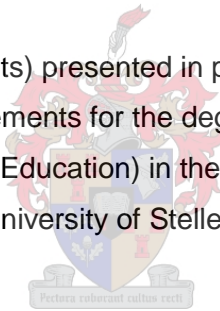


**INVESTIGATING GRADE 3 LEARNERS' PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SKIN
COLOUR IN TWO SCHOOLS IN THE WESTERN CAPE – A CASE STUDY**

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

During my time as an educator in the Western Cape I noticed that learners named a certain light-coloured wax crayon *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour'. This occurrence is troublesome within the context of post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa because it perpetuates colonial and apartheid race hierarchies. This case study was an investigation of learners' and educators' perceptions and attitudes about the naming of skin colour in South African art classrooms. This was done in order to promote more just recognition and representation of races in Foundation Phase educational contexts.

Theoretical perspectives of Critical Race Theory (CRT), social justice, and critical citizenship were used to inform the research. Case study was used as research design. Non-probability sampling and qualitative data collection techniques were used. The sample included two ex-model C schools in the Western Cape. Learners from two classes per school participated in several art classes, discussions, and reflections concerning the naming of skin colour. Educators and an educational psychologist were interviewed. Inductive content analysis was used to understand data that were collected.

It was found that learners named the colour for white skin *menskleur* ('human colour') and that learners showed a preference for light skin colours over darker skin colours. The data also reflected that participants found it difficult to discuss race and to handle diversity in the classroom. There were some participants who felt the name *menskleur* ('human colour') was problematic and they made recommendations.

Implications based on the findings and conclusions include changing the language used to describe skin colour, just recognition and representation of different races in educational resources, and an increase in self-reflection by educators. It is also implied that the lesson plans should reflect the racial distribution across South Africa and that a safe space should be created for learners to discuss race issues. Implications further contain the promotion of critical citizenship and artistic processes in educator training and the creation of clear and practical curriculum guidelines for addressing race issues.

OPSOMMING

Gedurende die tyd wat ek gewerk het as opvoeder in die Wes-Kaap, het ek agter gekom dat leerders 'n seker ligte kleur vetkryt 'menskleur' of 'velkleur' noem. Hierdie gebeurtenis is kommerwekkend in die konteks van postkoloniale, post-apartheid Suid-Afrika, want dit perpetueer koloniale en apartheid rashiërgieë. Hierdie gevallestudie het leerders en opvoeders se waarnemings en houdings teenoor die benoeming van die kleur van die vel ondersoek. Dit was gedoen om meer regverdige herkenning en verteenwoordiging van rasse in die Grondslagfase in opvoedkundige kontekste te bevorder.

Teoretiese perspektiewe van Kritiese Ras Teorie (KRT), sosiale geregtigheid, en kritiese burgerskap is gebruik om die navorsing in kennis te bevorder. Gevallestudie is gebruik as navorsingsontwerp. Nie-waarskynlikheids-toetsing en kwalitatiewe dataversamelingstegnieke is ook gebruik. Die steekproef het twee eks-model C skole in die Wes-Kaap ingesluit. Leerders van twee klasse per skool het deel geneem aan verskeie kunsklasse, besprekings, en refleksies wat verband gehou het met die benoeming van die kleur van die vel. Onderhoude is gevoer met opvoeders en 'n opvoedkundige sielkundige. Induktiewe inhoudsanalise is gebruik om die versamelde data te verstaan.

Dit was bevind dat leerders die kleur wat wit vel verteenwoordig 'menskleur' noem en dat leerders 'n voorkeur vir ligter vel wys. Die data reflekteer ook dat deelnemers dit moeilik gevind het om ras te bespreek en om diversiteit in die klaskamer te hanteer. Daar was deelnemers wat gevoel het dat die naam 'menskleur' problematies is en hulle het voorstelle gemaak hieroor.

Implikasies gebaseer op bevindinge en samevatting sluit die volgende in: verandering van die taal wat gebruik is om die kleur van vel te beskryf, regverdige herkenning en verteenwoordiging van verskillende rasse in opvoedkundige bronne, en 'n toename in self-reflektering deur opvoeders. Verder word dit ook geïmpliseer dat die rasse verdeling oor Suid-Afrika gereflekteer moet word in leerplanne en dat veilige ruimtes vir leerders geskep moet word waar hulle rassekwessies kan bespreek. Verdere implikasies bestaan uit die bevordering van kritiese burgerskap en kunsprosesse in opvoeder-opleiding en die skepping van duidelike en praktiese kurrikulumriglyne om rassekwessies aan te spreek.

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1 ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

During my experience as an educator in the Western Cape, I noticed that many learners depict themselves with white¹ skin in drawings – even if their skin is brown or black. The naming of the crayon they use to do this is often ‘*menskleur*’ (‘human colour’²) or ‘skin colour’³. The recurrence of this led me to reflect on the ways in which learners express their racial identity through art, as well as the possible thoughts they have concerning the naming of a single skin colour in the presence of a variety of skin colours in the classroom and in South Africa.

There may be hidden racism and social injustice present in the naming of skin colour in the classroom. In a post-colonial, post-apartheid context this hidden racism and injustice should be addressed by learners, educators, researchers, and policy makers. Contemporary South African society constitutes a fertile ground for critical studies of race and racism (Stevens, Franchi & Swart 2006). An important aspect to consider when investigating the attitudes and perceptions that learners have of race and skin colour is the context of race and racism in South Africa. I will elaborate on this topic in section 1.2. In addition, the current educational context, where various barriers to addressing race issues are present, should be regarded. This will be dealt with in section 1.3. Finally, an overview of the aim and objectives of the case study as well as the structure of the thesis will be presented.

1.2 RACE AND RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

When discussing the naming of skin colour, it is important to define what is meant by *race* and *racism*. Race can be seen as a system of denomination dealing with the social construction of ourselves as members of a group categorised by the biological traits of heredity – specifically skin colour and physical appearance (Oloyede 2009). Wolpe (1988 cited in Pillay 2009) describes race as a biological notion that defines social groups. “[R]ace, [as a social convention], has nothing to

¹ In this thesis the terms ‘black’, ‘coloured’, and ‘white’ refer to race and skin colour. These terms are acceptable to use in South Africa and are recommended by the style guide of the University of Stellenbosch (Stellenbosch University Language Centre 2014).

² I translated the Afrikaans term *menskleur* as ‘human colour’. If the Afrikaans term was *velkleur* I would have translated it as ‘skin colour’. However, the common term used to describe the colour in question is *menskleur* (‘human colour’). This contrasts the implied worth attached to personhood (to be ‘human colour’ is to be human) with the possible dehumanisation caused by colonial projects (Hook 2003) and apartheid that classified non-‘human colour’ persons as inferior.

³ Similar naming has occurred in the United States of America. In 1962, Binney and Smith changed the name of a certain Crayola colour wax crayon from *flesh* to *peach* (Roth 2009). This change was made for reasons of social justice and racial equity, but also for economic reasons during the time that the civil rights movement in the United States made constitutional gains. The change in naming signifies a “public recognition of race in such an ordinary product as the wax crayon” as well as the recognition of the ideological and racist bias embedded in the concept of the product (Roth 2009:142).

do with the intrinsic, or potential, qualities of the physically differing populations, but much to do with the allocation of power, privilege, and wealth among them” (Smedley 1998:699). Race can therefore be seen as a construction of social group identity based on biological characteristics. Race is the basis on which racism is defined.

Racism involves more than conscious feelings and actions of superiority. According to Anderson and Cromwell (1977), discrimination and stereotypes have been linked to skin colour throughout human history. Racism exists as systems of domination and oppression that continue even when individuals are no longer consciously aware of the harm caused. These systems are internalised – it informs individuals’ actions and reactions even when official structures of separation are removed. The internalised superiority or inferiority of the individual is reflected in the feelings and actions of that individual (Santas 2000). According to Harrison (1999 cited in Erasmus 2009:41), race was once a predominantly biological notion (skin colour), but is now commonly being recoded in terms of culture. This is often the case when individuals feel discomfort using the term ‘race’ directly. Arguments asserting incompatibility between cultures justify racism (Amin 2012). Prejudice towards certain cultures is then also euphemistic for renewed racism. This reintroduces racism in hidden ways that can be difficult to address. Racism can be defined as conscious or unconscious negative feelings and actions initiated against a certain culture or racial group.

The end of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994 did not eliminate the history of racism (Stevens, Franchi & Swart 2006). In a post-colonial, globalised world new layers of structural racism are continuously created (James 2008). Racial beliefs (even when unstated) are shown by the way they are routinely practiced in daily life (Santas 2000). South African society remains deeply racialised, even though racism is illegal (Stevens, Franchi & Swart 2006). Despite the change from apartheid to democracy that marked the end of legal racism, “race trouble⁴” persists in South Africa as racial suspicion, conflict and threat (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:1). Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) propose an analysis of ongoing racial practices that are part of South Africans’ daily and ordinary lives (arranged around ideas of race) in order to achieve social change. This analysis is necessary in order to understand the ways in which racial inequality is perpetuated by our actions and interactions in a country where racism is “illegal, counter-normative and shameful” (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:23). The endurance of racial inequality, despite great efforts made in order to eradicate racism, is problematic (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011). Indeed, racism may still be embedded in the language used to name skin colour.

⁴ ‘Race trouble’ is defined as “a social psychological condition that emerges when the history of racism infiltrates the present to unsettle social order, arouse conflict of perspectives and create situations that are individually and collectively troubling” (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:27).

The way in which language perpetuates racist bias is of interest in this case study. Naming the colour representing white skin *menskleur* or 'human colour' is an example of how racism can be embedded in the language used by society. Racial categories such as black, coloured, Indian, and white, even though they originate from the apartheid policies, remain relevant. This relevance is due partly because they have become part of the language for post-apartheid redress and partly because of the cultural meaning they retain in everyday life in South Africa (Seekings 2008). For these reasons I will use racial categories when discussing skin colour. Even though these racial terms can potentially re-inscribe race, they also offer a means to speak about new possibilities and reflect power relations (Stevens, Franchi & Swart 2006). The language used to name and discuss race and skin colour is important in educational contexts in South Africa. Learners' educational contexts are not only influenced by language, but also by the visual images that accompany language. Both language and visual culture are socially constructed and therefore influenced by dominant norms and ideals.

The representation of skin colour in learners' drawings and paintings could be influenced by dominant visual images and ideals of beauty. Learners draw the human figure often and it continues to be a popular subject into adolescence (Cox 1993 cited in Wang 2014). The visual nature of contemporary society ensures that "our visual experience plays a central role in identity formation" (Ali 2012:284). Learners are exposed to many images in visual culture that inform their conceptions of beauty (Efland 2004 cited in Wang 2014). According to Wang (2014), learners who see themselves as different from the mainstream visual culture images may strive towards the ideal in order to mirror the dominant norms of beauty. This ideal could cause a desire to assimilate to the ideals that are seen as superior. South Africa's colonial and apartheid past caused a "whiteness hegemony" that viewed "whiteness" as the ideal and disadvantaged those who differed (Belluigi 2014:350). These ideals may still affect the ways learners represent themselves and others visually in the art classroom.

1.3 EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Educational settings should foster transformational learning. Knowledge taught in schools is historically and socially rooted and interest bound. This knowledge is never neutral or objective. Instead, it can emphasize and exclude. Socially constructed knowledge is deeply rooted in power relations (McLaren 1995). Freire (1982 cited in Apple, Gandin & Hypolito 2001:129) suggests that it is not possible for educators to remain neutral and therefore it is necessary for them to be constantly aware that all educational policies and practices contain social implications. These educational policies and practices either perpetuate exclusion and injustice or contribute to constructing conditions for social transformation (Apple, Gandin & Hypolito 2001). Belluigi (2014) confirms that educational practices may be underpinned by assumptions and values embedded in

apartheid ideologies and that these need to be disrupted for transformational teaching to occur in South Africa.

Primary school classrooms could provide a space for engaging with race issues in South Africa. At the end of apartheid, the government took a mandate to reverse policies of overt racial inequity in education (Ladd & Fiske 2004). The South African Department of Basic Education (2011) promotes active and critical learning that is sensitive to issues of diversity, inequality and race. Learners are expected to respect the rights of others and to show tolerance for cultural diversity in order to contribute to a democratic society. The curriculum suggests that two-dimensional (2D) artwork be used to enrich the learners' experience of the real world through visual and sensory stimulation, discussion and questioning, and through encouraging the drawing of the physical body (Department of Basic Education 2011). This curriculum approach is particularly emphasised in the Foundation Phase of education (grades R to 3). The curriculum documents envisage a learner who can go beyond the racist policies of the past by being governed by respect for individual worth, fairness and justice (Seroto 2012). While these curriculum outlines seem promising, there are barriers that exist which prevent learners and educators from addressing race in schools.

Despite the possible strategies to address racism in schools, racial representation and racial identity, in my experience, are almost never discussed in the classroom. This could be due to race issues on a national level. In globalised times, it has become increasingly difficult to define and discuss issues of race (Arber 2008). South Africans often prefer not to speak or think about issues of race for fear of causing offense or "social disruption" (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:24). Citizens of post-apartheid South Africa experience the effects of inequality and injustice and for most South Africans, race relates to an ingrained identity (Seekings 2008). Racial identity is significantly delimited and conditioned by social power relations and by historical patterns of privilege (Hook 2003). Questions of race – even though they are not asked – remain part of the narratives and construction of learners' and educators' identities. Failure to act strategically in order to work against inequity could lead to denial and avoidance (Thaver & Thaver 2010) as well as social injustice (Fraser 1996). The problem of race and racism affects every part of society including the classroom.

Deep-rooted trauma of the past and feelings of inadequacy cause educators to either avoid classroom dialogue concerning different racial identities in South Africa, or to perpetuate inferiority or superiority practices in the classroom (Weldon 2010). "Colour-blind" ideologies also prevent educators from realising how race dictates social injustice (Banks 2001:12). Not only are educators wary of addressing issues of race and skin colour, but learners who have been socialized in the post-apartheid context do not necessarily have better intercultural interaction than older South Africans who have been socialised in the apartheid context (Durrheim 2010). There is, therefore, a

discrepancy between the suggested curriculum outlines to address race issues and the practical implementation of these outlines in the classroom.

Despite the positive curriculum outlines and the barriers which prevent implementation of these outlines, some authors provide suggestions for addressing race in the classroom. Learners from different cultural and racial groups should be encouraged to examine their cultural identification and attachments through citizenship education (Banks 2004). As critical citizens, learners should be involved in classroom dialogue in order to address social injustice in their day-to-day lives. Collins and Ogier (2015) suggest a learner-centred approach to teaching citizenship through art education. They argue that there are possibilities for developing social and cultural cohesion through creativity and communication between learners. A critical study by Joubert, Ebersöhn and Eloff (2010) found that the idea of the young learners as citizens is largely unexplored. The study conducted by Joubert, Ebersöhn and Eloff (2010) mentioned that learners' voices are important in the understanding of how educational practices affect their world views. It was also found that Grade 3 learners identified with being a citizen and accepted democratic values such as social justice and pluralism (Joubert [et al.] 2010). Grade 3 learners may therefore be able to express their perspectives of race and skin colour through dialogue and art education. This dialogue could occur within the critical citizenship education framework with the guidelines of the Department of Basic Education (2011) in mind.

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The history of apartheid as well as current "race trouble" (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:27) affects learners and educators. Exclusion and injustice with regards to the representation of racial identities can be found in classrooms in the Western Cape. According to Seekings (2008), there are still too few studies on how race- and culture-identity is understood in the lived experience of South Africans in schools. The aim of this research is to examine the ways in which racial identity is represented in Grade 3 art classrooms in order to promote a critical engagement with race and skin colour in the Foundation Phase educational environment. This aim includes the creation of guidelines for the implementation of critical citizenship education in the art classroom within the curriculum plan of the Department of Basic Education (2011).

With this aim in mind, the research question was formulated as follows: *What are Grade 3 learners' perceptions and attitudes toward skin colour in two schools in the Western Cape?* Two subsequent questions arose from this. These questions are: *How are learners' perceptions and attitudes toward skin colour influenced by their educational context?* and *What are the perceptions and attitudes of educators regarding learners' reactions to skin colour in the classroom?* In order to answer these questions, the following objectives were identified.

- To investigate Grade 3 learners' perceptions and attitudes toward skin colour through artistic processes, class discussion, and critical reflection in the learning area of Life Skills (Creative Arts)
- To examine how the specific context of two ex-model C⁵ schools in the Western Cape influences learners' perceptions and attitudes toward skin colour
- To investigate one educational psychologist and four educators' perceptions and attitudes regarding Grade 3 learners' reactions to race and skin colour in the classroom

The possible benefits of engaging learners with the question of representation of skin colour and race in the art classroom can include the unmasking of problems regarding current expressions of racial identity. Further benefits can include the creation of a safe space for learners to express their feelings and ideas. Additionally, sensitivity for the racial identities of others and the building of a framework for future discussion of racial identity in the post-apartheid art classroom could be achieved. Finally, doing research with learners in a collaborative way could form new ways of visually and verbally expressing racial identity.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The current study aims to contribute to new understandings of how racial identity is represented in Grade 3 art classrooms and how learners and educators engage with race in post-apartheid South African classrooms - specifically with regards to the naming of skin colour. The following structure is used:

Orientation to the study (Chapter 1) serves as an introduction and provides an orientation to the study. The introduction also places the study in the South African context with regards to race and racism. The educational context is presented and the aim and objectives are highlighted. The structure of the thesis is summarised in this chapter.

Theoretical perspectives (Chapter 2) consists of the literature review that forms the theoretical framework for the study. Firstly, Critical Race Theory (CRT) is discussed followed by perspectives on social justice and critical citizenship education. These perspectives are considered within the South African context where historical systems continue to influence education, research, and visual representation.

Research methodology (Chapter 3) discusses the research methodology used. A case study design was used and inductive content analysis was utilised. Participant observations and discussion were carried out with learners during the art process. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with educators and the educational psychologist.

⁵ These schools were exclusively for white learners and educators during the apartheid regime. As a result of this, many of these schools still have facilities and resources of a high standard.

Findings and discussion (Chapter 4) presents the collected data. Data are placed within the themes which emerged from the study. A discussion of the findings of each theme follows the presentation of the data.

Conclusions and implications (Chapter 5) ends the study report with conclusions and a discussion of some implications of the findings for addressing racial representation in the Foundation Phase art classroom. I also include some implications that may be relevant and of value in broader educational fields where race issues can be addressed in a more just manner.

2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The investigation of perceptions and attitudes regarding the naming of skin colour in classrooms and the possible social injustice that could result requires transformative thinking. Transformative ways of thinking involve working against injustice and oppression in education. Educational researchers aim to understand and work towards eliminating injustice and oppression in schools. This injustice and oppression is viewed as a situation or dynamic in which certain identities or ways of being benefit in society while others are marginalised (Kumashiro 2000). A broader view of the dynamics of injustice and oppression is necessary in the practices of teaching and learning as well as the purposes of education (Kumashiro 2000).

This case study aims to examine the ways in which educators and learners represent racial identity and to promote a critical engagement with race and skin colour in the classroom. This involves working against the forms of social injustice and oppression evident in classrooms by discussing race issues in a collaborative manner. In order to contextualise the research within post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa, the concepts of dehumanisation, discourse, and racialisation are explored. Consequently, Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Delgado & Stefanic 2001), Nancy Fraser's (1996) theory of recognition as social justice, and critical citizenship education (as defined by Johnson & Morris 2010) are discussed as the theoretical perspectives informing the research. These perspectives are viewed within the South African context in order to effectively understand the data collected.

2.2 DEHUMANISATION, DISCOURSE AND RACIALISATION

The term 'post-colonial' refers to the historical period following British rule when South Africa gained political independence. In addition to this, it also denotes a particular critical orientation to understanding the relationships between the colonised and the coloniser – including the effects of these relationships (Hook 2003). According to Van Zyl (1998 cited in Hook 2003), these effects can be understood from the lens of one culture dominating another even after formal colonialism has ended. Bertoldi (1998 cited in Hook 2003) notes that apartheid made use of the basic politics and conditions of colonialism. In South Africa, some dynamics of racism and identity formation that were present in apartheid still affect the post-apartheid context (Hook 2003). CRT, social justice, and critical citizenship education allow for an understanding of the South African context with regard to race and education. Three facets to consider in the South African context are dehumanisation, discourse, and racialisation.

Dehumanisation was a key aspect of the colonial programme. Racial alienation is a separation and estrangement of the "black self" from things, people, and from itself because of the perceived inferiority of being black (Hook 2003:113, Fanon 1970). This inability to become content

with an authentic identity because of various forms of racism and cultural dispossession could be described as dehumanisation (Hook 2003). Dehumanisation can result in the attempted moderation of one's race by lessening the degree of one's blackness in order to gain white acceptance. Hook (2003:115) describes this in the following way:

Practices of hair-straightening, skin-lightening, the attempt to earn a White spouse at all costs, and the enthusiastic adoption of the accent and language of the oppressor, all of these are examples of *inauthenticity* for Fanon. They are voluntary kinds of masking, symptoms of what is wrong in the colonised subject's psyche. These are negative bids at identity – processes of negation – that constantly *affirm* the coloniser's culture as the superior term, and dismiss the colonised culture as inferior. Importantly, these are self-objectifying practices in which the Black subjects come to implement a kind of racism *from within*, so to speak, *upon themselves*.

The self-objectification and negative identity formation resulting from the superior-inferior and white-black dichotomy can lead to significant internalised psychological damage (Hook 2003). It could also lead to a desire to assimilate to the dominant/ideal culture (Hook 2003). Dehumanisation and assimilation are significant in the investigation of perceptions and attitudes of racial representation as it could point to possible reasons for black and coloured learners presenting themselves with white skin in their artworks.

Discourse and language are used to make meaning of racialised bodies and to construct social worlds and identities (Ratele & Shefer 2003). Apartheid was a discursive project that defined persons according to race through the language that structured actions and thoughts (Ratele & Shefer 2003). Discourse is a key part of the functioning and reproduction of the ideology of racism (Duncan 2003). Afrikaans was the dominant language used to promote and maintain the apartheid agenda. Certain terms such as *menskleur* ('human colour') could have roots in this discourse of superiority and inferiority. It could also continue the dehumanising process by excluding persons whose skin is different from the so-called 'human colour'. Fanon (1970) emphasises the role that language plays in racial alienation, objectification, and dehumanisation within the colonial agenda (Hook 2003). Racialisation is achieved through the discourse and language used to identify and justify racial categories.

"Racialisation" refers to the process by which meaning is attributed to features of the human body in order to construct difference and thereby justify inequality on the basis of race (Miles 1989 cited in Ratele & Shefer 2003:94). Racial legacy is supported by codification and institutionalisation across all spheres of public culture including visual and literary cultures, human categorisation, and pedagogical traditions (Amin 2012). According to Amin (2012) the durability of racism lies in the racial hierarchy created by human difference. This hierarchy is mapped by historical practices of racialisation and the human compulsion to categorise. During the apartheid

regime the most significant determinant of identity was the race of the body. This led to three main beliefs about race. Firstly, bodies of different races lead to different and opposed identities. Secondly, persons are mono-racial. Thirdly, the distance between two persons of different races is immutable. (Ratele & Shefer 2003). These beliefs could continue in contemporary society even though official racism is no longer part of the governing structure.

According to Ratele and Shefer (2003), a person who was classified as white under the apartheid regime was less likely to want to change their race classification than a person classified as coloured or black. This was due to categories of race being unequal, where being white was officially superior to being 'non-white'. This superiority is constructed, but may still impact the perceptions and attitudes of learners and educators.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Grade 3 learner's perceptions and attitudes towards skin colour in two government schools in the Western Cape will be investigated. This investigation will be informed by the theoretical perspectives of CRT, social justice, and critical citizenship education within the historically influenced context of South Africa. CRT is a useful perspective when investigating the historical impact of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa because these systems were largely based on social constructs of race, interest convergence, and the centrality of narrative. Social justice is concerned with changing unjust social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication such as cultural domination, non-recognition, and disrespect (Fraser 1996). These concerns hold value in terms of the unjust representation of people of colour⁶ in South Africa in the past and in contemporary settings. Critical citizenship education emphasises a critical awareness and empathy of others' situations as well fostering a common set of values which enable learners to live together in a racially and culturally diverse South Africa. CRT, social justice, and critical citizenship education are discussed in the following sections.

2.3 CRITICAL RACE THEORY

According to Delgado and Stefanic (2001), racism is difficult to address due to the ordinary nature of it. Race is socially constructed where racial categories are invented, manipulated, or retired when society finds it convenient. Certain characteristics are then attributed to certain races while ignoring higher-order traits. CRT is a movement where scholars aim to study and transform the relationships between race, racism, and power. This theory was developed from critical legal studies. Ladson-Billings and Tate (2000) introduced CRT into education as they attempted to advance research and theory concerning race in education. CRT study has changed the nature of education research and continues to play a necessary role in interrogating race and racism in education (Lynn & Parker 2006). It aims to examine the persistent racial inequalities in education within qualitative research methods, teaching practice, the experiences of marginalised learners, and the effect of race-conscious education policy (Stovall 2010). In the discussion that follows,

⁶ 'People of colour' is an accepted term in colloquial English in South Africa.

CRT is examined in terms of the social construction of race, interest convergence, and the centrality of narrative.

Socially constructed 'race' includes a complex set of relationships and self-reinforcing processes. CRT rejects the biological perspective of race and focuses on the real, social experiences of learners and educators with regard to their race and the race of others (Stovall 2010). Race is predominantly determined by skin colour because skin colour is a permanent and visible part of appearance (Cross 2010). However, race is considered socially constructed and therefore more than a biological representation (Cross 2010). From interviews conducted by Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011:34) investigating "race trouble", it was evident that participants self-stigmatised through "negative associations with blackness and positive associations with whiteness". Fanon (1970) presents the case of the black man who desires to be white. According to him, this stems from the colonial view of blackness associated with everything that is "wicked, sloppy, malicious, and instinctual" (Fanon 1970:137). The "ugliness" (1970:137) of being black stands in direct contrast to the beauty of being white. According to Fanon, the white man is "sealed in his whiteness" (1970:9) and considers himself superior to the black man, while the black man aims all efforts towards achieving a "white existence" (1970:162). Later, Biko (1978:24) writes about opposing this "superior-inferior white-black stratification". The impact of colonial systems can still be felt in contemporary settings even though official colonialism has ended.

Colonial and social constructions of race may still impact the ways in which race is discussed or avoided in educational settings and in research. Ladson-Billings (2000:266) asserts that the researcher's gender, race, ethnicity, language, class, sexuality, and other forms of difference inform their interaction with knowledge and its production. It is therefore important to consider the socially constructed nature and the implications of my own race as well as the race of the learners and educators involved in this research. CRT is attentive to the convergence of interest involved in the construction of race.

Interest convergence is the implementation of policies for achieving racial equity limited to the extent to which these policies are of advantage to the mainstream society (Stovall 2010). It refers to the ways in which dominant groups retain the power to make decisions regarding race. Often this is done through "colour-blind" (Banks 2001:12) ideologies. The refusal to see race, however, does not eliminate racism and race difference in society. The idea that everyone is the same under the skin and that racism is thus no longer something to be addressed fails to recognize the differences underpinned by race. Race is not an innocent construct, but affects every aspect of society including our friends, our movement, and our identities (Frankenberg 1993). Bonilla-Silva (2006:47) and Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011:75) consider colour-blind racism as a strategy used to dismiss ongoing racial discrimination with arguments such as "stop blaming everything on apartheid" and "let's forget the past and move on". These discourses frame race in a

way that prevents white people from engaging with the racial reality of South Africa and with the ways in which colour-blind beliefs defend their privilege. Educators may use colour-blind ideologies not to defend their privilege and to cope with the difficulty of addressing race issues in the classroom.

Educators in a study in Chicago made use of colour-blind ideologies to support their understandings of race in education (Stoll 2014). Colour-blind logic follows that if the intent of an action is not racial then neither are the consequences. This means that actions which are not explicitly intended to privilege certain races are always neutral. According to Ladd and Fiske (2004), colour-blindness is promoted as equal treatment in education, meaning that no one should be treated differently because of their racial identity. The equity standard for education in South Africa also aims for race to play no explicit role in the organisation or implementation of the education system (Ladd & Fiske 2004). While colour-blind ideologies may stem from good intentions, it also supports the interests of dominant groups and allows these groups to determine how race is approached. Dominant groups include white educators and role players in the education system.

Banks (2001:11) states that American education students tend to view themselves as “non-cultural and non-ethnic beings who are colour-blind and race-less”. This leads them to view culture and race as something possessed by outsiders. The students asked questions like, “Why do we have to focus on race and other kinds of differences? Why can’t we all be just Americans?” (Banks 2001:11). Banks (2001) argues that statements such as these reveal the privileged position that proclaims that the individual’s culture is American whereas other cultures are non-American. It also follows that claims of colour-blindness refuse to legitimise racial identifications that may be very important to people of colour (Banks 2001). Colour-blind ideologies are often used to justify inaction and to perpetuate the status quo (Banks 2001). Banks (2001) further argues that the inability to notice ways in which institutionalized racism privileges some groups while it disadvantages others will hinder educators in taking action to eliminate racial discrimination in schools. Stoll (2014) calls for anti-racist educators who question to what degree social justice is achieved within the colour-blind classroom. As a CRT researcher, I need to be explicit in naming the nature of racism in society. I need to expose, interrupt, and deconstruct ‘colour-blind’ or ‘race-neutral’ exclusionary ways of viewing education. This includes a need for understanding the voices of all learners as valid and essential when confronting unfair practices and stereotypes in the educational environment.

The centrality of narrative values the experiences, understandings, and histories concerning race in the everyday lives of learners and educators (Stovall 2010). As a white female researcher I need to understand the ways in which identity affects my narrative, knowledge, and research in this case study within the field of art and education. According to Frankenberg (1993),

white people have a tendency to see themselves (ourselves) as non-racial or racially neutral. She therefore discusses the concept of 'whiteness' within the following three domains: 'whiteness' provides structural advantage and race privilege; 'whiteness' is the place from which we view ourselves, others, and society; and 'whiteness' incorporates a set of cultural practices often unnamed. 'Whiteness' is comprehended only by referring to those who are excluded from this category. It is the unspecified norm that is simultaneously ignored and universalised (Frankenberg 1993).

Arber (2008) further confirms the theme of the universal and normal nature of 'whiteness' within Western narratives. This creates two possible silences. The first silence results from the invisible nature of the white authors of dominant texts. The second silence is due to the white authors speaking for those they define as other (Arber 2008). According to Arber (2008), this allows others to be known in a certain way within educational policies and programmes. If this is the case, care should be taken to ensure that the narratives of racial groups are justly represented in education practice. Baszile (2010) suggests two important aspects of contemporary education. The first is diverse representation in the curriculum and accurate representations of the histories and perspectives of minority or previously oppressed groups. The second is the facilitation of an understanding of diverse racial and cultural worldviews among educators. The centrality of the narrative links to just representation of diverse racial identities. This representation is supported by the concept of recognition as social justice (Fraser 1996).

2.4 SOCIAL JUSTICE

CRT emphasises a commitment to social justice. According to Ayers (2010), social justice is not only about just distribution of wealth and power, but also about recognising each person as fully human while disrupting the structures of non-recognition, disrespect, or marginalisation. Social justice includes goals of equity, awareness, and social literacy. Fraser (2009:6) proposes a three-dimensional account of justice including "redistribution, recognition, and representation". Social justice requires redistribution of resources, recognition of identities (Fraser 1996), and political representation (Fraser 2009). For the purpose of this research I will focus on the justice of recognition. This encompasses revaluing unjustly devalued identities in society.

The theory of recognition as social justice aims to change unjust social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication of identities. Examples of such unjust patterns include cultural domination, non-recognition, and disrespect. Cultural domination is evident where learners are subjected to interpretation and communication that are different or hostile to their own cultural interpretation. Additionally, non-recognition includes situations where learners are made invisible by the ways in which representations, communication, and interpretations takes place within cultures (Fraser 1996). Finally, disrespect is involved where learners are repeatedly viewed

in a stereotypic light and represented in stereotypical ways by the public or in everyday interactions (Fraser 1996).

Achieving social justice could involve recognising and positively affirming racial diversity. It could also incorporate transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication in ways that would change the way people view identity (Fraser 1996). Race is embedded in all parts of life. Critical engagement with the structures that perpetuate negative racial attitudes is necessary. Recognition as social justice seeks to celebrate differences and to allow all learners equal freedom to express their cultural and racial identities.

2.5 CRITICAL CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship education in the past embraced an assimilationist ideology where a 'good citizen' would conform to the dominant cultural and political norms (Banks 2001). One consequence of this was that learners from diverse backgrounds became alienated and marginalised (Banks 2001). Contemporary citizenship education, however, emphasises diversity. Weinstein (2004) states that education is required for building citizenship. In a changing, globalised community it is important that citizenship education fosters a critical approach in learners. Critical citizenship education promotes a common set of shared values (tolerance, human rights, democracy, social justice, and social reconstruction) which prepare learners to live together in diverse societies (Johnson & Morris 2010). According to Nussbaum (2002), citizenship education is the cultivation of humanity towards the purpose of producing citizens who think for themselves, argue with tradition, and have sympathy for the lives of others different to their own.

A critical citizenship view of education seeks to spark within learners a growing sense of autonomy and responsibility towards changing inequities and injustice. According to Cross (2010), the educational curriculum can analyse how racism is maintaining inequities and injustice as well as interrogate and oppose social norms that perpetuate racism in both invisible and explicit ways in the classroom. Through opportunities in adopting the perspective of another, learners' ability to empathise with those different from themselves should increase (Weinstein 2004). By interacting with artistic work, learners gain access into the minds of others and may experience seeing through the eyes of someone else (Weinstein 2004). This is an important skill for learners to gain when becoming critical citizens of South Africa.

Art education can increase learners' tendency to think about their role towards others around them and in the greater community. In the art classroom, educators can facilitate this process towards a better understanding of the responsibilities involved in citizenship and social justice. Classroom dialogue can be used to investigate how we live together and how we might live together better in the future (O'Connor 2010). Dialogue that deconstructs the negative realities of race in schools is necessary to create and support models effective in providing learners with

education that reflects their self-worth and significance in society (Stovall 2010). It is with this notion of critical citizenship education that I aim to investigate learners' perceptions and attitudes about race.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to investigate Grade 3 learner's perceptions and attitudes towards skin colour and to examine the extent to which critical and just representations of cultural and racial identity can be achieved in the art classroom, an interpretive approach was followed. This approach was complemented by a case study as research design, and qualitative data collection methods. The case study involved learners and educators as participants and therefore ethical conduct was vital. Data gathered were analysed interpretively while aiming to achieve validity and trustworthiness.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

In order to address racial identity representation in the classroom, an interpretive paradigm, a relativist ontology, and transactional epistemology is useful. An interpretive paradigm views human interaction as meaningful. The investigation and understanding of this interaction from the participant's point of view is a powerful central concept of the purpose of qualitative inquiry. This understanding is by nature an interpretation of a certain reality (Schwandt 2000). Qualitative research aims to understand participants' experiences from their own frame of reference (Holosko 2006 cited in Seroto 2012). Relativist ontology assumes that reality – as we know it – is constructed on a social and experiential basis through developing meanings and understandings. Contained in this view of reality is transactional epistemology. A transactional theory of knowledge emphasizes the influence and interaction between the investigator and the object (Allsup 2003). The knowledge I possess as researcher and the knowledge of research participants will allow new knowledge to be created collaboratively. This new knowledge will inform the research towards understanding the expression of racial identities in schools and towards attempting to address the misrecognition of racial identities in schools. According to Banks (2001), learners' participation in knowledge construction may allow them to challenge the mainstream narratives and construct transformative ways of thinking about their world experience. This construction process can allow learners to clarify cultural, national, and global identities and to become active citizens in democratic societies (Banks 2001). The research approach therefore emphasised the importance of participant interaction and experience within a particular case study.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research involves a dynamic, reflexive engagement with social and cultural worlds (Seale 2012). For this research a case study research design was used. It is important to note that case studies provide 'thick descriptions' (Denzin & Lincoln 2000) of a situation and that each case study contains particular issues, contexts and interpretations. A researcher of cases will pass along to readers some personal meanings of events as well as fail to pass along other meanings. Different readers will then interpret these meanings in different ways (Stake 2000). Class, race, gender, and

ethnicity shape the process of inquiry, making research a multicultural process (Denzin & Lincoln 2000). Research is therefore affected by the researcher, the participants, and the context in which the research occurs. According to Berg (2004 cited in Rutterford 2012), a case study is a method that involves gathering information systematically. The purpose of this information is to effectively understand how a particular person, social setting, event, or group operates or functions.

A case study is further defined by interest in individual cases and the recognition that certain features are within the system (within the boundaries of the case), while other features are outside (Stake 2000). The parameters of this research included two dual-medium⁷, co-ed, ex-model C schools in the Western Cape. Within these schools four Grade 3 classes were chosen to participate in the study – one English class and one Afrikaans class per school. Additionally, the educators of the respective classes as well as the educational psychologist, who worked at both schools, participated. More detail regarding the sampling used for this research will be discussed in the next section.

3.4 SAMPLING

The research methodology involved a non-probability sampled case study providing empirical data. Non-probability or purposive sampling (Mouton 2001) provided a sample of Grade 3 learners from one English class and one Afrikaans class of each school as well as the class educators of each of these classes. Schools were selected according to my past and current relationship with the schools. The relationships built with the participants helped to facilitate a comfortable and safe learning environment in the art classroom. During data analysis, codes were given to participants according to the school they were affiliated with (1 or 2), their language of teaching and learning (Afrikaans [A] or English [E]), and their role (namely educator [Ed], learner [L], educational psychologist [P], or researcher [R]). The researcher and the educational psychologist were involved with both schools. Participants were also coded according to race in the initial breakdown of the sample (black [B], coloured [C], or white [W]⁸). Table 3.1 below explains the sample of participants.

⁷ Afrikaans and English were the languages of teaching and learning.

⁸ There were no Indian or Asian learners in the sample and therefore the race categories 'Indian' and 'Asian' are not included in the breakdown of the sample.

TABLE 3.1 BREAKDOWN OF SELECTED SAMPLE OF PARTICIPANTS ACCORDING TO SCHOOL (1 OR 2), LANGUAGE (A OR E), ROLE (ED, L, P OR R), AND RACE (B, C OR W).

School	1	2	Total
Afrikaans class	24 learners B: 0 C: 0 W: 24	32 learners B: 0 C: 23 W: 9	56
Afrikaans Educator	1-A-Ed: W	2-A-Ed: W	2
English class	25 learners B: 2 C: 3 W: 20	24 learners B: 6 C: 15 W: 3	49
English Educator	1-E-Ed: W	2-E-Ed: W	2
Educational Psychologist⁹	P: W	P: W	1
Researcher	R: W	R: W	1
Total participants (learners)	49	56	105
Total participants (adults)			6

The selected sample contained 56 Afrikaans learners and 49 English learners. Of the Afrikaans learners, 59% were white and 41% were coloured. Of the English learners, 47% were white, 37% were coloured, and 16% were black. In School 1, 90% of the learners were white, 6% were coloured and 4% were black. In School 2, 68% of learners were coloured, 21% were white, and 11% were black. All adult participants in the study were white.

⁹ The educational psychologist worked at both School 1 and School 2.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION & CAPTURING

Qualitative methods were used to collect empirical data. Data were mainly collected from three art lessons with each class (45 min – 1 hour each) through observation, analysis of art products and processes, class discussions, and verbal and written reflections. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the educators and educational psychologists (45 min – 1 hour each). The time of data collection started in the middle of the second school term and was completed by the end of that term (8 – 24 June 2015). The following sections will elaborate in more detail on the specific methods used.

The art lessons within the case study were designed to provide opportunities to engage with issues of colour, race, and identity through artistic practice, class discussions, and reflection. The first art lesson involved the naming of the colours of crayons individually as well as an orientation to the skills required for the second lesson. During the first lesson, learners mixed the colours of autumn leaves. The second lesson required learners to mix their own skin colour and write down their reflections prompted by three questions: *Why do you think people call this crayon's colour 'human colour'? Do you think there is a problem with this? Why or why not?* and *What ideas can you think of about what we should do about this?* Learners participated in a class discussion. The third lesson served as a reflective space where ideas from the previous lesson were presented to learners for discussion and critique. Learners also collaboratively created posters to reflect on the question *Who are we?* Details of these lessons can be viewed in Addendum A.

With a child-centred approach in mind, data collection included art-skills training (identifying and mixing colours), drawings (of self and others), written and spoken reflections, and classroom interactions. The age of the learners was considered in terms of this data collection technique (more detail is provided when ethical considerations are discussed in section 3.6).

Drawing of the human figure is required within the Visual Arts curriculum (Department of Basic Education 2011). Drawing is generally considered by learners to be a 'non-specialised' skill. A learner's drawing, unlike spelling, handwriting, or mathematics, is less vulnerable to critique by others. Drawing falls outside the 'success and failure' or 'right and wrong' framework (Christensen & James 2000). It can therefore be a safe space for communication. Drawings and paintings sensitively used *with* learners in research have potential for helping them to tell their stories as well as uncovering the unrecognised, unacknowledged, or unsayable experiences that they hold. These stories focus on broader political and social issues affecting learners' lives as well as the more personal, private, and emotional ones (Leitch 2008). Art created by learners can lead to rich individual and collective narratives that enhance differing approaches to research (Leitch 2008).

Wang (2014) emphasises the importance of learners' art in combination with their explanations and narrations in doing research with learners. This method of combining the art process with dialogue can reveal learners' perspectives. An approach that fosters change involves creating safe opportunities for learners to experience other forms of seeing, thinking, being, and relating to each other (Andreotti 2006). Learners can then explore, enquire, and articulate their ideas in a safe and supporting environment. According to Alexander (2008 cited in Collins & Ogier 2015), dialogues between learners and adults during the art process foster respectful collaboration and the development of understanding differences between people. The dialogues learners have in classrooms (and outside the classroom) can contribute to experiences that impact their personal and social identities. This calls for classroom situations focussed on how different learners respond in terms of their developing identities (Stables 2003) which relate to the way they present themselves visually, and the way they speak about their race and the race of others. Learner discussions in this case study revolved around the art experience in the classroom. These discussions were focussed on learners' perceptions and attitudes of skin colour. Interactions with learners took place during school time and formed part of their Life Skills (Creative Arts – Visual Arts) curriculum.

As mentioned earlier, semi-structured interviews were conducted with educators and the educational psychologist. According to Byrne (2012), qualitative semi-structured interviewing is useful for trying to understand individuals' attitudes and values. The flexibility of questions allows the participant to share experiences and opinions in a more organic way than formal and structured interviews. This flexibility is particularly important when researching sensitive topics such as racism (Byrne 2012). Interviews with participants in this study were conducted at the participants' convenience and in their language of preference. Semi-structured interview questions used in this case study can be found in Addendum B.

Data were captured by audio recordings of learners' communication during lessons and interviews with educators. Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim for analysis. Written responses and reflections were gathered from learners and field notes were taken before and after each interaction with participants. Visual representations were gathered from learners including individual portraits and group posters. All data were stored safely in order to ensure confidentiality and only the participants, researcher, and promotor had access to the data.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical accountability was achieved by following the Stellenbosch University guidelines for responsible research, gaining permission and consent, and applying the suggestions of the South African Council for Educators. The position of children or learners in the research process, safe space, and participants' preferred language were also considered.

Stellenbosch University is committed to applying the values of equity, participation, transparency, service, tolerance and mutual respect, dedication, scholarship, responsibility, and academic freedom in research (Stellenbosch University 2013). The Policy for Responsible Research Conduct at Stellenbosch University suggests that research involving human participants should be relevant, possess sound methodology, and should inform participants of the purpose and use of the research. Additionally, research should involve consent from participants and protect participants' rights to privacy and confidentiality. It is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that research in communities is co-ordinated effectively so that it does not place an unwarranted burden on participants or others in the community (Stellenbosch University 2013).

As mentioned above, when doing research with learners and educators, confidentiality and informed consent is of utmost importance. Permission for this study was gained from the Western Cape Department of Education as well as from the principals of the two schools involved. Consent forms based on Stellenbosch University guidelines were provided to all participants, including learners, parents, educators, and the educational psychologist. These forms are unambiguous and emphasise that participants may withdraw from the study at any time if they so wish. Both the Stellenbosch University guidelines for responsible research and the conduct promoted by the South African Council for Educators were considered.

The South African Council for Educators (2015) proposes certain conduct for professionals working in the educational context. Educators should acknowledge, uphold, and promote basic human rights as embodied in the Constitution of South Africa. Educational practitioners are expected to respect the dignity and rights of learners, to acknowledge the specific needs of each learner, and to enable learners to develop a set of values consistent with the Constitution of South Africa. Furthermore, educators should exercise authority with compassion, avoid any forms of humiliation of learners, avoid improper physical contact with learners, and promote gender equality. Educators should refrain from any sexual harassment of learners, should use appropriate language, and take reasonable steps to ensure the safety of learners. Lastly, educators should not abuse their position and should not be negligent or indolent. Educators should recognise learners as partners in education (South African Council for Educators 2015).

Research involving young learners assumes that learners are competent and knowledgeable respondents. Researchers working with learners should be acutely aware of the power relationships between adults and children and the potential abuse thereof. As an educator and researcher working with learners, I understand that I need to act *in loco parentis* (as a responsible adult in the place of the child's parents, acting in line with the best interest of the child). Mayall (2000) emphasises the subordinate and marginal positions of children compared to adults and the importance of considering this imbalance during the planning and implementation of the research process. A learner-focussed approach is recommended by Roberts (2000), where

listening to learners is an important way of including them in the research process. The research process should be fun where possible and should not cause any harm.

According to Loxton (2009), settings that are familiar to children where a non-intimidating atmosphere is created should be chosen for informal interviews and research. In the case that the research process could have created any emotional discomfort for learners, the school psychologist working at both School 1 and School 2 was available to see learners. For this research, the learners' own classrooms were used and questions were asked and answered in the preferred language of the learner. Interviews were also conducted in the preferred language of the educator. The research was approved by the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) at Stellenbosch University.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS AND VALIDITY

Making sense of findings from qualitative research is both artistic and political (Denzin & Lincoln 2000). Data were analysed using inductive content analysis of the transcribed interviews and communications, written responses and reflections, field notes, and visual products. The data were taken raw, processed, and analysed. Data were interpreted through inductive content analysis. Inductive reasoning moves from particular details toward more general theories. Inductive content analysis involves investigating all data in detail. During this analysis it was important to be aware of the possibility of silencing certain opinions of participants due to the researcher's bias (Ali & Kelly 2012). Following this investigation the data were grouped according to similarities. Attention was given to how ideas were repeated in different ways as well as the nuances that surfaced within the data. Data groups were then combined in order to form a few overarching themes in terms of the research questions.

Research should be valid, reliable, and ethically accountable. In order to improve validity and reliability, a sample study was conducted with a Grade 3 class in another city in the Western Cape. This aided in determining the time required for learners to complete tasks and testing whether learners understood instructions. A sample interview was also conducted after which the interview structure was adapted for maximum clarity and coherence. Record was kept of all fieldwork and research processes including extensive fieldwork notes, access dates, and main decisions and events. Furthermore, information of the researcher and promotor, a record of all participants, factors that influenced fieldwork negatively, as well as refusal rates and response rates were collected and filed as suggested by Mouton (2001).

A "member check" (Janesick 2000:393) was done after the data were collected, in order for participants to respond to the data. Participants were encouraged to communicate whether or not their opinions and views were clearly and accurately represented in the research. The member check was done with all participants. The main themes and ideas collected from learners'

responses were presented to learners for discussion and critique. The transcriptions of the interviews were e-mailed to the educators and educational psychologist for approval. In this way transparency of methods and trustworthiness of the data collected were achieved.

4 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Data are presented in the following categories: *The naming of skin colour*, and *Perceptions and attitudes*. Learners and educators responded differently to the naming of skin colour. Observed perceptions and attitudes included preference for light skin colour, difficulty talking about race, and notions of difference. Responses to the question of whether the name *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour' is a problem or not, are also presented. Lastly, the data concerning the recommendations made by learners and educators are introduced. All data that were in Afrikaans were translated in the text. Original quotes were placed as footnotes. A discussion follows the presentation of the data.

4.2 THE NAMING OF SKIN COLOUR

Skin colour is permanent and visible and is therefore a foremost marker of race (Cross 2010). Race is considered to be a social construct and the language used to talk about race is of interest in this case study. According to Seekings (2008), race relates to an ingrained identity. Narratives and constructions of racial identities occur in many ways and are inescapably personal in nature. During the research process, learners were asked to name the colours of retractable wax crayons and to use paint to mix their own skin colour. Learners found the mixing process challenging. The language they used to describe the process is relevant to this study, because it reveals their perceptions and attitudes toward skin colour. Below follows a presentation of the ways in which learners and educators responded to the naming of skin colour in the classroom.

4.2.1 Learners' responses to the naming of skin colour

Before any discussion had taken place concerning the naming of skin colour, learners were asked to write the names down of the colours of retractable wax crayons on a picture. This picture contained an accurate representation of these colours. The retractable wax crayons that were used are branded as *Mon-Ami* and are widely available in stationary stores in South Africa. These retractable wax crayons are prescribed for most Foundation Phase learners and form part of their compulsory stationary requirements in the Western Cape. The retractable wax crayons are therefore familiar to learners and educators. The sixth crayon from the bottom is the colour that is of specific interest in this case study. The picture given to learners can be seen in Figure 4.1.

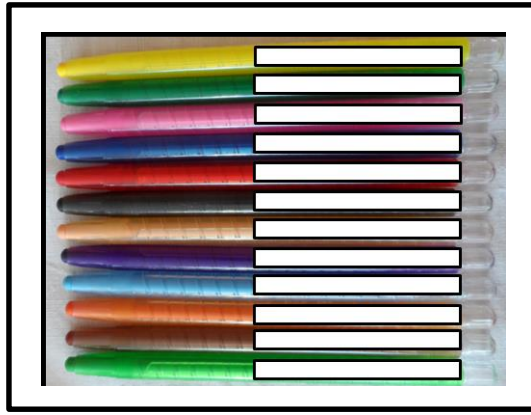


FIGURE 4.1 SHEET FOR NAMING THE COLOURS OF RETRACTABLE WAX CRAYONS

Learners were asked to write the name of each crayon's colour in order to determine how they name the specific crayon used to colour white skin. There was a significant difference in the naming of the colour between the English classes and the Afrikaans classes. While 82% of learners in the English classes named the colour 'peach', 91% of learners in the Afrikaans classes called it *menskleur* ('human colour'). Therefore, even though approximately 18% of English learners named the colour 'skin colour', the majority of the Afrikaans learners used naming such as *menskleur* ('human colour').

The naming of skin colour also occurred during the process where learners mixed their own skin colour. The language used during the mixing of paint to create learners' skin colour was comprised of certain names for the colours of skin including 'human colour' or 'skin colour' (most often), 'peach' (often), 'pink', and 'brown'. Learners also described skin colours by referring to 'my colour' and 'your colour'. The ways in which the colour of skin was named can be seen in the following comments, "*Make skin colour*" (1EL3), "*Yoh, he's got 'human colour'*"¹⁰ (2AL3), "*My skin colour is peach*" (1EL13), "*How do the people get brown?*"¹¹ (2AL8), and "*Teacher, it is a light pinky colour – 'human colour'*"¹² (2AL14). Learners felt that their skin colour belonged to them and that it formed part of their identities. This is reflected in comments made by learners 1EL1, 1EL19, 2EL12, 2EL2, 2EL15, 2EL7 and 2EL3 respectively: "*I guessed my colour*", "*I can't get my colour*", "*Now it's going to be pretty hard to make my colour, I'm peach*", "*That's not looking like your colour skin at all*", "*I'm not going to use that because my skin isn't that colour, it's too light*", "*That is my peach*", and "*Miss, this colour is my colour*".

When asked why people call the retractable wax crayon 'human colour' or 'skin colour', learners mentioned, "*It is almost like 'human colour'*"¹³ (2AL2), "*It looks like 'human colour'*"¹⁴ (2AL3) and "*It looks just like skin colour*" (1EL8). They wrote, "*White people are born that way*"

¹⁰ *Yoh, hy het menskleur*

¹¹ *Hoe kry die mense bruin?*

¹² *Juffrou, dit is 'n ligte pienkerige kleur – menskleur*

¹³ *Dit is amper soos menskleur*

¹⁴ *Dit lyk soos menskleur*

(2EL2), “A white man is that colour” (2EL3), “It is white people’s colour”¹⁵ (2AL20), and “It is the closest to a white person’s skin”¹⁶ (2AL13). Common answers also included, “There are more white people” (2EL12), “Most people do have the same colour [as the crayon]” (2EL12), “Most people are ‘human colour’”¹⁷ (1AL4), “Most people are white”¹⁸ (1AL15), “Some people in our country are ‘human colour’”¹⁹ (2AL12), “It is everyone’s colour”²⁰ (2AL21), “There are more white people than brown people”²¹ (1AL7) and “Lots of people have the same, but some have brown” (1EL17). Some learners felt, “Because some people are white it is fine to call it ‘skin colour’” (2EL8), “It is the closest product they can get [to ‘skin colour’]” (1EL14) and “Everyone calls it that”²² (2AL22). When asked whether all people are the colour of the crayon, most learners said no, but some learners responded by saying, “But some people are that colour, teacher”²³ (2AL23) (2AL16). The reasons provided by learners for the naming of the colour could be summarised as follows: It is named ‘human colour’ or ‘skin colour’ because it is the colour of white people who are (according to the learners in both schools) in the majority.

4.2.2 Educators’ responses to the naming of skin colour

All four educators (2AEEd, 2EEEd, 1AEEd, and 1EEEd) noticed that learners named the colour for white skin ‘human colour’ or ‘skin colour’. Most of the educators felt that the naming of a certain colour as ‘human colour’ or ‘skin colour’ starts at an early age when learners enter a semi-structured schooling environment such as preschool.

R: [W]hat do the learners in your class call this colour?

1EEEd: [3 second pause] ‘Human colour’ [...] I have [...] I haven’t noticed it for a while ... I think they use [the name] more when they are younger...it comes from a young age with them [...] from preschool. I don’t know where - whether their parents teach it to them or what, but obviously for a white child it is ‘skinny colour’²⁴, but for a brown child it isn’t. So, you know, I talk about ‘peach’ [...] not everyone calls it ‘skinny colour’ but you have some that ... I would say a very big majority use that term because it’s the term they learn in preschool.

Educator 1AEEd felt that learners changed the ways in which they name the colour by speaking about it less and no longer associating it with ‘human colour’ or ‘skin colour’.

1AEEd: ... [I] have noticed that they call it ‘human colour’; I know that they call that ‘human colour’... [I] can’t remember how I handled it [...] I think it is becoming less and less [...] ten years ago

¹⁵ Dit is witmense se kleur

¹⁶ Dit is die naaste aan ’n witmens se vel

¹⁷ Meeste mense is menskleur

¹⁸ Meeste mense is wit

¹⁹ Party mense in ons land is menskleur

²⁰ Dit is almal se kleur

²¹ Daar is meer witmense as bruinmense

²² Almal noem dit so

²³ Maar sommige mense is daai kleur, Juffrou

²⁴ ‘Skinny colour’ is a variation of ‘skin colour’

it was a much bigger thing [...] Then they spoke about the - it a lot more. Now they don't really talk about, you know - about it so much, they just use the colour quickly - they may bring the crayon to me and say "Teacher, I don't have this colour" [...] they don't associate it with 'human colour' any more²⁵.

Regarding the naming of skin colour in the Grade 3 classroom, educator 2EEd observed, *"The learners call it 'skin colour' [...] luckily our little ones don't just say, 'You're white and you're' - it doesn't bother them. It's more with the bigger kids that the nastiness comes through"*. This comment recognises that there are underlying race issues and "nastiness", but supposes that Grade 3 learners are still too young to be concerned with race and skin colour differences. According to educator 2AEd, the difference in skin colour between people and the variety of 'human colours' is discussed in the classroom.

The general opinions of educators included that learners name the colour for white skin 'human colour' or 'skin colour' because it was presented to them from a young age. Additionally, educators believed that learners no longer associate that colour with 'human colour', and that learners are not concerned with the naming of different races and skin colours. Educators also felt that differences in skin colour are discussed in the classroom. Learners' responses, however, showed that they associate 'human colour' or 'skin colour' with white skin. Later discussions revealed that for some learners this was problematic.

4.3 PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

When investigating Grade 3 learners' perceptions and attitudes toward the naming of skin colour it is important to consider the influence that educators have on the implicit and explicit dealings with race in the classroom. For these reasons, contributions by educators are also included in the data. The perceptions and attitudes that were reflected in the data are grouped according to four themes, namely, preference for lighter skin, difficulty talking about race, difference, and the names *menskleur* ('human colour') and 'skin colour'

4.3.1 Preference for light skin colour

During the mixing process, most learners found it challenging to mix the colour of their skin. They asked for help by saying things like, *"How do you even make 'human colour'?"*²⁶ (2AL3), *"How am I supposed to make dark brown?"* (2EL22), *"How do you make brown again?"*²⁷ (2AL16), and *"How are we going to make this colour?"* (2EL13). Learners felt that they could not mix the colour of their

²⁵ ... [E]k het opgelet dat hulle dit menskleur noem, ek weet hulle noem dit menskleur... [E]k kan nie onthou hoe ek dit hanteer het nie [...] Ek dink dit word al hoe minder [...] tien jaar terug was dit 'n baie groter ding [...] Toe het hulle baie meer gepraat van die – dit. Nou praat hulle nie eintlik oor, jy weet – so baie oor dit nie, hulle gebruik net vinnig die kleur – hulle mag dalk die kryt na my toe bring en sê "Juffrou, ek het nie die kleur nie [...] hulle assosieer dit nie meer met menskleur nie

²⁶ Hoe maak jy ooit menskleur?

²⁷ Hoe maak jy nou weer bruin?

skin. Learners 1AL17 and 2AL3 said, “Teacher, I’m not getting it right”²⁸ and “Teacher, I don’t know how you make ‘human colour’”²⁹. Some learners seemed to give up. Learner 1EL4 mentioned that he didn’t know how to make the colour of his skin. Learner 2EL14 said, “This is so hard”, while learner 2EL16 declared, “I can’t do this!” Many learners created a colour that was lighter or different to their actual skin colour. Some learners, however, managed to succeed in mixing their own skin colour. “I got it!” exclaimed learner 1EL13. “Yes! Brown!” added learner 1EL15. Learners 2AL11 and 2EL22 said, “Aha! I’ve got ‘human colour!’”³⁰ and “Got it, got it, got it, Miss, I got it!” When learners discussed the mixing of the colour of their skin during the second art lesson, certain trends surfaced which seemed to favour lighter skin above darker skin. This could be seen in the mixing of skin colours, dialogue during the mixing process, and self-portraits created by learners.

Many learners found it difficult to mix the colour of their skin even though they seemed able to mix the colours of the autumn leaves with relative ease. Figure 4.2 (A and B) shows the colours of autumn leaves above and the colours of skin below. The skin colours are noticeably lighter than the leaf colours, even though the actual colours of the learners’ skin were darker than the colours they mixed.

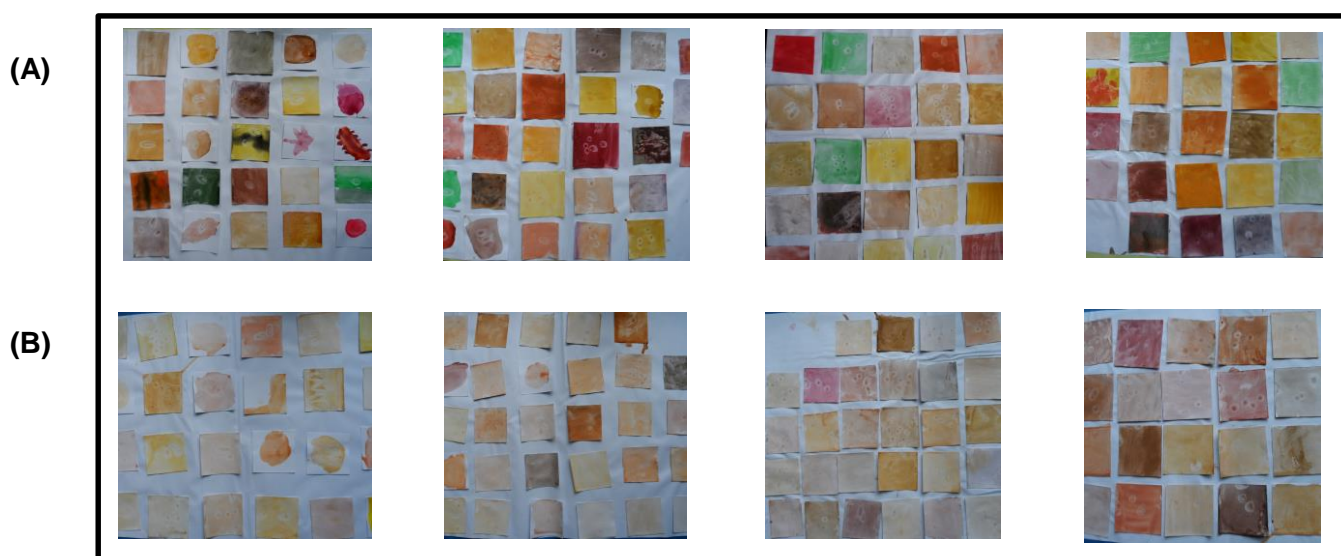


FIGURE 4.2 PAINTED COLOURS OF AUTUMN LEAVES ABOVE (A) AND PAINTED SKIN COLOURS BELOW (B)

During the art process, learners’ comments were recorded and transcribed. The following comments suggest negative associations with darker colours for skin: “No, no black, no black, no black... we mustn’t have too dark” (1EL2), “That’s not your colour – that looks too dark” (2EL23), and “It’s too much black” (2EL25). The extracts below also imply that lighter skin is favourable.

²⁸ Juffrou, ek kry dit reg nie

²⁹ Juffrou, ek weet nie hoe om menskleur te maak nie

³⁰ Aha! Ek het menskleur!

Extract 1

2EL5: I made peach.

2EL1: That don't look like you.

2EL5: It's too light.

2EL1: That look like [2EL21].

2EL5: My peach is too light. Let's work together.

2EL1: Now I messed my whole thing up, I put some black in.

Extract 2³¹

2AL16: Yes, you're not human colour you're brown!

2AL14: Now how does a person get my brown?

2AL16: Easy!

2AL14: How does a person get my colour?

2AL16: Mine is the same colour as yours...

2AL14: That's human colour there ... This is my brown, that's not my brown. I'm light.

Extract 3³²

2AL9: Oh, how did you make that 'human colour', how did you make that 'human colour'? Yes, I'm also making it now.

2AL25: The white and the red and the yellow.

2AL9: I'm going to make it a bit lighter, I'm not *that* dark.

Learner 2EL12 is a white learner and learner 2EL1 is a coloured learner. While mixing their skin colours, 2EL1 was able to mix a light skin colour, but was reluctant to mix brown. She didn't

³¹ 2AL16: Ja, jy's nie menskleur nie jy's bruin!

2AL14: Nou hoe kry 'n man dan my bruin?

2AL16: Maklik!

2AL14: Hoe kry 'n man dan my kleur?

2AL16: Myne is dieselfde kleur as joune...

2AL14: Daai's menskleur daar... Hierdie is my bruin, daai's nie my bruin nie. Ek's lig.

³² 2AL9: Oe, hoe het jy daai menskleur gemaak, hoe't jy daai menskleur gemaak?

Ja, ek maak dit ook nou.

2AL25: Die wit en die rooi en die geel.

2AL9: Ek gaan dit bietjie ligter maak, ek's nie so donker nie.

want to help 2EL12 mix a light colour for his skin. She also referred to the ‘peach’ or ‘skin colour’ as “*my colour*” even though it was lighter than her actual skin colour.

Extract 4

2EL12: (Gasp) How did you make peach?

2EL1: I just made it.

2EL12: How did you do it?

2EL1: I mixed.

2EL12: Just tell me, I need to know. Will you tell me? I know how to make your colour [brown].

2EL1: You don't. Miss, [2EL12] wants my colour.

2EL12: I need to know how to make peach.

The above-mentioned extracts from the art lessons seem to show that learners favour lighter skin. The extracts also show that learners are aware of their own skin tone and the skin tone of other learners. Some conflict was present during the art process. Extract 5 shows how sensitive the classification of race can be. Two coloured learners were mixing their skin colour, when one of the learners mentioned that the other should add black to their paint. Even a hint towards being named black was taken with much offense.

Extract 5³³

2AL7: [...] Black -

2AL17: You!

R: What are you saying?

2AL17: Teacher, he thinks I'm black –

2AL7: No, teacher, she's a person, *jis* I didn't say she's a black person –

2AL17: You lie. You lie.

³³

2AL7: [...] Swart -

2AL17: Jy!

R: Wat is jy besig om te sê?

2AL17: Juffrou, hy dink ek's swart –

2AL7: Nee, Juffrou, sy's 'n mens, *jis* ek't nie gesê sy's 'n swart mens nie –

2AL17: Jy jok. Jy jok.

R: Wat het jy regtig gesê?

2AL7: Juffrou, sy't gesê ek moet swart meng om –

2AL17: Hy jok, Juffrou, hy't eerste gesê ek's swart!

2AL7: *Yoh* [2AL17], jy lieg!

- R: What did you really say?
- 2AL7: Teacher, she said I must mix black to –
- 2AL17: He's lying, teacher, he said I was black first!
- 2AL7: Yoh [2AL17], you're lying!

The extract below shows one white learner's preference for white skin colour. Other learners in the class realised that this was inappropriate. Later, the learner (1EL12) echoed other learners by saying "*I think all of them are the same.*"

Extract 6

- 1EL12: You can't just tease other people because you have the nice skin.
- R: Which one is the 'nice skin'?
- 1EL12: Peach.
- 1EL23: None of them.
- 1EL20: All of them are the same.
- R: Do you think peach is nicer than the other ones?
- 1EL12: No, I think all of them are the same.

Learners' dialogue often showed a preference for light skin colour. This preference was also seen in some learners' self-portraits. Educator 1AEd and psychologist P had differing experiences with learners' representation of themselves in terms of race.

- 1AEd: I've had coloured girls and boys in my class and they draw themselves in that ... brown... with brown [crayon]³⁴.
- P: Some children will refer to that colour as light orange; others will call it skin colour. Some children will use it to colour in people, whereas others will leave the skin part of people white... Even black children mostly leave the skin part of people white. I very rarely see black or coloured children that colour the skin a darker colour.

Some of the self-portraits created by learners are presented below. Four figures follow, namely, self-portraits by black and coloured learners (Fig. 4.3), self-portraits by white learners (Fig. 4.4), self-portraits by learners who used lighter colours for the face or who mixed colours (Fig. 4.5),

³⁴ Ek het al bruin seuns en meisies in my klas gehad en hulle teken hulself in daai... bruin...met bruin [kryt]

and self-portraits by black and coloured learners who used the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' to draw themselves (Fig. 4.6).



FIGURE 4.3 SELF-PORTRAITS BY BLACK AND COLOURED LEARNERS



FIGURE 4.4 SELF-PORTRAITS BY WHITE LEARNERS

Some black and coloured learners used the brown wax crayon to draw and colour their pictures (Fig. 4.3). White learners used the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' to draw and colour their pictures (Fig. 4.4). The third picture in the middle row shows a fantasy character (Fig. 4.4).



FIGURE 4.5 SELF-PORTRAITS BY LEARNERS WHO USED LIGHTER COLOURS OR WHO MIXED COLOURS



FIGURE 4.6 SELF-PORTRAITS BY BLACK AND COLOURED LEARNERS WHO USED THE SO-CALLED 'HUMAN COLOUR' OR 'SKIN COLOUR' TO DRAW THEMSELVES

Some black and coloured learners used the brown crayon, but coloured their faces very lightly or left their faces white (Fig. 4.5, third picture in the last row). Other learners mixed the brown and the so-called 'human colour'. Learners who mixed colours possibly aimed to accurately

represent their skin colour or aimed to include the ‘human colour’ or ‘skin colour’ in their portrayal of themselves. Some black or coloured learners used the so-called ‘human colour’ or ‘skin colour’ to draw and colour their pictures, even though it is not an accurate representation of their skin colour (Fig. 4.6). The pictures in the middle row and the first picture in the last row of Fig. 4.6 show that learners left the faces white. The second picture in the bottom row shows a fantasy character (Fig. 4.6).

Learners tended to mix skin that were lighter than their actual skin tone. This behaviour combined with the dialogue extracts during the mixing process show a preference for lighter skin colour. Some learners’ use of colour in their self-portraits affirms this preference.

4.3.2 Difficulty experienced when talking about race

During a class discussion, certain learners seemed reluctant to talk about the naming of skin colour. Learner 2AL15 said, *“We can just leave it alone, because it is okay.”*³⁵ Learners in the class agreed. She continued by stating, *“Because we can’t do anything about it, because some people are that colour and it is a special colour”*³⁶ While discussing the poster of skin colours with class 2E, it was clear that learners felt wary of discussing their answers with the rest of the class. The class educator (2EEd) tried to cope with this situation by applying skin colour to interior decorating. These strategies to avoid addressing race were more common in School 2 than in School 1.

Extract 7

2EL10: They’re different because everybody’s skin... Jesus only made one of you.

2EL2: I see pink.

2EL17: I see my colour.

2EL6: My first choice was ... I think why most people call peach skin colour is because some people are like peach.

R: What about this table, what did you write?

2EL14: Not telling.

R: Not telling, okay. Is there anyone else who would like to say something before we end?

(4 Second pause)

2EL18: Because your skin is not a [retractable wax crayon].

³⁵ Ons kan dit uitlos, want dit is oukei.

³⁶ Want ons kan niks daaraan doen nie, want sommige mense is daai kleur en dit is ’n spesiale kleur...

R: Oh, your skin is not a [retractable wax crayon]. Yes you are one hundred percent right. Anyone else? Last person?

2EL13: Um... [Shakes head]

(3 Second pause)

R: Anyone else?

2EEEd: Can I say something?

R: Yes

2EEEd: It's quite earthy colours too, and if you watch television many a time when they redo bathrooms or kitchens, this is quite the colour that they go for because it's so natural. Um, it's got warmth and texture to it and that's one thing that I try to apply and you can still add other colours in whatever you want to do.

Learners were asked to reflect on whether the naming of a single 'human colour' or 'skin colour' is problematic and whether something can or should be changed. Written responses to the naming of the wax crayon as 'human colour' or 'skin colour' showed feelings of doubt and avoidance of change. Learners mentioned that they didn't know what to do about it and that perhaps we should "*[k]eep calling it 'human colour', because [they] do not know what to do to get a solution*"³⁷ (1AL12). A lack of agency was communicated in the following comments made by 2EL7, 2EL5, 2AL4, 1AL8, and 2AL17 respectively, "*We can do nothing*", "*It can't change*", "*We cannot change anything*"³⁸, "*We have to – it is not something we can change,*"³⁹ and "*We can't do anything about it, because you can't change the colour of your skin*"⁴⁰. While some of the learners mentioned here mostly felt that nothing can be done about the situation, some learners (as mentioned below) felt that nothing *should* be done about the current naming of skin colour.

Learner 2EL9 stated that, "*We shouldn't do anything*". Learner 1AL6 also mentioned, "*We don't have to do anything. It doesn't matter what colour we are, we are special*"⁴¹. The idea of 'human colour' or 'skin colour' as "*special*" is echoed in learner 2AL5's comment, "*We must not change anything, because it is a special colour*"⁴². Learners 2AL19, 2EL4, and 2AL2 stated, "*Don't change anything*"⁴³, "*[Do] nothing*"⁴⁴, and "*Just leave it alone*"⁴⁵.

³⁷ [h]ou aan om dit menskleur te noem, want [hulle] weet nie wat om te doen om 'n oplossing te maak nie

³⁸ Ons kan nie enigiets verander nie

³⁹ Ons moet – dis nie iets wat ons kan verander nie

⁴⁰ Ons kan niks daarvoor doen nie, want jy kan nie die kleur van jou vel verander nie

⁴¹ Ons hoef niks te doen nie. Dit maak nie saak watter kleur ons is nie, ons is spesiaal

⁴² Ons moet niks verander nie, want dit is 'n spesiale kleur

⁴³ Moet niks verander nie

⁴⁴ [Doen] niks

⁴⁵ Los dit net uit

Educators agreed that it is difficult to talk about race – especially within the context of post-apartheid South Africa. The quote below highlights some of the difficulties educators face when trying to find a safe and respectful way of explaining South Africa’s past to learners. The inclination was for educators to avoid discussing race in the classroom and to recode ‘race’ as ‘culture’.

1AEd: [I]f you have to deal with that type of thing I try to - like Youth day. If I have to explain what happened then I have to say instead of Black people I have to say the Xhosa-speaking people or the Sotho-speaking people. [...] [I] think it is a very good way to explain it. To rather talk about culture than to say black people, because I never know how to deal with this - it is uncomfortable for me, I really do not like it [...] I get upset when you have to talk about ... there are situations where one has to talk about things from the past. And how do you explain it away? How do you explain it? [...] Because I don't want them to ... I want to show them we are all equal and we also learn that we are all equal but then... through it... I've learned to use culture rather than saying ... yes... black and white and coloured people [...] Because it is a difficult thing I ... can just remember with previous year groups – I'm lucky now this year that I don't have one [learner of colour] – not lucky, but – that I'm not in a situation where I have to explain something like that⁴⁶.

This quote shows that race is recoded as language and culture. Educator 1AEd admits that race is an uncomfortable topic to discuss, but that South Africa’s past is not something one can just explain away. From this quote it is clear that there is a difficulty connected with discussing race in the classroom. This seems to cause avoidance of race topics in the classroom, as Educator 1AEd states, *“I'm lucky now this year that I don't have one [learner of colour] – not lucky, but – that I'm not in a situation that I have to explain something like that.”*

4.3.3 Difference

Learners and educators showed perceptions of difference when confronted with the variety of skin colours in the classroom.

Learners' responses to difference

When discussing the poster with the blocks of colour from the mixing exercise (learners mixed the colour of their skin, see Fig. 4.2) learners noticed that there was a variety of skin colours and

⁴⁶ [As] 'n mens hierdie tipe ding moet hanteer probeer ek om – soos Jeugdag. As ek moet verduidelik wat gebeur het dat moet ek eerder sê inplaas van swart mense moet ek sê die Xhosa-sprekende mense of die Sotho-sprekende mense [...] [E]k dink dis 'n baie goeie manier om dit te verduidelik. Om eerder te praat van kultuur as om te sê 'swart mense', want ek weet nooit hoe om dit te hanteer nie – dit is ongemaklik vir my, ek hou glad nie daarvan nie [...] Ek raak ontsteld wanneer mens moet praat oor... daar is situasies waar mens moet praat oor die dinge van die verlede. En hoe verduidelik jy dit weg? Hoe verduidelik jy dit? [...] Want ek wil nie hê hulle moet... Ek wil vir hulle wys ons is almal gelyk en ons leer ook ons is almal gelyk, maar dan... deur dit... Ek't nou geleer om kultuur te gebruik eerder as om te sê... swart en wit en bruin mense [...] Want dis 'n moeilike ding, ek... kan net onthou met vorige jaargroepe – Ek's gelukkig die jaar dat ek nie een [leerder van kleur het nie] – nie gelukkig nie, maar – dat ek nie in 'n situasie is waar ek so iets hoef te verduidelik nie

tones. Learner 1AL24 commented that, “*There are many different colours [on the poster]*”⁴⁷. When discussing the naming of ‘human colour’ or ‘skin colour’ in the classroom, learners often commented on the differences in appearance, that everyone is special, and that we are a rainbow nation. Learner 2AL19 mentioned that, “*No-body looks the same, that is why the world is special and we are also special*”⁴⁸. Other ideas included, “*Everybody is different*” (2EL15), “*We all differ*”⁴⁹ (2AL9), “*[E]veryone is special and that is why we do not look the same*”⁵⁰ (2AL18), and “*We are going to say that there are different ‘human colours’*”⁵¹ (1AL17). Further comments were also expressed, such as, “*Look at all the different skin colours*” (1EL2) and “*Hang the poster up to show that we are all different and not the same*” (1EL4). References to the ‘rainbow nation’ were found in the reflections of learners 2AL18 and 1EL24, “*Everyone is a rainbow nation*”⁵² and “*Because we have a rainbow nation, we don’t just have one skin colour which is whi[te] – peach*”. Learner 2AL20 states that, “*Everyone doesn’t have to look the same*”⁵³.

Educators’ responses to difference

Educators realised that there are differences among learners’ abilities, opinions, and personalities. Some stereotypes surfaced when discussing difference. The quote below reflects the idea of ‘different but special’ that is promoted in the classroom.

1AEEd: I often tell them “We can all run, but we cannot all run at the same speed and we can all draw, but we cannot all draw well, so our talents lie in different places and that is how we are.” They understand that in a classroom we are all different, but we are all special⁵⁴.

Respect for diversity is tied up with difference. This respect for difference was linked to social justice by educator 1EEEd. Educator 2EEEd also mentioned respect, but linked learners’ backgrounds to their expected performance in school. Educator 1AEEd mentioned that social justice involves “*get[ting] along*” with everyone.

1EEEd: I think because children come out of such diverse homes [...] respect for other people’s opinions and other people’s religions and other people’s *um* ... any opinion that surfaces whether you agree with it or not... and I think that is what [social justice] is about and it is a nice grade to do it with...

⁴⁷ Daar is baie verskillende kleure [op die plakkaat]

⁴⁸ Niemand lyk dieselfde nie, dit is hoekom die wêreld spesiaal is en ons is ook spesiaal

⁴⁹ Ons almal verskil

⁵⁰ [A]lmal is spesiaal en dit is hoekom ons nie dieselfde lyk nie

⁵¹ Ons gaan sê dat daar verskillende menskleure is

⁵² Almal is ’n reënboognasie

⁵³ Almal *hoef* nie dieselfde te lyk nie

⁵⁴ Ek sê gereeld vir hulle “Ons kan almal hardloop, maar ons kan nie almal ewe vinnig hardloop nie en ons kan almal teken, maar ons kan nie almal mooi teken nie, so ons talente lê op verskillende plekke en dit is hoe ons is.” Hulle verstaan in die klaskamer dat ons almal anders is, maar dat ons almal spesiaal is.

2EEEd: Well, each [learner] comes out of a social group somewhere *um* ... I think one should have respect, you can't expect a child who ... comes out of [an informal settlement] or whatever ... to have experience about what goes on 'up there'...

1AEEd: [Social justice is] that they are all the same... you know, for me it is that they all can get along with each other, but they don't have to like each other⁵⁵.

Educators recognised difference in learners by stating that *"no-one is a carbon copy of someone else"* (2EEEd) and by referring to learners' different personalities. Educator 1EEEd felt that learners should be allowed the freedom to express their differences.

1EEEd: It is important for me to give them the freedom here to express themselves and to build a trust relationship where they feel they can talk to me. Many diverse personalities of course... some are very introverted children who are very shy and you have your children who are extremely *um* like 'clowns' and in your face and those types of children too. So you definitely have very diverse personalities that you have to work with.

These differences were also viewed in terms of learners' perceived abilities and preferences. Some stereotypes surfaced while discussing differences among learners.

2EEEd: But, if you think in my class ratio it is mostly coloured children, I have [2EL4], [2EL16], [2EL2], and [2EL8] who are actually black children and the rest are coloured. And they [the coloured learners] don't have that strong ethnic pattern, that ethnic thing – to them. But you won't see it coming through, because our ratio leans toward another direction. And, I mean, the white children - they are not *that* into patterns.

...Maybe it is not on [a child from an informal settlement's] level, one has to have respect for that and understand that [...] These children just have a grey pencil and they would rather use a piece of charcoal from the fire to do something.

While it is clear from the quotes above that difference is recognised in the classroom, educators often explained that learners were treated the same despite differences. Educator 2AEEd stated that, *"Everyone is treated exactly the same"*. Other educators also claimed that they treat all learners the same, regardless of difference in culture or race of learners. Educators used phrases such as, *"We are all equal"*⁵⁶ (1AEEd) and *"I don't see colour"* (2EEEd).

1AEEd: Yes, I try to treat them as equal, everyone equal, as it is, yes, and... (sigh) when one has to talk about – I'm just thinking about when you have to talk about different houses that you get – then you have to deal with the history and then it is always difficult for me to say because we all come out of different cultures and some come out of ... *um*... we have children that come out of the townships [...] For me we are all equal and they have to see it like that. Yes,

⁵⁵ [Sosiale geregtigheid is] dat almal dieselfde is... jy weet, vir my is dit dat hulle almal met mekaar oor die weg kan kom, maar hulle hoef nie van mekaar te hou nie.

⁵⁶ Ons is almal gelyk

I treat everyone the same I give everyone hugs... just because someone is from a different culture we don't do it differently⁵⁷.

2EEed: But um... I don't experience often that they – and you can talk about 'brown children' and 'black children' and 'white children' ... they hear that, but it is not that issue for them yet – that you refer to race – not racist at all – *um*... but concerning colour... I will sit next to a black child and help him, I will sit next to a white child – I don't see colour.

Educator 1EEed felt that treating different learners differently is, at times, necessary in order to provide fair opportunities for all learners. The quotes below expand on the ideas of recognition, freedom of expression, incorporating different cultural aspects into the classroom, and fair chances for success.

1EEed: I think it is important to let children be their own person [...] I think it is very important to recognise each child's identity and to nurture it [...] to express themselves and this is what I like about Grade 3's is the fact that *um* they are at a space where I can allow them to give their opinion about something [...] [black learners] are more 'loud' in many aspects. They have *um*... and I understand that and I accept it... in other words I also give them freedom of expression and we talk about things that are important to them in their culture too [...] I try to embrace everyone in that way I try to recognise everyone [...] to recognise each child for who they are.

... I think that [social justice] means that everyone gets the same type of opportunities and the same type of fairness – in a situation, and that you generally need to be consistent with what you *um* allow the one to do you also allowed the other one to do and okay obviously different children have different personalities and I think sometimes you have to consider that too ... I always tell my children that... 'Fair is not everyone getting the same thing. Fair is everyone getting what they need in order to be successful'.

Learners perceived that difference was evident in the classroom in terms of skin colour. Educators noted that difference is evident in terms of race, culture, background, abilities, and personalities. Some educators believed that equal treatment was the best way to approach difference. One educator suggested that different treatment is necessary in order to achieve just and fair opportunities for learners despite their differences.

4.3.4 Is the name *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour' a problem?

Learners were asked to reflect on whether the naming of a single skin colour as *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour' is problematic. Some learners felt that it is the way it is or that

⁵⁷ Ja, ek probeer om almal gelyk te hanteer, almal gelyk, soos dit is, ja, en... (sug) as mens moet praat oor – ek dink nou net oor wanneer jy oor verskillende huise moet praat wat mens kry – dan moet jy die geskiedenis hanteer en dan is dit altyd moeilik vir my om te sê, want ons kom almal uit verskillende kulture uit en party kom uit... *um*... ons het kinders wat uit die *townships* uit kom [...] Vir my is ons almal gelyk en hulle moet dit ook so sien. Ja, ek hanteer almal dieselfde ek gee vir almal drukkies... net omdat iemand van 'n ander kultuur is, doen ons dit nie anders nie

there is no problem. Other learners communicated that the naming of skin colour is problematic. Educators agreed that 'human colour' or 'skin colour' is an inappropriate name for a wax crayon.

Learners had many different reasons for stating that the naming of skin colour is not problematic. Some learners (1AL9 and 2AL19) thought that the manufacturers couldn't produce other 'human colours' and that the current 'human colour' is used often enough to justify its existence. Many learners felt that, *"It is just a colour"*⁵⁸ (2EL11; 2AL18; 1AL8) or *"It is [just] a crayon"* (2EL4), so why should it be a problem? Some learners felt that the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' was good and should not be changed. Learners 2EL3 and 2AL10 said, *"I love the colour"* and *"It is just right"*⁵⁹. Learner 2AL3 thought that it looked like 'human colour' and learner 2AL13 felt that *"They can make it white, but I think it is a good colour"*⁶⁰. There were learners who wrote, *"There is no name for him so that is why they call him 'human colour'"*⁶¹ (2AL14) and *"What else are we going to call it?"*⁶² (1AL11). Learner 2EL9 wrote, *"I'm okay calling it skin colour."* In the same vein, learners mentioned that, *"People can say whatever they want"* (2EL7), *"You can call it what you want"*⁶³ (1AL13), and *"Call it what you like, there is no wrong one"*⁶⁴ (1AL14). Some learners agreed that the presence of 'brown' as another skin colour is sufficient. Learner 2AL12 said, *"Don't change [the naming of 'human colour']". There is also brown*⁶⁵. Learner 2AL14 said that, *"Not all people are brown"*⁶⁶ and Learner 2AL15 held that, *"A darker 'human colour' is just as good as brown"*⁶⁷. These learners felt that the naming of the colour in question was not a problem, but there were also learners who thought that the naming was a problem.

Comments about the problem of naming a single colour 'human colour' or 'skin colour' include, *"Some people are not that colour"* (2EL1), *"All people are not that colour"* (2EL10), *"Not everyone is 'skin colour'"* (1E13), and *"Not everyone is 'human colour'"*⁶⁸ (2AL17). Educators tended to agree with learners by mentioning, *"And for me it is not a 'human colour' it is – you know what – yes... 'cream' – I don't know what colour one can call it [...] one or two times the learners specifically told me but this, this is not a person's colour it is ... cream or something"*⁶⁹ (1AEEd). Another educator said, *"Some of them [call it 'human colour']". You get that... some say it is 'beige'.*

⁵⁸ Dit is net 'n kleur

⁵⁹ Dit is net reg

⁶⁰ Hulle kan dit wit maak, maar ek dink dit is 'n goeie kleur

⁶¹ Daar is geen naam vir hom nie, dit is hoekom hulle hom menskleur noem

⁶² Wat anders gaan ons dit noem?

⁶³ Jy kan dit noem wat jy wil

⁶⁴ Noem dit wat jy wil, daar is nie 'n verkeerde een nie

⁶⁵ Moenie die naam [menskleur] verander nie. Daar is ook bruin

⁶⁶ Nie almal is bruin nie

⁶⁷ 'n Donkerder menskleur is net sowel bruin

⁶⁸ Nie almal is menskleur nie

⁶⁹ En vir my is die nie 'n menskleur nie dit is – weet jy wat – ja... 'room' – Ek weet nie watter kleur 'n mens dit kan noem nie [...] een of twee keer het die leerders spesifiek vir my kom sê maar dit is, dit is nie 'n mens se kleur nie dit is... room of iets

I mean for me it is wrong, you don't just have – there are many different 'skin colours' in my opinion" (1EEEd). Learners and educators were aware of the exclusionary nature of naming one crayon 'human colour' or 'skin colour'.

Learners recognised that black and coloured people are not included in the naming of the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour'. Learners 2EL12 and 1AL5 mentioned that the naming is problematic because, *"Some people are white and some people are not!"*⁷⁰ Learner 1EL16 agreed, *"[The colour] is close to some and not to others"*. Further reasons for the problem of naming 'human colour' can be seen in the following comments, *"Brown people are also people!"*⁷¹ (1AL1), *"Some people are brown or black"*⁷² (1AL6), and *"[N]ot everyone is a white person, but they are still people"*⁷³ (1AL4). The learners suggested that the brown wax crayon should also be named 'human colour'. Learners 1AL1 and 1AL10 stated, *"Our class has to say that brown is also 'human colour'"*⁷⁴, and *"Make other types of 'human colours. Brown and black are also 'human colour', because there are people who have brown and black skin"*⁷⁵. Learner 1A14 said, *"Why can't we say in our class that brown is also a 'human colour' because brown um people also have brown skin"*⁷⁶.

Most of the comments supporting the existence of a problem were made by white Afrikaans learners from School 1. These learners did not have any black or coloured learners in their class. In the classes where black and coloured learners were present, there was a tendency to say that naming the crayon 'human colour' or 'skin colour' was unproblematic. These learners did, however, think about the naming of skin colour. One coloured learner from School 2 asked, *"Teacher, I was wondering whether black is a 'human colour'"*⁷⁷ (2AL17). Therefore, while some learners saw no problem with the name 'human colour', other learners and educators felt that a problem was present. Learners and educators who viewed the naming as problematic suggested various ways in which to remedy the situation.

4.3.5 Recommendations by learners and educators

Strategies suggested by learners included re-naming the colour, removing the colour, including other 'human colours', creating new 'human colours', and discussion. Educators and the educational psychologist felt that art could be used to discuss problems. They also believed that learners should be allowed to voice their opinions and experiences.

⁷⁰ Party mense is wit en party mense is nie!

⁷¹ Bruin mense is ook mense!

⁷² Sommige mense is bruin of swart

⁷³ Nie almal is 'n witmens nie, maar hulle is steeds mense

⁷⁴ Ons klas moet sê dat bruin ook menskleur is

⁷⁵ Maak ander tipes menskleure. Bruin en swart is ook menskleur, want daar is mense wat bruin en swart vel het

⁷⁶ Hoekom kan ons nie in ons klas sê dat bruin ook 'n menskleur is nie, want bruin um mense het ook bruin vel

⁷⁷ Juffrou, ek het gewonder of swart 'n menskleur is

Most of the learners suggested that the name of the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' should be changed. Learners had the following to say: *"We should change the name"* (2EL2), *"Call it a different name and colour"*⁷⁸ (1AL5), *"The name is not good"* (1EL9), and *"We have to change something – the name of the colour"*⁷⁹ (2AL11). Learner 1EL5 said, *"Maybe um 'cause that colour there is not actually the real skin colour. It's actually a peach colour – it's called peach."* Learner 2EL1's comment is in agreement, *"You must tell the people it is called peach."* Some learners gave alternative names such as 'peach' and 'whitish brown'⁸⁰. Some learners (1AL18 and 1AL15) thought of throwing that crayon away and using the other crayons to mix each person's skin colour.

Learner 1AL11 suggested, *"Mix dark brown with a bit of white and then it will also be nice for brown people"*⁸¹. Another learner (2AL14) recommended that, *"We must say that brown people have a dark 'human colour' and white people have a light 'human colour'"*⁸² and learner 1EL21 proposed the making of two 'peaches', *"One that is lighter and one that is darker."* Learners 1EL13 and 1AL18 put forward the idea of creating more skin coloured crayons. Their comments were, *"Make some more colours that look the same as different skin colours"* (1EL13) and *"We must make new 'human colours' ... that look the same as all the people's colours, but it will take many, many colours just to get those people's colours, but then at least we have everyone's in the world"*⁸³ (1AL18). One learner (1AL9) wrote in her reflection that, *"[We] must talk about it!"*⁸⁴

The psychologist and educators felt that the art process can be used to resolve conflict and that it is important to listen to learners so that they realise they have a voice.

P: Art can be a great way to deal with difficulties [...] Cooperative projects, such as working on one thing such as a collage, could facilitate communication, understanding and conflict resolution.

1EEed: [S]ome people try too much to treat everyone in the same manner and expect everyone to behave in the same way and... anyway; I think it is incredibly important to recognise each child's problems and issues that seem large to him. And in the classroom... to teach in a manner that accommodates everyone's personality types in order to get social justice right [...] But there is that unfairness and I think many children are not listened to [...] The big thing is *um* for me it is important that they learn that they have a voice.

⁷⁸ Noem dit 'n ander naam en kleur

⁷⁹ Ons moet iets verander – die naam van die kleur

⁸⁰ 'witterige bruin'

⁸¹ Meng bruin met 'n bietjie wit en dan sal dit ook vir die bruinmense lekker wees

⁸² Ons moet sê dat bruinmense 'n donker menskleur het en witmense 'n ligte menskleur

⁸³ Ons moet nuwe menskleure maak... wat dieselfde lyk as al die mense se kleure, maar dit sal baie, baie kleure vat net om daai mense se kleure te kry, maar dan het ons ten minste almal s'n in die hele wêreld

⁸⁴ [Ons] moet daarvoor praat!

Learners and educators suggested that language should be used to change the naming of skin colour. Most learners suggested changing the name of the wax crayon or incorporating a variety of skin colours. Educators suggested dialogue as a means to resolve conflict and achieve social justice.

4.4 DISCUSSION OF DATA

Data will be discussed in terms of learners' and educators' responses to the naming of skin colour as well as the perceptions and attitudes that surfaced during data analysis. Perceptions and attitudes include learners' preference for light skin colour and the difficulty of talking about race. Additionally, the way in which 'difference' is handled and the problem of the naming of skin colour will be examined.

4.4.1 Learners' responses to the naming of skin colour

One could draw a parallel between Afrikaans as language used to promote the apartheid agenda and Afrikaans as the language used to name exclusively white skin colour 'human colour'. The issue of racial identities in the classroom and the naming of skin colour is, however, not only relevant to Afrikaans educational settings. Hidden ideas reflecting the perceived superiority of 'whiteness' was also seen in the discussions of English classes. One such example is when learner 1EL12 labelled 'peach' skin colour (white skin colour) as the "*nice*" skin colour.

It is clear from the data that learners participate in the naming of 'human colour' or 'skin colour' in a manner that reflects 'whiteness' as a dominant narrative. Learners commented that, "*There are more white people*" (2EL12). In the General Household Survey of 2014, the statistics show that black South Africans make up approximately 80% of the country's population. Coloured and white South Africans make up roughly 9% and 8.5%, respectively, while Indian or Asian South Africans make up close to 2.5% of the population (Statistics South Africa 2014:72). In the Western Cape, where this case study was conducted, the population groups are represented in the following manner: black South Africans (29%), coloured South Africans (53%), Indian or Asian South Africans (1%), and white South Africans (17%) (Statistics South Africa 2014:72). It is clear from these statistics that white people are in no way the majority population group in the Western Cape or in South Africa.

Learners' perceptions that "*There are more white people than brown people*"⁸⁵ (1AL7) could be caused by their experiences in a mostly white environment as well as visual influences that promote 'whiteness' as dominant (including Western media). Both schools in this case study possessed an overwhelming majority of white teaching staff. Grade 3 learners therefore seem to have a skewed concept of the representation of races in South Africa. This could influence the ways in which they think and speak about race issues in the classroom. Learners also do not seem to realise the past and current political implications of naming one skin colour *menskleur* ('human colour'). One can consider whether it would be useful and beneficial to introduce learners to an accurate representation of the population according to race in their province and in South Africa.

⁸⁵ Daar is meer witmense as bruinmense

Learners could also be introduced to the history of apartheid and how it continues to influence South Africa. This holds possible implications for curriculum planning and educational practice.

4.4.2 Educator's responses to the naming of skin colour

All four educators (2AEd, 2EEEd, 1AEd, and 1EEEd) noticed that learners named the colour for white skin 'human colour' or 'skin colour'. Most of the educators felt that the naming of a certain colour as 'human colour' or 'skin colour' starts at an early age when learners enter a semi-structured schooling environment such as preschool. Mentioning that the naming starts in pre-school or that learners pick it up from their parents possibly allows educators to 'blame' other parties instead of taking responsibility for addressing race in their classrooms. This is understandable when one considers the complicated nature of race discussion in post-apartheid South Africa. There was a sense of discomfort when discussing the naming of skin colour with educators. Elements of guilt and shame associated with the naming of skin colour in educational contexts could be present because educators – even if they realise the unjust nature of the naming – are wary of addressing issues of race in the classroom.

In reference to CRT, Delgado and Stefanic (2001) note that race is embedded in and affects ordinary life – particularly narratives by the dominant race. According to Frankenberg (1993) and Arber (2008), 'whiteness' is by nature exclusionary of all that is not white. 'Whiteness' then becomes the norm that is simultaneously overlooked and universalised within Western narratives. This places the "white us" as the author of the dominant texts within educational policies and programmes (Arber 2008:155). In South Africa, white Afrikaans texts were dominant within the education system during apartheid (Abdi 2000). The naming of the colour representing white skin as *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour' is an example of the language of the dominant narrative because it assumes that 'whiteness' and 'humanness' are inseparable. The naming of a wax crayon as *menskleur* ('human colour') in South African schools shows the embedded nature of racism. Learners are influenced by this norm of racism and educators find it difficult to challenge the current way in which skin colour is named.

4.4.3 Preference for light skin colour

Learners showed preference for light skin colour in the way they mixed the colour of their skin and the way in which they spoke about the process. Class discussions also revealed a preference for light skin colour. Visually, some learners showed their preference for light skin in the way they drew self-portraits. The development of a positive racial identity is important in educational contexts. Race in the media is a contemporary issue and it should be addressed in terms of just recognition and representation.

Learners used retractable wax crayons to create self-portraits. They used the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour', brown, or they mixed the two colours. Black and coloured learners who

used the brown wax crayon to draw and colour their pictures (Fig. 4.3) may have a positive view of their racial identity. They possibly feel comfortable expressing their race in the art classroom. Self-portraits by white learners show the use of the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' to draw and colour pictures (Fig. 4.4). The last picture in the middle row of Fig. 4.4 shows an element of fantasy. The second picture in the bottom row contains the words, "*I am a white person.*"⁸⁶ This indicates an awareness of race within the learner's visual representation of herself. While some learners seemed comfortable with their racial identity, the visual images created by other learners could suggest possible insecurity or a desire to 'blend in'.

While creating self-portraits and mixing their own skin colour, many learners used lighter colours for their skin (Fig. 4.5). Wang (2014) suggests that learners who see themselves as different from the mainstream visual culture images often strive towards the ideal dominant norm in their context. Belluigi (2014) adds that South Africa's colonial and apartheid past caused 'whiteness' to be viewed as ideal. The difficulty learners had with mixing their own skin colour could be due to the personal nature of the visual representation of their race or a reflection of desires to conform to dominant norms of beauty. Self-portraits by learners who used lighter colours for the face or who mixed colours show that learners used the brown crayon and the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' crayon to draw and colour their skin (Fig. 4.5). Some of these learners used the brown crayon, but coloured their faces very lightly or left their faces white (Fig. 4.5). It is possible that the learners who pressed very lightly when colouring their faces or who left their faces white viewed lighter skin as more beautiful. If they were reluctant to colour their faces dark, it could be because of the desire to present themselves as beautiful in their artworks.

Some of the self-portraits by black and coloured learners show the use of the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' (Fig. 4.6). These learners used the so-called 'human colour' or 'skin colour' to draw and colour their pictures, even though it is not an accurate representation of their skin colour. The second picture in the bottom row of Fig. 4.6 shows a fantasy image and could represent the learner's desire to mimic super-heroes or television characters. Learners of all three races included fantasy images in their self-portraits. This may be part of the imagination world of young learners. Interestingly, the fantasy image or super-hero shown in Fig. 4.6 shows a white super-hero with blonde hair. These portraits could indicate learners' perceptions of the dominant ideals of beauty. It could also show a desire to assimilate to the "white hegemony" (Belluigi 2014:350). When black or coloured learners present themselves as white in self-portraits it may reveal a negative association with their racial identity. This should be a concern for educators, because it is not in the best interest of the learner to hold negative associations with certain races.

Frankenberg (1993) defines 'whiteness' as the dominant narrative and the place from which we view ourselves, others, and society. Interviews conducted by Durrheim, Mtose and Brown

⁸⁶ Ek is 'n witmens.

(2011) showed that many South African participants viewed 'blackness' as more negative than 'whiteness'. According to Fanon (1970), these outlooks stem from a colonial view of 'blackness' as negative in contrast with being white. Colonial constructions of race may still impact the ways in which race is discussed or avoided in educational settings. The devaluation of certain skin colours can lead to possible psychological damage within learners and a desire to assimilate to the dominant ideal of beauty (Hook 2003). Quotes such as, "[Y]ou're not human colour, you're brown!"⁸⁷ in extract 2, (2AL16) and "He's lying, teacher, he said I was black first!"⁸⁸ (2AL17), in extract 5, show how learners participate in ranking lighter skin colours above darker skin colours.

According to Tatum (2001 cited in Milner 2001), the development of positive racial identity that is not based on superiority or inferiority is very important for all race groups in a race-conscious society. The building of this positive racial identity is a lifelong process. It often requires replacing stereotypes and misinformation of our own races and those of others. Even though learners' favouring of lighter skin above darker skin may be due to past colonial constructions of race and ideals of beauty, it is important for learners to develop a positive racial identity. Just recognition and representation of different races in the language used to describe skin colour could foster this positive racial identity.

The dominance of white narratives and the representation of skin colour is a contemporary issue. Operating systems make use of emoji to represent hand signals, faces, and other similar characters. Unicode is an international standard system for indexing these characters. Initially, the skin colour of these characters only represented white population groups. In the second half of 2015, Unicode 8 was launched which included a range of different skin colour options for characters (Warren 2015:<http://mashable.com/2015/02/26/diverse-emoji-explainer/#naKdFK4rzsQ6>). This range was implemented by operating systems and popular social media applications (Tan 2015:<http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/feb/24/apple-adds-racially-diverse-emoji-and-they-come-in-five-skin-shades>). This is an example of growing awareness of just recognition and representation concerning different races and skin colours in contemporary society. The change in options for skin colours can be seen in Fig. 4.7 below:

⁸⁷ Jy's nie menskleur nie, jy's bruin!

⁸⁸ Hy jok, Juffrou, hy't eerste gesê ek is swart!

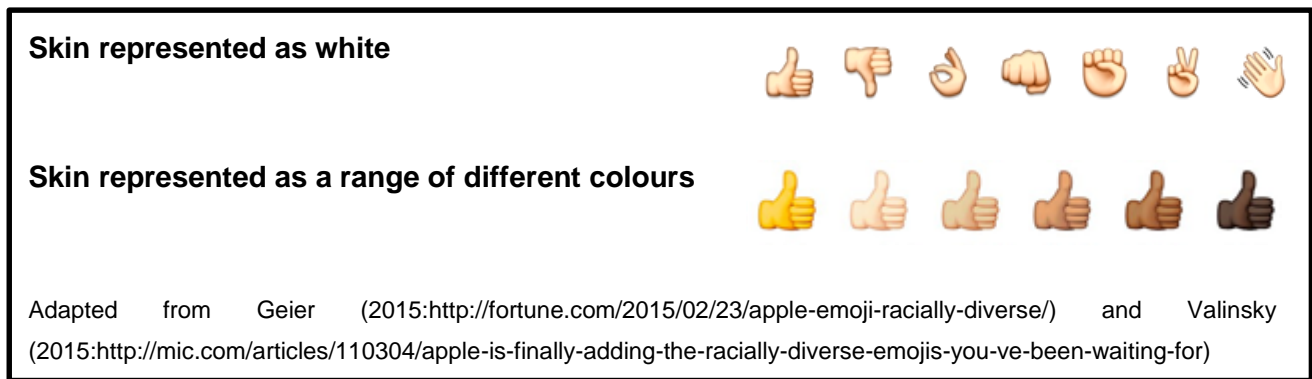


FIGURE 4.7 THE CHANGE IN REPRESENTATION OF SKIN COLOUR IN SOCIAL MEDIA

It is important that different races are equally recognised and represented in classrooms where the naming of skin colour is concerned. Roth (2009) proposes that learners should learn about inclusivity of all races and cultures not only explicitly, but also implicitly by the technologies, products, and body representations in visual media around them. She suggests a range of colours in media and material used by learners from light beiges to dark browns wherever skin colour is represented. This may allow learners to overcome the idea that light skin is the international norm for skin beauty, because this idea is supported by underlying racism and racial bias (Roth 2009).

Roth (2009) recommends two possible strategies for achieving just recognition and representation of different races in the classroom. The first is an adjustment of product design to allow learners to capture and reproduce a variety of skin tones successfully. The second is the development of a new standard of skin colour where the range is the norm and where all depictions of bodies facilitate this range. These strategies would have to be complimented by changes in school curricula and discourses about race and skin colour at home, at school, and in the media. The establishment of a colour continuum, as opposed to whiteness as a default reference point for skin colour production, could be crucial in fostering a new way for learners to think about race and skin colour (Roth 2009). These suggestions could be followed in South African educational contexts where representations of race can still become more inclusive in an effort to reflect the population accurately.

4.4.4 Difficulty experienced when talking about race

Race and racism are present in educational settings – often in invisible or hidden ways. The ordinary nature of racism makes it difficult to address in educational practice (Delgado & Stefanic 2001). When racism is normal there is a tendency to accept the ways in which established practice reinforces it. Together with this acceptance there may also be avoidance of change and confrontation. Race is not an innocent construct (Frankenberg 1993) and the inability to notice the ways in which institutionalized racism privileges some groups while it disadvantages others may hinder educators in eliminating racial inequity in schools (Banks 2001). The making of self-portraits during art lessons is a time when learners name skin colour and use certain colours to represent

their skin. The ways in which learners showed acceptance and avoidance of the naming of 'human colour' or 'skin colour' during discussion and written reflections were observed. Educators also participated in avoidance strategies and confessed that talking about race is problematic in the classroom.

The context of post-apartheid South Africa creates difficulties when discussing race. More than twenty years after the official end of the apartheid regime, race and racism remains in the minds of South Africans. "Race trouble" (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:27) is present when the history of racism infiltrates the present context to unsettle, arouse conflict, and create situations that are troubling. The naming of 'human colour' or 'skin colour' as well as black and coloured learners presenting themselves as white in drawings are both examples of such troubling situations. The specific context of this case study could have added to the difficulty of discussing race in the classroom. All educators involved were white and most of them taught learners from a variety of races. Guilt and feelings of incompetence about discussing South Africa's past could possibly influence educators' attitudes regarding race. There was also a sense of frustration with the difficulty in addressing race. Educator 1AEd mentioned, *"I get upset when you have to talk about ... there are situations where one has to talk about things from the past. And how do you explain it away? How do you explain it?"*⁸⁹ Because of the difficult nature of discussing race, art lessons were used to address race issues with learners.

Learners were asked at the end of each art lesson whether they enjoyed it and whether they found some parts unenjoyable. Most of the learners said that they enjoyed the lessons and that they would like to do it again. During the art processes, learners spoke about skin colour quite freely and openly. The following extract shows a learner who was confident in mixing her skin colour because she had done it before in an art lesson. Art can therefore be used to teach learners how to present their skin colour in an accurate way.

Extract 8

2EL10: I know how to make light brown.

2EL16: Is this your hand colour?

2EL10: No, I'm still making light brown, I know how to make light brown, because at my old school I used to paint. I know how to make it.

2EL16: Did you make light brown?

2EL10: Yes.

⁸⁹ Ek raak ontsteld wanneer mens moet praat oor... daar is situasies waar mens moet praat oor die dinge van die verlede. En hoe verduidelik jy dit weg? Hoe verduidelik jy dit?

2EL16: Now make light brown.

2EL10: The teacher taught us.

During the class discussions, however, learners became more wary of talking about race. Art classrooms can be used as spaces for addressing complex issues such as race in a non-threatening way because most learners enjoy art and are able to express themselves freely through art processes. Even though art lessons were used as a way to investigate perceptions and attitudes that learners have, some discomfort with the discussion of race was still evident.

Questions about race and racism involved some uneasiness. As the researcher I aimed to address race issues with as much sensitivity and respect as possible. This was difficult because the questions I asked exposed the possible problem of an established practice in the naming of skin colour in the classroom. The data show that some learners accepted the naming of skin colour and did not want it to change. During separate class discussions, two coloured learners mentioned, *"We shouldn't do anything"* (2EL9) and *"Just leave it alone"*⁹⁰ (2AL2). It is possible that the class discussions about skin colour made them feel uncomfortable. Perhaps black and coloured learners did not want their race or their difference from 'whiteness' to be emphasised.

As a white person I do not know what it feels like to be black or coloured. Santas (2000) notes that white teachers of anti-racism are doubly prone to failure because of an internalised superiority. This superiority is based on being a knowledgeable teacher and the assumption that black South Africans who suffered under apartheid are to be saved and protected as if they were organisationally and morally inferior (Santas 2000). I sought to investigate Grade 3 learners' perceptions and attitudes about the naming of skin colour in a manner that allowed all learners the chance to express their feelings and opinions. The difficulty of speaking about race in a mixed racial context where those with most power (the educators, the educational psychologist, and the researcher) were all white could have caused some opinions and feelings to be silenced. Comments such as, *"Teacher, I was wondering whether black is a 'human colour'"*⁹¹ (2AL17) could imply that the research confused learners. Even though care was taken to discuss race openly with learners and even though a 'member check' was done to ensure that learners' comments were accurately understood, there still remains a possibility that the research process caused some discomfort for learners by making them aware of the injustice of the naming of 'human colour' or 'skin colour'.

4.4.5 Difference

Learners and educators were aware of the differences present in the classroom in terms of race, background, abilities, personalities, and preferences. When discussing skin colour, many learners

⁹⁰ Los dit net uit

⁹¹ Juffrou, ek het gewonder of swart 'n menskleur is

mentioned that difference is good. They mentioned that, “*Everyone is a rainbow nation*”⁹² (2AL18) and “*Because we have a rainbow nation, we don’t just have one skin colour which is whi[te] – peach*” (1EL24). Most educators felt learners should all be treated the same regardless of difference in culture or race. Educators mentioned that they, “[D]on’t see colour” (2EEEd). The idea of ‘treating everyone the same’ is problematic because the treatment could contain bias favouring certain dominant structures.

In this case study, some educators’ responses reflected “colour-blind” (Banks 2001:12) ideologies. Colour-blind perspectives on race view learners as ‘all the same under the skin’ and promote similar treatment of all learners irrespective of their race (Frankenberg 1993). These perspectives are sometimes used by educators to support their understandings of race in education (Stoll 2014). Stating that ‘everyone is the same under the skin’ and therefore ‘everyone should be treated the same’ excuses educators from dealing with the complicated and challenging task of addressing race issues in the classroom. Comments such as, “*Just because someone is from a different culture we don’t do it differently*”⁹³ (1AEEd) could imply the invisibility of difference and the devaluation of culture and race. Colour-blind ideologies could reveal the dominance of ‘whiteness’ (Banks 2001) and hinder white educators from engaging with the racial reality of South Africa (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011). At times, educators used stereotypes to relate to learners. These hidden ways of viewing differences can be difficult to pinpoint, but educators should reflect on possible prejudices based on race that influence their teaching practice. The language educators and learners use in the classroom could contribute to perpetuating hidden racism in educational contexts.

According to Chigumadzi (2015) in *The Guardian*, there is a universalism embedded in the South African white school culture, even though black learners attend these schools. These ex-model C and formerly white schools ‘include’ black children despite vast differences in names, bodies, hair, socio-economic backgrounds, and language. Chigumadzi (2015) recognises that the same white structure remains, with the same rules, despite new and different learners entering the school. She adds that this is repeated in the wider rainbow nation project – black people are included, but the underlying structures of inequality that rely on racism remain intact. This white structure could be reflected in the majority of white educators and in the naming of white skin as *menskleur* (‘human colour’) or ‘skin colour’. Treating all learners ‘the same’ may not achieve social justice in the classroom, because it may encourage learners to assimilate to dominant norms. Evaluation and categorisation of race involves sorting humans according to difference and this process is emotionally charged (Amin 2012). Black and coloured learners could seek to avoid being viewed as ‘different’ by drawing themselves with the ‘human colour’/ ‘skin colour’ crayon. This assimilation or ‘blending in’ could work against fostering a positive racial identity.

⁹² Almal is ’n reënboognasie

⁹³ Net omdat iemand van ’n ander kultuur is, doen ons dit nie anders nie

Educators should question to what degree social justice is achieved within the colour-blind classroom (Stoll 2014). If educators aim to include all learners and support differences, they could consider the variety of cultural and racial contexts of learners. These different contexts may require different treatment and sensitivity towards the needs of learners. Educator 1EEd suggested that, “*Fair is not everyone getting the same thing. Fair is everyone getting what they need in order to be successful.*” Critical citizenship education could be a framework for promoting a common set of shared values such as tolerance and social justice. Adapting these values may prepare learners to live together in diverse societies (Johnson & Morris 2010). The educators in in this case study found it difficult to address racial diversity in the classroom due to the presence of colour-blind ideologies.

4.4.6 Is the name *menskleur* (‘human colour’) or ‘skin colour’ a problem?

Naming one colour *menskleur* (‘human colour’) or ‘skin colour’ is unjust because it does not allow all learners fair recognition and representation in terms of race. Social justice includes goals of equity, awareness and social literacy (Ayers 2010). Fraser’s (1996, 2009) three-dimensional account of justice includes recognition of identities. The theory of recognition as social justice aims to change unjust social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication. This could involve recognising and positively affirming racial diversity (Fraser 1996). Race is embedded in all parts of life and therefore educational practice should critically address the unjust racial issues that may be hidden within the language and representation concerning skin colour. The art process facilitated the discussion about the naming of skin colour. Learners had differing views on whether the naming was problematic.

Some learners felt that the name ‘human colour’ for a colour used to draw white skin is acceptable. This acceptance of the norm could indicate that learners are not aware of the implications of naming the colour of white skin ‘human colour’. Learners felt that naming the colour ‘human colour’ is good, because, “*It is [just] a crayon*” (2EL4), “*There is also brown*”⁹⁴ (2AL12) and “*Not all people are brown*”⁹⁵ (2AL14). Learner 2AL15 adds that, “*A darker ‘human colour’ is just as good as brown*”⁹⁶. These comments show that learners may not realise the injustice and racism in the exclusion of brown from the term ‘human colour’. Learners’ responses may also reflect a wariness of discussing topics related to race.

Some learners felt that the name ‘human colour’ was unacceptable. They understood that it excludes black- and brown-skinned people. These learners realised that saying some people are ‘human colour’ and some people are not implies a ‘lesser humanity’ for those excluded. This realisation promotes the Department of Basic Education’s (2011) goal of active and critical learning

⁹⁴ Daar is ook bruin

⁹⁵ Nie alle mense is bruin nie

⁹⁶ 'n Donkerder menskleur is net sowel bruin

that is sensitive to issues of diversity, inequality, and race. It also suggests that Grade 3 learners can move beyond the racist policies of the past while being governed by respect for individual worth, fairness, and justice (Seroto 2012). Educators agreed that the naming of skin colour as 'human colour' is "*wrong [because] there are many different 'skin colours'*" (1EEd). Reflections stating the injustice of the name 'human colour' were mostly made by white Afrikaans learners from School 1.

The Afrikaans class in School 1 did not have any black or coloured participants. Learners in this class spoke about race issues with more ease than learners from the other classes. They presented ideas such as, "*We must make new 'human colours' ... that look the same as all the people's colours, but it will take many, many colours just to get those people's colours, but then at least we have everyone's in the world*"⁹⁷ (1AL18) and "*[We] must talk about it!*"⁹⁸ (1AL9). It could be that a homogenous race context creates a more comfortable atmosphere for discussing race issues. It may also show that it is easier to speak about race from a white position that is viewed as dominant. Learners from the classes where different races were present often suggested that the naming of skin colour was unproblematic. They tended to avoid talking about race. This could indicate that "race trouble" (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2011:23) becomes more pronounced when a diverse racial group attempts to discuss race issues. Even through open dialogue and art processes, there may still be learners who do not wish to discuss race issues. These tendencies should be considered when aiming to facilitate discussion of race in a safe and respectful manner in classrooms.

⁹⁷ Ons moet nuwe menskleure maak... wat dieselfde lyk as al die mense se kleure, maar dit sal baie, baie kleure vat net om daai mense se kleure te kry, maar dan het ons ten minste almal s'n in die hele wêreld

⁹⁸ [Ons] moet daarvoor praat!

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research was to promote a more just educational context concerning the recognition and representation of race. This investigation required a critical confrontation with almost invisible ways of racialised meaning (Arber 2008). During my time as an educator in the Western Cape I noticed that learners named a certain light coloured wax crayon *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour'. This occurrence is troublesome within the context of post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa because it perpetuates colonial and apartheid race hierarchies. This case study was an investigation of learners' and educators' perceptions and attitudes about the naming of skin colour in the post-apartheid South African art classroom. In the study, art processes were used with Grade 3 learners to encourage dialogue about the naming of skin colour and to inform possible ways of addressing race issues sensitively in classrooms.

CRT, social justice and critical citizenship education were used as theoretical perspectives to investigate the responses of learners, educators, and the school psychologist in two dual-medium, ex-model C schools in the Western Cape of South Africa. The case study involved one English and one Afrikaans class in each school. Learners from these classes participated in three art lessons where they engaged with the naming of skin colour through drawing, painting, classroom discussion, and reflection. Interviews with educators and the educational psychologist were also conducted. Resource constraints such as time, money, and access were important to consider during the research process. Inductive content analysis revealed perceptions and attitudes of participants. In this chapter the conclusions drawn from analysing the data are highlighted and implications for the educational environment in South Africa are suggested.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS FROM FINDINGS

The data were grouped according to the naming of skin colour, and the perceptions and attitudes regarding race and skin colour. These perceptions and attitudes were revealed within four areas. Firstly, there was a preference for light skin colours. Secondly, learners and educators found it difficult to talk about race. Thirdly, the way in which learners and educators responded to difference in the classroom was discussed. Finally, the problem with the naming of 'human colour' or 'skin colour' was examined. These findings lead to conclusions about the reasons for the name *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour', the challenges when discussing race, and the ways in which learners and educators respond to race.

It was found that the majority of Afrikaans learners used the name *menskleur* ('human colour') and some English learners used the term 'skin colour' when referring to the wax crayon representing white skin. Learners had a skewed view of the population demographics of South Africa and they did not realise that naming a colour 'human colour' has links to the political past of

their country. Learners' comments and artworks showed a preference for lighter skin colours. This could be the result of a desire to assimilate to white hegemony that is perceived as dominant. Educators felt inadequately prepared to address race and the naming of skin colour in the classroom. According to CRT, race is embedded in educational settings in ways which determine how learning takes place. Learners' naming of the colour used to draw white skin as 'human colour' or 'skin colour' could be a reflection of colonial views of race as well as dominant language used to construct apartheid ideologies.

Discussing race in the classroom presented several challenges. Educators felt uncomfortable talking about the past of South Africa and some learners avoided speaking about race during class discussions. This avoidance could reveal some black and coloured learners' desire to 'blend in' and to underemphasise their difference. Social justice in classrooms involves fair recognition of learners' racial identities wherever skin is represented, including the language used to name skin colour and race. Social justice also involves fostering respect for learners' racial identities while finding ways to allow learners to talk about race in South Africa. Educators play a key role in fostering this dialogue. Race and racism therefore remain difficult to address in post-apartheid South African contexts.

Learners and educators recognised difference in the classroom. Educators tended to use "colour-blind" (Banks 2001:12) ideologies to deal with racial diversity, which could hinder them from recognising learners' differing needs in terms of recognition and representation. The naming of a single 'human colour' or 'skin colour' excludes and fails to recognise other skin colours present in classrooms in South Africa. Some learners, however, felt that the naming of white skin as 'human colour' was acceptable. Other learners realised that it excludes black and coloured people. Those who found the naming unacceptable suggested a variety of solutions including removing the colour, changing the name, and adding more colours. This realisation of injustice shows a critical awareness of and sensitivity towards race and diversity. Critical citizenship education encourages learners to accept values such as tolerance, social justice, and social reconstruction. The principles of critical citizenship education are embedded in the curriculum, but in practice they are seldom applied. Even when these principles are applied, there is no guarantee that learners will internalise these principles. Learners' responses to the name *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour' showed that values promoted by critical citizenship were accepted by some learners and not by others.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS

Implications drawn from the findings relate to the language used to describe skin colour, representation of skin colour in educational resources, and educators' responses to race. Furthermore, educators should be aware of racial distribution across South Africa and should consider learners' tendencies to avoid race-related discussion. Additionally, critical citizenship

education and artistic processes should be advanced in educator training and research. Clear curriculum guidelines should also be created and implemented in Foundation Phase classrooms in South Africa.

The language used to describe skin colour should be revised. Changing the naming of *menskleur* ('human colour') or 'skin colour' is necessary within educational environments because it implies past colonial, unjust systems. Different naming can be suggested to learners such as 'peach', 'coral', 'beige', 'cream', 'light orange', or 'pinky orange'. Merely changing the name, however, does not eliminate underlying race issues with regard to the preference of light skin colour or the dominance of white hegemony. Educators should strive to build a positive racial identity within learners by recognising different races and cultures. Representation and recognition of different skin colours should also be evident in educational media used in the classroom.

Foundation phase classrooms contain many images representing skin and skin colour. In my experience, these images often portray only white skin colours. This may be because of the dominance of white ideals, but it could also be a result of the availability of educational resources. Books, flash cards, posters, educational media clips, educational toys, colour-in sheets, puzzles, and all other resources should represent skin colour in a way that reflects the races of all South Africans in a balanced manner. Tools that learners use to create skin colours should allow them to create a variety of skin colours. Currently, retractable wax crayon sets available in South Africa contain two shades of blue and two shades of green, but only one shade of brown. Retractable wax crayon colours could include more shades that are similar to black or coloured learners' skin. This could be achieved by adding two or more shades of brown in crayon sets. Paint and other art materials should also contain a range of colours for skin. If these resources are not available, educators could teach learners how to mix the colour of their skin. Educators would be motivated to do this if they had a critical awareness of the impact that race has on the educational environment.

Educators are cautious of addressing race in the classroom and they tend to 'treat all learners the same' regardless of their differences. Educators should consider whether this achieves social justice. Treating all learners as if they are white does not foster a safe and comfortable environment for all learners. In classrooms, efforts should be made to value all races and cultures equally. This will only be possible when educators reflect on their own race and culture. Educators should realise the ways in which their own racial identity and their ideas about race can perpetuate personal agendas and value systems.

The racial distribution across South Africa should be included in teaching and learning plans. Educators should be aware of the distribution of races in South Africa and should present all these races in the images they choose to show learners. The history of South Africa should also be

discussed in classrooms in a respectful but honest manner. Workshops and resources, such as lesson plans, could facilitate educators in this project. Some educational resources that are currently available include a variety of races. The Department of Basic Education provides workbooks for learners in the Foundation Phase. These books show a variety of races and cultures in the images and stories and serve as a good example of inclusion and just representation (Department of Basic Education 2015). Other educational role players such as publishers, movie developers, and children's book writers and illustrators should strive toward fair representation of different races in the products they create.

Educators should be sensitive to learners' feelings of avoidance. When addressing race in educational environments, it is important to be aware of power imbalances. Learners' willingness to discuss race should be taken into consideration, especially in the classroom where learners of a certain race are in the minority. The role of the educator is critical in this process. Conflict that arises from the discussion of race issues should be resolved in a manner that respects learners' differences. It may be challenging to create a healthy and safe atmosphere for discussing race issues in the classroom, but continuous opportunities for learners to engage in dialogue could work towards this goal.

Critical citizenship education and non-threatening techniques such as artistic processes, singing, theatre, stories, and role-playing may help learners to engage with race issues in a safe manner. More emphasis could be placed on the principles of critical citizenship education in these educational contexts. Educators, however, may not be aware of the principles and implementation of critical citizenship education. Educators may also feel ill equipped to use artistic processes in the classroom. Workshops and resources could therefore be created in order to promote critical citizenship education. Additionally, more research could be done to determine how artistic processes can help learners and educators participate in discussions about race. Educators-in-training should also be equipped to deal with race issues in the classroom. Tertiary education facilities could provide education students with tools and skills to do this. These tools and skills could include training in critical citizenship education as well as various techniques such as open dialogue and artistic processes.

The current curriculum guidelines as prescribed by the Department of Basic Education (2011) contain ideals based on critical citizenship education, but these remain relatively vague. Clear and practical steps should be created to achieve these ideals. The curriculum does not provide clear guidelines on how to address race in an honest and respectful manner. Because of this, educators evade topics regarding race issues and racism is thus perpetuated in the classroom. Policy makers and curriculum creators could consider including specific guidelines for addressing race in the classroom. This could include case studies, lesson plans, topics for discussion, stories, and other tools. Educators and other role players should attempt to address

race issues in schools. Every educational context differs and therefore a programme that achieves success in one school may not be successful in another school. A forum for role players could be created in order to share ideas and stories for best practice.

5.4 FINAL COMMENTS

According to Seekings (2008), there are still too few studies on how racial identity is understood in the lived experience of South African learners. The current study investigated Grade 3 learners' perceptions and attitudes toward skin colour in two ex-model C schools in the Western Cape. The process engaged learners with questioning the naming and representation of skin colour, while attempting to create a safe space for learners and educators to express their experiences of racial identity, both visually and verbally. Responses gathered with learners unmasked the problems regarding current expressions of racial identity. The findings of this case study cannot be generalised across all schools, but may provide useful insights into the perceptions and attitudes of learners and educators regarding race. This research therefore contributes to new understandings of how learners and educators view race in the post-apartheid South African classroom — specifically with regards to the naming of skin colour. The research also contributes to practical methods of using art and dialogue in the Foundation Phase classroom.

Implications based on the findings and conclusions include changing the language used to describe skin colour, just recognition and representation of different races in educational resources, and an increase in self-reflection by educators. It is also implied that the racial distribution across South Africa should be reflected in lesson plans and that a safe space should be created for learners to discuss race issues. Implications further consist of the promotion of critical citizenship and artistic processes in educator training and the creation of clear and practical curriculum guidelines for addressing race.

Further research could investigate broader cases. This could involve schools that use different languages for teaching and learning, schools in different provinces, and schools where the majority of learners and educators are black, coloured or Indian. This would allow researchers to gain more generalisable results in order to affect educational policies in the direction of just and inclusive recognition and representation of race in South African schools.

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7 ADDENDUM A: ART LESSONS

In order to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of Grade 3 learners concerning skin colour, three separate art lessons occurred in the art classroom during school time set aside for Life Skills (Creative Arts).

Lesson 1

During the first lesson the focus was on familiarising learners with some of the art skills required for the intervention. Learners were asked to write down the name of each colour in the retractable wax crayon box on a piece of paper. The crayons used were the prescribed crayons generally used in the Foundation Phase Education classrooms in the Western Cape. After these pieces of paper were collected, learners had the opportunity to draw a self-portrait using the crayons. In the background of their picture, I encouraged them to write words about who they are. This activity served as an introduction to expression of identity and led to a short class discussion on the differences and similarities of learners' work. During the drawing activity, learners came to the painting station, (six learners at a time). Non-toxic, compact powder paint was used. At the painting station, they were asked to pick an autumn leaf from a bag and to try mix the colour of that leaf using the primary colours, white and black. Learners painted this mixed colour on a small square of white paper. After completing the mixing activity, learners returned to their seats to work on their self-portraits. The small squares of paper symbolising the different leaf colours were pasted on a larger poster and displayed at the front of the classroom. Learners were asked what they think about the poster, whether they like it or not, whether their opinion of leaf colours has changed after the activity, and any other thoughts that they might have.

Lesson 2

During the second lesson, a similar programme was followed. Learners were asked to draw a picture of themselves with the most important people in their life. This was done after a short class discussion on "who we are with others". The purpose of this was to alert learners to the relationships that they have with others and the ways in which differences affect our lives. While learners were busy with the drawing activity, six learners worked at the paint station. They were asked to mix their own skin colour by mixing paint to match the back of their hand. When they mixed a colour that was close to their own skin colour, they were asked to paint it on a small, white piece of paper. Once again, these papers were pasted on a larger poster and displayed at the front of the classroom. A discussion followed focusing on learners' feelings and ideas with regards to the different skin colours present in the classroom. This discussion was sensitively facilitated so that learners were not offended; however a small amount of discomfort was expected as discussions of this sort are not generally done in school. Questions were asked around their ideas of the naming of a certain crayon as "human colour" or "skin colour" when, in fact, no-one has skin that is exactly

that colour. Learners received paper and pencils and were asked to write down their ideas about the following three questions: “Why do you think people call this crayon’s colour ‘skin colour’?” “Do you think there is a problem with this? Why or why not?” “What ideas can you think of about what we should do about this?” After learners had sufficient time to think and write, a classroom discussion followed where learners shared their thoughts and ideas and commented on other learners’ views.

Lesson 3

The third lesson served as a de-briefing and reflection space. A summary of the ideas that arose during the previous lessons were presented to learners for comments and reflection. Enough time was allocated for learners to share their views. After this, learners were divided into groups of 4. Each group received an A2 paper, crayons and pencils. Collaboratively, learners created a ‘mind map’ about “Who are we?” The purpose of this was for them to reflect on the ways in which different racial identities are represented in the classroom. They were encouraged to explore this question using pictures and words. During this activity, I moved from group to group to ask them to explain their poster to me. I used active listening skills and paraphrasing in order to understand learners’ ideas about identity. All art produced by learners (including the posters of leaf colours and skin colours) were taken away from the schools for analysis and later returned to the learners and educators.

8 ADDENDUM B: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The interview was done at the educator's convenience in a space where she felt comfortable and relaxed. The interview started with an explanation of the interview process, the need for the recording device, the option for the educator to decline answering certain questions, and the option to terminate the interview at any time. The interview was conducted in the educator's language of preference: either Afrikaans or English. Questions were sometimes asked in a slightly different order or with a slight change in words in order to keep the interview as close to a normal conversation as possible. During the interview, I used active listening strategies and paraphrasing to ensure that I understood the educator accurately.

1. For how long have you been a teacher?
2. What inspired you to become a teacher?
3. What are some things that you enjoy about working with Grade 3 learners?
4. What does 'identity' mean for you?
5. How do the learners in your class express their identities?
6. Are there any noticeable differences in the ways different learners express their identities? How?
7. Did you notice anything interesting in the ways they express their identities in the art classroom? What?
8. What does 'social justice' mean for you?
9. How do you think social justice relates to education in South Africa?
10. Do you feel that there are any unfair or unjust situations that learners need to cope with?
11. How does the naming of 'skin colour' occur in your classroom?
12. How do you negotiate different cultural identities in your classroom?
13. How do you think art education can be used to help learners cope with conflict or injustice?
14. How do you think art education can help learners express their cultural identities in a fair and equal way?
15. What did you think about this interview? Do you have any questions that you would like to ask?
16. Do you have anything that you would like to add?

The educator was thanked for her time and effort. The interview was transcribed verbatim. After this, the educator had an opportunity to view it and to give advice regarding their input and whether their opinions and meanings were represented accurately.