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DISCUSSING THE EVIDENCE:
SMALL GROUP WORK IN THE HISTORY CLASS

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This is a small-scale research study on the discovery method of teaching history through the medium of small-group discussion.

The study begins with a brief outline of the theoretical background to these topics, as well as of some of the extant research in the field. The class selected for the study is the standard seven class of a boys' high school. After the researcher has instructed the whole standard in an historical area which is unfamiliar to the pupils, twelve groups of three each are selected and withdrawn from the rest of the class, one group at a time. These thirty-six pupils become the "experimental" group; the rest of the pupils become the "control" group. The groups are selected according to different intellectual criteria and presented with stimulus material of one of three kinds, which is intended to aid them in their discourse. Each group is given the same set of three questions to discuss and, without further assistance by the researcher, the discussion takes place. This is recorded on audio-tape. After all the group discussions have been recorded, an assessment test is given to the whole standard, both experimental and control pupils. At the end of the school term a compulsory examination question is inserted in the history examination. The statistical data forthcoming from these assessments are correlated and the results analysed.

Meanwhile, transcripts of all the group discussions have been made and these are analysed on a qualitative basis in terms of the groups' intellectual composition and according to the type of stimulus material used, and the results are recorded. The concept of "leaderless" groups is briefly discussed in the light of the dealings of the various groups in the study.

The researcher finally feels justified in concluding that small groups are an ideal medium for the handling of evidence-based learning in history. He also has certain observations to make on the performance of groups of mixed (as opposed to homogeneous) ability as well as on the success of certain types of stimulus material towards initiating profitable discussion.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with two principal subjects: the discovery (or enquiry) method of teaching history and the use of small groups in the history class. From the few research findings available on these topics it would seem that comparatively little attention has been paid to either the discovery method or to small group teaching at the secondary school level in general and in the history classroom in particular. This is certainly the case in South Africa. Existing research is mentioned in Chapter Two, which looks at the background to these topics.

In spite of the success of the Amherst Project in America and the British Schools Council History 13-16 Project, South African teachers are either ignorant of the potential of these methods or are reluctant to try anything that appears unfamiliar or insufficiently tested. Other excuses may be that there is not sufficient material readily available for the average teacher, who may be unskilled in these methods, and that the pressure of the syllabus does not allow for experimentation. In the case of standards six and seven, the classes with which it might be easiest to experiment, the teacher may claim to be restricted by the fact that history is considered a minor subject and allocated only three periods per week in government schools.

This study, although small-scale, aims to show that group discussion, which is a suitable medium for the discovery method, can be a fruitful means of history learning and that pupils assimilate as much from their peers as they do from the teacher. To this end a number of groups were selected from a standard seven class and given a set of questions to discuss, without the interference of the teacher. Their transactions were recorded on audio-tape and analysed. More details of the design and implementation of the study will be found in Chapter Three.

A second aim of the study is to compare and contrast the way in which the questions set for discussion were handled by groups of different intellectual abilities: high, medium and low I.Q. In addition, a number

of groups of mixed ability were formed, the results of which were compared with those of homogeneous composition.

It is not the intention of the study to show that the teaching process of the history teacher can be entirely dispensed with. On the contrary, the programme began with common instruction given by the teacher to all the pupils in the three standard seven classes from which the discussion groups were drawn. This was to ensure that each pupil had the same grounding in the subject (the Plains Indians of the American West) which some were later to be called upon to discuss. Although not part of the study, it is emphasised that after the groups had completed their discussions a follow-up session would be essential during which errors might be corrected and good points reinforced.

A further set of variables was introduced into the study with the introduction of three different sorts of stimulus material, divided equally among the participating groups, at the discussion stage. The degree of assistance that each of these stimuli afforded the groups is then analysed as well.

Two assessments of the pupils' level of understanding of the subject are described, firstly a short multiple-choice test administered to the whole class after the completion of the discussion sessions, and secondly an essay question, included in the next school history examination. A brief statistical analysis of these and other results is included in Chapter Four. Because of the small scale of this study these findings, though interesting, cannot be treated as conclusive. Chapters Five and Six, arguably the most important chapters, contain the qualitative findings of the study. These findings would seem to bring into question that school of thought which maintains that mature historical thought is not attainable by the school child before the upper standards, if at all. In the final chapter of the thesis an attempt is made to draw conclusions from the research project.

CHAPTER TWO

THE THEORY OF SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION

This chapter will touch briefly on some of the theory and research which have established the educational concepts of class discussion, group work, and mixed-ability teaching. It will also look at the idea of resource-learning in history. Some of the points that will be stressed are those of pupils' active involvement, co-operation and pooling of ideas, independence from the authority of the teacher and self-discovery.

Much of the research work done in the field of group work and discussion has been done specifically with tertiary education in mind (e.g. Abercrombie, 1970, the Group for Research and Innovation in Higher Education, 1976, Beard et al., 1978, Rudduck, 1978 and Jaques, 1984). Nevertheless, many of the findings and generalisations emanating from this research would appear to be equally applicable to the secondary school, since method, rather than content is being discussed.

At the outset it must be submitted that there are many opinions on these subjects and that the term "group" is sometimes intended to include informal groupings within the class, or, indeed, the whole class itself, rather than formal groups selected by the teacher for combined projects. This is not to say that the points raised are all irrelevant to the present study. In higher education much use is made of the seminar and tutorial. Abercrombie, with reference to the Hale Committee Report of 1964, explains that in the tutorial the teacher is concerned with the development of the powers of a particular student or of particular students and uses the subject to what he considers the best advantage to promote that development. The seminar is more concerned with developing the subject (Abercrombie, M.L.J., 1970, pp. 1-2). Whereas one can see the importance of both of the objectives in the tertiary sphere, the secondary school has the development of its pupils in mind, to the exclusion of anything else.

There have been various suggestions as to how many people constitute a group, particularly a small group. Abercrombie's definition of a group provides a sound starting point: "A group is a number of people who are

in face-to-face contact, so that each of them can interact with all the others" (1970, p. 1). She narrows down the possibilities by stressing that a small class is not necessarily a "group" since the teacher may be the only one who is interacting with everyone, and with whom the others interact. The emphasis must be on the interaction between all the members of the group (ibid.). Jaques suggests that two or more people interacting for longer than a few minutes constitutes a group (Jaques, D., 1984, p. xiii).

Discussion, as defined by Bridges, is the putting together of more than one point of view on the subject (Bridges, D., 1979, p. 13). Discussion can be of two sorts, either the airing of conflicting arguments associated with a single point of view or the exploration of alternative points of view. There is always a subject, question, matter or issue which is "under discussion" and the central function is the improvement of knowledge, understanding and/or judgement on the matter which is under discussion (Bridges, D., 1979, p. 14). A point which might be taken for granted, but which Bridges stresses, is that discussion is not restricted to the pursuit of truth but is "an activity which can be associated with the illumination of alternatives in an area which does not admit of a fully objective and rational conclusion; with the development of understanding for its own sake and without commitment to a final judgement between alternatives" (ibid.).

Gale (1974, p. 16) states that discussion topics are different from those for debate. Discussion needs to be more open and less restricted in its range. Discussion, Bridges warns, needs practice, for one may find oneself unable to form one's sentences fast enough to contribute to the fast-moving exchanges. Talk can be seen as a form of thought and thought is an internalized form of talk. Bridges quotes E.M. Forster: "How can I know what I think until I hear what I say?" (Bridges, D., 1979, p. 28).

Indictments of the traditional lecture system or of teacher-led class discussion are numerous:

Many classrooms are constrained environments where students do not feel free to touch one another psychologically; empathy is almost non-existent and the teacher does over 80% of the talking. Classroom groups that have strong goals have satisfied students. Moreover, students who know what is ex-

pected of them and who are involved and close to their peers in pursuing educational goals are more satisfied than students in classrooms.

(Schmuck, R.A. and Schmuck, P.A., 1975, p. 31)

Barnes and Todd have this to say: "In class discussion it is the teacher who manages and controls the discourse. He does most of the talking, chooses the content, and controls the pacing and style of the pupil contributions" (Barnes, D. and Todd, F., 1977, p. ix). These researchers deplore the fact that pupils are usually perceived as passive receivers of learning. It is a fallacy, they maintain, that, if pupils are to approach a deeper knowledge, or to increase their understanding, this will only be possible under the direct guidance and control of the teacher (ibid.).

Bridges quotes the observations of Bullock, in the Department of Education and Science report of 1975, A Language for Life, that "class discussion is often no more than a series of disconnected endeavours to read the teacher's mind" (Bridges, D., 1979, p. 116). Powell has observed that in university discussion groups the tutor talks for an average of 58% of the time, and sometimes more than 70% (Powell, J.P., 1974). Gail records the curt conclusion of a UNESCO study group: "Teachers talk too much" (Gale, J.A., 1974, p. 1).

In defence of "class discussion", as described in the previous paragraphs, it should be noted that there is no fault in the teacher's leading a "controlled" discussion if his aim is to involve as many pupils as possible, thereby encouraging them to think and become actively involved in the activity of the class. This should, however, lead on to forms of discussion, of a group nature, involving less and less teacher participation. These could include brain-storming or buzz-groups, in which pupils are beginning to be faced with the solving of a problem. Only if a child is skilled in this sort of group activity can he participate fully in those group tasks that entail the formulation of concepts or the application of theory to practice (case-studies). In free-group or leaderless group discussions the teacher does not enter the discussion until the report-back stage. Powell claims that where there was no tutor present many students doubled the time and

quantity of their contributions, and that participation was spread more evenly across the group (Powell, J.P., 1974).

Oral activity is seen by educationists as being extremely important. Gale refers to Vygotsky (1974, p. 4), who emphasised the "close and subtle inter-relationships in the growth of speech and thought." He remarks that it is a farcical distortion of the teacher's role if he, the most experienced thinker and talker in the class group, almost monopolises the talking. The advantage of oral activity is that communication is quick and its course is flexible. Talk may be interrupted by those to whom it is addressed and clarification, exemplification and guidance can be demanded at the moment it is needed (Bridges, D., 1979, p. 18).

Barnes et al (1969, p. 39) have underlined the importance of listening to children talk: "Pupils' mental and verbal inadequacy cannot easily be dealt with by direct instruction because they are so difficult to predict. It is only in a relatively "open" discussion that they become apparent."

Children love to talk, often to the annoyance of the teacher, who would be inclined to condemn most of this talk as being trivial or disruptive. Barnes and Todd, however, make a clear distinction between what they call the "public talk" of the classroom and the "intimate talk" of the small group (Barnes, D. and Todd, F., 1977, p. 3). They report that teachers were "surprised and delighted" when they heard recordings of their pupils taking part in group work. The quality of their discussions typically far exceeded the calibre of their contributions in class. The children showed unexpected skills and competence (p. ix). This would bear out the view held by these and other authors that children are often underestimated and that under some circumstances, at least, children are able to talk to good purpose and to increase their understanding, without calling on adult resources (ibid.).

Other educationists have stressed the need for oral skills. In the second half of the twentieth century, doctors, lawyers, scientists, and engineers must all learn to express themselves well (Beard, R.M., et al., 1978, p. 63). It is pointed out that, partly for this reason, the use of group discussion methods has considerably increased in university teaching.

A general aim of teaching, says Abercrombie, should be to let the pupil learn how to continue to learn (Abercrombie, M.L.J., 1970, p. 7). Group teaching is not to be seen as a substitute for learning from books or the teacher's spoken word, but as a complement to these. Nor is the teacher's role minimised. It needs, instead, to be more skilled. Regarding the amount of group work recommended in the classroom, Gale quotes the U.S. commission on the Experimental Study of the Utilisation of Staff in the Secondary School - The Trump plan - which suggests for secondary schools a ratio of 2:2:1, which represents two hours of large group instruction; two hours of individual study; one hour of small group discussion (Gale, J.A., 1974, p. 4).

Piaget has shown that the growing child's comprehension of the world about him depends very largely upon the richness and variety of his sensory experiences. The majority of children are not able to understand abstract concepts until adolescence. Furthermore, the ability to undertake what Piaget terms formal operations - i.e. the logical manipulation of propositions independent of their relation to the concrete world around; the ability to form hypotheses and test them in imagination; the systematic working through of all possibilities of an abstract problem - are not normally found in a child before fourteen or fifteen and with limited endowment and an unfavourable environment it may never develop at all (Kaye, B. and Rogers, I., 1968, p. 80).

If one looks at the work on conceptual thinking, by the Gunnings (1975) one finds the somewhat pessimistic view that formal operational thinking is not attained in history before the ages of fifteen to sixteen. Hallam (1970) found children a whole stage behind the Piagetian norms in history. This would suggest that most standard seven pupils would still be at the level of concrete operations in this subject. Shemilt (1980) has, however, suggested that with a change in methodology to a kind that encourages free thinking, these levels can be changed to the advantage of the pupil.

Group work, say Kaye and Rogers, is designed to provide experience in handling logical relationships. Group work can also provide an acceptable framework within which the older adolescent can work out, realistically and meaningfully, his own changing role as he approaches maturity. Group work, these authors suggest, becomes a symbol of the child's own emancipation (1968, p. 80). The great advantage of group work is in

"facilitating the understanding, as distinct from mere acceptance, of information - in helping the pupil comprehend it, grasp it, make it his own" (Abercrombie, 1970, p. 8). "In the group system," says Abercrombie (1971, quoted by Rudduck, J., 1978, p. 4), "the student discovers his strengths and weaknesses himself as he sees his behaviour in the light of others, and he modifies his attitudes or strategies as he sees that there are as many alternatives to them as there are members of the group.

Writing of the discussion method, Abercrombie says that this, if rightly used, is a way of making the students do for themselves what is too often done for them (1970, p. 3). She also reports on successful discussion groups in which the aim was not only to ensure that "facts" and "concepts" were well understood, but that general attitudes to the subject matter were changed in a desirable direction (1970, p. 9).

Abercrombie noted that the lecture method (in higher education) was criticized as being the main method of teaching. Memoranda from student bodies in 1964 and 1969 reflected a student opinion in favour of more seminars and tutorials. Abercrombie points out that at school there is a generation gap between pupil and teacher with nobody in between. She maintains that if pupils are in the habit of learning only from authority figures remote in age, they will find it more difficult to learn in later life. Sooner or later a pupil will have to learn from his peers, for he will rank as a senior himself (1970, p. 6).

Clearly any classroom strategy must initially be examined in terms of its contribution to the students' or pupils' learning. Theodore Brameld, quoted by the Group for Research and Innovation in Higher Education (G.R.I.H.E. - 1976, p. 4), shows that an important aspect of a well-run group is that no-one keeps his resources from the others:

Every member can and should be helped to share his resources whatever they may be - to share them, moreover, not in the sense of merely rewarding them to others, but in the sense also of rewarding them more fully to himself through the stimulus and support of others. There is no conflict between vigorous self-interest and vigorous social-interest; each demands from and returns to others, and thereby both are strengthened.

Abercrombie reinforces this by saying that the group system of teaching recognizes individual differences, but goes further and not only allows for these differences, but actually exploits them. "Exposed to the same display of information each student has taken in not only different amounts, but different interpretations, and each learns by comparing and contrasting his uptake with that achieved by his peers (Abercrombie, 1970, p. 4).

Ashby and Lee (1987) have reported on a current research project in which analyses of group discussions will be used to verify the tentative hypothesis that pupils' understanding of evidence in history will progress through five stages of growing sophistication. By implication, appropriate group discussion exercises will assist the pupils to progress through these stages. They are influenced to some extent by their own observations. The first level treats the past as though it were the present. Material is not questioned as correct or incorrect. Conflicts in potential evidence are not registered. At the second level the pupil sees the past as fixed, finished and known. Potential evidence is treated as information. The correctness of information is queried, but conflicts are put down as incompetence on the part of the authors or teachers. Level three acknowledges that the past is reported well or badly. Conflicts in potential evidence are settled by deciding which report is best. Notions of bias begin to be held. Reports are often treated as though authors are more or less direct eyewitnesses. At level four it is seen that even if no individual reporter is correct the past can be probed, by putting together what true statements there are. The pupil adds to his notion of bias the question of whether the reporter is in a position to know. At levels four and five the pupil begins to try to understand evidence in historical context. Statements about the past can be inferred from pieces of evidence. Finally, a sense of period begins to be important because it is seen that contexts vary with place and time (Ashby, R. and Lee, P., 1987, p. 17).

We all learn through experience, reminds Jaques. He quotes Kolb (1979)'s "experiential" learning cycle as a supportive theory (see Figure 2.1). This theory is based on three assumptions:

- (1) We learn best when we are personally involved in the learning experience.

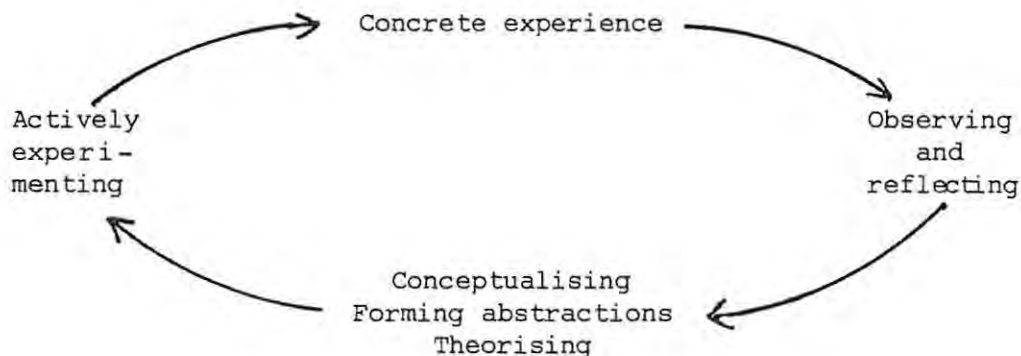
- (2) Knowledge of any kind has more significance when we learn it through our own initiative, insight and discovery.
- (3) Learning is best when we are committed to aims that we have been involved in setting, when our participation with others is valued and when there is a supportive framework in which to learn.

(Jaques, D., 1984, p. xii)

Figure 2.1 represents the theory that learning begins with a concrete experience. This leads on to further observation and reflection of the phenomenon. At a higher cognitive level concepts are developed, abstractions are made and theories proposed. This leads on to active experimentation which provides the stimulus for new experiences.

FIGURE 2.1.

Kolb's "experiential" learning cycle



Again it can be argued that appropriate group work will help to develop this learning cycle and that the examination of issues through the stimulus of pictures, diagrams and documents will make the concrete experience of Kolb's cycle more explicit. A useful statement of the purpose of group discussion has been made by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (1970), reported by Rudduck (1978, p. 5): "(It) is neither to win an argument nor to amuse oneself. Its purpose is to explore and discover personal meaning." Abercrombie explains the value of group discussion by saying that misunderstandings are not always clear to the pupils during the lesson, or at the end of it. It is possible that they have no questions to ask because they think they understand everything, whereas they have misunderstood a great deal. It is only the more sophisticated,

she points out, that would be able to ask answerable questions, and be confident enough to admit confusion or points or ignorance (Abercrombie, M.L.J., 1970, p. 7).

The advantages claimed for group work do not only fall into the area of improved or more efficient learning; emotional and social advantages can also emerge. First of all, groups can create new and challenging social relationships. Whether it is large or small, as Nisbet says: "Every group is completely different from every other group. Each meeting is a unique occasion with new confrontations, new patterns of thought, new personal encounters and new constructive opportunities" (quoted by Abercrombie, M.L.J., 1970, p. 10).

The feeling of insecurity that a pupil might feel regarding his knowledge or lack of it has more chance of being dispelled in a small than a large group. A student who felt this was true has been quoted as saying: "Sometimes only five people turn up; it's really a good seminar. There's not many people to make a fool of yourself in front of" (Small group teaching: Selected papers - Nuffield Foundation, quoted in Rudduck, J., 1978, p. 19). "It helps," said this student, "if there is a problem to discuss, and each one is asked to say something in turn." With larger groups the danger is that those taking part will grow to depend on certain of their number to do the talking.

Abercrombie reports on group work in higher education, but her findings are also applicable to the secondary school classroom. After discussion sessions the clever students have commented that points that they thought they understood appeared less straightforward; the less adept have said that it helped their morale to find that other students had not correctly understood parts of the text and that even the more competent ones had not grasped the whole of it (1970, p. 9).

Kaye and Rogers (1968, p. 75) suggest that group work is at least as efficient as traditional class teaching in many areas of the school curriculum. Moreover, its aims go beyond the limits of the academic syllabus to the field of social education. This idea can be expressed in a slightly different way. Co-operation is a key word in learning groups, says Jaques (1984, p. xii). Competition may sharpen the critical faculty of a few, he goes on, though it is more likely to dull the appe-

tite for discussion among most. Kerry and Sands, writing about school pupils, also see the fact that pupils work together in groups as one of their benefits: "Group work helps pupils to learn to work co-operatively, it allows children to learn from each other and removes the stigma of failure from slow pupils (Kerry, T. and Sands, M., 1982, p. 5).

Jaques stresses the sense of identity and social belonging which a student (or pupil) can gain from a well-run group. He lists some of the characteristics he perceives in a group:

- (1) Members are collectively conscious of their existence as a group.
- (2) Members join a group because they believe it will satisfy some needs or give them some rewards.
- (3) Members share common aims or ideals which to some extent bind them together. The achievement of aims is presumably one of the rewards.
- (4) Members are interdependent inasmuch as they are affected by and respond to any event that affects any of its members.
- (5) A group can be seen as a social unit with norms, roles, statutes, power and emotional relationships.
- (6) Members interact with one another in the process of communication by means of influence and response.
- (7) Members are cohesive. They want to remain in the group, to contribute to its wellbeing and aims, and to join in its activities.

(Jaques, D., 1984, p. 1)

It would be impossible, of course, for a class group to reveal all of these characteristics if it were hastily assembled for one or two meetings. It would instead need to meet on a regular basis, without radical change in membership.

Kaye and Rogers have written of the psychological influences of group work on the adolescent. They report on how, with the onset of puberty, a sense of uncertainty comes to the child. He begins to look away from the family for a reference group which will provide a new pattern of behaviour and an alternative source of ideals. The peer-group is a natural form of social organization for the secondary schoolchild (1968, p. 76). They claim further that group work in a co-educational school, where girls are developing at a faster rate than boys, is appropriate to the teaching of adolescents. It might, however, be even more appropriate in a single-sex school, where pupils' general rates of development are more uniform and so group membership might be more easily decided. Nevertheless, at a time when they are rebellious towards any and every authority, group work's appeal cannot be denied.

Abercrombie lists some of the limitations of teaching through discussion groups, as seen by a number of universities. It is said to be extravagant of staff time to do in small groups anything that could equally be done by a lecture to a larger audience. In the classroom this would not apply to such an extent, of course, as one teacher could manage several groups at the same time. Another criticism is that the discussion moves too slowly to cover anything but a limited topic, and it is also liable to suffer from incoherence (Abercrombie, M.L.J., 1970, p. 2). She has a rejoinder to this last criticism, however. She reports (1970, p. 9) that in a teaching programme of Erskine and Tomkin (1963) two hours of group discussion were sufficient to cover material for which nine hours of lectures were normally set aside.

No-one could claim that group work solves all classroom problems, nor does it supplant other learning situations; but it does provide a situation in which classroom problems may be reduced, says Gale (1974, p. 8). In the class lesson the teacher can focus on the information that the children will need so that they can handle the group tasks. If this lesson is seen as a preliminary to group work, there is an additional incentive for students to attend and grasp the ideas presented. Gale adds that the quality and quantity of the questions directed at the teacher is usually greater when it is clear that application is imminent.

Next, there is the question of the way in which the grouping is carried out. Mixed-ability classes have heightened the need for the teacher to cope with pupils in smaller, manageable units within the class, say Kerry and Sands (1982, p. 5). In their book, they seem to advocate the more frequent use of homogeneous rather than heterogeneous groups to help the teacher deal with wide ranges of attainment.

On the other hand, homogeneous ability grouping has been criticized, says Gale (1974, p. 15) because it extends the streaming of classes to the individuals within the classroom. Where differences of ability are such that it is unprofitable for unsorted children to work together, ability grouping is, however, the logical choice, especially if the purpose is skill-building (Gale, J.A., 1974, p. 13).

Hamm words his opposition to homogeneous ability groups more strongly. He says that the primary goal of intraclass grouping is not to form the most homogeneous ability sub-groups possible in the class. Criteria for grouping such as I.Q., test scores, and other so-called objective measures become less significant than the immediate needs of the students (Hamm, R.L., 1971, p. 4). "The intellectual segregation of children," he goes on, "is no more desired than is segregation in other forms." "Intelligence," he maintains, "is developed not just through reading and listening but through interaction with people and things. How and why are as important as what, who and when" (1971, p. 5).

Barnes and Tood, in their study on small group work in 1973, used groups of unstreamed pupils for their purpose, but avoided any serious complications which might have materialized in a truly "mixed" group by not selecting the very bright and very dull pupils (1977, p. 3). They found that the duller child is often underestimated. In the current study by Ashby and Lee, the groups, although taken from all three bands of a comprehensive school in Essex, are apparently homogeneous in composition (Ashby, R. and Lee, P., 1987, p. 13). These researchers have, as yet, made no comment as to the likely effects that mixed-ability grouping might have on the way historical evidence is handled.

Any discussion of group work must take the size of the groups into account. The G.R.I.H.E. uses a size range of five to twenty as a reference point for small groups (1976, p. 3). Jean Rudduck argues that twenty is too

many, because the meetings tend to develop into arguments between two or three pupils, and that five or six is too few at the secondary level since this sort of group did not provide enough diversity of perspective (1978, p. 55).

Kerry and Sands recommend flexibility, both of membership and of numbers (1976-81, p. 20). Barnes and Todd used five pupils in their study (1977, p. 3) and Ashby and Lee used three in theirs (1987, p. 13). In summary, the smaller the group the better should be the chance of active participation by all the members, and the larger the group the greater should be the diversity of viewpoint forthcoming.

Just as important as group size in any discussion of the implementation of group work, is the role of the participants and of the teacher or lecturer. Bridges identifies the role of the participants in a discussion: "To enter discussion is to be disposed to understand, to examine and to 'take', or be affected by opinions other than one's own" (1979, p. 16). He makes it clear that discussion places each of its participants "in the position of both contributor and responsive listener, of 'teacher' and learner" (1979, p. 108). Should the teacher enter the discussion, therefore, he must be careful to act in the same way that he would wish his pupils to act, and be prepared to learn as well as to teach.

In many of the studies on group work, whether in the school or at the tertiary level, it is presupposed that the teacher will be part of the group. Hence Kaye and Rogers, although they make a plea for the groups to select themselves and that the activities be self-directed, nevertheless say: "The teacher's role is a subtle one. He must try, through judicial questioning to get the group to find their own solutions, while being prepared to come in with advice where they are genuinely stumped" (1968, p. 40). Bridges suggests that the teacher can act in the procedural capacity of traffic controller, deciding who will be the next to speak, although he qualifies this by saying that in small groups this would not be necessary (1979, p. 110). He goes on to say that the teacher can intervene to develop the quality of the group's discussion (p. 111), but then warns that findings show that even students in higher education could be almost frightened into silence by tutors' interventions which were intended and interpreted by the tutors as simple re-

quests for more explanations or challenges (p. 113).

The Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Project took discussion as its basic teaching strategy in preference to instruction in its aim of developing an understanding of social situations and human acts and of the controversial value issues which they raise. A major premise on which the Project was based was that the discussion should protect divergence of view among participants, rather than attempt to achieve consensus (Stenhouse, L., 1970, p. 1).

Regarding the role of the teacher, Stenhouse points out (1970, p. 8) that complete neutrality is difficult to achieve, but that the teacher ought to accept neutrality as a criterion by which to criticize his performance, and explain this - and the reasons for it - to his pupils. This is difficult to do, because, as Stenhouse says, teachers feel they are expected to give positive advice, even though there is disagreement as to what this advice should be. He quotes the words of R.S. Peters, who points out that "education" at least rules out some procedures of transmission, on the grounds that they lack "wittingness" and "voluntariness". Among its standards, "it must stand for respect for persons and readiness to listen to the views of others" (Stenhouse, L., 1970, p. 9).

Warnock (1975) is quoted by Bridges as disagreeing with the concept of the neutral teacher, since she believed that the teacher ought to show by his own example how to assess evidence fairly (Bridges, D., p. 123). The danger that this might develop into a "closed" discussion has been highlighted earlier in this chapter. As Bridges says, not all questions upon which discussions may intelligently take place lend themselves to rational conclusions; some may not even allow conclusions to be drawn; and on other questions a group may not be concerned to reach a conclusion, but, for example, merely to understand the variety of opinion which is entertained upon the question (Bridges, D., p. 123).

Rudduck writes on the role and responsibilities of the leader in group work (Rudduck, J., 1978, pp. 25-26). A leader can play the part of the neutral chairman or act as a consultant. In the latter instance the initiative lies with the pupil. The leader is "on call". In this capacity he can run several small groups at the same time. The danger is making himself seem needed since the pupils should be encouraged to

manage on their own. If the teacher is to be neutral, he can, of course, not be a source of information, since (says Stenhouse, p. 9) the transmission of it will be coloured by his own views. For the Humanities Project, at any rate, information was conceived as coming into the group in the shape of evidence, "accessible to scrutiny and criticism." In other words, it should be conflicting.

In the absence of the teacher a leader may emerge. Some advantages are listed by Rudduck (1978, p. 100). These are that students/pupils are encouraged to be independent and to rely less on the authority of the teacher. They will gain confidence in speaking out and will have more opportunity for the practice of leadership skills. They are more likely to raise questions which genuinely concern them rather than questions which they think they ought to ask. Students are less reluctant to reveal ignorance in a group where only their peers are present. Students are more able to learn at a pace which suits them. Students are more likely to prepare for a session if they have responsibility for managing it.

There are negative points to take into consideration when looking at the merits of leaderless groups. There is the fear that an ill-informed student could dominate and that the topic might not be thoroughly explored without guidance. Some students are uncertain whether what they say is correct and have reported that much of what is said is probably irrelevant - The G.R.I.H.E. (1976, p. 6) says that antagonists have termed such a state of affairs as "pooled ignorance." Students also admit that with the teacher absent there is sometimes fooling around (Rudduck, J., 1978, p. 101). Gale agrees that in poorly-structured group activity the lazier pupils sit back and let others come up with ideas and information. He adds the rider, however, that in whole class instruction there are likely to be more passive onlookers and fewer contributors than in small groups (Gale, J.A., 1974, p. 6).

Much has been said about the reduced role of the teacher in the small group situation. He is, however, the organiser without whom the group could not possibly operate. Bridges puts it this way:

A teacher may use a discussion situation in all sorts of ways to help in his task of bringing about learning in others. A teacher may provide the opportunity for, facilitate, encourage,

organize or convene a discussion in which, in the extreme case, he need have no further role. He is simply providing some measure of administrative or motivational support for a discussion which in all respects could be the occasion for the kinds of reciprocal learning (which was mentioned earlier in this chapter).

Bridges, D., 1979, pp. 108-9)

As interest in group work in schools increases, there is a gradually growing literature on how the strategy should be managed and how the methodology should operate. Group work, say Kerry and Sands (1982, p. 5), is one way in which the teacher can organise learning experiences for pupils. This is a change from the teacher standing in front of the class, while the pupils sit passively.

Kaye and Rogers are adamant, as has already been shown, that group work should not replace existing, teacher-directed methods, but point out that the teaching needs of children vary from time to time (Kaye, B. and Rogers, I., 1968, p. vii). As Stenhouse says, one would not expect pupils to sustain very long periods of discussion and in any event enquiry should not be restricted to discussion alone (1970, p. 29).

The teacher may be responsible for providing the stimulus or basis for discussion (i.e. choosing what it is important to discuss and raising the questions for discussion - i.e. defining the problem). Bridges and others are critical of the type of discussion (which Bridges calls "closed") in which the teacher directs discussion towards a predetermined end. He goes so far as to suggest that asking a question as if it were a genuine enquiry when it is not, or engaging people in what purports to be a genuine discussion while actually manipulating the whole process to your own ends is tantamount to dishonesty (Bridges, D., 1979, p. 113). This might be considered to be an extreme view. It is certainly possible to organize an acceptable small group task which leads to a "closed" or predictable solution. Many problems in Mathematics or Science would be characterized as "closed". Oliner, for example, provides models for enquiry strategies in the Social Sciences which are closed as well as open (Oliner, P.M., 1976, pp. 21-23).

As Bridges points out (1979, p. 109), it nevertheless has to be agreed upon as to what to discuss and to define the problem, or to discuss the

problem of defining the problem. He submits that in principle it is quite possible for a teacher to promote learning by facilitating the kind of open discussion which is in all relevant respects that of the simple learning group. Stenhouse includes a self-training procedure for teachers in the introduction to the Humanities Project. It entails the teacher listening to a tape recording of his discussion sessions and listening to them analytically. He should note his consistency, reliability and the number of times and the manner in which he interrupts the discussion, among other things (Stenhouse, L., 1970, pp. 26-29).

Kerry and Sands stress that it is possible for group work to form part of the teacher's repertoire of skills in any curriculum area in a secondary school. A number of groups may be set the same task (to produce a range of approaches or with a view to refining the solution) or different tasks (to complement one another with a view to sharing and increasing information or skills across the field) (1982, p. 6).

As early as 1968 Kaye and Rogers reported that the influence of the Nuffield teaching projects was felt well beyond the boundaries of the subjects with which they were concerned. They also suggested that those methods ought to be a normal part of a secondary school teacher's repertoire, but not to be used as the sole teaching method (Kaye, B. and Rogers, I., 1968, p. 115). The Humanities Project was seen as covering the fields of English, History, Geography, Religious Studies and Social Studies.

Kerry and Sands see the duties of the teacher who promotes group work like this:

Within the lesson the pupils must be kept working separately from the teacher and must not be allowed to drift. The teacher must keep tabs on activities minute by minute. At the same time he is involved in individual and group tuition, explaining and questioning. He has to motivate the children, keep records of everyone's progress, and control and supervise, as well as keep his own sanity! Outside the lesson there is research and preparation, possibly with attendant problems of the storage and retrieval of resource material.

(Kerry, T. and Sands, M., 1982, p. 21)

The D.E.S., in their 1978 report, Mixed Ability Work in Comprehensive Schools warn that the topic of mixed ability work is a complex one. They define it as occurring when "the curriculum is taught wholly or mainly in classes in which the span of ability ranges from significantly above to significantly below the average" (D.E.S., 1978, p. 1). The report says that the best success was found where the staff was most skilled, had planned best and were most strongly committed (D.E.S., 1978, p. 56). Another finding was that the use of work sheets alone in mixed ability classes only allowed for pupils of different abilities to work at different rates. Skills were limited to the collection, memorising and regurgitation of knowledge. Rarely did assessment test understanding (D.E.S., 1978, p. 106). The report recommends a wide range of activities, with plenty of source material. Small group work would seem to meet these requirements.

A small group that is to make effective use of evidence presented to it needs to have been given a thorough grounding on the topic in class. This could also be followed up with a short homework task. In any learning, say Barnes and Todd, the learners have to utilize what they already know in order to give meaning to new insights or information which they are given. New understanding is likely to be a reorganisation of old knowledge rather than an addition to it. "Thus an essential cognitive strategy is the ability to utilize previous knowledge and experience to throw light upon the matter in hand" (Barnes, D. and Todd, F., 1977, p. 56). In the small group, they say, pupils come to realise that they are expected to think and not merely to remember (1977, p. 81).

The main benefit of group discussion, says Abercrombie, is to activate the student or pupil to learn. If students are to take full advantage from a discussion period it is essential that they should do some work beforehand on the subject to be discussed. The students should be weaned early from any expectation that the discussion session will save them trouble and make things easy for them. Teaching by discussion, rightly used, is a way of making the students do for themselves what is too often done for them (1970, p. 3).

This thesis is particularly concerned with small group work in history. It is necessary, therefore, to examine writing on this particular use

of the strategy. In history, as in many other subjects, there are intellectual skills to be mastered, which can satisfactorily be handled by a small group. It is undeniable that pupils in the history class should become used to working with evidence. Reference has already been made to Ashby and Lee's five levels for the development of the child's understanding of evidence. Collingwood has reminded us that "the subject matter of history is not the past as such, but the past for which we have evidence." Langlois and Seignobos express this in the simplest way by claiming "No documents, no history."

For the teacher to deny the importance of such resource-based projects as the Schools Council History 13-16 Project, or the trends which they are introducing into the field of history teaching, would be foolish. Jon Nicol (1980) says that "working with evidence enables the pupil to achieve understanding and relative mastery of the historian's craft by the end of his education."

Exercises on the use of evidence could involve, among others, basic understanding of historical references, assessment of the reliability or value of the source, or an understanding of the origins and possible development of the historical situation - so as to illustrate the historical concepts involved: cause, change, continuity and consequence (ibid.).

Ashby and Lee show from the transcript of one of the discussions in their study that even children with considerable learning problems can have some success in discussing evidence. For better results one would prefer to have seen shorter extracts from the evidence provided for the group than the sixty-five lines given in the quoted transcript, and to have this evidence simplified to the level of those pupils who would use it. For example, one portion of the evidence (a contemporary description of William the Conqueror) reads: "He ruled over England, and by his cunning it was so investigated that there was not one hide of land in England that he did not know who owned it, and what it was worth, and then set it down in his record" (1987, p. 14). A child with reading difficulties, as is described in this paper, would certainly miss much of the meaning here, and so have his ability to contribute to the discussion considerably curtailed. He would have to rely on the other members to help him

to read the questions, let alone the evidence (ibid.).

Some brief references to assessment and evaluation of experiments involving group work need to be made. Stenhouse quotes from the Newsom Report the comment of a pupil who obviously had little experience of open discussion: "Our current affairs lesson was horrible. We had to sit and listen to the teacher preach about what she believed" (1970, p. 6).

Rudduck reports the views of some students on leaderless groups. They said that the atmosphere was more relaxed, so they could speak openly. There was more time for students to talk and more people contributed. Students learned to help one another. Students learned more from their peers and so gained a deeper understanding (1978, p. 100). Beard et al refer to studies which corroborate this last point (1978, p. 63).

Palmer and White (1974) related learning during group discussion to the number of leader/student and student/student interactions, and to assessment of students' abilities and intelligence. Only the number of student/student contacts was highly correlated with cognitive gains. Neither personality scores, nor numbers of interactions with group leaders (tutors), correlated significantly with measures of learning. An experiment of Securro and Walls (1975) showed the relative ineffectiveness of teachers, compared with students, in increasing the flow of group discussion. Students in a leaderless group spoke more than controls and than a group who knew their contributions were being recorded by their teacher (quoted in Beard et al, 1978, p. 63).

Opinion is divided as to the most fruitful approach to studying groups. Jaques refers to the work of Shaw (1977) in this area. Shaw explains that there are those who argue that the group phenomena can be validly assessed and understood only by rigorous analysis of empirical observations. Opponents of this view say that research evidence will almost certainly be trivial, and theoretical analysis is the only means to a comprehensive understanding of the complex phenomena evident in groups (Jaques, D., 1984, p. 3). Jaques agrees that without theory most of the research findings would merely be a collection of random and unrelated facts, but states, conversely, that it is impossible to construct a theory without some empirical understanding: empirical "facts" serve to underline the broader statements of theoretical insights (ibid.).

"Discussion is an activity of which the success depends essentially on the reciprocal efforts of those taking part" (concludes Bridges). "It requires social involvement, co-operation, mutual attentiveness and responsiveness, respect and appreciation of individual divergence, reasonableness, etc. - the kind of qualities and relations which lie at the heart of democratic community. Pedagogic procedures like the lecture or other form of authoritarian instruction or individual study could not be expected to generate the same kinds of relationship or values" (1979, p. 130).

Jaques sums up his beliefs regarding small group work in this way:

...the vast majority of students prize the sense of belonging which small groups afford students and the chance to test their understandings with their peers. Contemporary life places a premium on the ability of people to get on with each other, to be able to handle interpersonal problems rather than to avoid them, and to do so constructively and creatively. Nowhere is it more possible to practise these qualities than in small group work when learning is not subject to purely academic limitations.

(1984, p. 12)

Group discussion is, therefore, one of several teaching methods in which the teacher ought to have some skill. Whether the discussion is teacher-led, with the teacher as neutral chairman, or leaderless, with the teacher maintaining a low profile, children need the opportunity for expressing their views on what should be controversial issues. History, with its many uncertainties, complexities and its wealth of evidence, can provide the necessary stimulus for just such activities.

In this research study it was clearly impossible to use all forms of group work. The project, to be described in more detail in the next chapter, kept the groups to three pupils, excluded as far as possible, any teacher-intervention; used qualitative as well as quantitative analysis of the results; used temporary rather than permanent groups; and deliberately included homogeneous and heterogeneous group composition. Some of the tasks assigned to the groups approximated to "closed" problems; some were much more open. The tasks were deliberately linked to specific historical skills advocated, for example, by the

Schools Council History 13-16 Project. It did not involve an assessment of the psychological or social implications of the groups' experiences, but it was partly concerned with the roles played by individuals within the group. The project's input included a conventional set of classroom lessons and involved carefully selected and prepared stimulus material, and so could be interpreted as one component of a teacher's repertoire.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STUDY

Throughout this thesis certain terms will be used which have particular meanings assigned to them.

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| Group | - Three pupils sitting together for the purpose of informal discussion. |
| Homogeneous | - Belonging to the same I.Q. range. |
| I.Q. | - That measure of intelligence measured by the New South African Group Test of Intelligence. |
| Mixed-ability | - Including pupils from the high, medium and low I.Q. ranges. |

There were four main aims which it was hoped would emerge from this study:

1. The primary aim of the study is to show how pupils can derive benefit from the discussion of historical topics in small groups.
2. Secondly, the study aims to show that through informal discussion pupils could gain a deeper insight into the meaning of historical concepts than in the ordinary classroom situation.
3. A more particular aim is to show that certain types of stimulus material are more likely to generate useful discussion than others.
4. Finally, the study will examine the interaction of pupils of high, medium and low intelligence, and of mixed-ability groups, to assess which group or groups are likely to derive greatest benefit from a small group learning experience.

The school selected for the study was a prestigious boys' high school in a large town in the Eastern Cape. This school, whose history goes back more than a century, draws its 420 pupils from a population of middle-class, English-speaking whites. This population is rural and commercial, rather than professional or academic. About one-third of the pupils are boarders and a strong spirit of camaraderie prevails. In addition to those whose families have lived in the area for several generations,

there are a number of immigrants at the school, coming mainly from the United Kingdom and Europe, especially Germany.

The school is served by a dedicated and well qualified principal and staff and a varied extra-mural programme is offered in both the sporting and cultural fields. A feeling of loyalty to the school pervades every activity. Discipline is strict and delinquents are not tolerated. The school boasts a proud academic standard, and although there are comparatively few "stars", the majority of pupils perform creditably.

The researcher decided to base his study on the standard seven class, since he wished to use the group for which history was both a compulsory subject and with which he was most familiar. He had taught the entire class Latin the previous year and had the "7B" class for history and half of the "7A" class for Latin at the time of the study.

The absence of a large number of very high or very low I.Q. pupils in the school as a whole is reflected in the standard seven group. The distribution of the I.Q.'s over the 87 pupils can be seen in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1.

Std 7 I.Q. distribution, according to class and range

	<u>7A</u>	<u>7B</u>	<u>7C</u>	<u>Totals</u>	<u>% of Standard</u>	
141 - 150	1	1	-	= 2)		
131 - 140	2	2	-	= 4)		
121 - 130	6	3	-	= 9)	... = 33 or	37.9% (High band)
111 - 120	6	11	1	= 18)		
101 - 110	11	9	9	= 29)	... = 29 or	33.3% (Medium band)
91 - 100	3	3	11	= 17)		
81 - 90	1	1	5	= 7)	... = 25 or	28.7% (Low band)
71 - 80	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	= <u>1</u>)		
	30	30	27	= 87		

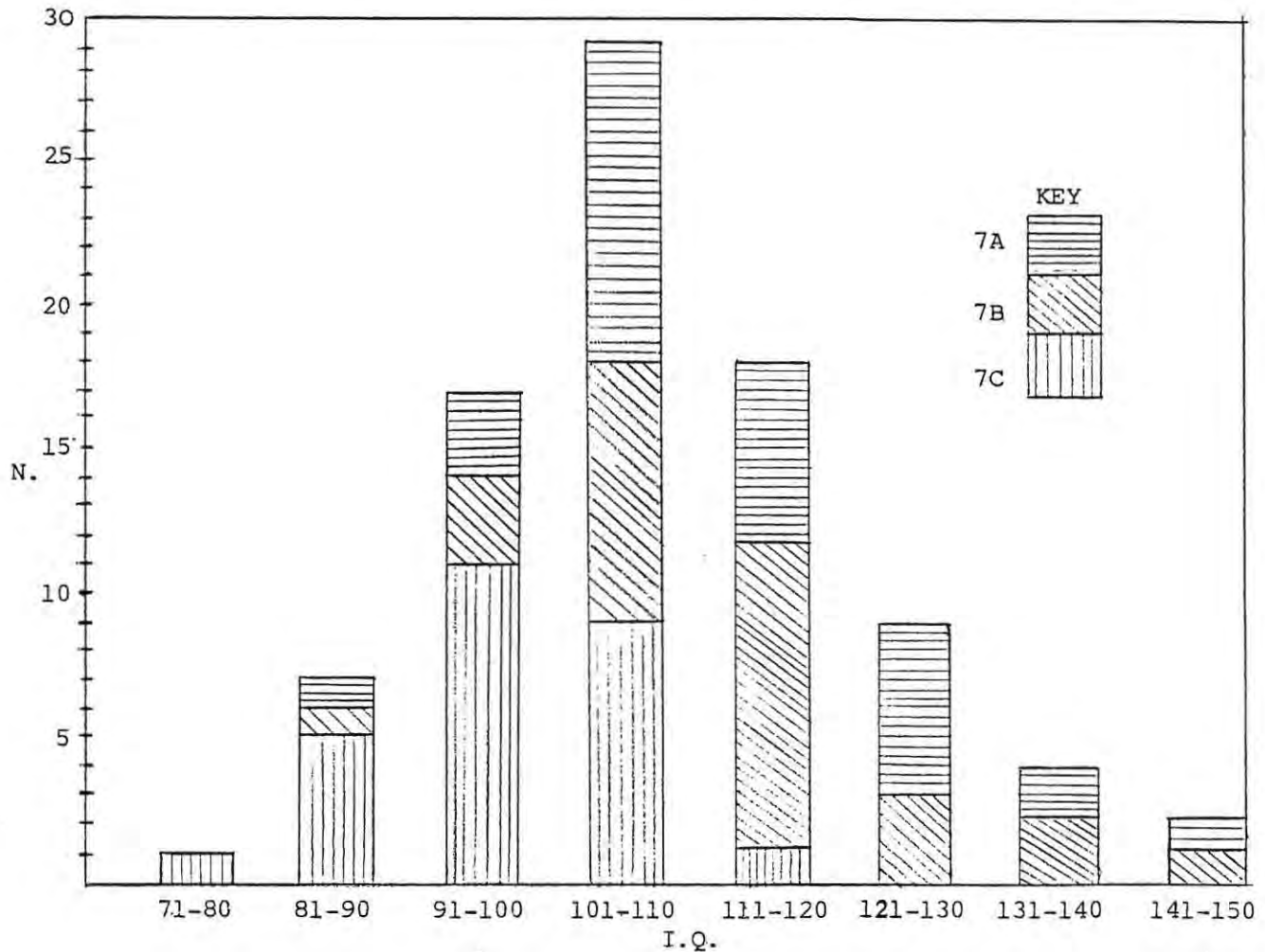
Range = 63
 Mean = 108.01
 Median = 107.55
 S.D. = 12.6

The average I.Q. for that group was 108 and the average age of this standard in June was 15 years 5 months, with a range from 13 years 9 months to 17 years 1 month. It can be seen that out of 87 pupils 33, or 37.9%

fall above 110 I.Q., and that there is a strong middle group (33,3%) but comparatively few (28,7%) in the "low" category (see Figure 3.1).

FIGURE 3.1.

Bar-graph showing I.Q. frequencies for standard seven



This frequency table of I.Q.'s is distributed fairly normally, with a slight skewness to the right. It shows that the majority of the standard are grouped between 91 and 120, and that the number with genuinely high or low I.Q.'s is comparatively small. This accounts for the fact that, while there were any number of the medium I.Q. group available for selection in all classes the selection of pupils of high or low I.Q.'s from the same class for mixed-ability groups was more

difficult (see Table 3.3: Group identification and composition).

It was possible to use the mid-year examination marks in history as one measure of the attainment level of the boys before they received any special treatment. The average mark in the June 1987 examination was 49.4%, as is shown in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2.

Frequency of Std 7 June History Scores according to class and symbol

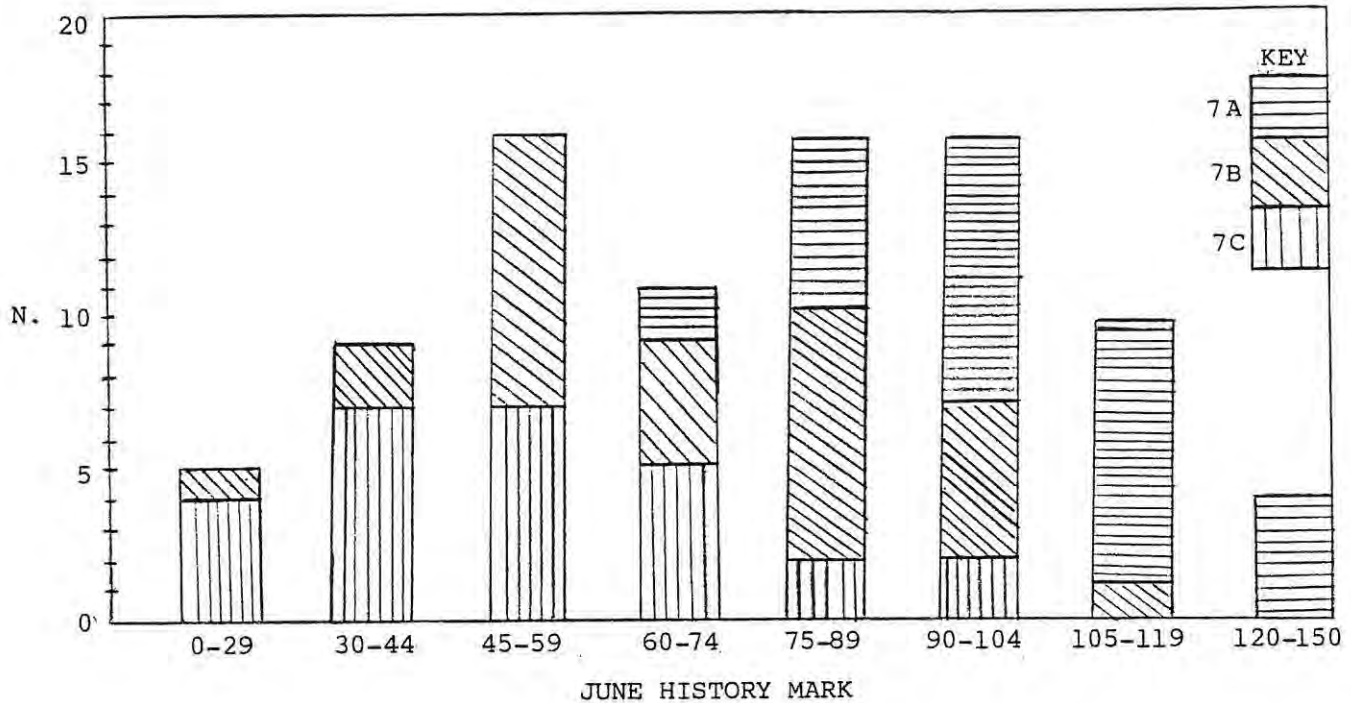
	<u>7A</u>	<u>7B</u>	<u>7C</u>	<u>Totals and % of standard</u>
120 - 150 (A)	4	-	-	= 4 4.6%
105 - 119 (B)	9	1	-	= 10 11.5%
90 - 104 (C)	9	5	2	= 16 18.4%
75 - 89 (D)	6	8	2	= 16 18.4%
60 - 74 (E)	2	4	5	= 11 12.6%
45 - 59 (F,FF)	-	9	7	= 16 18.4%
30 - 44 (G)	-	2	7	= 9 10.3%
0 - 29 (H)	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	= 5 5.7%
	30	30	27	= 87

Range = 118
 Mean = 74.41
 Median = 76.63
 S.D. = 28.02

By contrast with Table 3.1 this shows a skewness to the left and a distribution that is not normal (see Figure 3.2). It is clear that not all pupils were working at full potential, but it also shows a bi-modal distribution, with fewer marks in the E range than in the D or F,FF ranges.

FIGURE 3.2.

Bar-graph showing frequencies of standard seven June history marks



The pupils in standard seven are divided into three teaching groups, 7A, 7B and 7C of about thirty pupils each. Those who elect to take Afrikaans Eerste Taal or Latin are accommodated in the "A" class, but the remainder of this class, as well as the "B" and "C" classes, is composed according to performance in the standard six final examination. In other words, the school's policy is to adopt a measure of streaming.

Figure 3.1 shows that whereas the "C" class is weaker in both I.Q. and attainment in history, the "A" and "B" classes are not very different in I.Q. composition. Some "A" class pupils are only there because of subject choice. The places filled by these pupils might otherwise have been filled by some of the brighter "B" class pupils. In other cases, "B" class pupils, potentially bright enough for the "A" stream find themselves overlooked as a result of poor application to their studies at the end of the previous year. Figure 3.2 underlines the fact that,

as far as attainment in history was concerned, there was no real middle group. Pupils either cope reasonably well or achieve poorly. It was as though there were only two streams, rather than three.

History in standard seven, following Cape Education Department policy, is a compulsory subject, and is taught according to largely traditional lines by two qualified teachers, one (the deputy head) being responsible for the "A"'s and "C"'s and the researcher taking the "B" class. Although these classes had had virtually no experience in working in discussion groups, all were used to working on their own through the medium of work sheets and mini-projects on the syllabus compiled by study groups of the Cape Education Department.

With the permission of the principal and co-operation of the other standard seven teacher, all three standard seven classes were given two lessons on an historical topic not normally handled at this stage in South African schools, but interesting and challenging in content. The aim was to avoid as far as possible the "contaminating" influence that other teachers or textbooks might have had on the way the researcher planned to handle the lesson material.

The topic chosen was The Plains Indians of the American West, and was based to a large extent on a section from the Schools Council History Project 13-16 - The American West (study in depth). As there was no South African textbook easily available on this topic, a set of notes was compiled for each pupil, containing conflicting documentary sources, maps and pictures (see Appendix 1). The documents were slightly abridged and simplified so as to reduce the chance of pupils being at a disadvantage through the difficulty of comprehension of an extended 19th Century prose style. It was also recognized that unless the documents were shortened, problems of length would be encountered during the teaching stage. This was planned to last no longer than two periods of thirty-five minutes each.

As an example of this editing process a single document in its original form will be contrasted with the shortened, edited version. It is claimed that the simplification in all the documents used has not seriously distorted the meaning or the flavour of the text. This particular example comes from the stimulus material provided for the pre-

liminary input lessons. On the other hand, it was not necessary to do any editing of the stimulus sheets used for the discussion groups. It was important that the material used for the group discussions had to be sufficiently clear for the boys to work with it without any interpretation or explanation being given by the teacher. The only extra help given to the pupils was to supply definitions of some difficult words in the texts. An example is found in the edited version of Long's description.

Source 2 : Major Long's description of the Great Plains, 1819-20.

Original source	Edited version
<p>In regard to this extensive section of country, I do not hesitate in giving the opinion, that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country.</p>	<p>This extensive section of country is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence (life support). The scarcity of wood and water will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country.</p>

A text built up entirely from documents is unusual in South African history teaching. The aim was to teach this section of work by using the enquiry method. In many cases the pupils would decide on the facts for themselves from the evidence at their disposal. In this way it was hoped to stimulate empathy for both protagonists in the story - the white Americans and the Plains Indians. These sources would provide essential background material for the discussion sessions which were to follow the lessons.

It was planned to form twelve groups of three members each, thus using thirty-six pupils in all. Using the results of the South African Group Test of Intelligence, which had recently been administered by a psychologist of the Cape Education Department, all the pupils in the standard were ranked and placed into one of three broad intelligence score bands: high, medium or low. Selection for the twelve groups was

to be made according to the following pattern. Nine "homogeneous" groups were to be selected, three having uniformly high I.Q. scores, three having medium I.Q. scores and three having low I.Q. scores. In addition to these, three groups of mixed ability were to be chosen, each consisting of one member of high, one of medium and one of low I.Q. bands.

It was planned to test the effects of different kinds of stimulus material on the pupils' comprehension of the questions and consequent discussion. For this purpose three sorts of source material were prepared which would be handed to the groups only when they started the discussion. They would be given time to read these over before moving on to the discussion stage. The three kinds of stimulus would be a pair of conflicting documents; a pair of maps of the "before...after" type; and a set of statistical data. In each category, high I.Q., medium I.Q., low I.Q. and mixed ability, the first group would receive the documentary evidence, the second, the map evidence, and the third, the statistical evidence. These special stimuli would be returned by the pupils at the end of each discussion.

Each of the groups would be withdrawn from class one at a time to a quiet room in the school in order that their discussions could be recorded onto audio-tape without interference from other classroom noises. This would facilitate the transcription of the discussions later. This would happen as soon as possible after the background lessons, at which they would receive the stimulus material and be asked to discuss a set of questions amongst themselves. It was intended that the teacher should play the role of observer, rather than participant.

An important part of the study would be the transcription and analysis of the twelve group discussions in the light of three main variables:

1. I.Q. level.
2. Homogeneous, as compared to mixed ability, grouping.
3. Type of special stimulus provided.

It would be hoped that these transcriptions would provide some conclusions to some of the aims of the study: they would prove the value of small group discussion in history; they would show whether the boys had reached some understanding of relevant historical concepts; and

they would illustrate the different ways in which the homogeneous and mixed-ability groups tackled the questions. Further, it was hoped to differentiate between the different kinds of special stimulus, and the levels of discussion they initiated. A summary of the experimental design can be found in Table 3.3.

As soon as possible after all the recording sessions had been completed, it was planned to give all pupils in the standard a common assessment test on the lesson material. This would concentrate on certain key concepts which were implicit in the topic. It was also planned to include a compulsory question in the end-of-term examination, which would attempt to discriminate between those who had had the added experience of the discussion session and those who had not.

The Implementation

As already explained, each of the three standard seven classes received two lessons, given on consecutive days, in the normal History periods. The 7A and 7B classes received their tuition in the first week of the third term, whereas the 7B class received theirs in the second week. Each pupil received a personal copy of the notes, entitled Some Original Sources on the Plains Indians of the American West (see Appendix 1). A wall map showing the physical features of North America and overhead transparencies were used as supplementary visual aids (see Appendix 2, in which copies of all this material are given). Because they were restricted to only two lessons, the material to be covered had equally to be restricted, and it was not possible to delve too deeply into every aspect of the topic which was chosen. The inquiry method required that as far as possible the teacher had to lead the pupils from one source of evidence to another, questioning and seeking answers in the light of these sources. The temptation to pontificate or make categorical statements where the evidence conflicted had also to be resisted. A summary of the lessons actually given follows:

LESSON ONE

1. **The Geographical features of North America** (Brief)
 1. Cross-section of the sub-continent. (Supplementary diagram 1,2)
 2. The "West" as lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast.
 3. Natural vegetation/climate of the Plains. (Map 1, wall map)
 4. Three descriptions of the Great Plains. (Sources 1, 2, 3)
N.B. Define "desert".

Introduction to Indian Culture

1. 10 000 to 40 000 years in America.
2. The influence of the horse. The following of the buffalo. (Sources 6, 9, pictures 4, 1, 6)
3. Conflicting views of the Indian. (Sources 4, 5)
4. Food, clothing and shelter. (Sources 7, 8, pictures 3, 5)
5. Stealing and scalping. (Sources 10, 11)
6. The Spirit world. (Brief background, picture 8)
7. Attitude to land. (Sources 12, 13, 14)

LESSON TWO

3. The Fate of the Plains Indians

1. 1840 - A permanent Indian frontier? (Sources 15, 16, diagram 1, map 2)
2. 1840-51 "One Big Reservation". (Map 2, source 17)
3. White encroachment on the Plains - Gold Rush, Homesteaders, Cattle men, railroads. (Brief)
4. Fort Laramie Treaty. (Source 18, picture 7)
5. Why the Indians were hostile towards the white men. (Picture 10, supplementary picture 1)
6. Sand Creek Massacre. (Sources 19, 20, 21, 22, supplementary picture 2)
7. A new problem and a new policy. (Source 23)
8. The Battle of Little Bighorn. (Source 24, picture 9, supplementary picture 4)
9. Life on a reservation. (Map 2, supplementary picture 3)

It should be noted that in the lessons, as originally planned, it had been hoped to devote more time to aspects such as homesteading and railroads, as well as the spirit world of the Indian and the actual removals to the reservations. After a trial run through, it was seen that certain sections had to be cut, so that the lessons would fit into the thirty-five minutes per period that the school time-table allowed. Had this been part of the normal teaching programme, at least another period would have had to have been set aside for completing these sections and summing up. Despite these omissions and shortcomings, however, the lessons seemed to be successful.

To ensure that these slightly out-of-the-ordinary lessons would be treated in a serious manner and that the class's concentration would be sustained as far as possible, the pupils were warned that certain of their number would be selected "at random" to take part in a university research project. All, however, would be subject to an assessment test within the next few days. A long-range warning that there would be an examination question set on the material contained

in the notes and covered in class was also issued. For this reason the duplicated notes were to be safeguarded. It is interesting to note that at least some of the lesson content was retained, as can be seen in some of the transcriptions of the discussion groups (.e.g Group 2.1, line 21: "...Mr R showed us the other day where he drew that line", and 2.2, line 27: "...because remember what Mr R said yesterday").

Interest in the background lessons was high, higher in the A and B classes than the C's, with encouraging class participation. The pupils seemed particularly enthralled by the life-style of the Plains Indians. During the second of the lessons the names of those selected for the discussion groups were announced, together with the times, over the following two days when these sessions would be held. There were a few complaints from those who were not selected, but none from those who were. There was no compulsion to participate in the experimental stage but the aura of "research" and a desire not to let down the side was sufficient to prevent anyone from withdrawing from selection. There is also a chance that the lure of being allowed out of class (for whatever reason) was a point taken into consideration by certain pupils.

Selection for a particular group depended upon the I.Q. band into which each pupil fell. For the purposes of the study, three categories were arbitrarily defined as follows: band 1 (high I.Q.) included all pupils with a score of 111 and over, band 2 (medium I.Q.) included the majority of the pupils, who had scores between 101 and 110 and band 3 (low I.Q.) included those who had recorded a score of 100 and below (see Table 3.1).

Twelve groups of three pupils each were finally selected. Fifteen pupils were selected from the A class, fifteen from the B class and six from the C class. Three groups were selected for their uniformly high I.Q.'s. They were labeled 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3. Three were selected for their uniformly medium-range I.Q.'s. These were labeled 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3. Three groups were selected for their uniformly low I.Q.'s. These were labeled 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. Finally, three groups of mixed ability were selected, labeled 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3. They will be referred to by these numbers throughout the study.

In addition to those placed in groups, a number of reserves were asked

to stand by in case of illness among the pupils originally chosen, In the event, one such reserve was required to stand in, causing a slight imbalance in Group 4.2 (see Table 3.3).

TABLE 3.3.
Group Identification and Composition

Group No.	Composition	Special Stimulus	Name Initials	I.Q.	Class
1.1.	Homogeneous (high)	Documents	I	141	7A
			P	131	7A
			V	131	7A
1.2.	Homogeneous (high)	Maps	M	141	7B
			S	134	7B
			W	133	7B
1.3.	Homogeneous (high)	Statistics	V	129	7A
			M	125	7A
			W	123	7A
2.1.	Homogeneous (medium)	Documents	C	108	7B
			V	105	7B
			S	108	7B
2.2.	Homogeneous (medium)	Maps	B	102	7A
			S	106	7A
			R	103	7A
2.3.	Homogeneous (medium)	Statistics	L	103	7B
			J	105	7B
			N	105	7B
3.1.	Homogeneous (low)	Documents	M	78	7C
			V	86	7C
			P	88	7C
3.2.	Homogeneous (low)	Maps	P	88	7C
			F	89	7C
			G	89	7C
3.3.	Homogeneous (low)	Statistics	M	87	7B
			T	92	7B
			H	99	7B
4.1.	Mixed ability (ave. = 106)	Documents	D	123	7A
			P	106	7A
			V	88	7A
4.2.	Mixed ability (ave. = 109)	Maps	B	118	7B
			F	111	7B
			M	99	7B
4.3.	Mixed ability (ave. = 105)	Statistics	B	119	7A
			W	102	7A
			K	93	7A

For practical purposes, and to allow for greater rapport within the groups, all members of a group came from the same register class. There were comparatively few chosen from the C class because of the narrow range of I.Q. in that class, which precluded it from making up a mixed-ability group. Further, the researcher was currently teaching the 7B class and a section of the 7A's and he therefore had a deeper knowledge of those pupils.

It may be seen from the table of I.Q. distribution (Table 3.1) that although a measure of streaming may have been applied in class selection, this was not carried out in terms of I.Q. It was thus possible to select pupils for the "mixed-ability" groups from one class (7A or 7B). Easy, unquestioning acceptance of their group composition by the individual pupils was clearly an advantage in maintaining a natural climate for learning. Had groups been composed of pupils from three or even two classes, this grouping would immediately have had an air of artificiality about it.

Pupils were not informed why they had been placed in certain groups, nor did they seek to know. There was neither any need for the pupils to be informed of the group numbers allocated to them as they were called out by name and had only one discussion session in that group.

In order to test the effectiveness of different types of stimulus in the discussion situation, each of the three groups within the four main divisions received information in a different form from which to work. The three questions for discussion remained the same for every group, however. Groups 1.1, 2.1, 3.1 and 4.1 received two conflicting documents commenting on the buffalo slaughter. Groups 1.2, 2.2, 3.2 and 4.2 received two maps, showing the lands of the Plains Indians in 1840 and 1900. Groups 1.3, 2.3, 3.3 and 4.3 received two sets of statistics, one showing the decline in the populations of the buffalo and the Plains Indians during the nineteenth century and the other showing the numbers of buffalo hides and carcasses handled by the American railroads during the same period (see Appendix 3). As an extra stimulus, and as a visual aid common to all worksheets, a reproduction of a buffalo skinner at work was included.

The questions were:

1. What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indians' hunting grounds on the lives of the Plains Indians?
2. We have seen that some white men claimed that they had a right to Indian territory on the grounds that they were more civilized and could use the land more profitably. How would you support or criticize this claim?
3. List three or four similarities between parts of South African history and this period of American history.

A room in a quiet part of the school was found which would be acoustically suitable and available for uninterrupted recording sessions. The room chosen was ideal as it had been originally designed as a music room and had been fitted with carpets on both floor and walls. Three chairs were arranged in a tight semi-circle, with a tape recorder's extension microphone placed midway between them. The tape recorder itself as well as the researcher's chair, was positioned as unobtrusively as possible in a corner of the room, out of the direct line of sight of the pupils. When the recording was being made, the researcher used earphones to monitor the recording levels. This was to ensure that all the pupils were speaking loudly enough - one group had, in fact, to be asked to speak up (Group 4.2). The wearing of the headphones effectively distanced the researcher from the discussion in progress, although he was in reality only a few paces away from the group. So effective was this arrangement that in some cases pupils were convinced that the researcher could not hear them at all. For instance, the first words from Group 4.2 were:

B: Sir, must we just talk? Will Sir hear us from here?

Every effort was made to create a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. Groups were given a minute or two to settle down and were given certain instructions and assurances. They were assured that what was discussed would be treated with the strictest confidence, the content not being divulged to other members of staff, and that they would be anonymous. In the same vein, groups were required not to divulge anything of what

they might have experienced in the recording room to any other classmate. They were encouraged to speak their minds, without fear of re-
 crimination. They were also asked to try to draw into the discussion
 anyone who might be remaining silent but who could have something to
 contribute. Groups were warned that after a certain length of time they
 would be called upon to summarize (orally) their arguments. They did
 not necessarily have to answer the questions in the order set, but
 could move on and return to questions not previously dealt with.

In the event, rapport did exist among most of the groups, with friendly
 interchange of banter (e.g. 1.3, lines 32 ff.: "V: Ja, ja, you know,
 (expressing some amusement) thinking over this - it's off the subject,
 but you know how they say..."), and references to one another and to
 other classmates by name:

17 D ...You don't just shoot because you shoot.

18 P No, but E.R. does.

19 D I'd say that's his problem (Group 4.1., lines 18-19).

This relaxed atmosphere, however, did not detract from the atmosphere of
 purposeful, concentrated work of the twelve groups.

The groups were required to bring nothing into the room other than their
 duplicated notes which had been handed out before the lessons. They
 might refer to these as they wished. After a group had sat down, each
 member was handed a worksheet, described above, on which was printed
 one of the three special stimuli (Source 1, Source 2 or Source 3) and
 the three questions for discussion. The group was given about three to
 five minutes to study the sources after which the recording session be-
 gan. The recording lasted between twenty and twenty-five minutes, de-
 pending on how much each trio had to say. Two groups, 1.2 and 3.2,
 could not sustain the discussion for as long as this.

In the case of each group, a period of no more than two school days
 elapsed between the end of the class tuition and the recording session.
 This ensured that the subject matter was still relatively fresh in the
 mind. Pupils had also been instructed to revise the duplicated notes in
 preparation for the discussion. It will be reported during the course of
 the analysis of the transcriptions how some groups, notably those with
 high I.Q.'s, virtually scorned the use of these notes during the re-

ording sessions, relying on what facts they had assimilated, in addition to their general knowledge, for their arguments. Some of the lower groups, however, made considerable use of this aid, the noise generated on the tape by the continual fluttering of pages making faithful transcription very difficult at times.

At the earliest opportunity after the discussion sessions, when all three standard seven classes could be tested at the same time, a short multiple-choice test was administered. This opportunity arose during the "Youth Preparedness" period, one week after the A and C classes had had their lessons and three days after the B's had had theirs. Questions had been devised to illustrate certain concepts which had been features of the Plains Indians' story and it was hoped that the influence of the discussion sessions would be seen in the answers the pupils in the groups gave when compared with those who had not had this experience. Pupils sat in their own classrooms and the test was invigilated by three independent teachers. Selected questions follow (for the full test see Appendix 4):

1. (A straightforward question based on fact.)

The Plains Indians consisted of:

- (a) one large tribe
- (b) two or three tribes
- (c) several large tribes with many sub-tribes
- (d) many large tribes

3. (A question testing understanding of the concept of "peace" and which was based on conflicting documentary evidence found in the hand-out.)

These Indians:

- (a) were peace-loving people
- (b) were involved in frequent wars with other tribes
- (c) were peace-loving, but fought to preserve their hunting grounds
- (d) were cruel, savage people who fought for profit

5. (A question dealing with the key concept of "civilization".)

It has been said that the Plains Indians were uncivilized, compared with white Americans.

- (a) This is true because they were hunters, not farmers
- (b) This is true because they did not know how to plant corn.
- (c) This is not true because they were civilized in their own way

(d) This is true because they lived without government.

8. (A question testing knowledge of the Indians' concept of "land-ownership".)

The Indians refused to give up their land on the grounds that:

- (a) the land was not theirs to give
- (b) the white man would not pay enough
- (c) the white man would misuse it
- (d) they saw the white man as their enemy

With no further input on the topic by any teacher, the pupils were faced with a compulsory question on the Plains Indians in the September examinations, some six weeks later. An essay-type answer was required, worth ten marks out of 150. The wording of the question was:

In the 19th century, a large number of white Americans believed that they had a right to the lands of the Plains Indians on the grounds that they were more CIVILIZED. Examine the FAIRNESS of this point of view, by looking at the situation from both sides. Refer, where you can, to any sources you may have studied and to the life-style of the Plains Indians.

In order to ensure consistency in marking, the researcher corrected the answers to this question of all three classes, and not just his own class, as was the usual practice. The memorandum, together with examples of the answers received, is to be found in Appendix 6. Marks were awarded for correct facts but also on the basis of the candidate's success in defining "civilization" and "fairness". The results of this examination question are discussed in Chapter Four.

The most intriguing part of the study was the transcription of the twelve discussions for the purpose of analysis in the light of the aims of the study. Analysis would hope to find evidence to show that pupils did benefit academically from discussion in small groups, that they had thereby come to a deeper understanding of some historical concepts, that certain stimuli were more conducive to fruitful discussion and that the mixed ability groups provided weaker pupils with a satisfactory forum in which to learn.

The full text of the transcripts is to be found in Appendix 5. The pupils

are referred to by their initials and each line of speech or verbal exchange - it may be ten or more lines of print or it may be only one word - is numbered for easy reference. In conversation, one's speech is often halting, some people's more so than others. A school pupil's speech is no exception. As far as possible the flavour of the original is maintained through the use of two or three dots between words. Three would indicate a more serious break in continuity. In many instances it is clear that what might seem incoherent and unstructured mumbling to the teacher is an acceptable form of communication among children. In the analysis of the transcripts more attention will be devoted to what was said rather than to how it was communicated.

Barnes and Todd (Barnes, D., and Todd, F., 1977, p. 14) suggest that for every one hour of recording, ten hours be set aside for transcription. Their study was with five-member groups. With three to a group a little less time need be allowed for, but transcribing is, nevertheless, a tedious process. The following problems may frequently be encountered:

- (a) There is a problem in transcribing accurately when two or more people speak simultaneously.
- (b) Voices often sound alike on tape, without the visual cue to help one. If the pupils are not known to the researcher he will often be at a loss as to whom to credit an utterance.
- (c) When pupils drop their voices or turn away from the microphone it requires inspired guesswork in order to complete sentences. On first hearing a phrase the transcriber can sometimes "hear" one thing and on playing the tape back at a later stage may hear something completely different, which, on reflection, makes better sense.

Few omissions will, however, be found in these transcriptions. In most cases the voices were clear and difficulties arose only where boys were speaking together, where words were slurred or where voices were dropped at the end of speeches. Even in extreme cases, by playing and replaying

the relevant section of the tape, sense was eventually made of these utterances. A danger that the transcriber had to be aware of was putting words into the mouths of the speakers. The speakers did not always follow the logical course which a maturer listener might have expected. Here are two examples of original and edited transcripts:

(First draft) S: (with V speaking simultaneously) The one's much more civilized. Oh, we haven't done that. The whites needed land to cultivate. Cultivation, like, could have been more.

(Final draft) S: (with V speaking simultaneously) The whites were more civilized..or more modernized. The whites needed land to cultivate. Cultivation, like, could have been more better.

(Group 2.1, line 59)

(First draft) P: (talking more to himself) Ja, number three.. I can't...Number three I'd say.... Um, but it took them a bit of realising that they didn't, they didn't need the grounds and they just had the buffalo there, and they just followed the buffalo....

(Final draft) P: (talking more to himself) Ja, number two..I can't understand... (louder) Number three I'd say.... Um, but it took them a bit of realising that they didn't, they didn't need the grounds and they just had the buffalo there, and they were just part of the buffalo....

(Group 3.1, line 9)

Martin (1976, p. 18) reminds us that "children's speech approximates to the dominant influences in their lives - their homes, their local communities (the boarding hostel in the case of some of the boys in this study), street, village or school." He mentions some of the prob-

lems already listed and concludes that it is virtually impossible to "transcribe, or even notate, everything that is being transmitted by the speakers" (Martin, N., 1976, p. 21). There will always remain problems of conveying actual emphasis, implied gestures and expressions. Transcripts can therefore have only limited accuracy at best, but, says Martin, (until there are fixed rules for transcribers to follow) "an accurate transcript where what is actually said is carefully written can still be extremely useful and revealing, even when used completely without the original sound recording" (1976, p. 21).

CHAPTER FOUR

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Introductory note

This chapter is not a key section of the thesis. The emphasis of the study is on the qualitative, rather than quantitative results. In a small-scale study one could not expect quantitative results to be conclusive, and the results obtained through statistical procedures could show some anomalies which are difficult to interpret. Far more important is the method of learning and the actual transactions within the discussion groups. This aspect will be handled in Chapter Five.

Nevertheless, a statistical analysis of some of the scores obtained from the pupils involved, either as the experimental or control group or as a whole, reveals some interesting features.

Wherever the term "correlation" or "r" is used, the Pearson "product-moment" correlation is intended. The "t-test" of significance is the test known as "Student's test", and the table used to determine "P" is Fisher's table of "t". For the purpose of determining degrees of freedom, the numbers 36 (experimental group), 51 (control group), and 87 (whole class) are all taken as being virtually equal to infinity. For r to be significant at the .05 level of confidence t must be greater than 1.95996. For r to be significant at the .01 degree of confidence t must be greater than 2.57582.

Relationship between I.Q. and June History result

Both the experimental group and the control group (the rest) had an average I.Q. of about 108. The pupils in the experimental group had on the whole performed better on the June History examination than had the control group, the means (out of 150) being 77.14, opposed to 72.49. The application of the correlation formula reveals a low positive correlation of $r = 0.37$ for the experimental and control groups combined (see Table 4.1. and Figure 4.1.). The reason for this is that a number of pupils with high I.Q.'s performed badly, whereas some pupils with purportedly low I.Q.'s performed well. For example, the top

mark was achieved by a control group pupil with an I.Q. of 96 (equivalent to Group 3 or "low" in the I.Q. ratings). The correlation between I.Q. and History result recorded by the experimental group alone is higher, but still only moderate: $r = 0.45$. For this correlation, $t = 3.67$, which indicates that the correlation is significant at the 99% level of confidence (see Table 4.1.).

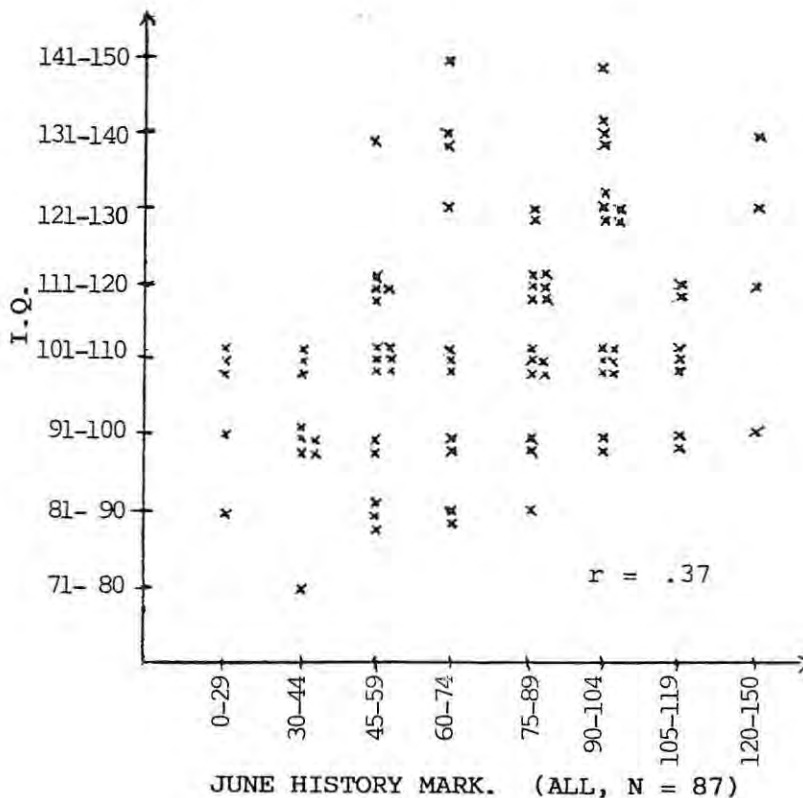
TABLE 4.1.

Correlation of I.Q. with June Exam result

	<u>All</u>	<u>Exp. Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>
r =	.37	.45	.31
t =	3.67	4.65	2.28
P <	.01	.01	.05 (significant)

FIGURE 4.1.

Scattergram showing correlation between Std 7 I.Q. and June History mark



From this one can suggest that the groups would not have differed markedly from the actual groups, had they been selected according to the criteria of academic achievement alone. Some potentially good pupils are notoriously slow starters and do not study hard for the first examination. A correlation with their final results would probably prove higher. It has been pointed out that none the less, in the social sciences, a correlation of .50 can be considered quite satisfactory (Cohen, L. and Manion, L., 1980, p. 153).

Some of the reasons for this no more than moderate correlation can be found in the scores of the pupils in the high and medium experimental groups. Only five of the twelve high group pupils performed creditably and only six of the same number of medium group pupils achieved average scores. The low group was more predictable, with only three achieving higher scores than might have been expected from their I.Q.'s. It is worth noting that all three of the members of Group 1.2, the high group which gave the most lack-lustre performance in the discussion sessions, gained poor marks in the examination (66, 71 and 58 out of 150 respectively).

A correlation of I.Q. with the September examination total in history subsequently revealed a higher coefficient of .53. The correlation between the June and September examination marks is, however, .85, high enough for the June marks (those earned immediately prior to the discussion sessions) to be used as a fair indicator of ability in history.

Analysis of Multiple-choice Assessment Test

It was found that the experimental group had gained an average mark of 6.92 out of a possible 10, whereas the rest (the control group) had scored 6.35. The test of "t" subsequently indicated that the difference between these means was not statistically significant (see Table 4.2).

TABLE 4.2.

Test of significance of the difference between the means of scores obtained by the experimental and control groups on the multiple-choice assessment test

	<u>Experimental Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>
Mean =	6.92	6.35
t =		1.59
P >		.5 (not significant)

Certain conclusions can nevertheless be drawn. After a question by question analysis of the assessment test, it could be seen that an appreciably higher percentage of right answers on selected key issues (which the t-test cannot measure) came from the experimental group, compared with the control group. On question 3, for example, which called for an evaluation of the Indian's nature, 86.1% of the experimental group gave (c) - "These Indians were peace-loving, but fought to preserve their hunting grounds" (the most complete answer) - as correct, compared with only 68.6% of the control group.

Question 5 tested an understanding of the concept of "civilization", and asked the pupils to choose the statement which gave the best reply to the suggestion that the Indians were uncivilized, compared with white Americans. The best answer ("This is not true because they were civilized in their own way") was given by 75.0% of the experimental group but only 68.6% of the control group.

Another marked difference was recorded in the last question, where 66.7% of the experimental group saw the destruction of their hunting grounds as being the reason for the Plains Indians' final defeat. Only 54.9% of the control group offered the same answer. The control group provided a higher percentage of correct answers in only two questions: 7 and 8. Question 7 was a question demanding little more than plain recall (the reason for the existence of the "dog soldiers") the answer to which could have been found in the duplicated notes. The experimental group scored 77.8% to the control group's 80.4%. The difference between the two groups' answers in question 8 (the reason why the Indians refused to give up their land) was very slight (91.7% compared to 94.1%). The high percentage of correct responses in both groups suggests an ineffective set of distractors and the need to discard or rephrase the question. Table 4.3 contains a summary of all the correct answers with the proportion of the experimental and control groups correct.

TABLE 4.3.

Proportion of experimental and control groups' correct answers to multiple-choice test

<u>Question No.</u>	<u>Correct answer</u>	<u>% Experimental Group correct (N=36)</u>	<u>% Control Group correct (N=51)</u>
1	c	38.9	37.3
2	c	80.6	70.6
3	c	86.1	70.6
4	c	80.6	78.4
5	c	75.0	68.6
6	d	52.8	49.0
7	b	77.8	80.4
8	a	91.7	94.1
9	d	36.1	31.4
10	b	66.7	54.9

It can be suggested from this table that the control group was overshadowed by the experimental group on questions 2, 3, 5 and 10. A fair conclusion to draw would be that the latter group was positively influenced in its choices of answer as a result of the discussion experience. In the case of those questions in which the percentage difference between the groups was smaller it must be borne in mind that comparatively small numbers of pupils are involved and that a 5% difference between the numbers of correct answers would indicate an insignificant difference of two to three pupils.

Numerical analysis of September examination question

In the case of the examination answers to the essay-type question, the results were more conclusive. The question was:

In the 19th century, a large number of white Americans believed that they had a right to the lands of the Plains Indians on the grounds that they were more CIVILIZED. Examine the FAIRNESS of this point of view, by looking at the situation from both sides. Refer, where you can, to any sources you may have studied and to the life-style of the Plains Indians. (10)

Five marks could be gained through a knowledge of the facts contained in the duplicated handout, available to all pupils (see Appendix 1). The remaining five marks were awarded on the basis of the pupil's ability to argue the meaning of the concepts of "civilization" and "fairness".

The average mark gained by the experimental group was 6.28, compared with the 5.24 scored by the control group. The test of "t" indicated that the difference was significantly different at the 95% level of confidence (see Table 4.4).

TABLE 4.4.

Test of significance of the difference between the means of the scores obtained by the experimental and control groups on the September examination question on the Plains Indians

	<u>Experimental Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>
Mean	6.28	5.24
t =		2.14
P <		.05 (significant)

This would imply that it was unlikely that the two groups examined came from the same sample. Stated a different way, it is unlikely that the experimental and control groups approached the question with the same depth of perception, and that the difference in their overall result is not attributable to chance alone.

The sceptic might point out that the difference in the means is attributable to the fact that the pupils in the experimental group, as a group, achieved slightly better in the June examination. It has already been pointed out, however, that results in the early examinations are erratic so it cannot be assumed that the experimental group was any more adept in history than were the control group. In fact, the marks awarded for purely factual recall were not markedly different in the two groups. Where the experimental group scored, was in their ability to get to grips with the concept of "civilization" which the question was testing. Three examples of answers may be found in Appendix 6. Here are some of the points made: "V" (Group 1.1) suggested that the Indians did not need a complex government since they were a simple people with a simple life-style. They had a civilization that was perfect. The white man's idea of civilization was questioned, with his indiscriminate killing of the plains' animals. As far as warfare was concerned, the two peoples were equally bad. Being "civilized" and "advanced" did not give one the right to take other peoples' property. Rather, one had responsibilities towards them. "C" (Group 2.1) began: "I think that it's not only the civilization that

counts because, in the first place, the Plains Indians had been there long before the White Indians (sic) came" (which showed that there was still some uncertainty in his mind over the concepts, since he did not try to define civilization any more clearly). After giving some useful factual information regarding the threatened life-style of the Indians, he ended: "The Plains Indians lived together very happily and when the soldiers started trouble by blaming the Indians, trouble started." "P" (Group 3.1) makes some good points: "The Indians grew up on the plains and did not have any education and never came into contact with the modern world that's why they seemed unsivilized (sic)." "P" fails to limit the meaning of "education" to that of the white man, but this is nevertheless an astute observation.

Correlation of June exam results with multiple-choice test

The correlation of the June examination marks with the scores on the multiple-choice assessment test shows a coefficient of 0.42 for the experimental group and 0.25 for the control group. The "t" test ($P < .01$) indicates that the former correlation is statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence. The same test, however, shows the correlation in the case of the control group not to be statistically significant ($P > 0.1$ - see Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5.

Correlation of June examination result with multiple-choice test

	<u>All</u>	<u>Experimental Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>
r =	.37	.45	.31
t =	3.44	2.70	1.80
	P < .01 (sig.)	P < .01 (sig.)	P > .1 (not sig.)

From these statistics it can be suggested that the experimental group was more predictable in its performance in the assessment test, as compared with its performance in the June examination, than was the control group. Their respective means (6.92 for the experimental group and 6.35 for the control group) show that on the whole the experimental group performed better in the assessment test (0.57% higher). The experimental group had achieved a higher mean in the June examination than did the control group (77.14, opposed to 72.49), so it could be said that, with its

higher correlation coefficient, it more closely maintained this high standard. In fact, 22 out of its 36 members (61.1% of the group) scored more than the means for the group or the standard. As far as the control group was concerned, although there were some notably good results, which inflated the mean, only 22 out of 51 (43.1% of the group) managed a score above the mean for the group or standard. This would seem to suggest that the fairly low correlation of .42 in the case of the experimental group is more the result of pupils over-achieving, in comparison with their examination marks, than under-achieving. The reverse is what could be said for the control group, with its even lower correlation of .25.

Correlation of June exam results with September exam question

A correlation coefficient of 0.44 for the experimental group and 0.36 for the control group, both statistically significant at the 99% level of confidence), was measured when the June examination marks were correlated with the marks awarded on the September examination question on the Plains Indians (see Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.6.

Correlation of June examination results with September examination question on the Plains Indians

	<u>All</u>	<u>Experimental Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>
r =	.40	.44	.36
t =	4.02	2.85	2.70
P <	.01	.01	.01 (significant)

The mean for the experimental group was 6.28 and the mean for the control group was significantly lower at 5.24 ($P < .05$).

Twenty-four of the experimental group (66.7% of the group) scored more than the average of their standard on the September question, compared with twenty-six of the control group (only 50.9%). The degree of dispersion (standard deviation) of the experimental group is not as great as that of the control group (1.99 as opposed to 2.38). This again suggests that the experimental group is less erratic, and more compact in its scoring, with fewer extreme cases, than is the control group.

While one would hesitate to suggest that these figures are by any means

conclusive, their being determined by a single test and a single sample, one can say that if the June examination tested ability in history, then the question in September did likewise, and that, furthermore, the experimental group generally handled the question with greater confidence.

Reference has already been made to the examples of examination question's answers produced by the experimental group, one from each of the high, medium and low categories. These are reproduced in Appendix 6. Those who scored below the mean, particularly in the case of the control group, who had not had the benefit of a discussion session on the subject, were usually unable to do justice to the concept of "civilization". All three of these experimental group pupils have tried to explain their understanding of this concept in their own way. The examples already quoted can be examined again as ways in which three different ability groups were able to give some coherence to their explanations of the concept:

"V" (Group 1.1): writes "They (the Indians) were contented, lived in communication with nature, so they needed nothing more. Their civilization was perfect... Were the white men more civilized?"

"C" (Group 2.1) is not articulate: "I think that it's not only the civilization that counts..."

"P" (Group 3.1) writes "The Indians grew up in the plains and did not have any education and never came into contact with the modern world. That's why they seemed unsivilized (sic)."

Looking at the correlation involving the June examination marks, one might be surprised by the apparently low coefficients obtained (a correlation of $r = .35$ between these marks and the multiple-choice test, for example). This, however, could be explained in terms of the fact that tests of a different type were being compared. Firstly, the researcher had had no control over the setting of this examination, except to ensure that it has been set within the standard seven syllabus and that it was of a reasonably high standard. Secondly, although the paper included short questions, they were not of the multiple-choice type, nor had they set out to test concepts to any great extent (the closest to the test of a concept, possibly, being the question "Explain 'the right of veto'

in the Constitution of the United Nations.") but most of the questions required the recall of facts (e.g. "What is blitzkrieg in the Second World War?").

The correlation of the June examination marks with the results obtained on the essay question on the "civilization" concept, inserted into the September examination paper, shows a slightly higher coefficient ($r = .40$). This may be because the June examination, with its inclusion of some essay-type questions, shows a degree of overlap in type with the September question, whereas the multiple-choice test merely required the selection of one of four suggested answers.

The same pattern of low correlations found between the multiple-choice test and examination results and between the multiple-choice test and September examination essay question, which is found in the scores of the experimental group, is found in those of the control group. The difference in test type can be seen as the principal reason for this, therefore, rather than some variable introduced in the experimental situation (i.e. during the discussion sessions). See Table 4.7 and Figure 4.2.

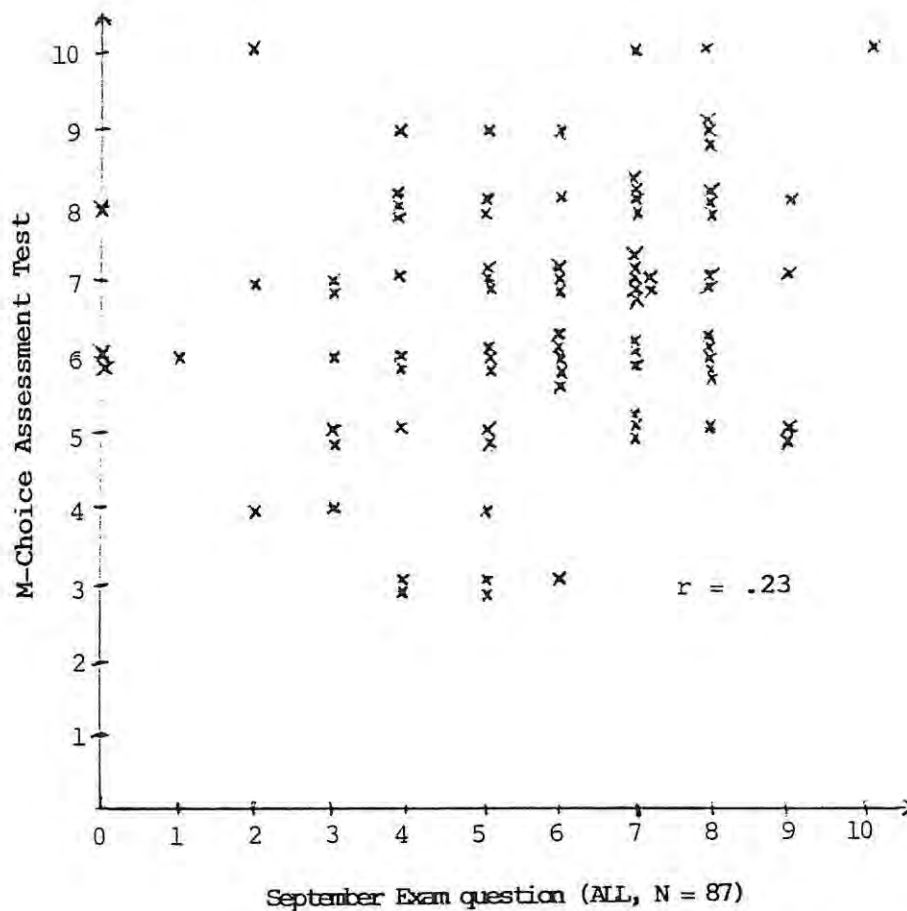
TABLE 4.7.

Correlation of multiple-choice test with September Examination question on the Plains Indians

	<u>All</u>	<u>Experimental Group</u>	<u>Control Group</u>
r =	.23	.27	.14
t =	2.18	1.64	0.99
	P < .05 (sig.)	P > .2 (not sig.)	P > .4 (not sig.)

FIGURE 4.2.

Scattergram showing correlation between scores on multiple-choice assessment test and September examination question on the Plains Indians



Finally, it must be remembered that in the case of the multiple-choice test and the examination question a very small range of marks (ten) was involved. Therefore, any slight deviation in the actual scores from those which would have been predictable would considerably affect the closeness of the correlation.

Word count of group discussions

An approximate word count from the transcripts was taken in order to determine the number of words spoken during the discussion sessions, relevant or not, by each of the twelve groups. Thereby it would be possible to compare quantitatively, as well as qualitatively that which was said during these sessions. The three high I.Q. homogeneous groups

used 2452, 1185 and 2457 words each, within the 20-25 minutes allowed, for an average of 2031 words per group. The three groups in the medium homogeneous section used 2416, 2919 and 2863 words each, for an average of 2766 words per group. The three low homogeneous groups used 1768, 942 and 2591 words respectively for an average of 1767 per group. The three mixed-ability groups used 2666, 1865 and 2550 words each for an average of 2360 words per group (see Table 4.8).

TABLE 4.8.
Discussion group word count

Group No.	Type of Group	Word Count	Averages per section
1.1	Homogeneous (high)	2452)	2031.33 (high)
1.2	Homogeneous (high)	1185) ...	
1.3	Homogeneous (high)	2457)	
2.1	Homogeneous (medium)	2416)	2766.00 (medium)
2.2	Homogeneous (medium)	2919) ...	
2.3	Homogeneous (medium)	2863)	
3.1	Homogeneous (low)	1768)	1767.00 (low)
3.2	Homogeneous (low)	942) ...	
3.3	Homogeneous (low)	2591)	
4.1	Mixed-ability	2666)	2360.33 (mixed-ability)
4.2	Mixed-ability	1865) ...	
4.3	Mixed-ability	2550)	

It is interesting to note that the high homogeneous section is the most concise in their expression. The medium section have more to say than the others, but further study shows that they cover fewer points in depth than the top homogeneous or mixed ability sections do. The low homogeneous section has least to say simply because two of the groups ran out of subject matter very soon. There will be further comment on these figures in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

PUPILS' RESULTS IN TERMS OF CONCEPT CRITERIA

In the course of this analysis evidence will be presented to show that group discussion is an effective form of history learning. In order to establish the quality of the discussions a number of criteria were set up. These would enable a quantitative analysis to be made of the points or ideas put forward by the various groups on each question.

A tentative list of appropriate responses to the questions was drawn up, some of which it was hoped the pupils would raise themselves. These were then checked against what the pupils had actually said by going over the transcript of each group. Where possible, statements made by pupils were matched with those responses already listed. Where a pupil had made a valid comment which did not correspond with any statement already on the list, the new point was added to it. Alternatively, an established response might be modified to support a wider range of interpretation.

This procedure was followed to determine the depth reached by each of the discussion groups, individually and in total. A most impressive list resulted. In a large number of cases the recorded responses represented conceptual thinking of a mature nature. Such thinking was not only confined to the groups from the high I.Q. band, but groups from both the medium and low I.Q. bands also made valuable contributions towards the overall success of the exercise.

The questions that each group was asked were:

1. What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indians' hunting grounds on the lives of the Plains Indians?
2. We have seen that some white men claimed that they had a right to Indian territory on the grounds that they were more civilized and could use the land more profitably. How would you support or criticize this claim?

3. List three or four similarities between parts of South African history and this period of American history.

The criteria on which the quantitative analysis was based in question 1, with examples to show how pupils' statements matched them are now listed:

1. The buffalo became almost extinct, because the white man hunted them indiscriminately, and the ecological balance was upset.

e.g. "V: Ja, and also the reason why it dropped wasn't for that (the number killed), it was because they were running out of buffaloes to kill, more likely" (1.3, line 10).

2. The Indian's source of life was removed because of the white man's killing all the buffalo.

e.g. "V: ...they couldn't obtain enough food, clothes, no nothing" (1.1, line 1).

3. A large number of Indians died as a result of having their principal life-source removed.

e.g. "M: Well, instead of making...just, instead of just wiping out the Indians, they're wiping out the buffaloes as well, so, so then they really two... things in one go" (3.1, lines 6 and 8).

4. The Indian was forced to change his life-style from that of the nomad to that of the settler, from that of the hunter to that of the agriculturalist.

e.g. "J: But I see your point there, because most Indians didn't grow crops or have cattle, or sheep or any livestock. They just followed the buffalo around..." (2.3, line 40).

5. The Indians became more aggressive as a result of the inroads made on their territory by the white man.

e.g. "W: ...I suppose it also led them to become more aggressive, because first of all their culture's being destroyed...and now they were perhaps getting hunting parties to go out and attack wagon trains and things like that..." (1.2, line 3).

6. The Indian would become more dependent on the white man for his livelihood.

e.g. "M: They'd resort to going to all the forts for supplies and they had to start selling their land to the um, white man, so that they could survive" (3.3, line 1).

7. The Indian tribes would become fragmented and dispersed over a wide area as a result of the destruction of their hunting grounds.

e.g. "R: O.K. Look here, um, ah, look at the big difference between the Indians over there - all that territory (referring to the 1840 map) - and the Indians in 1900" (2.2, line 36).

In many of the examples the pupils' statements fit fairly easily into the suggested category; in others (for example, number 7) it was necessary to think in terms of what was intended, as much as of what was actually said.

Table 5.1 provides a quantitative analysis of the valid points, based on question 1, which were raised by the groups. The results are given for all the groups, as well as according to group composition and stimulus-type.

TABLE 5.1.

Quantitative analysis of valid points raised in question one

Valid concepts or ideas from question one	Group Composition					Stimulus		
	All grps.	High I.Q.	Med I.Q.	Low I.Q.	Mixed abil.	Docu- ments	Maps	Stats
out of:	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
1. Buffalo almost extinct	11	3	3	3	2	4	3	4
2. Indian sources of life destroyed	10	2	3	3	2	3	4	3
3. Indian population killed off	10	2	2	3	3	3	3	4
4. Change from nomad to settler and hunter to agriculturalist	7	1	3	1	2	2	3	2
5. Indians became more aggressive	7	2	2	-	3	1	3	3
6. Dependence on white man's support	6	2	1	2	1	1	2	3
7. Fragmentation/disper- sal of tribes	2	-	1	1	-	-	2	-

It can be claimed that the first three responses in this table are the most important as far as question 1 is concerned: they summarize the significance and the implications of the buffalo killing, and so suggest that almost all the groups acquired the appropriate concepts. Responses 4, 5 and 6 are also worth noting as the pupils, to make them, were forced to go beyond the immediate evidence. These points were only indirectly referred to in the two input lessons.

Nine categories were decided on for question two. There were more points made here than in question 1 because this question involved interpretation and definition of the terms "profit", "civilization" and "fairness" within the specific context of the American West. There was a wide range of possible arguments to use:

1. An attempt to define the meaning of "profitable use of land" in the context of the Plains Indians and the white man.

- e.g. "P: Well, you can't...oh, summing up is that the white man is a bit pushy, I think.
- D: Ja, greedy.
- P: And wanting to take over.
- V: Yeah, have everything for themselves.
- D: And expand his profits" (4.1, lines 128-132).
2. There was a conflict between tribal and white values, especially with regard to land ownership and animal use.
- e.g. "S: The Indians would use the land in their own way, and then they'd think their own way was for them. People have their own opinions about that. Indians aren't much worried about profits, they just want to support themselves" (1.2, line 5. This is a statement that could fit into both categories 1 and 2).
3. The supposed superiority of a group is not a sufficient argument for the removal of people who have been in possession of the land for a long time.
- e.g. "I: Well, the Indians had been living there for thousands, yes thousands of years before the white man came along" (1.1, line 61).
4. An attempt to define the level of civilization of the whites and the trappings of civilization they brought with them.
- e.g. "V: They thought they were so civilized, the Yanks, with their culture and their religion and their machinery. They thought they could...they just gave them the right to wipe out anybody they felt like" (1.1, line 7).
5. An attempt to define rights to land and the fairness of claims.
- e.g. "S: ...we agreed they (the whites) didn't have the right to, um, claim the right to land. They couldn't claim the right" (1.2, line 29).

6. A recognition that definitions might change and be dependent upon varying needs.

e.g. "P: Because civilized actually means, from the white man's point of view, is more advanced. Let's see, the Indians were more advanced in, um, their living on the plains" (4.1, line 29).

7. Meaning of "civilization" or what it is not.

e.g. "V: Do you think they were more civilized, though? I mean their wars, their misdemeanours and that - they just had more advanced machinery to do it" (1.1, line 12).

8. Justification for white actions based on modernity/industrialisation.

e.g. "S: ...they are supposed to have the land because they can do more with it.

V: The white man didn't get more civilized - they were more modernized" (2.1, lines 108-109).

9. The idea of racial superiority questioned.

e.g. "B: There were also friendly Indian tribes which didn't have... or which didn't want to fight wars. These tribes were just slaughtered just because they were Indians, not because of anything else" (4.2, line 53).

TABLE 5.2.

Quantitative analysis of valid points raised in question two

Valid concepts or ideas from question two	<u>Group Composition</u>					<u>Stimulus</u>		
	All grps.	High I.Q.	Med I.Q.	Low I.Q.	Mixed abil.	Docu- ments	Maps	Stats
out of:	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
1. Meaning of "profitable use of land"	11	3	3	3	2	4	4	3
2. Conflict between tribal and white values, e.g. of land	10	3	3	2	2	3	3	4
3. Indians there a long time/they could not be moved	10	3	3	1	3	3	3	4
4. Were the whites civilized?/trappings of civilization	7	3	1	-	3	2	3	2
5. How do you claim rights to land, etc.?	7	2	1	2	2	1	2	4
6. Are these definitions unchanging?	5	1	1	2	1	3	-	2
7. Meaning of "civilization"	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
8. Justification for occupation based on modernity, machines	3	-	1	-	2	2	1	-
9. Whites' idea of racial superiority questioned	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	1

Once again the large proportion of groups who mentioned the first three responses is noteworthy, as all of these reflect an unwillingness to apply absolute or one-sided interpretations. In the same way, more than half questioned the link between civilization and technology (response 4); and just under half specifically questioned the unchanging nature of a definition of civilization (response 6).

In Shemilt's (1980, pp. 11, 12) evaluation of the History 13-16 Project he showed that the "Project pupils" were statistically significantly more likely to recognize the implications of continuity and change and that change is not always for the good and (p. 25) that history is heavily dependent upon explanation. It could be argued that the pupils in this

study were exhibiting similar tendencies. These are particularly evident in their discussions on question 2.

Because of the open nature of question 3 ("List three or four similarities between parts of South African history and this period of American history") there was a wide spread of answers from the groups. In some instances groups gave differences rather than similarities. These were also included as being valid comments. For this reason the list of criteria by which the question was judged is longer than for the other two questions.

1. The westward "trek" of the white homesteaders in America and the north-eastern "trek" of the trek-boer and voortrekker in South Africa both led to confrontation with the indigenous population.

e.g. "M: Trekking from one side to the other.

W: Ja, the Great Trek and also, um, the clash between the original..." (1.2, line 10 ff.).

2. The populations of the Plains Indians and the blacks of South Africa have both been restricted to certain territories, and in some cases been forcibly removed.

e.g. "P: We drove them out and gave them certain places where they could live in, and it was the same with the people in America" (3.1, line 15).

3. In the case of both the Indians and the blacks of South Africa different attitudes were held towards land ownership and animal use.

e.g. "I: ...the Indians said the land was...didn't belong to them, like they couldn't own the land. Then the black people, when a white man gave him a gift to use his land, the black people didn't think he was keeping it for himself; he was just using it, like borrowing the land..." (1.1, line 49).

4. There were inter-tribal wars between the Zulus in South Africa. In America, there were wars between the Indian tribes from time to time if they felt their hunting grounds were being threatened.

e.g. "M: And also the Zulus, the main tribe, they used to fight against all these other tribes..." (3.3, line 92).

5. The Indians of the Plains and the Khoi-San of South Africa were wiped out to a large extent, but the blacks of South Africa were not.

e.g. "V: The same was in South Africa, I mean, look when Jan van Riebeeck came here...er, I think it's the bushmen, they hunted down, they formed hunting parties, and hunted down the bushmen" (4.1, line 91).

6. In both America and South Africa the white man was looking for new farm land or pasturage.

e.g. "M: Ja, but the blacks had the better grazing land, so they wanted grazing land, so they went over like the frontiers and all that stuff. That's how it started" (3.3, line 119).

7. In both the case of the Indians and the Khoi-San their source of life was removed.

e.g. "J: And Americans as the settlers, and the buffalo as the game. Right, they...like, you know, kudu and all that. The Indian...the er, bushmen would get...start killing the...um, game. They also like lived on their natural...natural things" (2.3, line 105).

8. The white man's culture was forced on the indigenous peoples. The white man had a superior attitude towards them.

e.g. "V: Indians were less civilized than they were, and they like looked down on them..." (1.1, line 52).

9. Both South Africa and America had a "gold rush" which brought about large-scale migration across a vast territory.
- e.g. "B: When there was gold found in our country districts, the people just stormed there..." (4.2, line 59).
10. South African blacks were generally herders, but the Indians were hunter-gatherers.
- e.g. "P The blacks I don't think were alike, almost like the Indians for the Indians didn't cultivate their grounds but the blacks did" (3.1, line 9).
11. The boundaries of white man's land in America and South Africa were shifted from time to time.
- e.g. "W: There were boundaries made and finally shifted back and shifted back. The same thing here in South Africa..." (1.2, line 17).
12. The Indian and the South African black became dependent on the white man.
- e.g. "W: ...and then they slowly had to start relying on the white man" (1.2, line 24).

The need at times to infer from an incomplete response was mentioned when the criteria for question 1 were described. This occurred even more strikingly when responses to question 3 were examined. As can be seen in some of the criteria examples (2, 4, 6, 8, 9 and 12) groups tended to mention only one side of the comparison, but in most cases, the second part of the comparison can be easily and legitimately inferred from the context.

TABLE 5.3.

Quantitative analysis of valid points raised in question three

Valid concepts or ideas from question three	All grps.	High I.Q.	Med I.Q.	Low I.Q.	Mixed abil.	Docu- ments	Maps	Stats
out of:	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
1. White western/eastern "trek" led to confront- ation	9	3	2	1	3	3	3	3
2. Indian and Black popu- lations removed to reservations	7	2	1	3	1	2	2	3
3. Different attitudes to land by whites and natives	5	3	1	1	-	1	2	2
4. Inter-tribal wars be- tween Zulus and Indians	5	1	-	2	2	1	1	3
5. Indians and Khoi-San wiped out, but not S.A. blacks	5	2	1	1	1	2	-	3
6. White man in America/ S.A. searching for farm land	4	-	2	1	1	2	1	1
7. Removal of source of life of indigenous people	4	2	1	1	-	1	1	2
8. White's culture forced on the indigenous people	4	2	-	1	1	2	-	2
9. S.A. and America had a "gold rush"	3	-	1	-	2	1	1	1
10. S.A. blacks generally herders but Indians hunter-gatherers	2	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
11. Shifting of boundaries	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	-
12. New dependence on white man's support	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-

The more open-ended nature of this question is revealed by the more wide-spread nature of the pupils' responses. In preparing for this analysis a comparatively small number of possible criteria was tentatively identified. Several more had to be added as the transcripts were carefully examined. Nevertheless, the comparatively large number of groups who opted for the

first five responses suggests that the input lessons and the stimulus material had generated a satisfactory range of valid comparisons.

A count was also taken of the number of valid concepts or ideas raised by each group, as well as the total number of times these were mentioned during the discussion. In order for the concept to be counted more than once the discussion had to move away from that point and then return to it later, sometimes only in the summing up stage, and at other times before that. This was done in order to determine whether any groups showed an ascendancy over the others in their ability to make points and argue them out.

TABLE 5.4.

Number of valid points raised per group and total number of times these points were mentioned

<u>Group Type</u>	<u>Group No</u>	<u>No. of points</u>	<u>No. of times mentioned</u>
High I.Q.	1.1	17	36
	1.2	15	22
	1.3	19	24
(Average = 17)			
Medium I.Q.	2.1	11	16
	2.2	16	27
	2.3	13	17
(Average = 13.3)			
Low I.Q.	3.1	13	17
	3.2	7	9
	3.3	17	26
(Average = 12.3)			
Mixed I.Q.	4.1	13	19
	4.2	14	19
	4.3	15	23
(Average = 14)			

No particularly strong points seem to emerge from the figures in this table. Most groups were prepared to return to, and perhaps re-inforce, an earlier point of agreement or interpretation. Sometimes this return advanced the argument no further, but this is common in unguided discussions. There is one clear exception to this pattern (Group 3.2), but this group also produced the smallest number of reference points and spoke the least of all the groups. There is another exception which operates in the opposite direction (Group 1.1) which more than doubled

the references in the second column.

The three questions set required different historical skills from the pupils. The first one (What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indians' hunting grounds on the lives of the Plains Indians?) required that the pupils recall points made during the introductory lessons or that these be gleaned from the hand-out notes. This information about the life-style of the Indians then had to be applied to the special circumstances, namely the destruction of the buffalo. The groups all coped with this question fairly easily, except that, strange to say, those groups with the documentary stimulus generally made fewer points than did the group with the map stimulus or that with the statistical stimulus (see Appendix 3, Sources 1, 2 and 3). Since it is only in this question that this deficiency occurs, a possible explanation is that these groups soon lost interest in this question and gave their attention to the second question, which was more taxing. Group 1.1, for example, made only three points on this issue, which adequately summed up the problem, before moving on to question 2. These points were that the Indian sources of life had been removed, that the buffalo had been reduced to virtual extinction, and that the Indian population would have decreased. "V" began the discussion with the words "Well it would seem pretty obvious that they couldn't obtain enough..." Over the whole exercise, however, they made more points than did any other group.

The second question required skill in defining the concepts of "civilization", "profit" and "fairness" and transferring these concepts to the unfamiliar situation of America in the mid-nineteenth century. The performance of the groups was clearly different from that of the first question. The groups representing the high I.Q. band showed their superiority over those from the medium and low I.Q. bands, but the groups of mixed ability made nearly as many points as did the high I.Q. groups. The fact that the medium and low homogeneous groups did not perform as well in this question as the high I.Q. groups indicates that they found the historical skills involved more difficult. From a different perspective, the groups who had had the map stimulus (see Appendix 3, Source 2) answered this question less thoroughly than did the others. The influence of the special stimuli will be discussed fully later in this chapter.

The making of a point does not necessarily imply the ability to define that point. Only four of the groups tried to explain the meaning of the term "civilization" which they took for granted in many cases. A further two groups did, however, go so far as to suggest that the meaning of this concept had to be seen in respect of the needs of the people. Seven groups suggested that the whites weren't particularly civilized, either because of their low moral values or simply because of the way they allowed the buffalo meat to go to waste. Group 1.1 enters a fairly lengthy argument on the meaning of the concept, to which the group returns throughout the discussion. It begins with "V" making the remark "...it was because they were more civilized" (line 10). He obviously feels some misgivings, and in line 12 asks "Do you think they were more civilized, though? Speaking of the Indians a little later, "P" says: "They weren't under-civilized, they were civilized to their own need."

Question 3 tested the skill of comparison of historical events or features in two countries, America and South Africa. Here it was once again the high homogeneous groups that performed the best. This shows the degree of difficulty that the majority of the groups experienced in matching historical events. Group 3.2, for example, could find no similarities, but only a difference:

29. F: ...I still can't think what we...um...about number three. We haven't really discussed that very well. I can't think of very many similarities. The only opposite thing is like, as I said later, er, earlier on, it's now white taking from black and not black from white (3.2, line 29).

The groups with the statistical stimulus (.3) proved to have more ideas than did the other groups, on average. The fact that these groups had figures showing the effects of the buffalo killing on the Indian population, for example, possibly led them to consider similar events in South African history - the wiping out of the Khoi-san and the destruction of the South African wild life in the veld - which not all the other groups thought about (see Table 5.1).

The points listed in Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3, and referred to in Table 5.4, were not the only points made by the groups. There were several

interesting ideas that were mentioned which showed historical insight, but were either not relevant or which were relevant to the topic as a whole but did not belong with the question under discussion at the time. For example, Group 1.1 refers to the destruction of the Aztecs and Incas by the Spanish in South and Central America (line 33). Group 2.3, at the summing up stage, enter a discussion on how the question of the Plains ought to have been handled, rather than listing the actual results (lines 111-118). Group 4.1 makes a very good point in line 106 when "V" remarks: "In South Africa and for America the history books that they write are more about whites' history...towards whites' history...from one side. That was their...they, they don't say it from the Indians' side."

There has been growing interest in what is now termed the "skills" approach to the teaching of history since Coltham's and Fines' (1971) attempt to list objectives for the study of history, The objectives have subsequently been refined and particularized, especially in the Department of Education and Science's paper (1985) and in Sylvester's (1980) presentation, which referred specifically to the objectives of the History 13-6 Project. The D.E.S. list, however, did not confine the skills to a particular project or course, but suggested that these should be developed in any scheme of work. It suggests (D.E.S., 1985, pp. 18-19) that by the age of fourteen, pupils ought to be able to use an increasing number of terms from the topics studied. They ought also to be able to use terms commonly found in historical explanation (e.g. motive, cause, change, reform, progress, economic, political, social). By the age of sixteen these ought to be extended. Empathetic understanding ought also to be developed to the extent that the pupil can see two sides of an argument, even if he does not agree with one of them. He ought by the age of fourteen to be able to compare and contrast two accounts of the same event and recognise that evidence may not always be impartial (see the documents used in the stimulus materials, Appendix 3). He should be able to distinguish between fact and opinion, and begin to interpret simple statistical sources (see those in the stimulus materials, Appendix 3).

In addition to this range of skills, Sylvester suggested that the fourteen-year-old history pupil ought to have a knowledge of the chronological sequence of at least his own country's history. Most important, for this study, he ought to be aware of a variety of historical evidence. He ought to be able to distinguish between primary and secondary sources.

He ought to be able to interpret secondary sources such as maps, charts or graphs (see stimulus materials, Appendix 3). He ought to be able to summarize evidence and draw relevant conclusions (Sylvester, D., 1980, p. 29).

In the discussion groups of this study, pupils were forced to bring several of these skills into use, if they were to produce worthwhile arguments. As can be seen by the number of valid ideas that were forthcoming, none of the groups was entirely wanting in this respect. Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 show that at least 28 concepts or ideas were forthcoming from all the groups combined.

In contrast to these positive points, the groups suggested a large number of historically invalid points during the discussions. These were scattered across the full spectrum of questions and no I.Q. band was any less blameless in this regard. It is important to note that in a normal teaching situation there would be a report-back session during which time any errors of reasoning or misinterpretations might be corrected. Mistakes could occur through shortcomings in historical knowledge, through false reasoning or through poor or biased teaching. It must however be recognized that the attribution of a serious error is one person's subjective opinion. The quality of the errors can be assessed through the examples that follow.

TABLE 5.5.

Number of serious errors made for each question

	<u>1.1</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Q. 1	-	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	= 7
Q. 2	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	= 4
Q. 3	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	= <u>15</u>
Totals	3	2	4	5	1	3	2	2	-	1	2	1	26

From table 5.3 it can be seen that question 3, already mentioned as giving the most difficulty, occasioned more invalid statements than did the other two questions together. This is not surprising if it is borne in mind that the history of two countries was involved and the chance of making an error would be compounded. It should also be remembered that the pupils were not expecting a task of comparison, and would have had to dredge such comparisons up fairly hastily. No specific comparative points were made in the in-

put lessons other than a passing comment on the fact that gold rushes had occurred in places other than South Africa. The comparatively low occurrences of errors in the other two questions is gratifying. The fact that so few errors were made by the groups from the low I.Q. band, however, indicates in this case not that their contributions were more reliable but that they were more limited on the whole and that they were less willing to take risks.

Very seldom did one group make precisely the same error as another group. Two examples of this happening could reveal the influence of inadequate primary school and standard six teaching, together with the influence of the current political situation in South Africa. Three groups suggested that the extermination of the Indians in North America could be compared with the methods of riot control used by the South African Police. Here is a very disjointed piece of thinking by a pupil in group 1.1:

37. I: Ja. Let's just look at number three then. (Reads) "List three or four similarities..." Well what is happening now is...Remember that riot in Uitenhage a few years ago when I think it was 19 black people were killed. Nothing happened when how many Indians were killed a few years ago? Well, I mean, these things - these exterminations - nothing was said. Then just because 19 were killed just because of the riots, they want to like jump down our necks because they say ja, we're uncivilized because we are...If we didn't, if the white people didn't come to South Africa the black people would still be running around...like living in their house and that. They wouldn't have anything (1.1, line 37).

The second common error has been taught, it would seem. Three groups (1.1, 4.1 and 4.3) came up with the idea that when the white man came to South Africa, the black man was "not there":

D: When South Africans came to South Africa, they weren't interested in killing the natural animals (cautious agreement by the others). They just wanted land, and when they took the land the blacks weren't there. And later on the blacks attacked them without any reason. Now here the Indians had reason (4.1, line 79).

Group 4.3 maintained that they had "just come from central Africa":

W: And like South Africa. When the blacks arrived here.
They came from central Africa, or tropical...

B: North Africa, ja. And they came down.

W: Or the Great Lakes. Ja, and they came down. Then
from Natal. So when the Dutch came, and landed here
then only some...

B: They only colonized around the Cape Peninsula, and
then sort of moved out.

W: Ja, there were only blacks in the Natal area.
(4.3, lines 119-123)

In both these instances, as in others where the boys were not so sure of their facts, the argument soon shifted to another subject. Points like these are sensitive issues in South African history and it is clear that a certain view had been taught to these pupils which they had learned well.

In other cases, clear misinterpretation had taken place. Group 3.1, for example, in a desperate search for points of similarity suggested that the British had almost wiped out the Zulus in Natal (3.1, line 9). Group 2.2 suggested that the plains of North America were "mainly just desert" (2.2, line 79). In the latter instance, this view was not held by all the members of the group and there were immediately suggestions about pasturage being available. The error is not entirely corrected, however, because a brief discussion then takes place on the question of how one could water the plains, to make them profitable (lines 80-81).

As an example of an error made through false logic, Group 1.3 suggests that the actions of the white colonists in destroying the Indian's habitat was justified in terms of America's future success as a world power (1.3, lines 28 and 38). This point of view lacks the empathy with which pupils of history of the age of 14-15 years ought to be equipped, and this would need to be pointed out by the teacher. In spite of the fact that this group expressed these or similar sentiments on four different occasions during the discussion, including at the summing up stage, at the end it is "V" who says (line 91) "No, but you are looking

at it from the white man's point of view, saying that he used (the land) much better." The fact that pupils are sometimes able to correct one another will be discussed in Chapter Six.

In spite of the mistakes that were made during the discussions, the final impression was one of valid and constructive argument at a level which easily conforms, as has been suggested, to the standards of the Department of Education and Science.

CHAPTER SIX

STIMULUS, GROUP-TYPE AND LEADERSHIP

This chapter considers the further aspects of the analysis: performance in relationship to stimulus; performance in terms of group ability and the role of leadership. It has already been explained that one of three different types of stimuli was supplied with the same set of questions for discussion. Four groups received two conflicting items of documentary evidence on the buffalo killing, four received two maps, one showing the extent of Indian territory before the buffalo killing and the other the positions of the Indian reservations after it. The final four groups received two sets of statistical data, one showing the decrease in the Indian and buffalo populations and the other the numbers of buffalo hides and carcasses handled by the railroads during the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, each set of questions included a common stimulus, a reproduction of a buffalo hunter in the act of skinning a buffalo, with other carcasses visible, scattered about the prairies (see Appendix 3).

The groups' responses to the varying stimulus material is shown in Table 6.1

TABLE 6.1.

Analysis of varying stimulus material and types of response

<u>Group Type</u>	<u>Documents</u>		<u>Maps</u>		<u>Statistics</u>	
	<u>Group</u>	<u>No. of refs.</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>No. of refs.</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>No. of refs.</u>
High I.Q.	1.1	17	1.2	15	1.3	19
Medium I.Q.	2.1	11	2.2	16	2.3	13
Low I.Q.	3.1	13	3.2	7	3.3	17
Mixed I.Q.	4.1	<u>13</u>	4.2	<u>14</u>	4.3	<u>15</u>
Totals		54		52		64

These stimuli were used by the groups with varying success. The maps, given to Groups 1.2, 2.2, 3.2 and 4.2, were the least successful. These groups found less to say on average than the others. In terms of lines spoken, Group 2.2 said more than any other, but the discussion was of poor quality and tended to be repetitive on numerous occasions. For example, while they are attempting question 2 (regarding the white man's claim to the plains on the grounds that he would use them more profitably) the following interchange was recorded:

79. S: I wonder how they could use the land more profitably,
'cos it was mainly just desert.

80. B: Oh ja, if they watered it, then it would be, oh they could be able to profit.

81. S: You couldn't really water an immense area.
(2.2, lines 79-81)

Although this may be interpreted as using this map and the one in the common source material accompanying the input lessons appropriately, it should be noted that a specific explanation was given of the meaning of the word "desert" in this particular context and that the land could not be compared to the Karoo or the Kalahari.

Group 1.2 wasted time on an unsound suggestion in line 3, with "W" putting forward the idea that the Indians gained much of their land by "stealing", and giving too much attention to the thought that Indians would have to go "job seeking" after their hunting grounds had been destroyed, instead of noting the shrinking of their territory to a few scattered reservations. This same group covered the entire second question (relating to the concept of "civilization"), with all its ramifications, in the space of three inter-changes, with no contribution from one of the group, "M", at all (lines 4 to 6). During this discussion session only the merest reference to the maps was made at all - reference is made to "reservations" in line 22.

Without any help from this group it takes "W" till the last line of this (short by the standards of the others) piece to see a relationship to the South African Group Areas Act and the "locations for the blacks" (line 36). This part of the summary, which each group was invited to make, was really a new point, because reference had previously only been made to the independent states. That "W" was able to reach this comparison is all to his credit, but because of lack of support the discussion petered out at this point.

Returning to the previously mentioned group, 2.2, there is similarly a scant use of the maps. After some lack-lustre, but protracted, exchanges one boy is all for pressing on to the second question at line 31. It is only then that another suggests that they examine their maps closely. They are not able to glean much from these information sources, however, for in line 37 the comment is made "And look at the picture here...I don't know" and this line of approach is dropped.

In group 3.2 barely any constructive use is made of the map information. To start with, the fact that there would be too much grazing being unused after the buffalo killing, was emphasized in place of the reality of the effect on the Indians:

1. F: The buffaloes that were killed. In all this grass...there was too much grass there, y'know. Like the eco-system wants...accept, hm? 'Cos all these animals...usually there'd be lots of them to eat all this grass and things. And now there was more grass, they wouldn't be able to move around so much. They'd concentrate in one place, because there'd be enough grass for them. Buffaloes were killed and the Indians must have lost.
2. G: Ja, the Indians...

3. F: They didn't have as much food, they didn't have enough chance to get to the buffalo for clothes. They had to start making other things to make their tents with and so forth...
4. P: And, er, the Americans who supplied all the stuff for making tents and that.
5. F: Number two, now...
(3.2, lines 1-5)

Question 1 was, as a consequence, finished with in the space of the first four exchanges. Eventually in line 23 "P" referred to the "second picture" but "F" misinterpreted its message by suggesting that the Indians would have to adapt by "making little boats" (line 26) in order to be able to navigate the rivers which apparently ran through the reservations.

At hardly any stage did group 4.2 refer to the stimulus material. They seemed happy to say that the Indian had died out as a result of the destruction of his hunting grounds. A better understanding of the maps before them might have enabled them to explain more conclusively why this had to happen (i.e. that because they were limited to small areas of land - the reservations - they were no longer able to follow the herds). The opinion one gained from this group was that they saw the maps as mere decorations on the paper. Comments were made, such as that of "F" in line 47): "The piece could have been left there and then the Indians wouldn't have needed so much land, so they could have divided that country and let the white man abide (sic) the laws." It is difficult to make out exactly what the speaker meant, or imagined to have been practicable, but it would seem that he has missed the fact that the country was divided but that this had not helped the Indians' plight at all. "B" contributed a more sensible statement in line 48, where he said that the "desert" was inhabited by the buffalo and Indians, and went on: "You know it was right through their land. The white man just took that away from them." In the summing up at the end, however, "B" bows to the feeling of the others in that "they should have given... the Indians separate country and the white man separate country (line 72).

The lack of use made of the map stimulus can be put down to lack of practice in interpreting maps, but nevertheless it would appear that pupils at the standard seven level might find words more meaningful than diagrams. Gunning, for instance, suggests that:

Tasks involving interpretation, which also help teach concepts, should not be attempted before the pupils are able to translate. For example, they must be able to read off a graph (or map) before they can interpret these figures.

(Gunning, D., 1978, p. 40)

It could be argued, therefore, that these pupils needed more practice in translating from the map to the written medium. Hallam has pointed out that thinking skills develop relatively late in history:

Not only is the action far removed from the children's immediate world but they can be faced at the hypothetical level with inferences and moral dilemmas which can perplex the most intelligent of adults.

(Hallam, 1970, p. 166)

It is now necessary to turn to the "documents" stimulus. Group 1.1 saw the first question as being fairly straightforward. They would have probably been able to answer it as well without the given documentary stimulus (see Appendix 3). In any event, in the early exchanges only "P" made any direct reference to the waste which went with the buffalo killing. These documents may, however, have sparked off some of the criticism they levelled at the white man under the second question. In line 7 "V" said: "...they thought they were so civilized...They thought...they just gave them the right to wipe out anybody they felt like." Later, in line 32 "V" used the stimulus sheet to emphasize his point, but found it easier to refer to the picture of the buffalo being skinned, rather than the written evidence ("These people just leave whole carcasses lying there. That's not civilized at all.").

Group 1.1, more than any other, placed emphasis throughout the discussion on the white man's mistaken self-image of superiority of civilization. This would tend to show that the ideas contained in the written evidence influenced the group's thinking, even though no direct reference was made to Sheridan or Abbot. The reader should note the reference to the

mistaken idea of civilization of the "Yanks" in line 7 and their self-centredness in line 10, which concludes "The rest of the people were just things to be used." "P", who had little to say during the discussion, did make a very important contribution in line 23, which showed how he was beginning to come to a wider understanding of the concept of "civilization" ("But the Indians were civilized; they were civilized to what they needed."). By the end of the discussion, all the members of the group were using the expression more carefully (e.g. line 82: "V: There's no civilization on this planet, really.").

The term "civilization" was, of course, used in question 2 ("We have seen that some white men claimed that they had a right to Indian territory on the grounds that they were more civilized...") but the group took this to the point where it was compared with the waste and destruction brought about by the buffalo killing, referred to in the Abbot source. Compare this thorough handling of the concept with that of Group 1.2, where the term is used twice only (in line 3: "W: ...And the grouping...well they couldn't stick together in their own sort of civilization, their own encampment" and, with reference to the white man, in line 4: "W: ...O.K., they were more civilized...") in ways which shows no deep understanding of the concept at all, "V" in Group 1.1 does make a questionable statement in line 10 ("It wasn't because their skin was white, it was because they were more civilized") but he is very quick to modify his statement the next time he speaks: "Do you think they were more civilized, though? I mean their wars, their misdemeanours and that..." (1.1, line 12).

Group 2.1 is far less confident than the "top" group. Not having the same degree of general knowledge, they have greater need of stimulus material, but do not have the powers of comprehension to put it to the best use. In line 14 "C" points to the wastage referred to in the Abbot document ("...If it became dark, they'd leave...them there to rot..."). The same point is repeated by the other two group members, but they do not connect it immediately with lack of "civilized" habits. It is possible that the reference to cattle in line 19 stems from the Sheridan document, but it did not stimulate a discussion of the concept of civilization at all. They based their answer to question 2 almost purely on the argument concerning who had been there first and what they could do with the land. It is possible that someone with deeper historical insight might have

been able to pursue the statement made at lines 59, 74 and at the end, at 109, that "the white man didn't get more civilized - they were more modernized." As it was, the various complex nuances of "civilization" seemed lost to the group. This proved true for "S", who, in the follow-up test, chose the option which stated that the Indians were "uncivilized because they were hunters, not farmers."

"S" actually suggested that it would be the Indian, and not the white man that would bring about the extinction of the buffalo (line 88). Part of the reason for this mistaken idea can be seen in his misinterpretation of the source from the notes that he quoted (Source 6). It would have been completely out of character for the Indian to bring about his own destruction. "S", however, immediately connected Source 6 (which describes a buffalo hunt) with the description of the large-scale buffalo killing in the stimulus material.

A far more serious error came to light in the comprehension of the stimulus material. It became evident that "S" actually thought that the reference to the wasteful buffalo killing in the Abbot source was a condemnation of the Indian and not the United States government. In line 82, he made out that "it says in that one (meaning "that source") they (the Indians)...killed and left more of the meat" and continued "if they didn't kill the buffaloes they were more and more civilized." He finally suggested that if they had turned to stock farming "they wouldn't have to plunder...ruthlessly." This interpretation must have been good enough to convince the other boys in the group, since there was no dissenting view expressed. This nullified the value of the source, because the fact was missed that killing buffalo in no way jeopardised the Indian's claim to being "civilized", nor, in fact, did they ever resort to "plundering" their source of livelihood, "ruthlessly".

Group 3.1 understandably (since they were all from the low I.Q. range, and had a reputation for being slow learners) treated the questions fairly superficially. They took more time than any other group to read over the stimulus material, together with the questions set. There was a very long period of silence before any boy ventured a remark. Although slowness and care in answering does not necessarily mean poor answering, from the course of the discussion it would seem that little of the

import of these conflicting documents was properly comprehended. The only reference to their contents came in their expressed horror at the fact that carcasses were left to rot, with the subsequent wastage of meat (line 17). Despite this, the group scored as high as the mixed ability group in terms of the number of criteria points they were able to meet.

In discussing the concept of "civilization", Group 3.1 accepted without reserve the statement in question 2 that the white man was more civilized and for that reason had a valid claim to the land. "V" (line 12), while apparently accepting the statement regarding "civilization", takes up the issue of land claiming. He suggested that "because the land belonged to the people...(it) doesn't matter how civilized or uncivilized they are, they still live on that land." "P", who would have left out question 2 entirely, had it been up to him, is content to use a phrase like "because the Indians...weren't civilized enough." (line 15).

Group 4.1 was one of the more promising groups in the study. Although it was selected as a mixed ability group, all three members gave a good account of themselves. "D", who tried to take on a leadership role, was kept very much on the defensive, and the others would not let much pass with which they did not agree (see, for example, the exchanges between lines 10 and 19):

10. P: So, white is equal, they're so good.
11. D: No, no that's not what I'm saying. You're missing the point. What I said is that...look, according to the first one, no the second one, the second source, it says they just left them, the carcasses lying there. Now those could have been put to good use for the Indians...
12. P: So why didn't the Indians use them?
13. D: Cos the Indians were so frightened they wished to...I don't know.
14. V: I mean they were shooting Indians left, right and centre.
15. D: It would seem to be.
16. P: Ja, okay, they were shooting...
17. D: If you want to go hunting you shoot as many as you need, as many as you want, you don't shoot just because you shoot.

18. P: No, but (classmate's name) does.

19. D: I'd say that's (his) problem.

(4.1, lines 10-19)

During this discussion "D" made very careful reference to the second of the sources in the stimulus material, and tried to base his arguments on them (see lines 11 and 26): "Well, according to this, as I interpret it..." That he has not completely understood the motive behind the buffalo killing, can be seen in line 73, where he seemed to see the principal purpose as being the collection of hides, instead of the fact that this had been a mere by-product of the general purpose of Indian extermination. He did, however, agree with the others that whatever the motive, it had been a selfish one. "P" also quoted from the Abbot document and compared the hunt described in it with a common Indian buffalo hunt (lines 50 and 59).

"P" was fascinated by the "civilization" concept, going so far, in line 28, as to suggest that the Indians were more civilized than the white man. He explained that it was only from the latter's point of view that "civilized" means "more advanced". The transcript is somewhat garbled, but what he meant was that "industrialized", which is what the white man was, was not the same thing as "civilized", because the white man did not know how to cope with life on the plains. By the end of the discussion, (line 133) "P" was able to attempt a definition. "Civilized is", he concluded, "working with other people...not working with arms and shooting things..."

The third type of stimulus, comparative figures for populations of Indians and buffalo, on the one hand and buffalo hides and meat handled by the railroad companies, on the other, was handled by Groups 1.3, 2.3, 3.3 and 4.3 (see Appendix 3).

"V", self-appointed leader of Group 1.3, one of the top pupils, academically, was rather drawn-out in his arguments. He, together with the others, saw clearly the significance of the decrease in the numbers of both buffalo and Indians. After some initially indecisive talk, he identified the main point in the course of his first speech: "There are no more Indians roaming around, the buffalo and that." Then only did the group begin to analyse the figures given. First "M" mentioned the dramatic drop in the actual numbers of buffalo (line 4). Then "V" pointed out the proportional drop in the Indian population. He then encountered

difficulty trying to explain that the Indians were being killed off in the wars with the white man, as much as they were suffering from a shortage of buffalo off which to live.

In spite of being one of the top pupils in mathematics, "V" misread the figures in the second set of data. He correctly made out that there must have been a large-scale wastage of meat, but then he misread 300 for 300 000 and suggested that this increase in the number of hides was not as large as it could have been. He assumed that these hides had been taken from the huge numbers of dead buffalo given in the second column, whereas it should have been clear that these would have been an additional cargo - i.e. hides without the meat. In spite of incorrect reasoning, he reaches the correct observation that "the reason why (the numbers of buffalo) dropped...was because they were running out of buffaloes to kill, more likely." Summing up, it may be said that the statistical data provided a reasonable picture for these pupils and, although some of the details were a little blurred, this picture was almost as useful to the group as a verbal description would have been.

In Group 2.3 there was a thoughtful pupil, "J", a boy of only slightly above average intelligence. After dwelling on the meaning of justice and revenge, he then attempted to analyse the statistics. At first glance it would appear that he confused the Indians with the white man, imagining that the former was responsible for all the buffalo killings (line 2: "The Indians in 1873...started taking less hides..."). He would seem to have based his idea on the (correct) fact that the Indians relied on the buffalo for all their needs. He then appeared to correct himself, in that he noticed that the numbers had gone up and not down, as he had first suggested. That his group members agreed with him, but took an apparently conflicting line, pointed to the fact that what is unclear to the reader was much clearer to the listener. What "J" was actually saying was that because of the increased number of hides and buffalo taken (by the white man), the number of hides available to the Indians was smaller. That he started on the wrong track ("the Indians did take...most of the hides because they needed them most...") is undeniable, but "J" must be given credit for altering his stance. This process of "thinking aloud" and self-modification was referred to earlier in this analysis.

This group (2.3) made every effort to use the stimulus given them, but it was hard work at times:

5. N: Mm, I am just looking at the figures under number B: 1873 there was a drastic rise in the hides then, and then 19..1874 it suddenly dropped again.
6. J: That you can see corresponds with...
7. N: The estimated...
8. J: Ja, the estimated number of Indians, because in 1840 there were 500 000 and 13 000 (sic) buffalo.
9. N: 13 000 000.
10. J: 13 000 000, sorry. Then in 1885, they suddenly dropped down to 270 000 Indians and 200 buffalo, so that's what probably actually caused the drop. The wiping out of the buffalo and of the Indians. (Pause)

"J" still appeared to draw incorrect conclusions from the figures. He correctly pointed out that the decline in the traffic in hides corresponded with the drop in the Indian population. Then he pointed out the more obvious connection with the decline in the buffalo numbers. However, by connecting buffalo and Indian together in the way he did (line 10), he appeared to make the declining Indian population a reason for the drop in the hide traffic (perhaps because there had been fewer Indians left to kill the buffalo?).

"L", who was happy to sit back and listen for long periods of time, summarized it in line 11: "So it's mostly the hunters' fault...and then because the Indians relied on it, their numbers dropped as well... they didn't get that much food and didn't get much shelter and started dying." It was clearly put and set the capabilities of this usually dull pupil in a new light.

That the statistics impressed this group is clear. In line 16 "N" again drew attention to "the figures" as support for previous statements that "It was a very bad move." Again, in lines 52 and 61 the group considered the last population figures given and wondered how the respective figures for Indians and buffalo compared with those of today.

By the middle of the discussion, the group had achieved an atmosphere of camaraderie and the members were freely making points and questioning one another's phraseology (e.g. line 44: "J: Ja, I see your point, but I just don't understand you...quite what you mean by "protecting them for their own good.") If the group had been more relaxed at the start any earlier confusions might have been more easily ironed out.

Because of this close attention paid to the statistical evidence it is not surprising that scant attention was paid to the "civilization" concept. The group tacitly accepted the suggestion in the question "that (the white men) were more civilized." The only criticism levelled at the statement was that there should be no compulsion for the Indians to "become more civilized," and that a "mutual agreement" would benefit both parties (see lines 21 - 22). Again in line 39, in referring to profitable use of the land, "N" saw no shortcoming in his statement "They're more civilized and the white man could use it for other various... that the Indians had (not) even thought of" (line 39). In line 54 the same boy did not think it necessary to qualify the word when he said that because of living in reservations, provided for him by the white man, the Indian was "I suppose, more civilized" (my italics).

As an exercise in the analysis of statistics, this discussion can be said to have been as successful as could have been hoped. A subsequent report-back session would have hopefully corrected those points which had been incorrectly interpreted, to the benefit of all involved.

Group 3.3 argued over the statistics, though somewhat superficially. "H", who tried to lead the group, was, however, a little short of discernment, as well as ability, to explain himself (this may be seen in his very first speech, in which he says nothing meaningful at all). He was outvoted two to one, for example, yet he held on to his opinion that the buffalo were killed by the white man principally for their hides (line 11) and not as the others would have it, namely, as a means of breaking the power of the Indian (lines 9 and 12). He scanned the population figures, and tried to use them to support his view that the Indians had decreased in number because of their resistance to the white man's efforts to pen them within reservations (line 17: "Ja, they were being killed off. 'Cos they were retaliating."). When he tried to justify his point of view (which is, of course, only half the story) with the help

of the figures for the hides and meat handled by the railway, he encountered problems: "...in three years...say 3 million buffaloes were killed. But only half of...the hides were delivered. I don't know, it must have been for meat then." (3.3, line 22). In the end, he began to give in under the pressure of the other boys, and he did not attempt to gainsay "M"'s following statement (line 23) that "they must have just been taking the meat that the Indians couldn't get any meat, so that they had to go and they had to sell their land for food and that."

In the summing up at the end (line 120) "H" put it like this: "O.K., the Indians were forced to rely on...the white man for food and things... and then forced into reserves." This was an accurate evaluation.

The other point worth mentioning is that this Group (3.1) was not prepared to pass over the term "civilization" without exploring the concept. At first "H" (line 51) did not accept that the Indians were uncivilized. "M" only saw civilization in terms of iron and steel and made out that "they couldn't get civilized, because they were moving around." Again "H"'s ability to articulate his thoughts let him down (line 53), but a little later (line 59) he managed to put it across to "M" that they were, perhaps, civilized according to their own way of life.

"T" had very little to say for the rest of the discussion, and maintained his support for one viewpoint only: the white man's control of the plains was justified because he could do more with them. The same thing, he said, applied in a South African context (see line 109: "Yes, but the um, natives didn't really make use of the land, just like the Indians."). It is interesting to note that "T" is a good history pupil, usually gaining high marks (twice the number gained by "H" in the June examination). It is possible that this achievement was based more on his ability to learn facts than on his skill in manipulating ideas.

The other two members of the group criticize the morality of the white man's take over. The discussion would seem to have brought "M" to a better understanding of the "civilization" concept. In the final line of the transcript (line 140) he states that "Indians and the natives were all considered as uncivilized," the emphasis being on the word "considered" (cf. "H"'s use of the word "saw" in line 133: "...they saw them as slaves.>").

The performance of this group from the low I.Q. range was most encouraging.

Group 4.3, a group with a range of mixed intellectual ability, was "led" to all intents and purposes by "B", normally a quiet pupil, but now coming into his own in the small group situation. He summed up the statistical data in a flash and stated immediately (line 1): "they'd most probably die out." No-one in the group was able to connect the buffalo killing with a calculated campaign on the part of the government to destroy the Indians. The suggestion that the Indians had died in their resistance of the invaders was only part of the answer (cf. Group 3.3, line 17, where the idea that the Indians were retaliating was also suggested). This slightly false impression continued into lines 5 and 6, where the suggestion was made that the hunters hunted "for fun". "B" was somewhat concerned by the huge drop in the buffalo population, though, and questioned whether one could find fun in killing such vast numbers when the meat and hides could not be used (line 8). Following this statement the group's line of approach changed and the idea of driving out the Indians as a motive was suggested. The wastage of the meat was then noted from the figures (line 16) and the original question was then apparently forgotten.

On the matter of the "civilization" concept, very little direct comment was made. The word was only used once in any form. In line 18, after "B" had hurried the group on to the second question, he said: "Well that's obviously wrong...Even though they (the white men) were civilized, these people (the Indians) were there before." He saw "being civilized" as no grounds for taking another's land, but saw nothing dubious in using the term without qualification.

Much later in the discussion (line 86), "K" referred back to the buffalo carnage, pointing out that the hunters were breaking the rules of hunting by not taking all their plunder with them. This idea, stimulated apparently by the given figures, was made out to be relevant to the second question, but was not properly motivated. "K" omitted to say that this was an example of how "uncivilized" the so-called "civilized" white man can be.

"B" was constantly aware that the statistical information was intended to convey a message. In line 118 he was still mulling the figures over in

his mind, but was unable to make more use of them. This is not to say that the discussion was valueless for this group. Many valuable points were made and as an exercise in free thinking and expression all must have gained considerably from it in their historical perception.

Despite these detailed criticisms of the groups' performances, reference to Table 6.1 shows that the pupils working with the statistics produced by far the highest number of reference points (64) and that the other two types of material produced very similar totals (54 and 52). The groups working with the maps, however, had the total score considerably reduced by the poor performance of Group 3.2. The other three groups were obtaining scores very close to that of the group using statistics. Had this group's composition been different, the map group could have scored very close to the statistics group. On the other hand, a careful reading of the transcripts shows that groups 1.2 and 4.2 came to their conclusions with virtually no verbal reference to the maps at all.

It is now necessary to turn to the performance of the groups in relation to their levels of ability. The responses of the different ability groups are summarized in Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2.

Analysis of responses in terms of ability groups

High I.Q. <u>group</u>	No. of <u>refs.</u>	Med I.Q. <u>group</u>	<u>Group Type</u>		No. of <u>refs.</u>	Mix. abil. <u>group</u>	No. of <u>refs.</u>
			No. of <u>refs.</u>	Low I.Q. <u>group</u>			
1.1	17	2.1	11	3.1	13	4.1	13
1.2	15	2.2	16	3.2	7	4.2	14
1.3	<u>19</u>	2.3	<u>13</u>	3.3	<u>17</u>	4.3	<u>15</u>
Totals	51		40		37		42

It is clear that just because a group is formed from the pupils of high or low I.Q. within the class, its performance will not necessarily follow a pre-ordained pattern. Group 1.2, for example, performed well below expectations and Group 3.3 somewhat above the standard of the other two groups of low I.Q. The personality of each group member has a strong influence on the functioning of the group. "V", in group 1.3, was used to

talking a good deal in class, so he was most talkative in his group. "V" and "I", from Group 1.1, enjoyed arguing with one another. They continued to do so in their group. "M", in group 1.2, rarely contributed anything positive in the classroom (although he possessed the highest I.Q. - 141), but is content to let others take the initiative. In his group he was a "sleeping partner". Another boy, "M", in Group 3.1, also made a minimal contribution to the group discussion. He, too, takes virtually no part in the proceedings of the classroom, but his I.Q. is only 78, the lowest in the standard. In each of these cases the performance of the pupil might have been anticipated, if the researcher had a knowledge of the pupils' personalities, as well as of their I.Q.'s. The allocation of pupils to groups in this study took I.Q. alone into consideration.

In spite of the apparent weakness in the system and the need, perhaps, to take cognisance of other factors as well when placing pupils in "homogeneous" groups, some generalizations may be made. For example, the level of discussion in the groups composed of pupils of high I.Q. is above that of the others, both in vocabulary, content and conceptual grasp. One finds in Group 1.1 terms like "self-centred", "pagans", "majority rule", "ego boost", "xenophobia", references to the Incas and Aztecs of South America and the statement that "Man comes up much pathetic, with his wars and anxieties" (line 82). There is also the very mature discussion of the meaning of "civilization" (1.1, lines 12 ff. referred to in the previous chapter).

Though he has little support from the others, "W", in Group 1.2, shows he sees "civilization" as having a deeper meaning. Other terms showing an above average vocabulary are "encampment", "job opportunities", "aggressive" and "tyranny".

Group 1.3 offers expressions like "ecological balance", "colonization", "morals" and "stands" and a brief discussion on "communism" and the effects of A.N.C. rule (lines 57-59).

57. V: And now, I mean, the blacks in South Africa...um, haven't got any...I mean, if I was black and I was sitting...still living in a tent village, then obviously I'd go for communism as well.

58. W: Just think if the A.N.C. had to rule South Africa.

59. V: Ja but like I mean I would go for communism because now I mean I've got nothing, so what can I lose by communism? (Agreement). And they think like that communism will be like equal for everyone, which (muses) will never work really.

It was interesting to note that all the groups of high I.Q. pupils barely referred to their hand-out notes at all, whereas many of the lesser ability groups spent much time paging through them in an effort to find answers to the questions.

In the main, the discussions of the groups of medium and low I.Q. were more stilted and did not explore matters very deeply, e.g. 2.2, lines 49 ff:

49. S: I'd say that white man did have a right to live in Indian territory because...they didn't have to drive them out. They could have lived peacefully.

50. B: It's er, it's not in a different aspect because they, they saw that all the people that died there, they couldn't believe too was somebody else's, so they didn't want to sell their land.

51. S: Um I don't know if I...

52. R: Um the whites, the white men say they were more civilized?

53. B: Yes.

54. R: And probably were more civilized in their own way.

68. B: Ja, but they shouldn't destroy the Indians' hunting...

69. R: Because they claimed they didn't...they, they wanted to... they, the it claimed it as totally wrong way.

70. B: Ja, they did. They should have done it in a more suitable manner.

71. R: And that um, gold-rush, or whatever, that's another thing...

72. B: I suppose the Indians thought that um, man didn't, I mean white man didn't really count like the nature of balance (sic). Probably the Indians thought that white man would distort it, 'cos white man doesn't know, really know how - all the animals

there. Indians do know more better than white man do...

There is, however, behind the less facile use of words, a number of valid points being made by the boys. There is no doubt that the thread of the argument was hard to follow at times. An exception could, perhaps, be made in respect of "J"'s contributions in group 2.3. He is sometimes unnecessarily wordy but he is intent on making himself as clear as he can. In this extract he is explaining how wrong it was for the whites to presume that they had a right to the Indians' land:

21. J: ...It's like me coming one day and saying right, that your back yard's mine - I'm more civilized than you are, because you don't know how to work...you don't know how to use it, so I'm just gonna come and take it from you, just go and get some roses. But there were also the Indians I am going to criticize and um, support because the Indians also... they lived in...in big bunches, I'd say 600 tepees. But now they can't claim that the white man couldn't take land where they aren't. If they stay in one spot, point A, and the white man wants to settle at point B, about 15 k's away, I mean, 'cause there're no Indians in that vicinity, he said that the Indians said that this isn't our land. It was given to us by the Great Spirit, so they should have tried to make a mutual agreement between the two, saying "We'll support you with... er, pelts and that, in return if we can cultivate the land and live there". So that they...the Indians don't have to go into civil...um, how do you say it? Um... (2.3, line 21).

Groups 2 and 3 tended to rely more on recall of history previously learned and on the duplicated notes in their possession than on their general knowledge. Facts became less accurate, with many doubtful references to the Great Trek and the Zulu wars. The shortest discussions, apart from that of Group 1.2, came from Groups 3.1 and 3.2, simply because they could think of nothing more to say. The recording session of one of these groups (3.2) degenerated into uncontrolled giggles, brought about, no doubt, by self-consciousness at being without ideas.

This is not to say that a group discussion for groups such as these would be a waste of time. It would simply be necessary to pitch the

questions at a more concrete level, for it is only question 2 with which there is general difficulty. The work of the Gunnings in the field of historical concepts would support this:

If one finds that one is dealing with a very weak class, it will be necessary to change the conceptual level and lessen the degree of abstraction...for "environment" say "climate", for "culture" say "way of life", for "primitive" say "Stone Age man", and for "community" use the expression "tribe". Be more specific where possible, enabling the pupil to be able to take part in the exercise, instead of handing in a blank sheet of paper.

(Gunning, D. and S., 1975, p. 35)

In this respect, Group 3.2 experienced particular difficulties, since they were given the map stimulus material (see Appendix 3). This group, which has already been discussed in some detail, clearly found it difficult to translate the concepts into their own terms, let alone interpret the concepts implied by the maps: encroachment, destruction of habitat, boundary revision, vastness of original territory, smallness of reservations, and so on.

Group 3.3 was much more successful for two reasons. Firstly, the group had the less troublesome statistical data to work from, and secondly, this group could arguably be classed in the group 4 category - as a mixed-ability group. Not only did "T" gain the top mark in his class in the previous examination (72%) but "H", who in effect leads the group, though imperfectly, has an I.Q. only 2 points short of what was considered "medium" for the purposes of the study. The latter's ideas are often dubious, historically, but at least he is not afraid to promote them, and this leads to discussion:

1. M: They'd resort to going to all the forts for supplies and they had to start selling their land to the um, white man, so that they could survive.
2. H: Ja, but...um, they didn't have any...um...look the cowboys used to take all the meat and the construction (sic), so they just had to rely on...ja, rely on sources of...um...look, they got their clothes and stuff from the horse...

3. M: And they started to be pushed back. All their land was taken... getting taken away.
4. H: Then they paid money, so they just, you know, didn't have to kill buffalo. Then they were...oh dear...the buffalo was obviously...they must have dispersed. See how they... (3.3, lines 1-4).
75. H: (The Indian) wasn't interested in the white man. He just came along...whoever...Columbus assumed...er...It was Columbus that started everything, wasn't he? Ja, 'cos then he came in and discovered America and everyone started coming. Then they started... (3.3, line 75).

The I.Q.'s of the members of the mixed ability groups were:

Group 4.1 - 123, 106, 88

Group 4.2 - 118, 111, 99

Group 4.3 - 119, 102, 93

Of these groups it is interesting to note that the one that was the least inspiring was Group 4.2, in which the range of 19 I.Q. points was the narrowest (caused by the absence of the pupil originally chosen at the upper level). These mixed-ability groups reveal some noteworthy features. Firstly, the leadership role is assumed by the member with the higher I.Q. It must be pointed out that in every group, for practical reasons, the members come from the same class. In the homogeneous groups the position of the "leader" is more precarious. His inaccuracies, historical or otherwise, are quickly pointed out in the upper groups (see Group 1.1, lines 27 and 74), and this role is being continually challenged:

26. V: Yeh, I mean, what civilization did the people from Europe bring them? I mean, um, they brought medicine - that was good. They brought government.

27. I: They brought...aaah! Government wasn't that good 'cos... (1.1, lines 26-27).

In the medium group, Group 2.2, no clear leader, who was able to hold this role for long, existed. "R" tried to take the lead with long speeches, but it was "B" who often took the initiative (see group 2.2, line 107, where he suggested that the group should move on to the next

question). By contrast, "D" in 4.1, "B" in 4.2 and "B" in 4.3 were unchallenged. Each began the discussion and dictated the length of time for the discussion of each question - e.g. "B" announced: "Right, question 2" (4.2, line 20), after a tentative suggestion to move on in line 12.

"D", in Group 4.1, except for brief references to the first and third questions in lines 1 and 7, handled all the issues as if they had been framed in one long question, instead of three shorter ones. This was quite acceptable, as everything had been thoroughly covered by the end - the destruction of the Indians' hunting grounds, the real meaning of "civilization" and similarities with South African history. The only difficulty the group faced was making a summary, question by question, at the end. Here is an example of the way "D" controlled the group:

10. P: So white is equal, they're so good.

11. D: No, no that's not what I'm saying. You're missing the point. What I said is that... (4.2, lines 10-11).

This is not to say that the other members of the mixed-ability groups had little to contribute. It was as if the presence of the pupil with the higher I.Q. stimulated the thought processes of the others and brought out the best in them. No-one, of course, knew his I.Q. rating, but, particularly in Groups 4.1 and 4.3, it was as if the group members could sense that one of them had superior ability in framing his ideas. He was therefore allowed to take the lead.

"P"'s performance in Group 4.1 was impressive, but even when he was more in the right than "D", he was eventually prepared to bow to the latter's judgement:

70. D: Well, I feel that the destruction of the buffalo, just on the basis that they were killing them for hides and profit was very...

71. P: No, they weren't.

72. D: They were.

73. P: They were just killing them.

74. D: For hides. Read, read there. (Sounds of reluctant agreement) (4.1, lines 70-74).

"V", in spite of his low I.Q. of 88 kept up with the debate. His contributions were generally shorter and based often on personal (concrete) experience. In line 20 he said: "...I know a few grown-ups that go hunting" and in line 54 he merely repeated a point that he said "D mentioned earlier". "V" did make some more significant statements, however. In line 106 he alone of all the participants in the study made a reference to biased textbooks: "...in South Africa and for America the history books...are more about whites' history...they don't say it from the Indians' side."

It was "P" and not "D" who challenged the definition of "civilization" (line 29) and "V" also made a brief contribution at this stage. It could be said that a pupil such as he, who on I.Q. alone, belonged in the lowest stream, benefitted greatly from being in the company of pupils of higher intellect.

Group 4.2, which came from the "7B" class at the school, was not as exciting to listen to as the one described above, which came from the "A" class. "B", who assumed the leadership of this group, encouraged the others to speak. From rather tentative beginnings (note the request by the teacher at the end of line 2 to speak up), the group, as a whole, gained confidence. Throughout, the conversation was less fluent than it was in some of the other groups, because this group was constantly paging through its notes to find relevant material (see lines 1, 8, 13, 20, 27 and 41):

8. F: It destroyed their culture...(Pause) In source 5 it says that "they will strut out and drink out their miserable existence (4.2, line 8).

"F", in particular, spent most of his time paging through the notes and said comparatively little as a result. While this would be good practice in using reference material, too much of this could inhibit free discussion. A stronger leader may have reduced the scale of this activity. It was only in Group 4.2 that the researcher felt it necessary to advise the group to move on to the third question because they seemed to be reaching no worthwhile conclusions on the second one. In spite of this criticism, the discussion was successful from the point of view that all members of the group were active in participation and no one really domi-

nated the others. For the casual observer it would have been hard to pick out the pupils with the highest or lowest I.Q.

Group 4.3 was another one in which two fairly average pupils (I.Q.'s of 102 and 93) were apparently inspired by the presence of a sympathetic and more intelligent leader. He attempted to bring other opinions into the discussion with encouraging remarks like "what do you think?" (line 18). If he did not entirely agree with an opinion he did not condemn it out of hand, but used expressions like "possibly" (line 10), "if you call that ordinary fun, yes," "that wouldn't really work" (line 138) and "Yes, there's something there...but they never used..." (line 170).

As one with a superior memory, "B" is able to confirm points made by his fellows and supply missing information if necessary (e.g. "Sand Creek" as the name of the massacre, in line 33). He is not faultless, however, and misconstrues a suggestion made by "K" (line 101) who (correctly) suggests the "Spanish" as a possible source of the Indians' horses. "K" is trying unsuccessfully to recall the name "Mexico". First "B" corrects him with "British" and then reluctantly suggests "Dutch". When "W" comes to "K"'s assistance, "B" simply dismisses the subject with the words "wrong country" (line 106).

It is interesting to note that Group 4.3 had nearly twice the amount to say as 4.2, yet took only a little longer to say it. The reason was a jovial, relaxed atmosphere with the repartee flowing and without serious breaks. "B" is able to use his wit to keep the discussion moving. Had the other two boys been in a group with another pupil of medium or low I.Q. they might have been more inhibited, to their own detriment. This principle could well have applied to those boys of their equal in I.Q. in the other mixed-ability groups.

By referring back to Table 6.2, it is now possible to summarize that the three homogeneous groups performed in the most likely order of efficiency: the high group scored the highest points and the lowest group scored least points. The mixed ability group is the interesting one. The three scores are very close to each other (13, 14 and 15 reference points made) and their rank position was second. The advantages of a mixed ability group, then, would seem to warrant serious consideration.

To some extent the role of the informal leader has already been considered, but the topic is sufficiently important to warrant further discussion. The aim of not appointing a leader is to create an informal atmosphere in the group, which should be as relaxed as possible if one is to have the members interacting freely with one another. No one member should start off with the apparent advantages of having the power to direct or cut short discussion. Instead, each member should feel free to lead the discussion along his own path, which might be at variance with the others.

In leadership lies the responsibility of not talking too much oneself, but stimulating the others to contribute to the discussion. A good leader would be aware of this pitfall and his judicious exercising of his own speaking role could be to the advantage of the group. Where a leader is carried away by his own verbosity, it can happen that the other group members merely sit back, and listen. In fact, they may come to succeeding group sessions or seminars expecting to do no more than listen to another lecture in a small environment. Jean Ruddock (1978, p. 3) refers to such a situation as a "one-way communication system." One of the arguments against a large group of twenty or more is that discussions tend to deteriorate into arguments between two or three pupils (Ruddock, J., p. 55). Ruddock goes on to criticise groups of fewer than five or six as providing too little diversity of perspective. This is a relevant point, but a group of three has practical advantages (see Chapter Two).

In the small leaderless group, the ideal situation is for nobody in particular to speak more than the other members, and for the discussion to take the form of an informal conversation, with one taking the lead and then another. Pupils with difficulty in voicing opinions, even in such a setting, can be brought into the discussion through the other members speaking directly to them and requiring some meaningful response. The premise implied here is that a pupil learns more from active, rather than passive, participation in the learning process.

It would appear from the imbalance in the contributions towards the discussion in this study that the ideal is difficult to achieve and, perhaps, unrealistic. Is conversation ever, for example, equally shared out, or is there not someone who usually has more to say than the others? Experience would suggest that this is the norm, rather than the exception. In virtually all of the twelve groups observed, one member of the three

emerged as the boy with the most to say (see Table 6.3).

TABLE 6.3.

Quantitative analysis of contributions to group discussion

Group No.	Type	Total No. of lines of transcript	Individual contributions		
			1st	2nd	3rd
			V	I	P
1.1	Homogeneous high	257	104	130	23
			W	S	M
1.2	Homogeneous high	131	108	17	6
			V	W	M
1.3	Homogeneous high	260	170	50	40
			S	C	V
2.1	Homogeneous Medium	218	133	34	51
			B	S	R
2.2	Homogeneous Medium	303	110	46	147
			N	J	L
2.3	Homogeneous Medium	282	80	165	37
			P	V	M
3.1	Homogeneous Low	146	87	51	8
			F	G	P
3.2	Homogeneous Low	94	68	9	17
			M	H	T
3.3	Homogeneous Low	252	113	120	19
			D	V	P
4.1	Mixed-ability	286	126	65	95
			B	F	M
4.2	Mixed-ability	180	87	66	27
			B	W	K
4.3	Mixed-ability	298	170	89	39

The largest discrepancies between the most talkative and the second largest contributor occur, in descending order, in Groups 1.3, 1.2 (where there is a difference of 90 lines or more) and in Groups 2.3, 4.3 and 2.1, where the difference is in the order of 80 lines of transcript.

With one exception, it was in the homogeneous groups that this imbalance was most marked. Someone inevitably took the lead, and in some cases one could sense the other members waiting for him to initiate the discussion and determine the direction it should take. This does not come across well in the transcripts, but in Group 1.3, line 31, "V" remarks "...it's off the subject but..." and chuckles to himself. The others in the group all laugh with him, before even hearing the ensuing comment "You know how they say South Africa's got all its problems? I mean, in...er... America just killed all the problems."

In this same group (1.3, line 10) "V" is talking about the increase in the number of hides delivered by the railroad companies and is interpreting the given statistics with difficulty: "...well only 300 hides... 300 more hides were delivered basically...250 virtually. And virtually the same amount of Indian...er, buffalo were killed, in 1873 to 1872." The correct interpretation would have been that about 250 000 more hides were delivered and that there was an increase of 17 000 in buffalo killed in 1873 over 1872. Neither of the others questions these statements, although their arithmetic is as good as that of "V". They are happy to let him do most of the talking. This is not to say, however, that they did not ever contribute meaningfully to the discussion. When they did speak, what they said was to the point.

In some cases one pupil would speak first, before a clear picture of what he wished to say had emerged. He seemed to formulate his thoughts as he spoke. Others thought long and carefully first before sharing their point of view. Excellent examples of the former would be the pupil, named "V", in Group 1.3, and pupil "R" in Group 2.2. Such pupils kept the leading role, and seemed to claim an unwritten right to speak, by means of expressions such as "um", "wait, let's see", "O.K.", and "er":

R: Ja, ja, but this, this, this one is...O.K.?...the, the um, they were...remember the Zulus, the Zulus, they wanted to move down...where there were pastures...(ignores B's attempts to chip in) and then...

S: Ja...I remember the Appalachian mountains.

R: Ja, ja, but just wait. Um like you had theft with the, the Zulus stealing cattle from the Voortrekkers, and just as a theft

with the Indians stealing cattle from the Americans. So that caused conflict and then the um, the um, Americans had the same problem... (2.2, lines 112-114).

The pupil who speaks the most is generally the one who also makes suggestions like "I think we have had enough of number one" (pupil "V" in Group 1.3, line 15), or "Number three...", followed by reading the question aloud (pupil "B" in Group 4.3, line 74). It rarely occurred that such a suggestion to move on was opposed by the other members.

The group that might be considered to have produced the highest level of discussion, Group 1.1, had in it two pupils who were the keenest rivals in everything they did at school, the result was that these two boys, one representing a more radical viewpoint than the other, monopolized proceedings, one taking up some 100 lines of transcript and the other 130 out of 255. The third member played a valuable part in the discussion, but contributed a mere 23 lines. "V", in Group 1.3, came to some of the same conclusions as did the two from Group 1.1, but took nearly twice as many words to reach them (about 160 lines). This was indicative of the leadership role that "V" is used to playing in the classroom being extended into the discussion group, even though his understanding of history was far from perfect.

This highlights one of the problems associated with leaderless groups: at times there is nobody informed enough to prevent the group from spending unwarranted time on incorrect or irrelevant suppositions. Examples of this can be found in Group 4.1, where in line 79 "D" suggests that the South African settlers were not interested in the natural game, but "just wanted land," and that "when they took the land the blacks weren't there. And later on the blacks attacked them without any reason." Later on, in line 98, "D" also maintains that there must have been other natives than the Indians in North America, and apparently links them with American slavery.

In the first of these examples "D" is contested on the issue of the attacks on the South African settlers and whether or not the blacks were "there". "D" tries patiently to explain the meaning of the Difaqane, but the issue of the "natural game" of South Africa is not pursued.

No consensus is reached on whether the blacks had a reason for attacking the settlers, or even on whether they were already in the Eastern Cape by the time the settlers arrived. On the matter of the original inhabitants of North America, no attempt is made to bring to question the statement that other natives must have existed, who could be enslaved. The subject is simply allowed to drop, leaving the misconception unchallenged.

On the other hand, it can happen that at least one of the group is more informed than the others on an historical subject and can correct a mistake, or supply information when someone is at a loss, e.g. in Group 2.1, line 62, "S" (an immigrant) is under the wrong impression that Jan van Riebeek came to the Cape in the 18th century. In line 63 "V" attempts to put him straight. At the end of the Group 4.3's session (line 172) "B" cues "W" with the name "Mzilikazi".

In another group (2.3) "J" takes the leading role and the other two are content to wait for him to finish his protracted speeches before they come in with their much shorter contributions. An informed leader, the teacher, for example, might have been able to channel "J"'s thoughts along more economical paths. Again, though, this pupil is given the chance to use his discursive powers to the full. In one example he is able to correct himself, starting with what is an unsuitable analogy and finishing with by far the best one achieved in the whole programme. In line 71 "J" tries to compare the bison (buffalo) with the bushmen (San). After a somewhat unconvincing rambling (and a complaint in line 97 from "N" that the difference between the two is "quite...big") "J" finally arrives at the far closer analogy of the bison being the game (on which the San would have depended). He explains that the game in South Africa was slaughtered in the same way by the settlers as the buffalo were in North America by the white man there, to the detriment of the San in the first instance, and the Plains Indians in the second. Any analogy can be taken to extremes, but this shows a degree of historical perception lacking in most of the groups.

On the negative side, without a leader to control proceedings it is clear that the more extroverted, or the self-confident, boy will always manage to say more than the introverted, shy pupil. One could hear some group members' tentative overtures being swept aside by their more force-

ful peers. "V", in Group 1.3, obviously enjoys holding the floor. As a standard six pupil, he was one of the few in a well-disciplined class who never raised his hand to ask permission to speak, but merely waited for the first available opening, which suggests that he is a naturally self-confident boy, who is at ease in most situations.

Sometimes speakers spoke out of turn, or broke in, or two speakers started speaking in unison, all of which are certainly experienced in informal conversation, but which could be said to result in uneconomic use of time. A chairman might be able to regulate the discussion, but by his very presence, the freer flow of ideas could be inhibited.

Another problem to consider is the extent to which the group members really listened to one another's points. In the main, it would seem that they did, but there were obvious exceptions, where each boy had his own ideas, and nothing the others said would change his point of view because he had not stopped to consider it. In group 2.3 there was a healthy interchange of points of view from line 25 to 38. Here "J" is quite prepared to modify his own ideas in the light of what the other two say (e.g. line 29: "...So I agree with you on that point. I made a mistake, if you like.") In Group 2.2 there are, on the other hand, numerous cases where it is the one with the most commanding voice that prevails. A good example may be found in lines 17 and following. These were difficult to transcribe for the reason that there were often at least two voices speaking together. "B" and "R" are not really listening to one another, but are speaking over one another and barely pause between lines 17 and 21, although they are shown as speaking separately for convenience:

17. R: If I was hunting...(voices speaking together) The Indians only took out what they wanted to...
18. B: Yes, and the white man found...the Indians first found out that the white man was a threat to, to their land. And they, they refused to sell their land and they attacked the white man...
19. R: The buffalo, ag...the Indians only took what they needed and the Americans went for sport.
20. B: (Speaking over R) They were greedy.
21. R: Like, remember in one thing, they had a competition there

to see who would kill most buffalo. And they just left them.
(2.2, lines 17-21)

A feature of this group's transcript is the number of unfinished lines, as members cut in on one another. When someone speaks as haltingly as "R" the temptation to intrude in the discussion is clearly difficult to resist.

It has already been stressed that this research is, in an important way, incomplete. In an ordinary class situation, a follow-up discussion or sessions would have been led by the teacher. The teacher's commanding position would have tended to produce more succinct or rounded explanations, as he asked each group to summarize its findings. This is well-illustrated in an Open University audio-tape (Bruce and Oates, 1973) where groups of children are exploring a biology exhibit. The presenter of the programme shows how the teacher's intervention completely transforms the pupils' talk from an exploratory investigative one to one of explanation and summary. The criticisms of such things as incompleteness, contradictions, unsupported generalizations could well have been modified if this stage of small group work had been included in the investigation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of this study was to show the effectiveness of the small group in the discussion of historical evidence. It is not in the realm of this dissertation, therefore, to produce findings that prove conclusively that this method is more effective than any other, or that the results obtained by pupils who have experience of small groups are clearly better in examinations than are those of pupils who have not. In order to be able to prescribe in this way one would need to observe the functioning of a wider range of pupils over an extended period, perhaps even following the progress of these pupils through the school. The present study has, however, underlined a number of points which are worth noting and perhaps following up.

Shemilt, in his evaluation of the History Project 13-16, acknowledges that adolescent thought will always remain adolescent thought, but reports that project pupils (who had used the discovery method almost exclusively) were found to have more "right" ideas than comparable control pupils and were generally the more lively ones (Shemilt, D., 1980, p. 14). One thing that this study shows above all else, is that given sufficient opportunity and stimulus the average standard seven pupil can produce ideas that are in some cases approaching adult maturity. With this potential available it would seem a mistake not to tap it to the full by making more use of small-group discussion on a regular basis. As Barnes says, "Not only do we learn by doing but we also learn by talking about our experiences...Our pupils will learn most by reading, writing and talking about the experiences they meet and through this will in time come to terms with subject disciplines" (Barnes, D., et al., 1969, p. 126).

"Future thinking depends on present talking" says Barnes (1969, p. 123). A very serious problem, however, he goes on, has been that "some schools are not in the habit of organizing discussions about anything. They have

neither the tradition or the organization for formulating policies agreed on by staff" (1969, p. 124). If this indictment of British schools in 1969 was true, it is certainly true of many South African schools today.

Another point which this study has underlined is that pupils of all intellectual abilities are able to derive benefit from small-group learning in history. As important, however, was the fact that groups of mixed ability achieved nearly as well as the groups of high intellectual ability. Arguments in favour of mixed-ability teaching were presented in Chapter Two. What remains to be said is, whether rigorous streaming is practised within a school or not, no group of pupils can be said to be wholly homogeneous. Each pupil brings to the group his own range of intellectual abilities, as well as his individual experiences and life-concepts. Barnes makes this comment: "Teachers provide many of the starting points for learning, but so can the pupils" (1969, p. 128). This study shows that although the majority of pupils respond well to the informal learning situation that the small group encourages, the less able pupil, in particular, appears to enjoy the company of his better-endowed peers. The pupil of lower ability will lift his performance rather than the stronger pupil being forced to lower his standards to those of the less able majority.

There is, therefore, little need to choose groups for discussion according to intellectual patterns as much can be gained by consciously selecting unstreamed groups.

This study has shown that pupils, by and large, respond well to various forms of stimulus material presented at the time of the discussion. This study used documents, maps and statistics. Other forms of evidential stimulus could include reproductions of historical scenes, both accurate and inaccurate, transcripts of inscriptions and others. Of the ones used, the map stimuli were found to give the least help, with two groups failing to refer to them at all. Perhaps this shortcoming needs to be noted by teachers, who might be planning to use this form of stimulus in their teaching.

Gunning has said (1978, pp. 35 ff.) that one of the most basic skills of the historian, namely translation, needs to be taught early in a child's

development. The interpretation of the evidence found in a map requires first that this evidence be translated into the child's own terms. This is what the pupils in the study were often unable to do. Maps are a common stimulus in history (and other) textbooks. One would question whether teachers are spending sufficient time on explaining these maps. Be this as it may, it is to be recommended that pupils receive practice in working with evidence of all types.

The detailed conclusions and implications of this research project have been presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six and are not repeated here. It could simply be said, in conclusion, that children learn by talking and listening and should be given more opportunity to talk. Children talking in small groups are taking a more active part in their work. Barnes states: "Tentative and inexplicit talk in small groups is the bridge from partial understanding to confident meaningful statement" (1969, p. 126). It is the researcher's hope that more use will be made of this medium in the future.

SOME ORIGINAL SOURCES ON THE PLAINS INDIANS
OF THE AMERICAN WEST

SOURCE 1: A Spanish explorer's description of the Great Plains, 1540-2

The country the buffalo travelled over was so level and smooth that if one looked at them the sky could be seen between their legs....The country was so level that men became lost when they went a short distance....It would not be possible to establish a settlement here...the winter could not possibly be spent here, because there is no wood, nor cloth with which to protect the men except the skins which the natives wear.

SOURCE 2: Major Stephen Long's description of the Great Plains, 1819-20

This extensive section of country is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence [life support]. The scarcity of wood and water will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country.

SOURCE 3: Colonel Richard Irving Dodge comments on the Plains in 1877

When I was a schoolboy, my map of the United States showed between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains a long and broad white blotch, upon which was printed in small capitals THE GREAT AMERICAN DESERT - UNEXPLORED. What was then 'unexplored' is now almost thoroughly known. What then was regarded as a desert supports, in some areas, thriving populations.

Note: 'desert' = uninhabited (rather than without any vegetation)

SOURCE 4: The Indians as human beings (as told by George Catlin - painter)

I say that there is nothing very strange in their character. It is a simple one, and easy to be understood if the right means be taken to familiarise ourselves with it. The North American Indian in his native state is an honest, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless - yet honorable religious being. From the very many acts of their hospitality and kindness they are a kind and hospitable people.

SOURCE 5: A journalist describes the Indian as a savage and enemy - 1859

The Indians are children. Their wars, treaties, habitations, crafts, comforts, all belong to the very lowest ages of human existence. Squalid and conceited, proud and worthless, lazy and lousy, they will strut out or drink out their miserable existence, and at length afford the world relief by dying out of it.

SOURCE 6: The uses of the buffalo to the Indian in 1846

The buffalo supplies them with the necessaries of life; with habitations, food, clothing, beds and fuel, strings for their bows, glue, thread, cordage, trail ropes for their horses, covering for their saddles, vessels to hold water, boats to cross streams, and the means of purchasing all they want from the traders. When the buffalo are extinct, they too must dwindle away.

(All sources, except source 23, are taken from the Schools Council History 13-16 Project - The American West 1840-95)

Their lodges [dwellings] are taken down in a few minutes by the squaws and easily transported. They generally move six or eight times in the summer, following the immense herds of buffaloes. The manner in which an encampment of Indians strike their tents and transport them is curious. I saw an encampment, consisting of six hundred lodges, struck and on the move in a very few minutes. The lodge of the chief is seen flapping in the wind, a part of the poles having been taken out from under it; this is the signal, and in one minute, six hundred of them all were flat upon the ground.

SOURCE 8: Chief Flying Hawk comments on the advantages of the tepee

The tepee is much better to live in; always clean, warm in winter, cool in summer; easy to move. The white man builds big house, cost much money, like big cave, shut out sun, can never move. Indians and animals know better how to live than white men: Nobody can be in good health if he does not have all the time fresh air, sunshine and good water. The Great Spirit made the world always to change, so birds and animals can move and always have green grass and ripe berries. The white man does not obey the Great Spirit; that is why the Indians could never agree with him.

SOURCE 9: The role of the Dog Soldiers, 1877

Besides the power of the chief there is the power of the hunters of the tribe. These men are called 'dog soldiers'. It is they who protect and supply the women and children. One of the most important functions of the 'dog soldiers' is the protection of the game. Except when laying in the supply of meat for winter, only sufficient buffalo is killed for the current supply of the camp. Great care is taken not to alarm the herds, which will feed for days in the vicinity of an Indian camp of a thousand souls, while a half a dozen white men would have driven them all away in a day.

SOURCE 10: The cowboy's view of horse stealing

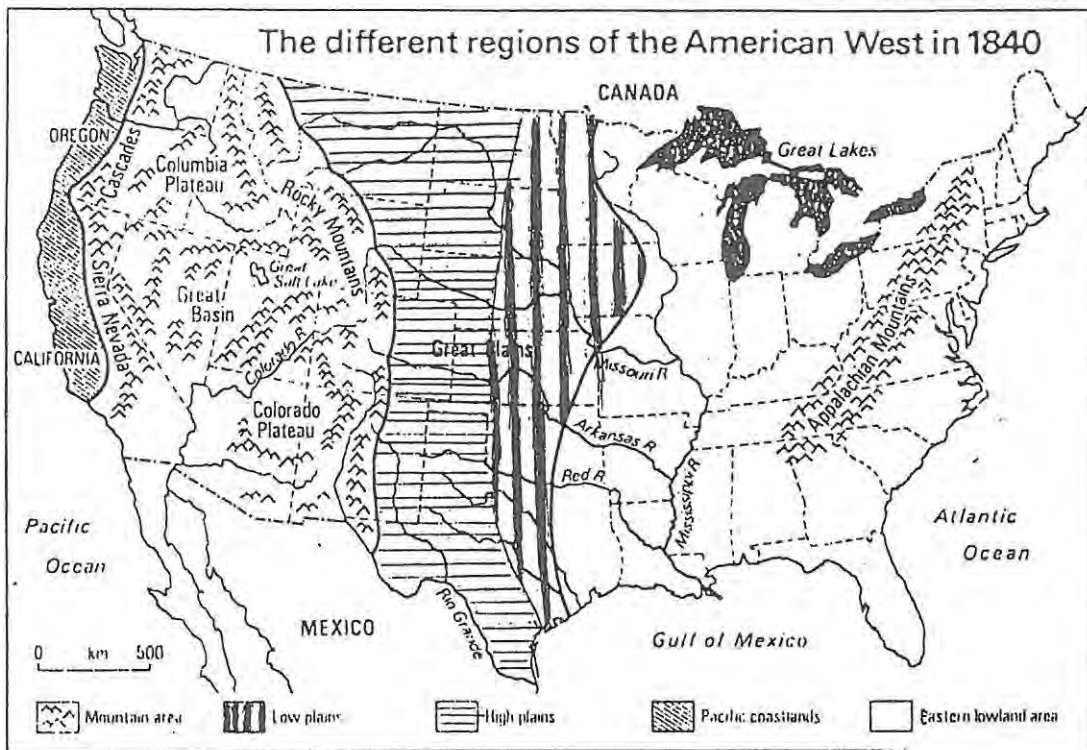
There was hoss and cattle stealing to be shore, and the Code of the West made a strange distinction between the two. To set a man afoot by stealin' his hoss carried a penalty of death, for deprivin' a man of his hoss could mean life itself on the plains. Public opinion regarded the cow as jes' property, and its theft was a case for the courts.

SOURCE 11: The reason for scalping, explained by Colonel Dodge, 1877

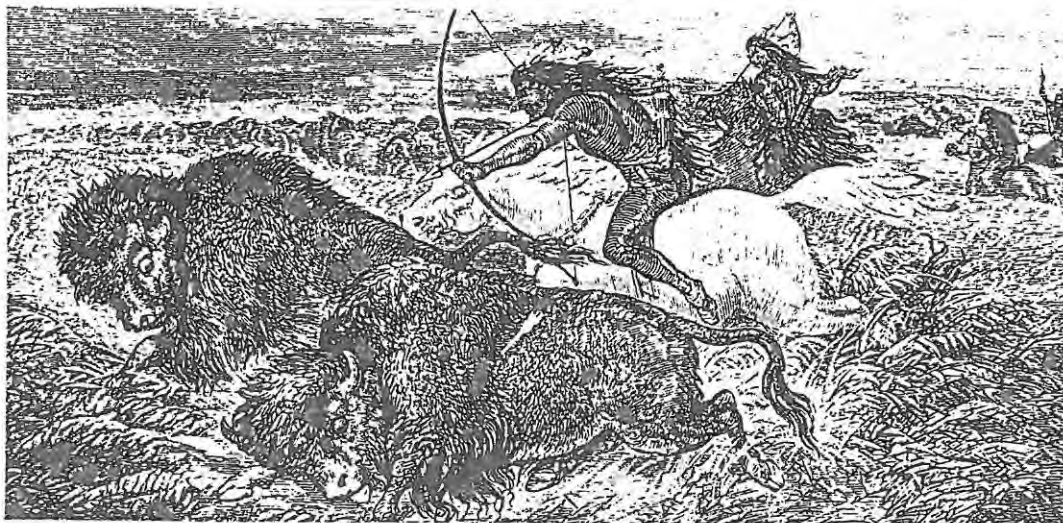
The Indian's idea of the future life in the Happy Hunting Ground is vague. All persons who die unscalped or unstrangled will meet in that final heaven. He goes there with the same wishes and needs. He will meet enemies whom, however, he strives to make as few as possible in that world by scalping as many as possible in this.

SOURCE 12: An Indian chief compares the white man's and the Indian's attitude to land

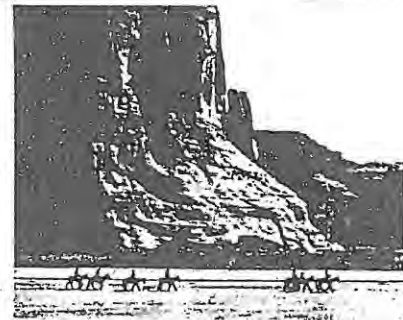
Our land is more valuable than your money. It will not even perish by the flames of time. As long as the sun shines, and the waters flow, this land will be here to give life to men and animals. We cannot sell the lives of men and animals; therefore, we cannot sell this land. It was put here for us by the Great Spirit and we cannot sell it because it does not belong to us.



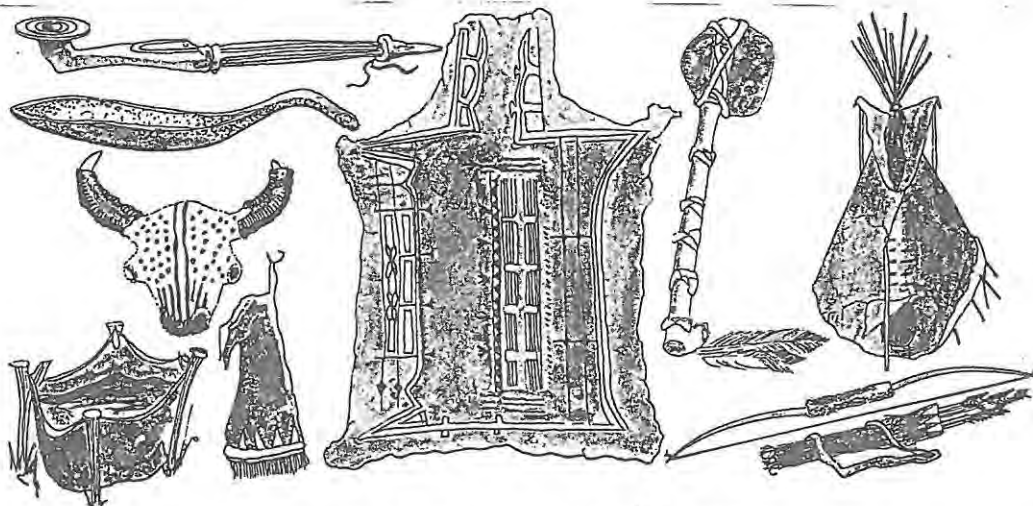
Map 1



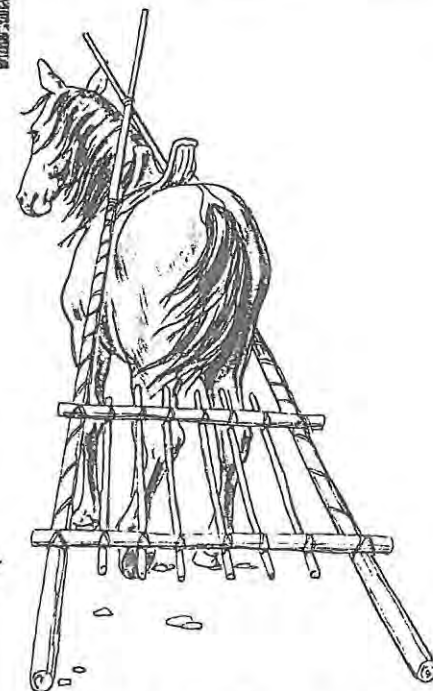
1. A buffalo hunt



2. The Canon de Chelley



3. Some of the important uses of the buffalo



4. A horse-drag

Sources: Map 1, Pictures 1 and 2, Schools Council, 1977, pp. 8, 14, 12. Pictures 3 and 4, Gilmour, 1986, pp. 8, 7.

SOURCE 13: An Indian chief recalls his father's dying words about his land

"Always remember that your father never sold his country. A few years more, and white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and your mother".

I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal.

SOURCE 14: Horace Greeley's comment on the Plains Indians and their attitude to land, 1859

The average Indian of the prairies is a being who does little credit to human nature. As I passed over those magnificent bottoms of Kansas - the very best cornlands on earth - and saw their owners sitting around the doors of their lodges at the height of the planting season and I could not help saying, "These people must die out - there is no help for them. God has given this earth to those who will subdue and cultivate it."

Note: "Bottoms" here means low-lying land or plains
"lodges" are Indian tents, tepees or wigwams

SOURCE 15: Thomas Jefferson's attitude to the Indian lands in 1786 (he became Secretary of State in 1789)

It may be regarded as certain, that not a foot of land will ever be taken from the Indians, without their own consent. The sacredness of their rights is felt by all thinking persons in America.

SOURCE 16: Extract from a letter written by Jefferson to John Adams (US President 1797 - 1812)

The Indians already backward in civilisation will be thrown further back. They will relapse into barbarism and misery and we shall be obliged to drive them with beasts of the forest into the Rocky Mountains.

SOURCE 16: Extract from a circular posted on the Oregon Trail

Allow me to say that the Indians are friendly to the whites. They should be treated with kindness on all occasions. As Indians are inclined to steal, keep them out of your camps. It is best to keep in good sized companies while passing through their country. Small parties are sometimes stripped of their property while on their way to this Territory, perhaps because a preceding party promised to pay the Indians for something given to them, and failed to fulfil their promise. This will show the necessity of keeping your word with them in all cases.

Dated at Oregon City this 22nd of April, 1847.

Geo. Abernethy,

Governor of Oregon Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

SOURCE 18: Articles of a treaty made at Fort Laramie by Commissioners specially appointed by the President of the United States, and the chiefs of 8 tribes on 17 September 1851

Article 1: The Indian nations to make an effective and lasting peace.

Article 2: The Indian nations do hereby recognise the right of the United States government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their territories.

Article 3: The United States bind themselves to protect the Indian nations against all plundering by the people of the United States.

SOURCE 18 (cont.)

Article 4: The United States bind themselves to deliver to the Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten years in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements.

SOURCE 19: A recruiting poster for the Colorado volunteers, a group of local militia who attacked an Indian camp at Sand Creek, November 1864

A T T E N T I O N !

**I N D I A N
F I G H T E R S**

Having been authorized by the Governor to raise a Company of 100 a day

U. S. VOL CAVALRY!

For immediate service against hostile Indians. I call upon all who wish to engage in such service to call at my office and enroll their names immediately.

Pay and Rations the same as any other U.S. Volunteer cavalry.

Parties furnishing their own horses will receive 40c per day, rations for the same, while in service. The Company will also be entitled to all horses and other plunder taken from the Indians.

Office first door East of Recorder's Office.

HAL SAYR.

Central City, Aug. 13, '64

(Schools Council, 1977, p. 123)

SOURCE 20: Colonel Chivington's orders to the men who attacked the Indian camp at Sand Creek in November 1864

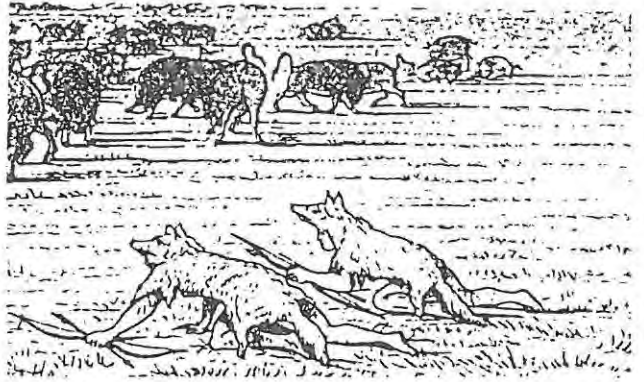
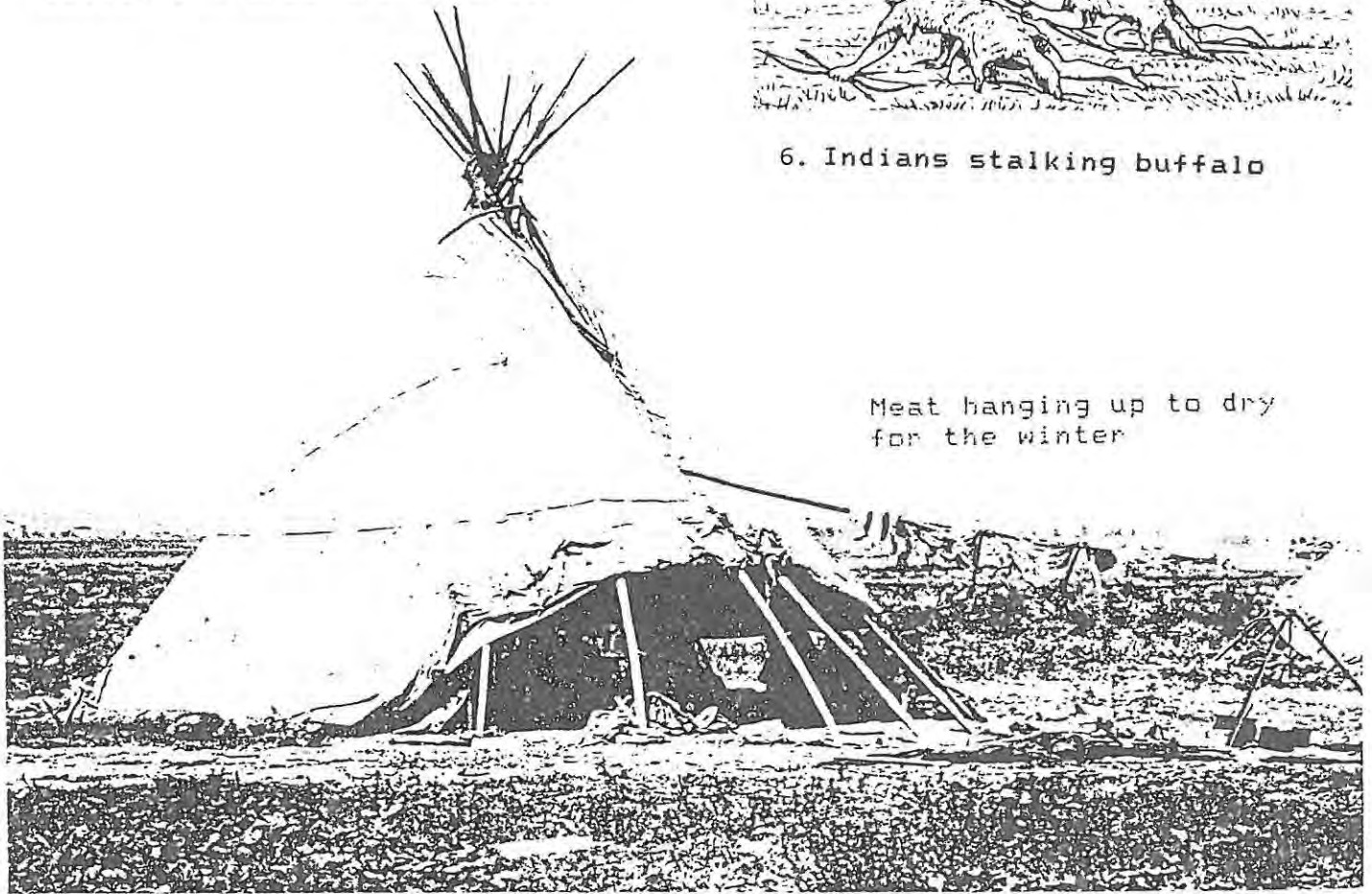
Kill and scalp all, big and little; nits make lice.

SOURCE 21: Three conflicting accounts of the Sand Creek Massacre (November 1864): given as evidence to a military commission. About 500 Indians were killed.

The testimony of Major E.W. Wynkoop, U.S. Army

On 28th November, 1864, Colonel J.M. Chivington attacked the camp of friendly Indians, the major portion of which were composed of women and children. Every one whom I have spoken to agrees that the most fearful atrocities were committed; women and children were killed and scalped; children shot at their mothers' breast, and all the bodies mutilated in the most horrible manner. Colonel Chivington all the time incited his troops to these hideous outrages. Knowing that these Indians had been promised protection by myself and Major S.J. Anthony, he kept his command in ignorance of this.

5. A tepee, showing the hide cover, poles, entrance and interior



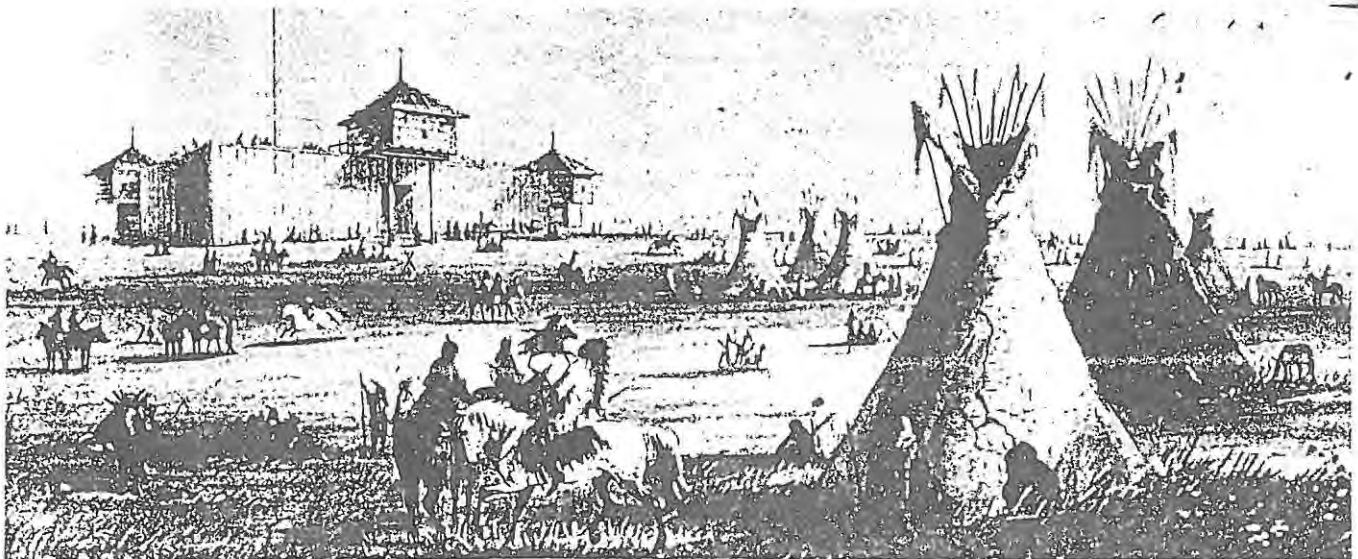
6. Indians stalking buffalo

Meat hanging up to dry for the winter

Sources : Picture 5, Gilmour, 1986, p. 10.
Picture 6, Schools Council, 1977, p. 12.

Source : Picture 7, Gilmour, 1986, p. 28.

7. Fort Laramie, the scene of a number of treaties and important to the Indians as a trading centre



Extract from the testimony of Stephen Decatur, Colorado cavalryman

I went over the battle-ground, and counted 450 dead Indian warriors. Something made me feel as though I should have liked to have spent a little more time fighting. I saw some of the men opening bundles or bales. I saw them take a number of white person's scalps - men's, women's and children's; I saw one scalp of a white woman in particular. The head had been skinned, taking all the hair, and the scalp tanned to preserve it.

Extract from the testimony of Lieutenant Cramer

It was a mistake that there was any white scalps found in the village. I saw one but it was very old, the hair being much faded.

SOURCE 22: Verdict of the "Denver News", Central City

All acquitted themselves well. Colorado soldiers have once again covered themselves with glory.

SOURCE 23: Report from the "Miners' Register", Central City, 1865

We have just learned that a wagon train was attacked at daylight. All 50 wagons were burned, 12 men killed. We urge the government to offer rewards for Indian scalps, to be varied according to the age and sex. They are venomous reptiles and a war of extermination should be waged.

SOURCE 24: An Indian account of the Battle of Little Bighorn (Custer's Last Stand) 1876. There were no White survivors.

At first we thought it would be better to surrender as there were so many soldiers in this country, but when Custer came in sight the word was sent around the camp to get ready. We raced towards the soldiers.

And we fought and the soldiers fought and when we chased the first lot across the river we turned and went for those on the hills. The smoke and dust were very thick; we killed lots of our own men by accident.

Pretty soon the soldiers began to run and we went after them but it wasn't long before they were killed or wounded. We couldn't tell who was Custer...

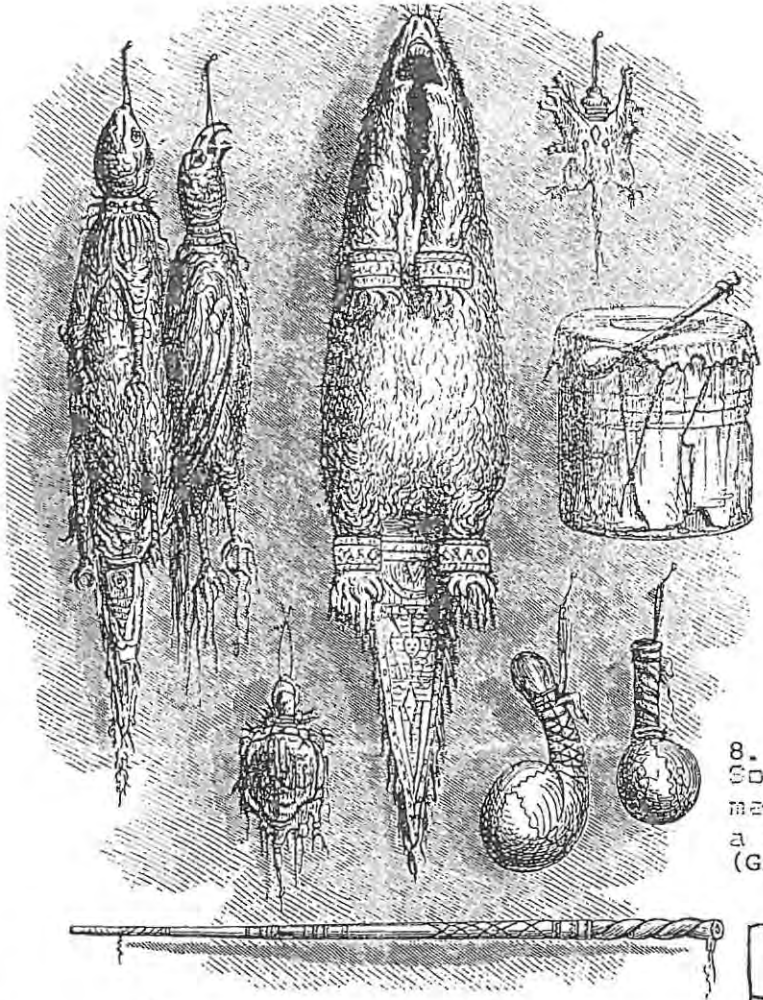
We dressed ourselves in the uniforms and put on the swords and took the flags and bugles and marched around. Reno [one of Custer's officers] was up on a hill across from our camp and his men were lying in trenches and they didn't have any water all day and it was very hot. Once in a while a soldier would start down the bluff, sneaking through the grass. He'd stop and be still and then he'd crawl along again and we'd let him get pretty close to the river's edge and we'd shoot him.

The soldiers had lots of money and we took it. We knew what the silver was but the paper we didn't know. And the children played with it; they made little tipis out of it... and some of it was bloody.

And after we saw what we had done some of us thought we would get hanged, and we were all scared, so we broke camp next day and left....

We brought our wounded with us and they died along the way and we buried them and our hearts were bad. The women also buried lots of trinkets, like rings and things that we took from the dead soldiers, because we were scared.

We had done more than we thought we ever could do, and we knew that the whites were very strong and would punish us. (Beacroft p 81)

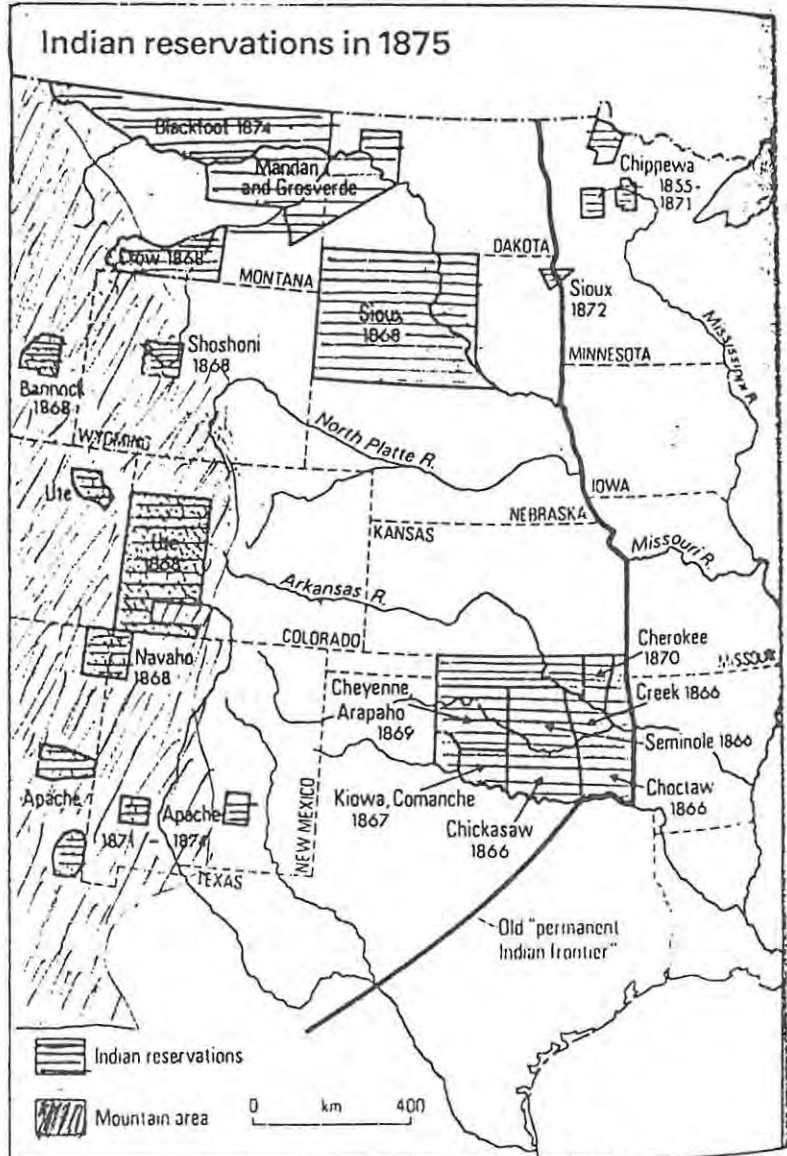


9. Custer in his civil war uniform as Major-General (Gilmour, 1986, p. 28)

8. Some sacred objects: medicine bundles, rattles, a whistle and a drum (Gilmour, 1986, p. 19)



10. A warrior holding a coup stick, with eagle feathers recording the coups that he has counted. (Gilmour, 1986, p. 13)



(Schools Council, 1977, p. 132)



- | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 Chickasaw | 4 Choctaw | 6 Blackfoot | 9 Cheyenne | 12 Kiowa | 15 Assiniboine |
| 2 Cherokee | 5 Seminole | 7 Crow | 10 Apache | 13 Western Sioux | 16 Pawnee |
| 3 Creek | | 8 Arapaho | 11 Comanche | 14 Eastern Sioux | |

The American Plains

(Gilmour, 1986, facing title page)

Figure 1
 Rough cross section of America *not to scale*

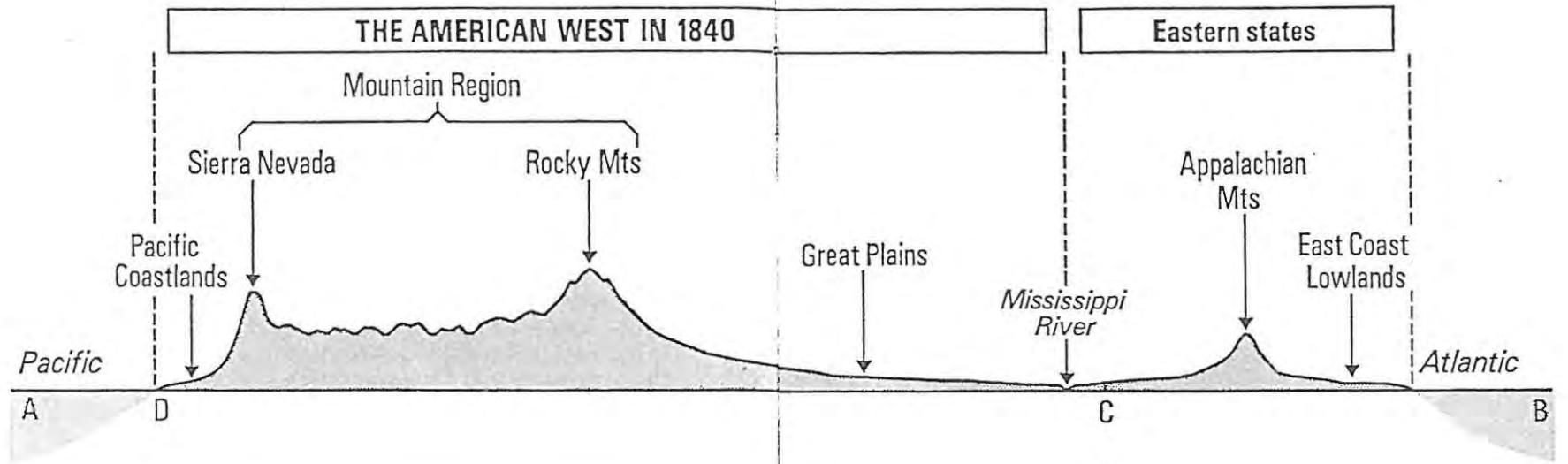
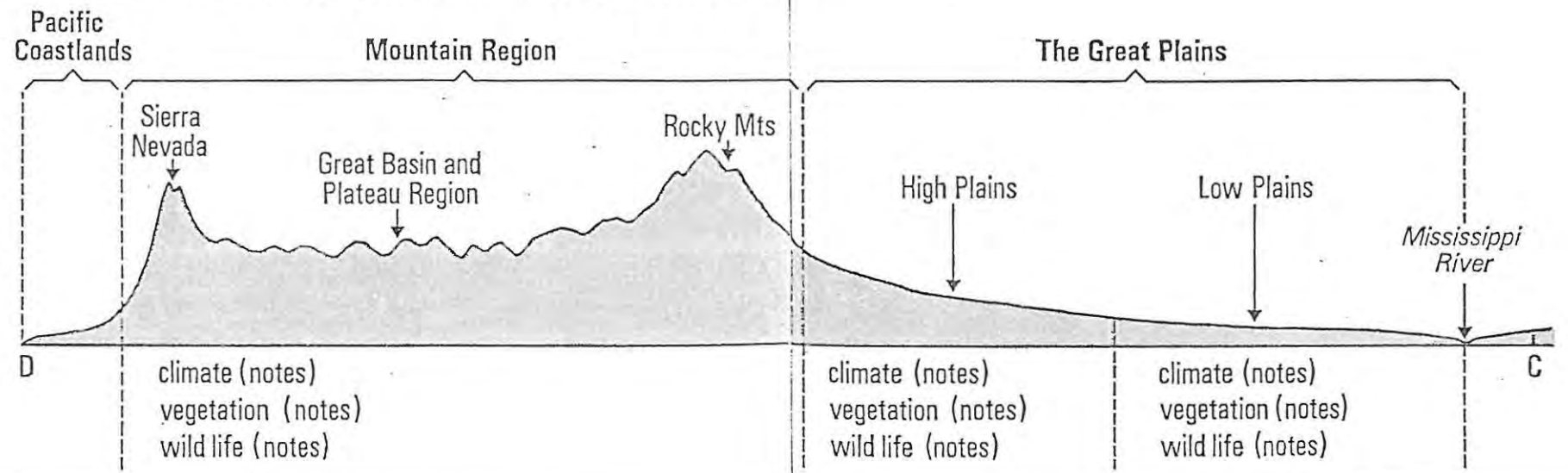
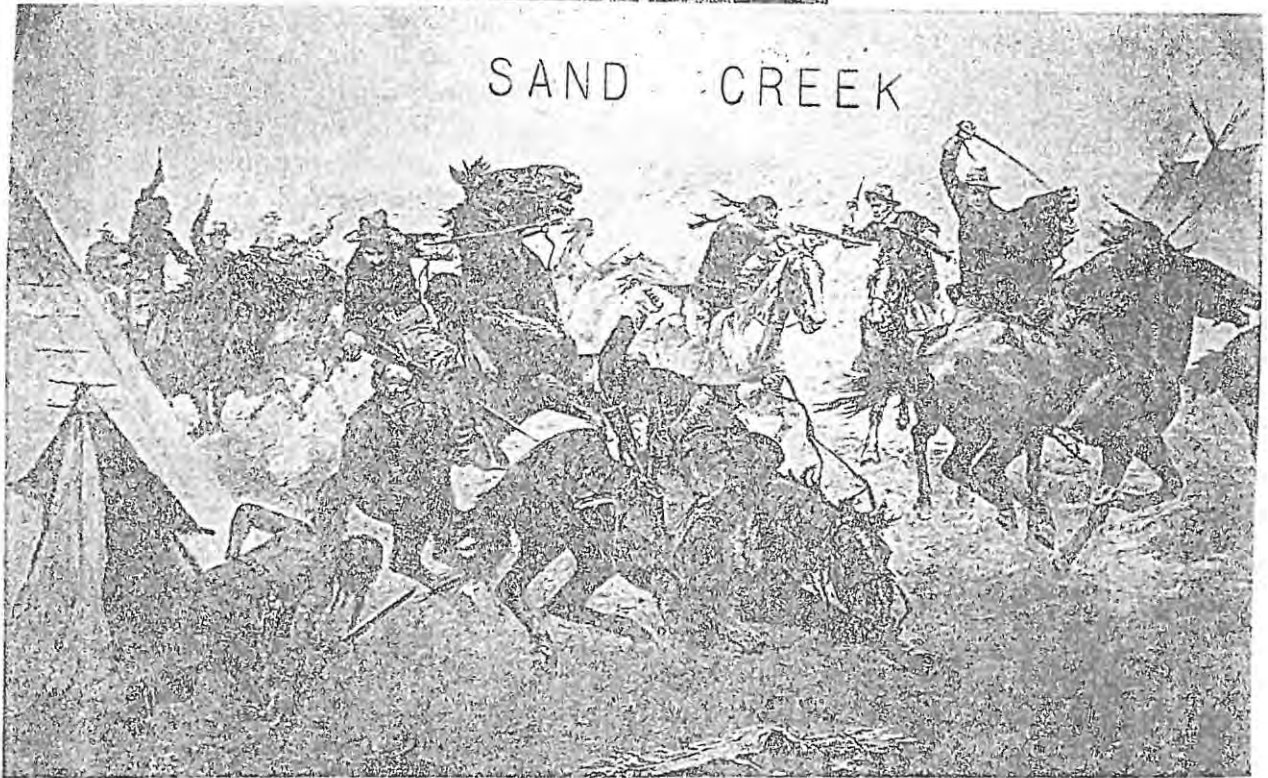


Figure 2
 An enlarged cross section of the American West *not to scale*

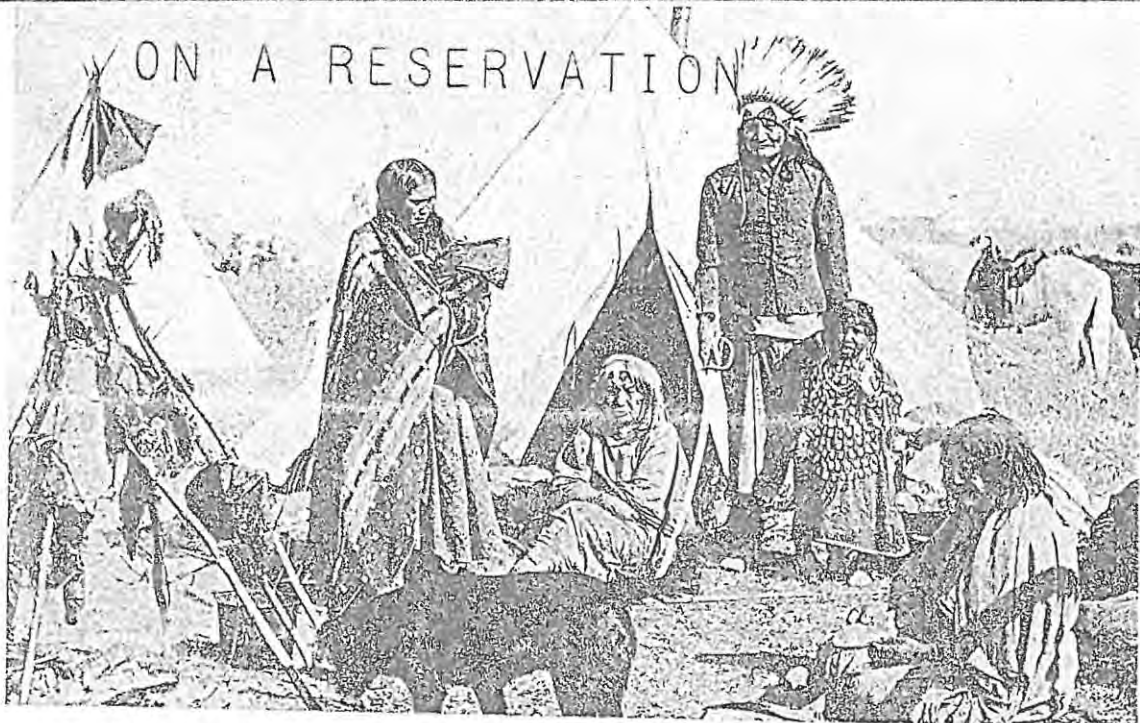




CRAZY HORSE
OF THE
SIOUX



SAND CREEK



ON A RESERVATION

The Battle of the Little Bighorn was the last great Indian victory.
Try to identify in the picture as many features as you can.

(Gilmour, 1986, p. 31)



SOURCES FOR GROUP DISCUSSION

SOURCE 1: Two white men's views of the killing of the buffalo

General Philip Sheridan, U.S. Army

These buffalo hunters have done more in the last two years, and will do more in the next year, to settle the vexed Indian question, than the entire regular army has done in the last thirty years. They are destroying the Indians' commissary; and it is a well-known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. For the sake of a lasting peace, let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffaloes are exterminated. Then your prairies can be covered with speckled cattle, and the festive cowboy, the forerunner of an advanced civilisation.

Note: commissary = (food) supplies

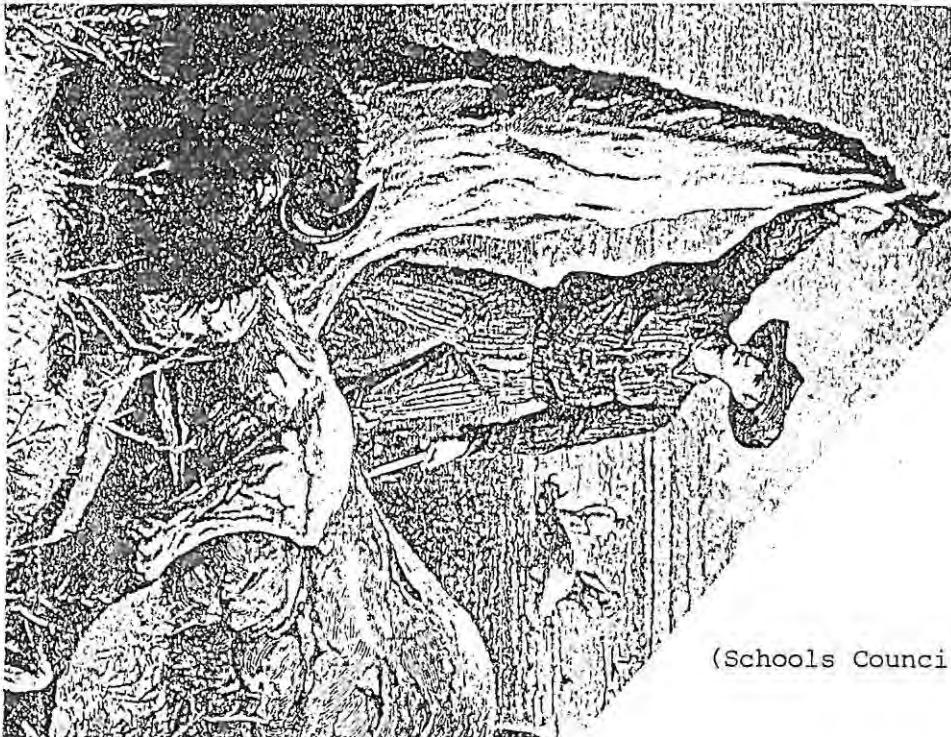
Teddy Blue Abbot, a cowboy in the 1880s

That buffalo slaughter was a dirty business. They would have two skinners working with each pair of hunters and the hunters would round up a bunch of buffalo and shoot all down they could. The skinners would follow after in a wagon and take the hides. But when it got dark they would quit, leaving maybe ten or twenty carcasses. They would just lie there on the prairie and rot, hides and all. It was all waste. All this slaughter was a put up job on the part of the government to control Indians by getting rid of their food supply. But just the same it was a low down dirty business.

(Schools Council, 1977, p. 134)

QUESTIONS

1. What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indians' hunting grounds on the lives of the Plains Indians?
2. We have seen that some white men claimed that they had a right to Indian territory on the grounds that they were more civilized and could use the land more profitably. How would you support or criticize this claim?
3. List three or four similarities between parts of South African history and this period of American history.

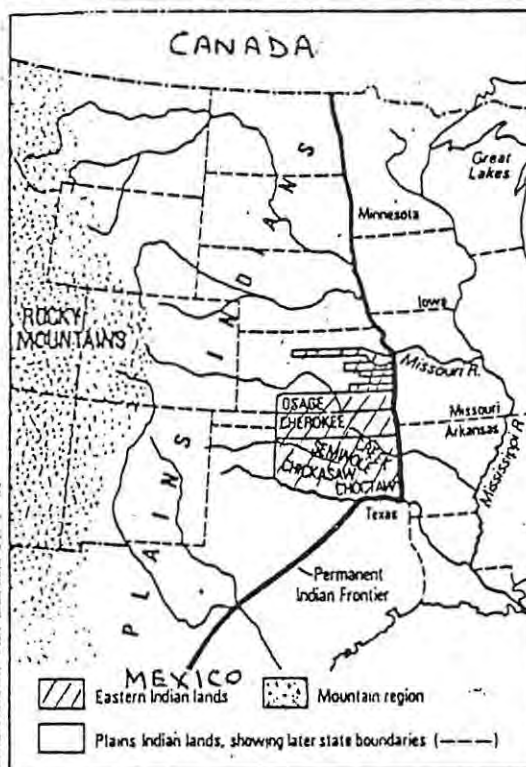


(Schools Council, 1977, p. 133)

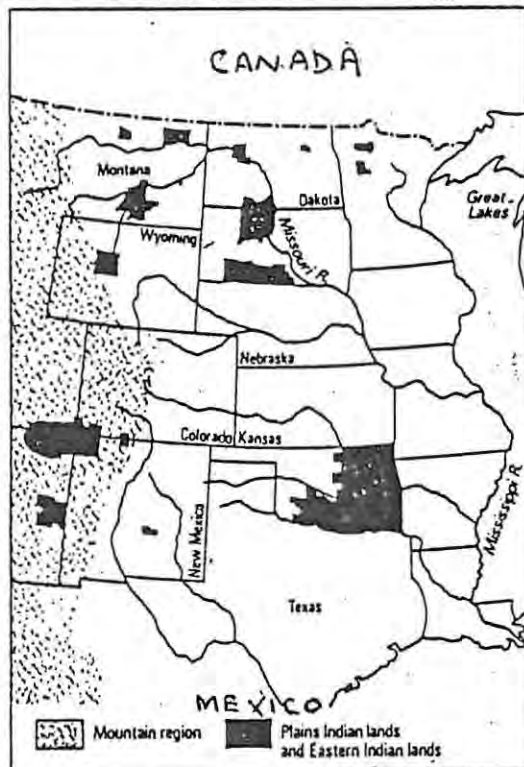
SOURCES FOR GROUP DISCUSSION

SOURCE 2: Maps showing the extent of the lands belonging to the Plains Indians in 1840 and 1900.

In 1840 these lands stretched from Mexico in the south to Canada in the north. By 1900 they have been reduced to a few scattered reservations.

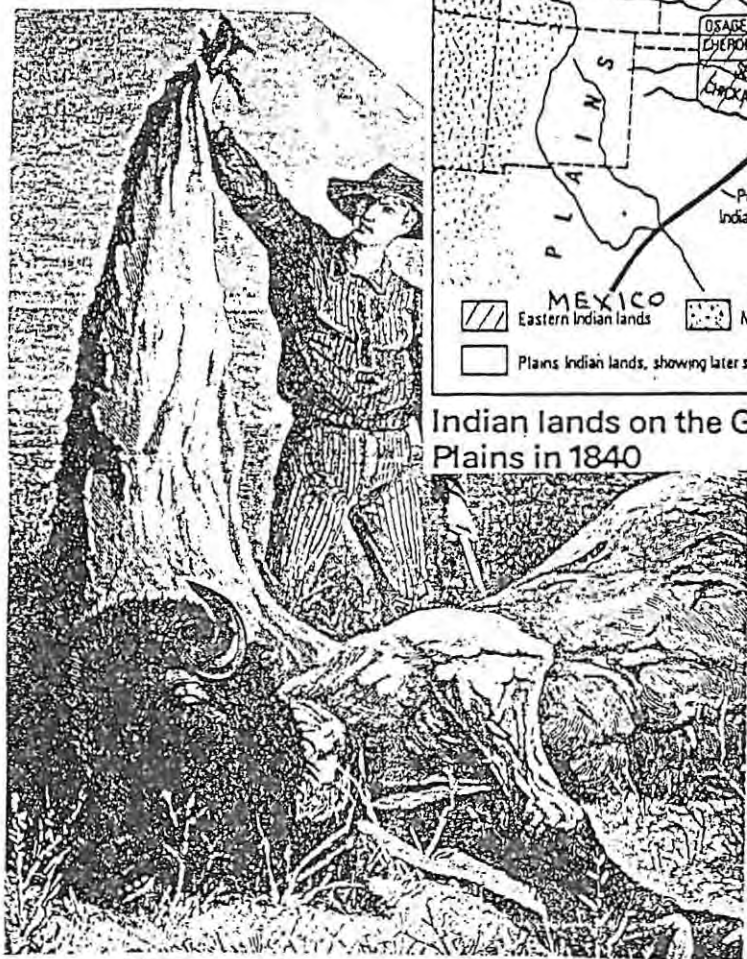


Indian lands on the Great Plains in 1840



Indian lands on the Great Plains in 1900

(Schools Council, 1977, p. 114)



(Schools Council, 1977, p. 133)

QUESTIONS

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3. List three or four similarities between parts of South African history and this period of American history.

SOURCES FOR GROUP DISCUSSION

SOURCE 3: Statistics relating to the direction in which the Indian and buffalo populations of the North American plains moved between 1840 and 1885.

Study these statistics and decide how much they tell us about the changes in Western America in the middle years of the 19th century.

A.

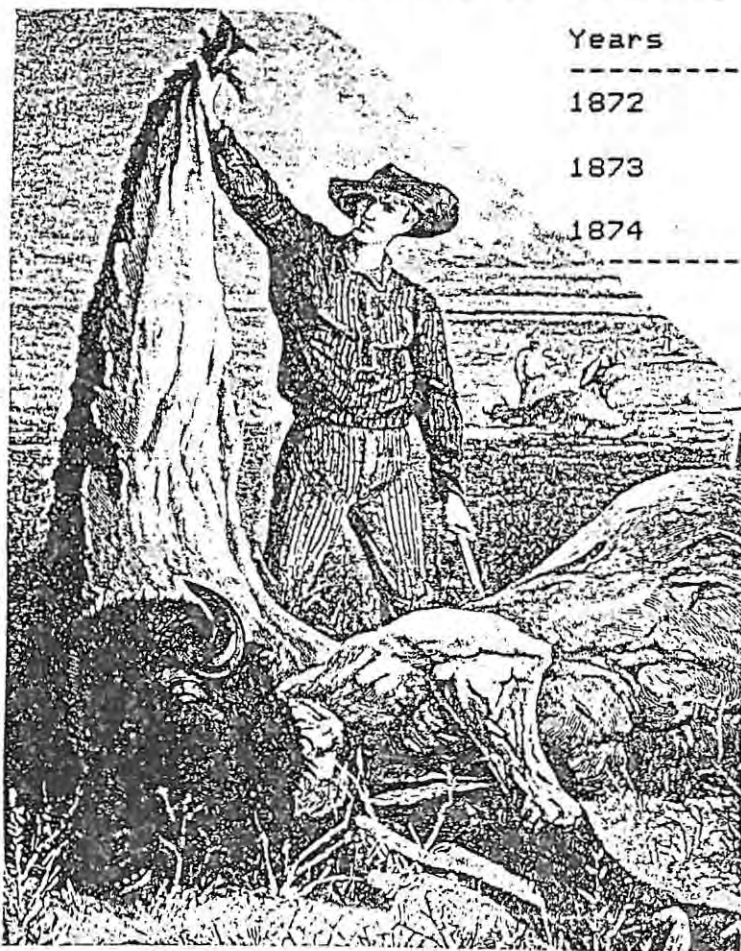
	1840	1885
Estimated number of Indians	500 000	270 000
Estimated number of buffalo	13 000 000	200

(Schools Council, 1977, p. 114)

B. Figures showing the buffalo hides and meat handled by the Railroad Companies, 1872-74

Years	Hides Delivered	Dead Buffalo
1872	497 163	1 491 489
1873	754 329	1 508 658
1874	126 867	158 583
	1 378 359	3 158 730

(Schools Council, 1977, p. 133)



(Schools Council, 1977, p. 133)

QUESTIONS

1. What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indians' hunting grounds on the lives of the Plains Indians?
2. We have seen that some white men claimed that they had a right to Indian territory on the grounds that they were more civilized and could use the land more profitably. How would you support or criticize this claim?
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Transcript of Std 7 History Group Discussions

Group 1.1 (Homogeneous; document stimulus: I.Q.'s: I = 141; P = 131; V = 131)

- 1 V Well, it would seem pretty obvious that they couldn't obtain enough food, clothes, no nothing. [I agrees] And equipment, and they didn't have the means to hunt more, cos they wouldn't have bones and stuff, to make arrows and weapons.
- 2 I Ja, well..if they, if they killed off a lot of Indians as well...
- 3 V They could have killed off all of them...
- 4 I Eventually.
- 5 P It was such a waste because they never used them; it's... it's just a simple way to get rid of the Indians.
- 6 I Ja, a lot easier way would have just been to go and kill all the Indians by starving them.
- 7 V No, um, the buffalo doesn't fight back. The Indians fight back, but the Yankees would be having too much trouble with them, so they would just go and wipe out their food supply. [Pause] Yes, number two's a real stinker cos you can't obviously...they thought they were so civilized, the Yanks, with their culture and their religion and their machinery. They thought they could..they just gave them the right to wipe out anybody they felt like.
- 8 I Ja, and also they just wanted to kill all the bison. Er, that was the only place where you could get these bison and now the Americans are having trouble bringing them back. And now they've been..over the last couple of years they have been trying to, er bring them back. They were almost extinct at the beginning of the century.
- 9 P cos these white men felt because the colour of their skin was right they had superiority over everyone. And they could just wipe them out.
- 10 V It wasn't because their skin was white, it was because they were more civilized. And also they were...if you ask me they were just self-centred as well, hey? I mean "I", "me", "my", "we" - the only free people on this planet. The rest of the people were just things to be used.
- 11 I Ja, and all the Indians had their own land and they just come and push them off and say ja, because we've done this we deserve the land.
- 12 V Do you think they were more civilized, though? I mean their wars, their misdemeanours and that - they just had more advanced machinery to do it.
- 13 I Ja.
- 14 V Instead of killing people off by the dozen, they were killing each other off by the hundreds. They may even have been less civilized in ways.
- 15 I But if you think of it, like always the white man has been more civilized - why was everyone else less civilized? If you think of that way.
- 16 V Maybe the white man isn't more civilized. I mean how much crime do you get in with the Indians, with..er..the blacks, and so forth?
- 17 I Oh, but then they were all separated. Now, with the big huge population in the world everyone has to live close together. But then there were only 300 000 or something in the whole country. They were very far spread out. Now how many people are there living in America at the moment?
- 18 V Millions, millions upon millions.
- 19 I Ja. [Pause]

- 20 V Um, it was the white man that started over-populating like that; the Indian never did. Indians would stay stable; the white man would just carry on.
- 21 I Yes, cos if they had a disease, that person would just die. But the stronger people would live, or the better people who didn't catch the disease would carry on living. But then, nowadays if someone catches a disease they would fix the person up and that person is still living.
- 22 V So the young aren't dying at birth, the old aren't dying, everybody's living so we're just getting over-populated.
- 23 P But the Indians were civilized; they were civilized to what they needed. They, they just needed their food and their, and their blankets that, and that they got from the bison.
- 24 I Ja.
- 25 P They weren't under-civilized, they were civilized to their own need.
- 26 V Yeh, I mean, what civilization did the people from Europe bring them? I mean, um, they brought medicine - that was good. They brought government.
- 27 I They brought..aaah! Government wasn't that good cos...
- 28 V Governments never have..never has been good, never will be good.
- 29 I No, the Indians had their own..like they had the one chief and he ruled their tribe, and the other tribe minded their own business, cos they had their own chief who like looked after them. Nowadays we have one government with..er can't be fair to everyone. As soon as he gives one group advantage the other group..another group has to suffer. That's not really fair.
- 30 V We brought the..the guys brought their implements there, stuff as well, like their guns. They could now kill dozens..er..hundreds instead of dozens. [Pause]
- 31 I Then it also says here that they, that the land..they can use more profitably. They just want..were just thinking of getting profit out of it, but the Indians, when they killed bison they killed enough for them to use. Like what does a white man use cattle for? They kill, they just use them...They don't use them as much as an Indian does - the Indian uses the skin and the bones and everything.
- 32 V There was nothing left of the bison. These people just leave whole carcasses lying there [indicating picture]. That's not civilized at all. [Pause] I mean, the white man's just greedy, greedy greedy greedy.
- 33 I And also with the Spanish people - they also tried to do exactly the same thing with the uhm...
- 34 P [Prompts] The Incas.
- 35 I Ja, the Incas and the Aztecs. They just exterminated the whole lot.
- 36 V You know it was like the old age. There was also religion there. They would say these people are pagans, therefore they have no rights. They aren't, they aren't human, or whatever.
- 37 I Ja. Let's just look at number 3 then. [Reads] "List three or four similarities..." Well what is happening now is..Remember that riot in Uitenhage a few years ago when I think it was 19 black people were killed. Nothing happened when how many Indians were killed a few years ago? Well, I mean, these things - these exterminations - nothing was said. Then just because 19 were killed just because of the riots, they want to like jump down our necks because they say ja, we're uncivilized because we are..If we didn't, if the white people didn't come to South Africa the black people would still be running around in..like running

around killing everything or stealing. They'd start running around..like living in their house and that. They wouldn't have anything.

38 V You know we brought the same detrimental, but also some good things to South Africa, the white man. They also brought the detrimental stuff - drink, etc., but, er.. the blacks before the coming of the whites was very different to the Indians before the coming of the whites.

39 I Ja, well, the Indians had been there for hundreds..for thousands of years.

40 V And they weren't..they weren't..they had tribal wars occasionally, I think. But, er, not as bad as the blacks...

41 I But now, what is happening now is that we are all trying... what are other people thinking? They think that when they see a black man, they think that all black men are the same, but you get the Xhosas and the Pondos and the Sothos and all the different tribes, and you think, ja just like these Indians; and if you put them all together there's going to be a big war. And another thing, they say the majority should rule. If a..if a black person was in charge of the country, the other blacks would also hate him, the different tribes.

42 V I mean, it's the majority rule. The very fact that the blacks are the majority is one way of showing that they are less civilized, actually. Because they are the majority because they breed um, a lot. Put it that way.

43 I Don't forget that there were still more of them before we arrived.

44 V Not that much more. Um..because they had only just come from Central Africa, um..why, because they were fighting each other.

45 I Ja, O.K. Then they came here and started fighting other people.

46 V There are some similarities between this and the American question, but it's not exactly the same.

47 I Ja, well, the Americans..ja, as I said, the Americans had been there thousands of years before the whites settled.

48 V And the whole situation of the white man coming as well. There are some good similarities, though. In the beginning the whites did consider themselves superior.

49 I Ja, and another thing, similarity, the Indians said the land was, um, was..um..didn't belong to them, like they couldn't own the land. Then the black people, when a white man gave him a gift to use his land, he didn't, the black people didn't think he was keeping it for himself; he was just using it, like borrowing the land, paying them to borrow the land, and they just walked back in afterwards, like they thought the time had expired.

50 V Or they thought that they all owned the land; he was just using it as well as them.

51 I Ja, I know.

52 V There's also misunderstanding here as it was in America as well. Cos in America they didn't understand the Indians, didn't try to understand the Indians. They just used the Indians...I think they used the Indians as a kind of a "ego boost", cos, er, Indians were less civilized than they were, and, um, they like looked down on them and feel so much more superior. [sounds of agreement on the part of I and exhaustion on the part of V]

SUMMARY

53 V Number 1 was that they would kill off the Indians.

54 P They'd kill off the bison, and thereby killing off the Indians. They were very self-centred in that fact, that they had

to do that low down to get rid of the Indians.

55 I Ja, they couldn't live with Indians. They had to..they, they is.. I suppose that they couldn't stand having other people that they would have to share the land with. They just had to have it all to themselves.

56 V Maybe a kind of xenophobia where they don't like or they fear strangers. and the effects would be totally devastating what they did.

They didn't even consider that; that lives, human lives would be devastated and destroyed by...

57 I They didn't class Indian as humans.

58 V Ja. They thought they were so superior.

59 I O.K. Well, number two, then.

60 V Um, well, they say that..the white man claimed that he had a right to the Indian territory on the grounds that they were more civilized.

61 I Well, the Indians had been living there for thousands, yes thousands of years before the white man came along.

62 P Well, the Indians were civilized to their need. [General agreement]

63 V Yes, and it's questionable whether the whites were more civilized.

64 I They didn't have the um...The Indians...the didn't...their territory...They didn't have one territory - they moved around. So.. but the white man had, like, his farm and that was no-one else's land. Anything on his farm belonged to him. The Indians like, they didn't work like that, they just moved around wherever they..wherever the bison went they went. So if the bison went into a white man's territory, the white man would say those bison are his. Meanwhile the Indians had been following them, following them for ages.

65 V The Indians didn't believe in owning much, specially animals.

66 I They didn't believe in owning land or animals or...

67 V Certainly not people.

68 I Ja. [Pause]

69 V And where it says "use the land more profitably". Which is.. It was perfectly good for its purposes. Indians weren't wasting the land. Um, the white men were just greedy.

70 I Ja, well, also if the white man had a farm, the cattle would eat the whole farm down. Then there would be nothing left and then the white man would burn his farm and that place would turn into a desert, which is happening in South Africa. In the Karoo it's all being eaten by bushmen, [laughs] well, not bushmen, eaten by their, their cattle which they used to keep. But the Indians, well, as soon as the bison finished, well, most times they'd move, and like they wouldn't come back to that place for a much longer time. And that used to happen in South Africa, like all the antelope and that they used to move around and now they have to be kept all in one place. And that's all.

71 V Number three, similarities. In the world um...

72 I Well, that's also like people that..er, white people would be coming in..er after the original people who were staying there and just taking over.

73 P Ja, the white man just came in and took over, and thought "I'm white, I'm boss". [Amusement]

74 V "White is right and the rest is rubbish". [Agreement] And they also introduced their culture, including drink and whatever. [Disagreement] Yes, the blacks had had their drink before. [Agreement]

- 75 P Their culture they thought was superior so they naturally forced it upon them.
- 76 I What about these other people that you see, when they had a black man or something who was going to be hanged or something like that, they used to whip him until he said that he was..that he believed in God, so they used to force things upon them, because they didn't believe. And also like they probably did the same thing...
- 77 P Both the white man and..both sets of white men sort of had hunting parties and the game was like bushmen or, in the American's case Indians. [Agreement] They would like give rewards for every person you'd kill and that.
- 78 I Ja, actually there was, it was a sport in South Africa, with rich people going round saying "a..a...that one's mine".
- 79 P And you'd be keen to go out for your bushmen.
- 80 V Yeah, people are trying to rectify those problems now. It will take a lot of work and time.
- 81 I Mm, but they will never be able to bring the Indians back to what they were. But I mean the Indians, even the Aztecs, they were very civilized people. The people that were living in South Africa weren't very civilized at all. They're not even as..they weren't civilized compared to the Indians at all.
- 82 V But, but they still had a right to live, a right to their land. Y'know, is, is..Another question: Just pretend you're some godlike creature from another planet, and look down on man. There's no civilization on this planet really. I mean man, white man, black man, they all had silly traits, they are not really that civilized. Cos in some books science fiction writers try to put themselves above man and look down. Man comes up much pathetic, with his wars and his anxieties...
- 83 I Ja, well, [ignores V who tries to continue] that is only because man is like a..has got a..can think for himself. Cos if, if everyone..now if they only the..well that's what they're trying to do...well, communism - the one person is above everyone else.
[End of recording]

Group 1.2 (Homogeneous; map stimulus: M = I.Q. 141; S = I.Q. 134;
W = I.Q. 133)

[Long pause before anyone says anything]

- 1 W Um, with this..and they were their main..buffalo complete, I mean, that was their..that was the most..made them able to survive. And er, they never..buffalo destroyed, surely they would have to start relying on white er, things er, medicine, like clothes, and they'd have to go to shops to get food and stuff like that, because they can't get it from thee buffalo any more, and clothes and things like that and slowly their culture will be destroyed, surely?
- 2 S Then they'd have to sell their land to get the money.
- 3 W No, I don't think they did..they would have sold their land. I think it was more..they stole quite a bit, cos it said in that thing there they stole..um, they were able to steal and to creep up to camps. Perhaps they stole quite a bit. And no, they said, it wasn't their land - it was given to them by the Great Spirit, and they, um weren't allowed to sell it, for it wasn't theirs to sell. [Long pause] I suppose that they would also have to start go looking for work because then they can't..they couldn't survive. And the grouping..well they couldn't stick together in their own sort of civilization, their own um, encampment. They had to go out and look for job opportunities and things like that to support their self..themselves and their families. I think that's basically it, y'know what I mean. [Pause] I suppose it also led them to become more aggressive, because first of all they..their culture's being destroyed, first of all, and now they've also got to support themselves and now they were perhaps getting into hunting parties and go out and attack wagon trains and things like that to get food and get revenge at the same time..and if they get revenge, get food at the same time. It probably made them more aggressive. [Pause] O.K. Everybody O.K. on that? Question two. [Unconvincing sounds of agreement] [Long pause]
- 4 W O.K. I see the white man's reasoning here, cos they could use this ground, O.K., plant crops and harvest them. Um, O.K., they were more civilized, but these Indians had been living there for..probably decades, years, and like they..um, like it was their land, almost. But then again, I mean, it was open land there, I mean, they probably saw it at the time there was nobody there, where that land was, so they thought "what they're not using this land, we may as well use it". And then they didn't know, or didn't realize that the..that the, the, the, um, buffalo would be coming across them and the Indians would follow them and then they would be using that ground, perhaps in the future, not too far future.
- 5 S The Indians would use the land in their own way, and then they'd think their own way was for them. People have their own opinions about that. Indians aren't much worried about profits, they just want to support themselves.
- 6 W Yes, as it said there, they didn't like just to kill buffalo for no reason at all. They only killed them when they had to. And then here the white man wanted to just make profit all the time. O.K. if, you know, if you planted corn you could feed quite a few people but, like, you made quite a profit out of it, too. [Pause] Think we can go onto number three now?
- 7 S Ja.
- 8 W Well, the Trek.
- 9 S Ja.

- 10 M Trekking from one side to the other.
- 11 W Ja, the Great Trek and also, um, the clash between the original...
- 12 M Natives.
- 13 W Natives there and er, what what would be the Voortrek..I mean the..ja, the trekkers going up and getting away from Cape Town. Ja, these..um, the white man going across into Indian territory. They were actually looking to get to gold and..in the Rocky Mountains there, and that sort of being able to cultivate the land; and in South Africa the trekkers were moving up to get get away from the um, tyranny in the Cape and um, better grazing, I mean close to the Xhosa. [Clears his throat] Also over here the Zulu and Xhosa revolted against this in the same way as the Indians did. War.
- 14 M The culture of the Indians was almost the same as well. They relied on what they could get.
- 15 W Um, from nature.
- 16 M Sort of, ja.
- 17 W Also like with this one: there were boundaries made and finally shifted back and shifted back and shifted back. The same thing here in South Africa where it was, what, the Gamtoos River and pushed at the Fish River, slowly working its way up.
- 18 S And also the stealing of cattle and that. The Zulus also used to steal cattle and horses. [Pause]
- 19 W Also it seemed like here with the Indians and all this, the white man thought he could just go there and if you wanted land just buy it from the Indians, and um, well, it wasn't theirs to sell, they said, and things like that, and the buffalo used it. The same thing with the Xhosa when they..when the white man bought, so-called bought it from them, it was..he was just buying use of the land - it wasn't his - but both Indian and white man would be allowed..I mean Xhosa and white man would be allowed to use the piece of land. It wasn't actually the white man's.
- 20 S But the white man thought it was his. [Agreement] So when the Xhosa came home he started crooking.
- 21 W And then also, slowly as the..um, raiding parties, y'know like the odd little conflict here and there, the white man reacted and went and.. like if Xhosas stole some cattle the white man would go back and steal all of his, y'know. [Agreement from S] And then um, they slowly started having to rely on..um, the white man for food and clothes and stuff like that. [Reluctant agreement from M] [Very long pause]
- 22 W Also, how, like these Indians have been out in reservations, O.K., we haven't put the blacks in reservations, at least, but now they've got like the Ciskei, Transkei, and, er each..
- 23 S What about the locations [Agreement from W] outside of the town?
- 24 W Ja, I suppose the locations outside of the town, yes, and um, also how you've got um, different groups, like the Zulus are up in Natal, and Xhosa are down in the Cape and, as you go up into Transvaal it's Sotho, I think, or..or whatever. But you know, each little grouping here and there.. [Pause]
- Summary
- 25 S Um, the Indians would have to buy land in number one.
- 26 W Well, they'd have to...
- 27 S They'd have to start working for the white man.
- 28 W And then they also became aggressive because..to get revenge so to support themselves.
- 29 S And number two, we agreed they didn't have the right to, um claim the right to land. They couldn't claim the right,

- 30 W And then, South African history in number three, it's the Trek...
- 31 S Attacking the different Indian tribes...
- 32 W And loca...
- 33 M The cultures.
- 34 W And the location of um, different Indians and different Xhosa..I..different black groups. Um, boundaries, different boundaries further up.
- 35 S Pushed up.
- 36 W Um, the reservations for the Indians and um, y'know, like locations for the blacks. And later... [Peters out]
[End]

Group 1.3 [Homogenous; statistical stimulus: V = I.Q. 129;
M = I.Q. 125; W = I.Q. 123]

- 1 V Well, um, the first statement is like, well the first question is that the white man, er, the Indians like, after some years of doing their, their own thing, like started doing what the white man..started changing with the modern world. Um, for the white people I suppose it's O.K. because they wouldn't have to live with hostile people and their country because they started colonizing. But I suppose for Indians, I suppose it's messed them up as well, because they're satisfied with how they live. Um, everything progresses, so maybe it was a good thing that they were like encouraged on. But maybe it shouldn't have got done in such proportions, though. With a peace..more peaceful way you will still be able to get them civilized, I think. And then, um, there definitely also in the particular destruction of the buffaloes led them to depending on white people. And um, other things like getting paid out and all that stupid..money and things like that, that came to give white people enough.. You can see it in nowadays like that there are no more Indians roaming around, the buffalo and that. [Pause] Um, obviously it must have des..not only was it the buffaloes, there must have been other things that the Indians depended on as well, besides buffalo, cos it destroys the ecology..the ecological balance. When there's buffalo, they eat more grass, or something.
- 2 W First they like depended on the buffalo, then they depended on the white man.
- 3 V Ja.
- 4 M But the way the figures dropped from 1940 to 1985 in the buffalo.
- 5 V It's quite proportional, the way, um, the buffalo dropped, I mean the Indians were dropping and the buffalo.
- 6 M Ja.
- 7 V But the thing is, um, both the white man affected both of them. It wasn't only the Indians decreasing by the buffalo decreasing. It wasn't like a constant source only. The white man killed off the Indians and the buffalo. It wasn't like the white..like..no..chain..'cos that destroys the ecological balance totally. Um, well actually those 200, there are more buffalo than that now.
- 8 M Ja, it's come up again.
- 9 W It's because they've restocked them.
- 10 V And also these hides here - you can see how many buffalo were wasted. Which shouldn't have been, because, um, the same amount of hides..well only 300 hides..300 more hides were delivered basically..250 virtually. And virtually the same amount of Indian..er, buffalo were killed, in 1873 to 1872. And then it's amazing how it dropped, which must have been because it was decreasing. Ja, and also the reason why it dropped wasn't for that, it was because they were running out of buffaloes to kill, more likely.
- 11 W Mm, if they hadn't stopped then the buffaloes would have become extinct.
- 12 M The Indians must have only used a small number of the..those buffalo, so they couldn't become extinct.
- 13 V Ja, that's responsible. Well, I mean, if you see on trains like those people who used to ride on the railways just like.. when they see buffalo..
- 14 Ja.
- 15 Boom. Um..O.K., I think we've had enough of number one.
[Pause]

- 16 V Um, about number two. That the Indians couldn't sell the land, which is, I mean which is nowadays nearly all land is owned. The government's got to decide like that, but in those days, especially when you get to come to a new country, it's difficult to buy land, which didn't belong to anyone. It's the same as..um, at the moment beaches. You can't um, buy beaches cos they're just there.
- 17 W The Indians, the Indians didn't really own that land.
- 18 V Ja, but they they reckoned that they did, actually
- 19 M It was found, actually, not got...
- 20 V The white man..white man thought that they owned it, but the Indians didn't think that they owned it.
- 21 W Ja, cos they were there first, the Indians...
- 22 V The white man..ja, they couldn't understand it..didn't they?
- 23 M They felt that they had a better claim to the land, in a way.
- 24 W It's still land.
- 25 M The white man...
- 26 V The white man thought they were using it.
- 27 M They got more use of it.
- 28 V Ja I suppose it was no use objecting, cos look where America is now.
- 29 W Ja.
- 30 V But I mean that's what you can see with the beaches in future as well, like there'd be selling beaches, and stuff.
- 31 W Ja, it's the same in South Africa. I mean if South Africa has a massive control all the time, the whole of South Africa would look like East London and that.
- 32 V Ja, ja, you know, [expressing some amusement] thinking over this - it's off the subject, but you know how they say South Africa's got all its problems? [General amusement] I mean in..er..er..America just killed all the problems. [General noises of agreement]
- 33 M If the white man most probably didn't take over the cycle.. whole cycle of the plains and that, it wouldn't have been changed so drastically, most probably.
- 34 V Ja, but that is the white man's nature.
- 35 W To cultivate the land and all their books. The natives wouldn't have killed all the buffalo.
- 36 V [Speaking over the previous sentence] Ja but I suppose that if they had been more..more..um..their attitude towards the Indians in the first place, like approach it from their point of view. Then maybe, and if everyone was honest, which wouldn't happen with any white man, but I mean, like they say in the notes that people were attacking them from doing like bad things towards the white man, because previously people had done. And, um, also it says that the Indians were like totally revengeful and totally cruel but then that's in a good way, because if you don't..our way of showing revenge is like a weak..ooh..not good, but I mean, in Indians' way that shows a weakness if you don't show revenge.
- 37 M Ja.
- 38 V So, I mean they thought they had to take it out on a white man that didn't. So, if the white man had to treat him better, maybe they would ve got on better, because they like..if they hadn't done anything wrong they wouldn't wanted to revenge or anything. I suppose that didn't work for white people. And then..well, I suppose they closely linked enough together either.
- 39 M They should have viewed the Indians with more sort of respect, not just viewing them as...
- 40 V Ja.

- 41 M Er..natives.
- 42 V Ja, animals for killing.
- 43 M Ja.
- 44 V Ja, but um, er..the way the attitude has to..they're more like a white man's attitude..I mean, well, it's the same as if we see blacks, I mean, which, which we see in Africa as well, like what we see as a black..as..his way, like a person who burns everything.
- 45 W I support those men when they claimed the land. I wouldn't criticise it because they have made much better use of their claim than e Indians.
- 46 V Ja, but they could have done it in a better way, I think.
- 47 M Ja.
- 48 W Ja, they could have.
- 49 V No, actually, the land was claimed well, but I suppose the other after effects and things like that.
- 50 W It was a bit bad, just wiping out the Indians like that.
- 51 M No, they should have had more control over the way they did it, like wiping out the buffalo like that.
- 52 V Ja, that wasn't much help for fame and ...
[Pause]
- 53 V Well, um, for number three we have answered quite a few of those questions. [Slight amusement] But a big similar..or a big difference, say, which is in some ways similar, it is like their natives, like they put them where they belonged straightaway. Not put them where bethey longed, but...
- 54 W Sorted them out.
- 55 V I mean, in a hundred years it's worked out better, 'cos I mean the Indians now aren't treated like that. They were in those days.
- 56 M Ja, they were put in reserves.
- 57 V And now, I mean, the blacks in South Africa..um, haven't got any..I mean, if I was a black and I was sitting..still living in a tent village, then obviously I'd go for communism as well.
- 58 W Just think if the A.N.C. had to rule South Africa.
- 59 V Ja, but like I mean I would go for communism because now I mean I've got nothing, so what can I lose by communism?
[Agreement] And they think like that communism will be like equal for everyone, which [muses] will never work, really. [Pause] And then you also get...
- 60 W Like there they wiped out the Indians and nothing happened, hey? Now you shoot one black and there's a big deal...
- 61 V You see, we're doing it at the wrong time, that's why. I mean, they were totally isolated. But also, the similarity was that they had plains they took over. Like they landed..I mean they had those thirteen colonies for ages which were developed by Britain on the east coast, and then, like they were dissatisfied with the government and started trekking west, which is the same as happened in South Africa - they trekked north. They wanted to break away.
- 62 W They wanted to get rid of the Indians, hey? But we didn't really want to get rid of the blacks. It's just like the things they do. They're not satisfied with anything.
- 63 V But the thing is like South Africa, the colonization happened a bit late and everyone was having morals and having stands and something like at, y'know. [Agreement] We'll have to wait for a cause, a big problem or something wrong with it, though. [Pause]
- 64 V Well, also, um, if you think of the game..it isn't like buffaloes - number one the destruction of buffalo - the

the destruction of the game was just amazing, I mean in South Africa the destruction of game was also quite big, but probably not of the scale. It was probably...

65 M They didn't go into it so much.

66 V Ja, but, um, they also destroyed them. If you think of the bushmen, they've totally been wiped out, and we're probably to blame. And other black problems, maybe. But there's so much fighting between the blacks. That will always make a big difference between the Indians and the blacks in South Africa. I mean the blacks in South Africa were always wiping the bushmen out and driving them out to some other place...

64 W The blacks just didn't depend on one type of buck, they went for different stuff, you know, different types of buck and that. But like the Indians, they went just for one.

68 V Ja, and like the bushmen, or the blacks in South Africa.. black tribes were fighting against each other, and were totally against all other black tribes, but like in India [sic] the Indians got on well with each other.

69 M Each one had his own sort of part of the land.

70 V Yeah, and everyone sort of understood everything and they were O.K.

71 W But the Indians definitely got on together better than the blacks.

72 V Ja, but maybe that caused more problems, like we didn't make such a big upset when we went in because like the one blacks were helping us to fight the other blacks and all things like that. But when that happened, um, what happened was that er, like fresh rising they were pushed out by the white man and giving way.

[Pause]

73 M Then the other thing is that the, the blacks were like moved back up the coast. The also most probably felt that they were being endangered in a way, and also fought back again. The people were pushing them out.

[Pause]

74 M Like the Indians believed differently from us, though. They really thought that the Great Spirits had give them the land. It's like the felt that this land had been stolen from them.

75 W Well, the blacks here also felt that, most probably because got, they got here first, so they, y'know...

76 V Ja, except that they got it from [an obviously private joke].

77 W But, think what it would be like in South Africa today. Y'know, I mean a total mess-up.

78 M I suppose in both countries it worked out for the best, most probably. [General agreement]

79 V Ja, but the thing is that we're having such a lot of pressure from other countries now as well. [Agreement] And also because nowadays..well I suppose they wiped out the Indians, but in the beginning..well now the blacks are still the majority in South Africa. I mean there like the Indians were outkilled, so they weren't the majority. That's why we're having to resort to brute force.

80 W But the countries that are boycotting us, they just worry about..spread their influence amongst the blacks. Blacks are...

81 V How much time is there left?
[Invitation from T to "sum it up"]

82 W Now we can do it. For number one...Well, for the Indians it definitely had a detrimental effect...[agreed] But then for a white person it wasn't so bad, it was what he wanted.

83 W They gained quite a bit out of it.

- 84 M They gained.
- 85 V And then, for number two..
[Pause]
- 86 W It wasn't a controlled move though that killed the Indians like that. But in the end it is best that the white man got control of the land.
- 87 M You can't blame the Indians at all for criticizing.
- 88 W If you look at it from the side of the Indians, most probably, you ally feel endangered. And you try to criticize it.
- 89 M When the world discovered it they did criticize it. They felt that at they were doing was for the best for the land.
- 90 W The white man has made much better use of that land.. colonists...
- 91 V No, but you see, you are looking at it from the white man's point of view, saying they used it much better. I mean, if you think that the Indian and his villages had been living on that land for about 40 000 years..no, 20 000 years, living on that land, they can't not made good use of it, for, shall we say 40 000 years. But it's so difficult for us to look at it from a different point of view.
[Pause]
- 92 W Well, the basic similarities for number three was like hostile people in front, and then the trekking as well.
- 93 W Ja, true.
- 94 V Trekking west and trekking north, in South Africa. And also it's in America, well before this was made, basically was made at will..if you stay in America, there's not a..and various seen in America nowadays was originally his ancesters often come from some other country. It's just the same in South Africa. I mean most of the whites in South Africa come originally from some other country.
- 95 W Number three...
- 96 V [Private joke]
- 97 W 'Cos the white people, they just came and they took everything from the Indians and the blacks, you know, whereas they had actually..it was actually their land, 'cos they were there first.
- 98 V And another thing. We didn't actually buy land in South Africa, we didn't even intend to buy land from them.
- 99 W Well, why should we pay for it? They didn't buy it.
- 100 V Ja..[without much conviction]
[End]

Group 2.1 (Homogeneous; document stimulus; C = I.Q. 108;
V = I.Q. 105; S = I.Q. 108)

- 1 S Question number one [reads] "What was the effect of the destruction ..." O.K. the buffalo...the Indians always eat buffalo, right? [Sound of agreement] Right, they have got a right to it, but the buffalo have also got a right to the land as well. So they can't kill too many or else like, they could be becoming extinct, y'know, or something like that. The effect of it? Right, it's...
- 2 C Sir, are the Plains buffaloes extinct? [No reply given]
- 3 V What caused them to like die out for...and the Indians had to move.
- 4 S Ja. But if they aren't...didn't kill too many and they won't, they wouldn't actually...and the Indians wouldn't have to keep moving. And that would leave more land for other parts, right, and they'd stay in one like area.
- 5 V The whites might just take over. [Agreement from S]
- 6 C But why did they...I mean kill the buffalo? Why couldn't they just say that the Indians could live in a certain place, with their buffalo?
- 7 S What are they gonna eat?
- 8 C Well, the buffalo, [V tries to interject] maybe they didn't have to kill the buffalo. [some interjections] Ja, but if they give them, give them a place, [some doubtful agreement] and the buffalo could just live in that place.
- 9 V The whites would then take over. [Pause]
- 10 S I mean, ja, the Indians had their right, 'cos it's their land to begin with. The buffalo also owned...So...
- 11 C And they were there first, so it's their land.
- 12 V And, er, the buffalo moved away because of the whites, and the whites came and when, when the whites had killed those things...
- 13 S Mm, the effect was too many buffalo were killed and like the land was, y'know, overpopulated...no, not over...ja, kind of overpopulated with buffalo.
- 14 C Well, if you read it up there, it says, um, that they're er, if it became dark, they'd leave the...leave them there to rot. I'd say it was a wastage [general agreement] they just...
- 15 V No, they were trying to give the Indians the whites. The Indians didn't have.. didn't have food.
- 16 S Ja, but they, they why they used the hides again.
- 17 V They left the carcasses to rot.
- 18 S So, they were killing buffaloes like ruthlessly. They didn't really need them to eat. They used mostly clothing and... the ones they didn't kill to eat were just used for clothing and the carcasses left to rot.
- 19 V Well, the whites wanted, um, cattle, instead of they couldn't train or they couldn't like the buffalo and they used to um, they couldn't get them to pull things. And um, for milk and other stuff.
- 20 S Is that all? [Pause] Anything else on that? Right, let's look through number two now.
[Pause, with some false starts]
- 21 S Right. O.K., the Indians were there first, right, on that land? But then since, like America, America, now as it is known as, it's known as, um, like rights, something about rights should be able to do, ja, y'know it's a free country. So then if it's that right, Indians should have been able to [suggestion by C: "keep the"] keep the land. But the, like the In...the Americans,

they were only on, y'know - Mr R showed us the other day, where he drew that line. There's more land on that side..not really land, but mountains.. and the Indians up and down, Americans, whites on the edge, on one side of it. So they had a right to expand the territory. but the Indians also had a right to keep it, so, like I can't really argue with it or support it, so...

- 22 V Ja, the whites could use the land to make money.
- 23 S Ja, cultivate it.
- 24 V Ja, more profitably. The Indians didn't need money, because they lived off the land.
- 25 S They didn't really like cultivate land, much.
- 26 C They didn't need to. The land was good - stuff for the buffalo.
- 27 S So, all the Indians mostly ate was, um, meat, so like they didn't cultivate the land.
- 28 V Some of them did.
- 29 S So, I think the white had a right to a bit of land because they could do more with it.
- 30 V [Half interrupting] The Indians were there first, so they had actually more right. But the whites were just for the gold, and then they set up things and they wanted to take the place over.
- 31 S Ja, go look at that source: the whites didn't just want the land to cultivate, they wanted it for the minerals, y'know, and other things.
- 32 V 'Cos they had to get over to the Rockies.
- 33 S I'm still getting the opinion that the whites have now got the land and now think about the Indians...[Pause] Ja, I suppose the whites didn't... [muffled laughter] No.
- 34 S Right, number three. [Pause] Ja, it's number...question three. The white...the whites came into South Africa, and fighting blacks, and, ja, the blacks got pushed over..[V agrees] Fish River.
- 35 S So, it's like, y'know,..
- 36 V The Zulus and the whites.
- 37 S Ja, Zulu...Zulus the same as the Indians and whites, and so we're trying to get more territory all the time.
- 38 V Ja, the whites want to take over again, and the blacks, Xhosas and the...
- 39 C The whites that came to South Africa didn't kill the buffalo, I mean here they..the Americans could have forced the Indians over into Canada, or something like that.
- 40 V No, they were the same power, I mean the Indians were actually more powerful, so they couldn't really fight. 'cos like with the Zulus and stuff, and, er, and the Zulus and the whites, the Zulu...the whites had guns, the Zulus just had spears, and the Zulus weren't as good, like at Blood River. They killed thousands of them, through this.
- 41 S But, like, there were more farmers in America. Now, in South Africa there were farmers and they wanted to expand his farming country [agreement from V]. And each one had farms and like on the Fish River.
- 42 V [Speaking over the last phrase] The Zulus.
- 43 C So they wan...the whites wanted to get farms. No reference to that the South Africans had farms.
- 44 S In the Cape. There was only cattle men and they invaded them first. So...
- 45 V Started fighting battles.
- 46 S All right, let's see what the Americans did. [Pause] We said that the whites were more equipped. The Indians didn't have

much.

- 47 V And eventually pushed them out from their land.
- 48 S Anything else? Start with hunting.. see if we can name three or four similarities. O.K., it's more or less the same problem, like whites wanting to get land. That's one. And, number two... whites were more equipped as in America. The whites were better equipped. [Agreement from V]
- 49 S And modernized. Number three...um...
- 50 V The whites wanted to take over the land.
- 51 S Ja, that's that's like same as number one...Let's just think. [Pause] O.K., What was the...what was the reason for the Americans coming first? They they could do more than that, so the whites could more than the ... It's the same as number two: more money and that...
- 52 V You've got the whites and the blacks at the same time. They were doing about the same thing. They were both stock farmers.
- 53 S But, er...
- 54 C The whites wanted gold and diamonds, that's what.
- 55 S Ja, but...
- 56 C Only later the...
- 57 S No, but that that wa only about 18..hundred and something. [Pause] The whites like wanted gold and diamonds in South Africa, but not the same time that they took it over from the blacks. So, the Americans wanted it straight away, y'know, 'cos it wasn't discovered when they were taken away from the Indians. So...
- 58 C So, what are the other similarities?
- 59 S [With C speaking simultaneously, more or less the same words] The whites were more civilized. Or more modernized. The whites needed land to cultivate. Cultivation, like, could have been more..better.
- 60 C Both their tribes were...the Indians and the blacks, they were both...how can you say...?
- 61 V Bigger than the whites.
- 62 S No, it's not quite...it says in the question "parts of South African history" not just, y'know, like in this period, the 1880's...ja, Jan van Riebeeck came to the Cape in...no, he came 17...
- 63 V 16...
- 64 S 16? um, that is 17 hundreds. Um, so from the 18 hundreds on we've got to think about, and that was the fighting to...now. So's America..'cos the Americans are still like...it's like settled down more now, but they are still having um, bouts with Indians.
- 65 V And when the British came? They also fought with us.
- 66 S They fought with South Africans? [V agrees]
- 67 S So? And the Americans...
- 68 V ...fought with the Americans.
- 69 S French fought with the Americans, so that's another one. Now we've got those fights.
- 70 C Oh, yes, the French fought with Americans in South Africa.
- 71 V This is only South African.
- 72 S So you've got to list the matches...and then it's between the Indians and the South African blacks, no? The Indians in America and the South African blacks - that's number one. Number two, Americans wanted to expand territory and get gold and all that stuff. And the South Africans wanted to expand territory to make farms. And...
- 73 C The whites in both territories were more modernized.
- 74 S It might seem like that, more modernized. And then got

their wars at more or less the same time. So, that's about it...

75 C Tried to protect their own...I mean...

76 S Fight for their own rights, 'cos, the French...what were the French fighting for? French are now in Canada, aren't they? 'cos now they speak a bit of French in Canada, so, like the Americans, did they defeat the French? Did the Americans win? If they did, they must have pushed them up to Canada. [Agreement] But the English won and then they gave South Africa back. So it became a republic. So that's more or less four. What's this? "Three or four", so that's more or less covered, then. Let's start and put the points down. Number one. Right, their, their facts were that the Indians had rights and the buffalo had rights to the plains, but then like the Indians...

77 C The whites also had rights to some of the land.

78 S Yeah, the whites had rights, but, er, like they...

79 V To take over.

80 C But they didn't have the right to take...destroy the buffalo.

81 V Um, they tried to destroy them to get the Indians out.

82 S But they did have a right to clothing and all that. So, got to take the buffalo's side for that one, then? And that the Indians did plunder too much, because, you know, it says in that one, [agreement from V] they, you know "killed and left, left, like...more, more of the meat...next...with cows, like, if they didn't kill the buffaloes they were more and more civilized. They could have used cows, right? And they could have kept them and they wouldn't have to plunder, y'know, like ruthlessly. So, when they needed a cow, they could have just killed one. So, when dead, all the...

83 V They had to move on, so they couldn't take the cattle with them. They moved after the buffalo. Then they didn't have to get stock.

84 S Ja, but they like, in that...this picture over on page three of these notes - um, ah, that horse drag. Well, they wouldn't have to use horses, they could have used like the ox, well, the cows, y'know, to pull the cart.

85 V Maybe it's a bit quicker.

86 S Ja, y'know it's slow, but...they could have used the cows for more purposes. [Long pause] The buffalo supplies with their...y'know, [reads] "the buffalo supplies them with their necessa...neceties...necessities [laughs] necessities of life", right? So "habitations, food, clothing, beds and fuel, strings for their own bows, glue, thread, cordage, trail ropes, and for their horses, trail ropes for their horses, covering for their saddles, vessels to hold water, boats to cross streams, and the means of purchasing all they want from the traders. When the buffalo are extinct they must dwindle away". So they are actually, really dependent on the buffalo for everything, everything.

87 V Yeah, so when the white man shooting them, they had difficulty.

88 S It would be an idea for the white to come and introduce new cattle to them, 'cos soon - they're using the buffalo for everything - they're going to become extinct.

89 V And they will become...They weren't as independent when the whites came, 'cos they had been getting like ready-made rope - they didn't have to do it themselves - and glue and...

90 S And they weren't like using the other resources of the land...

91 V Pots and stuff...

92 S Like, y'know trees - you can get rope from trees. Number

one. They re plundering too much...

93 C Ja, the white man. They were robbing all the...when the...they nted to get to the Rocky Mountains, they were robbing them.

94 S Here comes the question: "What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indians' hunting grounds on the lives of the Plains Indians?" So, the Indians, the Plains Indians...were they hunters?

95 C Ja, they hunted buffalo.

96 V Ja, they could move a what?...They had to fence and stop, fence 'n...

97 S So, the Indians' hunting grounds, the Indians' hunting grounds were too large, because they weren't staying in one area, they were going, y'know, everyday.

98 C Ja, they were moving...

99 S Everyday they were moving; they were expanding territory every day, and, er, using a lot of ground and like leaving buffalo behind, and killing more buffalo in other places, so the effect was...

[Cue from teacher to move on to "civilization"]

100 S Right, [reads] "we have seen that some of the white man claimed that they had the right to Indian territory". Right, um, white men did have a right to it because...

101 C Not all of it though...

102 S Not all of it, though, I know, but they did have a right to some of it, because they could do more with the land than the Indians could. Right, I like what it said in that one "the Indians were just killing buffalo, and doing nothing with the natural resources of the land", and y'know, the whites could have used silver for trade, and, um, other resources of the land...

103 V But the Indians didn't need silver.

104 S Ja, but the whites didn't have to take over all of America. They could have left parts for the Indians.

105 C But why couldn't they leave the Indians like we leave the blacks, having their little whatever, little settlement here and there?

106 S Ja, they did, like, but um, like Indians are moving further and further up, now, like [agreement from C], because America's expanding every day...with new buildings, so, the white, the American white, should be more um, reasonable with the Indians.

107 C Ja.

108 S Not like...listen to the Indians' side of the story, than just like thinking that they, they are supposed to have the land because they can do more with it.

109 V The white man didn't get more civilized - they were more modernized.

110 S Um, more modernized.

[End]

GROUP_2.2 (Homogeneous; Map stimulus; B = I.Q. 102; S = I.Q. 106;
R = I.Q. 103)

- 1 B Well, does um...because y'know, the Indians and...um, they used to live off the buffalo. So, if they...
- 2 S And the Indians, and the destruction of the Indians as well. [Agreement from the others]
- 3 B And they almost depended on them...
- 4 R Ja, and the Indians believed in [?] buffalo, so...
- 5 S And because of the white man, 'cos...
- 6 B Yes, the Indians first possessed this land first, and then they...
- 7 R There were no buffalo, and there weren't many Indians because, y'know um, that was their main..um..food source, and everything.
- 8 B They found that the white man was a threat to their to the land and food.
- 9 R Ja, and look here, it must...all these things here, they are made from buffalo, all the um, their utensils. Everything is so without the buffalo, the Indians couldn't do anything. [Long pause while they ruffle through their notes, searching for clues]
- 10 B [In an undertone] I think we've finished that question.
- 11 R Wait, what...We've found one, that is the Indians depended on it. Number one, that is the Indians depended on it, um if the Americans didn't um, destruct the the buffalo, they would probably have lived in peace. It was just bcause the Americans were like that...
- 12 B And it was actually their land, because they came here first, they come to the land first. [Agreement from R]
- 13 S You're missing the point. Um, [reads] "What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo..."
- 14 B But, um, the um, the Indians then...
- 15 S The Indians were the main cause [agreement], they used it for food and...
- 16 B The Indians were just wandering about there.
- 17 R If I was hunting...[Voices speaking together] The Indians only took out what they wanted to...
- 18 B Yes and the white man found...the Indians first found out that the white man was a threat to, to their land. And they, they refused to sell their land and they attacked the white man...
- 19 R The buffalo, agh, the Indians only took what they needed and the Americans went for sport.
- 20 B [Speaking over R] They were greedy.
- 21 R Like, remember in one thing, they had a competition there to see who could kill most buffalo. And they just left them.
- 22 B White men just killed it for fun, and Indians killed it for uses.
- 23 R Ja, so then the Indians had to move off because if there were no buffalo...
- 24 B Yes, and the Indians obviously followed the buffalo. If they had no buffalo, then they'll be finished 'cos ...no pastures.
- 25 R I would say the Plains Indians..Plains, so, there were Wood Indians. The Wood Indians would probably eat other things, but the Plains Indians..they, they...
- 26 B The buffalo was the main important source...
- 27 R And then, and then if the Plains Indians, if their food was gone then they have to move off to other Indians' place and that would cause um, y'know conflict between the two of them, friction, because remember what Mr R said yesterday, that no-one,

that they all, that, that they never, y'know, had a fight, never had any tribal wars, and now if they, 'cos they're easier people, they each had their own territory, but there weren't buffalo they'd go into other places, to other Indian territory, that would also cause conflict.

- 28 S They also moved because of grass.
- 29 B Ja, they had to follow the buffalo because they depended upon the buffalo went to new pastures.
- 30 R Ja, and um, the Americans brought cattle, which just um, ate all the grass, and so there weren't any for the buffalo, and so the buffalo didn't have it...
- 31 B But if, eh, and there's no...if there's no buffalo, then what were the Indians going to...'cos they didn't know where the the green pastures are, and they don't know where the rivers are and if they didn't know...[pause]. [Under his breath] Ah no, I think we've finished number one.
- 32 R Look here, if we take these two pictures, and look how much Indians'...
- 33 S Um, hunting grounds.
- 34 B Ja, it's what's known ...
- 35 S We haven't finished the second part.
- 36 R O.K. Look here, um, ah, look here, look at the big difference between the Indians over there - all that territory - and the Indians in 1900.
- 37 S And look at the picture here...I don't know.
- 38 R So over [?] was killed, and the natives came there and...
- 39 B For no reason. [agreement]
- 40 S The white man struggled because of the gold...
- 41 B Ja, because of the transportation to get to...
- 42 R The gold-rush.
- 43 B Yes, and that caused friction...and wars, and also, um the white man made a mistake when he attacked the wrong Indians.
- 44 R Ja, and that was wiped out then.
- 45 B Yes, and they weren't the guilty ones. Anyway, if the Indians were guilty, it was the white man. They didn't realize that the Indians lived or survived off the buffalo.
- 46 R O.K. Let's try number two.
- 47 B Shall we start number two now? [Agreement]
[Pause]
- 48 B O.K. I would just...
- 49 S I'd say that white man did have..er, a right to live in Indian territory because...they didn't have to drive them out. They could have lived peacefully.
- 50 B It's er, it's not in a different aspect because they, they saw that all the people that died there, they couldn't believe too was somebody else's, so they didn't want to sell their land.
- 51 S Um, I don't know if I...
- 52 B The white man just comes and takes over.
- 53 R Um, the whites, the white men say they were more civilized?
- 54 B Yes.
- 55 R And probably were more civilized in their own way.
- 56 B Uh, Indians were...
- 57 R And the...there weren't many Indians. [Disagreement]
- 58 S There were the Indians.
- 59 B There were quite a few.
[Halting attempts to say something]
- 60 R Look here, they say that they could use the land profitably, but um, the Indians, they, they just um, lived, they didn't want to make any profit, they just lived for themselves.
- 61 B They just wanted to live and that. They didn't want to have

any profit, and it was their land - they went there first. And if you don't want to sell land, you don't have to.

62 R I actually...I'd support that claim, but, but um, now afterwards...

63 S [Inaudible comment]7

64 B Ja, bu they..ja, I suppose you can say...

65 R The way they...We were in a situation, we were there on Sunday...

66 S At one stage they used force to get the lands.

67 R And now we criticize them, because they did it wrong in the end.

68 B Ja, but they shouldn't destroy the Indians' hunting...

69 R Because they claimed they didn't they they wanted to... they..they it claimed it as totally wrong way.

70 B Ja, they did. They should have done it in a more suitable manner.

71 R And that um, gold-rush, or whatever, that's another thing...

72 B I suppose the Indians thought that um, man didn't, I mean white man didn't really count like the nature of balance.

Probably the Indians thought that white man would distort it, 'cos white man doesn't know, really know how - all the animals there. Indians do know more better than white man do...

73 R Ja, and like...

74 B And the white man would slaughter all the buffalo.

75 R 'cos the, the um, the white man, they, they, the Americans, they want to make it profitable, but I do think about the Indians and the buffalo.

76 B The Indians also had a share in it.

77 R Ja, and um...wait, wait there must be something else.

78 B Yes, I suppose so.

[Pause, as the look through their notes]

79 S I wonder how they could use the land more profitably, 'cos it was mainly just desert.

[Various simultaneous suggestions about pasturage]

80 B Oh ja, if they watered it, then it would be, oh they could be able to a profit.

81 S You couldn't really water an immense area.

82 B I think that there might be a bit of friction there, if white man was too close to Indians. They're two different kinds of customs.

83 R 'Cos if they did it the right way they could have made profit out of it and they did make any profit from...

84 B Yes, there's plenty of rivers there.

85 R And they brought in their cattle, and just..and they'd do the plains real damage.

86 B Wait. [Pause] No, ja, I suppose you're right. I don't think its like at all a good place for a white man. That's all.

87 R Now it's probably profitable place but they..in those times they, they...Actually, if, like as I was saying, then you'd support it. Say they wanted to come farm cattle and so forth, now he could also lose, y'know.

88 B It must work on a fifty-fifty basis.

89 R 'Cos they had to keep to their boundaries 'cos they knew that they didn't do that. They wanted more. [Pause] 'Cos look if you, um... wait, let's see... The Indians, they just wanted the buffalo and that's all, and the Americans...

90 B They just survived then, the white ...

91 S They also used to steal.

92 B Ja, but they found that the white man was a threat to their land. That's why they started stealing and, um, war started. They

- just saw the white man as a threat to ...
- 93 R Ja, I think the Indians, the Indians also had, had a wrong point...
- 94 S [Together with the above] Source 16.
- 95 R ...'cos the Indians just...Ja, I see they stole horses and things.
- 96 S And they killed them too. The wars between the two, and the destruction of number one, and the Indians and that, so the Indians also had a part in their own destruction.
- 97 R The Indians were also a kind of cause, y'know, if they also doing the thing, but, um, you had those Americans that wanted to like the Voortrekkers...
- 98 B But firstly the white man made a mistake when he attacked the wrong tribe. That was the first mistake.
- 99 S But this is only later on.
- 100 B But he should know... ja, I suppose it didn't make them...
- 101 R 'Cos as Sir said they did make agreements.
[Pause, while they go through their notes again]
- 102 R But, as I say, they did have a right to that territory, but...to make profit, otherwise, like I said, they should have thought about the Indians too. There was so...
- 103 B They must be...
- 104 R Wait, how much? About 300 000 Indians. That's...there was a lot of space but then, there was much more buffalo.
- 105 B I actually find it a bit of a threat, 'cos then, if they had fencing in those days, would stop the buffalo, buffalo's moving in certain areas for better pastures. That distorts the whole, the whole movement.
- 106 R The Americans, they made a mistake when they, they got that land that they wanted to make profit, but then they thought of too many other things about the Indians that caused a bit of trouble so they wanted to wipe all of them out. And then they made a breach in there, and like, y'know, they were always kind of greedy.
- 107 B So, O.K., shall we go onto the next question? [Agreement]
[Various mumblings as they read it over]
- 108 B Let's make something of that. O.K., let's make the Indians...
- 109 S All the British, y'know they brought alcohol and tobacco and that from Britain and killed them and diseases, new diseases.
- 110 R [Who has been trying to get a word in] And it could happen about nearly the same thing that happened with the Indians...
- 111 B Ja, chasing the Indians [Agreement from the others]...and also the gold, the gold and, and the wanted to discover more passes in Africa and they wanted to...
- 112 R Ja, ja, but this, this, this one is...O.K.? the the um, they were...remember the Zulus, the Zulus, they wanted to move down...where there were pastures, and then the Voortrekkers wanted to move up. [Ignores B's attempts to chip in, who also remembers this] and then and then they made a boundary. But then you had a theft, just like what they had with the Indians...
- 113 S Ja... I remember the Appalachian mountains.
- 114 R Ja, ja, but just wait. Um, like you had a theft with the, the Zulu stealing cattle from the Voortrekkers, and just as a theft with the Indians stealing from the Americans. So that caused conflict and then the um, the um..Americans had the same problem that the Voortrekkers had with the Zulus. The Voortrekkers wanted to move, and get better pastures for their cattle, just as the Americans also wanted better pastures, so that's... and that was a threat to the Zulus, and then um...ja, the same

thing happened there...er, Zulus...Gold and stuff was discovered making more people wanting to come in and the um, the Voortrekkers had um... were totally like cut off, independent from the government, so they wanted to do their own thing, just like what probably some Americans wanted to do. They also wanted to do their own thing. They also wanted to go their own way and that caused um, like, y'know, wars to come.

115 S They also wanted to expand their territory and that...and to search...

116 B Search for new land and better pastures.

117 R Ja, because look, the the um, the cattle were...was the only poss...["possessions" from B] ja, to the Zulus, and just as the buffalo was the Indians' like, so if you took away the cattle ...um, the Zulus probably weren't good farmers in any case. So they they cleaned out one place and they went down to find better pastures, and then um..ah, y'know, so when they stopped the Zulus the Voortrekkers wanted to go up and they wanted to find better pastures, but with the buffalo I'm sure the Indians didn't have to do that with the buffalo, because the buffalo, wild, had their own instinct. So, um, they just moved where the buffalo went and then their buffalo, they probably went into white man's territory and that probably caused um...

118 B I also...this this man and black man in Southern Africa also um, gained from trade [agreeemnt], trade and all kinds of things.

119 R Just like er...

120 S The blacks also had er...they'd sell cattle and sell them back again...which was for gain.

121 R Ja, but you see like um, that's one kind of bit difference from...er, the Indians and Americans, 'cos Indians relied upon buffalo; the Americans relied upon um, cattle, so, er, now it's just about the same thing what happened in South Africa. The cattle..their, the Zulu cattle, wanted to move down and the white cattle wanted to go up.

122 B I don't know that the Zulus actually did have cattle, maybe...

123 R Tch, I mean Xhosa and the Zulus were there always. And the middle of the Fish River, that was the boundary.
[Suggestion from T to summarise]
[Pause and some indecision]

124 R O.K. Um...

125 S When white man came from overseas, right? They brought diseases and well..like alcohol and that, and when they like, like traded with the Indians, the Indians bought that stuff and they, that was just...

126 R And they would come addict...addicted...

127 S And they started to die out.

128 R And and, so if - that's number one, now, hey?- [agreement]
O.K. and...

129 B And this led to comple...

130 S That combines everything.

131 R 'Cos the Americans, they they just went for sport and they didn't really care about the buffalo, if, if, how much the liquor was had and the cattle and then the um, Indians saw it as a threat if the buffalo was agi..um..um...

132 S Slowly but surely killing the buffalo as the...

133 B And the Indians depended on the buffalo, and then um...

134 S This made less food...

135 B And return they they um, attacked the white man.

136 R The Americans then like cut across...

137 B But then but then the white, er, or on the white hand I

think - number two - but on the white hand, the white man actually tried to buy land, and they distorted the whole buffalo movement.

- 138 R Because there was competition between the grazing needs. So it's mainly mainly..so it's mainly grazing competition and...
- 139 B And maybe, maybe even all the buffalo that had lived in the in the Indians' land moved to the white man's land, and probably the white man started shooting them for, for sport or whatever and then...
- 140 S They come along just for, for towns and that... [B continues to try to get his ideas in] which lessened the grazing area..
- 141 B [Continues]...and then, and then the Indian thought this was unfair 'cos the white man had better...and the Indians didn't know how to make better pastures.
- 142 R So, so the main thing there was um, just the competition for grazing land. O.K., that's, that's...
- 143 B Yes, that's one of the main points.
- 144 R [Continues]...competition for grazing land, and tha...that's that's what led to all the other things. O.K., number two...um ... O.K. the.. they...the Americans, they did have a right but they did it wrongly. Ja I mean they made a big mistake in farming methods, y'know, and their profit...
- 145 R Maybe they should have looked for somewhere else...
- 146 S They made less grazing land.
- 147 B Maybe they should have looked for somewhere else in America, away from the Indians where this wouldn't...this conflict wouldn't um...ja.
- 148 R O.K. So, so um...Actually, y'know, we'd support that in the first case, but then we criticise because they in..in..incorrect farming, how can I say? Ja, incorrect methods. And then number three... Um...O.K. they er..there..this..they'd also had..there was also competition in South Africa for grazing land, as in America.
- 149 S And there was also theft and diseases. [Repeated by B]
- 150 B And, well, the same as the Indians, the Zulus or whatever, the black man, saw that the white man was a threat to their territory and their lives.
- 151 S So, conflict between white and black man.
- 152 B Ja, and and like gold was discovered in America, the same gold was discovered in South Africa.
- 153 B In Johannesburg and that area. Diamonds were discovered and also led...
- 154 R So that, um, got many more new settlers - immigrants...
- 155 B That encouraged...encouraged the settlement and then that led to more conflict.
- 156 R S..so, the thing there is um, new settlement, and gold, and grazing competition...
- 157 S Which led to conflict.
- 158 B Settlement as a result of conflict, a threat.
- 159 R And new..new like Voortrekkers broke away from their government at Cape Town, same as with..same as with America. There also kind of Voortrekkers that broke away. They were...
- 160 B Maybe they should not even have gone into the Indian land. Maybe they...
- 161 R Like isn't that exactly what happened to the Voortrekkers and...
[Drowned by murmurs of agreement]
[End]

Group_2.3 (Homogeneous; Statistical stimulus; L = I.Q. 103;
J = I.Q. 105; N = I.Q. 105)

[Long pause before anyone says anything]

- 1 N I think that the Indians had a right to have their own. What d'you say?
- 2 J They should have..um, the white man should have..had no right to just go and kill all the buffalo, just because the Indians take revenge, because that's their way of life. It's like in trials and court-rooms, you know, people get sent to jail. It's like..it's actually the state taking revenge against that person for..say he did something. It's their revenge sending him behind bars for a certain amount of time. You can't actually say that the men were..the Indians, sorry, were wrong in taking revenge because it's in their nature, and that's my point of view. And their source of income and food was the buffalo, so the white man had no right to take it away from him in the first place. And the figures on the deliveries of hides, the Indians did take the..er, most of the hides because they needed them most because they needed clothing, for their tepees and for cooking. The Indians in 1873 took less..started taking less hides..um, more buffalo was killed, so the numbers actually went up on both ways. Not so much the many dead buffalo went up as much as the taking of the hides.
- 3 L Ja, I, I agree with J, 'cos they were there..the Indians were, were living on the land first. Now the American..Americans were coming there, taking all their buffalo. They relied on the buffalo for food and shelter. And now er, American trackers were coming to take away their food and their heritage away.
- 4 J It wasn't really the trackers, it was..'cos the trackers, they would take away about one buffalo..two buffalo skins and meat. 4 as they mostly when everybody started trekking across to the Rocky Mountains for gold and that and when the Indians attacked the trains for some reason or other and then they would attack them. The white man would bring all his forces in and decide to wipe out all the buffalo and the Indians at the same time. It wasn't actually the tracker's fault. 'cos he was also trying to..trying to make a living, with pelts and other stuff.
- 5 N Mm, I am just looking at the figures under number B: 1873 there was a drastic rise in the hides then, and then 19..1874 it suddenly dropped again.
- 6 J That you can see corresponds with...
- 7 5 The estimated...
- 8 N Ja, the estimated number of Indians, because in 1840 there were 500 000 and 13 000 [sic] buffalo.
- 9 N 13 000 000.
- 10 J 13 000 000, sorry. Then in 1885, they suddenly dropped down to 270 000 Indians and 200 buffalo, so that's what probably actually caused the drop. The wiping out of the buffalo and of the Indians.
[Pause]
- 11 L So it's mostly the hunters' fault for this, 'cos they started hunting the buffalo and then because the Indians relied on it, the numbers dropped as well. And they dropped because they didn't..they didn't get that much food and didn't get much shelter and started dying.
- 12 N I'm just thinking that um, possibly if the er, Americans had tried to rather sail around to get to the gold, maybe this wouldn't have been caused.
- 13 J Ja, that's a good point, but it also takes time and a lot of

money to sail around because you have to find those people who are willing to make sail..eighteen months' journey..two years.. well, nearly thirty months' journey right round the tip of South America just to get to a couple of mountains, when they can just go straight across. So they shouldn't have interfered with the.. and made false promises and all that, because then it gets taken out, taken out on their fellow men. So they should have actually just..if they'd said they'd pay them something then they should pay them, and then they wouldn't have all started.

14 N It was a very bad move.

15 J Mm, it was.

16 N Look at the figures. [Pause] Number two?

17 J Ja, let's look at number two.

[Pause]

18 N Well, I'm going to criticize it..by saying that um, I reckon that the Indians had exactly the same rights as the white man for the land.

19 J Ja, I do like that because it's like me, like you..you've got..how big's your back yard? Estimate it, say about. It's quite big?

20 N Small.

21 J Small? Right. All right, right, it's like me coming one day and saying right, that your backyard's mine - I'm more civilized than you are, because you don't know how to work..you don't know how to use it, so I'm just gonna come and take it from you, just go and get some roses. But there were also the Indians I am going to criticise and um, support because the Indians also..they lived in..in big bunches, I'd say 600 tepees. But now they can't claim that the white man couldn't take land where they aren't. If they stay in one spot, point A, and the white man wants to settle at point B, about 15 k's away, I mean, 'cos there're no Indians in that vicinity, he should be allowed to, because as..because in the notes we got, it even said that the Indians said that this isn't our land. It was given to us by the Great Spirit, so they should have tried to make a mutual agreement between the two, saying "we'll support you with..er, pelts and that, in return if we can cultivate the land and live there". So that they..the Indians don't have to go into civil..um, how do you say it? Um...

22 N Become more civilized.

23 J Ja, they don't have to become..they don't have to change their ways to correspond with the white man. That...

24 N Of course, a problem there would be the buffalo.

25 J Ja, that's another problem, but I mean, which is more sufficient for hunting, a rifle or the bow and arrow? I mean, it takes a lot..you can..an arrow..um, you need about three or four arrows to kill a buffalo which..I mean, that buffalo could run for days. While if you have a rifle, I mean, you don't have to get up as close, you can make sure it's dead with one shot, you can kill him instantly. While the buffalo with an arrow goes through pain. But actually, I think that if they had made a mutual agreement it would have been much better.

26 N I don't agree with you with the rifle story because um, surely they must have their, their right to do what they want to? We have our rights; they should have their rights.

27 J True, true.

28 N I mean, if they want to do..use bow and arrows to hunt, they should be allowed to.

29 J Ja, well, I was just suggesting a point there, I mean, but I, I see your point of view, and they should have that right to choose what they want to hunt with. So I agree with you on that

point. I made a mistake, if you like.

30 L Ja, and the Americans as well, they, they shouldn't have just gone into the Indians' hunting grounds..um, and shot their buffaloes. 'Cos they relied on that so much that they didn't have..er, much to spare and the Americans just moved in and just..they didn't use the..er, buffalo as much as the Indians did. They just..er, killed them for the hides, mostly.

31 N A point on that. Er, you said it was their buffalo, the Indians' buffalo.

32 L Ja, they were there first, so..like they didn't live there much longer than the Americans did. The Americans just got there. So they aren't owning the land and the animals living on the land.

33 J Ja, L, but I mean, it's like you going over..say there's an island that's got mountain goats on its rocks. Nobody owns it. No country own it. And you go there and you say, "Right, nobody can shoot those goats because they're mine." They were there, I mean, it's they don't belong to anybody.

34 L No, but you're protecting them.

35 J Oh, well, the Indians weren't actually protecting the buffalo. They were..they were limiting...

36 N [Says something inaudible]

37 J Ja, they were limiting their killing. Um, do, do you see like from this note they..they they didn't just..they weren't trying to say "No, you can't shoot them because, I mean, they're ours", because they could have come from different um, continents as well, which we don't know. So, we can't actually make a solid bottom for that point, that the buffalo were theirs. They were there already. So, they were...

38 L Yeah, I see your point.

39 N Um, in question two it says there that they could use this land more profit..profitly [sic]. Um, a point on that: um, possibly they could be right. They're more civilized and the white man could use it for other various..um, various things that er, the Indians had even thought of.

40 J Ja, but if, if, if, if come to think of it, if you look from the Indians' point of view, that was the buffalo's grass. It wasn't meant for anybody to come and chop it up and put something else in there. It was..it was there for them, for the buffalo, so they thought, "well, it was put here for the buffalo, so, we're not going to let anyone cultivate it, or dig it up or shovel the grass away, because then the buffalo then were still alive. But I see your point there, because most Indians didn't grow crops or have cattle, or sheep or any livestock. They just followed the buffalo around, which you could say is...

41 N Their livestock.

42 J Ja, their, their type of..their way of living. Have you anything to touch on that point, L?

43 L No, but I'd like to make a point..er, on the discussion before. We..they er, protecting the buffalo for, for their own good, because the Americans go and shoot, shoot all of the buffalo..they're going to have nothing left..to live on and they're all going to die.

44 J Ja, I see your point, but um, I just don't understand you quite what you mean by "protecting them for their own good". Do you mean by..um, if they all get wiped out, they think that they're going to die off themselves?

45 L Ja. Like, er...

46 J So they, so they think that there's..that the buffalo is the only source of income or wealth..

47 L It's their main source.

- 48 N Their main source of living.
- 49 L Ja.
- 50 N O.K., ja, it's their main source.
- 51 J Ja, I see what you mean now by protecting them, or guarding them. Ja, I see, your point.
- 52 N I'm just looking at the figures. Do you think that there are or less than 270 000 Indians at this very moment?
- 53 J I should think the population has..has picked up lit..ja, picked up a little bit, because of..because of the reservations that are now being kept.
- 54 N I suppose more civilized.
- 55 J Ja, they have, ja, because now you see that some Indians are wandering from the reservations down to cities, and automatically coming..um, more, more accustomed to the white man's ways.
- 56 N I suppose they've got more chance of living now.
- 57 J Ja, because I..Look here. If you..if a buff..if you're a buffalo, right, and you know that Indians are going to..and you see that now the Indians are only sticking in that part, you're not going to go near that part, are you?
- 58 N I suppose not.
- 59 J You're going to stay away, so most of them now are..the buffalo don't really walk around in the reservations that the Indians have, so now they have to find another source of food, and have clothing and living and all that.
- 60 N Um, I wonder how the buffalo feel about it.
- 61 J Ja, [some amusement] how many lambs do they breed...But what do you think about the estimate number of buffalo - 200. Do you think that they are still all that endangered, or do you think they've picked up to a couple of thousand?
- 62 L No, they've picked up two thousand.
- 63 N They should have picked up. I mean, if you look in these..if you go to the bioscope, they show you um, movies, and they show you adverts on these different types of things, and some of the adverts have got the buffalo in them, and I'm sure, I mean, if you have an advert with more than 200 buffalo, there must be more than that.
- 64 J True, true.
- 65 L Ja, they had a programme on the buffalo the other night - it was..I think it was "Uit en Tuis". They had a kind of extract on the buffalo and their dying out, but they say that their numbers picked up consid..considerably, over the last number of years.
- 66 N We're wandering off the point now.
- 67 J Ja, we are. [Amusement] Let's go away to...
- 68 N Number three?
- 69 J Ja, let's start on number three.
[Pause]
- 70 N Ah, 1820 and 40. It's just after the settlers arrived.
- 71 J Ja, I'd say..do relate to the hunting of the bushmen, when they went after all the bushmen..like er, the bushmen be the bison and the..er, like thing that...
- 72 N The sellers be the In..the, the Americans.
- 73 J Ja...
- 74 N And take it away.
- 75 J Ja, and just wipe it out, er, like the buffalo. But er, you..I can't think of anything that could be the Indians that now are still living there. Because now you only find a few bushmen here and there.
- 76 N There is only a few bushmen left in South-West Africa, really, I think.
- 77 J Yeah, but now they...

- 78 L And the Kalahari.
- 79 J Ja, that's right. Do you have any examples of what could be the Indians in South Africa?
- 80 L No, not really.
- 81 N I would just like to say one similarity - what about the border? The border on the Bushmans River and the border just behind er, just off the east coast of North America?
- 82 J Yes, that's...
- 83 N That was a border.
- 84 J Ja, the if..if..Ja, because of the Xhosa and the Tswanas and the bit of hassles there.
- 85 N It was exactly the same sort of thing. The border was moved and moved. I mean, it was first the Sundays River, and then...
- 86 J It moved up to the Fish River.
- 87 N Fish River, and then the Bushmans River and also moved about...
- 88 J Ja, and also the discovery of gold in Johannesburg and that. Everybody just swarmed up there.
- 89 N Exactly.
- 90 J They'd be attacked by the Matabele and then the Voortrekkers would get a bit worried and then they'd go and give them a smack there.
- 91 N Hmph! It's exactly the same idea...
- 92 J Ja.
- 93 N In a way. Just different types of population. I'm sure the figures are much greater in North America than they were down here, I'm sure.
- 94 J Ja.
- 95 N I mean, if you look at the Indians: 500 000.
- 96 J Pshew, it was a lot.
- 97 N O.K., if you, if you say the Indians is the white man, and the buffalo is..the..the bushman, I mean, yes, there's quite a big difference.
- 98 J ...If we..if we just..all right, estimate the Indians, all right, as..ah, I'm sorry..imagine the Indians as the...
- 99 N As the white man.
- 100 J [Firmly] As the bushmen. All right...
- 101 N No, there's...
- 102 J And Americans as the settlers, and the buffalo as the game. Right, they..like, you know, kudu and all that. The Indian..the er, bushmen would get..start killing the..um, game. Then the white man would start shooting the game..and the bushmen.
- 103 N Uhuh.
- 104 J So there is a similarity somewhere along the line.
- 105 N But, another similarity..um..you don't think the bushmen had the same sort of way of living as the Indians. They also like lived on their natural..natural things.
- 106 J Ja, more.
- 107 L They had to pay as well as the Indians.
- 108 J Ja, like digging up roots and that.
- 109 N Ja, though I'm sure that there're not so many roots in India..in [embarrassed amusement] in North America. Ja, that's right, they've got the same way of living. I think the bushmen's way of life is also is also in a way rude. I mean they've become more..much more civilized.
- 110 J Ja.
[Invitation to sum up]
- 111 J Well. I'd say overall the Indians should have got a bit more privileges, like, I mean, the Americans shouldn't have just...

112 N Taken over.

113 J Taken..ja, taken over. They should have at least tried to make a mutual agreement between the two, instead of taking it by force.

114 N Um, signed a peace treaty.

115 J Ja, signed a peace treaty, smoked the peace-pipe.

116 L Ja, they should have like made a treaty to divide everything equally between the two races. And there wouldn't have been conflict at all. Not all that much conflict.

117 N Finally, I should just like to say um, I think if I was in..living in that time, I would have been more on the Indian side. I would tried..er, to keep the numbers up.

118 J Ja, and try and keep the assassination of the b..um, excuse word, limited. And man's also got a greed for..for money nowadays Kill..most probably that's why thought of the buffalo to wipe out Indians, because that's the only way that they could actually make money out of it, as well as assassinat..or murder of the Indians.

[End]

Group 3.1 (Homogeneous; Documentary Stimulus; M = I.Q. 78;
V = I.Q. 86; P = I.Q. 88)

[Long pause before anyone says anything]

- 1 P Um, number one I would say that they would be des...that they would be destroying their culture and way of living for the past few years what they have been living like. Um, the buffalo.. if they do kill out all the buffalo, that um they'll become just another extinct animal, which nobody will notice about. Then... the Indians would have to change their way of living and try and adapt to the way of life that the modern person lives like today, which would become quite difficult, which took us a period of years to establish the way we are living today. Um...
- [Very long pause]
- 2 V You think you say that one that if they kill all the buffalo then the'll be extinct and they may have to use cattle.
- 3 P Ja, wait, um, in another way there's also...they're killing the buffalo for nothing and if if they...
- 4 V It's a waste.
- 5 P When they're killing them, they're just killing them just to kill out, drive out the Indians. Um, everything just goes to waste, um if you think the waste could feed a lot of people, like, um, like we don't go around killing blacks' cattle and stuff like that. We don't go around and move them out the shacks and give them canvas and then just leave them or we try to get them more civilized as they are. Like er... what they try and do is just drive them out or make them move away, 'cos they want to make their place more industrialised and to upgrade America.
- 6 M Well, instead of making...just, instead of just wiping out the Indians, they're wiping out the buffaloes as well, so, so then they really two...
- 7 V Two things at one..at one time.
- 8 M Two things in one go. So actually they, they should have seen, if they wanted to, they must just wipe out the Indians and leave the buffalo. As a result the buffalo has now vanished. The plains will be dull without the buffalo.
- [Long pause]
- 9 P [Talking more to himself] Ja, number two..I can't understand...[Louder] Number three I'd say...I'd say the similarities would be um, ... We almost wiped out all the Zulus, and it was the same as them wiping out virtually all of the Indians. And we almost, or other people almost wiped out all the game in South Africa and virtually the whole of Afica. And around us, they were just k...um, just wiping off like they had done the buffalo. The blacks usually... they never used to kill just for the fun of it like we do as a sport. They, they would kill them to eat them or they would try and use them to make use of them, like... The blacks I don't think were alike, almost like the Indians, for the Indians didn't cultivate their grounds but the blacks did. Um, but it took them a bit of realising that they didn't, they didn't need the grounds and they just had the buffalo there, and they were just part of the buffalo, like the black man would try and stay in one place and stretch his cattle out as far as possible. Um...
- 10 V I'd like to go back to number two. It says there that "The white man claimed that he had the right to the Indians' territory", but the Indians saw different to the white man and so, so the white man should have actually reasoned with the Indians because the Indians said that they cannot give them land because it, it doesn't belong to them, and if they give away the

land they give away the water, and..and if...and the game that roam and that, so in actual fact they'll be giving away nature.

- 11 P Um, if like, in this um, first piece that was given to us they said that they could not give it away, because it was not theirs and The Great Spirit had given it to them, and they can't give stuff away which is not theirs. So I think they had more of a right not to give it away.

[Pause]

- 12 V Um, I not sure, but um, they're...the whole thing in killing the Indians and the buffalo started when the white man had broken his promise. He said that beyond that boundary it would be Indians territory and then the "gold rush" started and all the white men started to go across the the plains. And the Indians didn't like this, so if the white man didn't go back on their promise, I think that none of this would have happened. [Pause] If they're more civilized, that gave them right to the land, because the land belongs to the people, and the people...doesn't matter how uncivilized or civilized they are, they still live on that land. They got the right to the land, [pause] 'cos God made the land for the people...and animals.

- 13 P "Profit" was, I would say it would have been profit... profitable because, um, they, they they tried to upgrade the place and drive out more of the the cultured humane...to give them profit for themselves. They just wanted to...they giving profit to themselves, and and not sharing it, like ...um...they would just...they would take away the Indians and say "This is my plain and build a house or something on there and plant it with um, wheat or something, and cattle, which the Indians didn't know about this.

- 14 V Um, I'd say that if the white man would take over the Indians' territory, the In... the white man said that the, the um land was suitable for wheat. And if the white man had to...the white man did take over the territory but, if they, if they thought a little bit more...if they'd taken over their territory, then there'd...there'd be less place for the buffalo to roam. [Pause] There'd be less place for the buffalo to roam, so, so the buffalo'd automatically like run over their wheat crops and, and the white man'd start killing the buffalo. So that they had more...if they had thought more about it, they would have been better off.

[Pause and clearing of throats]

- 15 P O.K., um, number three. "List another...list three or four similarities". I'd say um, we were the same to the blacks because you could say virtually the whole of South Africa was - or parts of it had different tribes - was their homeland. We, we drove them out and gave them certain places where they could live in, and it was the same with the people in America. They driven... that they drove them out and they put them in separate homelands. And we, we didn't decrease the population of blacks because they were too...they were greater than us. But, er, the whites in America seemed to be greater than the Indians and had more powerful weapons, because the Indians wouldn't...weren't civilized enough.

[Pause]

- 16 V America's complained about South Africa, about apartheid, and, we had to do what the Americans did, wiping out all the Indians, they'd make some...there'd be an even bigger fuss. But the, the thing is that they wiped out all the Indians, most of the Indians, and if we did that to the blacks, then, then they'd have a lot to say about it, but we've got nothing to say about

they wiping out all the Indians.

Summary

[Pause and clearing of throats]

- 17 V Number one, I'd say that is unnecessary to kill two beings to destroy one being, because they were wasting most of the buffalo. In actual...the Indians killed the buffalo and they used every part of buffalo, buffalo profitable, and used... These Americans just take off the hide of the buffalo and leave the rest to rot. So I think that, that's very disappointing.
- 18 M It's a waste.
- 19 P Okay, um, number one. They were...um, they were killing the buffalo which, which...and they tried, by this they tried to make, they were trying to make the Indians more civilized in...they didn't...they had to stay in one place, and um...
- 20 V No, I object to that. Um, they were just trying to get revenge from Indians from all the, the attacks on waggon and that stuff, they were just revenging...
- 21 P I'd say because, um, if, if you look at this thing in here [pointing at notes] they showed you how they tried to change their culture and life by giving them certain clothes and canvas which changed virtually all their way of living, and they had to...they weren't allowed to do what they want to and roam where they were because of the different tribes where they were set out, and you couldn't roam freely the way you wanted to if you were an Indian. Because the buffalo...they couldn't stay in one place, because... and would eat so much that they would eat virtually all the plains up, and then they would go to another place where there would be grass and you're speaking about a great amount of buffalo here that if, if they were...they they mention here that they were very close to buffalo, and if they were rid of the buffalo, and one camp would stay as...um, where they were supposed to stay...they were kept by the rule that they had given...that the white man had given to them, they would cause an...fighting between the two tribes, like it's...it was almost like the question in number three, from where the Matabele was...um, the Zulus chased out the Matabele because they had to...they had two tribes. They had to move away because the white man was taking over.
- 22 V Another source summed up by saying that the white man thought that the land, the land that the Indians had would be more...um, that the white man would be able to use it more profitably, profitably that the Indians, so they thought that they had the right to the land.
- 23 P What they're saying is that the Indians were useless, because they didn't because they would just sit around and do...they wouldn't know what to do with it. Um, over all those years they had been living on the plains there, they had never needed to cultivate or to make profit out of it because the buffalo was just there and they didn't need clothing or anything, because everything summed up on the buffalo, because everything they needed virtually came from the buffalo and the animals that were around them. And they would...they wouldn't have any money to buy stuff, and like profit to them will be no use. And coins, they would just be to play around, use to play around.
- [End]

Group 3.2 (Homogeneous; Map Stimulus; P = I.Q. 88; F = I.Q. 89;
G = I.Q. 89)

- 1 F The buffaloes that were killed. In all this grass..there was too much grass there, y'know. Like the eco-system wants.. accept, hm? 'Cos all these animals..usually there'd be lots of them to eat all this grass and things. And now there was more grass, they wouldn't be able to move around so much. They'd concentrate in one place, because there'd be enough grass for them. Buffaloes were killed and the Indians must have lost.
- 2 G Ja, the Indians...
- 3 F They didn't have as much food, they didn't have enough chance to get to the buffalo for clothes. [Agreement from the others] They had to start making other things to make their tents with and so forth, because they never had so many hides as they used to have.
- 4 P And, er, the Americans who supplied all the stuff for making tents and that.
- 5 F Number two, now. Now the Indians just wanted to stay on this land and they wanted to kill the buffalo and use their meat for food and their hides for tents. Now the Americans wanted to take this land and make some money out of it, put some cattle on there, y'know, breed cattle, cultivate the lands. They could sell this, make money. The more money they make, the more money the government could use for new railway lines to pass through there.
- 6 P Ja..um...
- 7 F What do you think about number three, G ?
[G remains silent]
- 8 P Well, I think it's about the same, with the Indians and the..er..hottentots.
- 9 F Zulus and the Xhosas.
- 10 P Ja. [Long pause] Well, um, the Indians, the Americans destroyed all the buffalo, so the Indians never had any food, but with South African history, the hottentots they died of er, fever, not die of lack of food.
- 11 F Ja, in this history here it was the white man taking the coloured's food away and South African history it was just the opposite, the Zulus and Xhosas raided the Boer farms and took their cattle away, burnt their houses down. And over here on this map - the first one - it's all together here, a big group of them, and on the other one it's separated up. I think that when these Indians started having difficulties to survive some of them wanted to fight, some of them just wanted to break away and stay away from the heat, y'know. So they spread the people into little groups and each went to their own spot and tried to live their lives.
[Very long pause, while they look at their notes]
- 12 F [Anguished sound] It was there also [clears his throat] when they killed these buffalo, if you had too many buffalo and the Americans started to cultivate the land and these buffalo would just walk through their plantations and eat their crops that they planted. And that could be another reason why they started to eliminate the buffalo.
- 13 P Ja. [Pause] Ja, but the only thing about that, they mainly. put barbed wire fences around, so...
- 14 F Ja, but these buffalo are big and strong and they can walk through this wire. And the Americans also made lots of money with these buffalo I presume, because of the meat, they could sell the meat, could sell the hides [agreement from P], they could make fur coats.

- 15 P [Very quietly] Not much fur...
- 16 F Lots of ways they could make money, is people who do big-game hunting, they could get them and tell them, like this is their territory and if they want to hunt there they must pay - a hundred dollars something to that effect and they can hunt for a week.
- 17 G I think the Americans, when they tried to kill the..when they killed the buffalo..their main aim was, when they killed the buffalo they'd kill the Indians as well. [Agreement] 'Cos the buffalo gives them meat and clothing..
- 18 F Protection. 19 G And the Indians never had any..they weren't..um..like cultivated the land and stuff.
- 20 F The Indians never really had much of a chance against them because they were very old-fashioned and the Americans kept going forward, started to get things like guns and so forth, and when war broke out it was guns, er, guns and canons to bow and arrows..is totally outnumbered.
- 21 G But also..these..um..they.. didn't these buffaloes say that these Indians would come to the Americans for clothes and food?
- 22 F Ja. [Pause] The thing is very selfish of the Americans [agreement] to just take away what was the Indians'..to just go in there and take away what they like. [Pause] But then again, all that land that had been wasted. [Long Pause]
- 23 P Yes, in the second picture over there where the boundary used to go, um, there where they split it up there're two of them that are over the old boundary.
- 24 F Ja. [Long Pause]
- 25 P Any more? [Pause]
- 26 F And if they weren't allowed to leave they'd be cut off from society completely. [Pause] Hm, if you look at all the little Indian settlements, the new ones, they're all next to rivers, so I presume that the Indians started making little boats to get from places.
- Summary
- 27 F So far we've decided that one of the main things for the American was to try to destroy the Indians by destroying the buffalo, so that they won't have any clothing and couldn't make their tepees, and there s was less for them to eat, and we also decided that the Americans wanted to cultivate the land so that one of the reasons why he wanted to kill the buffalo could also be, y'know...
- 28 P Ja. Plant some wheat.
- 29 F And cattle. Ja. [Pause] I still can't think what we..um.. about number three. We haven't really discussed that very well. I can't think of very many similarities. The only opposite thing is like, as I said later, er, earlier on, it's now white taking from black and not black from white. [Pause - Nervous giggling - End]

Group_3.3 (Homogeneous; statistical stimulus; M = I.Q. 87;
T = I.Q. 92; H = I.Q. 99)

- 1 M They'd resort to going to all the forts for supplies and they had to start selling their land to the um, white men, so that they could survive.
- 2 H Ja, but um, they didn't have any..um..look the cowboys used to take all the meat and the construction [sic?], so they just had to rely on..ja, rely on sources of..um, look, they got their clothes and stuff from the horse..
- 3 M And they started to be pushed back. All their land was taken..getting taken away.
- 4 H Then they were paid money, so they just, you know didn't have to kill buffalo. Then they were..oh dear..The buffalo was obviously..they must have dispersed. See how they...
- 5 M You can see how they..in 18..when they, they stopped..when the Indians were finally driven into all the camps, you can see here in 1874 all the buffalo and then how it started getting less. You can see the buffalo starting to get wiped out.
- 6 H Yes, and also..um, the Indians had to move into reserves...
- 7 M They couldn't hunt the buffalo, 'cos sometimes they weren't there.
- 8 H Ja.
- 9 T Now weren't the buffalo killed by..um, the white man?
[Agreement]
- 10 M They were killed so that er, Indians had to...
- 11 H No, they weren't killed..they were killed for their hides and such. Y'know, for export and such.
- 12 M Weren't, weren't they killed..didn't um..weren't they killed because, um, the white man just um, realised that they couldn't kill out all the Indians so they had to kill out all the buffalo to..to um..to get rid of the Indians?...
- 13 H Look as..if you look um..Indians between 1840 and 1885. They nearly decreased by half.
- 14 M Ja, O.K. Then...
- 15 H And the buffalo..I mean look 13 million in 1840. 45 years later there were only 200 buffalo.
- 16 M So then..so that after..so that you can see that they started decreasing the number of the buffalo, and then the Indians started decreasing, you see...
- 17 H Ja, they were being killed off. 'Cos they were retaliating. Ja, they were trying to fight back. They weren't satisfied with being put into camps and...
- 18 M The buffalo, the buffalo were the Indians um, resource of food, O.K.?
- 19 H [To T)]Have you anything else to say?
- 20 T Um, ja, I agree with that.
- 21 M So, so they were killing the buffalo to get rid of the Indians, because the Indians resource..relying on the buffalo.
- 22 H Let us just look at um..number of "hides and meat handled by railroad companies": in three years..um..look here, look here..look half..look here: say 3 million buffaloes were killed. [Agreement] But only half of that.. of the hides were delivered. I don't know, it must have been for meat then.
- 23 M So they must have just been taking the meat that the Indians couldn't get any meat, so that they had to go and they had to sell their land for food and that.
- 24 H The white man was just taking over. Now look here: On that date they were killing them, um, not because they needed to, because they didn't need to kill all these..this amount. They

were doing it, [M tries to help] what do you call it, when you..overdo it? It's like with elephant, when...

- 25 T They were trying to force the Indians to sell to sell their land.
- 26 M Ja, 'cos the Indians...
- 27 H Well, not to sell the land. Just to force to...
- 28 M Give up.
- 29 H To give up the land..take over the...
- 30 M Shall we move to question number two?
- 31 H O.K. question number two. (Pause) Well, look..Have you read it? O.K. Well, number two. Um, would you support..um, look there was lots of land. [Agreement from M] And what they must have..I mean, look: if you were to cover all those lands with vegetables and things, and food and everything, you could support...
- 32 M You could make a lot of money, 'cos America, America was.. wasn't one of the wealthiest states when it first started.
- 33 H Well, um, ja. But I mean they would...you'd be able to feed people...
- 34 T Ja, its growing population and...Because the Indians didn't make use of the land.
- 35 H No, they just let the buffalo run...
- 36 M No, they just sat around. When that one man stated that they just sat around smoking their pipes and..and so then the Americans started seeing that they could use the land to, um..like make their country richer. So they decided to start trying to buy the land. Um, criticise.
- 37 H O.K., on the other hand, if they had to use all the land for cultivated crops...
- 38 M The Indians would never use them.
- 39 H There wouldn't be any place for the Indians. Why they were already moving into..er, things, or whatever...
- 40 W There were no buffalo there.
- 41 H And the buffalo wouldn't be able to run around. They'd be killing off buffalo just to keep them from stampeding through fields, and all that stuff.
- 42 M Ja, that's true. And, and also, um, it was unfair to have all the white men living in the cream of the land, and just let the Indians live in the dry mountains and that stuff.
- 43 H Ja, 'cos they should employ some Indians. Have you got anything to say?
- 44 T Ah yes. They said that the land was given to them by the Great Spirit and that if they sold it, they would be selling their parents.
- 45 H That's true.
- 46 M So it was also like a..um..I see what you mean a little earlier.
- 47 H Traditional means, traditional...
- 48 M Ja, you can't sell your..your parents..
- 49 H This Indian account said he buried his..he buried his parents' bones in a valley of running waters and those things, and you mustn't..you must never...The white man's going to increase and take more land.
- 50 M Also he said that..the Indian said that um, animals and land can never be sold. There's no price. You can't buy land and animals.
- 51 H The one man said that land means the people and everything. [Agreement, but inability to pursue the matter further] Do you want to discuss that a bit more? Um.. [Pause] They said they were civilised, I mean, that that the Indians were uncivilized. They weren't.

- 52 M The Indians were uncivilized because they didn't have iron and steel and all those things that they...
- 53 H But I mean "uncivilized" as er..They weren't like.. uncivilized..
- 54 M And the Indians were like that. They couldn't really get civilized, because they were moving around, living in little..um,
- 55 H & T [Together] Tents.
- 56 M And that stuff and that so they didn't...
- 57 H They didn't build houses 'cos they were on the move all the time.
- 58 M And also didn't need to become civilized because they had their um, resources. They had the buffalo and other stuff, and all to live.
That's all they had to do is move round behind the buffalo. They didn't really have to improve anything they were doing.
- 59 H Ja, um..but I mean, that's the Indians' way of life. To them...
- 60 M They were civilized...
- 61 H But then again, the Americans, the cowboys were very...
- 62 M Comparing them when they're different, 'cos...
- 63 H They, they're different but they're not civilized.
- 64 M Ja, in their own way.
- 65 H O.K. Um, which one would you support?
- 66 M How would you support?
- 67 H I don't know. [To T] Which one would you think you'd support? Would you support or criticize?
- 68 T I think I'd support the white man because he would make use of the land by cultivating it, whereas the Indian, he would..um, er, rather live with the buffalo than the land.
- 69 M But how could he...?
- 70 T He couldn't do anything to the white man...
- 71 H [Over T's voice] No, but listen here. Look the Indian was there first.
- 72 T Ja but...
- 73 H He was there running around thousands of years before...
- 74 M And he wasn't worrying anybody until the white man came.
- 75 H He wasn't interested in the white man. He just came along.. whoever..Columbus assumed..er..It was Columbus that started everything, wasn't he? Ja, 'cos then he came in and discovered America and everyone started coming. Then they started...
- 76 M They wanted to, they wanted to um, be able to compare themselves to, like, Britain and all those countries.
- 77 H They were trying to find colonies.
- 78 M Ja.
- 79 H They were trying to..er, organize...
- 80 M There were a lot of people..like people coming over to establish settlements, and all that stuff. So, so this country had to er, grow.
- 81 H O.K. If you think about it..I don't know if you've seen any of these books and things, y'know, where they show you why..how cowboys, or how people living in the West, attained it. You know, that's to ..
- 82 M Give farms and...
- 83 H To cultivate, to grow crops and things on it, and then sell And then rivers and things etc.
- 84 M Mississippi..Missouri. Shall we look at number three now?
- 85 H Number three. I don't know much about similarities between.. Oh, it's like the same thing. Was there anything else that..What tribe was wiped out in South Africa?
- 86 M What? Oh, no the Zulu was wiped out.

- 87 H No, they're not wiped out.
- 88 M No, not the Zulu, no, the Zulu wasn't wiped out. The Xhosa was..Xhosa is the tribe..is, is a whole lot of tribes put together, 'cos like all the...
- 89 H What about the Matabele? The Matabele...
- 90 M Ja, and the Batalang and all those people.
- 91 H The voortrekkers when they went to the Transvaal, they clashed with the Matabele.
- 92 M And also, and also the Zulus, the Zulus, the main tribe, they used to fight against all these other tribes and then, eventually when they chased all these other tribes out of Natal and then..then they joined up...
- 93 H Let's try to think about Jan Van Riebeeck. When they came to..It's not a case that they died off. Look South Afri..when Jan van Riebeeck came to South Africa, they..the Hottentots when they..when they started stealing and everything, they treated them like slaves, when they...
- 94 M Ja, it's the same, almost like the same thing...
- 95 H Soon they became..y'know, degraded...
- 96 M Like when Jan van Riebeeck came and saw the land was..was good, he also wanted to start cultivating it and building forts and all that stuff. And then when he saw...
- 97 H Like he used the Hottentots for slavery.
- 98 M And when the natives saw the, the cows and that stuff, they thought that whites most probably like hunt these...
- 99 H Yes whites shoot those..ja.
- 100 M And they could just take the cows or something like that. And also, they also had the same idea about land as, as what the Indians had. They thought that everybody could um...
- 101 H Use the land.
- 102 M Ja, so when, when the...
- 103 H Like..like um, what was it?
- 104 M The Fish River.
- 105 H No, there was something about where a guy bought land off the, off the Hottentots, or whatever, but then six..a couple of weeks later he found the guy's cattle running around loose there...
- 106 M Ja, because the guy thought that um to buy was just to um say if he couldn't come and put his cattle with the native's cattle.
- 107 H So now all his cattle was mixed up.
- 108 M Ja, and then also, the same thing happened when they started wiping out all the..the, um..well they didn't really wipe out the animals because the, the natives were also um, farmers, you see, with cattle and that. They had to kill the natives. It was different.
- 109 T Yes, but the um, natives didn't really make use of the land, just like the Indians.
- 110 H Ja, true.
- 111 M I don't know. Maybe they had... [General indecision]
- 112 T Stock farmers.
- 113 M Stock farmers. So I think the..the..the boer and the native were actually competing for land 'cos they also had to move around with their cattle, um...
- 114 H Like at the Fish River. Well, round the Eastern Cape. Oh, what was that thing where they er..the Xhosas, it was the Xhosas, ja..where they kept on um, cattle stealing and everything, remember? And then, that was when the boers went over the river.
- 115 M Ja, to go and fetch...
- 116 H To fetch the cattle and all that.

- 117 M And um, and also er..I think the boers also started pushing the, the..when say the governor started saying that they weren't allowed to go over the Fish River...
- 118 H Because all the blacks...
- 119 M Ja, but the blacks had the better grazing land, so they wanted grazing land so, they went over like the frontiers and all that stuff. That's how it started.
[Summary]
[A little time taken to straighten out exactly what they must do]
- 120 H O.K. the Indians were um, forced to rely on white..white.. the white man for food and things, 'cos he was..and then forced into reserves.
- 121 M So the white man actually took over.
- 122 H O.K. now, number two..[Pause] Um, I think, well I think that the Indian..that the Indian was the..he had the right to.. had the the right to work, 'cos he was there first and..
- 123 T I disagree with that because the white man would have used the land much more better for cultivation than would the Indian.
- 124 M But still he shouldn't have pushed him into..where the Indian couldn't live, like in the mountains.
- 125 H Ja, sure. There must be something in number two. Um, so we just say that they, they were..um, the Indians had the right, but then again he could have...
- 126 M They were there first, but the white man took over.
- 127 H ...could have made better use of..better use of the land. O.K. [Reads question three over to himself] There's one between the..
- 128 M Comparing the two.
- 129 H When Jan Van Riebeek...
- 130 M They're similar..the Americas and..and South Africa...
- 131 H Yes, man.
- 132 M Three?
- 133 H Three similarities. Jan Van Riebeek came to South Africa and landed and the hottentots started stealing. He um..like they um, they saw them as slaves here and then they used them as slaves.
- 134 M Ja, "uncivilized" people.
- 135 H Uncivilized, ja. Another one was...
- 136 M They started cultivating the land, just as the Americans did.
- 137 H But the, the blacks they thought of land as, y'know, everybody can use it. Remember that guy sold..y'know..it was everybody's right to use the land. That one man bought land off the Indian..I mean the black.
- 138 M So the Indians and the natives had the same idea about land and um, Jan van Riebeek and er, Columbus..no, not Columbus..the Americans had the same idea about cultivating.
- 139 T Yes.
- 140 M And the um, er, Indians and the natives were all..um, considered as uncivilized.
[End]

Group 4.1 [Mixed Ability; document stimulus; D=I.Q. 123, P=I.Q. 106,
V=I.Q. 88]

- 1 D Well, the first question: [reads] "What was the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indian hunting grounds on the life of the Plains Indians". That was always their hunting grounds and er they had the right to the buffalo. They were living quite fine with the buffalo. They weren't killing too many. And then the white man came along.
- 2 V The white man was actually an intruder from the west. You know he was...
- 3 I He was an intruder.
- 4 P You can't say he was an intruder. He may of all took over, but you can't say he was an intruder.
- 5 D But if somebody comes to your house and you built up a whole lot of roses on the pavement, on the side of the pavement, rather, somebody comes up and they pull the whole lot up again, what are you going to do?
- 6 P [Laughing] Sue him.
- 7 D Well, this is exactly what they would do. They were there first but as it is, the last question is four similarities from South African history. Now the racial problem. When the blacks came, they were here first, and according to our history, they weren't in this area at first.
- 8 P Ja, it's a...
- 9 V But this is also an intrusion, you could say, I mean are...er...Jan van Riebeeck coming from Holland.
- 10 P So, white is equal, they're so good.
- 11 D No, no that's not what I'm saying. You're missing the point. What I said is that look, according to the first one, no the second one, the second source, it says they just left them, the carcasses lying there. Now I mean, those, those could have been [from someone: "It's worthless"] put to good use for the Indians, I mean...
- 12 P So why didn't the Indians use them?
- 13 D 'Cos the Indians were so frightened they wished to...I don't know.
- 14 V I mean they were shooting Indians left, right and centre.
- 15 D It would seem to be.
- 16 P Ja, okay, they were shooting...
- 17 D If you want to go hunting, you shoot as many as you need, as many as you want, you don't shoot just because you shoot.
- 18 P No, but [classmate's name] does.
- 19 D I'd say that's [his] problem.
- 20 V This, this also really...um,..interests me, because..um,..I know a few..er, grown-ups that go hunting, just because, like you know the fact that they shot a kudu, not for meat, or something like that...
- 21 P No, they do, they shoot them for biltong.
- 22 V Ja, well, for biltong, afterwards you've go so much biltong you don't know what to do with it.
- 23 P It all depends, just sell it.
- 24 D We won't go into that...But, er, like if you kill something and you just, you just leave it there.
- 25 V Ja, it's just worthless, I mean, why the hell did you kill it in the first place?
- 26 D Well, according to this, as I interpret it, they took the skins, and they were going to take the hides, the hunter told them to quit and leave maybe ten or twenty carcasses. Now why didn't they take the ther? They kill one, take off the meat,

finished, and if they want other one, go out and kill another one for the sport. Now why, why ll something for sport? Look, if you find an animal, that kills meone, oh man, it's so big, this animal gets hunted down and gets lled. [Various interjections] As I said again, it's white man because, let's see, um, white man [pause] like, well in England fox, foxhunting. They kill the fox if they can. And a kudu has got about two quills, like two horns, that's an old kudu, then the white man comes and shoots it. It's not, you can't say it's like um, come shoot, just shoot them for the...to kill the Indians.

- 28 D They claimed they were civilized and had the right to the land.
- 29 P No, I say that the Indians were more civilized. The Indians weren't as industrialised, industrialised but not civilized. [Interjections] Because civilized actually means, from the white man's point of view, is more advanced. [Interjections] Let's see, the Indians were more advanced in, um, their living on the plains. White man says "No ways, we could never live here".
- 30 V Yes, well, they were adapted to the plains.
- 31 P They were civilized to the plains.
- 32 D They were quite happy with the way thing were. They were living quite happily; there was no fighting, well occasionally you got the tribal fight.
- 33 V Same in South Africa.
- 34 D Yes, but now the white men just come along and wants to take everything, [sounds of agreement] even if he grabs a hand. I'm not trying to be anti-black.
- 35 P No, ja, the white man is a bit..he just grabs at things. But, er even with South Africa, and maybe Australia and around those islands, over at Ceylon, they always want to get more.
- 36 V An interesting factor is that in India nowadays..oh, not in India, sorry, I mean the Indians in America..um, well, I understand they put them into camps of some sort, 'cos there's not much of them left anyhow. The, the sum, the sum of the Indians that's left over. They, ja, and the same goes for the Mao...what's it, the...[unhelpful suggestions] no, man, in Australia, The Maoris? [suggestion: "the Aboriginees"] the Aboriginees. They are also put in large camps.
- 37 P And in South Africa?
- 38 V Well, in South Africa...it turned out...
- 39 P It's over-populated, isn't it?
- 40 V Yeh, well, now.
- 41 P The white man came and took over.
- 42 V Well, it's about seven to one.
- 43 D Whose, whose fault's that? Whose fault's that that their population, that the black population is over-populated? [objections to the question] That's partly our...
- 44 V That's not our fault. I mean they, they're just not informed of the...well, how can I say?
- 45 P Remember yesterday, what we were doing, er, the communists? Earlier, now those people had choices of...they had to pass laws that they could only have one child. [Agreement] So why doesn't South Africa say "only one child"?
- 46 D The rest of the world moans, 'cos the rest of the world's capitalists. [Dissention]
- 47 P We're still capitalists, but we still pass a law that you're only allowed one child.
- 48 V You can't, can't...Look it's unfair to say "Look, black man, you're only allowed one child."
- 49 P No! Pass it throughout the world..I mean, throughout South

Africa.

- 50 D My answer to the first question was ("the effect of the destruction of the buffalo and the Indians' hunting grounds on the life of the Plains Indians") I think it would have driven them to, driven them to war, 'cos if somebody like takes something of yours that you have worked to preserve and didn't want to kill out, because it was your only means of sus...sustenance in life..why, why...
- 51 P Yeh, I agree that white man actually came and killed for the fun of it, or, more or less wanted to just kill, but er, with the Indians, they hunted for a little bit of...They had to because they were hungry, ja, and now...
- 52 V They only shot when they needed Indian food.
- 53 P Quite so. Okay, now white man comes and takes over, so he shoots everything.
- 54 V Ja, and as, er, [D] er mentioned earlier, they, er, just take the hides, and they leave the measly carcase.
- 55 P Was the buffalo the only source of food?
- 56 V Well, on the Plains there were jackals, but mainly...
- 57 D The Indian communities were ruled by which, which way the buffaloes went to. If the buffaloes left, left the area, they followed the buffaloes because that was their main...
- 58 P Ja, O.K. Ja, well, so?
- 59 D So, if somebody comes and breaks up your routine, your routine, I mean, surely you're going to want to...
- 60 P They say they killed six or seven at a time,or whatever..left six or seven, whereas here they left maybe ten or twenty carcasses.
- 61 V In those days there was about eight thousand.. er, er, bison...
- 62 P So what, if the Indians were following them, and they killed ten or twenty or whatever, okay? So why didn't the Indians come after them? 'Cos they were right there.
- 63 V They did! They did. How can you compare?
- 64 D How many times, how many times did the Indians attack the white people? And the white people just attacked...
- 65 P And the white people just attacked the Indians, okay? Now why didn't the Indians attack the white man?
- 66 D They did [corroberation from V] they did attack the white man. Stage-coach robbery, attacks on stage-coaches that drive past, or something.
- 67 P Ja, but I'm talking about the buffalo, because they followed the buffalo, and these white men come and kill the buffalo, that's right next door.
- 68 V I'm just telling you. Just hold on. The Indian...right we're talking about the attacking business. Now the white man attacks the Indian and the Indian attacks the white man - you can't compare the two, because the one's got guns and the other's got arrows. It's like sticks and stones.
- 69 P You can kill more people with stones than you can with sticks.
- 70 D Well, I feel that the destruction of the buffalo, just on the basis that they were killing them for hides and profit was very...
- 71 P No, they weren't.

- 72 D They were.
- 73 P They were just killing them.
- 74 D For hides. Read, read there. [Sounds of reluctant agreement] And then they take the hides. Just, just killing them for the hides was very selfish and probably just for the whites.
- 75 P Selfish.
- 76 V The whites have always been greedy wherever they go.
- 77 D Not, not always. [Interjections] If you take South Africa, for instance...
- 78 V Trackers and all that...
- 79 D When South Africans came to South Africa, they weren't interested in killing the natural animals. [cautious agreement] They just wanted land, and when they took the land the blacks weren't there. And later on the blacks attacked them without any reason. Now here the Indians had reason.
- 80 P Ja, but the blacks also had reason. You can't compare the two.
- 81 D The blacks in South Africa? What reason did they have? What reason did they have?
- 82 P Fencing them out.
- 83 D Fencing them out for what? They weren't there.
- 84 P They were always there. The blacks were always in South Africa.
- 85 V The blacks were from the Tugela River up, according to the Boers' diary, diaries.
- 86 P You get different populations: Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Venda and ...
- 87 D Yes, yes. Now according to tribal wars they were dispersed all over South Africa, because they were fighting against each other. In Natal, Natal, was the Zulu, Xhosa, Zulu. Here, here there was such a sparse - where we are in the Eastern Cape - there was such a sparse...[P cues "population"] over over the blacks, ja, if you remember the whites used to grab it but they made sure there were no blacks. [P disagrees]
- 88 V Yeah. It was basically like the, the, the Americans too. 'Cos when they, when they came into the open plains, and they saw Indians, they thought the Indian was savages, and they shot all the Indians.
- 89 D They just took.
- 90 P They just take it.
- 91 V The same was in South Africa, I mean, look when Jan van Riebeeck came here..er, I think it's the bushmen, they hunted down, they formed hunting parties, and hunted down the bushmen.
- 92 D O.K., now for the second question. [Reads] "We have seen how the white man claimed...that they had a right to...that they used the land more profitably". Now exactly what they meant... what did they mean by "profitably"? I mean...
- 93 P Ja, "profitably" is their cattle.
- 94 D That they wanted to take more and more and more land away and drive the Indians out. Taking the land that wasn't, that wasn't being used by the Indians would have been okay...[some agreement] [Reads] "How would you support or crit..no, criticise this plan?" Well, it's, er, if you...the white man...I don't..I don't think he's...he's a bit...I think...he thinks himself too good, okay? He thinks himself superior. So that's why he says "Look, they're not wearing...look at their clothes, they're only wearing...what, a little bit of, um, jackets, and buffalo skins and look at him, he's got silk jacket, and now they have silk jacket..."
- 95 V Look, but the Indians were happy.

- 96 D Ja, they were happy, exactly, so why does the white man come and take away? Now why, why didn't they just deal part, give half to the Indians, and take half for themselves?
- 97 P Oh, well, we're going to have to start right back where they from, the white man, [pause] because...
- 98 D Well, I'm not a black man myself. [Amusement] You have to say whether the white man..why they came across..Oh, the "Great Ocean". When, when they got...I'm not sure...I'm not very good answering it...when they had the thirteen colonies, were there Indians in the thirteen colonies? I'm not... Probably there were other natives, probably. [Some suggestions] There must have been other natives. O.K., so they got the thirteen colonies, and then, then they want slaves.
- 99 V The Indians were more concentrated on the plains, I would say.
- 100 V Concentrated on the plains and then you get the Rocky Indians and...
- 101 V You get different areas.
- 102 D The plains Indians didn't exactly mind the blacks [sic] coming across their territory, but when they started like doing something, killing all their buffalo and everything, and the whites took came land, they started to realise if the the Indians came here its "tresspassers will be shot, survivors will be shot again." [Amusement] Basically, because the Indian had no right... had no right.
- 103 P The Indians had more right than the white man.
- 104 D Yes, but according to the white people...but they... [Interruptions]
- 105 P No. According to the people who came across the great... came across the Atlantic Ocean, [agreement] not against the white people. 'Cos you're saying that you...are the...I can't ... [Amusement from V]
- 106 V Yes there's a an interesting thing that I've just seen here. Um...in South Africa and for America the history books that they write are more about whites' history...towards whites' history... from one side. That was their..[P tries to interrupt] they, they don't say it from the Indians' side...
- 107 P Look the Indians keep their own records.
- 108 V [Not convinced] Ja, but...
- 109 P So do Australian...
- 110 V I reckon, I reckon a person should know equally about the whites' settlements in the early...um...
- 111 P Oh well, that's.. O.K. in Zulu..last..um, when I was in Sandringham High School, we learnt about where the blacks actually came down from and how they dispersed, okay?
- 112 V Ja, well, ja that's true. But er...
- 113 P But you see, then, then about..what.. how many years later? I don't know how many years later, but, then the the white man comes over and he just..takes over.
- 114 V But then the blacks, like, faded away.
- 115 P No, they didn't fade away.
- 116 D Look, in 1652 when Jan van Riebeeek arived at the Cape.. and he started the settlements there, the Namaquas came down and bartered with them, right? And the Namaquas, when they finished bartering with them used to go back, because that's that's where they live. And the white man centralised around Cape Town, and Algoa Bay.

- 117 P And then where did the white man go, after that?
- 118 V He started going up...
- 119 P He started going up and pushing them out...
- 120 V With the Great Trek.
- 121 D They weren't, look, the Bushman's and Tugela River, as soon as they got there, the Indians - er, the Indians! [Amusement from V] the blacks started to attack them...
- 122 P The blacks star..Exactly! It's their territory. They know what the whites gonna do with their territory - they're gonna put fences around and keep their game in their territory.
- 123 D Well, why don't the white people attack their camp?
- 124 P They did! [Agreement from V]
- 125 D Why?
- 126 P Because, they're keeping their game away from them.
- SUMMARY**
- 127 D The third question: "List three of the similarities..." We've already discussed that.
- 128 P Well, you can't..oh, summing up is that white man is a bit pushy, I think.
- 129 D Ja, greedy. [General agreement]
- 130 P And wanting to take over.
- 131 V Yeah, have everything for themselves.
- 132 D And expand his profits.
- 133 P And..yeh, it's expand his profits and that..er, white man is also little bit..how would you say..um, thinks himself civilized..[ignores interruption by V] yet he's still..yet he's still in a prime state, you could say. "Civilized" is, um, working with other people, I think, not working with arms and shooting things worth...
- 134 D Ja, I, I really thought it's very selfish of them, you could say.
- 135 P Ja, it was selfish. The white man's been selfish throughout our history books.
[End]

Group 4.2 (Mixed-ability; Map stimulus; B = I.Q. 118;
F = I.Q. 111; M = I.Q. 99)

- 1 B Sir, must we just talk? Will Sir hear us from here?
[Affirmative] In question one, my opinion is that um, the buffalo supplies the Indians with the necessity of life. In other words, if the buffalo dies out the Indians will also die out, for they use the buffalo for nearly everything. In source six of our notes it says [reads] "The buffalo supplies them with the necessity [sic] of life, with habitations, food, clothing, food, beds and fuel, strings for their bows, glue and thread, cordage, trails for their rope, for their horses, coverings for their saddles, vessels to hold water, boats to cross streams and the means to purchase all that they want from the traders". In other words if the buffaloes were their main source of life, they used the buffalo for everything. If the buffalo die out then the Indians will also die out. That's my opinion.
- 2 B What's your opinion? [Some whispering. The T requests the group to speak up]
- 3 B 'Cos the Indians died out, y'know, because of the buffalo, so they were scattered all over. That's why they..you see here on the map..so that there's different places where the Indians lived.
- 4 F Now they had to move from the hunting grounds to places where they could get food from the land, like the mountains and that.
- 5 B It change..changed their way of life.
- 6 M They also stopped trading and that.
- 7 B Yes, trading..they started to live like a white man.
[Gentle amusement]
- 8 F It destroyed their culture...[Pause] In source 5 it says that they will "strut out and drink out their miserable existence". And there was actually a law..I read in a book..there was a law against people selling um, alcohol to...
- 9 B Indians.
- 10 F To Indians.
- 11 M Ja, I also read the book. They weren't used to it.
[Pause]
- 12 B Question two.
- 13 F They say that they were lazy, I think. They became lazy because they used to depend on the buffalo and then they used to go hunting when they needed it.
- 14 B They didn't..they didn't use the buffalo. 'Cos every day...
- 15 M They only took what they needed.
- 16 B They only took what they needed, ja...
- 17 F The destruction of the buffalo also cause..caused the Indians to rebel.
- 18 B And that caused war with them.
- 19 F 'Cos hunting grounds were a sacred place.
[Pause]
- 20 B Right, question two B. [Reads to himself] Right, in question two it says..um, that the white man could use the land more profitable, but in our notes, source one, it says that um, "the winter could not possibly be spent here because there is no wood, no clothe..cloth to protect the man except the skins which the natives wear". In other words the lands were unin...
- 21 M "An insuperable obstacle".
- 22 B Overpopulated. They couldn't grow anything, the bush couldn't grow there. But still the white man wanted the land. I criticise that.

- 23 F I support that one, 'cos the white man could keep herds of cattle and they could also plant crops in the summer..just use cattle in winter, if they needed.
- 24 B And they could divide the land up into Indian country and that, and still have..and grant more land, and put up boundaries and that...
- 25 M And the Indians had said that his land is more valuable than our money, I mean white man's money, 'cos..um, it's more important than money, 'cos they don't want money. The white man earns money.
- 26 B But the Indians could use it to, y'know, plant crop and that..They could try and run themselves. They weren't meant to use money though.
- 27 F They don't need crops. It's not a live-stock they need 'cos the buffalo used to also use the land. [Pause] The Indians were trying to protect the game against the white man. It says the "dog soldiers" also protected the game...
- 28 M Also women and children.
- 29 F Ja.
- 30 B The Indian ground was sacred and they wouldn't have to give..just give it up. They would fight for it. There'd be more killing of white men and there'd be bullets, 'cos the Indians would be used to living on the plains in the winters and the white man won't be used to it. And the Indians would get the upper hand.
- 31 F And they..the white man wanted their their land and the Indians couldn't sell it because they, they had different beliefs to the white man. They believed that the Great Spirit put the land there and they couldn't sell it because it didn't belong to them. The..the plain gave the Indians and er, the animals life and they couldn't sell the life of..lives of animals.
- 32 M Look here in source two. It says the "country is almost wholly unfit for cultivation". [Pause] "..and of course uninhabitable by a"...
- 33 B White man was trying to use this land for cultivations and because they were wanted to use this land as toll to get through the Rockie Mountains. And they were going, you know, to come through them.. also enough money.. and kill off like buffalo which was in their way.
- 34 F In the books they say that the buffalo hunters wouldn't use all the meat. They would just take the pelt off the buffalo...
- 35 B And leave the carcass.
- 36 F Ja, and leave the carcass to rot.
- 37 B Which is worse.
- 38 F Ja.
- 39 B The Indians could use..
- 40 F The Indians use every single part of the buffalo.
[Pause]
- 41 F In Source 14 a person..Horace Greeley says that the Indians did little credit to human nature, 'cos they didn't use the land in Kansas, he says "the very best cornlands on earth". But then the Indians didn't need corn.
- 42 B Just the buffalo.
- 43 F All they needed was buffalo and that, and use the bulbs and...
- 44 B Even though..um, they set about doing Indians and er..white men were in, the one kept on crossing them, and surveying the boundaries...
- 45 F They say that these people must die out "there is no help for them. God has given this earth to those who will subdue and

cultivate it." If He had given it to them, people would cultivate it, then, um, why would He put all those buffalo there and why would the Indian have lived there for so long?

46 B It was just right that the Indians should have had land for themselves, because they were the first people there. It was rightly theirs. No-one could, no-one could have taken Britain's land away from them. Only by force and that's why the Indians tried fighting against the white man, because the white man was using force to take the land [Long Pause]

47 F And the white man says that the Indians were already backward in civilisation, and they were being thrown further back when the white man could have helped the Indians instead of trying to take their land. And they say that they, they drive them with the beasts of the forest into the Rocky Mountains. The piece could have been left there and then the Indians wouldn't have needed so much land, so they could have divided that country and let the white man abide the laws.

48 B In source three, Colonel Richard Irving [sic] says.. describes the Great Plains as the "Great American Desert - Unexplored". "Desert" not meaning without any vegetation - uninhabited, but it was inhabited by the buffalo and Indians. You know it was right through their land. The white man just took that away from them.

49 M It also says that..um, that the English could use this land more profitable.

50 B All the white man was concerned with was money, not anything else.

51 M And to get to the Rocky Mountains for the gold.

52 F They say they'll drive the Indians to the Rocky Mountains, when they also wanted to go up there and get gold and anything else. [Pause] There were those Indian tribes that did cultivate the land.

53 B There were also friendly Indian tribes which didn't have.. or which didn't want to fight any wars. These tribes were just slaughtered just because they were Indians, not because of anything else.

54 M It also says that Indians and that could partly understand the white man..most of the time.

55 F And they say in Source 18, number 1 that "The Indian nations to make an effective and lasting peace". But later on it says: "the United States government to establish...military and other posts". If there was a lasting peace, they wouldn't need military posts.

56 M They also wanted to use the land and and that for railways and that.

[Suggestion from T to go on to no.3]

57 B Well, in the same period of time there was conflict.. conflict between the white man and, um, the blacks in South Africa, while you also find over the Atlantic, here in America, the same thing, this time between the whites and the Indians. They were about the same time.

58 M There were also similarities with the Great Trek and that..look for more land and that, and have like here and there too much people, with gold and that.

59 B When there was gold found in our country districts, the people just stormed there, and just...

60 M Ja.

61 B Killed all those in the way and fought with the tribes as they came along..causing wars.

62 F And the South Africans thought of them as..the, the black

people as savage, and the Americans thought the Indians were just useless savages as well. Most of the black people as well had cattle..and the Indians relied on the buffalo; and the blacks relied on the, the..mostly on buck and other small animals.

63 B Certain tribes in er.. in Africa..in South Africa at the time could cultivate their own land. They had property which..on which had already planted certain crops and that's why they should have er, kept their land.

64 M And the Zulus, they attacked the British and that just like Indians attacked the er, Americans in revenge.

65 F Well the Indians and the blacks had a lot in common as well. They also were brave and very fierce and all that. They also had these tribal wars, and like the Indians. [Pause] And they also had trails going through South Africa as they were going through American Territories.

Summary

66 B Um..carry on one, question one..the destruction of the buffulo was..the Indians died out because of that. That's my opinion, my final opinion.

67 M Well, the destruction of their hunting grounds, well, that ..the buffalo destructed the Indians and without buffalo they didn't have hunting grounds, so it destructed their hunting grounds as well.

[Pause]

68 M They also used their hunting grounds as..for clothes and that.

69 B Sports.

70 M Ja.

71 B They used to just kill the buffalo for sports.

[Pause]

72 B Question number two. I criticise this claim because the Indians had the right to own property, just as Americans did. That's why they should have, given, y'know, gave the Indians separate country and the white white man separate country.

73 F I criticise that the same as B, and I support it because the white Americans had more modern and that methods of cultivation and...

74 B [Intended helpful comments in an undertone.]

75 F They could use the land more profitably, as it says here. They were more civilized. [Pause] The Indians thought like that the white man was trying to steal the land 'cos the Indians..when the Indians had their tribal wars, if they had conquered a nation they could take over that nation's hunting grounds. So they probably thought of this as a war, that the Americans were trying to take over..

76 B Hunting grounds.

77 F Their hunting grounds.

[End]

Group 4.3 (Mixed-ability; statistical stimulus; B = I.Q. 119;
W = I.Q. 102; K = I.Q. 93)

- 1 B What do you think? From this bit, they'd most probably just die out. Source 6 says [reads] "the buffalo supplies them with the necessaries [sic] of life" etcetera, etcetera, etcetera. So if the buffalo died or they'd probably have to change their life-styles, move away, find more buffalo. They'd pick another hunting site, perhaps. Mm, possibility. It says.. yes, look at the number of Indians. Probably was a..and buffalo. Probably means that there were..the Indians probably fought to stop them killing the buffalo or decided just to try to get rid of the invaders.
- 2 W Ja, it does.
- 3 B It didn't seem they're very successful.
- 4 W It must have been..like...
- 5 K They just hunted for fun.
- 6 B Um, that's true enough.
- 7 W Ja, 500 000 Indians and they decreased to 270 000.
- 8 B Yes, and 13 000 000 buffalo down to 200. I don't think they could have all used that meat and hides if it was just for fun.
- 9 W Ja.
- 10 B Possibly, it was also to drive the Indians..to drive the...
- 11 W Indians..
- 12 B Buffalo out.
- 13 W And the Indians. [Spoken together with B]
- 14 B Notice in 1874 all the hides and the meat and the dead buffalo dropped down considerably. It probably means they started running out of them.
- 15 W Ja, and they never used all the hides.
- 16 B That's obvious. [Brief pause, with interjection from W] Could have used the hides if transported elsewhere, but er..an awful waste, I'd say. What about the meat? Probably started.. was starting to go off, by the time they got to the train left like that. That would be a lot of use!
- 17 W That's true.
- 18 B Umm..Number Two.. Well that's obviously wrong. How the hell could they say that? Even though they were civilized, these people were there before, hm? [guarded agreement from W] They probably could use the land more profitably, but um..I don't suppose that had any right to it. What do you think?
- 19 K No, but the Indians, they had a right to that er...
- 20 B True.
- 21 W They were there first.
- 22 B You see, they were also fighting over the land, remember? And there was a tribal concept.
- 23 K The white man wanted to...
- 24 B Take it all, hm?
- 25 W Right.
- 26 B For more than one reason. He also wanted to start trading, for example. Probably..on the side.
- 27 W They could have shared with the Indians there. They didn't have to like take everything away.
- 28 B But it wasn't theirs to start with. How can you share something that's not yours.
- 29 W I know, but if they really wanted it that desperately..Ja, like then they just took everything.
- 30 B Mm. I think they could have combined with the more peaceful Indians, but I don't think all of them.
- 31 K No, but some Indians were warlike.

- 32 W Ja,..but like, there's one source..[looks for it] where the..those Indians that were wiped out..that one village that was wiped out.
- 33 B Oh, yes, the Sand River massacre..Sand Creek, or whatever.
- 34 W Ja... Yes, because they were close, and there they just wiped them out.
- 35 K And they were very friendly too.
- 36 W Ja.
- 37 B That's true. Obviously it was just a casual mistake. I think that that Colonel 'Whatshisname'..Oh yes, Chivington's orders to kill or scalp etc., etc., I think obviously showed they had made an attack on him, or something like that.
- 38 W Ja.
- 39 B Dragged somebody away, caught somebody..blah, blah, blah... So somebody'd be wanting to get revenge.
- 40 W But then, what should the Indians do? Somebody kills off one tribe. They would retaliate, 'cos there it says...
- 41 B [Quite excited] No, not automatically, unless they had a close tie with that tribe.
- 42 W Ja, but...
- 43 B I mean, I mean would you literally go on and start murdering people if somebody destroyed, say, a village in the far north of South-West Africa? Would you go and retaliate immediately?
- 44 W No but, if...Maybe tribes...[K begins to say something similar]
- 45 B If you are connected with family ties, yes, but er...
- 46 W Ja, because some like..maybe they intermarried...
- 47 B There's a possibility of relations.
- 48 W Like one took the names connected with a friend..with each other and then they...Like it says..[looks in his notes] that artist had lived there, what, with the Indians for seven years. He said that they...
- 49 B Very peaceful.
- 50 W Ja, but very revengeful as well.
- 51 K If you were a friendly peace-loving person, and I had to come along and just shoot most of your family, what are you going to do?
- 52 B It just depends. I wouldn't really know, actually. I might get everyone against you.
- 53 K You'd be full of hatred. [Agreement from W]
- 54 B Yes, or I might just let reason take over, and perhaps move away, if I found I couldn't get rid of you.
- 55 W Ja, but you'd first try to get rid of him.
- 56 B Ja. Ja, peaceful methods. And then try warn them that of course they'd be wrong, unless you had a very powerful friend. I wonder what they did..? Right.
- 57 K But here in the end these poor Indians were so scared of the white men that they just packed up their goods and everything and...
- 58 B Or what they had left. Hm.
- 59 W After they had plundered.
- 60 B Probably also went and followed, followed the remaining buffalo.
- 61 W Ja, and like they say in this article [reads] "Attention, Indian fighters" like...
- 62 B Oh yes.
- 63 W Like the last piece: "The company will also be entitled to all horses...[B chimes in]". Ja, so it would be like...
- 64 B If that would happen all the time...
- 65 K [Over the previous line] It would be like sport.

- 66 B It truly would be just anarchy..just take what you want.
- 67 W Ja, but, if a person likes anarchy he is going to, like, go there for fun, and just go and shoot..without any reason.
- 68 B But of course there will be a risk.
- 69 W Ja, a risk, but a person will take a risk to have some fun a well.
- 70 B Mm, he'll get something after, if he gets something o it.
- 71 W Mm, maybe he doesn't get up, but he will still have fun No, but...
- 72 B If you call that ordinary fun, yes.
- 73 W No, but if he like, likes fighting and that..
- 74 B In a sadistic sort of way, um? Number three [reads] "List three or four similarities..." Ah! I can think of one, for a start. What about all the black tribes? Remember tribe..over the river. There was big fighting over that.
- 75 K Then those boers fighting them.
- 76 B Oh yes, and also all the cattle, remember? The cattle thefts.
- 77 K Mm, there was more cattle that actually were...
- 78 B Mm, that's probably over there. And the whites weren't actually killing them, they were just buying them. Ja, not identically like that.
- 79 W Like the Indians were dependent on the buffalo, and then the...
- 80 B And then the white man came along and started shooting all the buffalo.
- 81 W Ja, and then they never...
- 82 B And then the Indians would fight back to protect their life-style, and protect the buffalo and protect everything else like that.
- 83 W Like those..like they wanted to look after the buffalo, as hunting dogs, or something.
- 84 B Dog boys..no, chapter five? Where are we?..[hums to himself] Ah yes, here: "dog soldiers...who protect and supply the women and children. They could stand in the way of the buffalo. Only as long as the buffalo was in their territory, probably. A lot of them just paid..penned them in and waited till they keeled over.
- 85 W Another thing says that when the buffalo moves in everybody would move in with.
- 86 K Another thing, in number two, when we were mentioning, why did they go and just start shooting the buffalo and say where they would take all the plunder and that? It's the same thing when you go hunting. You take your game with you that you shot.
- 87 W Like the Americans that come over to South Africa. They just shoot..come here, like [classmate] said in his oral. [recognition by the others] Y'know..
- 88 B Shoot and shoot. [W agrees] I don't.. I don't think they could keep shooting, too, and I don't think that all were taken, because they might shoot a hundred buffalo in one day. He can't..there's no way possible that he could take all that home, obviously he'd take the best and leave what else he wouldn't need.
- 89 W Ja, he just like..it says in the book here. He just took the hide.
- 90 B He probably took the good pieces of meat and left everything else to rot. The vultures must have had a good time.
- 91 K Sometimes when these trains used to move through the land - I read about in this book - when the buffalo would charge at the train when they were stampeding.

- 92 B Yeah, and they'd try to stop being knocked off the rails.
- 93 K Ja, they either had to shoot the buffalo or get themselves knocked off the rails.
- 94 B Mm. They Indians also liked to attack trains. Let's get back to number three. We've got one similarity, 'cos of the land. How about another one. Hi, of course! Trading. And also ... It happened last time but it settled down, didn't it? mm.
- 95 W How about fire-water? [General amusement]
- 96 B They made it They made something from corn or something like that. I'm not quite sure about that.
- 97 W Dio, or something like that..
- 98 B Yeah, something like that.
- 99 W Beer, made from...
- 100 B Most probably something like that. I don't think they had horses. Although it would have been an advantage to have had a horse.
- 101 K Most probably the Spanish..
- 102 B Spanish? British, you mean.
- 103 K No. Down at the bottom was er..
- 104 B Oh, Dutch.
- 105 W No, He's talking about South America. [Agreement from K]
- 106 B Wrong country.
- 107 W The blacks never had any horses.
- 108 B Horses, or anything like that.
- 109 W They used foot transport.
- 110 B Mm, first..first-rate feet. What other similarities would there be?
- 111 W Their life-style.
- 112 B I've just thought of another similarity. Like, for instance, perhaps about Indian fighters.
- 113 W Like on T.V.
- 114 B No, no, no, no, no. Like in America in South Africa, Indian fighters. 'Cos that was an attack, and might also..something like that.. cavalry, vounteers. Yeah, commandos, remember? Yes.
- 115 W Nearly the same happened in South Africa. Like in those days if they stole your cattle, you could go and find them.
- 116 B Ja, they provided they didn't go and have a proper shoot out.
- 117 K Ja, say now, for example, the blacks would lose a lot, 'cos where the grazing land was they'd go. And now where the buffalo went they'd go.
- 118 B Yes, that's true. Mm, yes, they followed the buff..the cattle as well. Buffalo..mm. [Muses to himself] Meat handled by the railroad in 1874..
- 119 W And like South Africa. When the blacks arrived here. They came from central Africa, or tropical...
- 120 B North Africa, ja. And they come down.
- 121 W Or the Great Lakes. Ja, and they came down. Then from Natal. So when the Dutch came, and landed here, there only some...
- 122 B They only colonized around the Cape peninsula, and then sort of moved out.
- 123 W Ja, there were only blacks in the Natal area.
- 124 B Ja, they would have gone further, except they met with the white farmers and everything. when they sent out of the..British areas. I think because of tax, or something.
- 125 W Ja, the tax as well.
- 126 B It's a pity about all them buffalo.
- 127 W And the making of money - the gold..gold rush, and then I reckon the gold rush here.

- 128 B And diamonds, oh ja. The gold also done it, but I don't think that would have really affected the Indians.
- 129 W No, it could, because they had railroads going through, 'cos...
- 130 K Indians started to get restless.
- 131 B That's true.
- 132 W Sir said..
- 133 B So, you said partly, by another way. I wonder...
- 134 K Indians weren't interested in gold so much.
- 135 B I don't think it was all that wealth was in the buffalo round there. The black nation's wealth was in their cattle.
[Pause]
- 136 B I don't think they were very happy with their reservations.
- 137 W They should have put them in a separate homeland, but not a reservation. Like the Indians go like to..say now..California, in that area, and the whites stay in this area.
- 138 B That wouldn't really work.
- 139 W No, it should work [a little uncertainly], But then...
- 140 B Apartheid rule...
- 141 W No, not apartheid. I'm talking about...
- 142 B That would be bloody awful, just chopping up the world, chopping up America like that. That would be very interesting. Well, they probably have it today, because, er, there's no gambling laws in any of the Indian reservations, so they have a "bingo" and everything like that on there. And they can make it profitable too.
- 143 W Ja, but, if they wouldn't clash in.. in those days they separated them they wouldn't clash so much.
- 144 B But now the white man came along and said "You Indians must give this land to us and you stay on that part of the land". 'Cos all that happens there is to probably laugh in his face and take a rifle or bow and arrow and shoot him or something. Nobody would be very happy with that idea. [W agrees]
- 145 K But here it shows where the Apaches lived so they..there was a quite great distance between some of the major tribes. Then as the white man came, they were all pushed together, and er..
- 146 B Big fighting happened.
[T instructs the group to enter the summary stage]
- 147 B Number one. The destruction was probably that it dstroyed their life-style, because they usually followed the buffalo. Now they were getting less and less buffalo, there was less food, less stuff to make their equipment and everything else like that out of. Mm, they'd probably be poor, there might have been starvation epidemics and things like that, probably going to...
- 148 W Ja, and they couldn't travel so far with the buffalo, because meeting other tribes. Clashes could occur.
- 149 K And they had to stick within their territory.
- 150 B Yes they were driven.
- 151 W Ja...The buffalo..I think they would...
- 152 B Less buffalo, less food, less everything. [W agrees]
- 153 K Their main source of food was the buffalo.
- 154 B Ja, and when that died out, they'd most probably also die out.
- 155 W Ja, like they...
- 156 B Right, number two. I'd say they had no claim to the territory. What would you think?
- 157 K No claim whatsoever.
- 158 W Ja, it's just state of the Indians.
- 159 B They probably could have use the land more profitably, but I don't think that..they'd no right to just take it away. Maybe if

they'd bought it or something like that from the chiefs then it would be all right, but not like that.

160 K No, on the other side, it says that they weren't interested in money.

161 B No, 'cos they didn't have any money. Look at that source the Probably just barter, or something like that. [Agreement] Number three. "List three or four similarities..." Well the first one is definitely the wars between the settlers and er, the black people and the settlers and the Indians.

162 W Ja, and the...

163 B That's definitely a possibility.

164 K And another thing, they moved like the blacks moved.

165 B Ja, following the buffalo, or following their cattle to their grazing lands. [W has been trying to get a word in unsuccessfully] But in one aspect the blacks weren't so dependent on their cattle, I don't think.

166 W No, they depended on them for everything.

167 B Yes, it was also definitely raids against the Indians and the black people for atrocities supposed to be committed by the blacks or the Indians.

168 W Ja, and commandos also...[B agrees]

169 K And each one had his own territory to stick to, like the Zulu in Natal and...[Agreement from B]

170 B Yes, there's something there, and they'd never have fights between the blood Indians. But they never used..

171 W Ja, when one group of blacks went from Shaka, when he stole that cattle..kept the spoils...

172 B Mzilikazi, yes.

173 W He went up..he won all the..those other tribes.

174 B Yeah, got all those fragments of them put together.

175 W Yeah..into one big nation.

176 B I wonder if the possibilities... I don't think there is any other, or can you think any? Mm..no.

[End]

Std 7 Assessment test on the American West

Read the questions over carefully and black out the square next to the letter representing the best answer.

1. The Plains Indians consisted of:
 - (a) one large tribe
 - (b) two or three tribes
 - (c) several large tribes with many sub-tribes
 - (d) many large tribes
2. The Plains Indians lived in :
 - (a) a desert region where nothing grew
 - (b) a land abundantly supplied with woods and rivers
 - (c) grasslands
 - (d) rocky mountainous territory
3. These Indians:
 - (a) were peace-loving people
 - (b) were involved in frequent wars with other tribes
 - (c) were peace-loving, but fought to preserve their hunting grounds
 - (d) were cruel, savage people who fought for profit
4. The Plains Indians' dwellings were:
 - (a) primitive by any standard
 - (b) worse than the log cabins of the settlers
 - (c) a practical invention and suited their needs
 - (d) one cause of their downfall
5. It has been said that the Plains Indians were uncivilized, compared with white Americans.
 - (a) This is true because they were hunters, not farmers
 - (b) This is true because they did not know how to plant corn
 - (c) this is not true because they were civilized in their own way
 - (d) this is true because they lived without government.
6. The Indians killed buffalo as follows:
 - (a) They only killed enough for present needs
 - (b) They only killed after the mating season
 - (c) They only killed during the summer
 - (d) They only killed more than they needed when they were preparing for winter scarcity
7. The "dog soldiers" guarded the buffalo herds because:
 - (a) They were worth much money to the Indians
 - (b) They Indians were totally dependent on them
 - (c) The other tribes might try to poach
 - (d) They acted as herdsmen for the buffalo
8. The Indians refused to give up their land on the grounds that:
 - (a) The land was not theirs to give
 - (b) The white men would not pay enough
 - (c) The white men would misuse it
 - (d) They saw the white men as their enemy
9. In the Indian wars, what would it be most fair to say?
 - (a) The Indians proved most savage
 - (b) White soldiers committed several massacres
 - (c) The white man was more interested in plunder
 - (d) Indians and whites were both guilty of barbarism
10. The Plains Indians were finally defeated by:
 - (a) The superior U.S. army
 - (b) The destruction of their hunting grounds
 - (c) The invention of the Winchester repeating rifle
 - (d) Their inability to adapt to western civilization

APPENDIX 6

Transcripts of answers from experimental group candidates to the question on the Plains Indians included as a compulsory question in the standard seven September History examination

11. In the 19th century, a large number of white Americans believed that they had a right to the lands of the Plains Indians on the grounds that they were more CIVILIZED. Examine the FAIRNESS of this point of view, by looking at the situation from both sides. Refer, where you can, to any sources you may have studied and to the life-style of the Plains Indians. (10)

A. The Plains Indians were a simple people with a simple lifestyle. They did not need a complex government to rule them, as all their needs were catered for. They were contented, lived in communication with nature, so they needed nothing more. Their civilization was perfect. Were the white men more civilized? Killing hordes of animals, and leaving them to rot, is hardly civilized. Nor is the indiscriminate slaughter of hundreds, thousands of Indians, men women and children.

On the other hand, the Whites saw the Indians as primitive, having not the technology of the Whites. They did not sow corn, and for some reason the Whites saw this as a sign of laziness. It is true that Indians did kill many Whites, but only after repeated injustices perpetrated by them. The Indians had wild primitive wars, but so did the Whites, and these were even more violent, killing more people.

Just because you are more civilized and advanced, doesn't mean that you have a right to take what is the belongings of another. Rather, you have a responsibility towards him, to make him more civilized. This does not mean - give him what he doesn't need, like drink, drugs, tobacco, White's crimes, and so forth. Rather give him medicine, peace, a sound mind.

The Whites in North America gave the Indians everything that could corrupt them, and very little that was of use.

The Whites, to sum up, were hardly more civilized than the Indians, and still had no right to do what they did. The statement is most unfair (V, I.Q. 131, Group 1.1).

- B. I think that it's not only the civilisation that counts because, in the first place, the Plains Indians had been there long before the White Indians (sic) came. But, on the other hand, the Plains Indians said that the land did not belong to them, and therefore the White Indians could just stay on that land. But then again, there would not be enough buffalo for the White Indians and the Plains Indians. As far as I know, there would be clashes among each other because the scarcity of food would become a problem although there were many buffalo. The Plains Indians used to use the buffalo skins for beds, tents, etc. They also used to use the buffalo for bow strings, etc. Mainly, they used the buffalo for everything. The Plains Indians lived together very happily and when the soldiers started trouble by blaming the Indians, trouble started (C, I.Q. 108, Group 2.1).
- C. The Americans had no right to take away the land on these terms. The Indians grew up in the plains and did not have any education and never came into contact with the modern world. That's why they seemed unsivilized (sic). The Indians also lived off the land and if it was taken away from them they would die-out. The land was so beautifull (sic) and the Americans would destroy it by building buildings and shooting the buffalo for target practis (sic) and sell there (sic) hides to make money.

On the other hand Americans saw the plans (sic) as an exelent (sic) way of making money. There was ampel (sic) water so the plans (sic) were perfect for growing crops and the Buffalo would supply them with hides for export and meat for local use (P, I.Q. 88, Group 3.1).

MEMORANDUM

N.B. This question assesses the candidate's understanding of the concepts of CIVILIZATION and FAIRNESS. The overall mark should reflect this understanding.

Main points that could be raised:

For the white man:

The Indian was a savage being.

The Indian did not know how to build a proper home.

The Indian was lazy.

The Plains were under-utilized.

1. The Plains were the best wheat/corn lands in the world.
2. The buffalo grazed the Plains in a haphazard manner - cattle would be more profitable.
3. Not enough buffalo were being killed to make a profit.

For the Indian:

The Indian was civilized to his own needs.

There was no need to make a profit:

1. All possessions were shared.
2. They only required sufficient for present needs.
3. By nature the Indian was a hunter, not a farmer.
4. The buffalo provided all they required.

Nature was sacred, given by the Great Spirit, and should not be altered.

Civilization

The concept differs according to what one is used to.

Both Indian and white man had their systems of government that worked.

Each had his own lifestyle which suited his environment.

There was a misunderstanding of the one for the other as they compared one another against their own set of norms.

Fairness

In terms of how it all worked out - vast cornlands, huge cattle herds - the white man might say it was fair.

The Indian was virtually wiped out as a race - not fair.

The buffalo was rendered virtually extinct, and the eco-system was upset - not fair.

Fairness is therefore a very subjective concept. (It depends on one's own point of view.) The other person's point of view should also be taken into account at all times.

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, 4 MARKS SHOULD BE AWARDED ON GENERAL IMPRESSION AND REFLECT THE CANDIDATE'S ABILITY TO ARGUE WITH CONVICTION.

THE REMAINING 6 MARKS SHOULD BE AWARDED TO REFLECT THE FACTUAL INFORMATION PRESENTED BY THE CANDIDATE.

(10)

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