NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE OTHER: NEW ZEALAND CHILDREN RESPONDING TO SOUTH AFRICAN PICTURE BOOKS

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ABSTRACT

The issue of national identity is a central concern for learners both in terms of formal education (social studies) and personal pleasure (sports). This study adopted a theoretical model of how national identity can be envisaged by middle school learners, and through an intensive week's case study, demonstrated both the strengths and potential problems of using picture books as a source of information about a nation state. Having self-reflected on their own sense of national identity, a class from a provincial town in New Zealand (NZ) were given the opportunity to explore over 85 educational readers/trade picture book titles sourced from South Africa (SA) (plus other texts from Africa that were locally available) and attempt to define what it is to be a South African. Prior knowledge was factored in the findings and the results were compared to a South African class's perceptions using the same theoretical model. This article draws a tentative conclusion as to the presences and absences of which South African national identity features can be located whilst reading the two types of fictional texts. Additionally the article proposes that the methodology can be replicated in the classroom in the context of learning as inquiry.

KEYWORDS

national identity, picture books, cross-cultural analysis, pedagogy, reader-response

1   INTRODUCTION

The use of children's literature as a resource across the curriculum has been a teaching strategy for many years internationally. In particular, using fiction as a basis for a social studies curriculum has been well established (Levstik 2008) where students, for example, negotiate the cultural particularities that are embedded in the stories of another culture/nation. This article reports on an empirically-based case study that explored the complexities of children in a provincial town in New Zealand (NZ) who examined a range of picture books and educational readers from South Africa (SA) in order to determine the validity and emerging issues of outsiders reading another world through the word. These children had access to 70 African picture books (mostly SA sourced) and 52 educational readers published by READ Educational Trust, Braamfontein, SA.[1] In a full-time intensive week led by the principal researcher, a class of Year 7/8 explored the concept of national identity. They focused on their own cultural resources in order to acquire the necessary skills to later explore the issue of national identity as they perceived it in the SA materials. Meanwhile a class in SA, led by the co-researcher, identified the features of their national identity as they perceived them using a shared theoretical model (Sandis 2004), the results of which became the baseline data for assessing the NZ children's perceptions. Part of this process involved checking the assumptions and prior experience of the NZ children in order that the emerging data was reasonably grounded on the intervention. The overarching issue was to assess the extent to which perceptions of national identity in children's literature were reasonably informed perceptions and the extent to which aspects of SA national identity were absent from the texts provided. Implicit in this article is a potential teaching/learning pedagogy that could be utilised in a range of class levels.

2   NATIONAL IDENTITY: A VEXED SIGN

> It [National Identity] must be sought in pieces, and not learned in journals and policy statements, but in schoolbooks, popular histories, the media, incidental statements by politicians, inscriptions on monuments and a dozen other places where the French are talking informally to themselves, often in shorthand with nuances left out.[2]

In a globalised world, the necessity for nation states to assert that which is unique to them as well as that which is shared, different as well as the same, is inevitable. The concept of national identity, though a contested term (Masenyama 2005), is writ large in the body politic, often leading to both celebration as well as conflict, both within and without. Though the concept of national identity, of necessity, tends to suppress (but not silence) difference and therefore is a fraught business, from a pragmatic perspective, there is a political imperative to focus on the nation state both as a collective entity and as a site of study. The notion of nation speaks to the *ideal* of unity emerging from the diversity of competing voices both within the country and beyond the country's

borders. In this sense, national identity is a modernist project, seeking to construct a grand narrative, a Centre of meaning that speaks of progress towards a unified imagined reality, rather than a postmodernist enterprise of living in the margins, accentuating difference, promoting the relative I. As Masenyama (2005:5.4.5) puts it:

> Literature with a postmodernist flavour provides a compelling argument that globalisation can undermine nationalism through processes that produce more 'fluid, fragmented or hybrid identities.' In this case national identity is but one among competing identities. Therefore, globalisation can provide ample space for individuals to choose from a rich menu of other identities.

Criticism of national identity can point to the possible reductionist and 'essentialist' nature of the concept where the singular term 'identity' seemingly suppresses or marginalises the differences that constitute lived realities, and the possibility of individuals choosing to engage in multiple identities (Zegeye 2005). Can the complexity of a multiethnic and multicultural society be reduced to some commonalities which are meaningful in terms of daily lived realities? Is national identity (potentially at least) a lived experience or simply a mirage?

The problem is that all categorisation, especially in the social sciences, is essentialist to a degree.[3] In terms of SA, for example, the sign 'Zulu' has incredible political resonance that speaks to some 'essence' as an aspect of cultural identity, though as a lived reality, the idea of being Zulu might well be variously experienced depending on the exigencies of time and space. Is to be Zulu the same when lived within the inner city of Johannesburg, or in Soweto, or the provincial town of Ladysmith, let alone a remote village on the veld in KwaZulu-Natal? Is the sign 'Zulu' sufficiently efficacious despite the location or does the locale make a difference? Is the sign 'Johannesburg' as a Centre more meaningful as a sense of lived/imagined reality for some Zulus, thus showing that some locations tend to suppress individual cultures, that location is Centre of meaning? Are there community identities that, in the nature of the demands of membership, call upon new loyalties, new behaviours, such as religious communities that might suppress elements of the sign 'Zulu' though to be Zulu is still a significant investment for the family? Given the plurality associated *within* an individual culture, let alone the differences associated *across* eleven official languages and cultures, is the idea of a *singular* national 'identity' possible, in that the concept seemingly marginalises difference? Is there a need for national identity, as an important political project that touches on the necessity of unity above diversity, however contested, to be a priority? Is the dream possible? According to Dr Ben Ngubane, then Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, speaking on Heritage Day 1998:

> What Heritage Day truly represents is an opportunity to pay respect to the many cultures, languages, traditions and diversity of heritages that make up our national identity … As Albert Einstein said, 'Imagination is more important than knowledge', and our

imagination, our creativity and rich and varied cultures, will support us in continuing to realise our dreams.

Or as Thembeka Ndlela (*Letters to Madiba: voices of SA children*, quoted by Jenkins 2004:14) puts it: 'I'm proud to be a South African child because people of South Africa like working as a nation.'

What is significant in Ngubane's (1998) statement is the implication that national identity, celebrated in a singular event, is an emerging business that invites continual (re)negotiation towards an ideal. However, the emphasis in Ngubane's statement is the notion that respect may be the relatively stable essence that finally defines what it is to be **a** South African. Other internal cultural imperatives that deny this essence 'respect' would be thus challenged.

Born of the imagination, bred by the dreams of its people, national identity can best be visualised as a very human journey. Like *StarTrek*, one never arrives; it is the journey that counts. That is to say, over time, the rainbow nation concept for SA, or the concept of a bi-cultural community for NZ, invites a celebration like a Heritage Day or a Waitangi Day that acknowledges the pain of a birth, the recognition of emerging identity within the extended family and the desire of the unique family to find a place within a larger community, and the recognition that though some families are at odds from time-to-time with the larger community, there is much to be gained in respecting the ideal of a community.

Though a nation state is made up of many identities, both individually and collectively, the singular term national *identity* invites members to finally share a common vision: what is it to be **a** South African, **a** kiwi (the iconic term that describes NZers)? Central to this vision is the role of stories; stories that speak of the past, stories that speak of conflict unresolved and resolved, stories that speak of struggle, stories that speak of hope, stories that speak of an emerging national culture envisaged beyond the confines of ethnicity. Children's literature has a part to play.

3 THE NEW ZEALANDER AS AN OUTSIDER

It would seem then that it is reasonable for the members of various communities who are within the nation to determine the possibility and authenticity of that vision and to then believe in it and articulate it. It seems to be *their* story to tell. However, this insider/outsider distinction is a vexed issue, as for example in the representation of culture (Short & Fox 2003), and it would be fair to say that similar issues arise when the idea of the nation is articulated. Given the globalised world in which we live, can other nations/immigrants/visitors contribute to an understanding of an individual nation state's particularities? Can indeed an Other say something useful? Is the concept of

a particular nation in part defined by what it is not, (relative to other countries) and therefore partially constructed by others in this revelation of difference?

Many New Zealanders, for example, through the joy and trauma of rugby tours, and especially the controversial 1981 Springbok tour, have a sense of being part of the emergence of the new SA. We too have a shared story to tell.[4] Outsiders, who examine issues, policies, or artefacts can say something useful about another culture. However, what are the conditions that bring about understanding and empathy, as opposed to stereotypes and prejudice?

This notion of learning about the Other as a reasonable act is, of course, the presumption of a social studies curriculum. The study of another country is generally designed to bring an understanding of that which is common to both, to heighten an awareness of the wonder of a shared humanity (the *social* in social studies). However, this is often realised in the moments of the recognition of difference. The challenge is to make that point of difference as a source of delight and wonder, as opposed to constructing difference in terms of the exotic or the barbaric Other resulting in disdain and rejection. What part could children's literature as a resource for a social studies unit have, that brings about deeper knowledge of the Other?

4 NATIONAL IDENTITY, COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

The discourse of national identity is evident in children's literature across a range of genres, from historical fiction, the sports story to multicultural literature. Children are invited to read their world in the word. But this invitation is an ideological act as the word, devised by the adult, constructs a stance towards the world (Petzold 2005). How do young people construct their sense of nationality in terms of the texts devised by writers and illustrators?

Sandis (2004:112) argued that comparative literary studies form the best basis in which to articulate a theory of representation of national identity and a consequential methodology. Having reviewed the current state of alleged methodological confusion with regard to the literary analysis of nationality in children's literature, he proposed a model that detailed the components of nationality that could be the basis of analysis (see Figure 1 below). He identified a range of uses of the model including

> its use as a questionnaire to be completed during close reading of texts being analysed whereupon the particular elements are searched for during the reading … a further use of this model would be to question the elements used in the construction of the 'self'… to the construction of the 'other' (Sandis 2004:112).

Implicit in Sandis' (2004) proposal is the use of this model by the adult critic (be it within the disciplines of sociology, literature or mass media) rather than as an educational strategy for the educator/learner. To a degree, this article validates this model as an educational tool by exploring the use of the model with children grounded on reader-response theory. However, to make each category clear for the child as implied reader, the terms were modified as detailed in Figure 1.

Customs and Traditions	The same
Religion	(Modified. Addition of 'Beliefs and values' described as important for parents bringing up children)
History and Cultural Heritage	The same
Language and Linguistic Particularities	(Modified. Deleted 'Linguistic Particularities' and replaced with 'Expressions/idiom')
Geography/Flora and Fauna	(Modified. Replaced 'Flora and Fauna' with 'Plant and Animal Life')
Society/Everyday Life and Objects	The same
Ideology/Politics	The same
Narrative Particularities	(Deleted. Replaced with 'Stories, songs and art')
Intertexts	(Deleted)

Figure 1: The modified descriptor response form

As a consequence of this remodelling, there arises the issue of the extent to which this adaptation has pedagogical value. This will be addressed later in the article.

5   THE POTENTIAL OF SA PICTURE BOOKS: A BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW

Kalisa (1990) examined the representation of Africa in picture books from the 1970–1980s expressing concern in terms of the following issues: that African life is expressed negatively in that essentially Africa is represented as a continent of malnourishment, poverty, and primitive rites; that folklore is the dominant literary genre positioning children to see Africa in traditional and anthropomorphic terms (with other literary forms such as praise songs and moral tales) silenced; that the shift from country to city is mis-represented as a rejection of the country for the glamour of the city ignoring

thus politico-economic factors; the exaggerated mis-representation of traditional costumes/artefacts that silences the spiritual dimension and actual use; the failure to provide contextual information for outsider readers to adequately negotiate customs and traditions; and the essentialising of language use such that all Africans speak a particular language (e.g. Swahili).

Clearly, if these issues as identified in the 1970–1980s persisted, the construction of SA national identity through picture books will be problematic and multi-national education through children's literature as part of a social studies curriculum strongly questionable. Teacher knowledge and consequent mediation would be essential. However, in that Kalisa (1990) does not employ a methodological model that sufficiently encompasses national identity as a concept let alone her article being specific to SA, her strictures are perhaps limited. Indeed, Labbo and Field's (1998) endorsement of SA picture books in discussion with Soweto educators gives more confidence to check out how NZ learners negotiated the Other given that.

Labbo and Field (1998) argued that an experience of SA picture books was 'worth the trip' from the perspective of the Other, in this case, the American educator/learner. Concerned that picture books might present a skewered view of what it is to be a South African, they tested a range of picture books with educators and teacher-educators from Soweto and received from them a strong endorsement of their use. The dominant message of these SA educators was, however, the necessity for adult mediation so that potential stereotypes and distortions could be addressed by the outsider teacher. This assumes both a sufficient knowledge by the outsider teacher and ignores that, for many outsider readers, the picture books are more likely to be read as independent reading found independently within a library system, and more likely to be mediated, if at all, by a parent. Hence the picture books need to be evaluated on their own terms. It remains to be seen then if Kalisa's strictures are validated through this research in terms of current texts.

But what do learners see when they look as opposed to the literary critic or educator, the focus of both Sandis' (2004) and Labbo and Field's (1998) methodologies? Drawing upon Jones' (2006) scepticism of the current state of literary criticism that silences the child in the rubric 'children's literature', this research focuses less on the reality aspect of picture book representation of SA national identity as determined by the adult critic/educator and more on the insider/outsider negotiation of the discourse by learners as a curriculum focus. Most texts that examine the issue of the nation state as represented in children's literature orientate to the adult as critic/audience utilising critical theories, as for example post-colonialism (Bradford 2007; Sundmark & Kelan 2013).This has value for emerging teachers and librarians in terms of professional development but generally these texts are not used by middle school learners, who are the focus of the article.

Rosenblatt (1978) speaks to two different stances that readers assume when approaching a text. There is the aesthetic stance, which speaks to the lived through experiences of

the text; that moment of hushed silence and non-stop reading through the night as the latest book of a favourite author is imaginatively consumed in the moment by the reader. Then there is the efferent stance (from the Latin *effere*, to take away) which speaks of the information that the reader takes away from the text, to be used by the reader to make meaning in his/her life. Rosenblatt sees these stances as an artefact of the reader as opposed to the text such that the fiction/non-fiction distinction is problematic as a means to describe how learners engage with a text. One can experience an aesthetic engagement with a non-fiction text as well as approach a fiction text from a 'getting information' stance. The focus of the current research was employing an efferent stance towards fiction.

Furthermore, Rosenblatt sees that this transaction of reader and text is very much grounded in the reader's real and imagined life; that each reader has a unique transaction, as each reader constructs his/her own identity in the moment of the transaction. This may well be constructed in the context of surrounding hegemonic discourses, but there is evidence of active agency on the part of the reader (McKenzie 2006). This implies a necessity to check out what the NZ learners understand by the term 'national identity' as a necessary part of the research.

The focus of the small case study under discussion was to monitor a NZ class' engagement with picture book texts that represent aspects of SA identity, invite the learners to assume an efferent stance towards these fiction texts in terms of the research question: 'What do these books tell you about what it is to be **a** South African?' The case study raised issues that speak to the efficacy of using children's literature in the social studies curriculum in the context of national identity.

6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Twenty-five learners aged 11–13 years from a seaside township Kaikoura in the South Island of NZ participated in the action research project.[5] Kaikoura is a popular destination for tourists who come to see the remarkable coastal mountain chain which leads to a deep trench in the sea-bed, a site of visiting whales. As mud pools are to Rotorua, whale-watching is to Kaikoura. This activity is largely an industry grounded in the local iwi/tribe, Ngai Tahu. Hence, a third of the learners in the class self-identified as Maori, the remaining being Pakeha (European), with two learners being Pasifika and one learner being a black African from Gambia. Interestingly, a third of the learners avoided ethnicity as a descriptor, self-identifying as being a New Zealander.

The researcher-participant co-operated with the class teacher[6] to develop a week's intensive study of African/SA reading materials. The researcher had visited SA four times as part of a collaboration with various educational stakeholders and, through a grant from NZAid, obtained 20 SA picture books published in SA. Additionally, the National Library of NZ and the University of Canterbury College of Education Library

furnished further texts. The dates of publication of the picture books were approximately 50 per cent published in the 1990s and 50 per cent (re)published in the first decade of this century.

The researcher also had obtained from READ Educational Trust (SA) the following readers (approximately):

- READ Afrika-Tale (a set of four each for levels five to eight);
- READ for Tomorrow (a set of four each for levels five to seven);
- A READ Little Book (a set of three each for levels one to seven).

It would be fair to say then that, though randomly 'selected' in terms of the totality of SA picture books (and readers) available internationally, the class had access to 70 picture books altogether relating to Africa generally; 35 specifically relating to SA; and 52 illustrated readers (fiction/folktale). This indicates a reasonably solid resource base on which to conduct the research (compared with the relatively limited number of books generally available for a classroom use that is specific to a nation state within an NZ school environment).

It needs to be noted that the genre of the picture book itself was not a focus (given that novels would be not be efficient in terms of the teaching time that was available) and that Year 7/8 children are likely to be well-versed in reading both the image and narrative of the picture book (the visual language strand of the NZ National Curriculum).[7]

Given that the usual efferent stance that these learners assumed with regard to picture books as a literary product was to look for literary features such as genre, plot development, character, setting, theme, language and perhaps intertextuality, the learners needed, firstly, to understand how to approach a fictional text with a different referential frame as in the nationality components as described in Figure 1. The concept of national identity itself needed to be checked out so the first task was a pre-test that invited them to construct a sense of the NZ self/national identity. The abstract terminology of the component descriptors needed to be made real through responding to the subset of questions to help the learners develop some idea of what the descriptor might mean.

Subsequent to this initial foray into the concept of national identity in terms of prior knowledge, the learners had the opportunity to examine two or three self-selected picture books published in NZ from a collection of 80. Using a single page response form based on the components only (without the additional questions), the learners were asked to identify any unique features that, in their view, marked being a New Zealander and living in NZ as evidenced in the texts (both visually and linguistically). It was clear that, initially, the components were a fairly abstract concept for some learners and they struggled, so they were given further opportunity to work in groups and share their learning. The researcher-participant added to each component descriptor some examples of what it might mean, and in groups, learners were asked to add some more.

It was agreed by the class teacher that this gave a sufficient basis to move to the next stage which was an examination of prior knowledge of SA using just the component descriptors.

Using individualised learning methods and whanau/family groups (collective group learning), the learners then embarked on a journey of exploration with the SA materials using the component response form for books studied. This included the opportunity for learners to add progressively to another learner's response form as they were given the opportunity for repeated readings of the same text. The researcher declined to elaborate too much on issues that arose given that such interventions would minimise the validity of the research. The untranslatable response gave permission for learners to describe that which confused them. At the end of this process, a detailed component response form inclusive of the subset questions was employed to determine the gains made by the learners as a response to their total reading experience.

Meanwhile, the SA joint researcher in this project arranged an interview with a variety of SA learners in order to construct the baseline items of what it is to be a South African using the same components and subsets of questions based on the NZ prior knowledge (pre-test) form. Having worked through a range of experiences to ensure that each NZ learner had had a range of book experiences, the NZ class used the same survey as the SA researcher used (a post-test) and a compare and contrast analysis was able to be done. This formed the results of the research project as follows.

7   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

7.1   THE OUTSIDER: NEGOTIATING THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL IDENTITY OF THE SELF

As stated, it is important that children build on what they know before confronting new challenges. Hence, their initial task was to construct a sense of self-understanding before determining a sense of the Other. It might be assumed that learners have a good understanding of who they are, of what it is to be, for example, a 'Kiwi'. The kiwi is a flightless native bird, but in its distinctiveness has become an emblem or icon of being a New Zealander. This is not necessarily the case.

Given that national identity is constructed on difference and difference becomes perceived when the difference is experienced, some learners had considerable difficulties in trying to work out, in a substantive way, their own national identity. NZ is an isolated country and many learners have not had an opportunity to experience the outside looking in. In a similar manner, when ideologies become normalised, they are often unrecognisable until one is confronted by the Other. Furthermore, the notion of a singular national identity is not overly highlighted in the NZ curriculum given the problematic nature

of the concept where the assimilation of difference (especially for Maori) is seen as a colonial project and possibly propaganda for the political party *NZ First*.

Hence, the children struggled initially with both the concept of national identity and specifically the components as a device to elaborate on the concept and some of the questions used to support the components. The NZ learners understandably struggled in particular with the idea of customs other than the concrete idea of a festival or an event, in that customs are naturalised and generally recognised by experiencing difference. Generally, Pakeha children[8] had less sense of a culture and cultural identity than Maori children in that, as the dominant group, their 'culture' is the norm. Further, it could be argued that Western mass media tend to reinforce this naturalisation.

Religion as a descriptor of identity was seen to be important with Christianity clearly being dominant. Given the non-religious nature of education in NZ, this was a little surprising though the place of religion in NZ society has received some media coverage lately. The learners were well aware of the place of Maori language and culture in NZ society though they were fairly optimistic about New Zealanders being mostly bilingual. The good Kiwi bloke, tough and capable with a piece of No. 8 wire is alive and well, though feminists might be disappointed with the traditionalism in the representation of women's roles.

The categories of *Geography, Flora/Fauna* and *Society and Everyday Objects* were well articulated, as to be expected in Kaikoura, with the local environment (landscape and food) having precedence over the national. Learners greatly appreciated the clean, green and beautiful space in which they live with environmental values being a high priority in their responses. Most saw schooling in NZ as marked by the opportunity to enjoy open spaces. Given the experience of the local, it was curious to see how many children perceived that the town/country was the main living space of New Zealanders (compared to the city and Auckland in particular) but the significance of farming and tourism to the economy is valid both locally and nationally.

In terms of the component 'Ideology/Politics', the anti-nuclear stance that, for many of the older generation speaks to New Zealanders' sense of identity in global politics, was totally absent. What was fore-grounded was that which was recent, as, for example, the anti-smacking legislation that recently divided NZ politics and society. Learners were well aware of being small, 'down under' and isolated, but overall were optimistic about being a New Zealander.

Clearly this quiz revealed a tension between the local (time and place) versus the historic/national in the construction of the idea of national identity, thus reinforcing that it is the personally felt that forms the basis of reader response. The task then of these learners reaching out and comprehending the Other could well be daunting. Having negotiated the descriptor categories through an elaborated set of questions and further group experiences, the learners were then introduced to the focus country, SA, through an experience of tourist artefacts.[9]

7.2 THE NZ LEARNER: PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF SA NATIONAL IDENTITY

The first experience of the Other for the NZ learners was to complete a single page quiz that sought to unlock their prior knowledge of SA using the component response form (see Appendix 2).

Recognising the small sample involved, and if this class is representative of other classes, many NZ learners have a very basic understanding of the complexity of SA as a nation with the notion of identity very much constructed in terms of traditional rural life, ethnicity and culture (with a focus on traditional women's roles), and wild animals. The number of nil responses indicated little prior knowledge in terms of the components 'History', 'Cultural heritage' and Ideology/Politics'. The notion that traditions are important was evident in the awareness that telling myth, legend and folktale was seen as a significant form of narrative. Indeed, the rural, traditional village was the main paradigm of being SA for the NZ learners and could be described as an essentialised stereotype in that whilst the traditional life as crudely described exists as a lived reality, it could barely be a sufficient descriptor of a *national* identity. This prior knowledge no doubt reflects television programmes experienced by NZ learners that focus on the proxy safari/wildlife experience as a dominant approach to visualising SA and perhaps it also reflects the limited exposure of SA in terms of the NZ education curriculum. However, there was a limited understanding of 'landscape' with the few respondents seeing the SA landscape as a hot desert, perhaps reflecting a recent popular television programme 'Meercat Manor'. The notion of the *veld* or savannah is implicit in one respondent's idea of 'dry grass', which could be seen as the dominant setting of the African wildlife programme.

There seemed to be an emerging idea of complexity in that some learners understood the multi-lingual nature of SA; but what it is to be an urban Zulu speaker or the cultural parameters of being Zulu, for example, were not known. However, it was surprising that the relatively recent political upheaval associated with the cessation of apartheid as a politico-economic system (inclusive of the implicit ideologies about race) and the emergence of democracy in 1994 (implicit in the 'rainbow nation' concept with changed attitudes towards issues of race and ethnicity) did not seem to be present at all in the students' understanding.

In some students' personal responses the potential for an Orientalist perspective can be seen in that it is allegedly an SA custom for a person to swing from trees with a vine around his/her ankle – the Tarzan trope (Sharra 2001) – and SA is described as an 'alien' but 'intriguing' Other.[10] However, for most learners, there was little overall impression of, or stance towards, SA that could be summed up in particular words or expressions; indeed, a strong nil response for many of the categories suggest the experience of the picture books in the research project begins with a relatively clean slate, a *tabula rasa*.

7.3 THE INSIDER: CREATING AN SA NATIONAL IDENTITY BENCHMARK

What constitutes SA nationality as perceived by the SA learners that could be used as a benchmark? What is important to note is the contingent nature of the concepts described below; these responses reflect the nature of case studies and provide indicative features only.

According to these learners (see Appendix 3), to be a South African is, to a large degree, tied into the concept of *ubuntu*; that one defines oneself relationally rather than as a unique individual. For Maori learners this relates directly to the notion of *whanau* where the individual person is constructed by the larger family/*iwi* as primarily a social being. As for South Africans, this relation stretches beyond time and place such that acknowledging the past and one's ancestry, one's lineage, is very much part of who one is inclusive of a high degree of respect for elders. For Maori respondents, then, this essence could be a naturalised value and not recognised.

To be a South African is also to have a high sense of hope and purpose, an essence that both learners and adult critics see as a salient feature (Zegeye 2005). To this end, getting a good education is very important in that the opportunities it provides have a collective benefit: it enables the family to survive in hard times and improve their circumstances, such as moving beyond the disjunctions of the informal settlements. Shacks and townships might be a dominant abode, but South Africans dream of better things to come. To this end, the good SA male is down-to-earth, handsome, supports the extended family and works hard. He shares in the domestic life of the good SA female who, beautiful (and well proportioned), nevertheless is also down-to-earth, and responsible for the important task of caring for the children.

This hope and purpose is writ large in the body politic, whereby, through both specific festivals such as Youth Day and Freedom Day, South Africans remember the past as a way to forge a future. National heroes, such as the late Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu, epitomise the notion that dreams can, through perseverance, become real.

South Africans recognise that diversity is an essential feature of their community implicit in both cultural/ethnic identity and multilingualism. This is seen as a positive feature of SA society as it provides learners with exposure to the range of ways of living. Identifying with a specific ethnicity/culture is seen as inevitable such that difference is a daily reality, but the dream of the national anthem is one song that all South Africans should know. Religion is seen in mixed terms for many SA learners, with Christianity and Islam being seen as the main source of beliefs.[11]

Crime, violence, poverty and abuse (against both children and women) are realities, but are not tolerated by SA learners as such behaviours undermine the collective vision. An advertisement 'Alive with Possibility' is an icon of the new SA that speaks to the hope that goes beyond past and present negativities. In this sense, to be a South

African is to participate in a very active musical and dance tradition (Madiba dance and Iisixathamiya) that speaks to group dynamics.

SA learners appeared to have a functional and responsive approach to the environment whereby it was seen primarily as a resource for humankind ('we take what we want') and alive with danger. They struggled to see aspects of the SA landscape either in conservational or tourist terms.

It is an open question then for SA learners whether they see themselves reflected in their trade picture books and readers.

7.4   THE NZ LEARNER NEGOTIATING THE OTHER

For NZ learners (see Appendix 4), the picture books and readers tended to reinforce their prior belief that the traditional village with its attendant customs, hierarchies and practices is the main paradigm in which to articulate an SA national identity. Traditional clothes, necklaces, jewellery and carvings figured significantly in terms of what would be 'made in SA'. This was reinforced by the place of traditional songs and stories (like legends and folktales) as the most distinctive aspect of 'Narrative Particularities'.

However, there was an emerging sense of the reality that the extended family located largely in traditional villages (with the visual imagery of roundels and domestic animals) has been disrupted by the necessity of the father to leave the village/town in search of work. That life is hard was recognised by the NZ learners in that getting a good education was seen as the most important value that South Africans have in bringing up children, expressed both in the benchmark and the picture books texts. Further, there was an emerging sense of the town and city being the locale of SA life where the township was envisaged as a tightly spaced, crowded, and insecure space.

What impressed NZ learners was the representation of the caring and loving nature of the SA family as expressed in their stories, where the gogo/grandmother has a significant place in the life of the extended family. The ability to tame nature is a prime asset to be a good SA male (a tough person who is into hunting and fishing) though, again, there was an emerging sense of more diverse job requirements to meet the demands of the economy. Farming and tourism/safari were seen to the prime movers and shakers of the job market but there is little sense of such industries as mining and engineering. The good SA female is very much a person committed to domestic duties, who is both attractive and smart, and who cares for the children. NZ learners recognised that there are diverse cultural and language groups but any sense of what marks difference was barely understood.

The environment figured largely in the idea of SA whereby nature is both wild and dangerous. The idea of the safari was iconic for the NZ learner where the dryness of the open plains, the 'jungles' and the national parks were seen as the locale of a very rich wild animal life. The big five were able to named, but though the baobab tree was

beginning to be recognised, there was little sense of diversity of plant life. Both Table Mountain and the Kalahari Desert figured largely in the NZ learners' imaginary. NZ learners perceived that South Africans are highly respectful of the environment and that wild nature looms large as a distinct essence of SA.

In contrast, there was little sense of the historic on the part of the NZ learners where, though Nelson Mandela was recognised as a hero (as well as Nikki Daly), national monuments, calendar events and festivals were little recognised. The sense of hope and aspiration was thus muted for NZ learners in contrast to the SA benchmark. Instead, issues associated with poverty, crime and 'war' mitigated the pleasure of engaging with the distinctive cultures, languages, and art forms, as well as the freedom of wild nature that marked the essence of 'positively SA' for the NZ learner. In the case of Sandis' (2004) component 'History and Cultural Heritage', reading texts reinforced the lack of prior knowledge.

In this regard, the post-test (as well as the learning experience) revealed a willingness and confidence of the NZ learners to engage with the idea of national identity of an Other compared to the pre-test, and there was evidence that the learners perceived SA in more complex terms as a consequence of reading trade picture book and school reader texts.

7.5   THE OUTSIDER: NZ LEARNERS' PERCEPTIONS OF KNOWLEDGE GAINED

At the end of the research project, the children were asked to respond to their perceptions of knowledge gained about SA using picture books in terms of a four-point scale (see Appendix 5). What this reiterated was that, from the NZ learners' point of view, Sandis' (2004) component 'Landscape/Flora and fauna' dominated their experience of the books (reinforcing pre-conceptions), whereas the component 'Ideology/Politics' had least gains.

8   CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The following comments are tentative indeed and are offered for debate and reflection. In the nature of case studies, grand generalisations are inappropriate. In the nature of an intensive week's case study such as detailed in this type of action research does not allow time for all books to be read and reflected upon by all readers. However, this scenario arguably reflects the nature of book selection embedded in independent reading practices, and further, the use of a research methodology as an educational tool would suggest a far higher intensity of learner reflection than would generally take place in independent reading. Though tentative then, these comments are worth making.

The story of SA's painful past, its struggle and the emergence of the rainbow nation and democracy as a basis for articulating hope for the future seems to be muted in many

trade picture books and school readers. This history as a basis for hope marks for SA learners, an essential aspect of national identity. Sandis' (2004) categories of 'History and cultural heritage' and 'Ideology/Politics' received the highest nil response for NZ learners, a fact of which they were self-aware, suggesting thus that perhaps writers and illustrators are not yet ready to explore such issues in picture book format. This may be due to the erroneous view that the picture book is for younger readers and, given this implied audience, an ideology of childhood innocence needs to be maintained (Jenkins 2004; Machet 2001). It further suggests that writers, illustrators and publishers are conservative in their representation of what is recent and possibly painful. Indeed, Jenkins (2004:14) quotes Jakes Gerwel, a former associate of Mandela, as saying that African youth literature shows 'the emancipation of the personal from the overbearing domination of the political'. However, given the emergence of critical literacy as an emancipatory methodology in the classroom, educationalists are arguably poorly served by such reticence, especially from the point of view of the Other. Given that no text is innocent of ideology and that absence is as an important signifier as presence, the apparent absence of the historic and political dimension in picture book texts does present a skewered version of national identity.

Certainly, the representation of a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual identity is an emerging reality for NZ children compared to the complex history that is SA. This is a vexed issue, in that an emphasis on cultural identity suggests potentially a representation of the significance of the margins, denying possibly the hope of a national identity. Chapman (1998:5) argues:

> The Western poststructuralist … operates in a context of institutional hegemony and in reaction or rebellion, may wish to split identities; the black SA, who has known the worst of particularisms in apartheid's ethnic engineering, may be ready in contradistinction to risk whatever dangers are supposed to accompany the 'plot' of universal humanism.

However, there was little in the picture book texts that actually explicitly identified what the difference between a Zulu, a Sotho or an Nguni might be, both in terms of differences let alone commonalities. From a national identity perspective, if respect between cultures is essentially a mark of being a new SA, how is respect actually worked out when aspects of the particularities of culture seems to be erased? This 'working out' is, of course, the stuff of stories and it seems from an outsider position, that there may be a reticence about representing this. If this is the case, stories that focus on resolutions of cultural difference within and beyond the different ethnic/cultural 'divides' and how the processes of resolution may be distinctively SA, would be a useful contribution to the representation of *national* identity. Certainly, this seemed to be the intent of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a powerful and unique contributor to the new SA identity, and how this process might be 'replicated', could make interesting reading. Imagine a picture book that explored restorative justice between a violent criminal and

his/her victim, contextualised by cultural difference that spoke to the healing power of telling their respective stories.

Are Kalisa's (1990) strictures with regard to the representation of Africa in picture books from the 1970s and 1980s still valid? Largely, if the responses of the NZ learners are anything to go by, there is less to be concerned about. However, there are still issues relating to narrative particularities, and also as detailed above, the failure to provide contextual information for outsider readers to adequately negotiate customs and traditions. If the essence of SA is the multiplicity of voices, the postmodernist representation of multiple voices in the picture book (Anthony Browne's *Voices in the park* comes to mind) seems a useful way forward but with the emphasis (in a very non-postmodernist way) on a teleology, of a coming together, of a hybrid Centre, that speaks of the vibrancy and stimulation that marks that which is positively, uniquely SA. As Chapman (1998:5) puts it:

> There is, at the one pole, a need for a hermeneutics of suspicion, a rereading of authorities, a questioning of positions, reputations, traditions, influences, as texts are set in contexts of controversies … At the other pole there is a need in societies of sharp inequalities for a humanism of reconstruction, in which damaged identities are reassembled, silenced voices given speech, and causes rooted close to home in the priorities of the local scene examining itself as it examines its relations to any international counterpart …

It would seem that this imperative is not yet present in picture books. For NZ learners as the outsider, the traditional village and the representation of wild nature loomed large in their imaginary of what is essentially SA and the construction of what it is to be **a** South African. It may well be that for SA learners, this is 'naturalised' in their awareness of being an insider an, even if aspects of the component 'Society/Everyday life and objects' is not in their immediate experience (i.e., living in the location of the township and the city), the village and nature are sufficiently figured in the mass media as to be naturalised into their own imaginary. As stated previously, it is sometimes the outsider as Other that, in the awareness of difference, essence is discovered. The average New Zealander does not perceive animal and plant life as wild, dangerous and malevolent. Storms and floods (drowning in rivers was known as the NZ death in the nineteenth century), being lost in the bush and exposed to sudden low temperatures (hyperthermia) and the occasional earthquake may shake a New Zealander's confidence in benevolent Nature, but these events are not the daily lived reality of most school children. Hence, the marked representation of Wild Nature as a point of difference would have evoked delight and wonder (and a touch of fear) for the NZ learner.

It is fair to say that the employment of Sandis' (2004) research methodology as an educational strategy proved both challenging and rewarding. The use of children's literature as a basis for social studies has potential but this research indicates that there are some caveats about the representation of national identity in fiction. Using Sandis' methodology as an educational strategy provided an opportunity for these learners to

engage deeply with fictional texts other than from a literary perspective. Indeed there is scope here for inquiry-based learning in the senior school to replicate the use of the theoretical model (Sandis 2004, adapted) in order to critically reflect upon a local collection in terms of what is present and what seems to be absent when looking at texts from a national identity perspective.

However, there was a significant form of national identity that seemed to be effaced in this model that is important both to NZ and SA. Sport! With this in mind, (and with a nod in the direction of positive possibilities of globalisation and the Japanese narrative particularity known as the *haiku*), we close with the following reflections.

> Crowds scan arching spheres
> Shout across ocean's divide
> Whanau! Ubuntu!
> (J McKenzie, 'A NZer watching a live broadcast of the Springboks in the Tri-Nations series 2007.')

> Ice and water
> Their differences resolved
> Are friends again.
> (Yasuhara Teishitsu)[12]

NOTES

1   The authors acknowledge the generosity of NZ Trade and Enterprise that gave a $1000 grant for the purchase of the picture books and READ Educational Trust for their generosity in providing the educational readers.

2   D Chuter, *Humanity's soldier: France and international security (1919–2001* (1998, Oxford/ Providence: Berghahn Books). Quoted in C Williams, 'The SA national identity and its key postulates'. Monograph No. 50 Franco-SA dialogue sustainable security in Africa. Compiled by Diane Philander, August 2000.

3   Essentialism is used in this article as a metaphysical idea that denotes the notion that there are relatively stable features or essences that *ideally* inform the category 'national identity' as an imagined state. Though national identity is not fixed as an absolute in space or time, the singular use of the noun suggests an aspiration to an essentialist discourse embedded in the idea of community. The danger of essentialism, however, is that it leads to over-generalisation and the accusation of stereotypical thinking.

4   Read D Hill's young adult novel *The name of the game* (2001, Wellington: Mallinson Rendel) which captures one of the most turbulent times in modern NZ history: the 1981 Springbok Tour of NZ.

5   It needs to be noted that during the week, absences and those who were absent returning to the classroom meant that actual response numbers varied.

6   The researcher-participant expresses grateful thanks to the class teacher, Mr S Williams who readily provided support and guidance working though the particular dynamics of the class (i.e., reading abilities and behavioural issues that fit within the normal range).

7   Analysis of the picture books as exemplars was not a formal part of the research methodology and hence is not indicated here. It needs to be said that there was some teaching of 'reading' NZ-based materials prior to the experience of the Other. However, to avoid bias, formal teaching of SA materials would have been problematic.

8   Pakeha, derived from Māori, is a generic term used by New Zealanders to indicate people of a European background.

9   This may have influenced some children's later responses. These responses are indicated by [ ] in the results. The artefacts included ebony carvings, paintings and patchwork wall hangings. Given that they were traditional items depicting traditional lifestyles, these may have subliminally influenced the children's responses.

10 See Said (in Winschuttle 1999) who argues that orientalism has produced a false description of Arabs and Islamic culture. This has come about because of the 'essentialist' nature of the enterprise that failed to recognise complexity. Arabic qualities were seen as uniformly negative – 'its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, its aberrant mentality, its habit of inaccuracy, its backwardness'. The notion of an 'Islamic society' or an 'Arab mind' or an 'Oriental psyche' is essentialist and does not recognise differences within. Said indicates that such essentialism is also constructed around other cultures, such as black Africans.

11 Note, however, how religious stories are seen as highly important for SA young readers compared to UK learners. See Machet (2001).

12 Bashō and A Miyamori. *Classic haiku: an anthology of poems by Basho and his followers* (n.d., New York: Dover).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Pre-test: NZ learners' responses to their own sense of national identity

Customs and traditions	
1. Habits and customs	Nil 11; Haka 2; Freedom of speech 1; Accent/Language 3; Driving on the left hand side 2; Praying before meals 1; Maori traditional events 1.
2. Festivals	Nil 1; Christmas 8; New Year's Day 1; ANZAC 6; Marlborough Day 1; Easter 2; Waitangi Day 12; Labour Day 2; Queen's Birthday 4; Local sea fest 3.
Religion (beliefs and values)	
1. Identification of main religions	Nil 4; Not valid 1; Christian 12; Atheism 2; Maori 5; Jehovah Witnesses 3; Muslim 1; Pagans/Wiccans 1.
2. Importance attached to religion	Very important 2; Important 15; Not much 5; Not at all.
3. Other values	Nil 2; Reading 1; Not valid 3; Good discipline 1; Manners (respect) 10; Language 1; Fire drill 1; Trying your best 1; Safety 3; Hygiene 2; Care 3; Eco-friendly 1; Defence of each other 2; Getting good education 5; Love for each other 3; Speaking English 1; Being good 1.
History and cultural heritage	
1. Historical events named	Nil 2; Queen's visit 1; Signing of Treaty 8; ANZAC Day 4; World Wars 3; Guy Fawkes Day 2; America's Cup 2; Maori/Pakeha Land Wars 1; New Year's Day ?; Women's rights/vote 2; Mountain eruption (Ruapehu) 1.
2. Famous NZers	Nil 2; Mark Ingles 1; Elvis Presley 1; Charles Upham 4; Helen Clark 9; Jona Lomu 1; Jean Batten 1; Sir Peter Blake 2; Sir Richard Hadley 1; Jenny Shipley 1; Sir Edmund Hilary 12; Jack Lovelock 1; Whina Cooper 2; Jean Batten 3; Mother Teresa 1; James Wattie 2; JK Baxter 1; Dan Carter 1; Kate Shephard 3; Irene van Dyke 1; Thomas Cooke 1; Catherine Braddock 1; Maori queen 1.
3. Cultural groups	Nil 9; Not valid 3; Maori 12; Pakeha 5; Pasifka 1; Asian 2.
4. Importance attached to culture	Very important 8; Important 8; Not much 6; Not at all 0.
5. Image of good kiwi male	Nil 1; Not valid 2; Keen sportsman 3; Humour 1; Physical fitness 3; Friendly 1; Appearances 3; Loves his Wattie's sauce 1; Personality 2; 'Hot' 1; Tough 5; Can be feminine too 1; Kind 4; Trustworthy 1; Respectful 1; Smart 1.

6.	Image of a good kiwi female	Not valid 1; Appearances 5; Domestic skills 3; Physical fitness 2; Good with kids 1; Personality 5; Friendly 1; Manners 1; Not being a sassy city chick 1; Not posh 1; Kind 2; Do a good day's work 1; Smart 1; Cute 1.
Language and linguistic particularities		
1.	Main language groups	English 20; Maori 19; Pasifika 1; Asian 4; Sign Language 4.
2.	Number of languages spoken	Not valid 1; Monolingual 3; Bilingual 15; Multilingual 2.
3.	Typical NZ idiom/expressions	Nil 4; Oi 1; She'll be right 2; What's up (bro) (sup) 4; Kia ora (mate) (bro) 4; Bro, yo yo 1; Gidday (mate) 3; Best thing since sliced bread 1.
Geography (flora and fauna)		
1.	Special environmental features	Lakes (named) 2; Seascape/whale watching 21; Rivers 2; Flora and fauna 7; Springs 1; Art 1; Mountains (sometimes named) 12; Clean green land 2; Rotorua/Hot pools 4; Sky tower 1; Museums 1; The Bee Hive 1; Clean green environment.
2.	Animals special to NZ	Nil 1; Kea 3; Kiwi 18; Tuatara 1; Sheep 1; Paua 1; Eels 1; Whitebait 1; Crayfish 1; Pukeko 2; Tui 5; Morepork 1; Bellbird 2; Pigeon 1; Whales 2; Fantail 2; Dolphins 2; Weka 2; Seals 2; Albatross 1; Weta 1; Kaka 1; Whales 1; Dolphins 1; Penguin 1.
3.	Plants special to NZ	Nil 2; Not valid 5; Nikau palm 1; Kowhai 1; Sea weed 2; NZ flax 2; ANZAC Poppy 3; Ferns 8; Silver fern 4; Ponga Ponga tree 1; Pohutakawa 4; Totora 1; Manuka tree 2; Rimu 1.
4.	Value placed on environment	Nil 4; High value 8; Safety 1; Beauty 4; Build and build 1; Clean and green 4; Need to recycle more 1.
Society and everyday objects		
1.	Location of population	City 14; Town 6; Village/Country 3.
2.	Uniqueness of homes	Nil 10; Nothing 1; Carpets 1; Architectural style (differences) 3; Warmth 1; Sometimes views 2; Built to last 2; Tidy 1; Pa and marae 1.
3.	Uniqueness of schooling	Nil 7; Not valid 1; Lots of grass/space 7; Playground 2; Learn languages 1; Learning about the world 1; Teachers skilled in teaching different subjects 1; They teach Maori culture 2; Bilingual classes 1; Big room 1.
4.	Uniqueness if family life	Nil 11; No 1; Love each other 4; Like travelling/walks 1; Parents spending time with kids 1; All families are different 2.

5.	Special NZ object	Nil 1; Not valid 3; Tiaha 1; Gold coin 1; Kiwi fruit 1; Painting 2; Sky tower 1; Housing 1; Sign of the kiwi 1; Kiwi object (e.g. toy) 10; Swandri 1; Tiki 3; Mountains 1; Rugby (ball) 2; Gumboots 1; Paua shell 1; Wattie Baked Beans 1; Greenstone 1; Pavlova 1; Accents 1; Image of fern 3; Picture of All Blacks 1; Food like kumera 1.
6.	Unique food	Nil 1; Sauce (Watties) 3; Chocolate 1; Crayfish 10; Tip Top ice-cream 2; Meat 3; Bacon 1; Hangi 2; Eggs 1; Paua 5; KFC 1; Whitebait 2; Marmite 2.
7.	Economic benefit	Lamb 2; Baked beans 1; Kumera 2; Fish and chips 2; Kiwifruit 2; L & P 1; Kina 1. *Most benefit:* Farming 4; Government services 2; Tourism 13; Business 2; IT 1; Industry 1. *Least benefit:* Forestry 4; International students 7; Retail 3; Government services 1; Fishing 4.
8.	NZ made	Nil 2; Not valid 2; Sheepskin fur 1; Swandri 1; BNZ 1; Money (currency) 1; Blue Biro/pens 2; Baked beans 1; Kiwi (soft) toy 4; Possum fur 1; Ice-cream 3; Jandal 1; Lollies 1; Wool singlets 1; Paua objects 3; Marmite 2; Watties sauce 5; Merino wool 1.
9.	Good about growing up in NZ	Nil 3; Everything 1; The environment 5; Schooling 3; Homes 1; Not many natural disasters 1; Less pollution 2; No wars 3; Beaches/fishing/swimming 2; Being small 1; Going on farms 1; Culture 2; People (friendly) 2; Sport 1; Being around farms 1.
10.	Bad about growing up in NZ	Nil 9; Too much rugby 1; Nothing 2; Not enough shops 1; Pollution 1; Split country 1; Traffic 1; Too many people dying 1; School 1; Not seeing wild life 1; Too many people in the city 1; Lots of cultures 1; Isolated 1; Bad weather 1.
11.	NZers love …	Nil 3; Food 3; Animals 2; Money 1; Parties 1; Tourists 1; Toys 1; News 1; Clothes 1; Queen 1; Makeup 1; Shortland Street 1; Sports 8; Mass media 2; Fishing/hunting 4; Skiing 2; Tramping 1; Culture 1; Seaside 1; Mountains 1; Scenery 1; Fish & chips 1.
12.	NZers hate …	Nil 5; Not valid 1; Tourists 2; Hitler 1; Other people 2; George Bush 1; Schools 1; Losing rugby 1; Politics 4; Car crashes 1; Racism 2; Child abuse 1; Foul language 1; Too many grapes 1; Some laws (e.g. anti-smacking) 1; Litter 1; Other sports teams 1; Helen Clark 1.

Ideology/Politics	
1. Events/ideas that are special to NZ	Nil 17; Nothing 1; NZers treat each other the same 1; Language (Maori) 1.
2. Law or legislation that is important to NZ	Nil 8; Not valid 1; Conservation 1; Fishing laws 1; The Treaty of Waitangi 1; Immigration 1; No child abuse 1; Anti-whaling 1; Women getting the vote 1; Anti-smacking laws 4; Boy racing laws 2; Underage drinking 1; Underage driving 1.
3. Being able to vote	Yes 5; No 0; Don't care 8; Never thought about it 9.
Literature, song and art	
1. Special songs or chants	Nil 4; Not valid 3; National anthem 13; If it weren't for your … 1; Haka 3; The gumboot song 1; Waiata 1; Dave Dobyn 1.
2. Special dance, music or art	Nil 4; Hip Hop 1; Break dance 2; Rap 1; Ballet 2; Jump Jam dances 1; Haka 8; NZ bands 1; Kupahaka Maori art 4; Dancing with the stars 1; Church 1; Rock and roll 2; Poi dance 1.
4. NZ titles of books/types of stories	Nil 10; Not valid 4; Our Kiwi Christmas 1; Hairy Maclary 1; Joy Cowley 3; Margaret Mahy 2; Kevin the kiwi 1; Lord of the Rings 3.
5. Advertisement that shows off NZ	Nil 4; Kiwi Bank 2; Kiwi bacon 1; Watties sauce 9; L & P 1; Air NZ Rugby world cup 1; Kiwi burgers at MacDonalds 3; Ford ads 1; Geneva Finance ad 1; Grizzly motor bike ad 1.
The untranslatable	
1. Objects	Nil 7
2. Language	Speaking too fast 1; Nick names 2; Some advertisements 1; Maori language (haka) 5; Sign language 1; Road names 1; NZ lingo/accent 3; Maps 2; Some sayings (e.g. when the fat lady sings) 1.
3. Tourist confusion	Nil 3; Getting directions (maps) 3; NZ driving habits 2; Supermarket layout 1; Way of life 1; Eating with hands 1; Slang/Language 2.
Closing thoughts	
1. Good about being a NZer	Nil 3; No danger in environment 1; No wars 4; Care/Love for the environment 8; Very positive 3; Freedom 3; Grow up in a small country 1; Speaking English 1; Our culture 2; We try hard 1.
2. Bad about being a NZer	Nil 10; Nothing 2; Pollution 2; Too many laws 1; Not being that well known 1; Too many wineries 1; Child abuse 1; Tax 1; Being small overseas bands only go to Auckland 1.

3.	A country that is opposite	Nil 3; America 4; UK 6; Greece 1; Asia 8; Iraq 2.
4.	Importance of patriotism	Nil 2; Yes 19; No – ?; Don't know 1.
5.	Good about being patriotic	Nil 5; Not valid 2; Not a clue 1; Being clean and green 1; Good to remember our history 1; Everything 1; Show others who you are 2; Others dream of being here 1; Great at sports 1; Knowing you are supporting our country 3; Our culture 1; Being friendly 1; Freedom 1.
6.	Bad about being patriotic	Nil 13; Nothing 3; Not being that well known/isolated 3; Being small we get picked on 1.

Appendix 2: Pre-test: NZ learners' prior knowledge of SA

COMPONENTS	RESPONSES
Customs and traditions	Nil 8; Village has a chief 1; Dance around a fire 1; Bungy jump off tree houses with a vine attached to legs 1; Women are lower than men 1
Religion (Beliefs and values)	Nil 12; No religion – ; Christian 1; Muslim 2; Some people believe there is a god(s) 2; SA gods 1; VooDoo (just guessing) 1.
History and cultural heritage	Nil 16; There was once slavery 1; Most are traditional but in the cities they are like us with the same or better technology 1.
Language and expressions	Nil 9; Afrikaans 4; English 3; 'African' 8 [Could be Afrikaan]; Zulu 6; Swazi 1; Lots of languages belonging to different tribes 1.
Geography/Flora and fauna	Nil 2 *Landscape:* Nil 15; Sandy desert 2. *Climate*: Nil 15; Dry and hot 3. *Plants*: Nil 16; Dry grass, flax, [ebony tree]. *Animals:* Zebra, leopard, lions, hippos, alligators, monkeys, elephants, giraffes, hyenas, buffalo, cheetah, snakes, wild dogs, rats, mice, tigers, antelope, lizards, rhinos, goats, crocodile, ox, kangaroo, spiders, scorpions, bears, frogs, cows and sheep.

COMPONENTS	RESPONSES
Society/Everyday life and objects	Nil 6 *Objects:* Wells, rifles, mortar and pestle 3; Woven bags, spears, quilts, blankets. traditional clothes 2. *Women's roles:* Gather wood and water, go to river to wash clothes, look after younger learners, cook and clean, stay at home 11; Women treated unfairly 1. *Men's roles:* Gather sticks, go to work 2; Hunting 1; Make money 2; Look after animals 1. *Learners' roles:* Gather sticks 1; Run to school 1; Help Mum 1; Don't go to school often 1; When 12-13 Mother teaches learners home skills 1. *Behaviour:* Life is very regular. (Women) carry water in (wooden) buckets on their heads 7; Women wear long patterned dresses 1; Transport on elephants 1; In rural areas they might wear traditional clothes, anything they can get their hands on.
Ideology/Politics	Nil 18; There might be wars over government stuff; not may laws, not a strong government 1.
Stories, art, songs and dance	Nil 13; National anthem 2; Modern bands and singers 1; Cultural songs 1; Tell lots of traditional stories 2; African dances 3; Around fire 1; Rain dance 2; Could make patterns out of flax 1; [Wood carvings, patchwork 3].
Summary: List some words that best describe what you think/feel about SA at this stage	Nil 13; Sad 1; No power and proper houses 1; 'Cool' 2; Lots of animals and wild life 1; A glad place 1; Dry and hot 2; Poverty 1; Interesting 2; Intriguing, strange and alien 1.

Appendix 3: Benchmark: SA learners' conception of national identity

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
Customs and traditions	What are some habits and customs that make SA different to other countries?	Concept of *ubuntu*: a person is a person by means of other people. Language varieties and code-mixing (mixing Sepedi, Zulu, English and Tswana into colloquial speech).
	What are the main festivals/ events that important in the SA calendar?	National Human Rights Day; Easter; Freedom Day and Heritage Day.
Religion (Beliefs and values)	What are the main religions in SA?	Muslim; Christianity.
	How important are religious beliefs in SA as a country?	Very mixed responses, ranging from not at all to very important.
	What do SAs value as being most important in bringing up children?	Having an education is vital. Your child is my child and vice versa. Never question elders. A child gets an education in order to get a job so that she can support the family that raised her. (Some parents rely on their children to improve their living conditions, i.e. get them out living in shacks).
History and cultural heritage	What are some historical events that are very important to SAs?	Youth Day (16 June 1976 – Soweto uprising against schooling in Afrikaans); Freedom Day (27 April 1994 – inauguration of new democratic government); Women's Day (9 August 1956 – women march to Union Buildings in unity against pass-book laws).
	Who are some outstanding SAs?	Madiba (Nelson Mandela); Desmond Tutu; Mark Shuttleworth; Tokyo Sexwale.
	What are some cultural groups in SA?	Nguni; Sotho; Zulu; Afrikaans; Portuguese; Zimbabweans; Botswanas.
	How important is belonging to a culture to SAs?	Being part of a culture is inevitable. [Does that make it important? Not much response here.]

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
Language and expressions	What makes a good SA male?	He supports his own big family. He shares domestic responsibilities equally with wife. Handsome. He mustn't have too much money. Cultured and down to earth.
	What makes a good SA female?	Beautiful – nice skin and face; not too thin; men like bums. She takes care of her children and can stand for herself. She can have children. Cultured and down to earth.
	What are the main language groups in SA?	Nguni; English; Afrikaans; Pedi; Sotho; Tswana.
	Do individual SAs speak different languages?	Yes. Actually, most SAs can understand at least two languages (including English).
	What are some typical SA words and expressions?	Heita; tjo tjo tjo; sharp; hey Joe; Mzansi; hola; kasi.
Geography/Plants and animals	What landscape features is SA known for and tourists come to see?	Voortrekker Monument. [The learners couldn't think of anything then].
	What animal life is special to SA?	Springbok; The Big Five (lion, rhino, hippo, leopard …).
	What plant life is special to SA?	Baobab tree; Protea.
	What do SAs believe about the environment?	Snakes are dangerous. There shouldn't be rules. We don't have to preserve anything; we take it if we need it.
Society/ Everyday life and objects	Where do most SAs live?	Tsonga and Venda areas; Gauteng; Shacks and townships.
	What is a typical SA city like?	Big buildings and lots of malls.
	What is special about schooling in SA?	It is necessary to have an education so that you can study further and get a job.
	How would you describe SA family life?	Many single mothers but a close family relationship exists. One big happy family; extended families are most families.
	What object would remind a person about SA as a place?	Nil

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
	What is distinctive about SA food?	Everyone likes it! Foods are derived from various cultures. It is not very spicy. Africans eat a lot. We always cook extra food for whoever may visit or ask for or need food.
	What occupations are important for SA economically?	Engineering; Entrepreneurs; Teachers; Miners.
	What is likely to be 'made in SA'?	Mielie meal and sugar.
	What is good about growing up in SA?	Our multicultural society and the nice weather. One becomes exposed to life and stuff.
	What is bad about growing up in SA?	Crime and poverty.
	What do most SAs love?	Food, soccer, talking/socialising, singing and dancing; Sports and music.
	What do most SAs hate?	Crime, hunger and child and women abuse; Apartheid and discrimination.
Ideology/Politics	What political event(s) or idea is important to SAs?	SAs aren't living in fear. The Soweto uprising and the start of the new democracy. The transition from Apartheid to democracy.
	Is there a piece of legislation that is important to most SAs?	The Constitution of 1996, especially the Bill of Rights.
Stories, songs and art	What song should all SAs know?	The National Anthem – Nkosi sikele' iAfrica.
	Is there a type of dance/music/art that is special to SA? If so, name:	Kwaito and RnB. (Madiba dance, Iisixathamiya).
	What is SA's best book for young people? What makes this book special for SAs	Nil for young people; 'Long Walk to Freedom' – It is about Nelson Mandela in jail.
	Is there an advertisement that shows off SA?	The 'Alive with Possibility' advert. It is about the possibilities in SA.

Appendix 4: Post test: NZ learners' conception of SA national identity

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
Customs and traditions	What are some habits and customs that makes SA different to other countries?	Nil 1; Not valid 1; Hunt (spears) 4; Fathers work far away from their homes and families 1; They value some races/ males more than others 2; Wash clothes in the river 2; Women have pots on their heads 4; Women gather food 1; Babies get their names after two weeks 1; Currency 1; Open market stalls 1; A lot of love for their tribes 1; They celebrate different things 1; Bare feet 1; Dancing around the fire 1; Babies carried on the back 1; Playing on the road 1; Clothes to signify being chief 1; Lots of rich people 1; HIV/Aids is an issue 1; Vans for taxis 1.
	What are the main festivals/ events that important in the SA calendar?	Nil 12; Christmas 7; New Year 2; Palm Sunday 3; Anniversary ceremony 1; Different to NZ 1.
Religion (Beliefs and values)	What are the main religions in SA?	Nil 9; Traditional (spirits) 4; Christian 10; Muslim 4; Atheism 1; Hindu 1.
	How important are religious beliefs in SA as a country?	Very important 14; Important 7; Not important 0; Don't know 2.
	What do SAs value as being most important in bringing up children?	Invalid 1; Nil 1; Discipline/rules 5; How to take care of themselves/health 4; How to hunt, gather things and get food 3; Getting a good education 7; Slavery 1; Feeding children 1; Keeping safe from gunfights 1; Safety from wild animals 1; Work habits 1; Respect for elders 2; Good manners/ respect 4; Children are equal 1; Open spaces good 1; Singing lullaby 1; Life skills 1; Fast runners 1; Finding the right partner 1.
History and cultural heritage	What are some historical events that are very important to SAs?	Nil 18; Festivals 1; Initiation rite (boys getting spears and leopard skins) 1; Electing president 1; The election of Nelson Mandel 1; Kwanza battle 1.
	Who are some outstanding SAs?	Nil 14; Not valid 2; Sports team (rugby) 3; Nelson Mandela 3; Nikki Daly 2; Percy Montgomery 1; Grandmothers 1.

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
	What are some cultural groups in SA?	Nil 6; Not valid 1; Zulu 10; Xhosa 1; African (Afrikaan) 6; English 2; Black versus/and white 4; Zimbabwe 1; Xhosa 1; Themi 1.
	How important is belonging to a culture to SAs?	Very important 13; Important 10; Not important 1.
	What makes a good SA male?	Intelligent 2; Sporty 1; Funny 1; Caring/Helping 4; Hunting/Fishing skills 7; Brave 1; Tough 8; Good worker 7; Versatile 1; Herding skills 1; More important than girls 1(girl); Work hard in city 2; Musical 1; Have to prove yourself to be a man 1; Appearances 1; Respectful 1; Good job and house 1; Trustworthy 1.
	What makes a good SA female?	Nil 1; Kind 3; Domestic skills 16; Intelligent 3; Hard working 2; Appearances 13; Looking after kids 8; Rich 1; Knowing their place 1; Gardening 1; Strong 1.
Language and expressions	What are the main language groups in SA?	Nil 3; Invalid 1; English 12; African (Afrikaans?) 11; Zulu 11; Spanish 1; Northern Soho 1; Xhosa 1.
	Do individual SAs speak different languages?	Monolingual/Bilingual 4; Multilingual 18; Not valid 1.
	What are some typical SA words and expressions?	Nil 9; gogo 9; molo 5; yebo 2; baobab 2; mealie 1; kloof 1; mama 4; yubi 1.
Geography/Plants and animals	What landscape features SA is known for and tourists come to see?	Nil 5; Savannah dry lands (Safari) 9; Jungle 3 Dead trees 1; Grass huts 3; (Kalahari) Desert 5; (Tabletop) Mountain 5; River that separates Zimbabwe 2; National parks 3; Busy cities 1; Dirt roads 1; Okavango delta/swamps 2; Golden Sand 1; Cultural groups 1; Johannesburg 1.
	What animal life is special to SA?	Not valid (tiger/dingo) 12; Lion 17; Leopard 11; Hippo 15; Rhino 13; Buffalo 8; Giraffe 9; Crocodile 11; Wild dogs 6; Zebra 4; Warthog 1; Cattle 1; Ox 1; Snakes 5; Monkey etc. 7; Chickens 2; Elephant 17; Goats 1; Cheetah 5; Alligator 1; Impala 2; Gazelle 1; Antelope 2; Springbok 1; Hyenas 1; Bird life 1; Spiders 1; Lizards 1.

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
Society/ Everyday life and objects	What plant life is special to SA?	Nil 10; Not valid 2; Grasslands 1; Jungle/Forest 1; Baobab 5; Flax? 1; Palm tree? 1; Herbs 1; Poisonous plants 1; Zubani tree 1; Cactus 1.
	What do SAs believe about the environment?	Nil 8; Positive 9; Great place to bring up kids 1 Nature is dangerous 1; Sacred 1; Dislike cities and 'green men' traffic lights 1; Lots of land 1; Use it to their advantage 1; Little pollution/'Green' 3; Not much about it 1.
	Where do most SAs live?	Nil 1; Invalid 1; Cities 11; Towns 7; Huts and villages 11; Mostly deserts 1.
	What is a typical SA home like?	Nil 2; Different to ours 1; Small (grass) hut 6; Mud/ brick 3; Wood/sticks 3; No windows, carpet 1; Apartments 2; Thatched roofs 2; Chickens outside 1; Looks empty inside 1; Rondel (drawing) 3; Smaller European house 7 (depends on money 1); Not that tidy 1; Not much open space 2; Security fences 3.
	What is special about schooling in SA?	Invalid 2; Nil 3; Not important 1; It is important 4; Not every (white) child is at school 1; Literacy is important 2; Lot of art 1; English 2; African (Afrikaan) language 1; Many languages 3; Concrete walls 1; Two to a desk 1; Little resources 3; No art work on walls 1; [Learners/ educators as terms 3]; Lack of books 1; Finish at 1pm 1; Nice teachers 1.
	How would you describe SA family life?	Caring/Love 9; Barely get angry 1; Small 1; Hard working 2; Gatherers/hunters 2; Positive 2; Dirty 1; Women do the domestic chores 2; Busy 1; Poor 2; Living together 1; Forgiving 1; Fire for food 1; Extended family 1; Working, eating and sharing together 2; Busy 2; Father leaves home to go to city to work 2; Extended family with gogo 2.
	What object would remind a person about SA as a place?	Nil 3; Not valid 1; Clothes (traditional) 4; Skin colour 1 (no offence); Flag 1; Soft toy (animal) 5; Lion wood carving 2; Leopard skin for the brave 1; Colour of earth 1; Songs 1; [Carving 7] Books 2; Posters 1; Spear 1; Nice mat 1; Wooden flute 1; Tabletop Mountain 1; Statue of Mandela 1.

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
	What is distinctive about SA food?	Nil 7; Not much food 1; Banana skin for wrapping up food 1; Grain 1; Mielie 5; Organic 1; Spicy 2; Meat (wild animals) 4; Lots of fruit 1; Stuffed marrow 1; Mangoes 1; Kabas 1.
	What occupations are important for SA economically?	Nil 6; Smithy 1; Farming 7; Retail/Trader 4; Safari 1; Gendered division of labour 2; Builders 1; Business 1; Teachers 2; Tourism 2; Hunting 1; Gathering 1; Park keeper 1; Caring for kids 2; Doctors 1; Exporting 1.
	What is likely to be 'made in SA'?	Nil 3; Invalid 2; Food 1; Clothing (traditional) 6; [Carving 8]; Necklaces/Jewellery 5; Spear 1; Animal rug 1; Rhino skin shoes 1; Wooden flute 2; Clay pot 1; Mortar and pestle 1; Quilt 1.
	What is good about growing up in SA?	Nil 1; Negative response 1; You get to do as you please/freedom 3; Learning how to hunt 2; Good climate 1; Friends and family taking care of each other 2; Nature and wild life 6; Small towns 1; Going home at 1 o'clock 1; Distinctive cultures 2; Learning many languages 2; Being fit 1; Good discipline 1; Play instruments (flutes) 1; Good education 1; Big caring family 1; Unique 1.
	What is bad about growing up in SA?	Nothing 1; War/Soldiers that roam the streets 3; Not much food 4; Heat 1; Dangers in nature 9; Schooling 1; People don't care about each other 1; Gunfight/Crime in some areas 3; Culture 1; Poverty 2; Size of the country 1; Distance from other countries 1; Being far from the beach/seafood 1.
	What do most SAs love?	Nil 5; Not valid 1; Their family 7; Freedom 1; Basics/Food and water 3; Friends 3; Peace 1; Meat 1; Nature (wild) 3; Fruits/Veges/Gardens 2; Music 2; Dancing 1; Health 1; Good house 1.
	What do most SAs hate?	Nil 7; Lack of safety (nature) 2; Liars 1; Greedy people 1; Elephants because they hunt them 1; Heat 2; Tourist 1; Evil people 1; Poverty 1; Violence 1; High no; of deaths 1; Being laughed at 1; Bullying 1; War 1; Foreigners 1; Racism 1; Poachers 1.

Themes	Questions	Items for analysis
Ideology/Politics	What political event(s) or idea is important to SAs?	Nil 15; Not valid 3; Getting the vote 1; Electing the president 1; You can vote for your cultural group 1; Election of Mandela as president 2.
	Is there a piece of legislation that is important to most SAs?	Nil 15; Not going alone in the jungle at night 1; Women staying at home 1; Black people getting the vote 1; Compulsory education 1; Don't go to rivers at night 1; Alcohol and drug laws 1; Blacks and whites agreeing on equality 1; Anti-poaching 1.
Stories, songs and art	What song should all SAs know?	Nil 5; National anthem 14; Church songs 3; Lullaby 2; Techno-pop? 1.
	Is there a type of dance/music/ art that is special to SA? If so, name:	Nil 10; Traditional songs/dances (fire) 5; [Traditional carvings 3]; Rain dance 3; ululating 1; Cave paintings 1.
	Are there particular types of stories that SAs like?	Nil 7; Myths, legends and folktales 8; Ones about spirits and gods 1; Picture books 1; Stories about ancestors 1; War 1; Legends of great hunters/heroes 2; Sporting stories 1; Sea stories 1; Stories about nature 1.
The untranslatable	At the end of the day, are there still some aspects of being an SA that you don't understand?	Nil 6; Yes 14; No 3; All the dancing 1; Political side 1; Language 4; Music 1; Customs and traditions.

Apppendix 5: NZ learners' self-assessment of knowledge gained

	Huge Amount	Quite a lot	A little	Nothing really
Customs and traditions	3	13	6	(1 invalid)
Religion (Beliefs and values)	2	10	6	6
History and cultural heritage	7	5	7	4
Language and expressions	5	11	4	3
Geography, animal and plant life	11	8	4	0
Society/ Everyday life and objects	7	13	2	1
Ideology/Politics	3	5	5	10
Stories and types of stories	3	10	7	3
TOTAL	22%	40%	22%	14%