orientation. Through historical consciousness one experiences the past, interprets it as history, and receives life-orientation.<sup>73</sup>

These elements also feature in definitions of historical consciousness by other authors. Rauche contends that historical consciousness relates to human historical experience. Man has an historical consciousness, i.e. an awareness of his current sociopolitical position conditioned by a string of historical events of the past - events of a cultural, social and political nature.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> J. Rösen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp.68-69.

<sup>73</sup> J. Rösen, *Studies in metahistory*, p.195.

<sup>74</sup> G.A. Rauche, "The concept of history", *Historia*, vol. 35, no. 1, May 1990, p.14

Historical consciousness is, according to Wolman, culturally based and determined. It is shaped by the common experience of cultural groups. Therefore it is viewed in psychology as a sense of group identity and purpose coming from awareness of participation in history. Such consciousness develops only within certain segments of the cohort, the "elites" who come to see themselves as the agents to change the existing sociopolitical system.<sup>75</sup>

The element of interpretation also gets attention in definitions of historical consciousness. Marcus states that consciousness of history is expressed not in the knowledge of any particular set of historical occurrences, but as the "felt awareness" or "sensed truth" of being and becoming: the consciousness of process, essence, and time.<sup>76</sup> Historical consciousness is not limited to the knowledge of historical occurrences, but also involves the understanding of the relevance of these events and of historical concepts.

## 2.9 TYPICAL FUNCTIONS OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

How does this historical consciousness affect our thinking? Historical thinking may be applied consciously or otherwise – to every kind of human experience. We can describe and, consequently understand a person, a nation, any kind of human society, virtually any kind of human endeavour, not only through their material or spiritual, their physical or psychic characteristics but through their history. The history of a problem, of an idea, of a concept, of a theory may reveal its evolving diagnosis. There is no field of human action that may not be approached, studied, described, and understood through its history.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> B.B. Wolman, "Generational units and historical consciousness", *International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology, Psychoanalysis & Neurology*, vol. 5, pp.182-183.

<sup>76</sup> J.T. Marcus, "The consciousness of history", *Ethics*, vol. 73, no. 1, October 1962, p.28.

### 2.9.1 Historical consciousness, moral values and human behavior

Historical consciousness serves as a moral force in determining human behaviour.

Historical thought not only brings recognition of our own particular moral presuppositions, but it also relates them in a continuum. It makes it possible for us to connect the inevitably transitory values of different ages (including our own) into an ongoing "career" of man's moral sensibility.<sup>78</sup>

Rüsen explains the importance of historical consciousness in terms of its role in shaping moral values and reasoning, which in turn serve as guidelines for behaviour. According to him historical consciousness fulfills a mediating function between values and action: "When moral values are supposed to guide the actions we take in a given situation, we must relate them to this situation, and interpret the values and their moral content in respect to the actuality in which we apply them, and evaluate the situation in terms of our code of applicable moral values. For such a mediation between values and action-oriented actuality, historical consciousness is a necessary prerequisite."<sup>79</sup>

History's usefulness, however, could take two analytically separable forms. History could tell us how we ought to behave in terms of some moral system that had its own justification, or history could tell us how we ought to behave in terms of what has empirically been shown to work or not to work.<sup>80</sup>

Historical consciousness, Hawthorne insists, enables human beings to resist the self-reflexive prison of their own prejudiced perceptions. He wants to reveal the ways in which history mediates between the demon of psychological and cultural determinism and the emancipating saviour of moral free will.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> J. Lukacs, *Historical consciousness or the remembered past*, pp.5-6.

<sup>78</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral consciousness*, pp.157-158.

<sup>79</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp.66

<sup>80</sup> D.E. Brown, *Hierarchy, history, and human nature: The social origins of historical consciousness*, pp.335-336

<sup>81</sup> E.M. Budick, *Fiction and historical consciousness: The American romance tradition*, p.88

## 2.9.2 Historical consciousness as link between past, present and future

In fulfilling this mediating function between values and acting, historical consciousness serves as a link between past, present and future. Historical consciousness is not finite. It continues from the past, through the present, into the future.

The relational nature of past, present, and future is such that reference to one means reference to the other two. The past is past with respect to a present and the present is present with respect to the future.<sup>85</sup>

History is a symbolic system that local people divide into three stages: past, present and future. The past is the totality of closed cases of experience within which they situate their social and cultural identity. The past is constructed along rhetorical lines, viewed as a landscape pervaded by nurturance and growth. The past is fixed, determined, finished. It was progressive; it encompassed an image of life progressively opening up. Local culture is regarded as securely rooted in this past, the legitimate heir and offspring of that past, representing, the provisional endpoint of a natural, inevitable evolutionary pathway.

The present is history in the making, the sum and substance of everyday life. It lacks the definitive clarity of the past, for it is the unresolved here and now, history in process, the undertakings of particular individuals working hour by hour and day by day.

The future is altogether unclear in two senses: people do not know what it will contain, and they are often unwilling to speculate about it. They have no assurance that it will "happen" at all. Their one certainty is that history cannot continue as it has, the future will not continue to embody the shape of the past, as progressive and ever-advancing. The past as culturally conceived gives no clear indication as to the

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<sup>85</sup> *consciousness*, pp.240-241.  
J.L. Esposito, *The transcendence of history: Essays on the evolution of historical consciousness*, p.61.

Marcus argues that historical consciousness supplies the capacity to overcome the fear of annihilation by holding forth a vision of continuity and change charged with moral significance: a national or group identity and worth, a struggle to preserve civilization. Through the sense of history, man seeks perpetuation, he wants to identify with something he sees as good and thus finds redemption from extinction through self-transcendence in time. Historical thinking conveys infinity, continuity, "eternal life and serves as the universal preserver and link in the ongoing eternity of existence."<sup>82</sup>

The particular role of historical consciousness is to preserve the reality of moral sensibility by means of the individual's participation in some specific ethical value.<sup>83</sup> The task of historical-mindedness is to provide the frame of reference, in which a person develops his personal feeling of ethical obligation. The function of historicity becomes that of informing the individual of the unresolved human problem at hand. It is specifically "historical understanding" – be it consciously formulated or unconsciously transmitted – that defines the moral implications arising from the unfinished tasks confronting the community, as these are conceived in the cultural context of any given moment.

This function of historical knowledge makes us aware of the ethical implications of mythologies or ideal types.

The strengthening of ethical sensibility which presumes that a goal of man's ethical consciousness is the maximization of his moral concern, is the conception of history which has been formulated here. Our historical perspective on moral values includes ethical intention and judgement, preserving and perpetuating the quality of one's own humanity, and by indicating the concrete temporal forms of moral order that best serve the ongoing fulfillment of man's moral sensibility within the context of his particular culture.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral consciousness*, p.186.

<sup>83</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral consciousness*, pp.234-235.

<sup>84</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral*

content of the future which appears clouded.<sup>86</sup>

How has history developed in the chains of cause and effect of many historical events? How do past events influence the present day's history? And how will today's events influence the future? When we contemplate these questions we become aware that the past is not a dead past, it is living now and affecting history in the future.<sup>87</sup>

George Herbert Mead states that the way in which a society comprehends its past is important in how that society builds its current values. Both Mead and Halbwachs believe that the past is "a social construction shaped by the concerns and needs of the present", because the past assists us in interpreting our present day reality. We learn that past events are celebrated "only when the contemporary society is motivated to define them as such". We remain indifferent to some of these events while commemorating other events which are imbued with an extraordinary significance in our conception of the past. Mead believes that the past always implies a present reality. It is only from the viewpoint of the present that we can recall the past. Since the present determines our conception of the past and future, it is safe to say that the past and future, like the present, are dynamic and subject to change. Mead states that the past is not "final and irrevocable" the structural meaning of the past is constructed on the basis of a given present. The validity of the past is situated in the position it occupies in society's shared collective memory or consciousness.<sup>88</sup>

Arnold Gehlen defines historical consciousness as the ability to recognize the epochal quality of an event that is happening now; in other words, to see the event with the eyes of future generations. For Gehlen the essence of historical consciousness lies not in merely remembering and transmitting the past, but in the way we see the present. Historical consciousness transcends the exclusive preoccupation with what happened in the past and has become history, and uses this knowledge as an element in shaping the thoughts and actions that will determine

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<sup>86</sup> S.W. Foster, *The past is another country: Representation, historical consciousness, and resistance in the Blue Ridge*, pp. 156-157.

<sup>87</sup> M.S. No, *The history of conversion*, pp.150-151.

<sup>88</sup> I. Osagie, "Historical memory and a new national consciousness: The Amistad revolt revisited in Sierra Leone", *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 38, Spring 1997, pp.64-66.

the future.<sup>89</sup>

Rüsen further clarifies the function of historical consciousness in linking past, present and future. He states that historical consciousness functions as a specific orientational mode in actual situations of life in the present: it functions to aid us in comprehending past actuality in order to grasp present actuality. However, historical consciousness goes beyond mediation between past and present actuality to also include a future dimension. It ties the past to the present in a manner which bestows on present actuality a future perspective: "Stated succinctly, history history is the mirror of past actuality into which the present peers in order to learn something about its future. Historical consciousness should be conceptualized as an operation of human intellection rendering present actuality intelligible while fashioning its future perspectives". In this respect historical consciousness therefore serves as a key orientational element, giving practical life a temporal frame and matrix, a conception of the "course of time" flowing through the mundane affairs of daily life. It brings the three dimensions of time closely together and fulfils the practical function of orientating a person towards time. Historical consciousness thus forms a crucial link between past, present and future.<sup>90</sup>

Although the study of history deals with events of the past, its objectives are also related to the future in as much as it attempts to address the need of human society for future progress. Therefore, when we study history, we strive after obtaining correctness in terms of the reconstruction of the past to come to accurate judgements about history, which might also provide clues to anticipating future developments.

In "historical ideals" a past condition is taken to serve as the model for present action and future aspirations. The ideal order is invested in some anticipated future state that arise out of the past, yet marks a new historical dispensation. Whatever its particular form, the historical formulation presupposes a linkage of the aspirations of

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<sup>89</sup> Cited in T. Schieder, "The role of historical consciousness in political action", *History and Theory*, Vol. 17, no. 4, 1978, p.1.

<sup>90</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp.66-67.

the future to the experiences of the past.<sup>91</sup> Historical knowledge is required to understand where history is moving. Judging from such a point of view, the requirement for history is more future-fixed than past-fixed.<sup>92</sup> Focused on the past, the consciousness of history nonetheless becomes essentially future-oriented. The future-oriented approach finds its most characteristic expressions in the philosophies of various intellectual circles.<sup>93</sup>

If the relevance of historical knowledge for future progress is acknowledged, then it follows that the study of history also plays a part in national development. The history of a nation is the heritage that has been passed on about the people of the country. A nation without history would not be able to exist and develop. The continued study of history, therefore, has particular relevance for the existence and development of a nation.

The present is the result of the past and the origin of the future. The present cannot be explained without recourse to the past. History is not taught merely for the sake of the past, but also with a view to explaining the present and providing the answers to questions on current events. By throwing light on these problems the roots of present day events are exposed and the past itself is explained, it, too, becomes of "topical" importance in the light of the present. History develops a sense of personal responsibility for the solution of important national problems.<sup>94</sup>

The time structure of historical consciousness shows a complicated and changing relationship of anticipation of the future, interpretation of the past and understanding of the present. It fulfills functions like justification, orientation and discovery of identity. One can therefore expect the common past to be differently interpreted, according to divergent premises and visions. The perspective of the future that a group has, will determine its interpretation of the past and its concept of the present.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral consciousness*, pp.178-179.

<sup>92</sup> M.S. No, *The history of conversion*, pp.152-155.

<sup>93</sup> J.T. Marcus, *Sub specie historiae: Essays in the manifestation of historical and moral consciousness*, p.27.

<sup>94</sup> F.A van Jaarsveld & J.J. Rademeyer, *Theory and method of teaching history*, pp.84-85, 88.

<sup>95</sup> F.A. van Jaarsveld, *Historical consciousness and the reinterpretation of history*, Publication

### 2.9.3 Historical consciousness, temporal orientation and identity

There is no doubt that historical consciousness is a crucial element of human identity. But how is historical consciousness linked to human identity?

History is the record of the development of changing cultures of mankind.<sup>96</sup> Historical studies should not lose sight of its cultural function in the social process of forming historical identity.<sup>97</sup> The proper study of history includes, principally, persons rather than social types, nations rather than classes, cultural rather than economic units.<sup>98</sup>

The practical function of historical consciousness, according to Rüsen, is to bestow upon actuality a "temporal orientation", which can guide action intentionally by the agency of historical memory. This orientation may occur either in external practical life or in the internal subjectivity of the actors. It contributes towards the formation of historical identity, through which the human self manages to extend itself beyond mere mortality and becomes part of a temporal whole larger than that of his/her personal life. National identity is another form of this "temporal mortality", whereby nations "project an unlimited future perspective embodying national self-assertion and development".<sup>99</sup> Historical consciousness thus has a bearing on the shaping of the identity of both the individual and the group/nation.

History is part and parcel of each and every culture and society, whether they are aware of it or not, accept or reject it, rebel against it or conform to it. As a collective memory history acts as a conscious or unconscious influence on the decisions of individuals as well as on the collective actions of the great social forces that move in history. Historic experience has a formative influence on and clearly affects the mentality of groups.<sup>100</sup>

Historical consciousness (1) gives us a standard of space and time of existence; (2)

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series of the University of Zululand, series no. B 76, p.21.

<sup>96</sup> M.S. No, *The history of conversion*, p.147.

<sup>97</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, p. 217.

<sup>98</sup> J. Lukacs, *Historical consciousness or the remembered past*, pp.172-173.

<sup>99</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp.67-68.

<sup>100</sup> P.H. Kapp, "Cultural context and historical text", *Yesterday and Today*, No. 34, October 1997, p.7.

helps us to form an image of the future, and (3) gives us a better understanding of men and women.

## **2.10 TOWARDS A WORKING DEFINITION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS**

Historical consciousness is an existential consciousness and self-conception which is formed in the mind of the individual as a result of the gradual acquisition of historical knowledge from childhood, and which makes him/her aware of his/her place in society and which enables him/her to function in society. The collective historical consciousness of the members of a cultural group bind them together in terms of attitudes and behaviour. Historical consciousness is socially constructed within a culture, it is complex and consists of a combination of psychological, ideological, cultural, religious, gender, class and other elements, and it is always evolving and developing in changing circumstances. It serves as link between past, present and future, and if positively channelled can be constructively used for problem-solving, social development, nation-building, etc.

## **2.11 HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORY TEACHING**

There is a very close relationship between historical consciousness and the didactical aspects of history, including both the teaching and learning of history. Rösen views the learning of history as one of the dimensions and manifestations of historical consciousness. Theoretically, argues Rösen, the didactics of history has to conceptualize historical consciousness as a structure and process of learning. It is essential for human development as it forms the core of the process of human socialization and individuation. It is important that ideas about historical consciousness should be related to the educational process.<sup>101</sup>

The relevance of an empirical study, such as the one on which this thesis is based, becomes clear when it is evaluated against Rösen's and similar views. If the importance of a proper conceptualization of historical consciousness for an effective approach to the didactics of history is grasped, then it follows that results from an empirical study into the nature of historical consciousness among a particular

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<sup>101</sup> J. Rösen, *Studies in metahistory*, p.197.

community will be useful in the development of teaching strategies aimed at that particular community, especially in the field of history teaching.

Historical consciousness must be taken into account in the teaching of history. Historical consciousness signifies a psychological, intellectual function which enables a person to understand and learn history.<sup>102</sup> History teaching and historical consciousness have a complementary relationship. Historical consciousness is the foundation and the objective of history teaching, whereas history teaching is in a sense the cradle of historical consciousness. Therefore, historical consciousness can be viewed from two perspectives in its relationship to history teaching: on the one hand as the base and the other as the aim of history teaching.<sup>103</sup>

#### **2.11.1 Historical consciousness as aspect of cognitive development**

The development of historical consciousness is linked to the cognitive development of a child. The various structural components of historical consciousness progressively develop with the intellectual ability of the young person.<sup>104</sup> Therefore it is necessary to take cognisance of cognitive development theory when studying the relationship between historical consciousness and history teaching. History education should be adapted to the level of experience and intellectual ability of students. Therefore the history teacher needs to be informed about the stages of cognitive development of students.

According to Piaget, the pioneer of cognitive development theory, there are four stages of intellectual development, which are sense (sensibility), physical exercise (movement), pre-manipulation (handling, operation) and concrete operation. Historical consciousness comes more strongly into play during the third developmental stage. Up to the age of 7-8 years in the pre-manipulation stage children are not able to think in a systematic way. At that age the ability to think systematically starts developing progressively. However, in the pre-manipulation

<sup>102</sup> K.K. Oh, *Additional research on the historical consciousness of primary school pupils*, p.52.

<sup>103</sup> H.G. Son, *A study on the development of Historical Consciousness among Korean High school students* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Dan-Kook University, Seoul, Korea, 1988), p.1.

<sup>104</sup> J.I. Lee, *et al.*, *Purpose of history education*, pp.58-60.

phase historical consciousness can be regarded as only in its primitive (fundamental) stage.<sup>105</sup>

At 12 years of age, in the phase of formal operations, children are able to think by utilizing propositions and hypotheses. They are now able to deal with abstract phenomena and develop the capacity to deal with their ideas in a critical way and to identify relationships among several factors. They can start dealing with theories about the present and future in inductive and deductive ways. Therefore, this stage can be regarded as the time when it becomes possible to develop the historical consciousness of students at higher levels. History teaching can at this stage be used to transmit historical consciousness.<sup>106</sup>

This transition from a lower to a higher level of historical consciousness is viewed by Peel as a transition from a technical to an explanatory mode.<sup>107</sup> The lower level technical mode is restricted to inductive thinking which deals with direct content or information, whereas the higher level explanatory mode includes deductive thinking utilizing ideas. The latter implies a more mature understanding of history.<sup>108</sup>

Many factors such as experience, knowledge and environment may influence both cognitive development and the development of historical consciousness. Cognitive development does not necessarily take place uniformly over the range of school subjects.<sup>109</sup> Discrepancies between cognitive development stages and the development of historical consciousness may occur. A proper understanding of history is complicated because the past cannot be physically re-enacted and has to be mentally reconstructed through a process of what Collingwood called imaginative reliving. Therefore, there is a probability that the development of historical consciousness could vary quite significantly from culture to culture and from person to person. It is in any case not advisable to directly apply deductions regarding

<sup>105</sup> H.E. Gruber & J.J. Voneche (eds.), *The essential Piaget*, pp.456-463. There are four main stages in the construction of operations, and these extend over the period from birth to maturity.

1. The Sensorimotor period (0 to 2 years)

2. Preoperational Thought (2 to 7 years)

3. Concrete Operations (7 to 11 years)

4. Propositional or Formal Operations (from 11-12 to 14-15 years).

<sup>106</sup> W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *An essay on history education*, p.61.

<sup>107</sup> E.H. Peel, "Intellectual growth during adolescence", *Educational Review*, vol.17, no. 3, June 1965, pp.171-172.

<sup>108</sup> W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *An essay on history education*, pp.152-153.

cognitive development to the level of historical consciousness before a proper empirical study of any particular cultural group has been made.

Although Piagetian cognitive development theory has been criticized and modified it remains a useful analytical tool. Its application to the concept of historical consciousness is not unproblematical, but there is without doubt a strong correlation between cognitive development stages and the development of historical consciousness.

Most research regarding the development of historical consciousness has focussed on the sequence in which students master structural elements of historical consciousness. Research of this nature has shown that historical consciousness develops gradually: first a consciousness of passion and endurance develops (1st-2nd grade in primary school), thereafter consciousness of past and present (3rd-4th grade), of transition (4th grade), of causality (5th grade), of periods (6th-7th grade), and of development (secondary school).<sup>110</sup> It is thus a gradual development from a crude consciousness of the difference between past and present to a progressively more sophisticated consciousness of more abstract components of historical consciousness. This development process coincides with the development stages to intellectual maturity.<sup>111</sup>

Historical consciousness can be broadened and intensified through history learning with the enlargement of a learner's experience range and intellectual development from the level of sub-historical consciousness to super-historical consciousness. Immature consciousness matures gradually.<sup>112</sup> Historical consciousness should therefore be cultivated step by step from the primary school level. Typically it occurs in the following aspects: first, before any history teaching students have some consciousness of their own of time and space<sup>113</sup>; secondly, social consciousness starts awakening which will later manifest as participation in society or the nation and

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<sup>109</sup> W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *An essay on history education*, p.154.

<sup>110</sup> C.Y. Song, "Considerations applicable to the expansion of thinking power regarding the use of archival material", M.H. Lee (ed.), *Lee Woon Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*, pp.931-932.

<sup>111</sup> W.S. Lee, *The education of history department*, p.60.

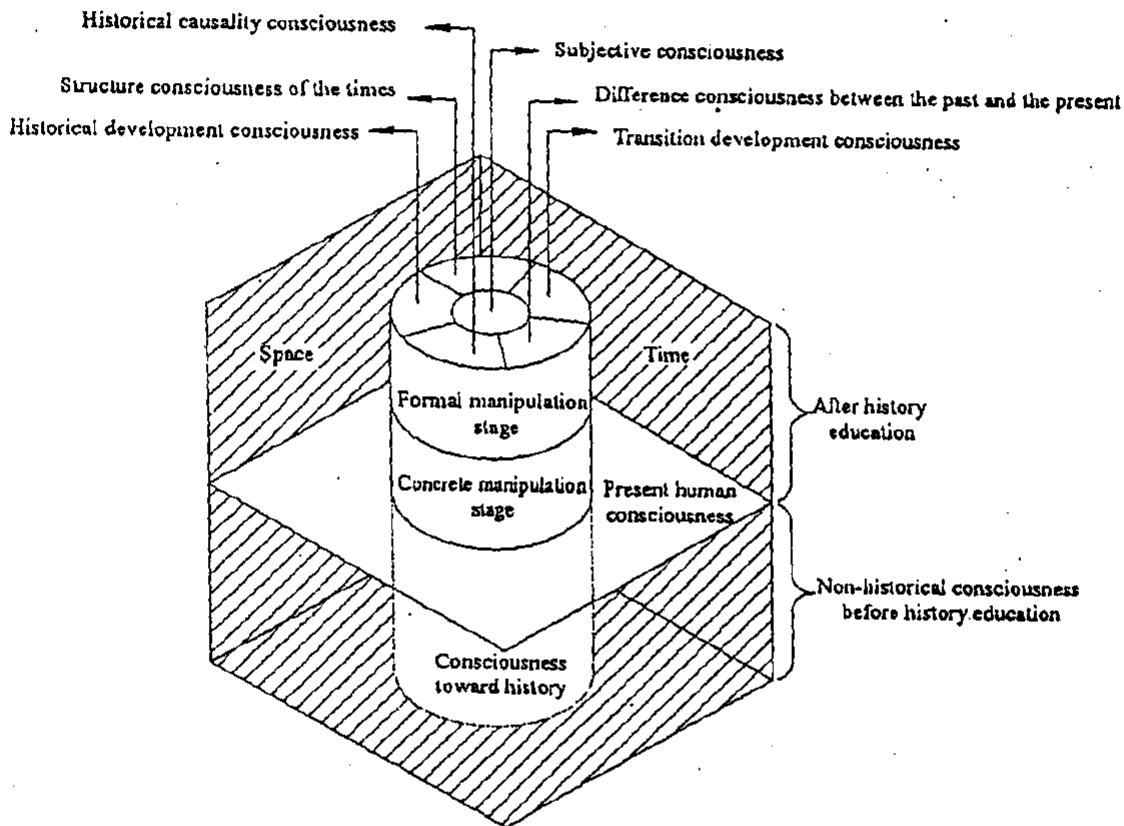
<sup>112</sup> J.I. Lee, *et al.*, *Purpose of history education*, pp.57-58.

<sup>113</sup> S.K. Kwon, *A study on the development of historical consciousness among Korean primary school students* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Yeon-Sai University, Korea, 1970), pp.45-61.

serve as a prompt to solve problems<sup>114</sup>; thirdly, an awareness of historical science emerges which pursues knowledge pertaining to actual facts<sup>115</sup>; fourthly, critical consciousness as a form of psychological consciousness develops, which compares and grasps the difference between the present times and former ones.<sup>116</sup>

Y.H. Kim explains historical consciousness as follows:<sup>117</sup>

**Diagram 1: The model of historical consciousness**



Historical consciousness starts to develop in the individual even before he/she has been exposed to formal history education. A certain practical consciousness is rooted in the basis of non-historical and psychological consciousness. Gradually historical consciousness develops from mere interest to an attempt at understanding historical development. Through history education historical consciousness is further

<sup>114</sup> H.M. Kil, *What is history?*, p.70.

<sup>115</sup> J.S. Choi, *Philosophy of history*, p.35.

<sup>116</sup> M.H. Lee, *Independent consciousness of history*, p.31.

<sup>117</sup> Y.H. Kim, "The study on historical consciousness' structure of high school students", *The Korean History Education review*, vol. 21, 1977, pp.4-5.

developed through the different phases as illustrated in the diagrams. In the course of the process a self-discovery consciousness and reflective behavior develop.

W.S. Lee discusses the development of historical consciousness<sup>118</sup> and argues that historical consciousness, in accordance with students' intellectual development, is gradually formed, developed, changed continually and systematically in a step-by-step manner.<sup>119</sup> Different schemes of the step-by-step development of historical consciousness have been suggested, most of them comprising roughly the same components.<sup>120</sup> They indicate that historical consciousness makes progress in serial order.

The basis of Piaget's cognitive development theory is that the development of thinking can be accomplished through the four main stages of the sensorimotor period, preoperational thought, concrete operations and propositional or formal operations.<sup>121</sup>

Other theories suggest that the development stages of historical consciousness cannot be distinctly classified, and that the components of historical consciousness would rather come out of students' thinking process almost at the same time than develop in serial order.<sup>122</sup>

We cannot state with absolute certainty that the components of historical consciousness develop through the regular stages. Individual differences in life experience and learning come into play.<sup>123</sup> With this in mind the following phased structure of historical consciousness is suggested:<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> W.S. Lee & J.I. Lee, *The theory and reality of history education*, p.61.

<sup>119</sup> W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *The education of history department*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>120</sup> W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *The education of history department*, pp. 58-60, 62; Y.H. Kim, "The study on historical consciousness' structure of high school students", *The Korean History Education Review*, no. 21, 1977, p.22; C.Y. Song & C.O. Lee, "Approach of the effective person guidance on the history education at the middle school: Centering around a theoretical basis study", *The Korean History Education Review*, no. 22, 1977, p.21; W.S. Lee, *et al.*, *An essay on history education*, p.348.

<sup>121</sup> H.E. Gruber & J.J. Voneche (eds.), *The essential Piaget*, pp.456-463.

<sup>122</sup> S.Y. Jung, "Content of historical consciousness and Education of history", *New Education*, vol. 386, December 1986, p.74.

<sup>123</sup> Japanese Social Affairs Division Education Association, *Research of historical consciousness*, p.225.

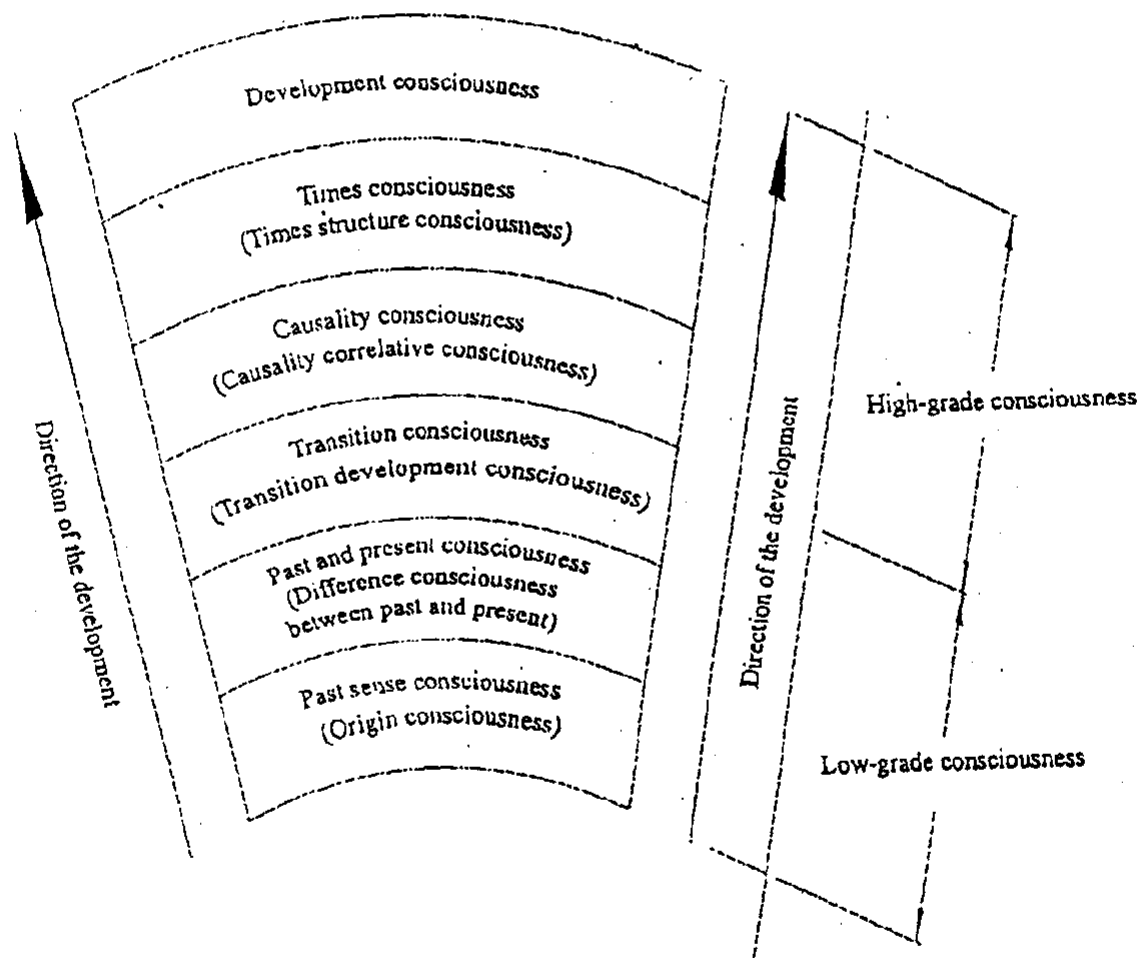
<sup>124</sup> C.S. Tag, *A study on historical consciousness of high school students in Kangweon-Do* (unp.

1. consciousness of origin
2. consciousness of differences between the present and the past;
3. transition consciousness;
4. consciousness of causality;
5. consciousness of time and periods;
6. development consciousness.

C.Y. Song distinguishes with reference to these phases between lower and higher order historical consciousness.<sup>125</sup>

This view of the structure of historical consciousness can be presented in the following schematic way.<sup>126</sup>

**Diagram 2: Development stage of historical consciousness**



M.A. dissertation, Kangweon National University, Chunchen, 1990), pp.7-8.

<sup>125</sup> C.Y. Song, "The study methods of historical materials for the extension of the historical thinking power", *Education for the Social Affairs Division*, vol. 2, 1986, p.32.

<sup>126</sup> C.S. Tag, *A study on historical consciousness of high school students in Kangweon-Do* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Kangweon National University, Chunchen, 1990), p.7.

Theories about the stage of historical development consciousness are somewhat tentative, because substantial research has not been undertaken. There is a need to expand empirical research in this field.

In practice the development of historical consciousness may not be quite so systematic and compartmentalized as theory suggests. More than one structural element of historical consciousness may at any given school level be developing simultaneously. There will be dissimilarities in this regard between individuals.<sup>127</sup>

### 2.11.2 The aims of history teaching

Rüsen emphasizes the importance of the didactics of history which deals with the teaching and learning of history. According to him teaching history affects learning history and the learning of history shapes one's ability to orientate oneself to life and to form a coherent and stable historical identity.<sup>128</sup> He relates the learning and teaching of history to the three key elements of historical consciousness which he identifies as experience, interpretation and orientation. According to him history teaching and learning is successful when it brings about an increase in the capacity to experience the human past, as well as an increase in the competency to give historical meaning to this experience, and in the ability to apply these historical meanings to the orientative frame of practical life. Historical teaching and learning must accommodate all three these dimensions within one model.<sup>129</sup>

Rüsen advocates historical didactics as a special discipline which join practice-oriented teaching and learning in the classroom to a theoretical consciousness of the processes and functions of historical consciousness in general.<sup>130</sup>

History teaching needs to be relevant to present-day needs. According to W.H. Burston history is about the past, but education is about the present and is concerned with improving present individuals by appropriate studies. Hence the

<sup>127</sup> S.Y. Jung, *Survey of systematization characteristics of history contents in social studies education*, p.168.

<sup>128</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, p.197.

<sup>129</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, pp.85-92.

<sup>130</sup> J. Rüsen, *Studies in metahistory*, p. iv (Introduction by Pieter Duvenage).

problem for historians and history teachers is how to demonstrate its relevance to the present in a sufficiently convincing manner to gain the interest of pupils and the support of colleagues.<sup>131</sup>

As far as the educational function of history is concerned, one view regards history as the whole of people's experience in the past which constitutes a knowledge system helping man to resolve issues.<sup>132</sup> If this view is correct history education can contribute towards the solution of national issues in a developmental and cooperative way.

F.A. van Jaarsveld and J.I. Rademeyer classify the aims of history education as follows:

- A civic background: Man is not merely an individual but is a member of a community, cultural group, nation and state. He is therefore involved in relations that are of more than a personal nature. He is a member of a party or church and a subject of a state. The teaching of history is aimed at establishing sound relations of a more than individual nature and at producing enlightened and useful citizens.
- A national background: The teaching of history should also aim at fostering in students loyalty towards and love of the country in which they live, and respect for the people who bear the burden of the state. The present generation and its predecessors have contributed towards the country's material, spiritual and cultural progress, and deserve our respect.
- A cultural background: The teaching of history is also concerned with the basic cultural aspects of present day life. Whereas a state consists of various national, cultural and language communities, man, besides belonging to the collective state, belongs to the group into which he was born and which upholds the tradition of his language and culture. People should be taught to respect the cultural and spiritual possessions of other groups. They should be aware of one another's needs and wishes, for all have a right to a place in the country in which

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<sup>131</sup> W.H. Burston, "The place of history in education", W.H. Burston & C.W. Green (general eds.), *Handbook for history teachers*, pp.9-10.

<sup>132</sup> S.C. Yoon, *Comments regarding history education in social studies*, pp.232-233.

they live. They should be taught to live and let live.

- A social background: History teaches the student that a national, language or cultural group is composed of various strata. The social segmentation of a society is a result of history. The teaching of history should explain how the groups or strata of which the whole is composed came into being.<sup>133</sup>

Geoffrey Partington identifies the following traditional purposes of history education:

1. handing down of a sense of heritage;
2. morality education;
3. understanding of the present.<sup>134</sup>

On the basis of these W.H. Burston states that the value of the study of history lies in the fact that it reveals social laws which explain the events of the past, that there are recurrent situations in history, and that the same laws may guide us in the present when such situations confront us.<sup>135</sup> There is, however, much controversy among historians regarding the existence of such "general laws" which can be used to solve present-day problems. Many historians deny their existence and emphasize the fact that every historical event is unique and that at most certain generalizations can be made in the interpretation of the past.

A more specific list of the aims of history education could include aspects such as:

1. promotion of self-understanding;
2. developing proper concepts of time, space and society;
3. evaluation of cause and effect;
4. cultivating sound attitudes;
5. nurturing of a vision of the future;

<sup>133</sup> F.A. van Jaarsveld & J.I. Rademeyer, *Theory and method of teaching history*, pp.86-88.

<sup>134</sup> Cited in M.S. Nam, *A study on the consciousness trend of and understanding by elementary school pupils concerning Korea-Japan relations history* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Chung-Ang University, Seoul, 1995), p.8.

<sup>135</sup> W.H. Burston, "The place of history in education", W.H. Burston & C.W. Green (general eds.), *Handbook for history teachers*, p.7.

human life to prevail against the conditions of inhumanity and to improve continually its contemporary situation, and it reveals how much of what is most valuable to human life is tied up with our moral sense, with states of mind and action best described with words like "esteem", "dignity", and "virtue".<sup>141</sup>

### 2.11.3 The role of history teaching in nation building

History as an academic discipline, apart from its normal functions as a human science, can play an important role in the improvement of students' ability and attitude to contribute to the nation and society and in the rearing of independent and inventive people. As a result, the teaching of history, apart from other scientific and educational objectives, aims at fostering a positive attitude towards participation in the solution of national problems. This attitude is related to the concept of historical consciousness. The higher a person's level of historical consciousness, the better he/she will be equipped to contribute to the solution of both local and national problems.

It is necessary to stress the great responsibility that parents and teachers of any nation have in the way they interpret history and pass it on to the youth of their country. If history could be taught in such a fashion that it would help to create harmony among people rather than division and hatred, it would serve this nation and all other nations better.<sup>142</sup>

According to Mabe the education crisis in South Africa over the past decades necessitates the design of a new system of education that can serve as a tool for nation-building. His definition of education is the acquisition and possession of and/or the spreading of knowledge and skills which will help the individual to meet or deal effectively with life's challenges and the environment in which he/she lives. It should also equip individuals with the ability to take independent decisions, identify and solve problems and provide for their material, spiritual and intellectual needs.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup> J.L. Esposito, *The transcendence of history: Essays on the evolution of historical consciousness*, p. 138.

<sup>142</sup> J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, p.3.

<sup>143</sup> S. Mabe, "Education: A tool for nation building", *The Transvaal Education News*, Vol. 85, No.3, March 1989, p.8.

6. inculcating a scientific attitude and scientific thinking;
7. training in strategies of debate;
8. solving private and social issues;
9. promoting a national sense;
10. promotion of international understanding;<sup>136</sup>
11. reminding people about the past, and thereby warning them about man's potential in the future;
12. providing role models for depressed or oppressed groups;
13. establishing a consciousness of a group within the larger society in the past,<sup>137</sup> and
14. acquiring of historical insight in order to be able to solve social problems.<sup>138</sup>

History teaching should serve to broaden the individual's horizon by lifting him/her out of the confines of the here and now and presenting him/her with a broader view of the great reality of time, of the world and of values.<sup>139</sup>

History education should not merely be to gain historical knowledge, acquire instruction or patriotism. The chief purpose lies in understanding historical facts objectively, in cultivating a historical attitude and ability, and through desirable historical consciousness, in educating the man who will be able to serve for the development of the national state.<sup>140</sup>

To neglect the study of history is to cut off that process whereby we continually reflect upon conditions in terms of the specimens history preserves for us. Without history there would be no possibility of teaching morality to the young, for whom the past has no reality except as it may bear immediately upon the future, and the present may present no urgency unless it can be revealed through similar urgencies of the past. History is saturated with moral significance: it reveals the struggle of

<sup>136</sup> S.C. Yoon, *Comments regarding history education in social studies*, p.233.

<sup>137</sup> J. Fines, "History and the challenge of multicultural education", A. Fyfe & Figueroa, (eds.), *Education for cultural diversity: The challenge for a new era*, pp. 155-156.

<sup>138</sup> S.Y. Jung, "History contents selection theory", M.H. (ed.), *Lee Won Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*, pp.880, 895.

<sup>139</sup> F.A. van Jaarsveld & J.I. Rademeyer, *Theory and method of teaching history*, p.84.

<sup>140</sup> C.Y. Song, "The study methods of historical materials for the extension of the historical thinking power", Lee, M.H. (ed.), *Lee Won Soon's memorial collection of treatises on 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*, p.933; H.H. Yang, *et al.*, *Theory and Method of history education*, p.351.

## CHAPTER 3

# CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is a multicultural society, comprising people of diverse cultural backgrounds. Differences in ethnic origin, language, religion, class, etc. have been compounded by a history of racial separation culminating in the segregation and apartheid policies of the twentieth century. The deep dividing lines between race groups had an impact on the formation of historical consciousness and obstructed a unified consciousness of the past. Because there was not, until the 1990s, a government-sanctioned vision of a unitary state with a unified South African nation, the idea of nationbuilding, based on encompassing society-wide perceptions and visions of past, present and future, is still in its infancy.

### 3.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURE

#### 3.1.1 The concept of culture

Culture is a central concept in any comprehensive theory of society. Liberal, conservative, and critical theorists all accord it a significant place in their analyses. Considerable disagreement, of course, exists as to its interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

“What is culture?” A brief answer would be that culture is a mode of living of a human group. Beyer and Trice propound two popular views about culture. Firstly, that it is obvious, it can immediately be sensed by an outsider. The second, and opposing view, is that culture is so deep-seated that it is elusive and can only be analysed by extensive and detailed study. They propose that it is useful to study the outward phenomena of culture in order to gain insight. Culture, however, is dynamic and changes with time. It can be seen as a group of forces which may remain unchanged for a period when they find their state of

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<sup>1</sup> J.R. Mallea, “Multicultural education: An alternative theoretical framework”, K.A. Mcleod (ed.), *Multicultural education: A partnership*, p. 4.

equilibrium at a constant level during that period.<sup>2</sup>

Cultural differences will be understood by means of comparing the life style of the inhabitants of two widely divergent countries, e.g. South Africa and Korea. There will be a definite difference in their language, housing, clothes, foods, manners, beliefs, ancestors. We attribute the differences between these two populations to their respective cultures. In other words, persons are acting according to their culture. People are not born with it, but they grow up with their culture.

Hofstede defines culture in its broader meaning as the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. Cultural formation is not inherited but learned from one's social environment.<sup>3</sup>

The term culture is defined in different ways by anthropologists and other social scientists. Most definitions fall roughly into one of two categories, either the totalist type of definition, proposed by Tylor, which refers to the total way of life of a people, or the mentalist/idealist type of definition preferred by contemporary anthropologists focusing on the conceptual system of a group.<sup>4</sup> Some definitions are discussed below.

Groenewald refers to culture as "everything achieved by man in his various national contexts and it forms the result of his creative activity. Culture is a man-made part of the environment. Culture is the sum total of everything that man has achieved in national context and in a process of adoption to his environment, and which he will still achieve continuously in the process of his life. As such, culture of a particular people embraces the entire process of life

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<sup>2</sup> See N.L. Brehm, *The impact of South African culture on the mangement of people* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> G. Hofstede, "Level of culture", G. Hofstede, *Cultures and organization:s. Software of the mind*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> M.E. de Haas, "Whose reality?: Fundamental issues in mediation and negotiation in South Africa today", *Reality*, vol. 20, no. 2, March & May 1988, p. 27.

of that people".<sup>5</sup>

Rich propounds the following definition: culture is the sum total of the learned behaviours of a group of people which are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation.<sup>6</sup>

Schein defines culture as: "A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaption and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems". Beyer and Trice provide a similar definition of culture which states that culture is "a network of shared understandings, norms and values that are taken for granted and that lie beneath the surface of organizational life".<sup>7</sup>

Fetzer defines culture as "society's value system, ideology, life view, norms, technology, politics, economic system, religion, social structures. These aspects are manifested or expressed in different forms such as language, education, literature and art".<sup>8</sup>

Culture implies norms or standards that may apply to thought, speech and other action as well as material objects. Culture does not comprise everything man produces but only those products of his activity that have become part of his collective adaptation within the context of a people. Individual products that have not gained general acceptance among a people do not form part of their culture.

Culture is according to Bagby a particular class of regularities of behaviour. It

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<sup>5</sup> Cited in D.M. Baloyi, *The teacher as an educator within a particular culture* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg, 1996), pp. 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> Cited in H.M. Weich, *Intercultural public relations as practised by an organization with employees from different cultural groups* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1982), p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> N.L. Brehm, *The impact of South African culture on the mangement of people* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup> M.M. Sominso, *The importance and relevance of cross-cultural communication in contemporary South Africa* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, 1996), p. 16.

includes both internal and external behaviour; it excludes the biologically-inherited aspects of behaviour. Cultural regularities may or may not recur in the behaviour of individuals, but, to be called culture, they should recur (or fail to occur) in a regular fashion in the behaviour of most of the members, and ideally in that of all the members, of a particular society.<sup>9</sup>

Culture is a medium for human self-extension and transcendence. As symbolisation, ritual, and intersubjectivity by means of which shared meanings and significances are attributed to a shared universe, culture constitutes notions of individual and group identity.<sup>10</sup>

According to Hofstede the following cultural layers exist:

- a national level;
- a regional and/or ethnic and/or religious and/or linguistic affiliation level;
- a gender level;
- a social class level, and
- for those who are employed, an organizational or corporate level.<sup>11</sup>

Cohen makes the following observations about culture:

1. culture is created and recreated by people through their social interaction rather than imposed upon them;
2. culture is being continuously in process, culture has neither deterministic power nor objectively identifiable referents, and
3. it is manifest rather in the capacity it endows people to perceive meaning in or attach meaning to social behaviour.<sup>12</sup>

Cultures vary and, at times, they converge. Cultures are dynamic, they borrow and learn in every historical situation where they are incarnated.

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<sup>9</sup> P. Bagby, *Culture and history: Prolegomena to the comparative study of civilizations*, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> J.A. Marcum, *Education, race, and social change in South Africa*, p. 91.

<sup>11</sup> G. Hofstede, "Level of culture", G. Hofstede, *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>12</sup> N.B. Pityana, *Beyond transition: The evolution of theological method in South Africa: A cultural approach* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1995), pp. 72-73.

Perhaps the best way to define the concept “culture” would be to outline its purpose or function. Cultures exist to serve the vital practical requirements of human life. Cultures are there to structure a society so as to perpetuate the species and also to pass on the hard earned knowledge and experience of past generations and past centuries to the young and inexperienced in order to spare the next generation the costly and dangerous process of learning everything from scratch through trial and error. In other words, by culture is meant the practices and activities people engage in to obtain food, to build houses, to cure their sick, to marry, to procreate, to cope with the death of their loved ones, to while away the time, to educate the young, to regulate society, to initiate the young into the way of life, to punish the wrong-doers, etc. Culture embraces the language, songs, traditional dance, folklore, religion, economy, governance, etc. In short, by culture is meant the manner of doing all the things that have to be done in life by the people.

I conclude this section by summarizing Han’s exposition of the properties of culture:<sup>13</sup>

1. Culture is commonly shared by the members of a cultural group.
2. Culture is learned/acquired by a process of socialisation.
3. Culture is accumulated as it is delivered from one generation to the next.
4. Culture is socially constructed. One social group’s culture is formed by different constructions but it does not play individually but has close relations and acts as a whole or as a system. It is composed in terms of organic relations.
5. Culture is dynamic and therefore always bound to change.

A long term study shows gradual change within a cultural group as new solutions are found for problems and adaptations are made to new circumstances.

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<sup>13</sup> S.B. Han *et al.*, *A survey of cultural anthropology*, pp. 69-76.

### 3.1.2 Cultural identity

The Oxford Dictionary defines identity as the quality or condition of being the same, it means absolute or essential sameness, expressing a feeling of oneness.

According to Marcum, the concept cultural identity positively relates to a group consciousness, an awareness of being ethnically and culturally the same, of being one with others of the same awareness. It exists in being mentally tied up with others. Simultaneously a value consciousness, a need for belonging and personal security are vital parts of the state of identity. A single person can identify with more than one group in a world made up of many diverse groups.

The bonds of identification will certainly be more complicated in a more composite social milieu. In a relatively small primitive society, the units making up the group, clan or tribe, are constituted according to custom and tradition in a more or less agreeable and commonly accepted way. Males, for example will identify with males, single males with single male groups, and so forth in smaller relevant groups. The same applies to females. Males, however, as a group composed of all sub-groups of males, distinguish themselves from women in their constituent groups. Males and females, however, identify with the same inclusive group. They can, as a group, also identify with other related groups but not with a foreign group. At this level foreign is usually associated with hostile and stranger with enemy.<sup>14</sup>

Cultural identity is in terms of the definition of Brock and Tulasiewicz a net of adaptations ranging from ethnicity, through religion, social structure, philosophy, national consciousness and privilege patterns, art and science to domestic practices, games, myths and patterns of language acquired in various formal and informal ways. This diversity is the foundation for the endurance and innovating power of cultural identity.<sup>15</sup> Cultural identity is accomplished by access to the elements of the culture of a national or ethnic group.

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<sup>14</sup> J.A. Marcum, *Education, race, and social change in South Africa*, pp. 88-89.

Comparative anthropology uses cultural identity to designate a distinctive way of life within political, economic or more specific social and educational structures. The term cultural identity pertains to norms, values, attitudes and policies. It is the material and spiritual manifestation of a pattern in society. It is a method of structuring experience and the perception of it, a cognitive knowledge system which determines how norms and values are taken up and attitudes and behaviour exercised. In abstract terms, cultural identity is the internalised cultural consciousness and an identification with a distinct idea of reality. Cultural identity, like national identity, is born of a common heritage. Cultural identity and nationalism, the reaction of groups or communities upon each other, with certain identity patterns being chosen as criteria for the creation of an independent existence or distinct political nationhood, are linked. The elements recognised signifying an independent existence like language, history, religion, fields of activity, artefacts or symbols, each have a definite importance for the acquisition of a sense of a particular cultural and national identity.<sup>16</sup>

Stuart Hall argues that cultural identity is a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being". It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It does not transcend place, time and history. Cultural identities have histories, they come from somewhere. But they undergo constant change, like everything which is historical.<sup>17</sup>

Segers points out that the concept of cultural identity implies that the cultural identity of a specific group or people is only partly determined by their national identity. Cultural identity is a broader concept than national identity.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the conception of "identity" as a set of unique or structural

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<sup>15</sup> C. Brock & W. Tulasiewicz, The concept of identity: Editors introduction, C. Brock & W. Tulasiewicz (eds.), *Cultural identity and educational policy*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> C. Brock & W. Tulasiewicz, "The concept of identity: Editors introduction", C. Brock & W. Tulasiewicz (eds.), *Cultural identity and educational policy*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>17</sup> N. Alexander, "Core culture and core curriculum in South Africa", S. Jackson & J. Solis (eds.), *Beyond comfort zones in multiculturalism*, pp. 212-213.

<sup>18</sup> R.T. Segers, "Inventing a future for literary studies: Research and teaching on cultural identity", *Journal of Literary Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3/4, 1997, p. 269.

characteristics is the idea of identity as a construction. Within such a constructive framework the cultural identity of a particular nation or of a certain ethnic group within that nation can be ascribed to three factors:

1. the formal characteristics concerning that nation or group at a given time in history;
2. the programming of the mind within a particular community on the basis of which the cultural identity by the in-group is being constructed;
3. the way in which people from outside conduct a process of selection, interpretation and evaluation concerning the specificity of the in-group, which means, in other words, the outside image of the cultural identity of a foreign nation or group.

The relationship of these three elements is a dynamic one. Ideally, the scholarly construction of identity should be based on all three factors.

In principle, two methodological positions are feasible pertaining to cultural identity research: the hermeneutic and the empirical position. So far most of the research on cultural identity has had a hermeneutic character, where the researcher tries to compile his or her own interpretation regarding particular textual aspects of cultural identity. The empirical approach attempts to assemble the opinions of authors and diverse readers on topics of cultural identity, focussing on what others think about a particular cultural item. A combination of both hermeneutic and empirical research appears to be very fruitful. Both approaches are needed for this extremely complicated topic.<sup>19</sup>

In the South African context, for both historical and general theoretical-epistemological reasons, there is justification for questioning the sole authentic status of the notion of discretely existing cultural entities or cultures.

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<sup>19</sup> R.T. Segers, *Inventing a future for literary studies: Research and teaching on cultural identity* (unp. Paper, 26 March 1998, Kulturele identiteit), p. 12.

## **3.2 CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **3.2.1 The causes, origins and historical development of cultural diversity in South Africa**

Cultural diversity may be defined as the existence of a variety of cultural/ethnic groups in any defined area, whether it be a district, a country, a region or a whole continent.

Migration and colonisation were important causes of cultural diversity in South Africa. The origins of cultural diversity may be found in ethnic/tribal migrations. As a result of large-scale migration the main language groups of the African continent interacted upon each other and acculturation took place over a period of many centuries. Large-scale contact between people, penetration and the settlement of diverse cultures within the same spatial borders took place. Environmental factors caused cultural diversification, because the physical environment determined the modes of economic livelihood and social organisation.

In southern Africa various Bantu-speaking tribes intermingled with each other and with the Khoisan people who were the earliest inhabitants. At a later stage colonisation brought into South Africa peoples of European descent and labourers from Asia.

The history of intergroup relations in South Africa goes back to prehistoric times. The San (Bushmen), who lived a nomadic life as hunters and gatherers, were the earliest surviving inhabitants of South Africa who were later joined by the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) and groups speaking Bantu languages. These early inhabitants were not homogeneous groups. Interaction between these groups was mainly determined by economic factors. Increasing commercial contact and, in some areas, social integration took place between them. Interaction was based essentially on peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness, but

episodes of conflict occurred.<sup>20</sup>

The settlement of whites in South Africa from the 17<sup>th</sup> century had an important influence on intergroup relations because it did not only signify the addition of another group to the existing ones, but also the introduction of European values and customs. The establishment of colonial rule, at first Dutch and later British rule, at the Cape was extended to include all indigenous inhabitants so that all the groups in the region were in due course subjected to the government at the Cape.<sup>21</sup>

Intergroup relations during this period occurred within a typical frontier situation. White expansion into the interior brought them into contact with other groups. Competition for land and water and a struggle for supremacy as evidenced during the border wars of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was typical of this type of contact. No group attained dominance over others in the early stages of contact. The indigenous communities, however, later became subject to white control. Labour played an increasingly important role in intergroup relations as the status of the blacks changed from free to subordinate labourers.

The reactions of Africans to white expansion was divergent, and African resistance to white domination was for a long time uncoordinated. The gradual growth of an assumption of white superiority and black subordination was one of the major factors that would determine intergroup relations. A large degree of equality between whites and other groups existed in early Cape society, but in due course a legal and social distinction was drawn between the groups so that differentiation based on colour and race became a peculiarity of South African society. Many factors were responsible for this, among others cultural, religious and class differences, slavery and conflict.<sup>22</sup>

The greatest cause by far of cultural diversity in most African countries, including South Africa, was colonisation and the creation of arbitrary colonial

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<sup>20</sup> Main Committee: HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations, *The South African society: Realities and future prospects*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>21</sup> L. Dreyer, *The modern African elite of South Africa*, pp. 1-2.

borders by European countries. The result was that many ethnic groups were bundled together into one colony under colonial administration. South Africa was not spared this misfortune. Through a process of colonial conquest the South African state, comprising diverse population groups, evolved. In some cases, particularly in the north where it borders Botswana, the boundary i.e. the Molopo River, divided existing villages into two with half in South Africa and the other half in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

As though the situation was not confused enough, colonisation brought in more ethnic groups from Europe and other continents, particularly in South Africa which has the largest population of European descent in Africa. This has made South Africa more culturally diverse than many other countries on the African continent. Ethnic diversity, unfortunately, brought with it evils of ethnic superiority/inferiority. This produced political problems which led to civil strife and wars.

One thing remains certain: ethnic/cultural diversity in South Africa is here to stay. There is no magic wand which could be used to just wish away this plural nature of the South African community. The sooner all South Africans grasp this fact of life the better it will be for the future of this country. Cultural diversity should not be seen as a problem to be solved, but a challenge to be faced by all South Africans and their relevant cultural institutions.<sup>23</sup>

In the subsequent sections of this chapter important signifiers of cultural diversity, including race, ethnicity, class, religion, political groupings and gender, are discussed.

### **3.2.2 Racial and ethnic diversity: the composition of the South African population**

South Africa is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country and one of the world's

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<sup>22</sup> Main Committee: HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations, *The South African society: Realities and future prospects*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>23</sup> T. Madondo, "Harmonising cultural diversity in South Africa: The role of museums", *Southern African Museums Association Bulletin*, vol. 22, no.2, 1996, p. 17.

most pluralistic societies. Structurally the biggest cleavage has been the racial one. Race is commonly understood as a biological concept. Ethnicity, on the other hand, generally refers to historically determined factors, like language, heritage and traditions. It is used to differentiate between South Africa's cultural groups or peoples. The use of race and ethnicity as tools of differentiation is of course, not limited to South Africa.<sup>24</sup>

The Population Registration Act (Act No 30 of 1950), which was used in the apartheid era for race classification, provided for four main population categories, namely White, Coloured, Indian and Black. Each of these categories can be divided into sub-groups. Definitions in the Population Registration Act reveal that different criteria were used. Whereas blacks were classified in terms of racial descent, coloureds were defined according to a process of conceptual elimination - namely as a person who is neither a white person nor a black person. The criterion for the classification of whites was based mainly on the grounds of appearance. Africans and coloureds were further subdivided on the basis of ethnic and other considerations. It would appear, therefore, that in addition to ethnicity, other considerations such as class, territorialism and race played a role in the modern evaluation of South Africa as a plural state.<sup>25</sup>

According to census results the total 1995 population of South Africa was 41.3 million people. Other sources estimate the population at approximately 43.5 million people. This variance is due to the uncertainties about the number of undocumented immigrants living in the country.

The population growth of South Africa is reflected in the following table:

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<sup>24</sup> E. Coetzee, *Stereotypes in contemporary South African cultural discourses* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, 1990), p. 44.

<sup>25</sup> Main Committee: HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations, *The South African society: Realities and future prospects*, pp. 59-60.

**Table 3.1: Selected demographic indicators by population group 1985-1990<sup>26</sup>**

	Total	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Population size (million)	41.5	31.6	3.5	1.1	5.2
Rate of natural increase (%)	2.3	2.4	1.4	1.3	0.6

The table below shows the mid-year estimates of the total population by race from 1991 to 1995 and the increase over that period, as calculated by the government's Central Statistical Services prior to the 1996 census:

**Table 3.2: Mid-year estimates of the South African population: 1991-1995<sup>27</sup>**

	African	Coloured	Indian/ Asian	White	Total <sup>a</sup>	Annual growth
1991	28618000	3314000	994000	5086000	38012000	N/A
1992	29325000	3365000	1008000	5121000	38819000	2.12%
1993	3035000	3414000	1024000	5156000	39628000	2.08%
1994	30746000	3461000	1038000	5191000	40436000	2.04%
1995	31461000	3508000	1051000	5224000	41244000	2.00%
Increase: 1991-1995	9.9%	5.9%	5.7%	2.7%	8.5%	-

<sup>a</sup> Figures may not add up owing to rounding

I would like to distinguish between the blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians as the focus groups in my thesis. According to two basic statistics, the composition of the South African population is as shown below:

<sup>26</sup> N. Tait *et al.*, *A socio-economic atlas of South Africa: A demographic, socio-economic and cultural profile of South Africa*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>27</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South Africa survey 1997/98*, p. 96.

**Table 3.3: The composition of the South African population by race**

	Population size (million)	Percentage (%)
Blacks	31.6	76.2
White	5.2	12.6
Coloured/Indian	4.6	11.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.2.2.1 The blacks

The biggest racial component of the South African population is the black people. South African black ethnic groups including the black people of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia are collectively known as the Southern Bantu, and are distinguished as a group from the other black groups of Africa on linguistic criteria. Ethnologists distinguish five broad ethnic divisions among blacks in South Africa, namely the Nguni (comprising the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele groups), the Sotho (the Northern and Southern Sotho and the Tswana groups), the Shangane/Tsonga, the Venda, and the Lemba, a small scattered group.<sup>28</sup> The largest single black ethnic group in the country is the Zulu. It is divided into about 200 tribes, each subdivided into clans. The Xhosa and Sotho groups are also large in numbers. There are several other ethnic groups, ranging from the Shangaan to the Venda. This last group is the most homogeneous group, but even it has 27 distinct tribes. As for language, there are four major and 23 minor African ones.<sup>29</sup>

A consequence of the government's policy of ethnic differentiation under apartheid between 1948 and 1994 was the classification of all blacks according to ethnic identity. This classification labelled a black as a member of a specific group, implying that he was affiliated to the corresponding homeland, namely KwaZulu (Zulus), Transkei (Xhosa), Ciskei (Xhosa), KwaNdebele (Ndebele), and Bophuthatane (Tswana), (Swazis),

<sup>28</sup> M.P. Machet, *The response of children from different cultural backgrounds to socio-cultural values reflected in children's books* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, Johannesburg, 1989), pp. 80-84.

<sup>29</sup> P. Johnson, "The race for South Africa", *Commentary*, Vol. 80, September 1985, pp. 27-28.

Kwandebele (Southern Ndebeles), Lebowa (Northern Ndebeles and Northern Sothos), Bophuthatswana (Tswanas), Qwa-Qwa (Southern Sothos), Gazankulu (Shangaans and Tsongas), and Venda (Vendas).<sup>30</sup>

Among blacks there is both a strong emphasis on ethnicity and an even stronger rejection of it. There is a strong inclination in especially urban areas to reject ethnicity and rather to identify with an inclusive black group (the ideal of African unity) and non-racialism. The apartheid African education policy resulted in many educated Africans from the 1950s clinging to the goal of cultural integration.<sup>31</sup> This more common pattern of identification does not necessarily exclude pride of language or an appreciation of traditional cultural customs. Some groups, especially from the early seventies, exalted black identity (the so-called Black Consciousness Movement) which developed as a reaction to white dominance.<sup>32</sup>

In the rural areas and among migrant workers in urban areas, ethnicity may be manifested at two levels. Tribal solidarity comes strongly to the fore in situations of social pressure, especially in industrialised situations, and may even lead to open clashes. Regarding ethnicity in the more acceptable sense, there are varying degrees of group awareness linked to language and to historio-cultural heritage and experience.

In the recent past the role played by ethnicity in the political conflicts which are wracking South Africa has become more and more widely discussed, both in the media and academic circles. Attention has formed particularly on Zulu ethnicity, which is often portrayed as a major factor in the current violence in Natal and on the Witwatersrand. Recently, many scholars have begun to develop a very different approach to the analysis of ethnicity in Africa. Every manifestation of ethnicity needs to be perceived as having its own history, having been constructed by specific groups of people at specific places and

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<sup>30</sup> L. Dreyer, *The modern African elite of South Africa*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>31</sup> G.M. Gerhart, *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>32</sup> Main Committee: HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations, *The South African society: Realities and future prospects*, p. 39.

times under specific conditions.<sup>33</sup>

### 3.2.2.2 The whites

The second largest racial group in South Africa is the whites, or persons of European descent. The first wave of white settlers in South Africa came from Holland in 1652, followed by the French Huguenots in 1688, the British Settlers in 1820, and later settlers from Germany. The white section of the population is therefore composed of diverse ethnic groups, mainly of Dutch, French, English and German origin, with two distinctive cultures and languages, i.e. Afrikaans and English. The white population includes other important subgroups, such as the large Jewish community, Portuguese, Greeks, Italians, and "Rhodesian whites".

The Afrikaans-speaking people form the largest section of the white population. The Afrikaners' ethnic identity was shaped over a period of centuries from the arrival of the Dutch in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Afrikaners were mainly the descendants of Dutch, German and French extraction and were at first called the Cape Dutch. 'Afrikaner' then had another meaning, i.e. 'native of Africa', someone born in South Africa. The Dutch population at the Cape consisted of urban and rural components. The *trekboer* (migratory farmer) opened up the interior and gradually developed their own language, Afrikaans.<sup>34</sup> Dissociation with European ethnic roots was accompanied by the gradual non-acceptance of the indigenous people as ethnic and social partners.<sup>35</sup> Some of the *trekboer* inhabitants left the Cape in search of grazing and settled beyond its boundaries.

From 1834 onwards a mass exodus of Afrikaners from the Cape took place. The so-called Great Trek accelerated the development of Afrikaner nationalism. The *Voortrekkers* became the spearhead of Afrikaner resistance and reflected

<sup>33</sup> C. Hamilton & J. Wright, "The beginnings of Zulu identity: The image of Shaka", *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 10, no. 3, Winter 1993, p. 43.

<sup>34</sup> P. Kruger, "The rise of Afrikanerdom", L.Louw & F. Kendall, *South Africa: The solution*, pp.23-24.

<sup>35</sup> J.H. Coetzee, "Formative factors in the origins and growth of Afrikaner ethnicity", B.M. du Toit (ed.), *Ethnicity in modern Africa*, p. 240.

the determination of the *Boers* to live according to their own belief.<sup>36</sup> The Great Trek is regarded by Van Jaarsveld as the birth of the Afrikaner nation. A clearly defined awareness of a separate Afrikaner nation with its own language, religion, moral code, history and tradition was already present.<sup>37</sup> Yet it is difficult to argue for a nationalist movement prior to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899. At that stage the Afrikaners had to preserve their identity within a greater South Africa that was under British domination. In due course they established two large Boer republics in the Transvaal (ZAR) and the Orange Free State.

The annexation of Transvaal in 1877 gave a strong impetus to the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner nationalism. For the first time a feeling of unity was experienced among the Afrikaners. Their common concern was resistance against Britain's imperialism.<sup>38</sup> The Transvaal War (1880-1881) saw the Afrikaners victorious in many battles against the British culminating in the Pretoria Convention where the self-government of the Transvaal was restored.

The Afrikaans language became part and parcel of the struggle for identity among the Afrikaners. The establishment of the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA) in Paarl in 1875 was a decisive event in the rise of Afrikaner nationalism.<sup>39</sup> 'Afrikaner' came to mean whites whose home language was Afrikaans.<sup>40</sup> Afrikaner identity was, however, not based on language alone, but also on a specific worldview, a Calvinistic-based cultural heritage and awareness of a calling.

The struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and British imperialism culminated in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), which ended with the defeat of the Afrikaners in May 1902. However, the war stimulated the rise of Afrikaner

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<sup>36</sup> W. H. Vatcher, *White laager: The rise of Afrikaner Nationalism*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>37</sup> F.A. van Jaarsveld, *The awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism 1868-1881*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>38</sup> C.N. van der Merwe, *Breaking barriers: Stereotypes and the changing of values in afrikaans writing 1875-1990*, pp. 3-5.

<sup>39</sup> V. February, *The Afrikaners of South Africa*, p. 29.

<sup>40</sup> J.H. Coetzee, "Formative factors in the origins and growth of Afrikaner ethnicity", B.M. du Toit (ed.), *Ethnicity in modern Africa*, p. 243.

nationalism.<sup>41</sup> The Afrikaans language movement was revived in response to Milner's anglicisation and a stirring national history was built around the ideas of a common origin, the notion of the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War as Afrikaner landmarks and the imagined promise of a republican future. This nationalism displayed a tendency to see a divine hand in Afrikaner history, reinforced by the Christian-National ideology, a theory of national election which held that God created the Afrikaner people with a unique language, a unique philosophy of life, their own history and traditions, and a particular calling and destiny,<sup>42</sup>

After the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 Afrikaans was used in the state schools and the former Dutch churches. In 1925 Afrikaans was declared one of the official languages of the Union of South Africa. Afrikaans thus replaced Dutch as a written language and also in the churches, schools and government.

Despite efforts to build Afrikaner political unity Afrikaans-speakers who supported a more inclusive white South Africanism and those who worked for a more exclusive Afrikaner republic drifted apart. Under the guidance of the National Party and the Afrikaner-Broederbond the latter group launched an Afrikaner nationalist mobilisation drive from the 1930s, comprising cultural, economic and political components.

In terms of Christian-Nationalism the Afrikaner 'volk' had a 'sacred' history in which God had repeatedly revealed Himself to the Afrikaners as a chosen people. The concept of *volk* was a cultural concept referring to a group of people with a common life-style and an experience of continuity based on shared history and tradition, common land, descent, custom, language, religion, social organisation and political ideal. The so-called civil religion of the Afrikaner

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<sup>41</sup> I. Hexham, *The irony of Apartheid: The struggle for national independence of Afrikaner calvinism against British imperialism*, p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> H. Gilliomee, "The beginnings of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1870-1915", *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 19, November 1987, pp. 139-140.

played a decisive role in the awakening of a unique national consciousness.<sup>43</sup>

In 1948 the National Party came to power and implemented apartheid, a policy of racial separation based on the assumption that the South African population consists of various *volke* (ethnic groups) that, as far as possible, have to be territorially, politically and socially separated. Each *volk* had the right to maintain itself and develop separately: Apartheid led to discrimination against other groups.<sup>44</sup> The Nationalist government had three major policy objectives: apartheid, Afrikaner dominance and a republic. Apartheid was designed to preserve white supremacy and to maintain the identity of the white community. Afrikaners wanted to maintain their national identity and self-determination, protect their interests, standards of income, education and philosophy of life.<sup>45</sup>

On 31 May 1961 the battle for the republican status culminated in the formation of the Republic of South Africa.<sup>46</sup> Afrikaner hegemony was strongest during the 1960's and early 1970's, after which deep divisions among Afrikaners became significant.<sup>47</sup> The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) broke away from the National Party in 1969. In 1982 the Conservative Party (CP) followed suit. These right-wing parties wished to maintain Afrikaner exclusivism and resisted reforms which would lead to the liberalisation of racial policies.

Modern Afrikaner nationalism was constructed out of the older building blocks of language, ethnic ties and religious affiliation. It is best understood as a response to the social dislocations and problems posed by the uneven development of capitalism in South Africa, evolving under the impact of urbanisation and secondary industrialisation.<sup>48</sup> However, a gradual disintegration of what was once considered a cast-iron identity, has taken place over the last decades. With the transition to majority rule in the 1990s this

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<sup>43</sup> J. Degenaar, *Afrikaner nationalism*, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> J. Degenaar, *Afrikaner nationalism*, p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> C.J. Jooste, "Partition as a constitutional option", D.J. van Vuuren et al. (eds.), *South Africa in the nineties*, p. 232.

<sup>46</sup> J. Degenaar, *Afrikaner nationalism*, p. 3-4.

<sup>47</sup> C. Saunders & N. Southey, *A dictionary of South African history*, p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> S. Marks & S. Trapido, "The politics of race, class and nationalism", S. Marks & S. Trapido (eds.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*, p. 10.

process of disintegration was accelerated. "Afrikanerdom" or the "Afrikaner volk" hardly exists as a separate, identifiable group any longer. There are, however, different groups or fragments of Afrikaners, or Afrikaans-speaking whites. Some regard themselves as the Afrikaner *volk*, others simply as *Boere*, others as South Africans and others as South Africans and others again as Afrikaans-speaking Africans.<sup>49</sup>

The English-speaking white cultural group has its roots in several waves of British immigration from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1795 and again in 1806, the British arrived as conquerors and rulers and British culture dominated in the public sphere. The British annexation of the Cape in 1806 aimed at imbuing the colony with an increasingly British character. Despite various organised immigration schemes from Britain the flow was gradual. The failure of British immigration policies ensured numerical supremacy of the Afrikaans over the English. The English were from the outset urban in orientation. After 1815 attempts were made to recast political and social institutions in a British mould.<sup>50</sup> For the next 150 years Boer and Briton struggled for hegemony over South Africa. It was a contest between two white nationalisms, a fundamental clash between two world views.<sup>51</sup>

Language became a matter of controversy with British attempts at the anglicisation of the Dutch speakers.<sup>52</sup> Lord Charles Somerset implemented his anglicisation policies in the 1820s around the time of the arrival of the British Settlers in the Eastern Cape and English enjoyed preferential treatment. Immigrants from Britain formed the bulk of the administrative, military and intellectual elite in the nineteenth century. English speakers, on average, were better educated. British cultural imperialism intensified as liberal ideas were accepted in the Cape Colony. The majority of white colonists in British-ruled

<sup>49</sup> E. Cloete, "Afrikaner identity: Culture, tradition and gender", *Agenda*, vol. 13, 1992, pp. 42-43.

<sup>50</sup> J.H. Coetzee, "Formative factors in the origins and growth of Afrikaner ethnicity", B.M. du Toit (ed.), *Ethnicity in modern Africa*, pp. 241-242.

<sup>51</sup> S. Dubow (ed.), *Christian-nationalism and the rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond in South Africa, 1918-1948*, pp. lxi-xx (introduction).

<sup>52</sup> M. Cross, *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 46-47.

Natal were English-speaking.

Large numbers of English-speakers were attracted to South Africa after the discovery of diamonds and gold. The Anglo-Boer War and Milner's post-war attempts at anglicisation deepened divisions between English-speakers and Afrikaners. A measure of reconciliation was achieved after Union in 1910. The status of English was enshrined alongside Dutch (later Afrikaans) in the constitution. Afrikaners outnumbered the English-speakers and restricted their political influence.<sup>53</sup> Some English-speaking South Africans turned into 'Anglokaners.'

English-speaking South Africans remained strongly entrenched in the leading positions in industry, commerce and banking. English was the principal language of South African urban life. The English-language press, universities and churches have made valuable and lasting contributions. There is a South African variant of English literature, and many authors like Olive Schreiner, Nadine Gordimer and Alan Paton are well-known.<sup>54</sup>

Most immigrants from Europe were absorbed into the English-speaking community. The political power of English-speaking whites declined markedly after 1948 in the apartheid era. The influence of English-speaking liberals did not extend much beyond the wealthy suburbs.<sup>55</sup> However, the new political dispensation of the 1990s was based on a liberal constitution. English has assumed the position of the leading government and administrative language in the country.

### 3.2.2.3 The coloureds

Coloureds are calculated as 8.4% of the population, living mainly in the Western and Northern Cape, concentrated in and around the Cape Peninsula.<sup>56</sup> They

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<sup>53</sup> C. Saunders & N. Southey, *A dictionary of South African history*, p. 69

<sup>54</sup> L.H. Gann & P. Duignan, *Why South Africa will survive*, pp. 23, 26-29.

<sup>55</sup> C. Saunders & N. Southey, *A dictionary of South African history*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>56</sup> H.F. Dickie-Clark, *The marginal situation: A sociological study of a coloured group*, pp. 79-80; A.L. Muller, *Minority interests: The political economy of the coloured and indian communities in South Africa*, p. 43.

have traditionally been the stepchildren of South African society. Their ancestors comprise Malay slaves, Khoikhoi labourers, San forcibly 'apprentised' to white farmers, or children born of illegitimate unions between whites and African or Khoikhoi women.<sup>57</sup>

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the term 'coloured' referred chiefly to all non-European people. The reconstitution of the term coloured and the identification of the coloureds as a group distinct from other non-Europeans people occurred at the turn of the century.<sup>58</sup>

The Population Registration Act of 1950 defined all those people who were neither African nor white as coloured.<sup>59</sup> The mixed-race group, called coloureds, was divided into seven sub-groups during apartheid. The new group thus created comprised Chinese, Japanese, Indians, other Asiatics, Malays, Griquas, remnants of the San and Khoikhoi, mixed-race South Africans and 'Europeans' who married persons of other races. The erroneous label of 'coloured' (meaning mixed-blood) was given to this group. The coloured population was more of a 'multi-national' and 'multi-cultural' group. Indians and 'other Asiatics' were later placed in their own population group. Japanese became 'honorary whites' and Chinese were allowed to reclassify as whites.

Coloured people never had political and economic power.<sup>60</sup> Economically the majority remained an urban or rural proletariat. Legislation under apartheid separated them ever further from the white centres of power. This legislation included the Mixed Marriages Act (barred coloureds from marrying whites), the Immorality Act (made sexual intercourse illegal between whites and non-whites), Population Registration Act (classified people according to race), Group

<sup>57</sup> L.H. Gann & P. Duignan, *Why South Africa will survive*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>58</sup> I. Goldin, "The reconstitution of Coloured identity in the Western Cape", S. Marks & S. Trapido (eds.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*, p. 158.

<sup>59</sup> H. Villa-Vicencio, *Colour, citizenship and constitutionalism: An oral history of political identity among middle-class coloured people with special reference to the formation of the coloured advisory council in 1943 and the removal of the male franchise in 1956* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1995), p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> S. Dikeni, "How the West was lost!: Understanding the political culture of the Amaqheya – a Xhosa perspective", *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, no. 51, December, 1994, pp. 27-28.

Areas Act (segregated residential areas), and various other acts that provided for separate amenities, education and parliamentary institutions for coloureds. These statutes fueled the antagonism of the coloured people towards the state and from the 1950s to the 1980s led to the alienation of coloured people from the Afrikaner-dominated government.<sup>61</sup> Many of them aligned themselves to the oppressed black majority.

The majority of coloureds share characteristics with white Afrikaners. They share the same culture. The use of English carries some prestige.

When race classification was abolished in 1991 there was no longer any reason for this group to survive in that form. The coloured group began to unravel and the various components began to drift towards other political and cultural groupings.<sup>62</sup>

#### **3.2.2.4 The Indians and other Asians**

Two types of immigration formed the Indian community. Between 1860 and 1911 just over 152 000 people from south and north eastern India arrived in Natal as indentured labourers. The majority of them worked on sugar plantations, others were employed on the railways, coal mines and wattle plantations. After the expiry of their initial contract they could return to India or remain in Natal as free Indians. Most elected to stay and became itinerant hawkers, shopkeepers, market gardeners and artisans. Some made their way to Kimberley or to the Transvaal. They stayed on legally to become permanent residents and raised families who grew up as South Africans. The second immigration group was known as 'passenger Indians'. They were traders and merchants.<sup>63</sup>

By the 1890s the White population began to fear the power of the rapidly growing Indian population. The Statute Law of the Orange Free State of 1891

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<sup>61</sup> I. Goldwin, *Making race: The politics and economic of coloured identity in South Africa*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>62</sup> R.D. du Pré, "One nation, many Afrikaners: The identity crisis of 'coloured' Afrikaners in the new South Africa", *Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 22, no. 1, June 1997, p. 84.

<sup>63</sup> C. Saunders & N. Southey, *A dictionary of South African history*, p. 88.

prohibited all Asiatics from settling in the Free State.<sup>64</sup> Increasing racial conflict arose from opposition of the whites to unlimited Indian immigration, and the growing dissatisfaction of the Indians with their treatment and disadvantaged position in Natal. Gandhi arrived in Natal in 1893 and started with a 'passive resistance' campaign.<sup>65</sup> Immigration laws were introduced to stem the tide of Indian (and other Asian) immigrants. Legislative enactments followed, including the Immigration Restriction Act (1902) and the General Dealers Act (1906).<sup>66</sup> The Indians resumed agitation and protest campaigns and strikes culminating in Gandhi's march with 2 000 of his followers to Transvaal. The Government ignored the Lange Commission's proposals on voluntary repatriation.<sup>67</sup> The government's determination to exclude Indian immigrants was embodied in the Immigration Restriction Act of 1913, which restricted the movement of Indians from province to province, and its 'closed door' policy.<sup>68</sup>

In the 1940s conflict between India and South Africa as a result of the treatment of Indians in South Africa occurred in international forums. Initially it had no positive impact on the position of South African Indians. Indians were regarded as temporary residents with an 'alien and unassimilable culture'.<sup>69</sup> Government policy was based on the assumption that eventually Indians would repatriate to India. The Group Areas Act, under which the cities were ethnically zoned, compelled Indians to dispose of properties in the 'white areas' and move to specially constructed townships. They were now expected to trade only within

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<sup>64</sup> C.M. Brand, *Solidarity patterns in a minority group: A study of the Indian community of the Cape peninsula* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, 1966), pp. 41-42.

<sup>65</sup> C.M. Brand, *Solidarity patterns in a minority group: A study of the Indian community of the Cape peninsula* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, 1966), pp. 37-38.

<sup>66</sup> B. Pachai, "South African Indians and economic hostility", B.M. du Toit (ed.), *Ethnicity in modern Africa*, p. 275.

<sup>67</sup> C.M. Brand, *Solidarity patterns in a minority group: A study of the Indian community of the Cape peninsula* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, 1966), pp. 41-42.

<sup>68</sup> B. Pachai, "South African Indians and economic hostility", B.M. du Toit (ed.), *Ethnicity in modern Africa*, pp. 271-272.

<sup>69</sup> R.H. Hill, *The impact of race legislation on kinship and identity amongst Indian Muslims in Cape Town* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1980), pp. 134-135.

their own communities.<sup>70</sup>

It was only in 1961 that the government acknowledged that Indians in South Africa were a permanent part of the population and that schemes to repatriate Indians were dropped. The government set up a department of Indian Affairs.<sup>71</sup>

Since the democratic transition in 1994 Indians have been treated as equal citizens. They occupy, in relation to their numbers, a high proportion of senior government positions. South African Indians are as heterogeneous in their occupations, incomes, aspirations and achievements as any other people.<sup>72</sup> To all intents and purposes English has become the language of the Indians.<sup>73</sup> Symbols of daily life such as food preparation, ways of eating, dress, relationship within the household and personal hygiene have often been seen as displays of 'Indian identity'.<sup>74</sup>

The South African population is thus not homogeneous in its composition and this diversity is reflected in the characteristics of the different groups. To be able to fully understand the dynamic processes of the South African population, it is necessary to take cognisance of these different patterns and levels, caused on their part by social, economic and cultural factors.

### 3.2.3 The language issue in South Africa

There is a close relationship between culture and language. One cannot discuss culture without referring to language. A linguist, Fishman, explains the importance of language as follows: "Language is not only a powerful lever in social, cultural and national development but it is a constant ingredient of such development and, in its realization as speech or writing, a powerful indicator of

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<sup>70</sup> C. & M. Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the west*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>71</sup> C. & M. Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the west*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>72</sup> B. Pachai, "South African Indians and economic hostility", B.M. du Toit (ed.), *Ethnicity in modern Africa*, p. 279.

<sup>73</sup> C.M. Brand, *Solidarity patterns in a minority group: A study of the Indian community of the Cape peninsula* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, 1966), p. 79.

<sup>74</sup> R.H. Hill, *The impact of race legislation on kinship and identity amongst Indian Muslims in Cape Town* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1980), p. 154.

interaction networks, social situations, role-relationships, domains of aggregative activity, dominant value clusters, and national missions or symbols."<sup>75</sup>

The table on the following page provides a breakdown of the distribution of home languages in South Africa by province in 1994.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> J.A. Fishman *et al.*, (eds.), *Language problems of developing nations*, p. x.

<sup>76</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South Africa Survey 1997/98*, pp. 100-101.

**Table 3.4: Proportional distribution of home languages in each province: 1994<sup>a</sup>**

Province	Afrikaans	English	A/E <sup>b</sup>	Ndabalo <sup>c</sup>	Northern Sotho	Southern Sotho	Swazi	Tsonga	Tswana	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu	Other <sup>d</sup>
Eastern Cape	8.93%	3.68%	0.08%	0.00%	0.01%	0.14%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	86.69%	0.06%	0.17%
Free State	15.09%	1.52%	0.10%	0.20%	0.92%	59.27%	0.20%	0.64%	4.81%	0.04%	9.25%	5.99%	1.98%
Gauteng	19.72%	17.19%	0.39%	0.85%	8.43%	11.52%	1.22%	3.89%	7.38%	1.16%	6.08%	19.36%	2.82%
KwaZulu-Natal	1.93%	16.84%	0.07%	0.00%	0.04%	0.35%	0.03%	0.03%	0.01%	0.00%	1.20%	78.67%	0.82%
Mpumalanga	8.57%	1.83%	0.08%	6.43%	15.98%	2.79%	23.15%	11.52%	1.89%	0.11%	1.45%	22.15%	2.04%
North West	9.00%	1.04%	0.08%	0.03%	0.73%	3.23%	0.27%	0.81%	78.91%	0.12%	4.18%	0.56%	1.02%
Northern Cape	68.42%	2.74%	0.11%	0.00%	0.13%	0.74%	0.01%	0.14%	19.56%	0.01%	6.37%	0.27%	1.50%
Northern Province	3.64%	0.65%	0.02%	1.37%	62.48%	0.91%	0.32%	26.47%	1.91%	1.01%	0.22%	0.41%	0.59%
Western Cape	61.81%	20.71%	20.71%	0.00%	0.05%	0.27%	0.01%	0.02%	0.05%	0.00%	15.46%	0.08%	0.82%
<b>Proportion of total</b>	<b>14.97%</b>	<b>9.52%</b>	<b>0.19%</b>	<b>0.83%</b>	<b>9.92%</b>	<b>6.83%</b>	<b>2.25%</b>	<b>4.69%</b>	<b>9.07%</b>	<b>0.35%</b>	<b>18.13%</b>	<b>22.00%</b>	<b>1.26%</b>

<sup>a</sup> Figures should add up horizontally but may not, owing to rounding.

<sup>b</sup> Afrikaans/English. Afrikaans and English are spoken equally in the home.

<sup>c</sup> Includes Northern and Southern Ndebele.

<sup>d</sup> Includes, among others, Dutch German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, French, Tamil, Hindi, Telegu, Gujarati, Urdu and Chinese.

The language issue in South Africa has political and social implications. To cater for South Africa's diverse peoples, the Constitution provides that 11 languages are the official languages at national level, namely Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa (Northern Sotho), Sesotho (Southern Sotho), siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu.<sup>77</sup> In July 1997 the Department of Education published two policy documents on a new language policy, entitled Language in Education Policy in terms of Section 3(4) (m) of the National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act 27 of 1996); and the Norms and Standards Regarding Language Policy published in terms of Section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996. In terms of the policy each school could decide on its medium of instruction.<sup>78</sup>

In some quarters the designation of the 11 main languages as official languages is welcomed in terms of people's democratic right to use the language of their preference. Some educators argue in favour of mother-tongue education even up to tertiary level. In other quarters the practical problems arising from the large number of official languages are emphasised. My personal opinion is that such a large number of official languages are unrealistic and that the language policy should be reconsidered in the light of South Africa's historical task of national development and nation-building. Eleven official languages could cause an impediment for the nation's development and could cause confusion regarding the nation's unity. In my opinion the many official languages can create problems in schools and society. If the South African government should decide on English as a public language or *lingua franca* there are two benefits: the international community can more easily accept South Africans and English can be a unifying instrument to unite all the different cultural groups.

### **3.2.4 Class distinctions in South African society**

In the past, when segregation and apartheid policies applied, race and class distinctions in South Africa coincided. The upper classes consisted mainly of

<sup>77</sup> D. Burger (ed.), *South Africa yearbook 1996*, fifth ed., p. 380.

<sup>78</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South Africa survey 1997/98*, p. 174.

whites and the working classes mainly of blacks and people of colour.

The radical (or neo-Marxist) school of South African historiography has focussed on a class analysis of the country's history. Shula Marks, Stanley Trapido, Martin Legassick and other historians in this group regard South Africa's history in the colonial phase as one of conquest, dispossession and proletarianisation of the indigenous inhabitants. They have investigated capitalist development in the commercial farming, mining and industrial sectors of the South African economy, particularly in the period since the mineral revolution of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and come to the conclusion that race and class distinctions in South Africa coincide. A white capitalist class and a black working class were the main contenders for economic and political power in 20<sup>th</sup> century South Africa. Between these two classes was a mostly white petty bourgeoisie. White workers were privileged above their black colleagues and assumed the position of a petty bourgeoisie rather than a real working class. Their job security and standard of living were protected by labour legislation against black competition. The huge expansion of the black working class called for sophisticated means to control and neutralise black competition as far as white workers were concerned.<sup>79</sup>

For many years English-speaking white South Africans, including a significant number of people of Jewish descent, dominated the capitalist class. Afrikaner commercial and industrial capitalism was boosted by the Afrikaner nationalist elite from the 1940s. A class alliance between Afrikaner farmers, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the emerging Afrikaner capitalist class was forged by the interventions of the National Party and the Afrikaner-Broederbond and brought Afrikanerdom to political power in 1948. The Afrikaners' economic power further increased during National Party rule since 1948.

Radical historians have viewed the political economy of the apartheid state as a partnership between the National Party government and the capitalist class, which controlled the economy, and by which the black proletariat was super-

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<sup>79</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, p. 63.

exploited. A pool of cheap black labour was created in the rural hinterland of the African reserves, later called the Bantu homelands and still later the national states, to service the needs of the mining, industrial and commercial farming sectors. The social mobility of rural and urban blacks, coloureds and Indians was severely curtailed by apartheid laws. The National Party made its position regarding the black working class quite clear, namely that the blacks in the urban areas should be regarded as migrants and thus not entitled to political or social rights as enjoyed by the whites. The white parliamentary opposition also based itself on the interests of the capitalist class.<sup>80</sup> Racial discrimination in South Africa can be described as the extension of class oppression.<sup>81</sup>

From a radical perspective a major issue is the relationship between the struggle against apartheid and the class struggle against the capitalist system. Apartheid is viewed as an integral part of capitalism in South Africa. The driving-force behind the mass movements of the black people, it is believed, can be found in the demands and the power of the workers.<sup>82</sup> Racial discrimination, it is argued, is a product of capitalism and cannot be remedied without striking at the roots of capitalism.<sup>83</sup>

Liberal scholars challenged the radical view and argued that recent South African history should be interpreted differently. According to them economic forces were diluting apartheid and would eventually lead to its fall.

Whatever view one takes, the reality before and during apartheid in South Africa was that whites comprised the higher and black and coloured people mostly the lower classes in South African society.

A struggle for leadership of the black working class developed in the 1970s. Initially, the majority of the people were unclear as to what they were fighting for. Differences of opinion flourished and the liberation struggle itself was

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<sup>80</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, p. 131.

<sup>81</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>82</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, p. 451.

disjointed, pragmatical, but determined.<sup>84</sup> By the mid 1970s political and economic stability was something of the past. Conditions were changing rapidly and the size and militance of the black proletariat had reached dimensions where traditional forms of domination had become inadequate. Consequently it was felt that the black middle class had to be co-opted by the state.<sup>85</sup>

In the final phases of apartheid and in post-apartheid South Africa a growing black middle class emerged. The educated middle class blacks have been considerably influenced by the ideas propogated by white liberals. From 1886 to 1950, mainstream African thought remained essentially reformist and moderate; it embraced a liberalism that sought equality of opportunity within the existing social, political and economic framework.<sup>86</sup>

The African middle class in South Africa includes professional people, shopkeepers, and the better paid domestic and industrial workers. This elite, though still a comparatively small minority, is highly significant. It acts as a valuable link between the white and black communities, and represents the point of greatest acculturation between them. It has provided the modern leadership.<sup>87</sup>

During the 1960s, the assimilationist ethic still played an important role in the culture of the African middle class.<sup>88</sup> Despite efforts by white opposition parties to incorporate certain elements of the black middle class into the parliamentary system, the political logic of grand apartheid dictated otherwise. Serious economic problems in the 1970s forced the South African capitalist class to modify the racial division of labour in such a way as to expand the ranks of the black new petty bourgeoisie.<sup>89</sup> During the 1970's the situation of the black

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<sup>83</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, p. 452.

<sup>84</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, p. 367.

<sup>85</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, pp. 444-445.

<sup>86</sup> M. Cross, *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 256-258.

<sup>87</sup> C. & M. Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the west*, p. 164.

<sup>88</sup> M.D. Sarkakinsky, *The changing urban African class structure in South Africa: 1970-1985* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1989), pp. 54-56.

<sup>89</sup> M.D. Sarkakinsky, *The changing urban African class structure in South Africa: 1970-1985* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1989), pp. 72-73.

middle class began to change and by the mid 1980s many of the legal restrictions had been removed. It is now realistic to talk of the emergence of an black capitalist class, not simply of a middle class, in the 1980s.<sup>90</sup>

It is clear that over the last few decades a shift in class distinctions in South Africa has taken place. Particularly the social stratification of the black population has diversified. Today the class composition of the black population includes mainly labourers, small-scale (subsistence) farmers and a small number of commercial farmers in the rural areas. The urban black population include workers (e.g. fishermen, mineworkers and local government employees), middle class blacks (e.g. shopowners, taxi owners, etc.), black capitalists, professionals (e.g. doctors, lawyers, teachers), other upper class persons (creative jobs, higher level civil servants, etc.) and students.

Within the coloured community a dynamic class struggle exists between the social strata. The coloured community can be seen as a three-class system: upper, middle and lower classes. The fact that upper class families have fewer children is an indicator of a different value orientation. Lower class families are larger. There appears to be a decrease in the desired number of children among younger coloured women.<sup>91</sup> There are marked differences between the educational levels of the men and women in the upper and lower classes. Upper class professional people with a higher level of education tend to speak English. The ideal for many coloured women is that of white middle class society. Entry into the elite used to be gained by the possession of a fair complexion and European features. Lighter skinned coloureds tended to be of an upper socio-economid class, while those resembling Africans tended to be of a lower class.<sup>92</sup>

In the previous dispensation most Indians were either workers, small farmers or

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<sup>90</sup> M.D. Sarkakinsky, *The changing urban African class structure in South Africa: 1970-1985* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1989), p. 58.

<sup>91</sup> C.M. Rip, *Coloured early school leavers in the Western Cape: A sociological study*, p. 8.

traders. Dominating the social and economic history of the South African Indian population was a trader elite, mainly in Natal and Transvaal. In recent years more Indians have gone into professional careers. In the post-apartheid dispensation many Indians have entered the public service.

### 3.2.5 Religious affiliation

In terms of religious affiliation South African society is predominantly Christian, but significant Muslim, Hindu and Jewish minorities exist.

The following table indicates the strength of the Christian religion among blacks in South Africa.

**Table 3.5: Church Membership of Black people : 1991<sup>a</sup>**

Religion	Black people
Christian	
African independent churches	6 968 084
Dutch Reformed <sup>b</sup>	1 064 709
Gereformeerde Nederduitsch Hervormde	0
Afrikaans churches <sup>c</sup>	0
Roman Catholic	1 790 160
Methodist	1 384 046
Anglican <sup>d</sup>	647 268
Apostolic Faith Mission	135 687
Lutheran	686 219
Presbyterian	308 028
Congregational	0238 065
Full Gospel	0
Other Christian churches <sup>e</sup>	1 436 617

<sup>92</sup> H. Villa-Vicencio, *Colour, citizenship and constitutionalism: An oral history of political identity among middle-class coloured people with special reference to the formation of the coloured advisory council in 1943 and the removal of the male franchise in 1956* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1995), pp. 134-135.

<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>14 658 883</b>
Hindu	0
Islamic	0
Jewish	0
Non-Christian but unspecified	31 498
Subtotal	31 498
Unspecified and no religion	7 502 899
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22 193 310</b>

- a. Figures may not add up owing to rounding.
- b. Refers to Nederduitse Gereformeerde kerk.
- c. Refers to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk. The number of Asians belonging to these churches was very small and no further breakdown is available.
- d. Includes the Anglican Church, the Church of England, the Church of England of South Africa, and the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.
- e. Includes, among others, the Afrikaanse Protestante Kerk, the Baptist Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Pentecostal Protestant Church, and the Swiss Church.

The table shows that about a third of the black population do not belong to any of the specified Christian churches, another third to the African Independent Churches, and another third to the mainline Christian churches (just under 2 million to the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) and the rest to the Protestant churches). The other major religions in the country (Jewish, Hindu, Muslim) have no adherents among the black population. Thus the black population is predominantly Christian (almost 70%).<sup>93</sup> The black Christian churches can be divided into the black mission churches, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, and the African Indigenous Churches.<sup>94</sup>

English-orientated churches with significant numbers of black members include the Anglican Church or Church of the Province of South Africa, the Methodist

<sup>93</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South Africa survey 1997/98*, p. 99.

<sup>94</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid: A socio-theological history of the english-speaking churches*, 24-27.

Church of Southern Africa, the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa and the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. English missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century occasionally found themselves in confrontation with both the white settler churches and colonial government, yet never doubting the superiority of English cultural values over those of the African people.<sup>95</sup> The imposition of Western religion and culture caused black converts to be torn out of their traditional social structure and left between two religions and two social systems. This cultural assimilation of blacks imposed an aura of whiteness on the missionary churches.<sup>96</sup> Liberal perceptions were strengthened by missionaries and Christian educators, who preached that all human beings were born equal, and propagated universal concepts of love, peace, justice, equality and the common brotherhood of all, as well as obedience for those who suffered oppression and injustice. The African elite denounced Marxism as 'foreign' and 'atheistic'.<sup>97</sup> In the more recent past several of the English-orientated churches have come out forcefully in rejecting the ideology of apartheid and aligned themselves with the aspirations of their black members.<sup>98</sup>

The black mission churches of the Afrikaans Reformed Churches constitute a major grouping among black mission churches and allegedly emerged as a result of white racism and political expediency.

African Independent Churches (AICs) have grown to such an extent in 20<sup>th</sup> century South Africa that their membership has long surpassed that of the Roman Catholic Church and mainline Protestant churches. The AICs are based on African theology, a type of theology which seeks to relate Christian faith and African cultures. African theology has a tendency to focus on past tradition

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<sup>95</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid: A socio-theological history of the english-speaking churches*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>96</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid: A socio-theological history of the english-speaking churches*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>97</sup> M. Cross, *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), p. 256.

<sup>98</sup> D. Balia, "The witness of the Methodist church in South Africa", *International Review of Mission*, vol. LXXXIII, no. 328, January 1994, pp. 163-164.

rather than present political reality.<sup>99</sup>

African indigenous churches are said to be historically rooted in African pre-capitalist social formations.<sup>100</sup> There are seven basic factors which contributed to the emergence of the indigenous churches: (1) the exclusion of blacks from leadership positions; (2) race prejudice in the established churches; (3) disciplinary measures to control black aspirations; (4) Western schismatic and denominational practices; (5) the subordination of women; (6) personal leadership conflicts; and (7) the commitment on the part of African Christians to incorporate their own cultural and traditional religious ideas into their churches. The mission churches were experienced by black converts as being as foreign as colonialism itself. The indigenous churches were alternatives to the traditional Western, white, European-type structures.<sup>101</sup> The mission churches found it difficult to respond meaningfully to black needs and the AICs filled this gap. For more than a century, the African indigenous churches have been the main foundation of the spirituality of liberation in South Africa. During their initial stages the, the AIC's were strongly involved in promoting the cause of the liberation struggle.<sup>102</sup> Subsequent to the banning of black political organisations in 1960, the black churches became more important than ever before as a vehicle for expressing the aspirations of black people.<sup>103</sup>

The first "Native Separatist Church" in South Africa was founded in 1884. The growth of these churches was prolific. They branched out in three streams, i.e. the Ethiopian movement, those churches which seceded from mission churches chiefly on racial grounds; Zionist churches, which have their roots in the American pentacostal movement and are syncretistic movements with an

<sup>99</sup> J.W. de Gruchy, "Theology in transition in South Africa", *Modern Theology*, vol. 9, no. 2, April 1993, pp. 204-205.

<sup>100</sup> G. Kruss, *Religion, class and culture – indigenous churches in South Africa, with special reference to zionist – apostolics* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1985), pp. 53-54.

<sup>101</sup> C. Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid: A socio-theological history of the english-speaking churches*, pp. 31-34.

<sup>102</sup> S. Tshelane, "The witness of the African indigenous churches in South Africa", *International Review of Mission*, vol. LXXXIII, no. 328, January 1994, pp. 173, 176.

<sup>103</sup> M.G. Khabela, "The socio-cultural dynamics of the struggle for liberation and the coherence of black faith", *Journal of Black Theology in South Africa*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1989, p. 28.

emotional style of worship; and the Messianic type of churches, with leaders who emerged as a 'Black Christ' figure.<sup>104</sup> The following associations of AICs were formed: the African Independent Churches Association (AICA) in 1965, the Reformed Independent Churches Association (RICA) in 1970, the Council of African Independent Churches (CAIC) in 1976 and the Federal Council of African Indigenous Churches (FEDCAIC) in 1991. Other churches of the AIC type, for example the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, the Presbyterian Church of Africa (PAC) and the African Catholic Church (ACC) are member churches of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).<sup>105</sup>

Black theology emerged in South Africa in the late sixties, finding inspiration from the civil rights movement in the United States. It was, however, not simply a copy of North American black theology. South African black theology was rooted in the black consciousness movement. Key figures in black theology were Manas Buthelezi, Desmond Tutu and Alan Boesak. There has been a movement away from the black consciousness of the seventies in favour of non-racialism. Many black religious leaders have now identified themselves with prophetic theology, notably Frank Chikane.<sup>106</sup> Black theology has striven for the complete liberation of black people, reflecting on the Bible and its relevance to society from the side of the poor and the oppressed.<sup>107</sup> Oosthuizen interprets the emergence of black theology as a result of the failure of white Christianity in South Africa to adequately challenge the black Christian context.<sup>108</sup>

In the white population group the Christian religion has also fulfilled an important sociopolitical function. Afrikaners strengthened their national ideology

<sup>104</sup> G. Kruss, *Religion, class and culture: Indigenous churches in South Africa, with special reference to Zionist – apostolics* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1985.), pp. 8-9.

<sup>105</sup> S. Tshelane, "The witness of the African indigenous churches in South Africa", *International Review of Mission*, vol. LXXXIII, no. 328, January 1994, pp. 177-178.

<sup>106</sup> J.W. de Gruchy, "Theology in transition in South Africa", *Modern Theology*, vol. 9, no. 2, April 1993, p. 203.

<sup>107</sup> B. Nel, "the story of black theology of liberation in South Africa", I. Liebenberg et al. (eds.), *The long march: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, p. 138.

<sup>108</sup> D.M. Balia, "The historical roots of black theology", *Journal of Black Theology in South Africa*, vol. 8, no. 2, November 1994, p. 74.

through their religion, which was based on Calvinism. Christian-Nationalism developed into a form of civil religion providing the cornerstone for the political policies of apartheid. Those researchers (e.g. T. Dunbar Moodie) who regard Christian-Nationalism as an Afrikaner civil religion explain the reasoning behind it as follows: Nationalism is a religious obligation. Services to the nation express service to God. Working for the fulfilment of national calling is working for the realisation of God's plan. People attain authenticity and maximum self-fulfilment through nationalism. Every nation is a product of the Highest Creator, destined to fulfil a calling. Ecclesiastical apartheid flowed from the Afrikaans churches' conformity to the divinely ordained diversity of races, cultures, nations and languages.<sup>109</sup>

Most Afrikaners are members of the three Afrikaner reformed churches: the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) and the Gereformeerde Kerk(GK). The NGK (or Dutch Reformed Church), as the oldest and biggest Afrikaner church, is the most important social institution of the Afrikaner community and has about two-thirds of Afrikaners as members. The church building towers over the centre of every village and town in the country. Non-regular attenders still remain strongly under the influence and social pressures of the church.<sup>110</sup>

During the apartheid era, the NGK gave support and theological legitimation to the policies of the National Party.<sup>111</sup> The justification for apartheid was sought in the concept of divinely fixed and immutable boundaries between different races, nations and cultures.<sup>112</sup> It was not until 1986 that the DRC dropped the biblical justification of apartheid.<sup>113</sup> In 1997, the DRC formally apologised for its role in

<sup>109</sup> S. Dubow (ed.), *Christian-nationalism and the rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond in South Africa, 1918-1948*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>110</sup> C. & M. Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the west*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>111</sup> I.W. Henderson, *The struggle within: An investigation into the impact of racism on the identity of white, english-speaking christians in South Africa in the 1990's* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Pietermaritzburg, 1995), pp. 46-48.

<sup>112</sup> S. Dubow (ed.), *Christian-nationalism and the rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond in South Africa, 1918-1948*, p. 41.

<sup>113</sup> P. Green, "A church and its apartheid history", *Christianity and Crisis*, vol. 49, May 1989, pp. 166-167.

apartheid before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).<sup>114</sup>

The church has been one of the principal means of cementing the Afrikaners as a people, but Afrikaner Calvinists have lost some of their dogmatic fervour.<sup>115</sup>

Apart from the Afrikaans reformed churches a smaller section of the Afrikaner population are members of charismatic and pentecostal churches, of which the Apostolic Faith Mission is the largest.

Most Christian English-speaking whites are members of either protestant churches (Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.) or the Roman Catholic Church, but charismatic churches (e.g. the Rhema Church) are growing.

The history of the coloured population is closely interwoven with the history of church and missionary activities. The present-day coloured population is almost wholly Christianised and religious activities are part and parcel of everyday life. Approximately 87% of the coloureds are Christians. The most important religious denominations are the Verenigende Gereformeerde Kerk (formerly the Dutch Reformed Mission Church), the Anglican Church and the Methodist Church. Roughly 18% of the coloureds are Roman Catholic.<sup>116</sup> There is no element in coloured religious life which corresponds to the African separatist churches.<sup>117</sup>

Between 6% and 7% of the coloureds are Muslim. This group includes mainly the Cape Malay people.

South African Indians can roughly be divided in the following proportions in terms of religious affiliation: 65.1% Hindu, 20.65% Muslim, 6.9% Christian, 7.4% Buddhist and other. The Hindu and Muslim sections have retained their forms of worship, festivals and other customs almost intact. Hindus in South Africa are essentially a monotheistic people. The Christian Indian community

<sup>114</sup> C. Saunders & N. Southey, *A dictionary of South African history*, p. 62.

<sup>115</sup> L.H. Gann & P. Duignan, *Why South Africa will survive*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>116</sup> S. P. Cilliers, *Coloured people: Education and status*, p. 7.

<sup>117</sup> H.F. Dickie-Clark, *The marginal situation: A sociological study of a coloured group*, p. 84.

adheres to various denominations.<sup>118</sup>

### 3.2.6 Political views and groupings<sup>119</sup>

Twentieth century South African history is often described as a struggle between Afrikaner and African nationalism. It would, however, be an oversimplification to state that nationalism has been the overriding ideological orientation of all South Africans. A variety of ideologies – ethnic nationalism, liberalism, Africanism, non-racialism, black consciousness, etc. - have interacted in the process of political development. In this section these ideological orientations are discussed in the context of the most important political groupings/parties/organisations in the country.

Currently the African National Congress (ANC) dominates the central and seven of the nine provincial governments in the country. It was formed in 1912, had a history of mixed fortunes and slow growth until its banning in 1960, after which it emerged as the foremost liberation movement and eventually in 1994 the government in the new democratic political dispensation.

For many years, between its establishment and the early 1940s, the ANC was a moderate organisation, bargaining for equal rights and opportunities for black people by means of non-violent strategies.<sup>120</sup> It attempted to develop African nationalism in the sense of supra-tribal unity and its aim was to create a single South African nation. The ANC made clear its opposition to the principle of segregation.<sup>121</sup> The continued thwarting of the ANC's aims created a new determination to secure political authority for blacks and even control of the

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<sup>118</sup> D.J. Potgieter (Editor-in-chief), "Bantu languages", *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, vol. 6, pp. 65-66.

<sup>119</sup> Information on recent political developments in South Africa has been compiled with the assistance of my promoter. This accounts for the absence of footnote reference in some paragraphs.

<sup>120</sup> A. Odendaal, "The roots of the ANC", I. Liebenberg et al. (eds.), *The long march: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, p. 5.

<sup>121</sup> J. Pampallis, "Building a nation", *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 12, no. 3, Winter 1995, pp. 23-24.

state.<sup>122</sup>

A transformation of the ANC took place in the 1940s, because of economic and social changes, the election of a new president and the emergence of a new generation of political activists and thinkers who were prepared to abandon the more polite political discourse of their elders in favour of militant action. The newly-formed ANC Youth League<sup>123</sup> succeeded in getting a more radical programme of action adopted as the official policy of the ANC.<sup>124</sup> There was a change from the strictly constitutional means of protest to peaceful, but unlawful demonstrations. In the early 1950s the ANC launched its Defiance Campaign based on the principles of passive resistance.<sup>125</sup> The decision to co-operate with other groups was extended to alliances with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the South African Congress of Democrats. At the Congress of the People at Kliptown the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955. It endeavoured to link liberal, non-racial and socialist orientations.<sup>126</sup> The ANC's ideological direction became known as charterism or non-racialism.

After mass protests and incidents of violence both the ANC and PAC were banned in 1960. ANC actions had to be organised from outside the country. In June 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) (Spear of the Nation) was founded as the military wing of the ANC. It focussed on sabotage and prepared itself for guerilla warfare.<sup>127</sup> The arrest of the ANC high command at Rivonia in 1963, their trials and imprisonment removed the most prominent ANC leaders and created a vacuum in black politics.<sup>128</sup> The ANC continued to champion rights for blacks, but despite its disillusionment with liberalism it saw "nation" as the multi-

<sup>122</sup> N.J. Makume, *A historical survey of the development of political awareness among the Zulus* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Zululand, Mtunzini, 1989), pp. 83-84.

<sup>123</sup> S. Johns & R.H. Davids (eds.), *Mandela, Tambo and the African National Congress: The struggle against apartheid, 1948-1990: A documentary survey*, p. 17.

<sup>124</sup> J. & R. Simons, *Class and coloured in South Africa 1850-1950*, p. 603.

<sup>125</sup> S. Johns & R.H. Davids (eds.), *Mandela, Tambo and the African National Congress: The struggle against apartheid, 1948-1990: A documentary survey*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>126</sup> I. Liebenberg, "Resistance by the SANNC and the ANC, 1912-1960", I. Liebenberg et al. (eds.), *The long march: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>127</sup> A.Ehlers, "Resistance to apartheid", *Yesterday and today*, no. 31, May 1996, pp. 64-65.

racial community of all people born in South Africa.<sup>129</sup>

Non-violent methods of struggle were made impossible by security legislation. At the Morogoro Conference in 1969, the ANC confirmed a policy of violence against the South African government, thus initiating the armed struggle.<sup>130</sup> From the 1970s mass action was stepped up in the black communities of South Africa. The combination of black resistance and the pressure exerted by the international community against the apartheid system led from the late 1970s to political reform by the National Party government and, when reforms failed to relieve the pressure, to a process of radical political transformation.

The ANC and PAC were unbanned in 1990 and a process of negotiations for a new democratic political dispensation set in motion, which culminated in the drafting of a new liberal Constitution and the first democratic parliamentary elections of April 1994. The ANC emerged as the main political party in the central and most of the provincial and local governments after the 1994 elections and repeated this achievement in the 1999 elections. Since taking over the political power in the country the ANC has moved away from its socialist line and advanced the principles of a free market economy. In converting from a liberation movement to a political party it has had to moderate its stance. A Reconstruction and Development Programme was launched to channel government funds into the development of deprived communities. The ANC has however stuck to the idea of a non-racial society. Both Nelson Mandela, as first President of a democratic South Africa, and his successor, Thabo Mbeki, have propagated nation-building as a national priority. Mbeki has mooted the idea of an African renaissance, with South Africa as a pivotal state in the southern African region.

In the new dispensation the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has emerged as the party with the second largest black following. It claims that membership has risen to around two million. It has done well in elections in Kwazulu-Natal.

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<sup>128</sup> Y. Muthien, *Protest and resistance in Cape Town, 1939-1965*, R. Cohen et al. (eds.), *Repression and resistance: Insider accounts of apartheid*, p. 79.

<sup>129</sup> G.M. Gerhart, *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*, pp. 12-13.

Inkatha has its roots in a Zulu cultural organisation established in the 1920s, which was revived in the 1970s by Mangosuthu Buthelezi.<sup>131</sup> For many years Inkatha maintained close links with the administration of KwaZulu, one of the former black homelands.<sup>132</sup> Buthelezi's claims that Inkatha was rooted in democracy<sup>133</sup>, was rejected by his opponents who viewed Inkatha as a basically conservative and undemocratic organisation. In the 1980s the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha viewed each other as rivals.<sup>134</sup> Violence erupted in Kwazulu-Natal and has continued unabated with a high toll in human lives over the years.

In 1990 Inkatha changed its name to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), opening its doors to all races. The IFP's first priority appeared to be the strengthening of its regional base, recruiting prominent members of white political parties in Natal. Despite claims of being a national movement and admitting non-Zulu members the IFP is based in Zulu ethnicity and its power-base is largely limited to the rural areas of Kwazulu-Natal and Zulu workers in Gauteng. The manipulation of Zulu tradition and ethnicity is evident in its constitution, aims and strategies.<sup>135</sup> Many Zulu people in Natal found an identity in the perception of a common past which could provide emotional security.<sup>136</sup>

The IFP has been one of the strongest advocates of the concept of federalism

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<sup>130</sup> C. & M. Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the west*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>131</sup> P. Harries, "Imagery, symbolism and tradition in a South African bantustan: Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha, and Zulu history", V.Y. Mudimbe & B. Jewsiewicki (eds.), *History making in Africa*, pp. 111-115.

<sup>132</sup> D. Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using history in the construction of Zulu nationalism*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>133</sup> M.Z. Shamase, *A comparative study of the aims, structure and strategies of the National Party and Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement in the decade 1975-1985* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Zululand, Mtunzini, 1991), pp. 128-129.

<sup>134</sup> D. Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using history in the construction of Zulu nationalism*, p. 13.

<sup>135</sup> N.J. Makume, *A historical survey of the development of political awareness among the Zulus* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Zululand, Mtunzini, 1989), pp. 152-154. See also La Hausse de Lalouviere, *Ethnicity and history in the careers of two Zulu nationalists: Petros Lamula (c. 1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c. 1936)* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1992), pp. 14-15; B. Nzimande, "The Zulu kingdom: Buthelezi's short-cut to power", *The African Communist*, vol. 136, 1994, pp. 15-16.

<sup>136</sup> P. Harries, "Imagery, symbolism and tradition in a South African bantustan: Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha, and Zulu history", V.Y. Mudimbe & B. Jewsiewicki (eds.), *History making in Africa*, p. 124.

in South Africa. At various points during the negotiating process for a new dispensation Buthelezi was at loggerheads with the ANC on this and other issues.<sup>137</sup> However, after the 1994 elections the IFP joined the government of national unity. In 1997 the IFP abandoned its demand for international mediation on certain constitutional issues. Chief Buthelezi has acted as president of the country on several occasions. There was also speculation about closer links or a possible merger between the ANC and the IFP.<sup>138</sup> It has not come about and the violence in Kwazulu-Natal, sometimes viewed as a power struggle between IFP and ANC supporters, is still continuing.

In the apartheid period the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) formed a second liberation movement next to the ANC. It was established in 1959 by a group led by Robert Sobukwe, which had broken away from the ANC. The PAC rejected the Freedom Charter and its focus on multiracialism. The PAC objected to the ANC's collaboration with non-African minority groups. Claiming to be the true custodians of African nationalism, the PAC argued that a revolutionary mass consciousness was necessary and would be achieved by the common heritage of the black man.<sup>139</sup> The PAC claimed the ANC had been deflected from this course as a result of being dominated by white liberals and communists. It proposed a strictly 'Africanist' programme, rejected in principle any participation by non-Africans in the nationalist struggle<sup>140</sup> and called for "a government of the Africans, by the Africans, for the Africans". Once "pigmentocracy" had been destroyed, people of all colours would be equal citizens. South Africans would recognise only one race: the human race.<sup>141</sup>

It was during the PAC-initiated civil disobedience campaign around the pass laws that the Sharpeville shootings occurred in 1960.<sup>142</sup> Both the PAC and the

<sup>137</sup> C. Jung, "Understanding Zulu identity", *Indicator South Africa*, vol. 13, no. 2, Autumn 1996, pp. 47-48.

<sup>138</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South African survey 1997/98*, pp. 512-513.

<sup>139</sup> T. Lodge, "The Pan-Africanist Congress, 1959-1990", I. Liebenberg et al. (eds.), *The long march: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, p. 104.

<sup>140</sup> C. & M. Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the west*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>141</sup> G.M. Gerhart, *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*, pp. 194-195.

<sup>142</sup> T. Lodge, "The Pan-Africanist Congress, 1959-1990", I. Liebenberg et al. (eds.), *The long march: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, p. 105.

ANC were subsequently banned. The banning ushered in a period that was less successful for the PAC than for the ANC as it could muster little support at home and abroad. In addition, internal strife and leadership issues tore the organisation apart.<sup>143</sup> However, the PAC continued to see itself as the custodian of the aspirations of the Azanian masses (Azania being the PAC's name for South Africa). Like the ANC, it supported the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle. A military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) was formed. The PAC worked towards the international isolation of the apartheid regime.<sup>144</sup>

The PAC was unbanned with the ANC in 1990 and participated sporadically in the negotiating process. The performance of the PAC in the 1994 elections was disappointing. In 1997, the newly elected leader of the PAC, the Rev. Stanley Mogoba stated that the PAC was born again, and would concentrate on five issues: unity, non-racialism, morality, economic justice and the land question. It has however not made significant progress in terms of mass support.

Apart from non-racialism and Africanism black consciousness forms a third ideological strain of black resistance politics. There was a lull in the activities of the liberation movements between 1960 and 1972 when the ANC and PAC were banned and the liberation movement was deprived of efficient leadership as a result of clampdowns by the security forces. However, a new generation embracing the ideals of black consciousness (BC) emerged in the early 1970s. It started under the auspices of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO)<sup>145</sup> and the Black People's Convention (BPC)<sup>146</sup>, with the aim to instill

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<sup>143</sup> I. Liebenberg, "Resistance by the SANNC and the ANC, 1912-1960", I. Liebenberg et. Al. (eds.), *The long march: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>144</sup> M.Z. Shamase, *A comparative study of the aims, structure and strategies of the National Party and Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement in the decade 1975-1985* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Zululand, Mtunzini, 1991), pp. 216-217.

<sup>145</sup> M. Cross, *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 278-282

<sup>146</sup> H. Lotter, "The intellectual legacy of Stephen Bantu Biko (1946-1977)", *Acta Academica*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1992, pp. 26-27.

the black man with pride and dignity.<sup>147</sup> Steve Biko became the foremost proponent of black consciousness thinking. Between 1968 and 1976, BC was one of the most important developments in South Africa,<sup>148</sup> but it was labelled as an intellectual movement with little grassroots support, lacking a solid base in the trade union movement.<sup>149</sup> It did not become a people's mass movement in terms of its ideological appeal. The ideas of BC had little to offer to the workers and did not succeed in becoming a mass workers' class movement. The non-racialist UDF became the movement of mass resistance in the 1980s.

In general terms, BC may be defined as the struggle of the black individual against domination and oppression by whites. BC was a response to social control under apartheid and conformist modes of behaviour, which passively accepted the oppressive apartheid system. It emphasised the overriding importance of the psychological aspects of the oppressed as a precondition to the national liberation. In the first instance it was concerned with the liberation of the "colonised mind", i.e. to free blacks from feelings of inferiority<sup>150</sup> and to rid them of their "slave mentality".<sup>151</sup>

The term "black" was promoted and the use of "non-white" denounced.<sup>152</sup> In terms of BC the black racial group included the South Africans who were officially classified as 'Bantu', 'coloured' and 'Asian' and who formed a homogeneous block by reason of the social discrimination that was practised against them in common.<sup>153</sup> The central proposition of BC was that blacks in South Africa had a certain common historical experience which arose out of colonialism, and they needed to mobilise themselves as a group in order to translate this awareness into political action and then to overcome racist

<sup>147</sup> K. Tomaselli, "Disarticulating black consciousness: a way of reading films about apartheid", *South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1993, p. 47.

<sup>148</sup> K. Moodley, "The continued impact of black consciousness", N.B. Pityana et al. (eds.), *Bounds of possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko & black consciousness*, p. 145.

<sup>149</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>150</sup> M. Cross, *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 278-282.

<sup>151</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>152</sup> G.M. Gerhart, *Black power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*, pp. 277-278.

<sup>153</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, pp. 173-174.

oppression.<sup>154</sup>

BC sought to infuse the black community with a new found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life.<sup>155</sup> The concept of black consciousness implied the awareness by the black people of power they wielded as a group, both economically and politically.

Another BC offspring, the South African Students Movement (SASM), had its base amongst school students, and it was SASM's mobilisation which created the political context for the students uprising in June 1976. During the 1970s the left wing of the BC increasingly turned to the masses which led to conflict with the state, and to the banning of many BC organisations in October 1977.<sup>156</sup> After the Soweto uprising the futility of continuing the struggle except by uniting with the workers became increasingly clear.<sup>157</sup>

After the state's clampdown on BC organisations the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was formed in 1978 as successor to the BC ideals. AZAPO is fundamentally a black, anti-capitalist, anti-liberal group. AZAPO's aim is a socialist state and to nationalise all means of production. It declared that in the socialist republic of Azania the workers would control the means of production. Furthermore, the land would be owned and controlled by the Azanian people, because land is the asset which was unambiguously taken from the African people.<sup>158</sup> AZAPO is the chief organisational vehicle for black consciousness today.

It was precisely the nature of exclusiveness of the black consciousness organisations which provoked accusations of reverse racism.<sup>159</sup> The importance

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<sup>154</sup> S. Buthelezi, "The emergence of black consciousness: An historical appraisal", N.B. Pityana et al. (eds.), *Bounds of possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko & black consciousness*, p. 123.

<sup>155</sup> A. Stubbs (ed.), *Steve Biko: I write what I like*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>156</sup> M.D. Sarkakinsky, *The changing urban African class structure in South Africa: 1970-1985* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1989), p. 152.

<sup>157</sup> D. du Toit, *Capital and labour in South Africa: Class struggle in the 1970s*, pp. 401-402.

<sup>158</sup> W. & A. Durant, "The political status quo", L. Louw & F. Kendall, *South Africa: The solution*, pp. 78-79

<sup>159</sup> V. Maphai, "The role of black consciousness in the liberation struggle", I. Liebenberg et.al. (eds.), *The long march: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, pp. 130-131.

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of the black consciousness movement in South Africa has greatly diminished.<sup>160</sup> In the 1990s the Black Consciousness movement was overshadowed by the ANC. BC has lived on more as an alternative vision than an organisationally active political party.<sup>161</sup>

White politics dominated the South African party political scene before 1994. For the entire apartheid period between 1948 and 1994, when blacks were excluded from the central parliamentary system, the National Party was the dominant parliamentary party in South Africa. It was the vehicle of Afrikaner nationalism.

The NP was established in 1914. General J.B.M. Hertzog was the leader until 1934, when the NP and Smuts's South African Party merged to form the United Party government. Dr D.F. Malan and his supporters broke away to form the "Purified" National Party. Afrikaner power was mobilised and in 1948 the NP came into power under Malan. Apartheid was implemented.<sup>162</sup> The NP remained the governing party for almost 46 years till the final demise of apartheid in 1994. J.G. Strijdom, H.F. Verwoerd, B.J. Vorster, P.W. Botha and F.W. de Klerk were the successive party leaders and Prime Ministers (later State Presidents).

The National Party used to be the political embodiment of the Afrikaner volk, and its political evolution reflected the Afrikaners' changing social composition. Under NP rule the Afrikaners' position in the administration, the armed services, and the economy was strengthened. Afrikaners occupied the leading positions in state-run enterprises, major positions in the learned professions, the sciences and state corporations.<sup>163</sup> The preservation of white dominance, Afrikaner hegemony and Afrikaner national identity was emphasised.<sup>164</sup> The NP reached its zenith in the 1960s and 1970s.

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<sup>160</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South Africa survey 1997/98*, p. 510.

<sup>161</sup> K. Moodley, "The continued impact of black consciousness", N.B. Pityana et al. (eds.), *Bounds of possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko & black consciousness*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>162</sup> A. Luthuil, "The rise of apartheid", L. Louw & F. Kendall, *South Africa: The solution*, p. 40.

<sup>163</sup> L.H. Gann & P. Duignan, *Why South Africa will survive*, p. 20.

<sup>164</sup> M. Cross, *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 123-125.

From the mid-1970s internal and external pressure on apartheid necessitated the re-evaluation of race policies. The NP initiated a process of political and constitutional reform, which however did not dismantle the political and economic power structures of apartheid.<sup>165</sup> It caused right-wing Afrikaners to break away from the NP and form the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) in 1969 and the Conservative Party (CP) in 1982. When pressure could not be withstood any longer De Klerk in 1989/90 initiated a political transition to majority rule. A negotiated settlement led to the new political dispensation in 1994, with the NP relinquishing political power. It stayed on as part of the government of national unity, with De Klerk as Deputy President, for some time. The NP has controlled the provincial government of the Western Cape since 1994. In 1997 De Klerk resigned and was succeeded by Marthinus van Schalkwyk as leader of the NP.<sup>166</sup>

In the process of political transformation the NP was also transformed. It is now called the New National Party (NNP). It has abandoned its position as the political front of the Afrikaner. Many Afrikaners have joined parties to the left and the right of the NNP. Its parliamentary strength deteriorated in the 1999 elections. The NNP seeks to become a truly multiracial party, but apart from the support of coloured people in the Western Cape has not really been successful. The NNP has been, like the NP before it, a very strong advocate of a free enterprise economy.

To the right of the NNP there are several right-wing Afrikaner nationalist political parties and organisations. Right-wingers hope to restore Afrikaner power or at least achieve Afrikaner self-determination in a separate *volkstaat* (national state). Right-wing political parties include the Freedom Front, the Afrikaner-Eenhedsbeweging (Afrikaner Unity Movement) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party. They have not made any progress in their attempts to promote Afrikaner unity and have drawn very little support among voters.

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<sup>165</sup> N.J. Rhoadie et al., "White perceptions of socio-political change in South Africa", D.J. van Vuuren et al. (eds.), *South Africa: A plural society in transition*, pp. 303-304.

<sup>166</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South African survey 1997/98*, pp. 514-515.

Several Afrikaner right-wing paramilitary organisations have come and gone over the years. During World War II there were a number of national-socialist movements, of which the Ossewa-Brandwag was the most important. In the mid-seventies the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was formed under the leadership of the charismatic Eugene Terreblanche, with the aim of creating a Boer republic under Afrikaner control and reviving the homelands policy of territorial partition.<sup>167</sup> The AWB appealed to the chauvinist spirit of the Afrikaner volk, but since 1989 has become less militant and visible.<sup>168</sup> Some of its members were involved in violent crimes and have been imprisoned for bomb attacks in Gauteng prior to the 1994 elections.<sup>169</sup>

In the 1999 elections the Democratic Party (DP) stepped to the forefront as the new official opposition in Parliament and in several provincial legislatures. It has become the most popular party among white voters, both English- and Afrikaans-speaking. It gained support through its aggressive election campaign in which it promised to fight back against the ANC. The DP has its roots in white liberal politics. Its forerunners were the Progressive, Progressive Reform and Progressive Federal Parties. Political liberalism has been influential in South African politics, but has never before made a significant impact in terms of voter support, although the PFP was the official opposition in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The appeal of liberalism was limited to wealthy white urban suburbs. The new South African Constitution, and the political and legal systems, are, nevertheless based on liberal principles. It remains to be seen what the impact of the influx of ex-NNP members will be on the DP.

The only other party with a measure of national support is the United Democratic Movement (UDM), under the leadership of ex-ANC Bantu Holomisa and ex-NP Roelf Meyer. It was conceptualised as an alternative multiracial party next to the ANC. It drew some voter support in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng

<sup>167</sup> M. Cross, *Culture and identity in South African education, 1880-1990* (unp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 166-170; W. & A. Durant, "The political status quo", L. Louw & F. Kendall, *South Africa: The solution*, p. 79.

<sup>168</sup> W. Gutteridge, "South Africa: Apartheid's endgame", W. Gutteridge (ed.), *South Africa: From Apartheid to National Unity, 1981-1994*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>169</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *South Africa survey 1997/98*, pp. 509-510.

during the 1999 elections, but did not manage to lure voters away from the ANC on a large scale.

In the period of segregation and apartheid coloureds and Indians were organised in their own political movements and parties. Before 1948 the African Political Organization (APO)<sup>170</sup>, the Anti-CAD group<sup>171</sup> and the South African Coloured People's Organisation (CPO)<sup>172</sup> were prominent coloured political organisations, The Natal Indian Congress (NIC)<sup>173</sup> and the South African Indian Congress<sup>174</sup> represented the Indian community. Under apartheid parallel parliamentary institutions were developed for the coloureds and Indians. Between the 1960s and the early 1980s there were the Coloured Persons Representative Council<sup>175</sup> and the South African Indian Council.<sup>176</sup> The 1983 Constitution provided for a tricameral parliament with a House of Representatives<sup>177</sup> for coloureds and a House of Delegates for Indians. Ethnically-based coloured and Indian political parties were established to participate in these institutions, including the the Federal Coloured People's Party (later renamed the Freedom Party of South Africa), the Labour Party of South Africa<sup>178</sup> and Solidarity. The real issue in coloured and Indian politics was the choice of strategy between collaboration in government-created institutions

<sup>170</sup> M. Adhikari, "Coloured identity and the politics of coloured education: The origin of the teachers' league of South Africa", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1994, pp. 105-107; I. Goldin, *Making race: The politics and economic of coloured identity in South Africa*, pp. 31-33.

<sup>171</sup> H. Villa-Vicencio, *Colour, citizenship and constitutionalism: An oral history of political identity among middle-class coloured people with special reference to the formation of the coloured advisory council in 1943 and the removal of the male franchise in 1956* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1995), pp. 45-46; I. Goldin, *Making race: The politics and economic of coloured identity in South Africa*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>172</sup> R. de Villiers, "South African politics: The rising tide of colour", E. Hellmann & H. Lever (eds.), *Race relations in South Africa 1929-1979*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>173</sup> A. Desai, *Arise ye coolies: Apartheid and the Indian 1960-1995*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>174</sup> R.A. Hill, *The impact of race legislation on kinship and identity amongs ndian muslims in Cape town* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1980), p. 173.

<sup>175</sup> L.M. Fynn, *The coloured community of Durban: A study of changing perceptions of identity* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, 1991), pp. 73-74.

<sup>176</sup> A.G. Desai, *The origins, development and demise of the South African Indian council 1964-1983: A sociological interpretation* (unp. M.A. dissertation, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1987), pp. 80-81; S. Bhana & B. Pachai (eds.), *A documentary history of Indian South Africans*, pp. 252-253; A. Desai, *Arise ye coolies: Apartheid and the Indian 1960-1995*, p. 27.

<sup>177</sup> C. Saunders & N. Southey, *A dictionary of South African history*, p. 46.

<sup>178</sup> L.H. Gann & P. Duignan, *Why South Africa will survive*, p. 33.

to try and improve the position of the coloured and Indian people, or non-collaboration and boycotts to destroy the apartheid institutions. The latter strategy was followed by the United Democratic Front, which co-ordinated opposition to the tricameral system, and the revived NIC.

In the new dispensation ethnically-based coloured and Indian political parties have disappeared. The majority of coloureds have voted for either the ANC or the NNP, and the majority of Indians for the ANC.

### 3.3 PROSPECTS FOR NATION-BUILDING

Besides various aspects of structural pluralism, South Africa is also culturally pluralistic. A past fraught with enmity and conflict leaves a heritage of suspicion and fear.<sup>179</sup> The history of black-white conflict left South African society with a legacy of heroes that all South Africans are unable to identify with and share across cultural boundaries. The poverty of the South African national cultural life is evident in the absence of heroes whose esteem in national life transcends racial, ethnic and cultural boundaries. Nelson Mandela can be considered an exception.<sup>180</sup>

One of the greatest drawbacks of the apartheid era was the compartmentalisation of the various ethnic groups of South Africa, leaving a void in learning about and from others' culture. Under apartheid great emphasis was placed on the differences between ethnic groups<sup>181</sup> One of the problems facing the current government is to form a multicultural nation.<sup>182</sup>

Nation-building can be seen as the establishing of a collective sense of political identity which will surpass the up to now broken nature of the South African polity. Should the goal be that of a single, inclusive, non-racial nation, or should

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<sup>179</sup> M.de Jongh, *An anthropological theory of social autonomy: With reference to the heterogeneous racial and cultural, ethnic configurations of Southern Africa* (unp. M.A. dissertation, University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth, 1968), pp. 146-147.

<sup>180</sup> J.A. Marcum, *Education, race, and social change in South Africa*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>181</sup> L. Dreyer, *The modern African elite of South Africa*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>182</sup> T. Madondo, "Harmonising cultural diversity in South Africa-the role of museums", *Southern African Museum Association Bulletin*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1996, p. 18.

it be a multi-racial one providing for smaller groups and the freedom of association? Agreement must be reached in finding a definition of nationhood and how it should be achieved. An important issue is one of priorities – state-building or nation-building.<sup>183</sup>

Nation-building implies the restoration of South African people's self-worth, pride, dignity, initiative and self-reliance.<sup>184</sup> Nation-building refers to the development of a common loyalty and identity among the whole population. Subnational loyalties, whether regional, ethnic, racial, class, religious or ideological in nature, should be superseded by an identification with the nation and with the institutions and symbols of the state. Reconciliation between antagonistic groups is a prerequisite of successful nation-building.<sup>185</sup>

Nation-building is a notion that embodies two different ideas of democracy: the participation of all citizens in governing their lives and the creation of unity through greater equity. In this way a South African nation can be built.<sup>186</sup> Nationhood is a product of history, a record of people united around specific ideological, political and economic programmes within a nation-state. It is a social process. The South African nation was not born on the day of acceptance of a democratic constitution, but will be shaped through the process of a national democratic revolution.<sup>187</sup> It must give a sense of commonality, a new national identity which can bind South Africans together, while allowing other, differentiated levels of identity to exist.<sup>188</sup> Nation-building must overcome the narrow and sectional interests that have existed. The South African nation has to include South African women, white and black, rich and poor, middle and

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<sup>183</sup> W. Esterhuysen, "The normative dimension of future South African political development", D.J. van Vuuren et al. (eds.), *South Africa in the nineties*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>184</sup> S. Mabe, "Why nation building?", *African Law Review*, Vol. 1, No. 5, March, 1990, pp. 22-23.

<sup>185</sup> D. Geldenhuys, "International involvement in nation-and-state-building in South Africa", N. Rhoadie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, p. 413.

<sup>186</sup> J. Pampallis, "Building a nation", *Indicator South Africa*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Winter 1995, p. 26.

<sup>187</sup> J. Schreiner, "Reconstruction: the path to non-sexist nation-building", N. Rhoadie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, p. 294.

<sup>188</sup> J. Pampallis, "Building a nation", *Indicator South Africa*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Winter 1995, p. 28.

working class.<sup>189</sup>

Democratic nation-building will only succeed in South Africa to the extent that South Africans implant a democratic culture and spirit of reconciliation in their diverse communities and slow down the spiral of unrealistic expectations that has escalated dramatically among the black South African communities. National unity is synonymous with the prevention of revolutionary conflict. South Africans must be imbued with a common loyalty toward the new state.<sup>190</sup>

A new South Africa will have to accept the fact of ethnic diversity. A nation, implying an overarching identity, will be more readily built by acknowledging this and trying to cope with it.<sup>191</sup> The problem of nation-building is that of creating a sense of territorial nationality which overshadows subordinate local loyalties; nation-building thus aims at attaining a common definition of the basic identity of the body politic.<sup>192</sup>

Two main strategies are distinguished in nation-building, namely Jacobinistic nation-building and syncretistic nation-building. Jacobinistic nation-building perceives ethnic and cultural loyalties to be on a lower level than loyalty to the state. The creation of a common national culture and the dissolving of communal cultures are a prerequisite for binding a nation together. The nature thereof is usually determined by the majority and enforced by the government. Syncretistic nation-building also strives towards a form of national unity, believing that it is futile to efface communal cultures and loyalties. Instead, existing ethnic, cultural and other units are seen as the building stones in the creation of a larger unity, which can only be achieved if existing groups have the assurance that their survival is not threatened. The cultural rights of groups are thus guaranteed to the maximum. It is believed that loyalty to the state will develop from the processes aimed at the accommodation of different groups.

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<sup>189</sup> J. Schreiner, "Reconstruction: the path to non-sexist nation-building", N. Rhodie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, p. 295.

<sup>190</sup> N. Rhodie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, p. 4.

<sup>191</sup> D. Welsh, "Can South Africa become a nation-state?", D.J. van Vuuren et al. (eds.), *South Africa in the nineties*, p. 567.

<sup>192</sup> Y. Sadie, "The need for civic education in a post-apartheid South Africa", *Politeia*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1994, pp. 14-15.

Nation-building is regarded as the logical step to fill the void created by the demise of apartheid. It is on the basis of unity in diversity that South Africans will consolidate their national sovereignty. The new government intends to follow a syncretistic approach, acknowledging the diversity of the South African society and emphasising unity in diversity.<sup>193</sup> All people have a common loyalty in which they all enjoy democratic rights, and the socio-economic system meets their basic material needs.

Nation-building can be reconciled with democratic government. It need not necessarily degenerate into forced integration, nor does it mean that ethnocultural, linguistic and religious pluralism can be maintained only if nation-building is sacrificed. If the politically dominant sector tries to entrench and monopolise its own power it can create conflict.<sup>194</sup> Democracy must seek to extend democratic rights beyond the sphere of the purely political to the social, and to some extent to the economic sphere.<sup>195</sup> Democracy will depend on how far South Africans develop cross-cutting associations and interests, accompanied by an increase in common values, the development of a uniform national identity, reciprocal trust, strong feelings of common loyalty, intercommunal reconciliation and mutual recognition.<sup>196</sup>

The vision of a united, non-racial, non-ethnic territorial nation is not incompatible with the reality of ethnic and communal diversity. Nation-building requires the recognition of ethnic diversity as a major component of South Africa's demographic composition.<sup>197</sup> A balancing is necessary of the interests of the two main parties, namely blacks - constituting the majority of the population - and whites - who provide most of the skills, entrepreneurship and capital that currently drive our economy. The economy requires the acceptance of the

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<sup>193</sup> E. Bomman, "Joseph's coat: ethnic identification in SA", *Information Update*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1994, p. 31.

<sup>194</sup> N. Rhodie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, p. 3.

<sup>195</sup> J. Pampallis, "Building a nation", *Indicator South Africa*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Winter 1995, p. 26.

<sup>196</sup> N. Rhodie, "White South Africans' expectations regarding democratic nation-building and community reconciliation", N. Rhodie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, pp. 270-271.

<sup>197</sup> J. van Rooyen, "Forces inhibiting the making of a South African nation", N. Rhodie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, pp. 206-207.

socio-political system as legitimate by mobilised black interest groups, also the confidence of white investors, the retention of white skills and entrepreneurship as well as foreign investor confidence. South Africa's two major population groups are thus locked into a situation of mutual independence in which economic growth requires that both sides to the conflict see their interests to be accommodated.<sup>198</sup>

The TRC can be seen as the beginning of nation-building. It has been intent on effecting reconciliation by establishing the truth about human rights infringements.<sup>199</sup> It stands as the country's attempt to effect national reconciliation on the basis of respect for the historical record.<sup>200</sup>

Educational reconstruction needs to design a curriculum that will promote the unity and accommodate the diversity of the population.<sup>201</sup> Education for nation-building has three features.

- A change of identity: South Africans need to transform their conception of themselves so that they see themselves and each other as belonging to one nation. The theme for the inauguration of President Mandela on 10 May 1994 was: many cultures; one nation.
- A moral call: to acquire a moral authority in terms of which ties of loyalty to the nation will influence in a fundamental way the behaviour of South Africans towards one another. Education for nation-building would persuade people to believe that they belong to the nation and that this membership imposes on them moral obligations to their fellow-nationals.
- The school curriculum would include ingredients which explicitly set out to

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<sup>198</sup> S. van den Berg, "Economic reconciliation as a precondition for sustained democracy", N. Rhoadie & I. Liebenberg (eds.), *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, pp. 243-244.

<sup>199</sup> A. Brink, "Stories of history: reimagining the past in post-apartheid narrative", S. Nuttall & C. Coetzee (eds.), *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa*, p. 30.

<sup>200</sup> I. de Kok, "Cracked heirlooms: memory on exhibition", S. Nuttall & C. Coetzee (eds.), *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa*, p. 89.

<sup>201</sup> N. Alexander, Core culture and core curriculum in South Africa, S. Jackson & J. Solis (eds.), *Beyond comfort zones in multiculturalism*, p. 209.

persuade children that they belong to a South African nation.<sup>202</sup>

South Africans need to be engaged in nation-building and reconstruction as a united people. The new national symbols are important to achieve that end, but nation-building requires more than symbols of nationhood.<sup>203</sup> It requires genuine commitment by the vast majority of South African people to the ideal of nation-building and hard work to realise that ideal.

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<sup>202</sup> P. Enslin, "Should nation-building be an aim of education?", *Journal of Education*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1994, pp. 26-27.

<sup>203</sup> J.W. de Gruchy, "Civil Religion in the New South Africa", *South African Outlook*, vol. 134, no. 5, May 1994, pp. 15-22.

## CHAPTER 4

# EMPIRICAL STUDY

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters 2 and 3, dealing with the concept of historical consciousness and with cultural identities/diversity in South Africa respectively, comprise the theoretical study, which serves as background to the empirical study. This chapter and the following ones deal with the empirical study, which forms the core of the thesis. Its overall objective is to determine by means of a questionnaire the relationship between historical consciousness and cultural identity among a sample group of history students at South African universities.

The literature study on which chapters 2 and 3 are based was undertaken between July 1997 and February 1999 in order to develop a theoretical awareness by reading various forms of literature concerned with historical consciousness and the background of cultural identities/diversity in South Africa. The research instrument for the empirical study, a questionnaire, was being prepared from February 1998 until August 1998. The empirical investigation was done between August 1998 and the beginning of March 1999. This was followed by the statistical analysis of the research data, the evaluation and interpretation of the results and the preparation of the manuscript from the middle of March to May 1999.

### 4.2 DESIGN

A one shot cross sectional survey design was implemented.

### 4.3 PARTICIPANTS

The total population for this empirical research consists of all students registered for undergraduate and postgraduate studies in the history departments at South African residential universities.

Students of the history department at the Potchefstroom University for CHE formed part of the investigation, because the candidate is based here. The other respondents were selected from all the other South African residential universities with history departments and the following universities were randomly selected with the assistance of Mrs Wilma Breytenbach of the Statistical Consultation Services at the PU for CHE:

University of Pretoria;  
 University of the Western Cape;  
 University of the Witwatersrand, and  
 University of Transkei.

The number of respondents from this population required to make conclusions from the empirical study scientifically valid was determined by using the following formula supplied by Statistical Consultation Services:<sup>1</sup>

$$n \geq \frac{N}{1 + \frac{Nd^2}{10\,000}}$$

n = sample size

N = total population

d = %

In the case of this empirical study the total population of all students registered for history courses at residential universities in South Africa (excluding UNISA) is taken to be 2 800 (based on statistics from the 1998 South African Historical Society newsletter). If allowance is made for an 11% deviation from the norm (i.e. the results will be 89% accurate), the calculation is:

$$n \geq \frac{2\,800}{1 + \frac{2\,800 \times 11^2}{10\,000}}$$

$$\geq \frac{2\,800}{1 + \frac{338\,800}{10\,000}}$$

<sup>1</sup> H.S. Steyn, *Praktiese statistiek vir die geesteswetenskappe*, table 17-12.

$$\geq \frac{2\,800}{1 + 33,88}$$

$$\geq \frac{2\,800}{34,88}$$

$$\geq 80,27$$

A sample of at least 80 students is required to obtain scientifically valid results.

From all the history students at the five selected universities a further sample was drawn by randomly selecting, with the assistance of Statistical Consultation Services, a number of course units on under- and postgraduate level, in such a way that a sufficient number of respondents were included. Initially a total number of 762 students was selected at the five universities:

**Table 4.1: The number of history students at five universities randomly selected**

	Potchefstroom University for CHE	University of Pretoria	University of the Western Cape	University of Transkei	University of the Witwatersrand	Total
Second Year				250	60	310
Third year	5	44	380			429
Hons.				-		-
M.A.	1	10	12			23
Total	6	54	392	250	60	762

There was a problem with the response of some of the participating universities. Inadequate co-operation from the University of the Western Cape and the University of Transkei necessitated the selection of a further history department, that of Vista University (Bloemfontein Campus), to participate in the research. Eventually a total number of 93 questionnaires were completed by 4 universities. Although the number of completed questionnaires is lower than what was originally envisaged, scientifically valid conclusions can still be drawn, because the number prescribed by the formula above, was exceeded.

The biographical information of the students in the sample group obtained from the questionnaire is as follows:

**Table 4.2: University distribution of students investigated**

University	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Potchefstroom University for CHE	5	5.4	5	5.4
University of Pretoria	22	23.7	27	29.1
University of the Witwatersrand	27	29.0	54	58.1
Vista University (Bloemfontein Campus)	39	41.9	93	100.0

**Table 4.3: Gender distribution**

Gender	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Male	48	51.6	48	51.6
Female	45	48.4	93	100.0

**Table 4.4: Age distribution**

Age	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Younger than 17	0	0.0	0	0.0
17 - 19	1	1.1	1	1.1
20 - 22	24	25.8	25	26.9
23 - 25	17	18.3	42	45.2
26 - 28	20	21.5	62	66.7
Older than 28	31	33.3	93	100.0

**Table 4.5: Level distribution**

Level	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1st year	7	8.4	7	8.4
2nd year	22	26.5	29	34.9
3rd year	39	47.0	68	81.9
Honours degree	2	2.4	70	84.3
Master's degree	13	15.7	83	100.0
Doctoral degree	0	0.0	83	100.0

Frequency missing = 10.

**Table 4.6: Language ability**

Language	Frequency	Percentage
Afrikaans	57	61.3
English	82	88.2
Ndebele	6	6.5
Xhosa	29	31.2
Zulu	36	38.7
Pedi	28	30.1
Sotho	53	57.0
Tswana	48	51.6
Swati	5	5.4
Venda	5	5.4
Tsonga	4	4.3

**Table 4.7: Preferred home language**

Preferred home language	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Afrikaans	11	14.9	11	14.9
English	15	20.3	26	35.1
Ndebele	0	0.0	26	35.1
Xhosa	9	12.2	35	47.3
Zulu	4	5.4	39	52.7
Pedi	6	8.1	45	60.8

Sotho	14	18.9	59	79.7
Tswana	12	16.2	71	95.9
Swati	1	1.4	72	97.3
Venda	1	1.4	73	98.6
Tsonga	1	1.4	74	100.0

Frequency missing = 19.

The students' answers reveal that all of them are at least bilingual. They can all speak English and/or Afrikaans, the former official languages and the medium of instruction at tertiary education level. At the same time each student speaks in his/her own mother tongue at home.

**Table 4.8: Religious affiliation**

Religion	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Apostolic Faith Mission	6	13.0	6	13.0
Catholic Church	14	30.4	20	43.5
Dutch Reformed Church	21	45.7	41	89.1
Hindu Faith	0	0.0	41	89.1
Muslim Faith	0	0.0	41	89.1
Zion Christian Church (ZCC)	5	10.9	46	100.0

Frequency missing = 47.

From the above table the conclusion can be drawn that only students with Christian affiliations responded, that is no Indian or Malay students responded and no conclusions can be drawn regarding these groups. The research is thus limited to Christians and perhaps non-religious people. The high missing frequency could mean that many respondents have no religious affiliation.

**Table 4.9: Father's education level**

Father's education level	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
No schooling at all	14	15.2	14	15.2
Primary school (complete or incomplete)	13	14.1	27	29.3
Secondary school (complete or incomplete)	40	43.5	67	72.8
Teachers Training Programme	4	4.3	71	77.2
Technical school	3	3.3	74	80.4
University (complete or incomplete)	6	6.5	80	87.0
Postgraduate course (complete or incomplete): Honours/ Master's/ Doctor's degree	3	3.3	83	90.2
I am not sure	2	2.2	85	92.4
Not applicable	7	7.6	92	100.0

Frequency missing = 1.

**Table 4.10: Mother's education level**

Mother's education level	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
No schooling at all	10	11.2	10	11.2
Primary school (complete or incomplete)	16	18.0	26	29.2
Secondary school (complete or incomplete)	38	42.7	64	71.9
Teachers Training Programme	9	10.1	73	82.0
Technical school	0	0.0	73	82.0
University (complete or incomplete)	6	6.7	79	88.8
Postgraduate course (complete or incomplete): Honours/ Master's/Doctor's degree	5	5.6	84	94.4
I am not sure	1	1.1	85	95.5
Not applicable	4	4.5	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

In the case of more than 90% of the respondents, the student's educational level is already higher than that of his/her parents.

**Table 4.11: Class distribution**

Class	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Working class	29	32.2	29	32.2
Lower middle class	23	25.6	52	57.8
Higher middle class	26	28.9	78	86.7
The elite	1	1.1	79	87.8
No class at all	5	5.6	84	93.3
I'm not sure	6	6.7	90	100.0

Frequency missing = 3.

Most of these students regarded themselves as belonging to the working and middle classes, although class distinctions in South Africa are not as clear-cut as in Europe and Asia. This is interesting, because in countries like Korea class consciousness is a very important socio-economic factor. The results could mean that South Africa will more readily communicate, unite and develop into a one soul country. Students were chosen at random and thus no control was possible over the composition of the sample group.

#### **4.4 MEASURING INSTRUMENT**

A questionnaire to determine the relationship between cultural identity and historical consciousness among history students at South African universities has been developed in consultation with the supervisors of the thesis and with the assistance of the Statistical Consultation Services and experts of questionnaire construction at the PU. Content validity was established by experts in the field. Reliability will be tested by future research.

The questionnaire was prepared in booklet form. A copy of the text of the questionnaire is included as an appendix at the end of the thesis.

#### 4.4.1 Composition of the questionnaire

Historical consciousness is deeply connected with historical interest and an understanding of historical concepts. Therefore the survey investigated historical interests and basic historical consciousness in terms of areas of history. Taking into account the structure of historical consciousness (see chapter 2) this investigation studied consciousness of time, consciousness of transition, consciousness of causality, consciousness of periods/times, and consciousness of development. This was done to determine how students understand these concepts, because they are linked to the structural development of historical consciousness. The cultural identity component was tested simultaneously with other questions because all questions included sections on cultural identity.

**Table 4.12: Division of questionnaire contents**

#### SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Division	Questionnaire contents	Question number	Question Type
Biographical details	Sex	1	multiple choice
	Age	2	multiple choice
	What is your current year of registration as a student?	3	multiple choice
	Language preference	4-5	multiple choice
	Religion	6	multiple choice
	Parents' education level	7-8	multiple choice
	Class	9	multiple choice

<sup>2</sup> The questionnaire has 3 different types of questions. The first type is multiple choice where only one option may be chosen. In the second type of multiple choice question more than one answer may be chosen. In the statistical analysis of the first type it is possible to calculate cumulative frequencies and percentages, which is not the case with the second type. The third type of question is in the form of open-ended questions where written explanations are required from the respondents.

**SECTION B: THE BASIC QUESTION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS**

Division	Questionnaire Contents	Question Number	Question Type
The basic question of historical consciousness	The moment that you got interested in history	10	multiple choice
	Field in which you are interested in history	11	multiple choice
	Recognition of historical time/period	12	multiple choice
	Necessity and purpose of history education	13, 17	multiple choice
	What have you learnt from the history of the past?	14-15	multiple choice + explanation
	Human and material resources of formation of historical knowledge	16, 18	multiple choice
	Historical knowledge formation of family	19	multiple choice
	Recognition of local history	20-21	multiple choice
	Recognition of historical meaning	22	multiple choice
Interest in world history	23-24	multiple choice + explanation	

## SECTION C: ANALYSIS REGARDING DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

### A: CONSCIOUSNESS OF TIME

Division	Questionnaire Contents	Question Number	Question Type
A: Consciousness of time	Time conception regarding the century	25	Multiple choice
	Consciousness of chronology	26	Multiple choice
	Consciousness of transitional procedures /order of history	27	Multiple choice
	Understanding about/consciousness about periodic structure	28	Multiple choice

### B: CONSCIOUSNESS OF TRANSITION

Division	Questionnaire Contents	Question Number	Question Type
B: Consciousness of transition	Consciousness of transition in world history	29	Multiple choice
	Speed of transition in 20 <sup>th</sup> century compared to 19 <sup>th</sup> century	30	Multiple choice
	Speed of transition of consciousness in South African history before 1994 and thereafter	31	Multiple choice

### C : CONSCIOUSNESS OF CAUSATION (CAUSALITY, CAUSE AND EFFECT)

Division	Questionnaire Contents	Question Number	Question Type
C: Consciousness of causation (causality, cause and effect)	Consciousness of causation of historical events	32	Multiple choice
	Consciousness of causation of Cold War	33	Multiple choice

**D: CONSCIOUSNESS OF PERIOD**

Division	Questionnaire Contents	Question Number	Question Type
D: Consciousness of period	Time conception of modern times	34	Multiple choice
	Time consciousness of past, present and future	35	Multiple choice
	Independent recognition of changes in modern history	36	Multiple choice
	Consciousness of characteristics of periodic divisions of history	37	Multiple choice

**E: CONSCIOUSNESS OF DEVELOPMENT**

Division	Questionnaire Contents	Question Number	Question Type
E: Consciousness of development	Understanding of concept of development	38	Multiple choice
	Consciousness of the motor power of historical development	39	Multiple choice
	Sense of independence of historical development	40	Multiple choice
	Recognition of issues in the modern world	41	Multiple choice

**SECTION D : INTENSIFIED DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE**

Division	Question Contents	Question Number	Question Type
Historical consciousness which is presented by " the present"	General	42-57	Multiple choice + Explanation
	Politics	58-89	Multiple choice + Explanation
	Economics	90-94	Multiple choice + Explanation
	Society	95-104	Multiple choice + Explanation
	Culture	105-112	Multiple choice + Explanation
	History	113-147	Multiple choice + Explanation
	Education	148-152	Multiple choice + Explanation

Unfortunately the length of the questionnaire posed a problem. It was difficult to administer, because of the time factor. Some students needed more than an hour to complete the questionnaire.

#### **4.5 PROCEDURE**

The following procedure was followed in the administration of the questionnaire:

The questionnaire was prepared in booklet form. The questionnaire and instructions was compiled in conjunction with the Statistical Services. The participating universities were selected randomly. The Heads of Departments of History were telephonically contacted to request participation in the research. Thereafter the questionnaires, instructions to students and an official covering letter were sent to all participating universities by courier. The completed questionnaires were also returned by means of courier services. In the case of Potchefstroom University the questionnaire was administered by the author and promotor.

#### **4.6 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS**

With the assistance of the Statistical Consultation Services the results obtained were analysed in detail, using the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) Institute's basics programme (Statistical Analysis System Institute Inc., 1985). The quantitative analysis implies that the percentage (frequency) of students choosing each option at each question was calculated. In the case of open-ended questions all the answers to a particular question were listed, numbered and the frequency of each answer then determined quantitatively in the same way as the multiple choice questions and explanatory questions. A qualitative analysis was also done manually by the candidate.

## CHAPTER 5

# RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

In this chapter the results of the empirical study on historical consciousness are given in terms of a quantitative (statistical) and qualitative analysis of the answers of the respondents to questions 10-152 of the questionnaire. In the case of each question the text of the question will be supplied, the frequency of the answers to the question will be indicated and an interpretation of the statistical results will be given.

### 5.1 THE BASIC QUESTION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS (QUESTIONS 10-24)

To form an idea of the basic nature and level of historical consciousness among the respondents, questions 10-24 were included. Questions 10-12, 23-24 were aimed at analysing interest in history in general, but also in specific aspects, periods and geographical history. Questions 13, 14-15, and 17 dealt with perceptions regarding the necessity to study the past. In questions 18-21 sources of historical knowledge in the family and local domain were investigated. Question 22 focused on perceptions of the meaning of history. The following results were obtained:

#### **Question 10: When did your interest in history start?**

**Table 1.5: The moment of first interest in history**

<b>Answer</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
In primary school	39	41.9	39	41.9
In secondary school	41	44.1	80	86.0
During my first year at University	6	6.5	86	92.5
After my first year at University	3	3.2	89	95.7
I'm not sure	4	4.3	93	100.0

Historical consciousness develops from historical interests and historical thinking. The vast majority of students in the history departments responded by showing that they already had an interest in history at school, 41.9% in primary school and 44.1% in secondary school. Thus almost all respondents were interested in history from an early age.

**Question 11: Which section of history are you MOST interested in?**

**Table 5.2: Field of interest in history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Archaeology	1	1.1	1	1.1
Political history	52	58.4	53	59.6
Cultural history	9	10.1	62	69.7
Social history	22	24.7	84	94.4
Economic history	5	5.6	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

Political history shows the highest interest rate of 58.4%, followed by social history (24.7%), and cultural history (10.1%). A keen interest in political power, rather than economic development, has been typical in the history of Africa's struggle for liberation from colonial domination. These results are not surprising in a country where the transition to broad democracy has taken place quite recently.

It is a grave concern to see that there is only a 5.6% interest in economic history. South Africa is experiencing huge economic challenges in remedying poverty and the problem of redistribution of wealth in the context of a very competitive world economic system. In this situation, the lack of interest in economic affairs could weaken national competitive power.

It is also important to strengthen the interest in cultural and social history. One of the real problems in South Africa is of a social cultural nature, namely how to unite the nation in a multicultural and multiracial society. It is impossible to develop "one soul, and one nation" if each and every culture is not shown real respect and

understanding for cultural diversity is lacking.

**Question 12: In which historical period(s) are you interested?**

**Table 5.3: Levels of interest in different periods/times**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Pre-historical times	8	8.6
Ancient times	15	16.1
Medieval times	21	22.6
Modern times	54	58.1
Present times	46	49.5
I'm not sure	1	1.1

Table 14 above shows which specific periods the respondents are interested in. Most of them are more interested in modern and present times than in medieval, ancient or pre-historical times.

It is somewhat surprising that the figure for modern times is higher than that for present times. This can probably be ascribed to the fact that the definitions of the respective periods supplied in the question related to international rather than South African history. There is a relatively good interest rate in ancient times (16.1%) and medieval times (22.6%).

**Question 13: To what extent do you feel it is necessary to study the past?**

**Table 5.4: Necessity of history study**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
To a great extent	62	67.4	62	67.4
To a moderate extent	20	21.7	82	89.1
To some extent	10	10.9	92	100.0
It is not necessary at all	0	0.0	92	100.0
I'm not sure	0	0.0	92	100.0

Frequency missing = 1.

All the respondents agree that the study of history is necessary. The study of history can build up national consciousness in people's minds and could be an element for national unity and development.

The aims of history education at school must be to systematically enhance sound historical knowledge and historical consciousness from an early age. The aim of historical education is to equip people with a sound historical view and world view through the recognition of history. In South Africa the government can play a role in enhancing the historical view of people through history education.

**Question 14: Do you think that the past teaches us anything?**

**Table 5.5: Expectations as to the teaching/instruction of history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes, greatly	77	84.6	77	84.6
Yes, moderately	8	8.8	85	93.4
Yes, slightly	3	3.3	88	96.7
No, nothing at all	1	1.1	89	97.8
I'm not sure	2	2.2	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

Cumulatively these answers show a great deal of affirmation (96.7%) of the value of history from students in general. From the perspective of the historian this overwhelming affirmative reaction is encouraging.

**Question 15: Please motivate your answer to question 14.**

Students answered this first open-ended question as follows:<sup>1</sup>

1. Tells us something about the future.  
Enriches our lives.

<sup>1</sup> The open-ended questions were analysed in a different way from the multiple choice questions, because their possible answers are unlimited. All answers by the respondents first had to be listed and numbered before a statistical analysis could be done. These questions are nevertheless important to obtain more information on the respondents' personal views. This type of question is

Tells us how and why things happen.

Tells us how to avoid mistakes.

2. I do not think that studies of the past necessarily provide any insight into the future. In that respect the past teaches us nothing. By trying to use the past to teach us a lesson, one only uses it to suit one's experience in the present.
3. I think history must change now and then so that people can learn what is happening now or in the future. The past is not important, because most contributors are dead. It is meaningless to teach our pupils about them. The present is the most important.
4. It does not actually teach us anything – it only keeps us informed.

**Table 5.6: Motivation for answers to question 14**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	80	96.4	80	96.4
2	1	1.2	81	97.6
3	1	1.2	82	98.8
4	1	1.2	83	100.0

Frequency missing = 10.

According to 96.4% of the respondents, history not only tells us what happened in the past, but can be applied to our present lives to learn from the mistakes we made and can assist us towards building a better future.

**Question 16: Every person has some knowledge of the past. From whom did you obtain your knowledge of the past?**

**Table 5.7: Human resources used for the formation of historical consciousness**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
From my parents	63	67.7
From peers	20	21.5
From teachers at school	60	64.5
From university lecturers	60	64.5

Human resources for the formation of historical consciousness are very important. It relates to transfer of accurate or inaccurate information about the past, and the formation of positive or negative perceptions about history.

From the results it is clear that the family and the school/university are the primary sources of historical knowledge. Teachers and parents interact with the students and play important roles in everyday life. It should be expected that historical information received from parents and peers will be more inaccurate and subjective than knowledge received from teachers. In any case, historical knowledge filtered through the minds of both parents and teachers will be determined by a cultural-specific perspective.

**Question 17: Which of the following do you regard as important reasons to study history?**

**Table 5.8: Important reasons for the study of history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
For the formation of character	14	15.1
To understand the spirit and achievement of our forefathers	33	35.5
To understand ourselves better	41	44.1
To improve our ability to remember facts accurately	16	17.2
To understand political issues	44	47.3

To develop critical thinking skills	59	63.4
To acknowledge the possibility of more than one viewpoint	38	40.9
To appreciate other peoples' values and ideals	39	41.9
To convince people that the history of their people is part of South Africa	15	16.1
It provides good general knowledge	27	29.0
To respect others	16	17.2
To inculcate love for South Africa	12	12.9

According to the respondents the most important reason why one must study history is to develop critical thinking skills (63.4%), which proves how important cognitive/intellectual skills are to the students. As mentioned before, the reason why so many (47.3%) of the respondents think that history is important to understand political issues can be attributed to the transition in South African politics. The responses "To understand ourselves better" (44.1%) and "To understand the spirit and achievement of our forefathers" (35.5%) are indicative of the desire of respondents to find their identity in society. The 41.9% response to "To appreciate other peoples' values and ideals" shows that there is a concern for other people which must be encouraged. At present there is a lack of understanding between multicultural groups nationwide.

**Question 18: What do you think is the MOST important source for the development of historical knowledge?**

**Table 5.9: Material resources for the formation of historical consciousness**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Textbooks	24	31.6	24	31.6
Journals	10	13.2	34	44.7
Reference data	9	11.8	43	56.6
Newspapers & other media	15	19.7	58	76.3
Other source(s)	7	9.2	65	85.5
I'm not sure	11	14.5	76	100.0

Frequency missing = 17.

Apart from human resources it is also important to determine the relative value for respondents of the various material resources for the formation of historical consciousness. According to the reactions the influence was mostly from textbooks (31.6%) followed by newspapers and other media (19.7%). The reasons for this is because textbooks have a direct mediation for history study and newspapers, TV, and other broadcasting media are particularly influential in present society.

From the above we can observe that the development of mass communications and media has had an important influence on the formation of historical consciousness. News and documentary programmes are important to convey information of a historical nature.

The reason why there is a relatively high rate of responses to journals (13.2%) and reference data (11.8%) is because the respondents are presently studying history at university.

**Question 19: Do you talk about history in general with your family in your everyday life?**

**Table 5.10: History in everyday family conversation**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes, frequently	31	33.7	31	33.7
Yes, from time to time	32	34.8	63	68.5
Yes, but only rarely	26	28.3	89	96.7
No, never	3	3.3	92	100.0

Frequency missing = 1.

This question was asked to gauge students' levels of interest in history in their family circles. The results show that there is a fairly high interest in history as a subject in family conversation. Thus the knowledge and consciousness of history that parents have, will influence the outlook of students. This was also reflected in the responses to question 16.

**Question 20: Are you interested in local history about your town/city?****Table 5.11: Interest in local history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes, very much	57	62.0	57	62.0
Yes, Moderately	18	19.6	75	81.5
Yes, Slightly	11	12.0	86	93.5
No, not at all	6	6.5	92	100.0

Frequency missing = 1.

Interest in local history, that is the history of the city/town or region in which a person lives, is a basic requirement for the development of historical consciousness. Knowledge of local history and pride in the local heritage form a platform from where self-awareness and national awareness may be built up. This could be a building block of nationhood.

The cumulative percentage of 93.5% for the first three options shows an enormous interest in local history. This high percentage can probably be ascribed to the fact that local history is more familiar to the respondents, and being so close to home, regarded by them as being relevant to their daily needs.

**Question 21: Are there remains/ruins/vestiges/sites of historical value and/or cultural importance in your town?****Table 5.12: Knowledge of local history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes, many	28	30.8	28	30.8
Yes, some	32	35.1	60	65.9
Yes, but very few	16	17.6	76	83.5
No, nothing	7	7.7	83	91.2
I don't know	8	8.8	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

The strongly affirmative responses come to a total of 65.9%. The uncertain and negative responses cumulatively add up to 34.1%. This shows an even spread of responses and confirms the students' interest in and recognition of local history. These high interest levels should be used effectively for the purposes of history education. Local and regional history, which is included in history syllabi from primary school level, should receive even more attention in history teaching.

**Question 22: What is the meaning of "history" in your view?**

**Table 5.13: Perception of the meaning of history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Old tales/stories	0	0.0	0	0.0
Old events and facts	21	25.0	21	25.0
Traces of living	16	19.0	37	44.0
Recording of past	45	53.6	82	97.6
I don't really know what it means	2	2.4	84	100.0

Frequency missing = 9.

We need to understand the meaning of history to understand history itself. Therefore it is necessary to determine how the respondents understand the word history.

From the results we can observe that respondents have a good understanding of the meaning of history. The meaning of history is not just old events and facts (25.0%) but rather a recording of the past (53.6%). Some understand it as traces of living (19.0%).

**Question 23: Which continent's history are you interested in most?**

**Table 5.14: Interest in world history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Europe	23	26.7	23	26.7
Asia	0	0.0	23	26.7

America	3	3.5	26	30.2
Australia	0	0.0	26	30.2
Africa	60	69.8	86	100.0

Frequency missing = 7.

Since Nelson Mandela assumed political power in 1994, South Africa's international relations have been normalising after the isolation during the apartheid years. When whites still held political power, South Africa's orientation was pro-West and particularly pro-Europe. It is important to observe the trends after black political power came into authority and how South African history students understand world history.

The reactions of the respondents show a very one-sided focus on Africa as the home continent and Europe as the place of origin of white South Africans. A small number of respondents are interested in America and none in Asia and Australia. The nonexistent or slight interest in Asia and America indicates there is a serious lack of knowledge and consciousness of world history in a broader context.

In a globalising world problems or phenomena that arise in one location are not just relevant to in that particular location but are often problems of a universal nature which require co-operative action. Not one single nation can survive by isolating itself totally from world history.

A society is the basis for thoughts and phenomena for all the members of that society and it is difficult for them to be objective. If a member of a specific society or government becomes disinterested in a changing international society or global village, it could lead to a false superiority or inferiority complex and result in ignoring co-existence in international society. To develop a sound international feeling, it is important to change your thinking regarding international society and compare yourself objectively with an international society. To become an influential member of the international community it is necessary that South Africa widely increases its knowledge about world history.

**Question 24: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 23.**

The following responses were obtained:

1. History of Europe enriches me – lots of interesting people.  
They have had their history written for many years.
2. It is my continent, where my life is and will end.  
Tells me about my ancestors.  
History of Africa has evoked a huge debate amongst historians to such an extent that some have been biased in their writings.  
I want to know what happened in my continent, in order that I can make some input in developing it in the future.  
Near to me, easily reachable and it is less expensive to go to.
3. Mixture of Africa, Europe and America because I want to learn history through the written word.
4. America's economy is flourishing.
5. America and South Africa have a similar history, that is a history of apartheid.

**Table 5.15: Motivation for answers to question 23**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	22	25.9	22	25.9
2	60	70.6	82	96.5
3	1	1.2	83	97.6
4	1	1.2	84	98.8
5	1	1.2	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 6.

The fact that the respondents live in Africa, means they have a deeper interest in African history, and because Europe's history has existed for a long time it is perceived to increase the knowledge of the respondents.

From the preceding explanation it proves that this is simply "a man of narrow outlook's" way of thinking. Careful attention must be paid to broad world history education for students and should be implemented without further delay.

With the exception of one or two questions the answers were as expected.

The conclusions of this section of the questionnaire can be summarised as follows:

- Most of the respondents started having an interest in history during primary school and secondary school. They have a preference for political history.
- They think history education is important because it teaches critical thinking and enhances the understanding of other peoples' values and ideology.
- The parents are an important human resource for the formation of historical consciousness, as they communicate about family and history every day. The textbooks used in schools play an important role as a resource.
- The respondents show a strong interest in local history, and a strong preference for African and European history, rather than the history of other continents.

## **5.2 ANALYSIS REGARDING DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS (QUESTIONS 25-41)**

This section of the questionnaire was intended to determine the actual nature of the historical consciousness of the respondents. Historical consciousness is analysed in terms of differences between present and past, transition and development, cause and effect, chronological structure and understanding of developmental concepts. This section included various aspects which were identified in chapter 2 as elements of the structure of historical consciousness: consciousness of time, consciousness of transition, consciousness of causation (causality, cause and effect), consciousness of period, consciousness of development.

### **5.2.1 Consciousness of time (Questions 25-28)**

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. Time concept (the century).
2. Chronology.
3. Transition procedures/order of history.

## 4. Periodic structure.

**Question 25: When will the 21st century be precisely?****Table 5.16: Time concept regarding the century**

<b>Answer</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
2000-2099	46	54.1	46	54.1
2000-2100	13	15.3	59	69.4
2001-2099	9	10.6	68	80.0
2001-2100	17	20.0	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

Time consciousness as a basic element of historical consciousness was investigated by this question. The respondents were questioned about the concept of century, which is comparatively simple and commonly used.

In spite of being students of history only 54.1% of the respondents knew the correct answer and 45.9% of the students gave wrong answers. Although the students are, in terms of the results of the previous section, interested in history, there appears to be a lack of understanding among them of a rather simple time concept such as century.

**Question 26: In which period did the following persons live?**

**Table 5.17: Consciousness of chronology**

**A Shaka Zulu**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
16th century	16	19.0	16	19.0
17th century	14	16.7	30	35.7
18th century	15	17.9	45	53.6
19th century	38	45.2	83	98.8
20th century	1	1.2	84	100.0

Frequency missing = 9.

**B Jan Smuts**

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
16th century	4	4.6	4	4.6
17th century	5	5.7	9	10.3
18th century	10	11.5	19	21.8
19th century	27	31.0	46	52.9
20th century	41	47.1	87	100.0

Frequency missing = 6.

**C Abraham Lincoln**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
16th century	10	12.8	10	12.8
17th century	6	7.7	16	20.5
18th century	19	24.4	35	44.9
19th century	36	46.2	71	91.0
20th century	7	9.0	78	100.0

Frequency missing = 15.

**D Jan van Riebeeck**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
16th century	32	35.6	32	35.6
17th century	48	53.3	80	88.9
18th century	8	8.9	88	97.8
19th century	1	1.1	89	98.9
20th century	1	1.1	90	100.0

Frequency missing = 3.

From the above results it is clear that about half the respondents have no clear idea when these people lived. It would be quite understandable if the respondents were general students, but in fact they are students who study history, in which case they will be regarded as people with accurate historical knowledge. This lack of accurate knowledge could have negative effects, the reason being that when these students start teaching they will be in a position to teach and convey facts, but if they have faulty knowledge concerning historical facts, it will lead to the formation of an incorrect historical consciousness.

Time consciousness of events which was not experienced first hand begins to develop from childhood and becomes more precise in high school and maturity. This shortcoming should therefore be addressed at school level.

**Question 27: Place the following historical events in the correct chronological (time) order.**

***Table 5.18: Consciousness of transitional procedures/order of history***

- |  |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>① Anglo-Boer War breaks out</li> <li>② Gandhi arrives in South Africa</li> <li>③ Bartholomew Diaz lands at the Cape of Good Hope</li> <li>④ Jan van Riebeeck lands at the Cape</li> </ul> |
|--|

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
① ② ③ ④	2	2.9	2	2.9
③ ④ ① ②	26	37.7	28	40.6
② ① ④ ③	1	1.4	29	42.0
④ ③ ② ①	11	15.9	40	58.0
② ③ ④ ①	1	1.4	41	59.4
④ ③ ① ②	17	24.6	58	84.1
③ ④ ② ①	11	15.9	69	100.0

Frequency missing = 24.

A good indicator of historical consciousness is the ability to put historical facts in the correct chronological order. We see that only 15.9% of students are correctly aware of the chronological order which should be higher. There is thus a very big discrepancy between the students' strong interest in history, as indicated in the previous section of the questionnaires, and their actual knowledge of historical facts. This aspect needs to be further investigated.

**Question 28: Choose the general characteristics for the periods listed below.**

**Table 5.19: Understanding of periodic structure**

① Invention of writing	② Slavery
③ Christian society	④ Civic society
⑤ Feudalism	⑥ Industrial revolution
⑦ Popularization (The society of general public/the masses)	

**A Character of ancient times**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
① ②	25	36.8	25	36.8
② ③ ⑤	13	19.1	38	55.9
② ③ ④	2	2.9	40	58.8
① ② ④	13	19.1	53	77.9
① ② ③ ④ ⑥	15	22.1	68	100.0

Frequency missing = 25.

## B Character of Medieval times/the Middle Ages

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
③ ⑤	28	41.2	28	41.2
① ③ ⑤ ⑥	14	20.6	42	61.8
① ② ③ ⑤	14	20.6	56	82.4
① ③ ④ ⑤	4	5.9	60	88.2
③ ④ ⑤ ⑦	8	11.8	68	100.0

Frequency missing = 25.

Periodic consciousness is the ability to understand the synthetic nature of a period. In the questionnaire the respondents' grasp of the characteristics of ancient and medieval times was tested.

Referring to the results, 36.8% of the respondents accurately answered the part of the question dealing with ancient times (63.2% of the answers were thus wrong) and 41.2% supplied correct answers to the part dealing with medieval times (58.8% wrong answers). Despite the fact that the respondents are studying history, they do not correctly understand the distinctive periodic structure, something which greatly influences the formation and development of historical consciousness.

It can possibly be attributed to the fact that world history receives insufficient attention in history syllabi at school level. The fact that history is a compulsory subject only up to grade 9, and not in grades 10-12, may also be a contributing factor. However, one expects the majority of history students at university to have taken history to grade 12 at school. Ideally, students should develop a consciousness of periodic structures at high school level.

### Consciousness of transition (Questions 29-31)

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. Transition in world history.
2. Speed of periodic transition.
3. Speed of transition in South African history.

**Question 29: Do you think that world history has changed and that it undergoes transition (change) continuously?**

**Table 5.20: Consciousness of transition in world history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	76	83.5	76	83.5
No	4	4.4	80	87.9
I'm not sure	11	12.1	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

This question attempts to investigate whether students think that world history undergoes transition. Most of the respondents responded affirmatively. If the respondents are aware of changes around the world, they will be ready for changes and this awareness could lead to a better understanding of oneself, including the problems of society and the country, and furthermore to the solution of problems.

**Question 30: Do you think historical changes are taking place faster in the 20<sup>th</sup> century than the 19<sup>th</sup> century?**

**Table 5.21: Speed of periodic transition**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	67	73.6	67	73.6
No	13	14.3	80	87.9
I'm not sure	11	12.1	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

Almost three-quarters of the respondents think that change is speeding up. Those with an opposing response (26.4%) are not sensing the speed of change.

**Question 31: Do you think that the speed of change in South Africa was faster before 1994 than after 1994?**

**Table 5.22: Consciousness of speed of transition in South African history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	33	35.5	33	35.5
No	55	59.1	88	94.6
I'm not sure	5	5.4	93	100.0

For this question I anticipated that almost all the respondents would respond that 1994 was a turning point which accelerated change in South Africa. But unexpectedly 64.5% responded that they are not aware of a speeding up of change.

South Africa has experienced severe and serious political, economical, social and cultural crises since 1994, when the political power was handed over to the blacks. The above results are very interesting and will be analysed in the intensified descriptive questionnaire section.

### **Consciousness of causation (causality, cause and effect) (Questions 32-33)**

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. Causation of historical events.
2. Causation of Cold War.

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

**Question 32: Do you think that all historical events have definite causes or do some events happen purely by accident?**

**Table 5.23: Consciousness of causation of historical events**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
All historical events have causes that can be explained	33	35.5	33	35.5
Some events can be seen as fate/accident/fortuitousness	9	9.7	42	45.2
Both 1 & 2	45	48.4	87	93.5
I'm not sure	6	6.5	93	100.0

Historical consciousness influences the development of the power of historical thinking by closely examining cause and result, thereby providing the means of understanding mutual causal relationships. Most respondents seem to have an accurate perception of causal relationships by indicating their preference for the combined option.

**Question 33: What do you think about the causes of the Cold War?**

**Table 5.24: Consciousness of causation of Cold War**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Aggressive policy and expansionism of USSR	40	43.0
USA played a trigger role in Western countries	28	30.1
Unavoidable situation in realistic politics instead of assumption of moral responsibilities of the USA and the USSR	37	39.8
I'm not sure	14	15.1

Frequency missing = 1.

The respondents questioned the interpretation of the historical facts of the occurrence of the Cold War. It is not a question of whose moral responsibilities caused the Cold War, but real politics that resulted in powerful countries pursuing

cruel international politics for their own benefit. A fairly large number, i.e. 39,8% of the respondents indicated this as a cause of the Cold War.

#### 5.2.4 Consciousness of period (Questions 34-37)

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed.

1. Time conception of modern times.
2. Time consciousness of past, present and future.
3. Independent recognition of changes in modern history.
4. Characteristics of periodic divisions of history.

**Question 34: In your view, what period does the term 'modern times' cover?**

**Table 5.25: Time consciousness of modern times**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
After the Industrial Revolution	40	44.0	40	44.0
20 <sup>th</sup> century	21	23.1	61	67.0
After World War I	2	2.2	63	69.2
After World War II	9	9.9	72	79.1
Now	14	15.4	86	94.5
I'm not sure	5	5.5	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

From the results 44.0% of the respondents responded correctly and 66% incorrectly. Thus we can conclude that many respondents have no clear consciousness of period. It may also simply imply that they do not know the true meaning of the term "modern".

**Question 35: What is your view of the past, present, and future? Which of the following corresponds MOST closely with your view?**

**Table 5.26: Consciousness of relationship between past, present and future**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
To understand the present we must endeavour to know the past	27	31.8	27	31.8
The future is more important than the present or past	6	7.1	33	38.8
The present is a result of the past, thus we cannot escape the past	23	27.1	56	65.9
The present is more important than the past and future	5	5.9	61	71.8
In order to plan for the future we must know the past	24	28.2	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

This question should really be a question about period consciousness but it was included in this section to investigate how the respondents reacted towards the contemporary period in which they are living.

The results indicate a strong attachment to the past, as 87.1% of the respondents chose the options referring to the past. It is important to eradicate the too strong association with the past and to develop a present historical consciousness. Respondents show a strong attachment for and concentrate their attention on the past. In preparing for the future, respondents utilise the past as a mirror for the present and future. This phenomenon could be seen as advisable, but the fact that hopes and expectations are not strong means that the respondents have not yet adjusted their thinking and the formation of consciousness of the past. They are more past- than future-orientated, which may cause unproductiveness.

**Question 36: Choose one area of the current trends of the present international world you are MOST interested in.**

**Table 5.27: Independent recognition of the changes of modern history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
To be on the brink of human ruin through an atomic war	6	6.7	6	6.7
Scientific and economic development or improvement	54	60.7	60	67.4
Increased international cooperation via the United Nations	19	21.3	79	88.8
The dominant economic power of the USA and Japan	10	11.2	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

This question focuses on the current international society.

The general tendency shows a strong preference for scientific and economic development or improvement followed by increased international cooperation via the United Nations. As a whole, the response pattern indicates that the respondents are looking forward to a better future from an affirmative point of view.

**Question 37: Are there distinctive characteristics of certain periods of history?**

**Table 5.28: Consciousness of periodic characteristics of history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	50	54.3	50	54.3
To some extent	24	26.1	74	80.4
To very little extent	8	8.7	82	89.1
None whatsoever	0	0.0	82	89.1
I don't know	10	10.9	92	100.0

Frequency missing = 1.

This question aims to identify the respondents' clear understanding of the structure

and characteristics of certain periods of history.

The "yes" (54.3%) and "to some extent" (26.1%) answers come to 80.4% cumulatively, which is a satisfactory response. On the whole it shows that respondents have an understanding of the structure and character of different periods of history.

### 5.2.5 Consciousness of development (Questions 38-41)

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. Understanding of concept of development.
2. Consciousness of the motor power of historical development.
3. Sense of control over historical development.
4. Recognition of issues in the modern world.

**Question 38: What does "prosperity" mean to you?**

**Table 5.29: Understanding of concept of development**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Developing the economy	49	52.7
Living comfortably through scientific development	27	29.0
Extending freedom of human beings	29	31.2
Demonstrating power and strength to the international community	5	5.4
Everything is getting better	37	39.8
I'm not sure	6	6.5

Development is a central concept in the context of history. In a sense history basically deals with change and development. A sense and consciousness of development is therefore also an important component of the structure of historical consciousness. Because it is so important to understand the term "development", and because this is such a broad generic term, another term, "prosperity", was used instead to determine the respondents' understanding of development.

The responses with the highest frequency show that the respondents have a sound understanding of the essence of the concept of development.

**Question 39: Which of the following in your mind is the MOST important factor in historical development?**

**Table 5.30: Consciousness of the motor power of historical development**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Ability of political leaders	20	23.5	20	23.5
Power of citizens	16	18.8	36	42.4
Territory, resources, and economic power	38	44.7	74	87.1
The role of intellectuals	8	9.4	82	96.5
Military power	1	1.2	83	97.6
Help from foreign countries	2	2.4	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

Respondents had to indicate which of these factors were important motive powers in historical development.

It is interesting to note that power of citizens, signifying democracy, shows a lower percentage than the ability of political leaders. Can this high rating of political leadership perhaps be ascribed to Mandela's stature? Economic resources, including land and economic power rate highly, corresponding to high ratings for economic matters in other questions.

**Question 40: Who do you think is in charge of history?**

**Table 5.31: Sense of control over historical development**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
God	32	34.4
A hero or great leader	24	25.8
Surrounding countries	13	14.0
Our own will	46	49.5
I don't know	10	10.8

The purpose of the question was to find out the respondents' sense of sovereignty and the independence of historical development, which will be the basis of the formation of historical consciousness and will play an important role for the future in South Africa.

Placing the responsibility for historical development on themselves ["Our own will" (49.5%)] shows they have a relatively strong sense of sovereignty; 34.4% to "God" shows their search for the responsibility on the basis of religion and 25.8% "A hero or great leader", shows that in the changing South Africa, political leaders including Nelson Mandela, are greatly influencing history.

Questions 39 and 40 reveal that the development of the respondents' sense of historical sovereignty is lacking. People and not heroes and political leaders are responsible for their own destiny and historical development. School education is necessary to achieve a sense of sovereignty.

**Question 41: Which of the following do you think is the biggest problem the world is facing now?**

**Table 5.32: Recognition of issues in the modern world**

<b>Answer</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
Overpopulation and food problem	45	54.9	45	54.9
The problem of neglect of human rights	10	12.2	55	67.1
The problem of war	5	6.1	60	73.2
The problem of ideology	4	4.9	64	78.0
The problem of sexual morality	3	3.7	67	81.7
The problem of disease	15	18.3	82	100.0

Frequency missing = 11.

The consciousness of issues in world history is a subjective matter. In a question of this nature there are no real correct and wrong answers. Perceptions of the relative importance of the problems of the modern world listed in the question are tested.

The option chosen with by far the highest frequency level of 54.9% deals with the population problem, a widely published problem in Africa. The disease problem as second takes up approximately 18.3% and at the moment all the African countries including South Africa are at pains to combat AIDS. The neglect of human rights, an issue which has received much attention in South Africa in the 1990s, had the third highest response(12.2%).

The overwhelming perception that overpopulation is the major world problem today can probably be ascribed to the fact that young people in South Africa have been made intensely aware of the population problem through the media as part of the government's population planning programme which has been running for some years. This result is nevertheless particularly interesting in the light of the denial in some parts of Africa that the problem of too rapid population growth is indeed a serious problem. In some circles it is seen as a Western-inspired bogey. However, the result shows that more than 50% of the respondents are intensely aware of this problem and its effect on economic growth and quality of life. In this regard they seem to be well-informed.

If we summarise the conclusions of this section of the questionnaire they can be interpreted as follows:

- Respondents have an insufficient time consciousness. Considering that the respondents are studying history as a major subject at university, the highest institution of learning, it is a priority to teach correct historical knowledge.
- The responses show that respondents on the whole are conscious of accelerating changes/transition. In response to the question on historical changes in South Africa, respondents do not have strong opinions about the content and speed of internal and external changes. They responded that they did not experience the change. A further analysis of this question is necessary.
- Concerning the causal relationships of historical events, the respondents have a relatively sound understanding of cause and results, but there is room for improvement.
- On the whole the respondents are more past-orientated than future-orientated and the structure and characteristics of historical periods are well understood.

- The respondents basically have a general idea about the dynamics of development. However, the chief objective and sense of sovereignty on historical development is not clear. Furthermore respondents face diseases and population problems that obstruct development.

### **5.3 INTENSIFIED DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE (QUESTIONS 42-152)**

This section represents the core content of the empirical study. The purpose of the questions was to determine how the respondents are presently constructing their historical consciousness. The questionnaire was carefully constructed with the objective to find details of the opinions of the respondents to questions on certain situations. It must be kept in mind that the total experience of respondents in all spheres of life cannot possibly be covered in a questionnaire, however good it may be.

Currently the youth in South Africa, different from past generations are searching for new answers to societal problems and challenges. However, it is difficult and no one can provide the solution on how to think and to react. What do the responses reveal about the attitudes of the respondents? What impact will these attitudes have on their behaviour? Careful observation and analysis of the deeper meaning and significance of their responses may help to answer these questions. As young South Africans they cannot co-operate in harmony and if there is no formation of a future-orientated national historical consciousness the future of South Africa is bleak and has no hope of success. The purpose of this thesis is to analyse clearly the actual condition so that recommendations can be made on how a sound historical consciousness can be found.

This section includes questions dealing with general, political, economical, historical, social, cultural, and educational sections to determine their importance in the process of the formation of historical consciousness.

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### 5.3.1 General (Questions 42-57)

This section was designed to form a "general" section of relevant questions which do not fit into other sections. There is no specific order of questions, they are arranged randomly. Some of the questions are related in content to questions from other sections.

This field consisted of the following:

1. Being a South African people
2. Being a nation.
3. Possibility of civil war.
4. Optimistic vision of South Africa's future.
5. National holidays.
6. "Slavery mentality" of black people.
7. The feeling of belonging to the nation as the nation.
8. Sincerity/loyalty towards country.
9. Problems in the country.
10. African countries
11. Self-confidence as a citizen in South Africa.
12. Predominant feeling of one's cultural group.
13. The South African flag.
14. Preferred NP leader.

**Question 42: How do you feel about being a South African?**

**Table 5.33: Consciousness of being a South African people**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Pleased	68	77.3	68	77.3
Neutral	14	15.9	82	93.2
It was not my choice	3	3.4	85	96.6
I would like to emigrate	3	3.4	88	100.0

Frequency missing = 5.

The cumulative figure of 93.2% for the first two options shows that the respondents' point of view about nationhood is overwhelmingly healthy.

**Question 43: How do you prefer to be called?**

**Table 5.34: Consciousness of being a nation**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
A South African	36	41.9	36	41.9
White	0	0.0	36	41.9
A Black South African	3	3.5	39	45.3
An African	28	32.6	67	77.9
Coloured	1	1.2	68	79.1
Indian	1	1.2	69	80.2
Asian	17	19.8	86	100.0
A human being	0	0.0	86	100.0

Frequency missing = 7.

National consciousness is investigated in this question. Do the respondents really desire to be named after their cultural group, or do they prefer to be called South African people?

Generally, it appears there is no overwhelming national consciousness. Almost two fifths, 41.9%, of the respondents prefer to be called South Africans, and 32.6% of the respondents Africans, which indicates their identification with the country and the continent where they live. There were none who wished to be called white, contrastingly there were 19.8% who wished to be identified with the Asian group.

It would be encouraging if all the white students accepted being called South African citizens with no denial, but the problem will be much greater if they responded positively when they truly did not feel so in their hearts. And what is more is that Asians still regard themselves as part of the broader international Asian community and maintain a distinct Asian cultural identity. Wherever there is a chance of benefiting, they will pursue it for their cultural group and not for the country.

**Question 44: Do you think a civil war could break out in South Africa as in Rwanda?**

**Table 5.35: Consciousness of civil war**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	28	30.1	28	30.1
No	50	53.8	78	83.9
I'm not sure	15	16.1	93	100.0

This question helped to observe how the respondents see the future of South Africa, which is currently in a period of transition and unable to resolve the problems of the state smoothly. The 46.2% of respondents who foresee the possibility of a civil war are clearly not optimistic about the future of South Africa.

The reasons for this attitude will become clearer in the analysis of further questions.

**Question 45: Do you have an optimistic vision of South Africa's future?**

**Table 5.36: Optimistic vision of South Africa's future**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	64	70.3	64	70.3
No	16	17.6	80	87.9
I'm not sure	11	12.1	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

Affirmative responses came from 70.3% of the respondents. The response does not correspond with that of the preceding question. Respondents perceive themselves to have an optimistic vision of South Africa's future, yet many of them foresee the possibility of a civil war.

**Question 46: If you are given the chance to decide on a national holiday, what would you celebrate and what would you name the holiday?**

The following responses were obtained:

1. We have enough already.
2. Peace Day.
3. Freedom Day.
4. Nelson Mandela Day.
5. Intra Personal Rights Expression – a day for everybody.
6. National Day of Respect and Tolerance.
7. Erotic Holiday – like the Rio Carnival in America.
8. Men's Day – men are now neglected.
9. God's Day – celebrate the death and resurrection of Christ.
10. Water Conservation Day.
11. National Sports Day – Springboks v Bafana Bafana.
12. Day of Prayer – different religions should celebrate in worship.
13. Reconciliation Day – between various political groups.
14. Rainbow Day – Celebrate the glory of our differences.
15. I don't believe in National Holidays.
16. Family Day.
17. Classical Romantic Holiday – Day of music.
18. Youth Day – Introduce youth projects in the development of this country.
19. The day of the unfortunate – Help all the street children and needy people.
20. People's Day – Celebrate it by doing cultural events.
21. Workers' Day.
22. Mandela Day – Celebrate the release of Pres. Mandela.
23. United Day – Celebrate the day with many South Africans who are glad over freedom.
24. Inauguration Day – Only the day when Mr Nelson Mandela became the President.
25. Poverty Alleviation Day – Celebrate the end of poverty.

**Table 5.37: Consciousness on National holiday**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	3	6.1	3	6.1
2	5	10.2	8	16.3
3	13	26.5	21	42.9
4	2	4.1	23	46.9
5	1	2.0	24	49.0
6	1	2.0	25	51.0
7	1	2.0	26	53.1
8	1	2.0	27	55.1
9	1	2.0	28	57.1
10	1	2.0	29	59.2
11	1	2.0	30	61.2
12	2	4.1	32	65.3
13	3	6.1	35	71.4
14	2	4.1	37	75.5
15	1	2.0	38	77.6
16	1	2.0	39	79.6
17	1	2.0	40	81.6
18	2	4.1	42	85.7
19	1	2.0	43	87.8
20	1	2.0	44	89.8
21	1	2.0	45	91.8
22	1	2.0	46	93.9
23	1	2.0	47	95.9
24	1	2.0	48	98.0
25	1	2.0	49	100.0

Frequency missing = 44.

The purpose of this question was to establish what kinds of events and historical truths the respondents treasure. The special thoughts and events they treasure are those which form historical consciousness through direct and indirect experiences.

Some respondents (6.1%) responded that there are enough national holidays, but a large number of respondents chose Freedom Day (26.5%), and Peace Day (10.2%) which shows they have an ardent wish for freedom, peace and to remember the past. Several (8.1%) show their respect and affection for Nelson Mandela.

Respondents also made suggestions for unification and solidarity of the nation's politics and culture in South Africa: Reconciliation Day, Rainbow Day (4.1%), People's Day (2.0%), and United Day (2.0%). These respondents have a clear idea on what is necessary in South Africa.

**Question 47: Do you believe that a "slavery mentality" still exists among blacks?**

**Table 5.38: Consciousness of "slavery mentality"**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
To a large extent	17	18.3	17	18.3
To some extent	57	61.3	74	79.6
Not at all	14	15.1	88	94.6
I am not sure	5	5.4	93	100.0

This question was included to see from a different cultural group's perspective if the blacks who constitute the largest of the cultural groups still have the consciousness of being oppressed.

The cumulative percentage of those who believe that a slave mentality persists is 79.6%. Although the black majority have witnessed the transfer of power to black leaders, they still do not experience the expected transformation in their day to day lives. They have been politically liberated but psychologically they do not yet witness their communities being set free from a "slavery mentality", it is a feeling of inferiority, subjugation and lack of pride.

These results show that the long-term consequences of the political transition in the country are not as yet visible in the short term. Black people must put these thoughts aside and strive for long-term changes so that they can fulfil their task as role players with cultural rights as a group.

**Question 48: Among people of my nationality, I usually feel more at ease with persons of my own ethnic group.**

**Table 5.39: Consciousness of feeling of belonging to the nation**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Strongly agree	22	24.2	22	24.2
Agree to some extent	32	35.2	54	59.3
Disagree to some extent	12	13.2	66	72.5
Strongly disagree	18	19.8	84	92.3
I am not sure	7	7.7	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

This question was to find out if the respondents have a feeling of inferiority, not as a South African citizen, but as a person belonging to a certain cultural group. This question resembles question 43, where 41.9% of the respondents answered that they desired to be called South Africans.

With a cumulative percentage of 59.3% the respondents reveal their feeling of attachment with their own ethnic group. This result diverges from the result of question 43.

From the respondents' responses to both questions we can conclude that as South African citizens they have a feeling of attachment with their own ethnic group. South Africa, as a multicultural society/nation, must urgently find an appropriate solution for the development of a nation that will be able to reconcile people of widely divergent ethnic origins.

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**Question 49: What would you do if South Africa should engage in a war against other countries?**

**Table 5.40: Patriotism/loyalty towards country**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Would volunteer to fight for South Africa	10	12.7	10	12.7
Would never volunteer to fight	23	29.1	33	41.8
Would volunteer only if South African participation in the war is justified	46	58.2	79	100.0

Frequency missing = 14.

Interestingly, 58.2% of respondents responded positively to the question "Would volunteer only if South African participation in the war is justified", which is an indication of their consciousness of citizenship and patriotism. The respondents also indicated that they would not participate in an immoral war, meaning that the respondents will not let the nation incline towards totalitarianism and an authoritarian system.

Responses to "Would never volunteer to fight" (30%) reveals that a strong national consciousness is not present among all nationals. A nation should unite and rise above internal problems if external factors threaten their existence. However, this result could be an obstacle for development in South Africa.

The country and the nation must try to develop a national spirit which expresses love for the country and is essential for the development of the country. But of course we have to take strict precautions in order to prevent an inclination to blind ultra-nationalism.

**Question 50: Do you ever think about the problems of the country, analysing them, and elaborating plans in your imagination to resolve them?**

**Table 5.41: Consciousness of problems in the country**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Frequently	44	47.3	44	47.3
Sometimes	38	40.9	82	88.2
Seldom	9	9.7	91	97.8
Never	2	2.2	93	100.0

Frequency missing = 14.

Have the respondents given thought to problems that South Africa is now facing?

The cumulative percentage (88.2%) for "Frequently" (47.3%) and "Sometimes" (40.9%) is very high, which is an indication that the respondents think about the problems, and possibly search for solutions.

**Question 51: Do you think you have more dignity and pride in who you are compared to people of other African countries?**

**Table 5.42: Consciousness of the African country**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	55	60.4	55	60.4
No	24	26.4	79	86.8
I am not sure	12	13.2	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

The affirmative response of 60.4% is an indication that the respondents acknowledge South Africa as being leading power among African nations. This could be the result of the political role which South Africa is playing.

**Question 52: If you answered “yes” to question 51, please indicate why you think South Africans have reason to be proud.**

**Table 5.43: Self-confidence as a citizen in South Africa**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
We have a proud historical tradition and culture	21	22.6
We are economically strong in the African context	28	30.1
We have political democracy	37	39.8

Respondents' answers were fairly evenly distributed. As expected, the democratic turn-over of political power and the development of democracy in South Africa received the highest score. The research result favoured economic development and political democracy.

**Question 53: In your view, what is the predominant feeling of your cultural group at present?**

**Table 5.44: Predominant feeling of one's cultural group**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
A feeling of loss and deprivation compared to the past	29	31.2
A feeling of hope compared to the past	33	35.5
A feeling of disorientation	14	18.3
A feeling of freedom	25	26.9
I am not sure	8	8.6

This question was set to investigate if respondents have hope for the future, or experience a feeling of loss or deprivation since 1994 when there was drastic political change.

The highest score was 35.5% for “A feeling of hope compared to the past” followed by “A feeling of freedom” (26.9%). This was a positive response. Contrastingly, “A feeling of loss and deprivation compared to the past” (31.2%), “A feeling of disorientation” (18.3%), and “I am not sure” (8.6%) indicate a negative response

which also reflects on their sense of security within the nation..

**Question 54: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 53.**

The following responses were given:

1. People are united (and free) / Striving for a better future.
  2. White's feel discriminated against – they don't know their place in South Africa today.
  3. The change in the country has brought about many harmful side effects and many people are not sure how to view or how to cope with them.
  4. I live as an individual. When I am with people of other cultures, I do as they do.  
I do not "associate" with / identify with the same group under all circumstances.
  5. More people are jobless than in the past.
  6. The culture of every group is recognized by the others.
  7. We hope that one day we will be free and justice will be applied to all.
  8. There was no freedom for all before 1994 because of Apartheid.
  9. Africans lost their cultures (blacks). They followed Western and Muslim cultures and forgot their own culture.
  10. We don't know which organization will protect us.
  11. So many things that we are doing are not related to our culture and they are to a large extent misleading.
  12. Because we have black leaders.
  13. Because we have freedom of speech.
-

**Table 5.45: Motivation for answers to question 53**

<b>Answer Number</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
1	25	33.3	25	33.3
2	7	9.3	32	42.7
3	22	29.3	54	72.0
4	3	4.0	57	76.0
5	1	1.3	58	77.3
6	5	6.7	63	84.0
7	1	1.3	64	85.3
8	4	5.3	68	90.7
9	3	4.0	71	94.7
10	1	1.3	72	96.0
11	1	1.3	73	97.3
12	1	1.3	74	98.7
13	1	1.3	75	100.0

Frequency missing = 18.

The respondents' answers indicate that South Africans are filled with hope regarding the changes, but unfortunately a feeling of loss and deprivation still exists among a section of the population.

This situation is a serious obstacle for national development in South Africa. Educational measures must be implemented to develop a nationalism which is based on reality, reconciliation and co-operation.

**Question 55: How do you feel about the South African flag as a national symbol to unite/ integrate all cultural groups in South Africa?**

**Table 5.46: Consciousness of S.A. flag**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Very positive	55	59.1	55	59.1
Positive	22	23.7	77	82.8
Neutral	14	15.1	91	97.8
Negative	0	0.0	91	97.8
Very negative	2	2.2	93	100.0

How do the respondents truly feel about the South African flag as a national symbol? The flag is a most important symbol for unification and solidarity of a country and a nation.

On the whole 82.8% of the respondents acknowledge the present flag in South Africa by indicating their acceptance of the flag as a national symbol which, in turn, can facilitate the integration of cultural groups in South Africa.

**Question 56: Which government of the National Party was the best from 1948 to 1994?**

**Table 5.47: Preferred leader of the National Party**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
D.F. Malan	2	2.3	2	2.3
J.G. Strijdom	0	0.0	0	2.3
H.F. Verwoerd	2	2.3	4	4.5
B.J. Vorster	1	1.1	5	5.7
P.W. Botha	3	3.4	8	9.1
F.W. de Klerk	60	68.2	68	77.3
I'm not sure	20	22.7	88	100.0

Frequency missing = 5.

The investigation with regard to the preferred leader of the National Party during the apartheid era might not be perfect, because not all the respondents directly

experienced much of that period. However, this does not preclude them from having specific perceptions of the different phases of apartheid. The overwhelmingly preference for F.W. de Klerk above other NP leaders is further investigated in question 57.

**Question 57: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 56.**

The following responses were obtained:

1. F.W. de Klerk brought democracy for everybody.
2. All NP-led governments had one thing in common: the baggage of Apartheid.
3. Constitutionalized Apartheid.
4. In those days the welfare of South Africa was better. They knew where they were going and were on a strong way to accomplish their goals.
5. De Klerk was the only president to implement any form of reform.
6. F.W. de Klerk freed Mandela from prison.
7. The best for whom? And to what extent were these leaders restricted by the convictions of their electorate at the time, economic factors and the international situation?
8. F.W. de Klerk was the first person to give hope to the South Africans.
9. People were employed and the fatality rate was down.

**Table 5.48: Motivation for answers to question 56**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	15	20.3	15	20.3
2	11	14.9	26	35.1
3	5	6.8	31	41.9
4	40	54.1	71	95.9
5	1	1.4	72	97.3
6	1	1.4	73	98.6
7	1	1.4	74	100.0

Frequency missing = 19.

Respondents evaluated De Klerk as the most admirable apartheid leader, because he implemented reform and freed Mandela from prison (54.1%), and brought democracy for everybody (20.3%).

The conclusions in this general section can be summarised as follows:

- Respondents are pleased to have been born in South Africa and see the flag as a unifying symbol of the country. Yet as a South African people, their national consciousness is not strong enough, and they still have a strong attachment to the cultural/ethnic group to which they belong. Especially South African Asians seem to have a strong feeling of homogeneity. These conditions have serious implications for nationalism and national unification and must therefore be addressed as soon as possible. Most respondents have optimistic expectations regarding South Africa's future, but some foresee the possibility of an outbreak of civil war as experienced in Rwanda and Yugoslavia.
- Respondents show great inclination towards freedom and peace as indicated by the suggestions of "Freedom Day" and "Peace Day" as national holidays. Moreover they wish to establish a memorial day for President Nelson Mandela. Some respondents insist on establishing a day for reconciliation and unification between all cultural groups which can be seen as significant.
- Many blacks as South African citizens have not yet acquired a consciousness of being the master, but still have a "slave mentality" and education to redress this problem is an urgent requirement.
- Respondents are greatly concerned with the problems the country is facing and they are continuously searching for solutions. If South Africa were to be engaged in a war, many respondents indicated their concern by showing their willingness to participate. However, 30% of the respondents responded that they will never participate in a war, showing that they are not all yet united in this respect.
- Respondents responded that, compared to other African nations, South Africans exude self-confidence and pride. This could be a positive factor in the political, cultural and economic development.
- Respondents are of the opinion that the predominant feeling of cultural groups

are contrary to each other. Positive feelings are of freedom and hope. Negative feelings are of loss and deprivation. Reasons for the positive feelings are that freedom and peace will bring a better future. Some respondents feel that the current changes could be disadvantageous for their own cultural group, and that they have to find strategies to cope with these changes.

- The respondents feel that when F.W. de Klerk was in power, this was the best government under the National Party dispensation, because he reformed politics which led to a democratic South Africa.

### **5.3.2 Politics (Questions 58-89)**

The following aspects in the political field are covered:

1. Development in South Africa's politic.
2. Factors in the country's development.
3. The TRC.
4. Understanding of the historical situation in terms of the demise of Apartheid.
5. Power struggle between the ANC and IFP.
6. Political disunion.
7. Afrikaners' political and economic privileges.
8. Support for political parties.
9. The SANDF.
10. The democratic reform of F.W. de klerk.
11. The black-on-black violence/the ANC/IFP conflict.
12. The nation's self-confidence and dignity.
13. The political behaviour of trade union.
14. Ideology.
15. S.A's diplomatic role for African nations.
16. S.A's role among African nations as a superpower and leading country.
17. S.A's international diplomatic policy.
18. The diplomatic policy of South Africa towards Taiwan.
19. The unity and development of African nations.
20. Historical consciousness and cultural identity of different cultural groups.
21. The conception of "Rainbow Nation".

22. A peaceful turn-over of political power in 1994.
23. The expression of political action.
24. Discrimination.
25. The black government's treatment of racial minorities.

**Question 58: In your view, is South Africa developing progressively after abolishing the apartheid policy and starting Nelson Mandela's government?**

**Table 5.49: Consciousness of development in S.A.'s politics**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes, definitely	39	41.9	39	41.9
To some extent	40	43.0	79	84.9
To little extent	10	10.8	89	95.7
No, definitely not	4	4.3	93	100.0

This question deals with the transition from white political to black political power. Positive responses come to a cumulative total of 84.9%. Negative responses indicate some disillusionment with and opposition to Mandela's government (The empirical study was undertaken before Mandela's retirement as president). These were probably by white students. All expectations regarding political stability and economic development have not been met by the new government. We will investigate the reason for such a response.

**Question 59: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 58.**

The following responses were obtained:

1. In some areas there are progress – in some areas it is slow, for example the economy.
2. People who were deprived of basic necessities like water, housing and electricity are getting all of these.
3. Corruption slows us down.
4. There is a distinctive co-operation between South Africa and world countries. There is a democratic constitution.

5. There is too much crime and violence.
6. Everybody is equal before the law.
7. The ANC created too many job opportunities for its fellow comrades. Some people in our government lack leadership qualities.
8. Because many groups of people now are free from the apartheid policy. They are free to express their ideologies, religion and culture.
9. There are still forms of apartheid (e.g. Potgietersrus where the whites do not want Black children in the school).
10. Most of the things have remained unchanged.
11. The economy of this country is directly in the hands of white people. Whites indirectly control this country. Mandela cannot improve the economy – whites do not like a Black person to lead them.
12. Everyone has equal opportunities. Free education, fewer medical expenses. We are all equals. South Africa is now a democratic country.
13. Everyone now has the freedom to do things the way he or she wants. We no longer have racial discrimination in South Africa.
14. Some people in South Africa are still practicing apartheid. They did not accept Nelson Mandela's government. So apartheid will never end.
15. Because many things have not yet been done, especially the basics, housing, starvation, unemployment and so on.
16. People now have rights, some have farms, houses which they did not previously have.
17. Because Mandela tried all means to reunite the whites and blacks. but there are still some groups of people who want their own place like the "Boers" want a Volkstaat.
18. Development can only be measured by economic growth, whereby people will get jobs so that poverty can be alleviated.

**Table 5.50: Motivation for answers to question 58**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	40	47.6	40	47.6
2	2	2.4	42	50.0

3	4	4.8	46	54.8
4	7	8.3	53	63.1
5	8	9.5	61	72.6
6	4	4.8	65	77.4
7	1	1.2	66	78.6
8	6	7.1	72	85.7
9	1	1.2	73	86.9
10	1	1.2	74	88.1
11	1	1.2	75	89.3
12	1	1.2	76	90.5
13	1	1.2	77	91.7
14	2	2.4	79	94.0
15	1	1.2	80	95.2
16	2	2.4	82	97.6
17	1	1.2	83	98.8
18	1	1.2	84	100.0

Frequency missing = 9.

Almost half of the respondents are satisfied with progress in some areas, but feel that progress in others is too slow. Overall they are optimistic about development in the country.

There is a positive view about some aspects ("There is a distinctive co-operation between South Africa and World Countries. There is a democratic constitution" – 8.3% and "Because many groups of people now are free from the apartheid policy. They are free to express their ideologies, religion and culture" – 7.1%) and negative ones about other aspects ("There's too much crime and violence" – 9.5%).

**Question 60: Which of the following aided the development of South Africa until now?**

**Table 5.51: Consciousness of factors in the country's development**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
The U.K., U.S.A and UN	23	29.1	23	29.1
African countries	4	5.1	27	34.2
The capacity for united action and excellent national spirit	15	19.0	42	53.2
Power of great leader or political leaders	21	26.6	63	79.7
I'm not sure	16	20.3	79	100.0

Frequency missing = 14.

Respondents were questioned about whether the development of South Africa was as a result of the nation's own ability, or due to the help of other nations.

Altogether 34.2% of the respondents attributed South Africa's development to external assistance, and 45.6% to internal factors. This seems to indicate a lack of self-confidence in South Africa's internal strength to function independently on the world stage.

**Question 61: Which one of the following statements corresponds MOST closely with your own opinion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?**

**Table 5.52: Consciousness of moral obligations and benefits of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
It holds no benefits regarding the development of national consciousness	12	12.9
It splits the nation in two and may even lead to civil war	3	3.2
The evidence should be analysed for national development in future	33	35.5
Persons found guilty of human rights offences should be punished	31	33.3
Persons found guilty of human rights offenses should be heard and forgiven, not punished	27	29.0

It mainly deals with wrong acts of white people	15	16.1
It mainly deals with wrong acts of black people	5	5.4

At the moment the South African government is progressing in the liquidation process of the past through the TRC. Countries like Germany, France, Taiwan and Korea went through similar processes after World War II. These countries did not focus only on the punishment of war crimes, but used the exercise to promote reconciliation between the victim and perpetrator.

Based on the data above, it appears as if respondents acknowledge that the TRC is a good liquidation process for the injuries of the past and one which will assist South Africa in recovering from the painful past to a developed future. However, this tool needs to be rational and managed in such a way that everybody understands this purpose.

**Question 62: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission tries to clear up the past. Do you think the faults of the past should be punished?**

**Table 5.53: Importance of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	40	44.0	40	44.0
No	38	41.7	78	85.7
I'm not sure	13	14.3	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

Whether or not to punish those who have committed atrocities is vitally important, in a liquidation process with regard to the past. There is an even division between positive and negative responses. Altogether 44.0% of the respondents answered affirmatively. The cumulative negative response is 56% (41.7% "No" and 14.3% "I'm not sure").

The result of the investigation showed no sign of an agreement of opinion nor of a superior opinion.

**Question 63: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 62.**

The investigation results reveal the reasons why contrary beliefs about the issue of punishment are held:

1. Past is past; mistakes were made for different reasons and under a different ruling body.
2. Faults of the past should be punished – people should be held responsible for their actions.
3. Some of those crimes were deliberately committed in the knowledge that one day they might be exposed.
4. Is it going to do any good?  
Everything needs to be forgiven and forgotten.
5. So many faults have already been made again since 1994. What about those? It seems as if the new government emulates the faults of their faulty predecessors.
6. Only those that still have effect in the present and which will disturb the future.
7. Because some of us lost fathers and friends.

**Table 5.54: Motivation for answers to question 62**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	41	48.8	41	48.8
2	33	39.3	74	88.1
3	4	4.8	78	92.9
4	3	3.6	81	96.4
5	1	1.2	82	97.6
6	1	1.2	83	98.8
7	1	1.2	84	100.0

Frequency missing = 9.

More than half of the respondents (53.6%) feel that mistakes were made for different reasons and should no longer be pursued, whereas 46.4% feel that some or all of the crimes of the past should be punished, but in my opinion the findings of the TRC can be utilised to form a South African consciousness of the past.

**Question 64: What do you think was the MOST important cause of "Apartheid" falling to pieces?**

**Table 5.55: Understanding of the historical situation in terms of the demise of Apartheid**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Black opposition	35	45.5	35	45.5
International sanctions	18	23.4	53	68.8
The growing economic interdependence of black and white in a modernizing and urbanizing economy	11	14.3	64	83.1
The human rights movement in the international society	10	13.0	74	96.1
I'm not sure	3	3.9	77	100.0

Frequency missing = 16.

A total of 59.8% of the respondents attribute the demise of apartheid primarily to internal political and economic dynamics and a cumulative percentage of 36.4% to the role of the international community.

Black and white will probably differ in their opinion on this question. Black people regard their resistance movements as the primary factor in the downfall of apartheid. White people would more likely emphasise the economic problems and international sanctions.

**Question 65: The power struggle between the ANC and IFP and the resulting violence will lead to the destruction of the South African state. Do you agree with this statement?**

**Table 5.56: Power struggle between the ANC and IFP**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	32	35.2	32	35.2
No	49	53.8	81	89.0
I'm not sure	10	11.0	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

More than a third (35.2%) of the respondents felt that the power struggle between the ANC and IFP should be taken very seriously and 64.8% do not agree. This implies that, although the KwaZulu-Natal violence is severe, most of the respondent do not regard it as serious enough to hold a real threat to the survival of state.

**Question 66: Do you believe that because of political disunion the state could be dissolved?**

**Table 5.57: Consciousness of political disunion**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	20	21.5	20	21.5
No	58	62.4	78	83.9
I'm not sure	15	16.1	93	100.0

The research was being done during the run up to the 1999 general election, when the press predicted an overwhelming ANC victory. A large number of opposition parties were trying to make an appeal to the confidence of the whole nation.

Respondents were asked for their opinions with regard to the majority ruling party and where minor opposition parties have to compete politically for accession to power.

The negative response by about two-thirds (62.4%) of the respondents imply that they regard the political situation as essentially stable. The strength of the ANC holds the danger that policies will be approved and implemented unilaterally and that the country might revert to dictatorship. In other words, the imbalance between

the ruling party and the opposition parties may have more negative than positive effects. On the other hand a strong government, keeping to the constitution, may be beneficial to the country.

On the question about the outbreak of civil war in South Africa as in Yugoslavia and Rwanda because of the political instability as posed in Question 44, 53.8% replied "No" while 46.2% replied "Yes". Generally-speaking, the future of South Africa is not seen only in a positive light. It reflects a measure of uncertainty about the prospects for political stability.

**Question 67: Do you believe the white Afrikaners in South Africa still have political and economic privileges?**

**Table 5.58: Afrikaners' political and economic privileges**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	66	71.0	66	71.0
No	20	21.5	86	92.5
I'm not sure	7	7.5	93	100.0

At present South Africa is in a position capable of interpreting the improvement in the process of democratization politically and especially how it is being achieved. Nevertheless the socio-economic situation is different from the political situation.

Of the respondents, 71.0% answered "Yes", showing their feeling of still being dispossessed in contrast with whites. These comments manifest the feelings of dissatisfaction with the pace of transformation and redistribution wealth after 1994.

The response to the questionnaire (question 67) showed that many respondents are dissatisfied with the continued position of privilege of whites. An ideal solution would be that there should be a gradual, rather than an abrupt, narrowing of the gap between the privileged and underprivileged to address inequalities in South African society. This process must be concluded in a spirit of reconciliation. The channels of communication between the different interest groups must be kept open to ensure success.

**Question 61: Which political party do you support?****Table 5.59: Support for political parties**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
ANC (African National Congress)	47	54.0	47	54.0
NP (National Party)	3	3.4	50	57.5
IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party)	0	0.0	50	57.5
FF (Freedom Front)	0	0.0	50	57.5
DP (Democratic Party)	8	9.2	58	66.7
PAC (Pan Africanist Congress)	2	2.3	60	69.0
UDM (United Democratic Movement)	4	4.6	64	73.6
ACDP (African Christian Democratic Party)	2	2.3	66	75.9
No political party	21	24.1	87	100.0

Frequency missing = 6.

The statistics show that the ANC enjoys overwhelming support (54.0%), followed by the DP (9.2%); the UDM (4.6%) and the NP (3.4%). A large group of 24.1% showed no political inclination.

From the above results political preference strongly favours the ANC. The opposition parties are not capable of restraining and initiating political activity against the ANC, which is in power with overwhelming support. The fact that 24.1% of the replies were "No political party", indicates that political apathy is pretty high, which is a disturbing trend. The reasons for political apathy are not investigated here.

**Question 69: The SANDF (South African National Defence Force) in South Africa is undergoing a restructuring and integration process. Do you think that all the soldiers will become reconciled and will integrate despite differences in historical and political backgrounds?**

**Table 5.60: Consciousness on SANDF**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	66	71.0	66	71.0
No	20	21.5	86	92.5
I'm not sure	7	7.5	93	100.0

Although black people have enjoyed political and military authority since 1994, the transformation of institutions such as the SANDF have not always been smooth.

However a large percentage (71.0%) of the respondents answered affirmatively which is indicative of a optimism regarding eventual success of the integration process of the SANDF. This is a further confirmation of the optimistic spirit prevailing after 1994.

**Question 70: F.W. de Klerk legalized the ANC, the PAC, and the S.A Communist Party, and also released Nelson Mandela and other political offenders. What do you think was the reason for it?**

**Table 5.61: Views on the reason for democratic reform by F.W. de Klerk**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
No development was possible without negotiation with the resistance movement in South Africa	46	49.5
It was essential for constitutional development and transition of power instead of bloodshed in a civil war	47	50.5
It was impossible to stabilize the nation because of sanctions imposed by the international community	35	37.6
There were already requests for policy innovation by white people in the 1987 election	12	12.9
I am not sure	7	7.5

The above table presents the respondents' opinions about the factors which set the process of democratization into motion. The evaluation shows that respondents clearly understand the factors that caused the political changes because F.W. de Klerk tried to avoid civil war by negotiation with the liberation movement.

The response of 36.4% about the role of the international community in Question 64 corresponds with this result.

**Question 71: Since the 1980s, the struggle between the ANC and Inkatha has resulted in about 8000 victims. What is your opinion about black-on-black violence?**

**Table 5.62: Opinion about black- on black- violence/the ANC/IFP conflict**

<b>Answer</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
It is a struggle for legitimacy and hegemony in black movements	17	18.3
It is an ideological confrontation between Capitalism and Socialism	13	14.0
It is a struggle to achieve national power rather than political or ideological confrontation	35	37.6
It has been fomented by paramilitary groups (IFP's self-protection units and SPUs Umkhonto we Sizwe)	15	16.1
It is purely a black- on black- struggle	16	17.2
It does not serve any constructive purpose	25	26.9
Political instability can be ended by destroying paramilitary groups	2	2.2
I am not sure	5	5.4

This question is closely related to question 65 .

The conflict between white and black for political power has shifted to a conflict between black people. From 1980, in Kwa-Zulu Natal, the ANC and Inkatha have been involved in political conflict resembling civil war, in which many people were killed and injured. The question aimed at investigating how respondents viewed this situations.

The responses are inconsistent and distributed over the different options. This is indicative of the complexity of the situation in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Respondents are aware of the negative impact of the violence. The biggest group (37.6%) regard it as a struggle for national power, in other words a struggle that goes beyond the boundaries of one province. The result of question 65, that most respondents do not think that this violence will lead to national disintegration, must be kept in mind.

**Question 72: Suppose you are a representative of South Africa at the UN. On what aspects would you concentrate to improve the image of the country?**

Respondents showed their national pride as follows:

1. National heritage, beautiful country, different nationalities – rich in cultural differences.
  2. National unity.  
Social Democracy.  
Economic Development.
  3. Give more economic power to the Blacks.
  4. Demonstrate the role that South Africa plays in both the development of other African countries and her involvement in world affairs.
  5. Employment is the key issue which will set people to work and forget about crime.
  6. Crime/violence control.
  7. Security Council reform.  
Writing off of all third world country debt.  
Policy of IMF.
  8. Would strive for a Christian country.
  9. Human rights.
  10. Poverty and housing.
  11. I do not feel that the image needs to be improved.
  12. Improve the education of the young, and responsibility of welfare for children.
  13. Industrial development/mineral mining.
-

14. To encourage other countries to come and invest in South Africa.
15. Economy of South Africa.
16. That the leaders of the parties come together and talk about the problems in the country.
17. Communication.

**Table 5.63: Consciousness of nation's self-confidence and pride**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	8	10.1	8	10.1
2	23	29.1	31	39.2
3	2	2.5	33	41.8
4	3	3.8	36	45.6
5	7	8.9	43	54.4
6	16	20.3	59	74.7
7	1	1.3	60	75.9
8	1	1.3	61	77.2
9	3	3.8	64	81.0
10	2	2.5	66	83.5
11	1	1.3	67	84.8
12	3	3.8	70	88.6
13	1	1.3	71	89.9
14	1	1.3	72	91.1
15	4	5.1	76	96.2
16	2	2.5	78	98.7
17	1	1.3	79	100.0

Frequency missing = 14.

If these results are compared to the results of other questions we find inconsistencies.

The purpose of this question was to observe what kinds of pride and self-concepts South Africans have and how to interpret them to foreigners. Suggestions vary

from a positive communication of South Africa's achievements (option 2) to an attempt to undo the damage of negative factors such as crime and violence (option 6). The latter reflects concern with the damage that crime and violence are doing to the country's image.

**Question 73: Trade Unions have played a political role in order to increase their power. Would you agree that the political activity of trade unions should be severely curtailed?**

**Table 5.64: Consciousness of political behaviour of trade unions**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	28	31.1	28	31.1
No	47	52.2	75	83.3
I'm not sure	15	16.7	90	100.0

Frequency missing = 3.

Most of the respondents (52.2%) supported the political campaigns of labour unions and 31.1% opposed it. The reasons are investigated in the following question.

**Question 74: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 73.**

The reasons given are as follows:

1. Trade unions are important to promote the wellbeing of all workers.
2. Trade unions are ruining the economy of SA through their power.
3. When trade unions become too powerful, all the good that they achieve is subordinated to power struggles and corruption.
4. Trade unions are stagnant without the support of the government. So far, government has done nothing to support trade unions.

**Table 5.65: Motivation for answers to question 73**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	31	62.0	31	62.0
2	9	18.0	40	80.0
3	9	18.0	49	98.0
4	1	2.0	50	100.0

Frequency missing = 43.

The respondents raised the issue of the protection of the labourers rights, but questioned the efficiency of the trade unions. There is a strong perception that too much power in the hands of the trade unions might lead to abuse.

**Question 75: Which of the following ideologies do you think will be important in the future development of South Africa?**

**Table 5.66: Consciousness of ideology**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Capitalism	22	30.1	22	30.1
Socialism	11	15.1	33	45.2
Communism	6	8.2	39	53.4
Totalitarianism	4	4.1	42	57.5
Nationalism	22	30.1	64	87.7
I'm not sure	9	12.3	73	100.0

Frequency missing = 20.

What do the respondents think would be the most important ideology in the development of South Africa?

It is interesting that "Capitalism" and "Nationalism" received the same percentage of responses. Capitalism is a worldwide ideology and if South Africans want to pursue it, they have to follow the stream. Regarding nationalism it is very important that South Africans be aware of their country and its problems and their role in unifying the people, but nationalism based on the wrong concepts will be disastrous.

Because of the socialist leanings of the ANC during the liberation struggle period and the alliance between the ANC and the South African Communist Party there is some support for socialism and communism. The reaction to "Totalitarianism" should be investigated, because even 1% of these thoughts may be dangerous.

The reason for the responses to this question is investigated in the next question.

**Question 76: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 75.**

Respondents answered as follows:

1. Capitalism is a driving force in the world.
2. Nationalism is an integral aspect to all South Africa's nationalities. It is important that we begin to view ourselves as one nation instead of a number of nations within one country.
3. Two ideologies, apartheid and socialism are currently at loggerheads in SA.
4. They all will – it is the interaction that will shape the future.
5. Traditional leadership is the answer.
6. Capitalism and communism will see that the wide gap between the poor (mostly the Blacks, Coloureds and Indians) and the whites will be narrowed.
7. South Africa supports the human rights idea and believes in a democratic country.
8. A socialist system helps those of low/no income and this is necessary in South Africa.
9. More money, jobs and health.
10. We need enough money to improve our country.
11. To urge big businesses to give people employment. The rich should be highly taxed.

**Table 5.67: Motivation for answers to question 75**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	19	28.9	19	28.9
2	15	22.7	34	51.6
3	4	6.1	38	57.7
4	8	12.1	46	69.8
5	1	1.5	47	71.3
6	5	7.6	52	78.9
7	1	1.5	53	80.4
8	9	13.6	62	94.0
9	1	1.5	63	95.5
10	2	3.0	65	98.5
11	1	1.5	66	100.0

Frequency missing = 27.

The support for capitalism probably has much to do with the direction of the ANC government since 1994. University students with their opportunities for upward mobility, see benefit for themselves in a capitalist free enterprise environment.

**Question 77: South Africa is at the stage where it can play an important role in African diplomacy on the African continent. Do you think that South Africa will develop as a strong leading country in Africa?**

**Table 5.68: Consciousness of South Africa's diplomatic role in Africa**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	70	76.9	70	76.9
No	5	5.5	75	82.4
I'm not sure	16	17.6	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

The respondents show confidence in believing that South Africa will be a strong and powerful country in Africa.

**Question 78: What effect do you think South Africa will have on the African continent?**

**Table 5.69: Consciousness of South Africa's role for African nations as a superpower and leading country**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
To extend economic power	47	50.5
Political efforts aimed at regional peace	43	46.2
To extend cultural influences	11	11.8
To support human rights and democracy	69	74.2
To display strength in all areas	7	7.5
I am not sure	4	4.3

These responses reflect confidence in the role of South Africa in the African continent, which is a positive sign for future development.

**Question 79: In spite of the USA warning that Libya is a terrorist country Nelson Mandela insisted on saying "I am the master of my own fate" and visited Libya on 23 October 1997. What is your opinion of this?**

**Table 5.70: Opinion of South Africa's international diplomatic policy**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It is crucial for South Africa to stand independently in our own diplomatic policy	54	65.0	54	65.0
It would have been better to follow what the USA has suggested in order to gain actual profit in foreign policy rather than moral justification	15	18.1	69	83.1
I'm not sure	14	16.9	83	100.0

Frequency missing = 10.

A large number (65%) responded that it was crucial for South Africa to follow an independent foreign policy. But 18.1% responded that it would have been better to

follow the lead of the USA and 16.9% responded that they were not sure. This gives an accumulated rate of 35% and shows a need for consideration of South Africa's international diplomatic policy.

In international relations the "law of the jungle" prevails and this fact must be heeded by South Africans. It would be strategically unwise to turn a blind eye to American strength in the contemporary world with regard to diplomatic relations, especially now that South Africa has again become acceptable in diplomatic circles.

**Question 80: South Africa broke off diplomatic relations with Taiwan as from 1 January 1998 and established diplomatic relations with mainland China. What do you think about this?**

**Table 5.71: Opinion of the diplomatic policy of South Africa towards Taiwan**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It is a gain for South African national interests in terms of a beneficial diplomatic policy	47	56.0	47	56.0
It is wrong to break long-term diplomatic relations	18	21.4	65	77.4
I'm not sure	19	22.6	84	100.0

Frequency missing = 9.

What could be termed the "pragmatic" position is supported by 56.0% of the respondents and the "moral" position by 21.4%. However, in international relations, where the national interest is of primary importance, this seems to be the correct choice.

**Question 81: What is your opinion on the development of black African countries?**

**Table 5.72: Opinion of development of African nations**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
They are still controlled by privileged classes/dictators	27	33.8	27	33.8
There is a possibility that they can attain self-development because of the faster rate of democratization	22	27.5	49	61.3
It is necessary for them to get international support more than self-development	23	28.8	72	90.0
I'm not sure	8	10.0	80	100.0

Frequency missing = 13.

Respondents regard political problems (dictatorship) and economic dependence as the major problems of black Africa. There is some measure of optimism regarding future prospects, but the majority response is negative.

**Question 82: What is, in your opinion the MOST important thing to disturb the development and unity of black African countries?**

**Table 5.73: Factors impeding the unity and development of African nations**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Racial conflict	35	37.6
No common language	12	12.9
String-pulling and disturbance by advanced western countries	13	14.0
White regimes	8	8.6
Different religions	12	12.9
No dominant leader	6	6.5
Lack of money and power	34	36.6
Political instability	61	65.6
I am not sure	4	4.3

The above question investigated the factors that impede the unification and development of African nations.

The respondents listed "Political instability" (65.5%), "Racial conflict" (37.6%), and "Lack of money and power" (36.6%) as the three most pressing dangers. This shows that they are aware that problems arise from political and economical factors. They see political instability and economic disintegration as important factors or obstacles to the development of African nations.

**Question 83: What is your opinion regarding the historical consciousness and cultural identity of different cultural groups in South Africa's future development?**

**Table 5.74: Historical consciousness and cultural identity of different cultural groups**

<b>Answer</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
The identity of each cultural group will contribute towards a united country with a powerful spirit	58	68.2	58	68.2
Cultural groups will be in perpetual competition and confrontation	13	15.3	71	83.5
I am not sure	14	16.5	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

South Africa with its eleven official languages is a multi-racial, multicultural and multi-language society. Unfortunately the different cultural groups experienced different historical, political and socio-economic developments and thus have different historical consciousnesses.

A total of 68.2% of the respondents are positive about the prospects of cultural integration. However, negative views, one can perhaps say realistic views, are expressed by a total of 31.8%.

Respect towards other cultures and a sense of cultural security is necessary to avoid intercultural conflict. This issue will need attention in educational programmes.

**Question 84: What does the term “Rainbow Nation” mean to you?**

The following responses were recorded:

1. Different cultures united under democracy.  
Different people, with different backgrounds, cultures and so on, but having one vision, ideal and desire, that is, to make South Africa better for all who live in it.
2. It means nothing – the majority who are victims are the only ones compromising as opposed to the perpetrators (whites) who caused misery to black lives.
3. Very complex.
4. For me it has no meaning.

**Table 5.75: Consciousness of the conception of “Rainbow Nation”**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	69	88.5	69	88.5
2	5	6.4	74	94.9
3	2	2.6	76	97.4
4	2	2.6	78	100.0

Frequency missing = 15.

On the whole 88.5% of the respondents seem to have the correct concept about “Rainbow Nation” as a nation consisting of many diverse culture-groups, but one national vision.

**Question 85: What is your opinion regarding the change of government in 1994?**

**Table 5.76: Consciousness of a peaceful turn-over of political power in 1994**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It was a peaceful transfer of political power	73	82.0	73	82.0
It was manipulated from the top	8	9.0	81	91.0
I am not sure	8	9.0	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

South Africa's change of regime in 1994 is one of the most historical events in world history. Respondents replied overwhelming (82%), democratization was achieved through a legitimate peaceful process, but some suspect manipulation from the top.

The reasons are further investigated in the following question.

**Question 86: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 85.**

The following answers were recorded:

1. It was a unique 'revolution', because it was peaceful.
2. The relative peaceful transition of one government rule to another democratic one was important to the well being of South Africa.
3. The white government was "forced" to step down.
4. The transition was not peaceful – disturbed by rightwing activities and emigration of various people.
5. The changes came peacefully and every political party was given the chance to participate in the election.
6. Because I do not know to what extent it will benefit the people.
7. The government plays an important role in regional economic development.

**Table 5.77: Motivation for answers to question 85**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	4	6.7	4	6.7
2	43	71.7	47	78.3
3	4	6.7	51	85.0
4	1	1.7	52	86.7
5	6	10.0	58	96.7
6	1	1.7	59	98.3
7	1	1.7	60	100.0

Frequency missing = 33.

The results show that the change of regime in 1994 is viewed as a remarkable chapter in the history of South Africa and that it is acknowledged as a model of democratization. The overwhelming majority of respondents answered that the transition of power from white to black took place peacefully.

**Question 87: What is your preference in terms of political thinking/action?**

**Table 5.78: Preference in terms of political thinking/action**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Prefer radicalism	6	6.8	6	6.8
Prefer cooperation and compromise	75	85.2	81	92.0
Never leaned towards political action	3	3.4	84	95.5
I am not sure	4	4.5	88	100.0

Frequency missing = 5.

As members of a nation that accomplished a peaceful, democratic change of regime, 85.2% of the respondents preferred cooperation and compromise. These results are very encouraging because they reveal a positive attitude regarding South African's future as the respondents want to avoid hostile actions.

**Question 88: If you and your culture group should become dominated by a racially discriminatory policy, what would you do?**

**Table 5.79: Consciousness of discrimination**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
In order to destroy this policy I would resist strongly	18	21.4	18	21.4
I would destroy it from within through cooperation and negotiation	46	54.8	64	76.2
I would try to cope if it does not bring any trouble to me	14	16.7	78	92.9
Emigrate to another country	2	2.4	80	95.2
I am not sure	4	4.8	84	100.0

Frequency missing = 9.

The responses on how the respondents would react if there were enforced racial discrimination, revealed that 54.8% would try to destroy it from within through cooperation and negotiation, in contrast to 21.4% who would try to destroy this policy by resisting strongly. The responses show the preference for reform/change through peaceful means rather than violent conflict. The option "I would try to cope if it does not bring any trouble to me" (16.7%), represents a pragmatic rather than a moral attitude. Quite a few respondents are willing to close their eyes to injustice as long as it does not put them at a disadvantage.

**Question 89: Do you think that the black government will disregard minority groups such as whites, Indians, and coloureds?**

**Table 5.80: Opinion of black government's possible treatment of small racial groups**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It will not occur because the growth of civil consciousness will not allow that	30	36.6	30	36.6

It will not occur because of sorrowful experiences we shared	23	28.0	53	64.6
It is likely to occur if there are social and political instability	21	25.6	74	90.2
I am not sure	8	9.8	82	100.0

Frequency missing = 11.

Most respondents (64.6%) do not foresee a problem that the black government will violate minority rights. However, about one third (35.4%), express doubts, especially if instability should occur. The response shows a large measure of trust in the moral integrity of the government.

Following is a summary of conclusions in the political field:

- South Africa is regarded as being politically stable and developing as a result of internal rather than international political factors. Through a peaceful change of regime and democratization a better life has been achieved.
- There is furthermore hope for an improved relationship between smaller cultural groups and a desire for the development of a united South African spirit, but there is still increasing crime, violence and corruption as negative factors.
- The TRC as a liquidation process of the past is viewed in a positive light as profitable for the nation's future development. Opinions differ on the question whether the crimes of the past should be punished or forgiven.
- There is a strong and accurate perception that the main reason for the abolition of apartheid was the resistance of the black people, with the pressure exerted by the international community and sanctions also playing an important role.
- The political conflict between the ANC and IFP is regarded in a serious light as a national power struggle, but not as a real threat to the existence of the state.
- There is a strong perception that the whites enjoy economic privilege, even after 1994.
- Support for the ANC is overwhelming and no strong opposition party is

emerging to restrain and criticize it. A high level of political indifference was observed.

- Views about the integration of the SANDF are mostly optimistic.
- The political activities on labour unions are supported to protect the workers, but respondents realise the danger of a too strong labour movement.
- Capitalism is preferred as a system for economic development, but there is still some support for communism and socialism.
- There is a strong perception that South Africa will play a future role as a leader in Africa, but respondents are not optimistic about the development of African nations, because of political and economic problems.
- An independent diplomatic policy is preferred.
- The concept "Rainbow Nation" is understood as the integration of different culture groups.
- Peaceful political behaviour in the form of reconciliation and compromise is preferred to violent conflict.
- Most respondents do not foresee discrimination against minority racial groups, but there are fears in this regard if conditions of politics and society become insecure.

### **5.3.3 Economics (Questions 90-94)**

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. South Africa's economic outlook.
2. The African nations' regional economic cooperation.
3. South Africa's economic problems.
4. The RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme).
5. South Africa's future economic development policy.

**Question 90: Do you think that South Africa will have continuous economic development?**

**Table 5.81: South Africa's economic view**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	63	69.2	63	69.2
No	11	12.1	74	81.3
I'm not sure	17	18.7	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

A large number (69.2%) of the respondents are optimistic about South Africa's economic development.

During the past four years of economic crisis, the decline of the exchange rate of the rand has caused an increase in consumer prices. Unemployment remains high. The international economic situation is fluid. Respondents, however, still feel positive about South Africa's economic prospects. This can be attributed to the fact that for black people economic prospects are indeed better than under apartheid. Whites are less likely to be optimistic about their economic position.

**Question 91: After 1994 South Africa has had the opportunity to play an important role in the SADC (Southern African Development Community), and regional economic development as a whole. What do you think of this role?**

**Table 5.82: Opinion of South Africa's regional economic role**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
We should definitely play a role since it brings economic advantage and political leadership	47	50.5
There's a big economic gap between S.A. and other African countries, so we should continue to have the passive/negative attitude	5	5.4
Increased cooperation can bring mutual benefit	55	59.1
We should have more concern for economic problems in S.A. instead of regional cooperation	12	12.9
I am not sure	8	8.6

About the necessity for regional economic development most expressed strong agreement, which suggested that they were of the opinion that South Africa could and should play an important role in this sphere.

**Question 92: What is the MOST important economic problem in South Africa?**

**Table 5.83: Consciousness of South Africa's economic problems**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
High unemployment rate	72	80.9	72	80.9
Increasing emigration of skilled labour	2	2.2	74	83.1
Maldistribution of national income/wealth	7	7.9	81	91.0
Problem of low productivity	8	9.0	89	100.0
I am not sure	0	0.0	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

According to the respondents the high unemployment rate is by far the most pressing issue which should be addressed without delay.

**Question 93: The RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) policy was activated in South Africa after Nelson Mandela's government was elected. What is your opinion on the success of this policy?**

**Table 5.84: Consciousness of RDP policy**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It will succeed, just as it was intended	40	50.6	40	50.6
It will fail since it was formed by political policy	3	3.8	43	54.4
It will fail through corruption and irrationality	30	38.0	73	92.4
I am not sure	6	7.6	79	100.0

Frequency missing = 14.

From the beginning the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) experienced many difficulties. It had sound objectives but encountered problems in the planning, efficient utilisation and collection of financial resources.

The two main responses chosen - "It will succeed, just as it was intended" (50.6%) and contrastingly "It will fail through corruption and irrationality" - (38.0%) show that the policy's success, in the opinion of the respondents, was not entirely as anticipated.

**Question 94: What economic policy will best meet the aspirations of the South African people?**

**Table 5.85: Preferred South African economic policy**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Redistribution policy of wealth to poor people	32	37.6	32	37.6
Productivity increase in market economy	33	38.8	65	76.5
Fiscal redistribution of tax policy	3	3.5	68	80.0
To establish a minimum wage guarantee system	7	8.2	75	88.2
To establish a price stabilization policy	3	3.5	78	91.8
I am not sure	7	8.2	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

Evenly distributed support for a market economy and for redistribution of wealth could be indicative of a relatively even distribution of socialist and capitalist preferences.

Low productivity and lack of competitive power on the one hand, and the gap between rich and poor, and the relief of poverty on the other hand, are South Africa's biggest problems.

The responses with regard to economic affairs can be summarised as follows:

- Views on South Africa's economic development are generally optimistic.
- Regional economic cooperation between neighbouring nations in South Africa is supported.
- Increased production, redistribution of wealth and a solution for unemployment are economic priorities.
- Despite the problems of the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme), respondents are optimistic about it.

### 5.3.4 Society (Questions 95-104)

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. Afrikaners' future security.
2. Aspects of social and national insecurity.
3. Most important challenge for black people.
4. Reasons for crime.
5. The reasons for emigration.
6. Freedom of speech.
7. Legal equality/rights.
8. Death penalty.
9. Civil militia organizations' political behaviour.

**Question 95:** In an atmosphere of unity and brotherhood the Afrikaners would have no reason whatsoever to entertain fears or doubts about the future security of their survival for generations to come. Do you agree with this statement?

**Table 5.86: Afrikaners' future security**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Strongly agree	41	45.1	41	45.1
Agree to some extent	21	23.1	62	68.1
Disagree to some extent	16	17.6	78	85.7

Strongly disagree	3	3.3	81	89.0
I'm not sure	10	11.0	91	100.0

Frequency missing = 2.

Affirmative responses total 68.1% and negative ones 28.9%. The latter figure is somewhat disturbing in terms of the ideal of national unity. If Afrikaners continuously feel insecure with no hope for the future they will resist any developments towards fostering national unity. If South Africa wants national unity special political measures will be needed to prevent discontented power groups from disrupting the stability.

Read in conjunction with the results of Question 67 regarding the continued privilege of whites one can say that the white Afrikaners' future will not be in jeopardy.

**Question 96: Which one of the following do you think is the biggest single aspect of social and national insecurity in present day South Africa?**

***Table 5.87: Aspects of social and national insecurity***

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
The social problem of crime	60	69.8	60	69.8
Economic problems/ stagnation	19	22.1	79	91.9
Political instability/unrest	4	4.7	83	96.5
Foreign relations	1	1.2	84	97.7
I'm not sure	2	2.3	86	100.0

Frequency missing = 7.

Crime is perceived to be the major national problem of the day by more than two thirds of the respondents, with economic problems second, and political instability third. Crime prevention programmes will have enormous popular support.

**Question 97: Which of the following do you regard as the MOST important challenge for black people of South Africa?**

**Table 5.88: Most important challenge for black people**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
To work harder (to be more productive)	9	10.8	9	10.8
To educate themselves	31	37.3	40	48.2
To become entrepreneurs (business people)	10	12.0	50	60.2
Economic empowerment	26	31.3	76	91.6
Reconciliation with other population groups	5	6.0	81	97.6
Family planning	2	2.4	83	100.0

Frequency missing = 10.

The response indicates that black people desire education and economic empowerment most of all.

**Question 98: Presently crime is rising in South Africa and corruption is widespread. What is, in your opinion, the MOST important reason?**

**Table 5.89: The reason for crime**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Political instability	11	12.9	11	12.9
Economic poverty	55	64.7	66	77.6
Lack of values/morality in society	12	14.1	78	91.8
Security problems	6	7.1	84	98.8
I'm not sure	1	1.2	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

The crime issue in S.A. is serious and if no solution is found it will continue and even become worse. By far the highest frequency was recorded for "Economic poverty" (64.7%), followed by "Lack of values/morality in society" (14.1%) and

“Political instability” (12.9%). However, countries which are much poorer than South Africa have less crime, therefore this assumption is incorrect. The crime issue is not only the result of poverty, but also of corruption in the police service, lack of political conviction in government and a lack of important policies, unemployment, a disregard for the law, and the increase in the number of illegal emigrants who are contributing to the problems. Economic desperation cannot be easily addressed in the short term, but the lack of morality can be addressed in the education system.

**Question 99: What reason would cause MOST people to emigrate to other countries?**

**Table 5.90: Reasons for emigrating**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Political instability	22	23.7
Economic problems	37	39.8
Rapidly increasing crime rate	57	61.3
To escape from all of the discrimination/racism	9	9.7
Low quality lifestyle and no hope for the future	31	33.3
I am not sure	1	1.1

Since the change of regime in 1994 many people have emigrated. The number of emigrants have been reduced, but the white people left behind have at least once thought about emigrating. The loss of highly skilled manpower through emigration may have a negative impact on the economy.

Respondents were asked for their opinion on the main factors for emigrating. Crime and economic problems are regarded as the main reason for emigrating. These are the issues that need to be addressed by the government in order to stop a brain drain.

**Question 100: In your view does freedom of speech exist in South Africa?****Table 5.91: Opinion on the measure of freedom of speech**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
To a large extent	49	52.7	49	52.7
To some extent	40	43.0	89	95.7
Not at all	3	3.2	92	98.9
I'm not sure	1	1.1	93	100.0

A total of 95.7% of the respondents are of the opinion that freedom of speech is guaranteed in South Africa. Freedom of speech allow people to get to know and respect one another. Furthermore it facilitates the development of a healthy national consciousness and could therefore be of great importance in democratization.

**Question 101: Do you think that every one of us in South Africa has equal rights before the law since 1994?****Table 5.92: Consciousness of legal equality/rights**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	45	48.4	45	48.4
No	39	41.9	84	90.3
I'm not sure	9	9.7	93	100.0

Surprisingly about half the responses show that everybody was not perceived to have equal rights before the law. If every citizen is not thought to have equal rights before the law, the stability of society and the existence of the nation will be endangered. An immediate and long-lasting solution must be found for this problem.

The follow-up question investigates why the respondents think as they do.

**Question 102: Please motivate the answer you gave to 101.**

The reasons given are as follows:

1. The South African Constitution protects each and everyone.
2. Blacks are favoured above whites.
3. There are quite a number of cases where people have been discriminated against because of their colour and gender (and lack of money).
4. Equal rights are exercised only in the political environment – vast inequalities exist in access to resources and legal services.
5. Nepotism is escalating.
6. If you have money in South Africa, you have power.
7. Whites are favoured above blacks.
8. The South African Constitution is supposed to protect each and everyone, but it is often different in practice.
9. Not all are aware of their rights.
10. Blacks are still not paid the same wages as white colleagues.
11. No gender discrimination.
12. No one has rights because before 1994 people in South Africa were not equal because of apartheid.
13. Because the law was not signed.

**Table 5.93: Motivation for answers to question 101**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	32	46.4	32	46.4
2	2	2.9	34	49.3
3	11	15.9	45	65.2
4	6	8.7	51	73.9
5	1	1.4	52	75.4
6	2	2.9	54	78.3
7	2	2.9	56	81.2
8	8	11.6	64	92.8
9	1	1.4	65	94.2

10	1	1.4	66	95.7
11	1	1.4	67	97.1
12	1	1.4	68	98.6
13	1	1.4	69	100.0

Frequency missing = 24.

The conclusion is that not all the respondents believe that equality of rights before the law exists in South Africa. There are differences in opinion with regard to the reasons for this. If no measures are taken to rectify this, the future of the new South Africa could be jeopardized.

**Question 103: South African crime, violence and drugs have been widespread in the whole country and can be seen to be related to social problems. Do you see “the death penalty” as a solution for these problems?**

**Table 5.94: Opinion about death penalty**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	35	38.0	35	38.0
No	52	56.6	87	94.6
I'm not sure	5	5.4	92	100.0

Frequency missing = 1.

The investigation showed that in the social field, respondents saw crime as South Africa's public enemy number one, but that the majority of them rejected the idea of the re-introduction of the death penalty to prevent crime. The issue on the necessity of the death penalty for the prevention of crime is debatable but in the situation in South Africa it is an option that needs careful consideration.

**Question 104: In the Western Cape, CORE (Community Outreach Forum) and Pagad(People Against Gangsterism and Drugs) are fighting each other and offered themselves as candidates in the 1999 election. What is your opinion on their action?**

**Table 5.95: Consciousness of civil militia organizations' political behaviour**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
It is natural for them to speak for their own rights in a democratic society	33	35.5
They could be supportive in national interests even if they come from criminal organizations and civil militia organizations	11	11.8
They could increase social instability as another power group	29	31.2
Government and policy play a third force role between two organizations to mediate their activity	7	7.5
Criminal organizations and civil militia organizations should be destroyed since they only bring about political instability	30	32.3
It could lead to illegal acts through maverick elements of a political party	19	20.4
I am not sure	11	11.8

What do the respondents think about these vigilante groups and their activities? On the whole the largest number of respondents have negative perceptions about the activities of vigilante groups, yet paradoxically many have generous attitudes towards these groups. It is a big danger if a country is unable to control the social conditions which enable vigilante groups to emerge. These groups must be distinguished from those whose intentions could be beneficial to society.

The responses in the social field could be summarized as follows:

- The privileges which the white Afrikaners enjoyed in the past will not continue to exist to the same extent, but their security is not threatened.
- Crime is regarded as the worst enemy of society. The economic situation is seen as the main cause of crime.
- Education and economic empowerment are regarded to be the biggest challenges for black people.
- Crime, rather than political instability, is viewed as the main reason for

emigration.

- Freedom of speech is perceived to be guaranteed in South Africa.
- Not everybody thinks that he/she has equality before the law.
- The re-introduction of the death penalty is rejected by the majority of respondents.
- Resistance against the actions of vigilante groups is not very strong.

### 5.3.5 Culture (Questions 105-112)

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. South Africa's heritage.
2. The prestige of one's cultural group.
3. Preference for other cultural groups.
4. Cooperation between cultural groups.
5. Future cooperation and development between cultural groups.
6. Tradition and culture.

**Question 105: There is a lot of heritage material (historical/living/political/cultural/natural) in South Africa. Which of the following is the MOST important?**

**Table 5.96: Consciousness of South Africa's heritage**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Natural beauty/buildings/ street landscapes/rock art/ shipwrecks	26	31.3	26	31.3
Objects of historical importance/battlefields	7	8.4	33	39.8
Geological/palaeontological/ archeological sites and objects	13	15.7	46	55.4

Graves of historical victims/ victims of conflict	12	14.5	58	69.9
Political Monuments	11	13.3	69	83.1
I am not sure	14	16.9	83	100.0

Frequency missing = 10.

South Africa's tourism resources are regarded as the most important heritage by almost a third of the respondents. A relatively large number of respondents do not seem to have a strong opinions about heritage in South Africa.

**Question 106: What type of prestige does your culture group have?**

**Table 5.97: Consciousness of the prestige of cultural groups**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
High prestige	33	37.9	33	37.9
Low prestige	16	18.4	49	56.3
We have no prestige	11	12.6	60	69.0
I am not sure	27	31.0	87	100.0

Frequency missing = 6.

What do respondents think about the culture group that they belong to? Are they proud and honoured? Or do they feel ashamed? Surprisingly the evaluation shows that many are not so proud of their culture group, with the rate of negative responses at 62.1%.

A proper national consciousness consists of a love for oneself and for the cultural group one belongs to. One will respect other cultural groups and when there is reciprocal respect, the nation will form a strong national consciousness which, in turn will develop towards nation-building though unification.

The responses are further investigated in the follow-up question.

**Question 107: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 106.**

The respondents gave the following reasons for their answers:

1. It is difficult to say what prestige a white cultural group has in South Africa at

- the moment.
2. Crime is still rife and the poor are poorer. No proper houses for the low income bracket.
  3. SABC does not offer air time for XiTsonga-Shangaan on TV.
  4. I think all cultures have prestige on the same level, they cannot be compared because they are all different and unique.
  5. Our land was taken by whites.
  6. My cultural group tries to preserve our culture.
  7. To have prestige you must be recognized nationally and internationally.
  8. White English South Africans have a lot of say in the South African economy.
  9. We are the fittest – we were able to survive the hard times of apartheid.
  10. My cultural group does not try to preserve our culture.
  11. No one really knows where they stand these days.
  12. Us whites have a long history of achievements in our history, music, art, etc.
  13. I do not identify with a cultural group.
  14. Everyone in our group is active since we were inactive for a long time.
  15. Because the government has the money.
  16. I see black people wearing their own traditional clothes in our day, a thing which they never did in the past.
  17. They fall under the underprivileged group (the majority of them).
  18. Low prestige because of the language you speak, colour of your skin. For example, if we all spoke the same language and had the same skin colour (black/white), we would all have the same prestige.

**Table 5.98: Motivation for answers to question 106**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	5	13.9	5	13.9
2	2	5.5	7	19.4
3	1	2.8	8	22.2
4	4	11.1	12	33.3
5	1	2.8	13	36.1
6	5	13.9	18	50.0

7	1	2.8	19	52.8
8	1	2.8	20	55.6
9	1	2.8	21	58.4
10	4	11.1	25	69.5
11	3	8.2	28	77.7
12	2	5.5	30	83.2
13	1	2.8	31	86.0
14	1	2.8	32	88.8
15	1	2.8	33	91.6
16	1	2.8	34	94.4
17	1	2.8	35	97.2
18	1	2.8	36	100.0

Frequency missing = 57.

This variety of responses reveals realism rather than idealism among respondents. Most of them seem to be rather tentative in assessing the prestige of their own cultural group.

**Question 108: Among the groups in South Africa, excepting your own, which group do you like the MOST?**

**Table 5.99: Preference of other cultural group**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
White group	10	15.9	10	15.9
Black group	21	33.3	31	49.2
Coloured group	5	7.9	36	57.1
Indian/ Asian group	7	11.1	43	68.3
I am not sure	20	31.7	63	100.0

Frequency missing = 30.

Most of the respondents preferred not to answer or was not sure. It seems as if they have no positive feelings about other culture groups other than their own.

The way to a multicultural society and nation starts with respect and understanding

for other cultures. If people have negative feelings towards each other as a result of the memories of their past experiences, South Africa will have no hope for the future. Education to address this problem will be necessary.

The factors why this phenomenon has arisen are investigated in the next question.

**Question 109: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 108.**

The reasons given are as follows:

1. The people have a lot of cultural benefits that can be used to better our economy, our lifestyles and our way of thinking.
2. I do not have a preference – they are all South Africans.
3. I like people individually – not in groups.
4. They are nearly the same as the whites.
5. I am black and I only like blacks.
6. They speak Afrikaans.
7. They have strong moral, cultural and family ties.
8. They are much more forgiving.
9. Because of the whites, our lives have changed. In hospitals, white doctors, with their high skills, save the lives of many black patients.
10. Everyone in our group is active since we were inactive for a long time.
11. Because they know and practice the spirit of Ubuntu.
12. They are always fair/strict – they only concentrate on economic development and manage business effectively.
13. They are peaceful and they are socially acceptable.
14. The Asian group is a beautiful group of people with long hair.
15. They have sympathy and share with us.
16. They strongly fight for their rights.

**Table 5.100: Motivation for answers to question 108**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	4	5.7	4	5.7
2	14	20.0	18	25.7

3	23	32.9	41	58.6
4	1	1.4	42	60.0
5	13	18.6	55	78.6
6	2	2.9	57	81.4
7	2	2.9	59	84.3
8	1	1.4	60	85.7
9	1	1.4	61	87.1
10	1	1.4	62	88.6
11	1	1.4	63	90.0
12	1	1.4	64	91.4
13	3	4.3	67	95.7
14	1	1.4	68	97.1
15	1	1.4	69	98.6
16	1	1.4	70	100.0

Frequency missing = 23.

Opinions vary from positive (7,8,9,11,13,15,16), to neutral (2,3) to racist (5). The rate of neutral responses was more than 50 %.

**Question 110: Please state your opinion about relations between cultural groups in South Africa today.**

**Table 5.101: Opinion of relations between cultural groups**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Intergroup relations are good, satisfactory	17	19.1	17	19.1
There are some disagreements between ethnic groups but the situation is improving	50	56.2	67	75.3
There are some minimal problems between ethnic groups	15	16.9	82	92.1
Serious intergroup tensions exist	7	7.9	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

The investigation showed that a cumulative percentage of 92.2% of responses were positive. Disagreement and conflict between cultural groups are not regarded as serious.

**Question 111: Various cultural groups have been established as part of the South African nation in terms of co-existence and cooperation. What would be the best way of cooperating to develop South Africa for the future?**

**Table 5.102: Views on cooperation for future development between cultural groups**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Nationalism/National identity formation to establish Nation Building	35	37.6
Improvement in intergroup relations is often attributed to increased education	45	48.4
Increase of interrelationship is also perceived as a source of great understanding between groups	40	43.0
To establish a culture to respect and protect their own history and culture	20	21.5

Respondents seem to have an understanding of the importance of healthy intergroup relations and the role that education can play in this regard..

**Question 112: What is your opinion of the value of your cultural group?**

**Table 5.103: Opinion of the value of one's value of culture group**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Traditionally our history and culture are so significant and valuable that every effort should be made to preserve it in its original form	51	54.8
Traditionally our history and culture is no longer of value in the modern South Africa and world society and should be replaced by a culture more adapted to modern conditions	16	17.2
Traditionally our history and culture has certain values but should be modified and integrated with Western culture	20	21.5
I am not sure	6	6.5

Just over half of the respondents answered positively, but the rate of negative response is disturbingly high.

All culture and tradition are very important. As mentioned before one cannot create a unified South African culture and tradition before one appreciates and values one's own culture and traditions. Educational measures are necessary to develop an understanding and love for one's culture.

Results for this question correspond with Question 106.

The summary of the responses to the cultural field is as follows:

- South Africa's natural tourism resources are viewed as important, but respondents do not seem to attach much importance to heritage.
- Many respondents lack pride in their own cultural group and have little affection for their own cultural and traditional values.
- Attitudes towards cultural groups other than their own group are mostly rather neutral.

### **5.3.6 History (Questions 113-147)**

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. The historical event of which they were proudest.
2. The most remarkable historical person.
3. The most remarkable person from one's own cultural group.
4. Influence of the history field: comparison of black and white history.
5. Biggest suffering during Apartheid period.
6. The Mfecane/Difaqane.
7. The cause of the South African War.
8. War terms between South Africa and U.K. during 1899-1902.
9. The Battle of Blood River.
10. The most remarkable event that contributed to South Africa's independence.
11. The most influential event in South Africa's history.

12. The Africanism of PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress).
13. The Soweto uprising.
14. The new historical approach.
15. Cultural heritage terms.
16. Historical and cultural policy.
17. White people's immigration.
18. The reason for the establishment of the apartheid policy by the former white government
19. The relationship between racial discrimination (the apartheid policy) and South Africa's historical development.
20. The most shameful event in history.
21. South Africa's invasion in Angola.
22. The distinction between settler or native in one's own cultural group.
23. Natives and emigrants.
24. Contribution of cultural groups to South Africa's political groups and economical development.
25. Historical objects that one's cultural group takes most pride in.
26. The most difficult period that one's cultural group had to survive historically.

**Question 113: Which one event in South African history can you boast about?**

The following answers were given:

1. Democratic election for all in 1994.
  2. The release of Nelson Mandela from prison.
  3. Mandela becoming president.
  4. Revolt – Soweto uprising.
  5. Being part of a New South Africa.
  6. May 1961.
  7. Black people's struggle for freedom.
  8. The 1995 Rugby World Cup Final.
  9. The first heart-transplant done by a South African.
  10. F.W. de Klerk's 1990 announcement.
  11. The demutualisation of Sanlam and Old Mutual.
-

12. The release of banned political leaders.
13. Bulhoek Incident.
14. How Bafana Bafana performed in soccer.
15. Politics.
16. Where people were beaten by the police during struggles/strikes.
17. Freedom and equality.

**Table 5.104: The proudest historical event**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	33	49.3	33	49.3
2	8	11.9	41	61.2
3	6	9.0	47	70.1
4	3	4.5	50	74.6
5	1	1.5	51	76.1
6	1	1.5	52	77.6
7	1	1.5	53	79.1
8	2	3.0	55	82.1
9	1	1.5	56	83.6
10	2	3.0	58	86.6
11	1	1.5	59	88.1
12	2	3.0	61	91.1
13	1	1.5	62	92.6
14	1	1.5	63	94.1
15	2	3.0	65	97.1
16	1	1.5	66	98.6
17	1	1.5	67	100.0

Frequency missing = 26 .

The evaluation of South Africa's most important historical event was overwhelmingly indicated as the transition to democracy in 1994. The events between 1990 and 1994 were chosen by 77.5% of the respondents as the climax of South African history. The factors why the respondents regarded the handing over of authority and power in 1994 as the most important event in South African history

were further investigated.

**Question 114: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 113.**

The following reasons were given:

1. Liberation for all, democracy and freedom for everyone to express their ideas and conceptions.
2. Violence among the blacks decreased to a great extent.
3. Most South Africans seem to have an ability to pick up the pieces and move on.
4. I witnessed this event.
5. Brought transition from apartheid to democracy.
6. We showed that we are united as a nation. Moved away from British imperialism.
7. It suppressed the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction.
8. It really united our country at a time we needed it most.
9. As a student, it shows the power of the youth, the power we have in ourselves.
10. Because it is the day when I started to see that blacks also have the power to rule this country.
11. Everyone had the opportunity to vote for his/her party.
12. Very talented in sports.
13. I like politics very much that is why I go for it.
14. It is unfair because they are not fighting.
15. Because South Africa is a good example to other countries where there is no freedom and equality. And I believe that many countries especially in Africa should democratize themselves.

**Table 5.105: Motivation for answers to question 113**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	30	49.2	30	49.2
2	2	3.3	32	52.5
3	2	3.3	34	55.7
4	3	4.9	37	60.7
5	9	14.8	46	75.4
6	1	1.6	47	77.0
7	1	1.6	48	78.7
8	4	6.6	52	85.2
9	1	1.6	53	86.9
10	1	1.6	54	88.5
11	2	3.3	56	91.8
12	1	1.6	57	93.4
13	2	3.3	59	96.7
14	1	1.6	60	98.4
15	1	1.6	61	100.0

Frequency missing = 32.

Most of the respondents value the attainment of freedom and democracy highly.

**Question 115: Which one person in South African history can you honour MOST?**

Responses included:

1. Nelson Mandela.
2. Steve Biko.
3. Dr. John Langalibalele Dube.
4. None.
5. So many people did good things, but were not noticed.
6. Shaka Zulu.
7. F.W. de Klerk.
8. Jan Smuts.

9. Emily Hobhouse.
10. Thabo Mbeki.
11. Winnie Mandela.
12. My mother.
13. Napoleon.
14. Chris Hani.

**Table 5.106: Most remarkable historical person**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	53	69.7	53	69.7
2	5	6.6	58	76.3
3	1	1.3	59	77.6
4	1	1.3	60	78.9
5	1	1.3	61	80.3
6	1	1.3	62	81.6
7	4	5.3	66	86.8
8	2	2.6	68	89.5
9	1	1.3	69	90.8
10	1	1.3	70	92.1
11	3	3.9	73	96.1
12	1	1.3	74	97.4
13	1	1.3	75	98.7
14	1	1.3	76	100.0

Frequency missing = 17.

The order of preference was Nelson Mandela, (69.7%), Steve Biko (6.6%), and F.W. de Klerk (5.3%). This corresponds with the previous questions and shows the impact of great political leaders. The inclusion of Winnie Mandela and Emily Hobhouse in the list shows that the contribution of women is valued.

The reason as to why these people are regarded as the important people in South Africa's history was evaluated in the next question.

**Question 116: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 115.**

Responses included:

1. He is cool and collected and he does not like people who are corrupt.
2. He spent 27 years in prison for what he believed in.
3. After his release he still preaches national reconciliation and national unity.
4. He united black South Africa at a stage in South African history when it did not seem possible.
5. First Black president.
6. He died for what he believed in.
7. One of the world's greatest leaders.
8. Played an important role for our people.
9. Everybody played an important role in shaping and making South Africa what it is today.
10. Heroes are not always the people who stand out.
11. He was a military genius.
12. He released Mandela.
13. World statesman for a very long time.
14. She stood up for what she believed was right and sought solutions in education instead of through violence.
15. Her ability to fight for the underprivileged in South Africa. She has self confidence. She is the lady with a lamp. She is strong and will never be destroyed by anyone.
16. She did everything to make sure that my lifestyle is changing.
17. Because he has a right to his country and broke the shackles of Versailles.
18. He is a strong political leader. He abolished apartheid in South Africa.
19. People are now given RDP houses and the people from impoverished countries are receiving food.
20. He made the sun shine for those who were in darkness.

**Table 5.107: Motivation for answers to question 115**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	1	1.4	1	1.4
2	22	29.7	23	31.1
3	22	29.7	45	60.8
4	5	6.8	50	67.6
5	5	6.8	55	74.3
6	1	1.4	56	75.7
7	1	1.4	57	77.0
8	2	2.7	59	79.7
9	1	1.4	60	81.1
10	3	4.1	63	85.1
11	2	2.7	65	87.8
12	1	1.4	66	89.2
13	3	4.1	69	93.2
14	1	1.4	70	94.6
15	1	1.4	71	95.9
16	1	1.4	72	97.3
17	1	1.4	73	98.6
18	1	1.4	74	100.0

Frequency missing = 19.

Several responses, regarding Mandela's remarkable leadership, express the opinion of most of the respondents. Note also the responses with regard to F.W. de Klerk (12 and 13) and Steve Biko (6).

**Question 117: Who do you regard as the greatest person in your cultural group in South African history?**

The respondents regarded the greatest person in history in their cultural group as follows:

1. Jopie Fourie.
2. Jan Smuts.

3. Winnie Mandela.
4. Tito Mboweni.
5. None.
6. Bram Fischer.
7. King Sekhuhune I.
8. King Cetshwayo Ka Mpande.
9. Moshoeshe (Moshweshwe).
10. Nelson Mandela.
11. F.W. De Klerk.
12. Mzilikazi.
13. Shaka Zulu.
14. King Goodwill Zwelithini.
15. Helen Suzman.
16. Francois Pienaar.
17. Cecil John Rhodes.
18. The average unknown person who has to make sense out of each uneventful day, whether by washing dishes, cleaning a shack or taking a baby to the clinic.
19. Constand Viljoen.
20. My father.
21. Trevor Lekota.
22. Dr. Matanzima.
23. Chief Albert Luthuli.
24. Jabu Klanyile of Bayete.
25. Gen. Bantu Holomisa.

**Table 5.108: Most remarkable person from one's own cultural group**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	1	2.1	1	2.1
2	3	6.4	4	8.5
3	4	8.5	8	17.0
4	1	2.1	9	19.1

5	4	8.5	13	27.6
6	1	2.1	14	29.7
7	4	8.5	18	38.3
8	1	2.1	19	40.4
9	4	8.5	23	48.9
10	7	14.9	30	63.8
11	2	4.3	32	68.1
12	1	2.1	33	70.2
13	2	4.3	35	74.5
14	1	2.1	36	76.6
15	1	2.1	37	78.7
16	1	2.1	38	80.9
17	1	2.1	39	83.0
18	1	2.1	40	85.1
19	1	2.1	41	87.2
20	1	2.1	42	89.4
21	1	2.1	43	91.5
22	1	2.1	44	93.6
23	1	2.1	45	95.7
24	1	2.1	46	97.9
25	1	2.1	47	100.0

Frequency missing = 46.

As could be expected there was a wide variety of responses. It is disappointing that about half of the respondents did not respond. There were even 8.5% of whom replied "None". When compared to other responses, this is quite a high rating.

Responses were further investigated in the following question.

**Question 118: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 117. Explain in 2-3 sentences.**

The reasons given are as follows:

1. He died for what he believed in.
2. He is one of the single greatest politicians in South African history.

3. He had a great influence around the world and was respected by world politicians. Not something a lot of South African politicians can say.
4. Her ability to fight for the underprivileged in South Africa.
5. For being the first black Reserve Bank Governor.
6. I do not believe that an entity such as a cultural group exists.
7. He refused to accept moving away from a country in which he chose to stay when the colonial-imperialists were trying to control him and his people.
8. He was able to fight the British who were aiming to destroy the Zulus.
9. He showed how important it was to be diplomatic in South Africa's politics.
10. He had the ability to bring his cultural group together.
11. He put South Africa on the map.
12. He was a great leader.
13. Kept the idea of freedom for all alive in the dark days of apartheid. An honest, no nonsense politician.
14. Great rugby captain.
15. He had the strength to ignore his own past in order to save South Africa's future.
16. He realized that it was important and the only alternative to participate in the election of 1994.
17. He teaches me about culture.
18. He is a true Mosotho – always addresses people in Sesotho.
19. He hated violence. He preached peace and when you talk of peace you talk of our culture.
20. The fact that he is earning a lot of money as a President has not made him to do away with his culture.
21. He still praises his ancestors. He sings our African songs.

**Table 5.109: Motivation for answers to question 117**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	2	5.0	2	5.0
2	6	15.0	8	20.0
3	2	5.0	10	25.0
4	1	2.5	11	27.5
5	1	2.5	12	30.0
6	1	2.5	13	32.5
7	1	2.5	14	35.0
8	2	5.0	16	40.0
9	4	10.0	20	50.0
10	1	2.5	21	52.5
11	8	20.0	29	72.5
12	2	5.0	31	77.5
13	1	2.5	32	80.0
14	2	5.0	34	85.0
15	1	2.5	35	87.5
16	1	2.5	36	90.0
17	1	2.5	37	92.5
18	1	2.5	38	95.5
19	1	2.5	39	97.5
20	1	2.5	40	100.0

Frequency missing = 53.

The responses are mostly self-evident and so varied that it is not possible to discuss each one.

**Question 119: What do you think will be MORE important in the future: the history of the black or white people?**

**Table 5.110: Importance of future influence of history: black and white history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
The White history	1	1.2	1	1.2
The Black history	13	15.1	14	16.3
Both	65	75.6	79	91.9
I'm not sure	7	8.1	86	100.0

Frequency missing = 7.

A figure of 15.1% of the respondents were of the opinion that black history must be regarded as of the greatest importance, yet 75.6% were of the opinion that both are of the same importance.

The following follow-up investigation was undertaken.

**Question 120: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 119.**

These reasons were supplied:

1. The Black people in South Africa number much more than the whites and their historical background has been ignored for some time.
2. Because we both have to share this beautiful country so we should know one another's past.
3. Why should one nation's history be any more important than another's?
4. Black and white history complement each other. One cannot talk of black history without a mention of white history.
5. To show whites ill-treated the blacks.
6. Because we want to know the names of our heroes.
7. It is important for the younger generation.
8. Blacks fought for their freedom long ago during the era of the whites.
9. Because we are all South Africans.
10. Because the coming generation will like to know what it is all about in South Africa. They will know that black and white people in South Africa were united and equal.

11. We have heard enough about the history of black people. Now is the time to hear more about the history of the white people.

**Table 5.111: Motivation for answers to question 119**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	11	15.1	11	15.1
2	12	16.4	23	31.5
3	6	8.2	29	39.7
4	37	50.7	66	90.4
5	1	1.4	67	91.8
6	1	1.4	68	93.2
7	1	1.4	69	94.5
8	1	1.4	70	95.9
9	1	1.4	71	97.3
10	1	1.4	72	98.6
11	1	1.4	73	100.0

Frequency missing = 20.

Most of the respondents supplied sound arguments for their preference for balanced historical education. The different reasons why the main focus should be on black history were also supplied. One respondent expressed preference for white history. What this implies is that historical education must not just focus on a particular cultural group as it will not lead to the formation of a sound historical consciousness. But at the moment, during the period of transition, there will be a definite interest and re-evaluation of black history.

**Question 121: During the Apartheid period what was the biggest suffering in your view?**

Questioned on the biggest suffering during the Apartheid period, the answers were as follows:

1. The denial of the black people to have freedom and democracy (discrimination).

2. Lack of good education – Not being able to go to the same schools.
3. Lack of political participation by blacks.
4. Unemployment.
5. The killing and massacres of all people – especially the youth in 1976.
6. The people lost the sense of human dignity.
7. "Dompas" system.
8. Poverty.
9. Group Areas Act.
10. Breaking-up of blacks families due to migrant labour and long distances to travel.
11. Lack of career choices.
12. The fact that blacks were not allowed to use their mother tongue.
13. Detention without trial.
14. Racism.
15. Starvation.
16. People had no freedom of speech.
17. Money – people were working long hours for a very low wage.

**Table 5.112: Biggest suffering during Apartheid period**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	20	25.6	20	25.6
2	16	20.5	36	46.2
3	5	6.4	41	52.6
4	2	2.6	43	55.1
5	4	5.1	47	60.3
6	11	14.1	58	74.4
7	4	5.1	62	79.5
8	3	3.8	65	83.3
9	5	6.4	70	89.7
10	1	1.3	71	91.0
11	1	1.3	72	92.3
12	1	1.3	73	93.6

13	1	1.3	74	94.9
14	1	1.3	75	96.2
15	1	1.3	76	97.4
16	1	1.3	77	98.7
17	1	1.3	78	100.0

Frequency Missing = 15

The highest frequencies were: "The denial of the black people to have freedom and democracy (discrimination)" (25.6%); "Lack of good education – Not to go to the same schools" (20.5%); "The people lost the sense of human dignity" (14.15); and "Lack of political participation by blacks" and "Group Areas Act" (6.4%). Political subjugation, educational deprivation and the violation of human dignity through race discrimination are thus perceived as the major injustices of the apartheid period.

**Question 122: What are your views on the Mfecane/ Difaqane?**

**Table 5.113: Views on Mfecane/Difaqane**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Black people fought and dispersed and couldn't have a powerful country historically	15	18.3	15	18.3
Voortrekers definitely invaded easily because of the Mfecane	10	12.2	25	30.5
The real history of Mfecane/ Difaqane was distorted by white people in order to disturb black unity	42	51.2	67	81.7
I am not sure	15	18.3	82	100.0

Frequency missing = 11.

The irony of history is that any person or nation with power can interpret and apply facts to suit their situation. More than half of the respondents responded that the real history of Mfecane/Difaqane had been distorted by white people in order to disturb black unity. This indicates that mistrust of white motives is a legacy of apartheid and underlines the importance of the role of education in the process of

reconciliation and nation-building.

**Question 123: What is the main cause of the South African War between the Boers and the British?**

**Table 5.114: Opinion on the main cause of the South African War**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Imperialism of the U.K.	28	32.2	28	32.2
Economic interests	39	44.8	67	77.0
Political instability	9	10.3	76	87.4
I am not sure	11	12.6	87	100.0

Frequency missing = 6.

Economic interests and imperialism are regarded as the major causes of the war. It is somewhat surprising that more respondents selected economic interests than imperialism, which is usually regarded as the overarching cause of the war.

**Question 124: Which name for the war, which occurred between 1899-1902, do you prefer?**

**Table 5.115: Preferred name for war during 1899-1902**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Boer War	4	4.7	4	4.7
Anglo-Boer War	59	69.4	63	74.1
South African War	13	15.3	76	89.4
I am not sure	9	10.6	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

There have been many different opinions regarding the proper name for this war. Ideological considerations play an important role in preferences. By far the majority of the respondents (69.4%) prefer Anglo-Boer War, which includes the two major warring parties, rather than the more neutral and more inclusive, but less descriptive, South African War (15.3%). The rather limited Boer War option received little support (4.7%).

**Question 125: What is your opinion of the battle of Blood River, December 1838?**

**Table 5.116: Opinion on the Battle of Blood River**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It guaranteed white domination in S.A. history	37	52.1	37	52.1
It proved that black domination/superiority in South African history was not powerful any more	17	23.9	54	76.1
I am not sure	17	23.9	71	100.0

Frequency missing = 22.

The Battle of Blood River has been regarded by Afrikaners as an epochal turning point in South African history. More than half of the respondents think that Blood River guaranteed white domination in South African history, recognising its importance in white history.

**Question 126: Which one of the following contributed towards real independence in South Africa?**

**Table 5.117: The most remarkable event that contributed to South Africa's independence**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Great Trek	3	3.3
Sand River/Bloemfontein Conventions	6	6.5
Blood River	1	1.1
The Union of South Africa	24	25.8
The coming to power by the National Party of D.F. Malan in 1948	12	12.9
Grasping of political power by F.W. de Klerk	18	19.4
Nelson Mandela's inauguration and multi-racial elections in 1994	64	68.8
I am not sure	4	4.3

Almost 70% of the respondents agree that the 1994 elections and Mandela's inauguration was the most important event in terms of real independence. The importance of unification in 1910 (35.8%), De Klerk's government (19.4%) and the National Party victory in 1948" (12.9%) are also acknowledged. The recognition of the importance of the 1994 transition as a democratic expression of all South Africans seeking independence, could be a positive factor for the development of national unification.

**Question 127: Which of the following examples do you think are important turning points in South African history?**

**Table 5.118: Turning points in South Africa's history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
The period of the Great Trek	11	11.8
Kingdom formation of Shaka Zulu & Mfecane	17	18.3
Discovery of gold and diamonds	47	50.5
Grasping political power by D.F. Malan in 1948 and establishment of the Apartheid policy	26	28.0
Non-racial discrimination policies by F.W. de Klerk	62	66.7
I am not sure	2	2.2

These responses correspond to those in previous questions in that the more recent political transformation is highly rated (66.7%). The introduction of apartheid is also regarded as an important turning point (28%). Among the more distant 19<sup>th</sup> century events the discovery of gold and diamond is regarded as important (50.5%).

**Question 128: Robert Sobukwe, who established the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1959, insisted on Africanism by saying "Africans should take their destiny into their hand and not turn to other racial groups for a resolution of South Africa's political problems" What is your opinion regarding this statement?**

**Table 5.119: Opinion of the PAC's Africanism**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
To help black people's unity and fight against white people's domination	51	54.8
It is not satisfactory for them to insist only black people's unity without pan-racial organizational movements	21	22.6
The unity of pan-racial organizations could have been more powerful against white domination	22	23.7
I am not sure	8	8.6

Most respondents seem to be supportive of Sobukwe's Pan-Africanist stance against white domination, although some are doubtful of his success.

**Question 129: In your opinion, what was the significance of the Soweto uprising for the liberation movement in South Africa?**

**Table 5.120: Consciousness on the Soweto uprising**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
There was a big difference between S.A. before and after Soweto; white domination was challenged for the first time and the black resistance movement got hope for the future	54	58.1
The white government's powerful suppression of the black community elicited black resistance against white domination	33	35.5
Black people realized their weakness and lack of power to break white domination	11	11.8
Black resistance received more support from the international community	41	44.1
I am not sure	2	2.2

The Soweto uprising is regarded as a watershed in black resistance in South Africa. It made whites realise that they could not easily break black people's resistance. More than before the immoral violation of human rights through apartheid induced international criticism. South Africa was increasingly isolated from the international

community. Respondents interpret the significance of Soweto mainly as the first effective black challenge to white domination (58.1%) and an event which promoted international support for black resistance (44.1%).

**Question 130: How would you write a South African history book, if you were given a chance?**

**Table 5.121: Suggestions for a new historical approach**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Concentrate on black people's resistance against white people's invasion and domination	21	22.6
Reveal wrong facts of white people's invasion and domination	20	21.5
History which has been influenced by reciprocal relationships of multi-culture groups	28	30.1
Concentrate on the cooperation and compromise of all cultural groups for future development	45	48.4
Describe the struggle of history among all cultural groups	29	31.2
I am not sure	2	2.2

The largest response focussed on cooperation and compromise between cultural groups (48.45), but the second largest on struggle between cultural groups (31.2%). Multicultural interaction (30.1%), black resistance (22.6%) and white domination (21.5%) were next in line. It is clear that most respondents favour reconciliation, which can be regarded as an idealistic approach. The more realistic approach, emphasising conflict, also has relatively strong support. My position is that intercultural interaction in South African history should be represented in such a way as to enhance the prospects of nation-building, without necessarily papering over differences and distorting history. South Africa needs history books which will help her citizens to understand and accept other cultural groups.

**Question 131: Many of the names for historical sites, national places, and places have their origin in the white culture of South Africa. What is your opinion regarding this?**

**Table 5.122: Opinion regarding the changing of names of cultural heritage**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Names must be changed	47	58.0	47	58.0
It is better to retain the names	23	28.4	70	86.4
I am not sure	11	13.6	81	100.0

Frequency missing = 12.

More than half of respondents (58.0%) said that names must be changed, while 28.4% feel it is better to retain the names. Countries that were ruled by other countries - even Korea – changed their name after independence to restore their original name and even destroyed the buildings that had been built during that time. However, the situation of South Africa is somewhat different in that the people in authority in the former regime are not completely gone but are living together. All groups must help to develop the nation. If the past heritage is destroyed a section of the population will be dissatisfied and feel offended. This issue of the changing of names must be handled delicately and the current rulers must show that they are sensitive to the needs of all cultural groups.

**Question 132: What is your opinion about the history and cultural policy in South Africa?**

**Table 5.123: Opinion about historical and cultural policy direction**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Because of distorted history all of the past policy should be cleaned up	21	22.6
All the past should be kept and preserved its value even though it was wrong and distorted history	32	34.4
In order to establish new national consciousness, it is better to make a symbol to unite and cooperate people	53	57.0

I am not sure	4	4.3
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More than half (57.0%) of the respondents prefer new national symbols to unite the people. Approximately one third (34.4%) of the respondents do not wish to destroy the memory of the past. Some of the respondents still have a negative attitude towards the history and culture of the past. It is advisable not to do destroy but to preserve it in such a way as to increase the nation's consciousness for future-orientated historical and cultural policies.

**Question 133: If there were no immigration of white people to South Africa, do you think that black society could have developed better?**

**Table 5.124: Consciousness of white people's immigration**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Yes	34	38.2	34	38.2
No	31	34.8	65	73.0
I am not sure	24	27.0	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

The "Yes" (38.2%) and "No" (34.8%) replies were equally distributed. Where speaking of the past we often say that would be better if a specific event hadn't occurred, but such negative views are an enemy of the development of the nation. It would in the case of South Africa be beneficial to view the contributions of white people in a positive light. It may lead to difficulties if the white inputs are negated.

The responses are further analysed in the next question.

**Question 134: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 133.**

The reasons given are as follows:

1. Western ideas were necessary to create a better lifestyle and a higher level of living and thinking and religion was brought to Africa.

2. History has shown that the skills of both groups complement each other.
3. Apartheid caused a lot of anger and resentment in many towards white people.
4. If there were no white interference black society could have had an even and natural development. Blacks have creativity as well.
5. It would have been different. Better or worse is merely speculation.
6. Because we would be able to know everything by doing it.
7. Culture and civilization were developed by whites.

**Table 5.125: Motivation for answers to question 133**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	21	32.3	21	32.3
2	6	9.2	27	41.5
3	1	1.5	28	43.1
4	22	33.8	50	76.9
5	13	20.0	63	96.9
6	1	1.5	64	98.5
7	1	1.5	65	100.0

Frequency missing = 28.

A third of the respondents (33.8%) feel that blacks could have developed better without white interference. Approximately the same number (32.3%) view Western inputs as beneficial. The perception of white people's cultural superiority is no longer accepted in Africa and it cannot be argued that all the development and achievements resulted from the efforts of white people, or that the country would have been a backward country if run by black people. What is clear is that the history of South Africa was made by everybody who lives in the country. For future development everybody must co-operate. In this regard education will play a crucial role.

**Question 135: Why do you think the white government operated according to the apartheid policy?**

**Table 5.126: The reason for the introduction of the apartheid policy by white people**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
To protect their rights and benefits	54	63.5	54	63.5
Because black or coloured people did not have the ability to govern the country	9	10.6	63	74.1
Because of capitalism	9	10.6	72	84.7
To protect the country against communism and socialism	7	8.2	79	92.9
I am not sure	6	7.1	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

Almost two thirds 63.5% responded that whites acted from a motive of self-interest. Response to the other options was low.

**Question 136: Do you think that “racial discrimination (the apartheid policy)” was detrimental to South Africa’s historical development?**

**Table 5.127: The relationship between racial discrimination (the Apartheid policy) and South Africa’s historical development**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
I strongly agree	63	70.0	63	70.0
Agree to some extent	12	13.3	75	83.3
Disagree to some extent	5	5.6	80	88.9
Strongly disagree	4	4.4	84	93.3
I am not sure	6	6.7	90	100.0

Frequency missing = 3.

A cumulative percentage of 83.3% agree that apartheid had a negative impact on development. Disagreement with this view added up to a cumulative percentage of only 16.7%.

**Question 137: What is the MOST shameful event/ fact in the historical development of South Africa?**

The reaction of respondents was as follows:

1. Sharpeville.
2. White domination and human rights violations (apartheid policy).
3. Assassination of Chris Hani.
4. Bantu Education Act.
5. The killing in 1987 of innocent black people in Pretoria by Barend "Wit Wolf" Strydom.
6. Arrival of settlers.
7. Homeland establishment.
8. The 1913 Land Act.
9. The isolation of South Africa by other countries.
10. Leaving God out and corrupting the Bible.
11. Tribal wars before the election.
12. Death of Steve Biko.
13. The 1976 Soweto riots.
14. The bombing of the ANC Headquarters in Johannesburg and bases in Lusaka, Maseru and Mozambique.
15. The introduction and application of the Pass Laws.
16. That the police turned out not to be trusted.
17. The abolishment of the coloured franchise by over-ruling the courts.
18. Crime.
19. The killing of black people by whites at Ntabelanga in Queenstown.
20. The violence and rivalry between Black groups.
21. F.W. de Klerk's tears when the old South African flag was lowered in favour of the new flag.
22. All the killings done by the members of the former SAP under supervision of the former State Presidents (Botha and De Klerk).
23. The high rate of unemployment, shortage of food.
24. Rape that increased daily.
25. Slavery.

26. Blacks/Coloured people have no ability to govern the country.  
 27. The killing of black people after 1994 elections.

**Table 5.128: The most shameful event in history**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	9	13.4	9	13.4
2	20	29.9	29	43.3
3	2	3.0	31	46.3
4	3	4.5	34	50.7
5	1	1.5	35	52.2
6	1	1.5	36	53.7
7	1	1.5	37	55.2
8	1	1.5	38	56.7
9	1	1.5	39	58.2
10	1	1.5	40	59.7
11	1	1.5	41	61.2
12	1	1.5	42	62.7
13	10	14.9	52	77.6
14	1	1.5	53	79.1
15	2	3.0	55	82.1
16	1	1.5	56	83.6
17	1	1.5	57	85.1
18	1	1.5	58	86.6
19	1	1.5	59	88.1
20	1	1.5	60	89.6
21	1	1.5	61	91.0
22	1	1.5	62	92.5
23	1	1.5	63	94.0
24	1	1.5	64	95.5
25	1	1.5	65	97.0
26	1	1.5	66	98.5
27	1	1.5	67	100.0

Frequency missing = 26.

Many respondents (29.9%) are of the opinion that the violation of human rights under apartheid was the most shameful event in South African history. The Soweto riots (14.9%) and the Sharpeville incident (13.4%) also feature prominently on the list.

The responses were further investigated in the follow-up question.

**Question 138: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 137.**

The reasons given are as follows:

1. White domination and human right violations (apartheid policy).
2. Massacre of people for no reason at all.
3. It stunted development in South Africa on all levels.
4. Denied Black people from having proper education.
5. Was influenced by racial hatred (and lack of morality).
6. They dehumanized Africans.
7. It impoverished Africans.
8. It deterred South Africa's development.
9. God only knows best to run a country.
10. Blacks fought each other – they should have come together and fought white discrimination.
11. His death was unnecessary.
12. The way the police and the government used arms to stop the strike (protest).
13. We had hoped that these people would bring a new sphere of government to their people in the long run.
14. The people who were supposed to serve and to protect were involved in torture and murder.
15. Crime is too high in this country and there is no safety and security.
16. The whites killed the innocent blacks because they were illiterates.
17. Whites are unsure of what their future is going to be in a new South Africa.
18. All of these atrocities were done with the taxpayers' money. You can imagine our fathers' paid taxes which in turn was used to kill them.
19. Little education.
20. White people killed blacks and some blacks were dismissed from their jobs,

because of their leader.

21. Because of their black colour.

**Table 5.129: Motivation for answers to question 137**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	1	1.7	1	1.7
2	12	20.0	13	21.7
3	9	15.0	22	36.7
4	4	6.7	26	43.3
5	4	6.7	30	50.0
6	8	13.3	38	63.3
7	1	1.7	39	65.0
8	2	3.3	41	68.3
9	1	1.7	42	70.0
10	1	1.7	43	71.7
11	2	3.3	45	75.0
12	6	10.0	51	85.0
13	1	1.7	52	86.7
14	1	1.7	53	88.3
15	1	1.7	54	90.0
16	1	1.7	55	91.7
17	1	1.7	56	93.3
18	1	1.7	57	95.0
19	1	1.7	58	96.7
20	1	1.7	59	98.3
21	1	1.7	60	100.0

Frequency missing = 33.

Most of the responses refer to the negative impact of apartheid. They are too diverse to be analysed separately.

**Question 139: What do you think of the war between South Africa and Angola?**

**Table 5.130: Opinion of South Africa's invasion in Angola**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It was a proxy war between communism and capitalism as a result of the Cold War	13	15.3	13	15.3
It was a war to destroy and to control black resistance movements against white domination	27	31.8	40	47.1
It was an essential war for S.A. survival	1	1.2	41	48.2
It was a meaningless war and of no benefit to S.A.	19	22.4	60	70.6
I am not sure	25	29.4	85	100.0

Frequency missing = 8.

Almost one third (31.8%) of the respondents link the Angolan war to black resistance and 15.3% to the Cold War situation. South Africa's invasion in Angola is thus seen more as an event with national rather than international implications.

Of the respondents 22.4% saw it as a wasted effort with no benefit to South Africa. A large number of respondents (29.4%) have not formed an opinion about the invasion in Angola, probably because it happened before their birth and was not included in the school history syllabus until quite recently.

**Question 140: What do you think of your cultural group? Are you settlers or natives?**

**Table 5.131: The distinction between settler or native in one's own cultural group**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Settler	5	6.0	5	6.0
Native	22	26.5	27	32.5
It is foolish to divide between settler and native	38	45.8	65	78.3
I am not sure	18	21.7	83	100.0

Frequency missing = 10.

The cumulative percentage of 72.3% for options 2 and 3 shows that positive responses were quite high. The cumulative percentage of 27.7% for the other two options shows that these respondents still do not acknowledge themselves as true members of the nation.

**Question 141: What do you think about immigrant groups in South Africa (e.g. whites, Indians, and Asians)?**

**Table 5.132: Consciousness on immigrants**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Everybody has equal rights as S.A. citizens	53	65.4	53	65.4
They are fellows and companions	15	18.5	68	84.0
They are enemy that must be expelled	6	7.4	74	91.4
It will be hard to assimilate them into the nation	7	8.6	81	100.0

Frequency missing = 12.

The positive answers to the first two options add up 84%, but the negative responses to the last two options add up to a cumulative percentage of 16%, which is higher than it should be.

**Question 142: What kind of role has your cultural group played in the political and economic development of South Africa?**

**Table 5.133: Contribution of cultural groups to South Africa's political groups and economical development**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Very important role	52	58.4	52	58.4
An average role	18	20.2	70	78.7
Not a very important role	1	1.1	71	79.8
No role at all	2	2.2	73	82.0
I am not sure	16	18.0	89	100.0

Frequency missing = 4.

The positive responses amounted to a total of 78.6% and negative ones to 21.3%, which was very high. That 18% responded "I am not sure" showed the uncertainty about the roles of cultural groups. Educational efforts will be needed to make the contribution of the different cultural groups clear. This will stimulate more interest in national development.

The reasons for the responses were investigated in the next question.

**Question 143: Please describe the role you indicated in question 142.**

The following explanations were supplied:

1. They played an integral part in establishing all the "modern ideas", infrastructure, politics, economy, social thinking, etc.
2. It has improved music groups, there's harmony between whites.
3. The economy was improved because some people went out to campaign for economic improvement from international countries to invest in South Africa.
4. All groups play a critical role.
5. Power struggle between ANC and IFP, that resulted in the death of about 100 000 people in the past 8 to 10 years.
6. The 1976 Soweto riots.
7. Leading the struggle for blacks to the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

8. Individuals rather than groups contribute to economic development.
9. It brings about co-operation and collaboration between different groups.
10. Important role because our culture has developed.
11. We fought white domination on all levels.  
We fought against the past regime.
12. Because everyone is employed.
13. The value of the Rand fluctuates.
14. They are included in the development of political and economic activities of South Africa.
15. Agricultural role.
16. Existing labour was exploited for development in SA.

**Table 5.134: Motivation for answers to question 142**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	16	37.2	16	37.2
2	1	2.3	17	39.5
3	4	9.3	21	48.8
4	4	9.3	25	58.1
5	1	2.3	26	60.5
6	1	2.3	27	62.8
7	4	9.3	31	72.1
8	1	2.3	32	74.4
9	2	4.7	34	79.1
10	1	2.3	35	81.4
11	3	7.0	38	88.4
12	1	2.3	39	90.7
13	1	2.3	40	93.0
14	1	2.3	41	95.3
15	1	2.3	42	97.7
16	1	2.3	43	100.0

Frequency missing = 50.

Most respondents have fairly clear ideas why they value the contribution of their own cultural group. The results show that respondents are proud of their cultural groups' contributions.

**Question 144: Please indicate any historical memorial, museum and battle-field that you feel expresses the pride of your cultural group.**

Results of the investigation of the respondents' responses about historical memorial objects in their culture groups are as follows:

1. Voortrekker Monument.
2. Have never seen any one.
3. Steve Biko Memorial.
4. Hector Peterson Memorial.
5. None.
6. Moletje Museum.
7. Impi Yasa Noame Site.
8. Stenga in Durban.
9. Melrose House.
10. Kruger National Park.
11. Police museum in Pretoria.
12. Settlers Monument in Grahamstown.
13. Bloemfontein Museum.
14. Thaba Bosiu.
15. Sharpeville Massacre.
16. Mosega.

**Table 5.135: Historical objects that one's cultural group is proud of**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	2	8.7	2	8.7
2	1	4.3	3	13.0
3	1	4.3	4	17.4
4	1	4.3	5	21.7
5	3	13.0	8	34.8

6	1	4.3	9	39.1
7	1	4.3	10	43.5
8	1	4.3	11	47.8
9	1	4.3	12	52.2
10	1	4.3	13	56.5
11	1	4.3	14	60.9
12	1	4.3	15	65.2
13	3	13.0	18	78.3
14	2	8.7	20	87.0
15	2	8.7	22	95.7
16	1	4.3	23	100.0

Frequency missing = 70.

The results are unexpected as the respondents are all history students and yet two thirds of them did not answer the question while 13% responded with "none" and 4.3% responded "Have never seen any one".

This does not correspond with the responses to Question 20, which showed a high level of interest in local history. Much remains to be done with regard to education about the nation's history and the heritage of cultural groups.

The responses were further analysed.

**Question 145: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 144.**

The reasons given are as follows:

1. Part of a national heritage.
2. Year old who shocked the world.
3. None – not interested.
4. Shows the way in which Pedi people lived in the Transvaal before the arrival of the Afrikaners.
5. Shows the resistance against Boers.
6. Where Shaka was buried.
7. Where Pedi had killed most of Mizikazi's followers.
8. I like the idea that criminals are caught and punished for their crimes.

9. It is a living monument, useful and comfortable.
10. They are all equally important as they are in South Africa.
11. The Voortrekkers wanted to preserve their rights, freedom and security and that is still part of the struggle of every group in South Africa.
12. The people that were killed showed the apartheid regime that the carrying of passes was discrimination.
13. It makes me remember my forefathers.
14. It shows everything about the cultural group I belong to.
15. It is the home of the Basotho people.
16. White invasion was challenged.

**Table 5.136: Motivation for answers to question 144**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	2	10.5	2	10.5
2	1	5.3	3	15.8
3	2	10.5	5	26.3
4	1	5.3	6	31.6
5	1	5.3	7	36.8
6	1	5.3	8	42.1
7	1	5.3	9	47.4
8	1	5.3	10	52.6
9	1	5.3	11	57.9
10	2	10.5	13	68.4
11	1	5.3	14	73.7
12	1	5.3	15	78.9
13	1	5.3	16	84.2
14	1	5.3	17	89.5
15	1	5.3	18	94.7
16	1	5.3	19	100.0

Frequency missing = 74.

This very low response by the respondents means that a valid interpretation cannot really be given.

**Question 146: During which period in history do you think it was hard for you and your cultural group to survive in South Africa?**

The cultural groups responded as follows to the question.

1. Anglo Boer War.
2. Till World War II.
3. 1990 violence.
4. We never had any hard time in South Africa.
5. Now.
6. Since 1948 (and even before).
7. During the apartheid era.
8. 1980's.
9. 1820.
10. During the British "administration".
11. Shaka's reign.
12. 1976.
13. Since 1652.
14. 1899-1902.
15. During the Pass Law period.

**Table 5.137: The most difficult period one's cultural group had to survive historically**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	3	4.7	3	4.7
2	1	1.6	4	6.3
3	2	3.1	6	9.4
4	7	10.9	13	20.3
5	4	6.3	17	26.6
6	7	10.9	24	37.5
7	24	37.5	48	75.0
8	7	10.9	55	85.9
9	1	1.6	56	87.5

10	1	1.6	57	89.1
11	1	1.6	58	90.6
12	3	4.7	61	95.3
13	1	1.6	62	96.9
14	1	1.6	63	98.4
15	1	1.6	64	100.0

Frequency missing = 29.

The respondents responded to the most difficult times experienced by the various cultural groups.

The reasons for responses were further examined.

**Question 147: Please motivate the answer you gave to question 146.**

The following answers were recorded:

1. Afrikaners fought British Imperialism.
2. Circumstances were extremely difficult – we were oppressed.
3. Lot of bloodshed.
4. Apartheid caused a lot of anger and resentment by many towards all white people.
5. My group has always had advantages.
6. The Zulus were adapted to the place they lived in.
7. We are struggling to find our place in society.
8. Shaka was very strict.
9. Riots all over the country.
10. In that time the Afrikaners suffered. They lost their independence, that was a low ebb for them.
11. First the Afrikaans people and now the blacks push us aside.
12. I see this as a time of despair, loss and bitterness (loss of freedom/loved ones).
13. Can the correlation between present communities, the cultures and sub-cultures identified there-in and past communities and their cultures be drawn that easily?
14. Our forefathers and –mothers were illiterate.

15. I was supposed to go to school to study, but I did not.
16. The apartheid government was so strong in fighting against the resistance of black people.
17. There was discrimination against the whites.

**Table 5.138: Motivation for answers to question 146**

Answer Number	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	3	5.4	3	5.4
2	21	37.5	24	42.9
3	2	3.6	26	46.4
4	9	16.1	35	62.5
5	3	5.4	38	67.9
6	1	1.8	39	69.6
7	4	7.1	43	76.8
8	1	1.8	44	78.6
9	2	3.6	46	82.1
10	1	1.8	47	83.9
11	1	1.8	48	85.7
12	2	3.6	50	89.3
13	1	1.8	51	91.1
14	1	1.8	52	92.9
15	1	1.8	53	94.6
16	2	3.6	55	98.2
17	1	1.8	56	100.0

Frequency missing = 37.

From various responses it is obvious that blacks regard the apartheid era as their hardest time, while the references to the Anglo-Boer war and the present can be associated with white respondents.

The answers on historical issues can be summarised as follows:

- The most significant event in South African history is considered to be the political change in 1994, which is regarded as a remarkable transition. Respondents view the black takeover of power in 1994 as the true independence of South Africa.
- Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk are regarded as the greatest figures in the history of South Africa.
- Apart from Mandela and De Klerk, Moshoeshe (Moshweshwe), King Sekuhune I, Winnie Mandela are also respected leaders. Some said there is no one to be proud of.
- Some respondents regard black history as more important than white history, but most respondents view white and black history as equally important.
- Apartheid is seen as detrimental to development. During the apartheid era, the biggest suffering was the violation of human rights of the black people.
- Respondents are not sure how to evaluate events such as the Mfecane. Students' interpretations of history are rather one-sided.
- Respondents prefer to call the war between Britain and South Africa in 1899-1902 the Anglo-Boer War rather than the South African War.
- Respondents regard the Battle of Blood River as a turning point in securing white domination.
- A large number of respondents consider the discovery of gold and diamonds as an important historical event.
- The Soweto uprising is regarded as an important watershed in black resistance.
- Most respondents wish to preserve cultural heritage, but would like to see names from the apartheid period disappear.
- Half the respondents think that blacks could have developed better without white interference and the other half welcome the white contribution to development.
- Respondents consider the most shameful historical events to be the apartheid

policy, Sharpeville and Soweto.

- South Africa's invasion in Angola is linked to black resistance rather than an extension of the Cold War.
- Most respondents regard all cultural groups in the country as true citizens.
- On the whole respondents consider that the cultural group they belong to is contributing towards the nation's political and economical development.

### 5.3.7 Education (Questions 148-152)

The nature of the respondents' consciousness of the following aspects was investigated and analysed:

1. Language policy in South Africa.
2. History teaching at University: geographical facts.
3. History teaching at university: type of history.
4. White or black history.
5. Value of history teaching at school.

**Question 148:** There are 11 official languages in South Africa. Usually, a national policy of language is very important in order to develop national identity and consensus. Do you think the present language policy is right or wrong for the development of South Africa?

**Table 5.139: Language policy in South Africa**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
Right	70	77.8	70	77.8
Wrong	16	17.8	86	95.6
I'm not sure	4	4.4	90	100.0

Frequency missing = 3.

The language policy of a country is very important for the nation's unity. If South Africa continues with the policy of having 11 languages, the development of national unity will be slowed down. Surprisingly, 77.8% answered "Right"

and only 17.8% "Wrong", which indicates that they do not consider unity of language as an important element of national unity.

**Question 149: What do you think History students should be taught at university?**

**Table 5.140: Interest of history students in the field of history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
More South African history	61	65.2
More history of Africa	51	54.8
More European history	22	23.7
More American history	14	15.1
More Asian history	15	16.1

The respondents overwhelmingly regard South African and African history as relevant to their needs. This indicates a somewhat unbalanced view and perhaps a lack of vision regarding a broader approach to history in the age of globalisation.

These results are, nevertheless, better than in Question 23.

**Question 150: What type of history should be focused on at university?**

**Table 5.141: Interest in the types of history at university**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Political history	61	65.6
Economic history	48	51.6
Social history	52	55.9
Gender history	20	21.5
Environmental history	16	17.2
I am not sure	3	3.2

As expected the traditional fields of "Political history" (65.6%), "Economic history" (51.6%), and "Social history" (55.9%) received much support. It is encouraging that some interest is also shown in "Gender history" (21.5%) and "Environmental

history" (17.2%).

**Question 151: Do you think the description of history until now in books was focused on the black or the white?**

**Table 5.142: Interest in description in history**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
The White history	44	50.0	44	50.0
The Black history	3	3.4	47	53.4
Both	36	40.9	83	94.3
I'm not sure	5	5.7	88	100.0

Frequency missing = 5.

Half of the respondents' responses were that the history was centered on the whites, but 40.9% responded by saying "Both". This response can be attributed to the fact that the textbooks used by the white government up to 1994 showed the white history as the main current and black history as being marginalised.

**Question 152: What do you think of the teaching of History at school? Which of the following statements corresponds most closely with your experience?**

**Table 5.143: Interest in teaching in history at school**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
It means a lot to students	22	32.4	22	32.4
It is presented in a one-sided way	10	14.7	32	47.1
It distorts the past	8	11.8	40	58.8
It is taught in a completely wrong way	6	8.8	46	67.6
It is a good subject	21	30.9	67	98.5
I am not sure	1	1.5	68	100.0

Frequency missing = 25.

The positive replies "It means a lot to students" (32.4%) and "It is a good subject" (30.9%) come to 63.3% cumulatively. The negative replies "It is presented in a one-

sided way" (14.7%), "It distorts the past" (11.8%), "It is taught in a completely wrong way" (8.8%) and "I'm not sure" (1.5%) come to 36.8% cumulatively. In terms of the problems experienced by education departments in the past, which still continue today, it is encouraging that the majority of students have a positive attitude towards the teaching of history at school. This must be utilised by roleplayers in the field of history teaching.

To summarise: the questions on the education sphere were answered as follows:

- The respondents would prefer to maintain the 11 languages.
- The inclusion of more South African and African history in syllabuses is supported.
- Political, social and economic history are preferred, but there is interest in gender and environmental history.
- More than half of the respondents answered that the textbooks were centred on white history.
- Value of history is acknowledged.

## CHAPTER 6

# CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.1 Comments on main findings

The results of the empirical study established the following trends with regard to the historical consciousness of the students in the sample group:

- There is no lack of interest in history, as can be expected from history students. Their interest is mainly limited to South African and African history.
- The level of historical knowledge seems to be insufficient, which might be regarded as a reflection on the quality of history education in the country. In important fields, such as economic history and international relations, there seems to be a serious lack of knowledge, which can probably be attributed to the content of current school syllabuses.
- The general attitude of the students with regard to the present state and the future prospects of the country can be described as one of cautious optimism.
- There seems to be rather general satisfaction with the political situation since 1994, linked to hero-worship for Nelson Mandela. The political transition in 1994 is regarded by the majority of respondents as the climax of South African history.
- On the other hand general dissatisfaction with the crime situation exists.
- Black students' primary desire seems to be for economic empowerment.
- The lack of pride among the majority of respondents in their own cultural group is a cause for concern. It may be linked to the negative connotations which ethnicity has as a result of the apartheid experience.

I wish to make the following comments with regard to some of the main findings:

- **The legacy of a divided society**

South Africa's contested past reveals the existence of a variety of cultural/ethnic groups. The cultural diversity of South African society in terms of racial, ethnic, linguistic, class, religious and political differences is described in chapter 3.

This diversity, unfortunately brought with it evils of ethnic superiority/inferiority, political problems, civil strife, and wars. White domination resulted in policies of segregation and apartheid, which further divided South African society and left a legacy of deep divisions. Different struggles in the past by and between racial/cultural groups existed. Blacks wanted liberation from colonial rule and white domination; and the whites were struggling for survival and preservation of their cultural identity. The coloureds fought against being sidelined by both the whites and the blacks; and the Indians' struggle was that of being accepted as South Africans.

The country has now become a truly unitary state, which has set itself the objective of constructive nation-building. However, as a result of divisions and suspicions, nation-building will be a laboursome process. Some observers are not optimistic that nation-building is at all feasible. Societal transformation will indeed be a long and cumbersome exercise.

Concerning the present struggles, South African society still experiences a strong consciousness of class and racial inequality, because wealth and social position remain racially divided despite the dismantling of the political structures of apartheid. The dissatisfaction of different cultural groups is not shown externally, but is consciously situated in their minds. This results in a divisive situation that endangers the nation's unity.

The lack of participation in the government by white people is strongly linked to the feeling of alienation. Moreover, those white people who enjoyed privileges in the past are losing their political power and experiencing a sense of marginalisation. These white people are being excluded from public life. If they were to experience serious loss and deprivation they will remain as a discontented force in society,

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immigrate to other countries or consider the establishment of an Afrikaner homeland (volkstaters). Also, the almost one-party rule of the ANC and the Employment Equity Act are new forms of discrimination, and could lead to a new authoritarianism and national arrogance.

Christianity has been regarded as a potentially unifying force, since the majority of South Africans are at least nominally Christians. However, the Christian religion has in the past often been used as an extension of political objectives. Examples are the use of the so-called Afrikaner civil religion in the construction of the political ideology of Christian-Nationalism and the use of black theology as part of the justification for the liberation struggle. The deep divisions in society have been transferred to the realm of the Christian religion. Christian churches find it hard to speak with one voice with regard to societal issues. This proves that the utility of what is regarded as potentially unifying forces in South African society is thus not clear-cut.

In post-apartheid South Africa new class formations have emerged. In the highest and lowest social strata some convergence between different racial groups have occurred as a result of common interests and may lead to the blurring of racial divides. However, in the middle strata lines of racial division are still deeply ingrained. As the class structure of black society diversifies class issues will probably gain new prominence in South African society and will have to be taken into account in the planning of the nation-building exercise. The growing number of unemployed persons is a cause for grave concern. It will be a complicated matter to motivate the jobless to claim ownership of the new South Africa and to induce ethical values that will integrate people suffering from deprivation into a value system aimed at promoting national unity.

What is clear is that efficient communication and education will play a vital role in the bridging of societal divisions.

Sub-national loyalties, whether regional, ethnic, racial, class, religious or ideological in nature, should be superseded by identification with the nation and with the institutions and symbols of the state. Reconciliation between antagonistic groups is a prerequisite of successful nation-building. All citizens should participate in

governing their lives and the creation of unity through greater equity. The South African nation has to include the South African women, white and black, rich and poor, middle and working class.

- **The existence of different modes of historical consciousness**

The responses to some of the questions in the questionnaire, as discussed in chapter 5, reveal differences in the mode of historical consciousness among different cultural groups.

There are prospects for the evolvement of constructive as opposed to destructive forms of historical consciousness, that will provide a solid foundation for the process of nation-building. The international community, which has been involved in the deconstruction of the old apartheid regime and the reconstruction of a new democracy, will have a limited role to play in this regard. Nation-building can be reconciled with a democratic government. This is possible if the South Africans can develop cross-cutting associations and interests, accompanied by an increase in common values, the development of a uniform national identity, reciprocal trust, strong feelings of common loyalty, inter-communal reconciliation, and mutual recognition. Nation-building requires the recognition of ethnic diversity, a balancing of interests of the black majority and the white population, who provide most of the skills, entrepreneurship and capital that currently drives the economy.

In the process of educational reconstruction a curriculum should be designed that will promote the unity and accommodate the diversity of the population, laying a foundation for multicultural harmony. Such a curriculum should include features that persuade people to believe that they belong to a nation and that this membership imposes on them moral obligations to their fellow nationals, and ingredients that explicitly persuade children that they belong to the South African nation.

There is hope for improvement. It was extremely wise and timely to hand over political power through agreement and reconciliation in 1994. This definitely avoided internal uprising and racial conflict. But the future objective should be to see how committed South Africans are to democratization, which would be the key point to

successfully conclude the process of transformation that was set in motion in 1994.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

### **6.2.1 History teaching programmes**

Historical consciousness is an important criterion for purposes of interpreting history. We can regard historical consciousness as a sense of awareness of past times, present times and future times. Historical consciousness is not static and unchangeable - a new historical consciousness can be built up through an educational process, which broadens and deepens a person's historical understanding. Therefore the purpose of history education is primarily to raise the level of historical cognition. A secondary aim may be to make the historical consciousness of students future-oriented and imbued with hope. Taking historical consciousness as a basis, the course and purpose of history education might still be hard to explain. It can, however, be articulated in terms of an integrated concept that contains the mental aspect of an interest in history, the intellectual aspect of an understanding of historical concepts, and the practical aspect of a future-oriented and creative attitudes.

The importance of history teaching in South Africa includes creating harmony among the cultural groups rather than hatred, which will facilitate nation-building. In South Africa, the government can play a role in enhancing the historical view of people through history education. The possible approach to take is that of making the individuals of South Africa to acquire knowledge and skills that will help them to deal effectively with life's challenges and the environment in which they live. The system of education should enable them to take independent decisions, identify and solve problems, and provide for their material, spiritual and intellectual needs.

Some weak points shown in results in chapter 5 must be redressed by history education. South Africa still experiences serious divisions and confusion with regard to historical consciousness. Until 1994 the blacks experienced oppression and white domination under apartheid, while the majority of white people supported apartheid for their own benefit. Consequently, it is impossible for them to get along in a new

and changed political and economic environment with their old consciousness and attitude. The results of the investigation clearly indicate that history students at the South African universities selected for the study do not have a harmonious historical consciousness. It suggests that both the older generation and the present generation experience the same problems. Past thinking and past patterns of action are not suitable for the present, and are not conducive to developing a new consciousness and style of action. This needs to be carefully looked into.

A person's or a nation's historical consciousness results from a wide spectrum of impressions digested over an extended period of time. If the historical consciousness has already been formed and is based on wrong knowledge, or based on an exclusive historical consciousness of one's own country or own cultural group, it will lead to pursuing history for one's own benefit. If history lessons are presented in such a way that South African students accurately understand and respect their own cultural past, and the culture and history of others, it is possible to develop a one-nation consciousness.

For a new historical consciousness paradigm to develop, I would recommend the following:

- Findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission can in due course be interpreted and utilized to form a broader South African consciousness of the recent past.
- Sites of historical value and/or cultural importance should be used for the purpose of history education.
- Local and regional history, which is included in history syllabi from primary school level, should receive even more attention in history teaching.

Local, regional and national history must not be viewed in isolation, but as part of global history. World problems that arise in one location are not just relevant to that particular location, but are often problems of a universal nature which require co-operative action. A single nation cannot survive by isolating itself totally from world history. To develop a sound international feeling, it is important to change your

thinking regarding international society and compare yourself objectively with the international society. If South Africa is to become an influential member of the international community; it is necessary that students as its future leaders increase their knowledge about world history.

South Africa is trying hard to complete its political and socio-economic democratization. Its historical development is different from that of other African countries which experienced colonial rule. Both oppressor and oppressed are at present working and living together, and their mutual understanding and co-operation are necessary for national development.

There are a number of strong points shown in the results of chapter 5 on which a positive national spirit can be built. Aspects of a positive national spirit can be incorporated in history teaching, for the development of a historical consciousness is partially influenced by the recognition of the individual's will to develop a self-identity in the context of a nation's development. The way that historical consciousness is formed, shows the dialectic between the internal and external manifestation of political, socio-economical and cultural action. There is a time for a nation to actively strive to develop and to become a much greater nation. One way of achieving this is to foster a strong historical consciousness in the members of such a nation. In the social sphere a sound historical consciousness can be an important building block in the construction of a sense of human dignity, which is the starting point of social development.

To observe history as a subject could be seen as an attempt to observe the whole of humanity living at the same time. The achievement of a desirable, spontaneous and future-oriented historical consciousness in each person would ensure that people bond and unite the nation. History education at schools must be so directed that it systematically enhances sound historical knowledge and historical consciousness from an early age.

Historical consciousness is defined in chapter 2 as an existential consciousness and self-conception which is formed in the mind of the individual as a result of the gradual acquisition of historical knowledge from childhood, and which makes

him/her aware of his/her place in society and which enables him/her to function in society. It is further stated in the same chapter that the collective historical consciousness of the members of a cultural group bind them together in terms of attitudes and behaviour. Furthermore historical consciousness is socially constructed within a culture, it is complex and consists of a combination of psychological, ideological, cultural, religious, gender, class and other elements, and it is always evolving and developing in changing circumstances. It serves as link between past, present and future, and if positively channelled can be constructively used for problem-solving, social development, nation-building, etc.

The above definition must be kept in mind when developing programmes for history education. Historical consciousness is more an attitude of mind and a human orientation than a cognitive skill. However, for educational planning purposes it can be regarded as a special type of skill of which the training must be built into the history syllabus in a progressive way. The structure of historical consciousness (see section 2.5 in chapter 2) as it relates to cognitive development phases of the child (see section 2.11 in chapter 2) must be taken into account in educational planning. The primary functions of historical consciousness, i.e. to instill moral values, to promote an understanding of the relationship between past, present and future, and to be instrumental in identity formation (see section 2.9 in chapter 2) must also be considered and brought in line with the general aims of history education (as stated in section 2.12 in chapter 2). The following facets must receive special attention in developing the “skill” of historical consciousness through history education:

- Instilling sound attitudes in students with regard to their own cultural group, other cultural groups and nation-building
- Developing a clear consciousness of the own group within the larger society and its interaction with other groups
- Developing a sense of heritage
- Developing a national sense
- Developing an understanding of international relations

- Holding forth a vision for the future.

From the above it is clear that the history syllabus must be carefully constructed to guide the student so that he/she can reach an understanding of how the local history fits into the regional, national and global histories. Local, South African, African and world history should no longer be taught separately, but in an integrated way. This integrated approach to history education will ensure that the real value of history as a subject will be realised in schools, i.e. to make students aware of the complexity of human affairs and the diversity of human experience, and thus teach them proportion, perspective, reflection, a broad view, tolerance with regard to different views and opinions and a larger measure of self-knowledge. In this way the narrow perspective on time and space, that "now" is the only time and "here" is the only place, will be countered.

### **6.2.2 Language policy**

In my opinion the present language policy promotes disunion instead of unity among the South African people. It keeps the differences rather than the similarities of South Africans on the forefront. A multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-national country will only be possible if the democratic nation is based on a healthy and mutual understanding and shared historical consciousness. A new situation will be reached if there is a transformation to "we" in terms of historical consciousness, instead of "me" and "my" cultural group. An attitude of flexibility and generosity must be fostered through unity and co-existence.

I would recommend that the language policy in South Africa should be changed. English should be promoted as the common language to enhance understanding between people, which can lead to reconciliation. It would also improve South Africa's standing in the international community.

### **6.2.3 Cultural awareness campaign**

Resulting from their distorted historical, political and socio-economic experience all cultural groups in South Africa at present have an exclusive consciousness rather than a healthy national consciousness that bind them together. Consequently, it is

necessary to develop new categories and a new paradigm for a new consciousness of unity to develop within the South African people. If such a new consciousness cannot be formed in South Africa, it could lead to strife and even civil war.

My research has shown that South African people experience feelings of inferiority or superiority towards other cultural groups, resulting from their internalized racial consciousness. To understand each other's cultural group it is necessary to establish and encourage historical cultural events. A proper national consciousness starts from a love for oneself and for the cultural group one belongs to. Self-respect will contribute to respect for other cultural groups. When there is reciprocal respect, the nation will form a strong national consciousness, which in turn will facilitate nation-building.

The Department of Art, Culture, Technology and Science is already engaged in the development of heritage and cultural awareness programmes and should be lauded for its efforts. These programmes must be expanded and must be aimed at cultural interaction between different cultural groups, rather than merely celebrating the historical events of the separate groups. Informal modes of education must be used to make the general public aware of their history. Mass media, particularly those accessible to the broadest section of the population, can be used for this purpose.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

The major aims/objectives of the study were (1) to draw conclusions about the level and maturity of South African student's historical consciousness; and (2) to make recommendations with regard to guidelines for the development of a system of history teaching which might cultivate a higher dimension of historical consciousness.

The conclusions drawn from the responses of the students, as it is set out in chapter 5, relate to the first aim stated above. The analysis of these responses give a relatively clear picture of strong and weak points in the make-up of the historical consciousness of the average South African history student. Problems encountered in this aspect of the study were the relatively small sample as a result of the

disappointing withdrawal of the two universities with the largest number of history students. However, in terms of the formula used in chapter 4 the sample was still big enough to make scientifically valid conclusions. The questionnaire which was developed as measuring instrument was perhaps too complicated and lengthy, which caused high missing frequencies at particular questions. Whatever the limitations of the research, some interesting trends emerged, as discussed in chapter 5, and significant findings were made. These results can be used for further research in this field. I hope to further this research in collaboration with my promoter to validate the present study. There is a great need for research in this field, which has been neglected in South Africa.

The second aim was partly realised in the relevant section of chapter 5, and in this concluding chapter further recommendations with regard to history education were made. Hopefully education planners, engaged in the development of Curriculum 2005, will take cognisance of the importance and requirements of history education. I do not call for history education once again to be subjugated to political objectives. Political correctness should not be the aim, but to develop a syllabus that can address the long-term needs of the broader South African society.

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31 July 1998

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**REGARDING HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS**



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31 July 1998

Dear Participant

We are conducting research on aspects of history. Our focus is on the relationship between cultural identity and historical consciousness. To get a clear picture of the experience of people in this regard we need your assistance. We require approximately 50 minutes of your time. There is no risk whatsoever associated with your participation. You may find responding to this questionnaire a stimulating experience. Participation is voluntary. You will remain anonymous, and all responses will be treated with confidentiality. All conclusions will be based on the group's response. We, however, need every individual's honest and reliable response. Each participating History Department will receive a copy of the results of this research.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Prof. J.A. du Pisani

\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. K.S. Kim

Herewith I declare that I understand the above statement and give permission that my contribution towards this project may be used for research purposes.

Thank you very much for your participation.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of respondent

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Indicate your choice with an "X" in the appropriate space. For some questions you have to supply your own answer.

**1. Your sex**

Male		1
Female		2

( 5 )

**2. Your age with your last birthday**

Younger than 17		1
17 - 19		2
20 - 22		3
23 - 25		4
26 - 28		5
Older than 28		6

( 6 )

**3. At which level are you registered as student?**

1st year		1
2nd year		2
3rd year		3
Honours degree		4
Masters degree		5
Doctors degree		6
Other [Please indicate level:]		

( 7 )

( 8 - 9 )

**4. Which of the following languages can you speak?**

Afrikaans		1
English		2
Ndebele		3
Xhosa		4
Zulu		5
Pedi		6
Sotho		7
Tswana		8
Swati		9
Venda		10
Tsonga		11
Other [Please indicate language :]		

( 10 - 11 )

( 12 )

**5. What language do you speak MOST OFTEN at HOME?**

Afrikaans		1
English		2
Ndebele		3
Xhosa		4
Zulu		5
Pedi		6
Sotho		7
Tswana		8
Swati		9
Venda		10
Tsonga		11
Other [Please indicate language:]		

( 13 - 14 )

( 15 )

**6. What is your religion, denomination or belief?**

Apostolic Faith Mission		1
Catholic Church		2
Dutch Reformed Church		3
Hindu Faith		4
Muslim Faith		5
Zion Christian Church(ZCC)		6
Other [Please indicate religion:]		

( 16 )

( 17 - 18 )

**7. What is your father's highest level of education?**

No schooling at all		1
Primary school(complete or incomplete)		2
Secondary school(complete or incomplete)		3
Teachers Training Program		4
Technical school		5
University(complete or incomplete)		6
Postgraduate course(complete or incomplete): Honours/Master's/ Doctor's degree		7
I am not sure		8
Not applicable		9

( 19 )

**8. What is your mother's highest level of education?**

No schooling at all		1
Primary school(complete or incomplete)		2
Secondary school(complete or incomplete)		3
Teachers Training Program		4
Technical school		5
University(complete or incomplete)		6
Postgraduate course(complete or incomplete): Honours/Master's/ Doctor's degree		7
I am not sure		8
Not applicable		9

( 20 )

**9. In your opinion, to which class do you belong?**

Working class		1
Lower middle class		2
Higher middle class		3
The elite		4
No class at all		5
I'm not sure		6
Other [Please indicate class:]		

( 21 )

( 22 - 23 )

**10. When did your interest in history start?**

In primary school		1
In secondary school		2
During my first year at university		3
After my first year at university		4
I'm not sure		5

( 24 )

**11. Which section of history are you MOST interested in? [Indicate only one]**

Archaeology		1
Political history		2
Cultural history		3
Social history		4
Economic history		5
Other section(s) [Please indicate section:]		

( 25 )

( 26 - 27 )

- 12. In which historical period(s) are you interested? [More than one can be indicated]**

Pre - history times [Prior to 3000 BC]		( 28 )
Ancient times [Greeks, Hellenistic Age, Romans]		( 29 )
Medieval times [Feudalism, Renaissance, The Reformation]		( 30 )
Modern times [The Industrial Revolution, The American Revolution, The French Revolution, Liberalism, Nationalism]		( 31 )
Present times [World War I and II, The Cold war, Detente]		( 32 )
I'm not sure		( 33 )

- 13. To what extent do you feel it is necessary to study the past?**

To a great extent		1
To a moderate extent		2
To some extent		3
It is not necessary at all		4
I'm not sure		5

( 34 )

- 14. Do you think that the past teaches us anything?**

Yes, greatly		1
Yes, moderately		2
Yes, slightly		3
No, nothing at all		4
I'm not sure		5

( 35 )

- 15. Please motivate your answer to question 14 :**

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( 36 - 37 )

**16. Every person has some knowledge of the past. From whom did you obtain your knowledge of the past? [More than one can be indicated]**

From my parents		( 38 )
From peers		( 39 )
From teachers at school		( 40 )
From university lectures		( 41 )
Other source(s) [Please indicate source:]		( 42 - 43 )

**17. Which of the following do you regard as important reasons to study history [More than one can be indicated]**

For the formation of character		( 44 )
To understand the spirit and achievement of our forefathers		( 45 )
To understand ourselves better		( 46 )
To improve our ability to remember facts accurately		( 47 )
To understand political issues		( 48 )
To develop critical thinking skills		( 49 )
To acknowledge the possibility of more than one viewpoint		( 50 )
To appreciate other peoples' values and ideals		( 51 )
To convince people that the history of their people is part of South Africa		( 52 )
It provides good general knowledge		( 53 )
To respect others		( 54 )
To inculcate love for South Africa		( 55 )
Other reason(s) [Please indicate reason:]		( 56 - 57 )

**18. What do you think is the MOST important source for the development of historical knowledge?**

Textbooks		1
Journals		2
Reference data		3
Newspaper & other media		4
Other source(s)		5
I'm not sure		6

( 58 )

**19. Do you talk about history in general with your family in your everyday life?**

Yes, frequently		1
Yes, from time to time		2
Yes, but only rarely		3
No, never		4

( 59 )

**20. Are you interested in local history about your town/city?**

Yes, very much		1
Yes, moderately		2
Yes, slightly		3
No, not at all		4

( 60 )

**21. Are there remains/ruins/vestiges/sites of historical and/or cultural importance in your town?**

Yes, many		1
Yes, some		2
Yes, but very few		3
No, nothing		4
I don't know		5

( 61 )

**22. What is the meaning of "History" in your view? [Indicate only the one which corresponds the nearest with your own view]**

Old tales/stories		1
Old events and facts		2
Traces of people's lives		3
Recording of past		4
I don't really know what it means		5
Other view(s) [Please indicate view(s):]		

( 62 )

( 63 - 64 )

**23. Which continent's history are you interested in MOST?**

Europe		1
Asia		2
America		3
Australia		4
Africa		5
Other [Please indicate reason:]		

( 65 )

( 66 - 67 )

**24. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 23 :**


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( 68 - 69 )

**25. When will the 21st century be precisely?**

2000 - 2099		1
2000 - 2100		2
2001 - 2099		3
2001 - 2100		4

( 70 )

**26. In which period did the following persons live in terms of period/time?****a. Shaka Zulu**

16th century		1
17th century		2
18th century		3
19th century		4
20th century		5

( 71 )

**b. Jan Smuts**

16th century		1
17th century		2
18th century		3
19th century		4
20th century		5

( 72 )

**c. Abraham Lincoln**

16th century		1
17th century		2
18th century		3
19th century		4
20th century		5

( 73 )

**d. Jan Van Riebeeck**

16th century		1
17th century		2
18th century		3
19th century		4
20th century		5

( 74 )

**27. Place the next historical events in the correct Chronological (time) order.**

- |  |
|--|
| ① Anglo-Boer War breaks out                      |
| ② Gandhi arrives in South Africa                 |
| ③ Batholomew Diaz lands at the Cape of Good Hope |
| ④ Jan van Riebeeck lands at the Cape             |

①②③④		1
③④①②		2
②①④③		3
④③②①		4
②③④①		5
④③①②		6
③④②①		7

( 75 )

**28. Choose the general characteristics for the periods listed.**

- ① Invention of writing
- ② Slavery
- ③ Christian society
- ④ Civic society
- ⑤ Feudalism
- ⑥ Industrial revolution
- ⑦ Popularization(The society of the general public/the masses)

**a. Character of Ancient times**

①②		1
②③⑤		2
②③④		3
①②④		4
①②③④⑥		5

(76)

**b. Character of Medieval times/the Middle Ages**

③⑤		1
①③⑤⑥		2
①②③⑤		3
①③④⑤		4
③④⑤⑦		5

(77)

**29. Do you think that world history has changed and that it undergoes transition(change) continuously?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

(78)

**30. Do you think historical changes are taking place faster in the 20th century than the 19th century?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

(79)

- 31. Do you think that the speed of change in South Africa was faster before 1994 than after 1994?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 80 )

- 32. Do you think that all historical events have definite causes or do some events happen purely by accident?**

All historical events have causes that can be explained		1
Some events can be seen as fate/accident/fortuitousness		2
Both 1 & 2		3
I'm not sure		4

( 1 )

- 33. What do you think about the causes of the Cold War? [More than one can be indicated]**

Aggressive policy and expansionism of USSR		( 2 )
USA played a trigger role in Western countries		( 3 )
Unavoidable situation in realistic politics instead of assumption of moral responsibilities of the USA and the USSR		( 4 )
I'm not sure		( 5 )
Other [Please indicate reason:]		( 6 )
		-
		7 )

- 34. In your view, what period does the term "Modern times" cover?**

After the Industrial Revolution		1
20th century		2
After World War I		3
After World War II		4
Now		5
I'm not sure		6

( 8 )

**35. What is your view of the past, present, and future? Which of the following corresponds MOST closely with your view?**

To understand the present we must endeavor to know the past		1
The future is more important than the present or the past		2
The present is a result of the past, thus we cannot escape the past		3
The present is more important than the past and the future		4
In order to plan for the future we must know the past		5
Other [Please indicate reason:]		

( 9 )

( 10 - 11 )

**36. Choose one area of the current trends of the present international world you are MOST interested in.**

To be on the brink of human ruin through atomic war		1
Scientific and economic development or improvement		2
Increased international cooperation via the United Nations		3
The dominant economic power of the USA and Japan		4
Other [Please indicate trend:]		

( 12 )

( 13 - 14 )

**37. Are there distinctive characteristics of certain periods of history?**

Yes		1
To some extent		2
To very little extent		3
None whatsoever		4
I don't know		5

( 15 )

**38. What does "prosperity" mean to you? [More than one can be indicated]**

Developing the economy		( 16 )
Living comfortably through scientific development		( 17 )
Extending freedom of human beings		( 18 )
Demonstrating power and strength to the international community		( 19 )
Everything is getting better		( 20 )
I'm not sure		( 21 )
Other [Please indicate reason:]		( 22 - 23 )

**39. Which of the following in your mind is the MOST important factor in historical development?**

The abilities of political leaders		1
The power of citizens		2
Territory, resources, and economic power		3
The role of intellectuals		4
Military power		5
Help from foreign countries		6
Other [Please indicate factor:]		

( 24 )

( 25 - 26 )

**40. Who do you think is in charge of history? [More than one can be indicated]**

God		( 27 )
A hero or great leader		( 28 )
Surrounding countries		( 29 )
Our own will		( 30 )
I don't know		( 31 )
Other [Please indicate:]		( 32 - 33 )

**41. Which of the following do you think is the biggest problem the world is facing now? [Indicate only one]**

Over-population and food shortage problem		1
The problem of neglect of human rights		2
The problem of war		3
The problem of ideology		4
The problem of sexual morality		5
The problem of disease		6
Other [Please indicate problem:]		

( 34 )

( 35 - 36 )

**42. How do you feel about being a South African?**

Pleased		1
Neutral		2
It was not my choice		3
I would like to emigrate		4
Other [Please indicate feeling:]		

( 37 )

( 38 - 39 )

**43. How do you prefer to be called?**

A South African		1
White		2
A Black South African		3
An African		4
Coloured		5
Indian		6
Asian		7
A Human being		8
Other [Please indicate preference:]		

( 40 )

( 41 - 42 )

44. Do you think a civil war could break out in South Africa as it did in Rwanda?

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

(43)

45. Do you have an optimistic vision of South Africa's future?

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

(44)

46. If you are given the chance to decide on a national holiday, what would you celebrate and how would you name the holiday?

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(45 - 46)

47. Do you believe that a "slavery mentality" still exists in blacks?

To a large extent		1
To some extent		2
Not at all		3
I am not sure		4

(47)

48. Among people of my nationality, I usually feel more at ease with persons of my own ethnic group

Strongly agree		1
Agree to some extent		2
Disagree to some extent		3
Strongly disagree		4
I am not sure		5
Other [Please indicate feeling:]		

(48)

(49 - 50)

**49. What would you do if South Africa should engage in a war against other countries?**

Would volunteer to fight for South Africa		1
Would never volunteer to fight		2
Would volunteer only if South African participation in the war is justified		3
Other [Please indicate what:]		

( 51 )

( 52 - 53 )

**50. Do you ever think about the problems of the country, analysing them, and elaborating plans in your imagination to resolve them?**

Frequently		1
Sometimes		2
Seldom		3
Never		4
Other [Please indicate reason:]		

( 54 )

( 55 - 56 )

**51. Do you think you have more dignity and pride in who you are compared to people of other African countries?**

Yes		1
No		2
I am not sure		3

( 57 )

52. If you answered "yes" to question 51, please indicate why you think South Africans have reason to be proud. [More than one can be indicated]

We have a proud historical tradition and culture		( 58 )
We are economically strong in the African context		( 59 )
We have political democracy		( 60 )
Other [Please indicate reason:]		( 61 - 62 )

53. In your view, what is the predominant feeling of your cultural group at present? [More than one can be indicated]

A feeling of loss and deprivation compared to the past		( 63 )
A feeling of hope compared to the past		( 64 )
A feeling of disorientation		( 65 )
A feeling of freedom		( 66 )
I am not sure		( 67 )
Other [Please indicate reason:]		( 68 - 69 )

54. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 53 :

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( 70 - 71 )

- 55. How do you feel about the South African flag as a national symbol to unite/ integrate all cultural groups in South Africa?**

Very positive		1
Positive		2
Neutral		3
Negative		4
Very negative		5
Other [Please indicate feeling:]		

(72)

(73 - 74)

- 56. Which government of the National Party was the best from 1948 to 1994?**

D.F. Malan		1
J.G. Strijdom		2
H.F. Verwoerd		3
B.J. Vorster		4
P.W. Botha		5
F.W. de Klerk		6
I'm not sure		7

(75)

- 57. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 56 :**

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(76 - 77)

**58. In your view, is South Africa developing progressively after abolishing the Apartheid policy and starting Nelson Mandela's government?**

Yes, definitely		1
To some extent		2
To little extent		3
No, definitely not		4

(78)

**59. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 58 :**

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(79 - 80)

**60. Which of the following aided the development of South Africa until now?**

The U.K, the U.S.A and the UN		1
African countries		2
The capacity for united action and excellent national spirit		3
The power of a great leader or political leaders		4
I'm not sure		5
Other [Please indicate what you mean:]		

(1)

(2 - 3)

61. Which one of the following statements corresponds MOST closely with your own opinion of the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission)?  
[More than one can be indicated]

It holds no benefits regarding the development of national consciousness		( 4 )
It splits the nation in two and may even lead to civil war		( 5 )
the evidence should be analysed for national development in the future.		( 6 )
Persons found guilty of human rights offenses should be punished		( 7 )
Persons found guilty of human rights offenses should be heard and forgiven, not punished		( 8 )
It mainly deals with wrong acts of white people		( 9 )
It mainly deals with wrong acts of black people		( 10 )
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		( 11 )
		-
		12 )

62. The TRC(Truth and Reconciliation Commission) tries to clear up the past. Do you think the faults of the past should be punished?

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 13 )

63. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 62 :

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( 14 - 15 )

**64. What do you think was the MOST important cause of "Apartheid" falling to pieces?**

Black opposition		1
International sanctions		2
The growing economic interdependence of black and white in a modernizing and urbanizing economy		3
The human rights movement in the international community		4
I'm not sure		5
Other [Please indicate cause:]		

( 16 )

( 17 - 18 )

**65. The power struggle between the ANC and IFP and the resulting violence will lead to the destruction of the South African state. Do you agree with this statement?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 19 )

**66. Do you believe, because of political disunion the state could be dissolved?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 20 )

**67. Do you believe the white Afrikaners in South Africa still have political and economic privileges?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 21 )

**68. Which political party do you support?**

ANC(African National Congress)		1
NP(National Party)		2
IFP(Inkatha Freedom Party)		3
FF(Freedom Front)		4
DP(Democratic Party)		5
PAC(Pan Africanist Congress)		6
UDM(United Democratic Movement)		7
ACDP(African Christian Democratic Party)		8
No political party		9
Other [Please indicate party:]		

( 22 )

( 23 - 24 )

**69. The SANDF(South African National Defence Force) in South Africa is undergoing a restructuring and integration process. Do you think that all the soldiers will become reconciled and will integrate despite differences in historical and political backgrounds?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

(25)

70. **F.W. de Klerk legalized the ANC, the PAC, and the S.A Communist Party, and also released Nelson Mandela and other political offenders. What do you think was the reason for it? [More than one can be indicated]**

No development was possible without negotiation with the resistance movement in South Africa	( 26 )
It was essential for constitutional development and transition of power instead of bloodshed in a civil war	( 27 )
It was impossible to stabilize the nation because of sanctions imposed by the international community	( 28 )
There were already requests for policy innovation by white people in the 1987 election	( 29 )
I am not sure	( 30 )
Other [Please indicate reason:]	( 31 )
	-
	32 )

71. **Since the 1980s, the struggle between the ANC and Inkatha has resulted in about 8000 victims. What is your opinion about black on black violence? [More than one can be indicated]**

It is a struggle for legitimacy and hegemony in black movements	( 33 )
It is an ideological confrontation between Capitalism and Socialism	( 34 )
It is a struggle to achieve national power rather than political or ideological confrontation	( 35 )
It has been fomented by paramilitary groups (IFP's self-protection units and SPUs, Umkhonto we Sizwe)	( 36 )
It is purely a black on black struggle	( 37 )
It does not serve any constructive purpose	( 38 )
Political instability can be ended by destroying paramilitary groups	( 39 )
I am not sure	( 40 )
Other [Please indicate opinion:]	( 41 )
	-
	42 )

72. Suppose you are a representative of South Africa at the UN, on what aspects would you concentrate to improve the image of the country?

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( 43 - 44 )

73. Trade Unions have played a political role in order to increase their power. Would you agree that the political activity of Trade Unions should be severely curtailed?

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 45 )

74. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 73 :

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( 46 - 47 )

75. Which of the following ideologies you think will be important in the future development of South Africa?

Capitalism		1
Socialism		2
Communism		3
Totalitarianism		4
Nationalism		5
I am not sure		6
Other [Please indicate ideology:]		

( 48 )

( 49 - 50 )

**76. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 75 :**

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( 51 - 52 )

**77. South Africa is at the stage where it can play an important role in African diplomacy on the African continent. Do you think that South Africa will develop as a strong leading country in Africa?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 53 )

**78. What effect do you think South Africa will have on the African continent? [More than one can be indicated]**

To extend economic power		( 54 )
Political efforts aimed at regional peace		( 55 )
To extend cultural influences		( 56 )
To support human rights and democracy		( 57 )
To display strength in all areas		( 58 )
I am not sure		( 59 )
Other [Please indicate effect:]		( 60 )
		-
		61 )

- 79. In spite of the USA warning that Libya is a terrorist country Nelson Mandela insisted on saying "I am the master of my own fate" and visited Libya on 23 October 1997. What is your opinion of this?**

It is crucial for South Africa to stand independently in our own diplomatic policy		1
It would have been better to follow what the USA has suggested in order to gain actual profit in foreign policy rather than moral justification		2
I am not sure		3
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 62 )

( 63 - 64 )

- 80. South Africa broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan as from 1 January 1998 and established diplomatic relations with mainland China. What do you think about this?**

It is a gain for South African national interests in terms of a beneficial diplomatic policy		1
It is wrong to break long-term diplomatic relations		2
I am not sure		3
Other [Please indicate reason:]		

( 65 )

( 66 - 67 )

**81. What is your opinion on the development of black African countries?**

They are still controlled by privileged classes/dictators		1
There is a possibility that they can attain self-development because of the faster rate of democratization		2
It is necessary for them to get international support more than self-development		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 68 )

( 69 - 70 )

**82. What is, in your opinion the MOST important thing to disturb the development and unity of black African countries? [More than one can be indicated]**

Racial conflict		( 71 )
No common language		( 72 )
String-pulling and disturbance by advanced western countries		( 73 )
White regimes		( 74 )
Different religions		( 75 )
No dominant leader		( 76 )
Lack of money and power		( 77 )
Political instability		( 78 )
I am not sure		( 79 )
Other [Please indicate:]		( 80
		-
		1 )

- 83. What is your opinion regarding the historical consciousness and cultural identity of different cultural groups in South African's future development?**

The identity of each cultural group will contribute towards a united country with a powerful spirit		1
Cultural groups will be in perpetual competition and confrontation		2
I am not sure		3
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

(2)

(3-4)

- 84. What does the term "Rainbow Nation" mean to you?**

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(5-6)

- 85. What is your opinion regarding the change of government in 1994?**

It is a peaceful transfer of political power		1
It was manipulated from the top		2
I am not sure		3
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

(7)

(8-9)

**86. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 85 :**

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( 10 - 11 )

**87. What is your preference in terms of political thinking/action?**

Prefer radicalism		1
Prefer cooperation and compromise		2
Never leaned towards political action		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate preference:]		

( 12 )

( 13 - 14 )

**88. If you and your culture group should become dominated by a racially discriminatory policy, what would you do?**

In order to destroy this policy I would resist strongly		1
I would destroy it from within through cooperation and negotiation		2
I would try to cope if it does not bring any trouble to me		3
Emigrate to another country		4
I am not sure		5
Other [Please indicate action:]		

( 15 )

( 16 - 17 )

**89. Do you think that the black government will disregard minority groups such as whites, Indians, and coloureds?**

It will not occur because the growth of civil consciousness will not allow that		1
It will not occur because of sorrowful experiences we shared.		2
It is likely to occur if there are social and political instability		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate:]		

( 18 )

( 19 - 20 )

**90. Do you think that South Africa will have continuous economic development?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 21 )

**91. After 1994 South Africa can play an important role in the SADC(Southern African Development Community) and regional economic development. What do you think of this role? [More than one can be indicated]**

We should definitely play a role since it brings economical advantage and political leadership		( 22 )
There's a big economic gap between S.A and other African countries, so we should continue to have the passive/negative attitude		( 23 )
Increased cooperation can bring mutual benefit		( 24 )
We should have more concern for economic problems in S.A instead of regional cooperation		( 25 )
I am not sure		( 26 )
Other [Please indicate role:]		( 27 )
		-
		28 )

**92. What is the MOST important economic problem in South Africa?**

High unemployment rate		1
Increasing emigration of skilled labour		2
Maldistribution of national income/wealth		3
Problem of low productivity		4
I am not sure		5
Other [Please indicate problem:]		

( 29 )

( 30 - 31 )

**93. The RDP(Reconstruction and Development Programme) policy was activated in South Africa after Nelson Mandela's government was chosen. What is your opinion on the success of this policy?**

It will have success, just as it was intended		1
It will fail since it was formed by political policy		2
It will fail through corruption and irrationality		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 32 )

( 33 - 34 )

**94. What economic policy will best meet the aspirations of the South African people?**

Redistribution policy of wealth to poor people		1
Productivity increase in market economy		2
Fiscal redistribution of tax policy		3
To establish a minimum wage guarantee system		4
To establish a price stabilization policy		5
I am not sure		6
Other [Please indicate policy:]		

( 35 )

( 36 - 37 )

95. In an atmosphere of unity and brotherhood the Afrikaners would have no reason whatsoever to entertain fears or doubts about the future security of their survival for generations to come. Do you agree with this statement?

Strongly agree		1
Agree to some extent		2
Disagree to some extent		3
Strongly disagree		4
I'm not sure		5

( 38 )

96. Which one of the following do you think is the biggest single aspect of social and national insecurity in present day South Africa?

The social problem of crime		1
Economic problems/stagnation		2
Political instability/unrest		3
Foreign relations		4
I'm not sure		5
Other [Please indicate aspect:]		

( 39 )

( 40 - 41 )

97. Which of the following do you regard as the MOST important challenge for the black people of South Africa?

To work harder(to be more productive)		1
To educate themselves		2
To become entrepreneurs(business people)		3
Economic empowerment		4
Reconciliation with other population groups		5
Family planning		6
Other [Please indicate challenge:]		

( 42 )

( 43 - 44 )

**98. Presently crime is rising in South Africa and corruption is widespread. What is, in your opinion, the MOST important reason?**

Political instability		1
Economic poverty		2
Lack of values/morality in society		3
Security problems		4
I'm not sure		5
Other [Please indicate reason:]		

( 45 )

( 46 - 47 )

**99. What reason would cause MOST people to emigrate to other countries?  
[More than one can be indicated]**

Political instability		( 48 )
Economic problems		( 49 )
Rapidly increasing crime rate		( 50 )
To escape from all of the discrimination/racism		( 51 )
Low quality lifestyle and no hope for the future		( 52 )
I am not sure		( 53 )
Other [Please indicate reason:]		( 54 - 55 )

**100. In your view does freedom of speech exist in South Africa?**

To a large extent		1
To some extent		2
Not at all		3
I'm not sure		4

( 56 )

**101. Do you think that every one of us in South Africa has equal rights before the law since 1994?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 57 )

**102. Please motivate the answer you gave to 101 :**

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( 58 - 59 )

**103. South African crime, violence and drugs have been widespread in the whole country and can be seen to be related to social problems. Do you see "the death penalty" as a solution for these problems?**

Yes		1
No		2
I'm not sure		3

( 60 )

104. In the Western Cape, Core(Community Outreach Forum) and Pagad (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs) are fighting each other and offered themselves as candidates in the 1999 election. What is your opinion on their action? [More than one can be indicated]

It is natural for them to speak for their own rights in a democratic society		( 61 )
They could be supportive in national interests even if they come from criminal organizations and civil militia organization		( 62 )
They could increase social instability as another power group		( 63 )
Government and policy play a third force role between two organizations to mediate their activity		( 64 )
Criminal organizations and civil militia organizations should be destroyed since only bring about political instability		( 65 )
It could lead to illegal acts through maverick elements of a political party		( 66 )
I am not sure		( 67 )
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		( 68 )
		-
		69 )

105. There is a lot of heritage material (Historical/Living/Political/Cultural/Natural) in South Africa. Which of the following is the MOST important?

Natural beauty/buildings/street landscapes/rock art/shipwrecks		1
Objects of historical importance/battlefields		2
Geological/palaeontological/archeological sites and objects		3
Graves of historical victims/victims of conflict		4
Political Monuments		5
I am not sure		6
Other [Please indicate heritage:]		

( 70 )

( 71 - 72 )

**106. What type of prestige does your culture group have?**

High prestige		1
Low prestige		2
We have no prestige		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate prestige:]		

( 73 )

( 74 - 75 )

**107. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 106 :**


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( 76 - 77 )

**108. Among the groups in South Africa, excepting your own, which group do you like the MOST?**

White group		1
Black group		2
Coloured group		3
Indian/Asian group		4
I am not sure		5
Other [Please indicate your preference:]		

( 78 )

( 79 - 80 )

**109. Please motivate the answer you give to question 108 :**

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( 1 - 2 )

**110. Please state your opinion about relations between culture groups in South Africa today.**

Intergroup relations are good, satisfactory		1
There are some disagreements between ethnic groups but the situation is improving		2
There are some minimal problems between ethnic groups		3
Serious intergroup tensions exist		4
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 3 )

( 4 - 5 )

**111. Various culture groups have been established as part of the South African nation in terms of co-existence and cooperation. What would be the best way of cooperating to develop South Africa for the future? [More than one can be indicated]**

Nationalism/National identity formation to establish Nation Building		( 6 )
Improvement in intergroup relations is often attributed to increased education		( 7 )
Increase of interrelationship is also perceived as a source of great understanding between groups		( 8 )
To establish a culture to respect and protect their own history and culture		( 9 )
Other [Please indicate;]		( 10 )
		-
		11 )

**112. What is your opinion of the value of your culture group? [More than one can be indicated]**

Traditionally our history and culture are so significant and valuable that every effort should be made to preserve it in its original form.		( 12 )
Traditionally our history and culture is no longer of value in the modern South Africa and world society and should be replaced by a culture more adapted to modern conditions		( 13 )
Traditionally our history and culture has certain values but should be modified and integrated with Western culture		( 14 )
I am not sure		( 15 )
		( 16 )
		-
		( 17 )

**113. Which one event in South African history can you boast about ?**

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( 18 - 19 )

**114. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 113 :**

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( 20 - 21 )

**115. Which one person in South African history can you honour MOST?**

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( 22 - 23 )

**116. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 115 :**

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(24 - 25 )

**117. Who do you regard as the greatest person in your cultural group in South African history?**

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( 26 - 27 )

**118. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 117 : Explain in 2-3 sentences.**

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( 28 - 29 )

**119. What do you think will be MORE important in the future : the history of the black people or white people?**

The White history		1
The Black history		2
Both		3
I'm not sure		4

( 30 )

**120. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 119 :**

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( 31 - 32 )

**121. During the Apartheid period what was the biggest suffering in your view?**

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( 33 - 34 )

**122. What is your views on the Mfecane/Difaqane?**

Black people fought and dispersed and couldn't have a powerful country historically		1
Voortrekers definitely invaded easily because of the Mfecane		2
The real history of Mfecane/Difaqane was distorted by white people in order to disturb black unity		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate view:]		

( 35 )

( 36 - 37 )

**123. What is the main cause of South African War between the Boers and the British?**

Imperialism of the U.K		1
Economic interests		2
Political instability		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate cause:]		

( 38 )

( 39 - 40 )

**124. Which name for the war, which occurred between 1899-1902, do you prefer?**

Boer War		1
Anglo-Boer War		2
South African War		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate name:]		

( 41 )

( 42 - 43 )

**125. What is your opinion of the battle of Blood River, December 1838?**

It guaranteed white domination in S.A history		1
It proved that black domination/superiority in South African history was not powerful any more		2
I am not sure		3
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 44 )

( 45 - 46 )

**126. Which one of the following contributed towards real independence in South Africa? [More than one can be indicated]**

Great Trek		( 47 )
Sand River/Bloemfontein Conventions		( 48 )
Blood River		( 49 )
The Union of South Africa		( 50 )
The coming to power by the National Party of D.F. Malan in 1948		( 51 )
Grasping of political power by F.W. de Klerk		( 52 )
Nelson Mandela's inauguration and multi-racial elections in 1994		( 53 )
I am not sure		( 54 )
Other [Please indicate:]		( 55 )
		-
		56 )

**127. Which of the following examples do you think are important turning points in South African history? [More than one can be indicated]**

The period of the Great Trek	( 57 )
Kingdom formation of Shaka Zulu & the Mfecane	( 58 )
Discovery of gold and diamonds	( 59 )
Grasping political power by D.F. Malan in 1948 and establishment of the Apartheid policy	( 60 )
Non-racial discrimination policies by F.W. de Klerk	( 61 )
I am not sure	( 62 )
Other [Please indicate:]	( 63 - 64 )

**128. Robert Sobukwe, who established the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1959, insisted on Africanism by saying Africans should take their destiny into their hand and not turn to other racial groups for a resolution of South Africa's political problems". What is your opinion regarding this statement? [More than one can be indicated]**

To help black people's unity and fight against white people's domination	( 65 )
It is not satisfactory for them to insist only black people's unity without pan-racial organizational movements	( 66 )
The unity of pan-racial organizations could have been more powerful against white domination	( 67 )
I am not sure	( 68 )
Other [Please indicate opinion:]	( 69 - 70 )

**129. In your opinion, what was the significance of the Soweto uprising for the liberation movement in South Africa? [More than one can be indicated]**

There was a big difference between S.A before Soweto and after Soweto: white domination was challenged for the first time and black resistance movements got hope for the future	( 71 )
The white government's powerful suppression of the black community; elicited black resistance against white domination	( 72 )
Black people realized their weakness and lack of power to break white domination	( 73 )
Black resistance received more support from the international community	( 74 )
I am not sure	( 75 )
Other [Please indicate opinion:]	( 76 ) - 77 )

**130. How would you write a South African history book, if you were given a chance? [More than one can be indicated]**

Concentrate on black people's resistance against white people's invasion and domination	( 78 )
Reveal wrong facts of white people's invasion and domination	( 79 )
History which has been influenced by reciprocal relationships of multi-culture groups	( 80 )
Concentrate on the cooperation and compromise of all cultural groups for future development	( 1 )
Describe the struggle history among all cultural groups	( 2 )
I am not sure	( 3 )
Other [Please indicate:]	( 4 ) - 5 )

- 131. Many of the names for historical sites, national places, and places have their origin in the white culture in South Africa. What is your opinion regarding this?**

Names must be changed		1
It is better to retain the names		2
I am not sure		3
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 6 )

( 7 - 8 )

- 132. What is your opinion about history and cultural policy in South Africa?  
[More than one can be indicated]**

Because of distorted history all of the past policy should be cleaned up		( 9 )
All the past should be kept and preserved its value even though it was wrong and distorted history		( 10 )
In order to establish new national consciousness, it is better to make a symbol to unite and cooperate people		( 11 )
I am not sure		( 12 )
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		( 13 - 14 )

- 133. If there was no immigration of white people in South Africa, do you think that black society could have developed better?**

Yes		1
No		2
I am not sure		3

( 15 )

**134. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 133 :**

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( 16 - 17 )

**135. Why do you think the white government operated according to the Apartheid policy?**

To protect their rights and benefits		1
Because black or coloured people did not have the ability to govern the country		2
Because of capitalism		3
Too protect the country against communism and socialism		4
I am not sure		5
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 18 )

( 19 - 20 )

**136. Do you think that "racial discrimination(The Apartheid Policy)" was detrimental to South Africa's historical development?**

I strongly agree		1
Agree to some extent		2
Disagree to some extent		3
Strongly disagree		4
I am not sure		5

( 21 )

**137. What is the MOST shameful event/fact in the historical development of South Africa?**

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( 22 - 23 )

**138. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 137 :**

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( 24 - 25 )

**139. What do you think of the war between South Africa and Angola?**

It was a proxy war between communism and capitalism as a result of the Cold War		1
It was a war to destroy and to control black resistance movements against white domination		2
It was an essential war for S.A survival		3
It was a meaningless war and of no benefit to S.A		4
I am not sure		5
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 26 )

( 27 - 28 )

**140. What do you think of your culture group? Are you settlers or natives?**

Settler		1
Native		2
It is foolish to divide between settler and native		3
I am not sure		4
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 29 )

( 30 - 31 )

**141. What do you think about immigrant groups in South Africa (e.g. whites, Indians, and Asians)?**

Everybody has equal rights as S.A citizens		1
They are fellows and companions		2
They are enemy that must be expelled		3
It will be hard to assimilate them into the nation		4
Other [Please indicate opinion:]		

( 32 )

( 33 - 34 )

**142. What kind of role has your cultural group played in the political and economic development of South Africa?**

Very important role		1
An average role		2
Not a very important role		3
No role at all		4
I am not sure		5
Other [Please indicate which role:]		

( 35 )

( 36 - 37 )

**143. Please describe the role you indicated in question 142 :**

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( 38 - 39 )

**144. Please indicate any historical memorial, museum and battle-field that you feel expresses the pride of your cultural group.**

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( 40 - 41 )

**145. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 144 :**

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( 42 - 43 )

**146. During which period in history do you think it was hard for you and your cultural group to survive in South Africa?**

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( 44 - 45 )

**147. Please motivate the answer you gave to question 146 :**

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( 46 - 47 )

**148. There are 11 official languages in South Africa. Usually, a national policy of language is very important in order to develop national identity and consensus. Do you think the present language policy is right or wrong for the development of South Africa?**

Right		1
Wrong		2
I'm not sure		3

( 48 )

**149. What do you think history students should be taught at university? [More than one can be indicated]**

More South African history		( 49 )
More history of Africa		( 50 )
More European history		( 51 )
More American history		( 52 )
More Asian history		( 53 )

**150. What type of history should be focussed on at university? [More than one can be indicated]**

Political history		( 54 )
Economic history		( 55 )
Social history		( 56 )
Gender history		( 57 )
Environmental history		( 58 )
I am not sure		( 59 )
Other [Please indicate type of history:]		( 60 - 61 )

**151. Do you think the description of history until now in books was focused on black history or white history?**

The White history		1
The Black history		2
Both		3
I'm not sure		4

( 62 )

**152. What do you think of the teaching of history at school? Which of the following statements corresponds MOST closely with your experience?**

It means a lot to students		1
It is presented in a one-sided way		2
It distorts the past		3
It is taught in a completely wrong way		4
It is a good subject		5
I am not sure		6
Other [Please indicate what you mean:]		

( 63 )

( 64 - 65 )