

**A NARRATIVE INQUIRY INTO HOW CHILDREN EXPERIENCE AND NEGOTIATE RACE AND
RACE RELATIONS IN THEIR SCHOOL SPACES.**

by

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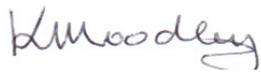
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DECLARATION OF OWN WORK

I, Kalaivani Moodley, declare that this dissertation entitled:

A narrative inquiry into how children experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces is my own work and that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and citations. This dissertation has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.



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ABSTRACT

This study looked at how children at a de-segregated primary school in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces. A qualitative research design was used. The methodological approach of narrative inquiry was used to interpret the stories narrated by the child participants. Data was gathered from individual and focus group interviews involving two multiracial friendship groups.

The sub-field of Children's Geographies and new sociology of childhood or New Childhood Studies formed the conceptual and theoretical frameworks on which the study was founded. The five themes that emerged from the data analysis revolved around learners' constructions of race and racial difference; learners' experiences in the spaces of race relations in and out of the school; how children make sense of their identities and racial identities; and the fluid spaces of racial identity and learners' views on promoting race relations.

The study revealed that the participants used the social construction of race to categorise themselves. While the children, in their roles as social actors, claimed to have joined friendship groups that were multiracial and drew comfort from their companionship with members at school, they raised what they regarded as racial abuse on the part of their fellow learners and teachers. There was evidence also of power struggles between learners of the different race groups in the confines of their school spaces and this reportedly affected them socially, experientially and emotionally. The participants, in keeping with the philosophy of Children's Geographies and New Childhood Studies, articulated their suggestions about how positive race relations can be promoted at their school.

The study recommends that there should not be any complacency about the issue of race and race relations in our schools today, and that there should be more follow-up studies in a South African context to add to the growing body of research in this field in more developing countries.

KEY WORDS: race and race relations, school spaces, young children, narrative inquiry.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an outline of the rationale for, the significance as well as the focus and purpose of this study. The chapter then provides a bird's eye view of the salient elements that propel the research: the background information, a brief review of the literature, the methodological approach and the research questions. The conclusion together with an overview of the dissertation completes the chapter.

1.2 Rationale and Significance of the Study

The study aimed to explore how children from a suburban primary school experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces. This knowledge was aimed at alerting the researcher to pointers for subsequent transformation and improvement, if necessary, to classroom pedagogy for the overall upliftment of the social, political and academic ethos and culture of the school.

My introduction to literature on critical race pedagogy, particularly the book, the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire (2005), has fuelled my interest in finding ways of changing and improving my own classroom practice and thereby empowering my own learners to become socially and politically active in claiming their own rights in a democratic country. I have borne in mind that the social construction of South African society into four racial categories through the Population Registration Act (1950) and driven by colonial, segregation and apartheid dogma laid the foundation of race relations. According to Maré (2001), this categorisation of society catalysed the racial and racist practices that dominated or dimmed the opportunities and life paths of every living South African.

Jansen (2004) has shown that there have been sporadic acts of resistance to change in South Africa's educational landscape in the form of Afrikaner parents in Vryburg in the North West province of South Africa supporting their white children to oppose the intake of Black African¹ learners; White learners at Bryanston High in Johannesburg, Gauteng province, stabbing a Black African learner; and a White parent, her partner and her daughter attacking a Black African learner at Edgemoed High in Cape Town. This was compounded more recently by the ugly incident of racist behaviour displayed by a White teacher at Wilgehof Primary School (Louw, 2013). Despite this, the overall progress to a non-racialised educational dispensation was smooth and fairly insignificant in South Africa.

Durrheim and Mtose (2006), however, found that despite the fact that Black African people are no longer excluded, marginalised and oppressed under the pernicious grip of apartheid but are supported instead through the legalities of Affirmative Action, Black Economic Empowerment and other policies of transformation, the ideal has still not been attained. Oppression still rears its ugly head and its effect can be seen not only on an economic level but also in the way Black African people struggle to shake off the burden of negativity that goes hand in glove with the stereotypes that have bedevilled the notion of what it means to be black in the new South Africa (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006).

The racial composition of teachers in my school is skewed disproportionately towards the Indian race group. It was hoped that my study would identify and demarcate areas of conflict that still pose a barrier to the ideals embodied in 'Ubuntu' and the utopia of a racially unencumbered society at the micro-level of the children's geographical places and spaces of their school. I also hoped to explore patterns of race relations in the school context that may be positive, healthy and encouraging.

Paulo Freire (2005) maintained that education could have two conflicting purposes. It may help to integrate the younger generation into the fabric of the present system and enable them to conform or it may drive them to act freely in their criticism of and creative

¹ These racial classifications "Coloured", "Indian", and 'Black' or 'African' are the apartheid era nomenclature. The use of racial terms persists in South Africa, I consider "race" to be a social construct that is produced and reproduced for ideological purposes. I use these terms in the context of desegregation of schools in South Africa since the 1990s.

engagement with reality and so learn how to transform their world. Consequently it is time not only to empower these young social actors on the school's stage and give them a voice to embrace the positive change that may be slow in coming but also to offer resistance to the thoughts and actions of those who oppose that change. Nelson Mandela said in his inauguration speech on 9 May 1994, "Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another..." With this in mind, I have hoped that my study would make a small contribution towards unconditionally bringing about racial equilibrium socially, politically and academically at our schools.

1.3 Focus and Purpose of the Study

As a teacher with 37 years of teaching experience in primary schools in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa and based mainly in the foundation phase, I have been witness to the ever-changing dynamics between and among children and have often intervened subtly and blatantly in altering the power struggles that ensued. Such friction in the past was mainly between the various ethnic groups of the Indian population but presently following the birth of democracy in South Africa and the exodus of mainly Black African learners from township schools to former all- Indian schools, there have hardly been any significant accounts of acrimony between Indian and Black African learners.

With the dismantling of apartheid and the opening of schools to all race groups, the spectre of racial discrimination and re-segregation has not been entirely dissipated. Ndimande's (2012) qualitative study in 2003 of Black African parents of children attending various elementary and secondary schools in the Gauteng province of South Africa brought home the stark truth that Black African learners did not experience wholehearted acceptance in their desegregated schools.

With this in mind, my prime aim in this study was to hear the stories of mainly the Indian and Black African learners around their experiences of race and race relations and in which better context than in their very own school spaces. I have taken on the responsibility of collecting information from children who, according to Wyness (2003), are able within their social spaces to articulate their feelings about those issues that have a palpable effect on them. One of the issues that children grapple with on a daily basis is that of colour-

blindness. The colour-blind fallacy was intensified by the mistaken belief that children are not sensitive to physical differences in people such as colour of skin or texture of hair. On the contrary, research has attested to the fact that by the age of five, children have developed racial prejudices against other racial groups (Van Wyk, 2001).

In order to challenge perceptions regarding race and race relations, these very perceptions need to be accessed and discussed. My knowledge and concomitant interest in exploring the stories of children around these very salient issues of race and race relations fuelled the purpose of this study. I specifically wanted to hear how these children navigate their way around one another as well as around their teachers in their social spheres. Their responses to the various racial messages that they are exposed to and the meanings they have assigned to these messages were important factors that framed this study.

1.4 Background to the Study

Various theories like that of Parson's socialisation theory and Piaget's child development theory gave adults the stamp of maturity, competence and rationality in stark contrast to their characterisation of children as being not fully formed, finished or complete human beings (Jenks, 1996). The social construction of childhood as human beings in the making rather than human beings *per se* has been maintained by Qvortrup (1994) who has shown how this attitude has denigrated children as being unable of being in command of their own lives. It is against the backdrop of this reconceptualization of children as active social agents in their own right and the burgeoning views that children do have a voice that can be heard and that they are, as Jenks (1996) believes, social, moral, political and economic entities, that my study was undertaken.

The idea that each child is a social actor within his/her social space has been advanced by van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) who believe that children as young as three years of age are alert to the dynamics that accompany issues around race and race relations. From their unstructured field observations of 58 pre-school-age children, they described how White children were quite aware of what force and power they could wield with their own racial-ethnic status. Using a non-authoritarian approach which enabled them to move freely amongst the groups of children in the nursery, they were able to access these very

young children's understanding and construction of race with startling revelations. They discovered that nursery children were adept at using racial and ethnic concepts and images from their surroundings to influence the behaviour of their peers and adults.

That the issue of race and race relations in children's school spaces can have seriously adverse effects on their physical and mental welfare has been documented in the story of Keandra Johnson (Masko, 2005). Employing an ethnographic approach located within the framework of Critical Race Theory, Masko, a White researcher with two adopted African-American children, accessed the racial experiences of an African-American girl in an urban after school programme. When asked how she felt about her race, Keandra indicated that she liked it but it was difficult as people did not like Black people in her school. Humiliation was one of her reactions to racism. She felt embarrassed at the racist comments that were levelled at her. She also reflected with sadness at the way she was treated and with anger that others could dehumanise her in that manner. At times she retaliated with an aggressive stance at her tormentors and justified it by claiming that she liked her race, that she had feelings about it and she wouldn't change it because that was who she was.

1.5 Review of Related Literature

An in-depth account of the relevant literature on which this study is anchored is embodied in chapter two. The key concepts, namely, school spaces, race and race relations constituted the backbone of the study.

1.5.1 School spaces

The concept of school spaces, as observed by Wyness (2003), encompasses the 'social space' that both adults and children occupy and it is herein that children are able to make sense of their relationships with others. The mantra that is heard throughout this study is that it is within these spaces that children are able to speak openly about issues that concern them the most.

1.5.2 Race

In the absence of a lucid and unambiguous definition, the construct of 'race' can be viewed in two ways. On the one hand, it is proclaimed as having a genetic or biological foundation whereas, on the other hand, it is viewed as being socially categorised. Here in South Africa, what is hard to fathom is that according to Maré (2001), apartheid did not define race biologically, but fearing world censure, following the abomination of Hitler's holocaust, preferred to justify it from a social constructionist perspective.

1.5.3 Race relations

With its prominence in the study, the construct of race relations has been a thorny issue in the history of South Africa's politics. The population wheel with its four racial spokes, namely, Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds, has kept the cauldron of racial bitterness simmering all the years leading up to South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. Even with the demise of apartheid, there was the potential for a cruder and blatant upsurge of violence as a legitimate response to racism (Vally, Dolombisa & Proteus, 2002).

Zuma's (2013) study of race relations at the University of Cape Town has shown that the students preferred to be with those who were like them and the interdependence of race and class catalysed those very students' everyday interactions. A similar observation was made in Bhana and Pattman's (2010) study of 16-17 year old learners. A White girl had remarked that if one were to look at the field during the breaks, one would invariably see separate groups of Indian girls or White girls with hardly any mixing at all.

1.5.4 Studies on children's experience of race and race relations

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory explains the impact of a number of enmeshing systems on an individual. The microsystem comprising of the family, peer group and classrooms or neighbourhoods exerts a crucial influence on the developing child. The mesosystem, which is made up of two microsystems interacting with each other, such as that between a child's home and school, has been valuable in making sense of children's responses to their race relationships.

Studies on the socialisation of children by parents, the role of teachers in children's experience of race and children's own experiences and ways of navigating their way around race and race relations will receive close scrutiny in the next chapter.

1.5.4.1 Socialisation of children by parents

There is growing support for the contention that from their inter-racial experiences with others parents are able to exert an influence on their children's wellbeing. Research by Caughy, O'Campo and Muntaner (2004), Friend, Hunter and Fletcher (2011), Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt and Gunnar (2006), Wallace (2006), and White-Johnson, Ford and Sellers (2010) have all lent credence to the belief that parents use their own racial experiences to indoctrinate their children in ways of protecting themselves against the degrading effects of potential racist behaviours.

1.5.4.2 The role of teachers in children's experience of race

Teachers have played a vital role in moulding the minds of their charges. The forthcoming chapter will document evidence of the like of what happened at Wilgehof Primary school in the Free State province of South Africa where a White teacher racially abused the predominantly Black African learner population at the school. Studies by Berkel, Murry, Hurt, Chen, Brody, Simons, Cutrona and Gibbons (2009), Howarth (2006), Kohli (2008), Marais (2010) and Meier (2005) have been valuable resources in this regard.

1.5.4.3 Children's experience of race and race relations

That compromised race relations can yield negative outcomes on children's mental and physical wellbeing has been documented in the works of Carter, Caruthers and Foster (2009), Dulin-Keita, Hannon Iii, Fernandez and Cockerham (2011), Erasmus and Ferreira (2002), Keizan and Duncan (2010), Masko (2005), Smith and Langa (2010) and Van Ausdale & Feagin (1996) and these will be explicated more fully in the detailed literature review that follows.

1.6 The Methodological Approach to this Study

The narrative approach to qualitative research was undertaken in this study and, according to Mitchell and Egudo (2003), mainly to obtain rich data through stories. This approach was opted for primarily to give voice, according to Connolly (1998), to those who have a firm understanding of their social worlds and with deference to Van Ausdale and Feagin's (2001) observation that children have the ability to navigate their way around social constructs and social spaces.

The theoretical framework on which the study is anchored is that of Children's Geographies and New Childhood Studies. According to Muthukrishna (2013), Children's Geographies which falls under the ambit of human geography examines the places and spaces of children's lives from an experiential, political and ethical perspective.

New Childhood Studies, according to Skivenes and Strandbu (2006), advocates that children should be seen in the present in the capacity of human *beings* rather than only in the future as human *becomings*. New Childhood Studies also views children not as voiceless but vociferous beings to be reckoned with.

The study was undertaken at a racially integrated primary school in the northern suburbs of Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. The participants consisted of two friendship groups of five friends each, consisting of three Indian females, one Coloured female, four Black African females, one Indian-Coloured male and one Black African male.

Each of the learners was told that they would be required to engage in individual interviews as well as focus group discussions. The individual semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to probe and clarify issues about the matter being studied (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). The focus group interviews, according to Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2011), created and cultivated a social environment in which the members were coaxed to participate openly about their experiences.

1.7 Research Questions

The key research questions that framed the study were:

- What are the learners' schooling experiences in relation to their own racial identities and those of their peers?

This question was asked to gauge whether the learners' lives at the school were affected on account of their race and whether these experiences were unique to them or were applicable to all the race groups. Attached to this question was the burning issue of whether racial harmony or disharmony prevailed at the school.

- How are racial identities constructed, contested and experienced through the lens of learners within the context of the primary school?

In keeping with the theories of Children's Geographies and New Childhood Studies where children occupy a social space and should be empowered to claim their rights in that space as well as make crucial decisions as active social agents, this question was posed to see how children categorised themselves in the new South Africa. Furthermore, as they were children from the intermediate phase (approximately 12 years of age) in a primary school, it would be interesting to gauge how these racial identities are ratified and advanced and what sorts of experiences ensue in the process.

- In what way do these constructions, contestations and experiences shape the social and schooling lives of the learners?

This question was asked to gather data on how these learners' racially constructed identities impacted on their social and academic lives.

1.8 Snapshot into Chapters

Chapter two provides an analytical description of the existing literature from both local and international sources on the issue of race and race relations as well as the other key concepts and how this shapes the lives of the learners in their school.

Chapter three presents and justifies the research methodology and design employed in this study, and the research tools that were used to generate data relevant to the key research questions for the study.

Chapter four presents the findings of the study.

Chapter five presents the conclusion and implications of the study for future research.

1.9 Conclusion

The main thrust of this chapter was to arouse and develop the reader's interest in the intricacies of race and racial relations among primary school children within their social spaces. The key concepts that underpin this research have been spotlighted for the purpose of generating more critical thought, more elaborate research and greater debate. The next chapter will provide an analytical description of the existing literature from both local and international sources on the issue of race and how this shapes the lives of learners in schools.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I firstly discuss key concepts in the study, namely, race, race relations and school spaces. Secondly, I focus on research internationally and locally on how children experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces. I confine this review to studies that examine the issue through the lens of children themselves, parents, and teachers in the context of schools and their cultures.

2.2 School Spaces, Race and Race Relations

2.2.1 School Spaces

When one makes references to the idea of children's school spaces, the very first thought that comes to mind is merely that of their physical environment. This study is about more than just that. It is more specifically about the children's 'social' space which offers one, as Wyness (2003) maintains, the opportunity to view their relationships with their peers and with other significant adult figures that occupy that space. The idea of children's spaces extends beyond the obligations of adults to safeguard and control children's interests. It also incorporates the process of "reciprocal and negotiable relations between adults and children" (Wyness, 2003, p.224). Wyness (2003) further postulates that it is within these spaces that children acquire an audible voice to articulate how they feel about issues that affect them and others around them.

The school, more especially a primary school in which this study is located is a social site. Each child is a social actor within his/her social space. It is within the social space of the school and their classroom that children display this ability to negotiate such social constructs. Wyness (2003) maintains that children's space is encompassing and includes the social, which includes children's relationships with each other and with adults. Children's

space is significant too in the sense that it affords children the opportunity of having an audible voice in matters that affect them.

Space has been considered to be a very significant construct in making sense of race. The connection between race and space is not new. Winant (2002) explains it has its roots in colonialism and imperialism where land was stolen and control was exercised. Neely and Samura (2011) argue that it is through the lens of space that one can not only locate and make sense of the racial dynamics but also seek ways of bringing about a shift in the struggles for power and domination that reside there.

Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks (1980) proclaim that it is within the confines of these spaces that young children are “colour blind” in the sense that they have no conscious awareness of race and racism. This colour-blind ideology has been fiercely contested by Bonilla-Silva (2003) when he noticed the way in which race and racial attributes were ignored when people used certain types of empty rhetoric to mask their racist inclinations. As much as the proponents of the colour-blind façade proclaim that we live in a colour-blind, non-racist world, researchers such as Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks (1980); Dulin-Keita, Hannon Iij, Farnandez and Cockerham (2011); and Zembylas (2010) are of the distinct opinion that children at a very young age are aware of biological as well as cultural differences among people, and they display the social attitudes that are extant towards these differences.

2.2.2 Race

The term “race” is not always clearly understood and expressed. Masko (2005) has felt that one often has a Herculean task when asked to write or converse about race. The problem stems from the fact that we do not have a universal understanding of the term “race”. Masko (2005) elaborates that the confusion arises when, at some times “race” is biologically or physically constructed whereas at other times it is socially categorised.

Nayak (2006) avers that the contention that there are separate races with genetically distinguishable characteristics or culturally fixed attributes is now viewed as a fabulously crafted act of fiction or a modern myth. Nayak (2006) has maintained that he cannot

overemphasise the long laboured but significantly salient remark that *there is no such thing as race*.

2.2.2.1 Race as a biological construct

Banton (2001) claims that the broad assumption for some time was that there were five primary human races akin to the animal species: European or white, African or black, Chinese or yellow, South Asian or brown and Native American or red. The Australian Aborigines and the Arctic Inuit were at times regarded as additional races. This categorisation, according to Banton (2001), was based on the belief that race was a biological fact contingent on physical characteristics such as structure and size of head, eyes, ears, lips, nose and colour of eyes and skin, and not a social construct as is currently accepted.

Targowska (2005) argues that this biological fallacy in categorising people primarily in terms of physical attributes (phenotypes) is extant today and can be detected in selection outcomes that are utilised by legal, economic and educational institutions that accord differential treatment and better opportunities to certain individuals at the expense of others.

In South Africa the abominable system of apartheid was propped up by the racial categorisation that was sanctioned by the 1950 Population Registration Act. This Act, as Seekings (2008) claims, stipulated that all South Africans belong to one of the three racial categories:

“A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person, who in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person. A native is a person who is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa. A Coloured person is a person who is not a white person, nor (is he or she) a native” (p.3).

A fourth category, that being Indian for people of South Asian descent was later added. This second categorisation which is reminiscent of the status quo in the United

States has been founded, according to Morris, Hayes-Bautista, McClendon and Flowers (2002), for the purpose of legitimising prejudice and discrimination.

2.2.2.2 Race as a social construct

With due respect to what has been said, there is growing support for the claim that race is not biologically determined but rather socially constructed, and that becomes clear in its application in certain historical, political and social contexts. Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks (1980) maintain that race is really a social concept by virtue of the fact that group membership is uniquely created by individuals within a particular social system.

In concurring with the view that race has no biological credence or credibility and the scientific belief in the commonality of human DNA (Gillborn, 1995), Targowska (2005) contends that race hitherto still refers to communities of people that are socially categorised by virtue of their common attributes. Hence, as Gillborn (1995) maintains, “race operates as a system of socially constructed and enforced criteria, constantly recreated and modified through human interactions” (p. 3).

Kohli (2008) maintains that as a social construct, race classifications may not remain static. To illustrate this point, she avers that those who were once classified as Jews or Italians are now reclassified as whites. Similarly Arabs who maintained that they were whites on the population census could be racially typified as non-white Middle Eastern as a means of convenience when making applications for employment.

At the height of the apartheid era in South Africa, Chinese went to great lengths to be regarded as honorary whites and enjoyed the privileges that accompanied that designation. But with the birth of democracy in 1994 and the enforcement of the highly controversial Employment Equity Act, 1998, in which affirmative action in the new South Africa is outlined and the elimination of those same privileges, the Chinese population has since then lobbied to be classified as Blacks (Peterson, 2008).

Omi and Winant’s (2002) contention that race must be seen as an “unstable and decentred complex of social meanings” (p. 123) within a political spectrum further explodes

the myth of race as purely a biological construct. Our understanding of race as human beings does not occur in a social vacuum but within the social environments within which we find ourselves (Machery & Faucher, 2005) and these environments by implication, are always subject to change. Even Ndimande (2009) agrees that “race is a social construct that is constantly shaped and reshaped” (p. 130).

2.2.3 Race Relations

The issue of race relations is complex as it can arouse deep-seated emotions that have been repressed from past experiences that have been bitter, painful and personally as well as collectively degrading. Should race relations be compromised in any way, the situation could become potentially volatile. Vally, Dolombisa and Proteus (2002) have shown that despite the demise of apartheid, the scourge of race and ethnic conflict has kept the bomb of violence in the country ticking. In addition, the South African Human Rights Commission’s (SAHRC) study entitled *Racism, Racial Segregation and De-segregation in South African Public Secondary Schools* (1999) showed that while racism even in its most diluted form is extant everywhere, there was the great possibility that it could mushroom into a diabolical force in post-1994 South Africa and insidiously be presented in race-provoked violence (Vally, Dolombisa & Proteus, 2002).

It is common knowledge that education in South Africa for all the races of colour was segregated and unequal to that of Whites. The status quo was propped up by the Bantu Education Act of 1953. As has already been mentioned, Black Africans suffered the greatest disadvantage when the education budget was apportioned to each race group (Mncwabe, 1990). But with the demise of apartheid in 1994 and the exodus of large numbers of Black African learners to previously white-only schools, the challenges of racial discrimination are still visible.

Where schools have become desegregated, it must be noted that the constructs assimilation, integration and re-segregation warrant careful analysis. Chisholm and Sujee (2006) aver that with assimilation the ensuing power play in attendance ensures that the subordinate group submits to and is in turn accommodated by the dominant group. Vandeyar (2010) conducted a study in six primary and four secondary urban schools in three

provinces in South Africa between 2006 and 2007. She conducted semi-structured interviews of 18 teachers, 4 of whom were white male, 5 white female, 3 Indian male, 3 Indian female, 1 coloured male, 1 coloured female and 1 African female. Observation was the chief data-gathering method. From her utilisation of qualitative content analysis, she discovered that assimilation was quite visible as evident from the remark of an Indian teacher of her black African learners, "... this is an Indian school and they know it and if they want to come here, then they must be prepared to follow the rules and regulations of this school" (p.350).

Lack of integration or re-segregation, as opposed to de-segregation or assimilation in which positions of power are still entrenched (Soudien, 2004; Soudien, Carrim & Sayed, 2004), which have trammelled the noble sentiments behind desegregation was evident in the statements of a white school girl in a study by Bhana and Pattman (2010). This qualitative study of 16-17 year old learners was undertaken in an African township school, a school for Indian learners, a school formerly for white boys and a school formerly for white girls in the greater Durban area of South Africa. The girl stated, "At break, if you look on the field it will be a group of Indian girls and a group of white girls, there's hardly any mixing. And it's probably because they are all from different cultural backgrounds so you relate to a white girl better than you would relate to a black girl" (p. 374).

A similar finding is located in a study into the social psychology of self-segregation conducted by Zuma (2013) at the University of Cape Town in 2011. The main objective of the study was to identify the social and psychological factors that cause first year students in a post-apartheid university to form racially homogeneous friendships as well as those factors that obstruct their racially heterogeneous friendships. A total of 69 participants, made up 62 first year students, 1 Director of the Admissions Office, 1 Transformation Officer, and 5 residence sub-wardens comprised the non-probability purposive sampling. Of these 6 were Black males, 39 Black females, 7 coloured females, 8 White females, 1 White male and 1 Chinese female. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 20. From individual and focus group interviews, the data was analysed and interpreted qualitatively using the narrative inquiry method. The study found that the way the students made sense of and attributed meanings to intergroup contact played a major role in instances of intergroup

interactions. In the midst of the trials and tribulations within the contested space of the university, the students invariably appeared to associate with those very much like them “in terms of various measures of identity” (Zuma, 2013, p.16). The study also identified the emotions that come into play in intergroup contact. The study further looked at the way both ‘race’ and class functioned interdependently in the students’ everyday relations.

A more positive outcome was reported in a study conducted by Tabane and Human-Vogel (2010) in their study of 10 Grade 11 (black African and Indian) learners in a desegregated House of Delegates secondary school in South Africa. Focus group interviews based on a visual presentation revealed that although racial integration has a place in brokering a “personal sense of belonging and contributing to social cohesion, the more significant implication of this study lies in the silence of social cohesion in the black/white integration” (p. 503).

The construct ‘race relations’ is a very complex as indicated in studies I discuss in the next section.

2.3. Examining empirical studies on children’s experience of race and race relations

2.3.1 Introduction

This section provides an account of studies examining the socialisation of children by parents, the pivotal role of teachers in children’s experience of race and children’s experiences, and ways of negotiating race and race relations.

2.3.2 Studies examining the socialisation of children by parents

Although the school, the neighbourhood, the extended family and other social agents play a role in the socialisation of children, the parents play the most vital role in this process. Parents within minority groups in the United States, more especially African-American parents have found this process extremely challenging mainly on account of the fact that their racial status has been constantly under threat. The only way they could safeguard their children’s welfare is by going to extreme lengths to socialise their children about the impact that race will have on their lives (White-Johnson, Ford & Sellers, 2010).

Parents' experiences of their relations with other races may affect the wellbeing of their children. Caughy, O'Campo and Muntaner (2004) explain that racial socialisation is a mechanism that parents may adopt to provide children with information regarding the messages and practices that others may use to define their race status.

Caughy, O'Campo and Muntaner (2004) aimed at finding out whether African - American parents' own experiences of and responses to racism would impact negatively on their children's socio-emotional development as a result of their racial socialisation strategies. Two hundred (200) parents from Baltimore in the United States were interviewed for approximately 2.5 hours each in this study conducted by Caughy, O'Campo and Muntaner (2004). Data was collected via questionnaires, rating scales and checklists. The researchers found that parents who argued that they took an active role in dealing with those who engaged in racist behaviour pointed out that their action caused their children to present with fewer behaviour problems.

In another study conducted by Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt and Gunnar (2006), the focus was on whether parents with milder forms of colour-blind racial behaviour would resort to enculturation and racial socialisation on account of the importance they attached to cultural socialisation. Cultural socialization, according to Lee (2003), encompasses ways in which parents deal with ethnic and racial issues in a family, more specially the manner in which parents relay messages embodying cultural values, behaviours, beliefs and customs to their children, and the degree to which these children imbibe these messages and become capable members of a racially divergent society. According to Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt & Gunnar (2006) enculturation "refers to both the belief in and practice of promoting ethnicity-specific experiences that encourage the development of a positive ethnic identity, which has been found to serve as a protective factor against racism and discrimination" (p. 2-3). Data was obtained from two samples, one for 668 families and the other for 1,166 families in Minnesota, United States via three cultural socialisation scales. The hypothesis was supported in this study as these parents had very strong beliefs in the importance of enculturation and racialization of these adopted children.

Wallace (2006) has maintained that racial socialisation is a process which enables parents to socialise their children on race connected matters, interactions and behaviours to

counter the effects of prejudice and racism. Similarly, Lee et al (2006) assert that racial socialisation refers to both the belief in and practice of promoting race-specific experiences that help children develop coping skills to protect them from racism and discrimination (p. 3) The main aims of Wallace's study were to obtain clarification on the experiences of African-American parents and children regarding socialisation, and to recognise issues that affect the degree to which parents and children agree about racial socialisation. The participants in the study were 62 sixth and seventh grade African-American children, specifically 26 adolescent males and 36 adolescent females with 60 mothers and 24 fathers. The families were from the Durham and Chapel Hill communities in America. Data which was analysed quantitatively was collected via interviews that lasted 1-2 hours and questionnaires. The study showed that although both parents indicated that they relayed more messages than which their children reported receiving, the children appeared to be more receptive to reports from their mothers rather than their fathers who may have played the role of disciplinarian in their lives. Nevertheless, the racial socialisation that took place served as a buffer between the negative messages that these children received from their white counterparts and their psychological, emotional and intellectual development.

A study was conducted by Friend, Hunter and Fletcher (2011) through a cultural-ecological approach to examine the links between parental racial socialisation and their children's academic performance and whether these links were mediated by gender and socio-economic status. One hundred and thirty four (134) fifth grade African-American children and their parents from a mid-sized south-eastern county in the United States participated in this larger, mixed-method, longitudinal study. Data was collected from face-to-face interviews and questionnaires and analysed quantitatively using multiple regression analysis. It was found that parental racial socialisation which consisted of preparing their children to contend with bias and instilling pride in them did not play a significant role in their children's academic achievement, nor did socio-economic status play a role here. Gender did, however, impact on this association as boys fared better academically when they were prepared more frequently to deal with bias messages.

White-Johnson, Ford and Sellers (2010) maintain that racial socialisation is most likely to occur after children have been maltreated on account of their race. To explore the

racial socialisation actions of African-American mothers, White-Johnson, Ford and Sellers (2010) aimed at recognising patterns in the way these mothers reported on messages that made them racially proud, on messages that barred them, on egalitarian, self-worth as well as negative messages and their racial socialisation behaviours and to see whether the resultant profiles differed according to demographic data and race-related factors. The sample consisted of 212 African-American mothers and their children and the location was a Midwestern city. Data was collected from questionnaires and analysed quantitatively. The study identified the three socialisation profiles, namely, the Multi-faceted, the Race Salience and the Unengaged Profiles. Employing latent content analysis, the authors found that the mothers in the Multi-faceted profile were better educated, were exposed to a higher frequency of racial discrimination and were more vocal about race during their childhood than their unengaged counterparts. These mothers in the multi-faceted profile identified racial socialization activities that depicted African American culture in a positive light. They highlighted those impediments their children would encounter owing to their racial categorisation and which they considered expedient for equipping an African American child with the requisite skills to thrive in an environment that dehumanises them (White-Johnson, Ford & Sellers, 2010). The mothers in the Low Race Salience profile resorted to egalitarian and self-worth messages to socialise their children with the primary purpose of minimising the deleterious impact of race in their children's lives and devoting all their energies to advance their self-worth.

Another study conducted in South Africa by Ndimande (2012) illustrates how black African parents felt about the way their children were treated in desegregated schools. The author undertook focus group interviews with 122 black African² parents of children attending elementary public secondary schools in three areas in the Gauteng province of South Africa during the first half of 2003. The results of this qualitative study showed that parents were vociferous about reports of racism in these schools. Black children were not treated the same as their white counterparts. When black children were addressed, remarks like "you coloured boy" or "you black girl" were used (p.127) derogatorily. Parents meetings

² The racial categories used in this dissertation: African, coloured, White and Indian, have their origin in the system of racial classification used under apartheid. However, they still appear in existing South African legislation and policy mainly in reference to redress measures. While the use of racial terms persists in South Africa, I consider "race" to be a social construct with an ideological basis.

were held on different days for the different racial groups. Moreover, the meetings were conducted through the medium of Afrikaans. Seating arrangements clearly divided the race groups with blacks on the one side and whites on the other.

To summarise, it would appear that the racial socialisations messages that parents impart to their children play a very salient role in preparing their children to arm themselves against the toxic influence that the emphasis on race may have on the lives of the disempowered or those who find themselves relegated to a position of subordination by the culture that holds the power and sway over their lives. This issue is crucial to understanding how the Black African participants in the current study have been able to survive in a predominantly Indian ethos, and thereby mitigate the influence of any forces that had the potential to submerge them racially.

2.3.3 Pivotal role of teachers in children's experience of race

It has often been said that teachers can make or break their pupils. The pivotal role that teachers play in children's experience of race can never be over emphasised. The studies that follow capture the powerful control that teachers exercise over the children in their care. The media recently was abuzz with an ugly episode of racist behaviour displayed by a teacher at Wilgehof Primary School in South Africa that accommodates only two white children while the rest are black (Louw, 2013). A white father was horrified by reports from his two children aged 12 and 13 of the numerous incidents of racial behaviour engaged by teachers at this school. To add insult to injury an old South African flag that was emblematic of apartheid was on display in the front of the class with a poster of six primates hanging on a rope and a caption bluntly ridiculing blacks for having 'primitive brain' capacity (Louw, 2013, p. 2). The pernicious 'k' word is used liberally by one of these teachers at this school that is run and managed by white personnel.

A study in which a mixed methods approach was used was conducted by Berkel, Murry, Hurt, Chen, Brody, Simons, Cutrona and Gibbons (2009) to investigate how discrimination has a direct influence on the pride that African-Americans have in themselves, and how this may be counteracted indirectly by techniques employed by their parents. It was their view that if African American parents were exposed to racial

discrimination, then they would certainly socialise their children to adopt ways to protect them against the negative influence of such racist behaviour on their development. Data was collected from panel and focus group interviews of African-American families residing in northeast Georgia of the United States. Three hundred and seventy three (373) families made up the quantitative sample whereas 31 families comprised the qualitative sample. The quantitative results showed that with collective socialisation and positive parenting, adolescents were able to refrain from negative responses to racism such as underachieving academically, giving in to peer-pressure and engaging in aggressive behaviour. Conversely, the qualitative findings were that the adolescent males felt that their academic aspirations were being consistently quashed by their white teachers' perceptions about their inability and lack of intelligence. There were hardly any attempts by these teachers to draw them into the lessons, and they were more often than not made to engage in tasks that were far below the level of their white counterparts (Berkel et al., 2009).

Marais (2010) conducted an ethnographic study over an 18 month period from 2006 - 2008 at two former white and Afrikaans-only primary schools in Johannesburg, South Africa. His primary aim was to find out whether the paradigm shift from exclusion on the basis of race to inclusion of all races in education heralded the demise of racism. Marais (2010) conducted 40 interviews and had informal discussions with the teachers of both the schools. He also engaged in participant observation in the classrooms and staffrooms of the schools. The author found that racial stereotypes were being reinforced at one of the schools with the belief that as black African learners are not academically-inclined, they can make up for that deficit by excelling in sport. The teachers firmly believed that learners' behaviour is dictated by their race, and to justify this they added that black African learners have no idea of how to behave correctly in the classroom. In the other school, though the principal was all for transformation and an ardent critic of racism, individual acts of prejudice were exhibited in certain teachers such as sending only white children on errands or encouraging learner participation only with white learners. Racism was also evident in the attitudes and perceptions held by white teachers of their black African counterparts. The black teachers were labelled as being lazy and unprepared for their lessons.

Kohli (2008) used Critical Race Theory (CRT) to frame the qualitative interviews she conducted with nine women of colour from an undergraduate education programme in a university in South California, United States. Three of the participants were African Americans, three Latino Americans and the other three Asian/Pacific Islanders. The hour long interviews were aimed at garnering information about whether these future educators had experienced or witnessed acts of discrimination in their school life, what effect these experiences may have had on their perceptions of themselves, their school and their families, and how they would ensure that these actions were not carried through into their own classrooms. They were also asked to write an education biography where the focus would be from the perspectives of race, class and gender. The findings of this study illuminated some very dehumanising messages. A Chicana student felt deeply violated when she was told by a white Chemistry teacher that many of them would not pass because their type of people do not excel. A South Asian student felt racially misrepresented when she was asked to attend an English Second Language course even though she had the highest grade in her honours English class. An African-American student teacher recalled how her 11th grade “shop” teacher derided her Black male colleagues by remarking that they should learn what they are taught or they would end up on the streets pedalling drugs or be in jail. This shows how self-fulfilling prophecies on the part of some gravely insensitive teachers can come true if such abominations are not buffered by the racial socialisation processes that these students may have undergone.

Painful messages that students receive from some teachers are in evidence in the work of Howarth (2006). Exploring race as stigma, the researcher used data from three qualitative studies, namely, the Brixton study which examined the aspect of representations and identities in a community that feel deeply stigmatised by race, the exclusion study which looked at the way race was represented to exclude children from schooling, and the whiteness study which illuminated the way children represented race, in a predominantly white primary school. From focus group interviews and participant observation of adults and young people ranging in age from 8 to 16 years in the multicultural areas of the Midlands and South East of England, the findings were deeply shocking and heartrending. When a student picked up a handkerchief and handed it to her teacher who dropped it, she

was appalled to see the same teacher rubbing her hands frantically on her skirt with the adjunction that because the student touched her, she had to wipe her hands.

However, not all is doom and gloom in the pivotal role of teachers in children's experience of race. Ulucci (2010) embarked on a study of six teachers' experiences with predominantly Latino children in urban schools in the United States and showed how they were able to bring about positive change in their lives. From three to four interviews with each teacher, Ulucci (2010) investigated how issues of race, culture and diversity were embodied in their teacher education programmes and whether these teachers made a meaningful impact on their learners. Ulucci (2010) always contended that unlike a colour-blind teacher, a race-conscious teacher should be one who not only understands that race has an impact on learners, but also values and incorporates the racial and cultural heritage of these learners in his/her lessons, and at the same time sees the significance in culturally-enriching experiences.

Ulucci (2010) found that the teacher programmes in which the focus was on race and language and utilised novels in which the emphasis was on the story rather than the method or the text, proved to be very successful. It afforded one the privilege of peering into the everyday lives of diverse communities in America and to impress upon them the import of race and culture in the lives of these communities. One of the teachers made an observation on the slides she had seen depicting housing segregation patterns in Southern California and this is reminiscent of how some white and Indians in South Africa have reacted when Black families moved into their areas and how they felt it expedient to move out. Each of these teachers who had student teaching experiences in urban settings reported that their impact on the students was positive and enriching. Teaching in a culturally and racially-diverse area enabled one to have a better racial understanding of others (Ulucci, 2010).

A positive and caring learning environment instils mutual respect and co-operation between teacher and learner. A study was conducted by Joerchel (2006) with its focus on how children whose parents hail from diverse cultures construct an identity for themselves while they grow up in a third culture. The author conducted in-depth interviews with three

children out of a class of 24 with 27 different nationalities, their parents and three teachers from a junior school in London. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the parents and the teachers and a method triangulation to interview the children. The findings from the teacher component of the study revealed that the teachers experienced immense pride working with these students. One teacher recalled that the children's pride in their own language and culture was clearly evident during their celebration of international poetry day. Another teacher was most enthused at the way the children in his class welcomed the other children, embraced their cultures and were so accepting of one another (Joerchel, 2006).

To summarise, the current literature is quite explicit in demonstrating the pivotal role that teachers play in the lives of their children in respect of issues of race and race relations. The narratives raise important questions for the study on hand.

If teachers could put aside their prejudices and concentrate primarily on what they are there for and that is to teach their children, they would, as Ulucci (2010) has contended, have a better understanding of others and afford all their charges, no matter how racially and culturally diverse they are, the very same opportunities. My question is: Would this matter surface in the current study and how would it play out?

2.3.4 Children's experiences and ways of negotiating race and race relations

Lev Vygotsky contended that children's social interactions play a significant role in their mental functioning and that the converse also applies. His work suggests that it is futile to assume that young children are incapable of having any conception of racial concepts as well as racial or social identities (Vygotsky, 1978, as cited in Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996). To strengthen this contention, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) conducted research on the ways in which pre-school children employed racial-ethnic knowledge in their social interactions. From their unstructured field observations of 58 pre-school-age children ranging in age from almost three to more than six years of age in an urban pre-school setting, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) found that while preschool children are alert to the complexities around physical differences such as skin colour, hair and facial characteristics, they, and more

especially the white children, used these differences to distinguish themselves from their non-white counterparts.

There has been considerable research into the link between racism and ill health outcomes (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Clark, Coleman & Novak, 2004; Nyborg & Curry, 2003). A study was conducted by Dulin-Keita, Hannon lii, Fernandez and Cockerham (2011) into the connection between perceived racial discrimination and self-esteem in the Birmingham-Hoover, Alabama area. One hundred and seventy five (175) non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic white and Hispanic children between the ages of 7 to 12 years participated in this study from face-to-face interviews. The data was analysed quantitatively. The findings were that although non-Hispanic black children were able to provide a more accurate definition of race, Hispanic children experienced a greater occurrence of racial discrimination and together with an increase in the experience of ethnic slurs, their perception of racial discrimination became a significant stressor that impacted negatively on their self-esteem.

Fears over changes with transformation in education were explored in a study that employed a multi-method, purposive case study approach by Carter, Caruthers and Foster (2009). Data was collected from learners from four public schools that were multi-racial but formerly whites-only high schools in four cities in the United States and South Africa. The aim of the study was to explore the impact of social boundaries on the equity-based integration policies in schools in both these countries. The findings from the two South African schools in which 477 learners from Grades 8 -12 were surveyed were that 52% of the white students felt that whites experience 'a lot' to 'some' (Carter, Caruthers and Foster, 2009, p. 357) educational discrimination and 73% of them felt that job discrimination against whites was on the increase in South Africa. A matric learner believed that some black Africans were apprehensive about the revival of apartheid while white learners were under the impression that they were being disadvantaged under the present educational dispensation (Carter, Caruthers & Foster, 2009).

Concurrence with this issue was found in a study undertaken by Erasmus and Ferreira (2002) with the aim of drawing attention to the emotionality of Grade 9 black African learners who attend formerly white schools. Three hundred and thirty two (332)

black African Grade 9 learners from 18 schools in the Northern Districts 1 to 4 of the Gauteng Department of Education participated in the study. Data was collected from questionnaires as well as from individual focus interviews. In addition a field journal was used to record data from observation. Among a host of issues that came up in the findings, racism was a factor that learners wanted changed in these schools. The occurrence of racial insults was on the increase in these schools and this posed a serious threat to good learner accommodation in these schools.

Another study in two phases on learners' conception of racial integration and segregation at a desegregated school in Gauteng, South Africa was undertaken by Keizan and Duncan (2010). The first phase of the study, not included in the article, was based on naturalistic observation of the dynamics of social integration that occurred among a group of adolescents during non-lesson time in a desegregated private school for both sexes. It was found that social self-segregation was manifested in the way in which the black African, Indian and Coloured learners integrated with one another than did their white peers with the other race groups. The second phase of the study comprised of a focus group interview of eight learners between the ages of sixteen and seventeen years at a different co-educational private school. In these interviews the participants ratified the social self-segregation based on race at the school and their unique social experiences (Keizan & Duncan, 2010). They used issues that segregation was a natural process, that each race group has its own areas of interest as well as the need to avoid conflict to justify their act of self-segregation.

In a further study in which the nexus between race and masculinity was explored, the researchers, Smith and Langa (2010) used individual and focus group interviews of four white and four black African learners between 15 and 18 years of age from a private multi-racial school in Johannesburg, South Africa. Employing a social constructionist paradigm, Smith and Langa (2010) found, among other things, that many of the black boys felt deeply pained by being viewed negatively on account of their race. The authors had developed the assumption that the voices of the black African learners are often stilled or "marginalised and subjugated" (p.88).

A recent study was conducted by Bellota (2008) with the focus on middle school children's perspectives on race and race relations in their social worlds. Data was collected through interviews of 44 white and non-white children of both sexes ranging in age from eleven to fourteen years from a racially integrated middle school, a YWCA after-school programme and summer camp and an urban mainly black Girls' Club. The interviews were conducted in the participants' school, their after-school programme or in their homes. Bellota (2008) found that the many white middle-school children that she interviewed employed "equality talk" in their belief that their lives would not be different if they were to become black (p.41). They based their beliefs on the premise that race did not matter anymore and that all races were equal.

And lastly a qualitative fieldwork study was conducted over a two year period by Devine, Kenny and Macneela (2008). They looked at how primary school children constructed and experienced racism in Ireland during the flood of immigrants into the country. Gathering data from group interviews of 132 children aged 7 years and 9 – 10 years of different ethnic groupings in three primary schools as well as from observation of classroom interactions and schoolyard behaviour, the researchers voiced the children's feelings on how they were *othered* in terms of their national identity and cultural affinity (p.369). This *othering* was not only based on their skin colour but also extended to their lifestyle, language and religion. Children took to racist name-calling in order to reinforce their dominance over other race groups. Skin colour and/or cultural differences played a huge role in the Inclusion and exclusion of these children among peer groups (Devine, Kenny & Macneela, 2008).

To summarise, it is quite evident that the participants in the studies described were quite vocal and outspoken about their experiences and ways of negotiating race and race relations and this is in line with the philosophy of New Childhood Studies which contends that children should not be seen as passive objects but as active social actors in their own right.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the reader with an elaboration of the existing knowledge on the key concepts of this study, namely, race, race relations and school spaces. It cannot be emphasised enough that race has been and still is a very complex construct. Both sides of the race coin, the biological and the social, have been extrapolated to develop an informed understanding. Race relations, from the annals of history, have been exacerbated by skewed thinking and socialisation but there have been glimmers of hope on the horizon that these could be ameliorated with more proactive rather than reactive intercourse between and among the races.

Children, as this review has shown, can never be too young to have an understanding of race and to know how to navigate their way around this tricky phenomenon. Their socialisation by their parents to protect and cocoon them on the one hand as well as equip them adequately on the other hand to deal with the rigours of race have been touched upon in this review. Their experiences within the context of their school spaces with their teachers and their fellow learners have been presented in as graphic a manner as possible.

I would like to echo the sentiments of Bellota (2008) who is adamant that although children's conception of race matters that affect them may not be as articulate as that of adults, one cannot detract from their crucial role as social actors. Targowska (2005) has concurred by her finding that children engage in racialised thinking from a very early age. Their perceptions of the racial "other" were very vivid and appeared to have been catalysed by racist discourses that have been created and relayed via the media as well as in their microsystems.

The next chapter will contain the research methodology and design.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

This research considered what ten children approximately 12 years of age from a racially integrated primary school in Pietermaritzburg had to say about their experiences and negotiation of race and race relations in their school spaces.

This chapter presents the research methodology and the design choices made in the study. The sections that follow discuss the narrative inquiry approach to the study, the context that located it, the participants, issues of data generation and the ethical considerations in the study.

3.2 Methodological Issues

3.2.1 Narrative Inquiry - the research method

Hopkins (1994) has argued that the narrative approach may grant students the impetus to bring about structure to their schooling experience and make their lives meaningful. This approach was opted for primarily to give voice to my child participants who I believe have a firm grasp of their social worlds. Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) have maintained that we should not undervalue the ability that children have to navigate their way around social constructs and social spaces.

Mitchell and Egudo (2003) contend that “narrative is inherently multidisciplinary, and is an extension of the interpretive approach to social sciences” (p. 2). Maree (2007) is of the view that interpretive researchers attempt to deduce meaning from social reality by interpreting the responses given to questions posed to individuals that are related to their real life experiences. Respondents are interviewed by the interviewer who asks specific questions pertaining to the phenomenon being investigated and these responses are interpreted in relation to their social reality. The data is collected within the respondents’

social context as each situation is unique and no other situation runs parallel to it. Furthermore, reality cannot be objectively constructed as the researcher seeks to understand and interpret it with shared meaning within that context. This data is rich and its depth and complexity needs to be explored to understand the meanings of the data shared by people in relation to their social context and the phenomena. Maree (2007) also states that social reality can be viewed in various ways thus allowing for multiple realities to emerge. Creswell (2008) agrees that participants, readers and the researcher may have different interpretations of the data and phenomenon. Maree (2007) also emphasises that the interpretation of data is influenced by the researcher's unique experience, prior knowledge, values and beliefs, and is therefore subjective.

Mitchell and Egudo (2003) maintain that the narrative is a qualitative form of inquiry intended to access rich data through stories. Unlike surveys, questionnaires and quantitative analyses of behaviour which do not do justice to the depth of meaning in stories, this storytelling methodology enables researchers to bring about order and engage in textual construction in any given contexts (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003).

Rice and Ezzy (1999) have pointed out that the theory behind narrative inquiry is that when one narrates something about oneself, one is doing so out of one's free will and embellishing it with action, which in turn has moral and ethical implications. Hunter (2010) contends that from the way the story is told, it has the possibility of bringing about change in the narrator's experiences. Byrne-Armstrong (2001) posits that the aim of narrative inquiry is not to produce one generalizable truth but to offer a series of truths through the medium of these stories.

Connelly and Clandinin (2006) contend that narrative inquiry was born from the belief that human beings live storied lives both individually and socially. People's lives are shaped by their own stories. An individual's story provides valuable insights into who they are and how they make sense of their experience of the world they live in. Riley and Hawe (2005) maintain that although "story" and "narrative" may mean the same, they differ analytically. Frank (2000) argues that human beings tell stories but narratives emerge from the analysis of stories. Consequently, it is the researcher's task to engage in interpretation

of the stories to be able to analyse the built-in narrative that the tellers of the stories may be unable to articulate themselves.

Bearing in mind that it is difficult to quantify and present numerically human emotions and experiences, I have decided, in concurrence with Bogdan and Bilken (2003); Denzin and Lincoln (2005); and Merriam (1998) that the qualitative method is most useful in analysing people's stories, insights and experiences and how they make sense of the social spaces they occupy.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework on which the study is anchored is that of Children's Geographies and New Childhood Studies. Children's Geographies which falls under the ambit of human geography examines the places and spaces of children's lives from an experiential, moral, political and ethical perspective (Muthukrishna, 2013). The idea of children's space is crucial to the field of children's geographies (Wyness, 2003) with its incorporation of the social which in turn embraces children's relationships with one another and with adults (Van Blerk, 2005).

The impetus to my becoming involved in the lives of children and their potential to engage in matters that concern them crucially came mainly from the third principle of the United Nations' (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child, portrayed in article 12, announcing that:

"[T]he child who is capable of forming his or her own views [has] the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law."

The past two decades have seen a surge in research in the field of “children’s geographies” which is a branch of human geography (Cahill, 2000; Matthews, 2003; Holt, 2004 and Morrow, 2008). Such researchers, according to Wyness (2003), have maintained that the lives of children will differ significantly in different contexts and circumstances such as family, school, gender, ability/disability and class and in different times.

Weller (2006) has contended that when one is undertaking research into children’s geography, one is invariably drawn into the issue of the power imbalance that confounds the category “children” and the spaces they inhabit. The burgeoning research has shown that adults have wielded the power and dominion in the social spaces within the ambit of children’s geographies (Van Ingen & Halas, 2006).

Horton and Kraftl (2005), as cited in Ngcobo and Muthukrishna (2011), have maintained that geographies embrace the everyday, lived in, as well as very personal, individual and subjective experiences of individuals. Van Ingen and Halas (2006) have indicated that school spaces and places are rich sources of the power struggles that play out on a daily basis. Lefebvre (1991) concurred with this dictum by his assertion that in addition to being a source of thought and action, as well production, space is also a mine field of power, domination and control.

Prior research in the field of children’s geographies and spatialities focused on the way children used those spaces themselves while they were still supervised and managed by adults intent on controlling, protecting and socialising them (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). These were the spaces within the home and the school. Thomson (2005), in examining how territorial children can be in their school playground spaces, found that, despite the stringent measures that teachers applied in their supervision of those spaces in the breaks, children showed how active they could be in those environments.

Holt (2004) contends that schools are social sites where both adults and children act out the social roles of race, culture, class, sex, sexuality and dis(ability), and this is often done unconsciously and most often in positions of power. The social spaces of the school are significant places for children to become familiar with the hierarchical power plays that

exist there. Due and Riggs (2010) contend that this may be especially true for refugee or migrant children who enter the school spaces for the very first time. They further aver that while the dominant group may hold the reins of power in the spaces they occupy, the racially disadvantaged minority may have a hard time opposing the structures that are in existence there.

While it may be argued, according to Due and Riggs (2010), that racial division does not characterise all schools, there have been studies that have shown that very young children do have some knowledge of race and the power dynamics that are manifested in the intersection between and among the different race groups. Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) have pointed out how children as young as three or four have been able to racially classify others in very damaging ways. Kuriloff and Reichert's (2003) study of a privileged boys school in the United States showed that the school was divided into two social categories, namely, that of the "lifers" (those from the upper echelons of society) and that of those at the "margins" (from the disadvantaged socio-economic or non-white populations).

New Childhood Studies, according to Skivenes and Srandbu (2006), is an area of study which argues that children should be seen in the present in the capacity of human *beings* rather than only in the future as human *becomings*. Waller (2006) intimates that it is within the concept of children's spaces that children should be seen as being able to make their own decisions, act autonomously and make meaning of matters that concern them.

New Childhood Studies views children not as passive objects but as social subjects in their own right. This view has contributed to the movement to grant children the status of participants in issues that matter to them. Matthews (2001) contends that as legitimate members of society, children have the right to engage in its activities with due regard to their ability, their maturity and level of comprehension.

According to Mannion and l'Anson (2004), the primary thrust in the "new" studies of children and childhood has not been on the relationship between children and adults, but rather, more specifically on the child and "childhood". Tisdall and Punch (2012) contend that the birth of the "new" sociology of children some twenty years ago was catalysed by the

increasing call for the social construction of childhood to be recognised and for the rights of children and young people to be acknowledged. Qvortrup (1994) and Mayall (2002) have maintained that children should be seen as social actors with rights of their own, active in their own affairs rather than as passive dependents on their families.

Prout and James (1990) have echoed the sentiments around the social construction of childhood and have endorsed the belief that children should be accorded the due respect of being seen as active agents in issues that concern their very own lives as well as the lives of others and their societal groups. Moreover, it was felt that the prevailing mantra of childhood being a new social construction should be seen as a paradigm shift from the belief about the natural development of children.

3.4 The Design of the Study

3.4.1 Context of the study

The study was undertaken at a racially integrated primary school in the northern suburbs of Pietermaritzburg with approximately 439 learners, 205 of whom are male and 234 female. The racial composition of the learner population was 60% Indian, 30% black African, 8% Coloured and 2% White. The staff complement consists of 5 males and 18 females, of whom 3 are Indian male level 1 educators; 13 Indian female level 1 educators; and 2 black African female level 1 educators; 1 Indian male senior primary head of department; 1 Indian female junior primary head of department, an Indian male principal; and 2 Indian female administrative personnel.

This site was chosen primarily because I have taught at this school for 24 years, and I am familiar with most of the learners. I have also witnessed the gradual change in demographics at this school over the years. It catered only for children of Indian origin at the time it opened in 1982. In 1990 the first Black African female learner was admitted to the grade one class. As the years progressed, children from the Coloured community were admitted and in 2009 the first White male learner was included on the school's register. The demographics of the teaching staff too changed when in 2005 the first Black African female educator was appointed to teach isiZulu. In addition, over the years, I bore witness to many

acts of racial discrimination involving learners and educators. In some of the incidents involving learners I had to intervene in subtle ways. The phenomenon of racism and what children understand by the term 'race' and their ability to navigate their way around it prompted me to investigate the issue of race and race relations in this context. Thus the sampling of the school was purposive.

3.4.2 Sampling and Participants

In the initial phase of the sampling process, I adopted convenience sampling. I selected a school that was easily accessible to me. In the next phase of the process my sampling was purposive. Marshall (1996) explains that with purposive sampling, "the researcher selects the most productive sample to answer the research questions" (p. 523).

I opted for undertaking the study with grade 7 learners, and my focus was on two friendship groups of 5 learners each. Each group had to be representative of gender, and the socially constructed race groups at the school: Indian, Coloured and Black African which included foreign nationals. Each group had to have at least two learners from each gender, for example, three boys and two girls or three girls and two boys; and at least one learner from the three race groups.

I addressed grade 7 learners at the school, informing them about my proposed study, the focus and aim, and what their participation would entail. I informed them that I needed two friendship groups of 5 learners each and outlined the criteria above. In view of time constraints, I informed them that the first two friendship groups that came to me would be selected for the study.

The final sample consisted of two friendship groups of five friends each, consisting of 4 black African females, 1 Black African male, 3 Indian females, 1 Coloured female and 1 Indian-Coloured male, approximately 12 years of age. There were no foreign nationals in the groups.

Racially diverse friendship groups were chosen because the learners knew one another well and interacted socially in school and outside the school context. I envisaged

that the likelihood of stranger anxiety would be minimised (Berk, 2002). Each of the learners was told that they would be required to engage in individual interviews as well as focus group discussions. To protect the identity of each learner, they were requested to provide pseudonyms for themselves.

3.4.3 Data generation methods

For the purpose of addressing the research questions and the aim of the study, data were gathered through individual and focus group interviews. These data generating methods are described in the sections that follow.

3.4.3.1 Individual Interviews

There is growing conviction that children even as young as three years of age are able to clearly recall experiences in their lives and describe them as graphically as possible (Woodgate & Kristjanson, 1996 and Yoos & McMullen, 1996, as cited in Docherty & Sandelowski, 1999). Faux, Walsh and Deatrick (1988) and Kotzer (1990), as cited in Docherty & Sandelowski (1999), contend that as the interview is a very vital method of eliciting information from children on a host of issues, researchers have explored different means of conducting interviews to facilitate children's description of their experiences. The individual interviews conducted with the young participants in this study confirmed this conviction with their very articulate and thought-provoking responses.

Clandinin and Huber (in press) maintain that with narrative inquiries, the participants are urged to tell their stories, individually or in groups. In individual situations, participants tell their stories in response to more or less structured questions, to conversations or dialogues, or to artefacts such as photographs. The individual semi-structured interviews that I conducted in August/September 2013 began informally, conversationally and were open-ended to establish rapport and to put the participants at ease to contribute to the study without any inhibition, in keeping with Bogdan and Biklen (2003) and Creswell (2003). The added benefit in employing semi-structured interviews is that it affords the researcher the opportunity of probing and clarifying issues about the matter being studied (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Moreover, the researcher has more flexibility and freedom with the research process guiding the questions being asked. With minimal direction from the

interviewer, the interviewees are able to express their feelings as freely and spontaneously as possible (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011).

The participants were put at ease through some initial questions around their interests and leisure time activities. Five learners in each of two groups took part in this study and were interviewed individually three times for approximately 30 to 45 minutes, in my classroom. Taking the cue from Petersen (2008), the first interview encompassed the rapport-establishing process with non-threatening questions about the learners' lives and perceptions about their school life in general. The second interview involved an interview schedule (See Appendix A) which was used as a guide. The third interview afforded the participants the opportunity to look at the data obtained and review it. I read out the transcripts to the learners and this was done for the purpose of trustworthiness, which will be discussed below.

3.4.3.1.1 Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted to verify the interview schedule designed for this study and its suitability to the question under investigation. I conducted the pilot study with a group of three 12 year old volunteers. There was 1 Black African female, 1 Indian female and 1 Black African male in the group. Analysis of this data demanded that some of the questions be reworked for learners to understand what was being sought and to elicit the data required whilst ensuring that the questions were not leading when probing for details. Furthermore, the pilot study assisted me in identifying questions that were omitted, redundant and irrelevant.

3.4.3.2 Focus Group Interviews

Apart from the individual interviews, the participants engaged in two focus group discussions in August/September 2013. The focus group discussions were held after all the individual interviews in the interviewer's classroom.

Krueger and Casey (2000), as cited in Williams (2010), explain that the focus group interview is a qualitative research tool used mainly to access the opinions and feelings of a small group of individuals about a certain problem, experience or other issue. According to

Patton (2002), group discussions provide opportunities to get students to converse with one another about a wide range of issues. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2011) believe that focus groups cultivate a social environment wherein the members are coaxed to participate openly about their experiences. The members inspire and encourage one another to generate discussions about their ideas and experiences. The interview schedule (See Appendix 1) was used once again as a guide.

Petersen (2008) argues that focus group discussions help to reduce the power dynamics between the adult interviewer and young participants as they occur collaboratively and non-hierarchically. The rationale behind small group discussions was to catalyse the flow of useful and rich intercourse between and among the participants about their experiences in their school spaces. Two focus group discussions were held with each group comprising of four members each. The first discussion revolved around the issues in the interview schedule and the second was for the purpose of further probing and explication of points around the very same issues (Appendix A).

I wish to stress here that although I devised interview schedules for the individual and focus group interviews, I was intent on allowing the children's stories to unfold rather spontaneously, and the issues that they raised served as starting points for exploration through my probing.

3.4 Ethical Issues/considerations

Sieber (1993, p.14), as cited in Morrow (2008), defined ethics as a "set of moral principles and rules of conduct", relating specifically to "the application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others, to promote the good, to be respectful, and to be fair". Hopkins and Bell (2008) believe that as child participants in research are invariably vulnerable and powerless, they rely on researchers to display a sense of solid moral judgment when conducting research. This study devised means to protect and respect the rights of all participants.

I had a responsibility to relevant stakeholders in conducting my study. Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (See Appendix B) but

subsequently when the topic was adapted to its current form, ethical clearance was again obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal for my specific research project, and for the larger project in the School of Education in which my project is located. The project is titled, *'The geographies of children's schooling experiences in six Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries: Narratives of children, parents/caregivers and teachers'* (Appendix C). Permission was sought from principal of the school in which the study was conducted (See Appendix D). As children are very vulnerable, particularly in situations that can be emotionally charged, it was crucial to exercise caution on how they would be made to participate in the study. Thus informed consent was obtained from the parents/guardians of all the participants (See Appendix E) as well as from the child participants themselves (See Appendix F).

As confidentiality is crucial to research practice and as under no circumstances must the privacy of the participant be jeopardised, participants and their parents were promised total confidentiality, privacy or anonymity (Boruch, 1971). For this study, the identity of the participants and that of the school was protected by means of pseudonyms. Participants were assured that there would be no disruption to their educational programme and no pressure whatsoever would be applied on them to participate in the study. They were told that they could withdraw from the study at any stage.

3.5 Trustworthiness and validity

Maree (2007) contends that trustworthiness is very important in ensuring validity in qualitative research. Transcriptions were compiled after recording each interview on a digital voice recorder. Trustworthiness was achieved by having the transcripts of the interviews read out to the participants and discussed to ensure accuracy. Triangulation of data through two data sources, individual and focus group interviews, also added credibility to my findings. The depth, richness and honesty of the data obtained assured its validity. The data enabled me to gain immense insight into the perspectives, experience, attitudes and behaviours of the participants into the phenomenon under investigation. Shenton (2004) stresses that thick description of the phenomenon under study is important for the promotion credibility in that helps to portray actual situations, events, actions and contexts in which they occur.

I also used my supervisor and peers as a sounding board during the data analysis process which helped to deepen my insights and understandings more fully. Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress that verification strategies through peer cross-checking or member checks serves to enhance the credibility of the data analysis process. Member checking by my supervisor also entailed the verification of my emerging inferences and theoretical interpretations further ensuring credibility.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, a discussion of the context of the study, the participants, the research design and methodology, inclusive of the data generation methods and the ethical issues, was presented.

The following chapter will deal with the findings and concomitant discussion.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This study embodies a narrative inquiry into how children experience and negotiate race and race relations within their social spaces. My prime aim in this study was to hear the stories of mainly the Indian and Black African learners around their experiences of race and race relations. As I have come to value the opinions of children, I was eager to learn more about how they make sense of, interpret, skirt around and feel about issues in their school spaces. What has struck me immensely is that if we can look upon children as persons, then their experiences in their daily lives should be of utmost importance.

Their position and affirmation as active agents of their societies have made children central to child policies as well as to research that pertains to them. There has been growing consensus to the belief that children and young people should be acknowledged as subjects instead of objects, and that much respect should be accorded to their views and opinions in matters that concern them the most (Skelton, 2007).

With that in mind, the focus of this study was on how ten twelve year old boys and girls in a primary school in the northern suburbs of Pietermaritzburg experienced and negotiated race and race relations. I have used the theoretical underpinnings of New Childhood Studies and Children's Geographies of place and space to give substance to their accounts of their lived experiences.

The semi-structured interview schedule which was used enabled me to probe and reframe some questions when the participants had difficulty answering them. I have been able to apply Faux, Walsh and Deatrick's (1988) suggestions that when children have difficulty responding to questions, probing, reframing the questions and other forms of expression assist to encourage participants to respond. This was further amplified by Morrow and Richards' (1996) assertion that an interview is a social interaction.

Consequently this conversational interview schedule allowed me to gain a better understanding of how children engaged with the key issues embodied in the research questions.

The key research questions were:

What are learners' schooling experiences in relation to their own racial identities and that of their peers?

How are racial identities constructed, contested and experienced through the lens of learners within the context of a primary school?

In what ways do these constructions, contestations and experiences shape the social and schooling lives of children?

4.2 Analysis of Narratives

After completing the interviews and transcripts, I listened to each interview recording to ensure accuracy in the transcriptions. I read each transcript many times before I discovered the issues of race and race relations in the participant's statements. I coded the comments on race to formulate patterns based on their interviews. The categories I found were culture; religion; physical features, traditional foods and dress in race classification; racial abuse; social rights of the learner; attitudes of teachers and learners; role models; and advantages of particular race categories, that is, being Indian, Coloured, White or Black African in this country. Thereafter I developed categories based on how the participants constructed, contested and experienced their racial identities, their schooling experiences in relation to their own identities, and how these experiences shaped their social and schooling lives. I engaged with the relevant literature and readings to select suitable frames that would assist me with my analysis.

The conceptual framework of this study was founded on the premise of children's geographies and Childhood Studies. Holloway and Valentine (2000) stress that children's lived experiences are controlled by the places and spaces they occupy under different

circumstances. Wyness (2003) emphasises that children's space is a valuable feature of children's geographies. This includes children's interaction with each other and adults, as well as children's rights and practices. Weller (2006) states that power relations, particularly in schools, are dominated by adults.

Ngcobo and Muthukrishna (2011) aver that school is the space where children spend most of their lives daily. Schools are social institutions where family, gender, ability, class, time, place and circumstances influence the capacity of children. Wyness (2003) stresses that children's space is an important social world in which children expand and enrich their relationships with each other and with adults.

In this chapter, I elucidate the themes that have emerged from my analysis of the data. The chapter is structured into five sub-sections. First, I introduce the participants by providing profiles on each learner; secondly, I provide evidence on learners' constructions of race and racial difference; thirdly, I discuss their experiences in the spaces of race relations in and out of the school; and fourthly, I discuss how children make sense of their identities and racial identities. Thereafter I explore the fluid spaces of racial identity, and finally I present the learners' views on promoting race relations.

4.3 Profile of the learners

TABLE 1: DETAILED DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS³

4.3 Profile of the learners

TABLE 1: DETAILED DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS⁴

Name	Gender	Race	Grade	Age	Other identifying Characteristics
Sunita	Female	Indian	7	12	Lives in Northdale with her parents, brother and sister. She is a Hindu and has many friends across the race groups.
Fortunate	Female	Black African	7	12	Lives in Northdale with her parents and two brothers. She has attended this school from Grade one.
Amritha	Female	Indian	7	12	Muslim. Lives in Northdale with her parents and brother and sister. She was admitted to this school in Grade one
Kirthita	Female	Indian	7	12	She lives in Northdale with her parents and brother and sister. She is a Hindu and enjoys being friends with children across the race groups.
Lezann	Female	Coloured	7	12	Lives in Northdale with her parents and two younger sisters. She attended this school from grade one. Her mother is Coloured and her father is Indian.
*Zinhle	Female	Black African	7	12	Lives in Glenwood with her parents and two younger brothers.

³ Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of the children in the study

Name	Gender	Race	Grade	Age	Other identifying Characteristics
Mandisa	Female	Black African	7	12	Lives in Northdale with her grandmother and a cousin as her parents are deceased. She has lived with her grandmother from the age of four and has attended this school from Grade one.
Tyrone	Male	Coloured-Indian	7	12	Lives in Northdale with his mum and younger brother. Tyrone does not have regular contact with his father and his mum is unemployed.
Jerome	Male	Black African	7	12	Resides in Northdale with his sister and aunt from Monday to Friday and visits his parents in the township on weekends. He is a black African male and has been at this school from Grade one to Grade seven. He claims to be comfortable in the company of females.
Nonhlanhla	Female	Black African	7	12	Lives in Northdale with her parents and younger brother. She has many friends in her neighbourhood and is comfortable in the company of Indians.

This diverse group of participants were in Grade seven. Northdale and Glenwood are suburbs in the northern areas of the city of Pietermaritzburg in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands of South Africa. Three of the ten participants are Indian females; one is Coloured female; one is Indian-Coloured male; one is Black African male and four are Black African females. I chose learners from Grade seven, the last grade of primary schooling, because they would be mature and have the linguistic ability to give verbal expression to their thoughts and experiences. Moreover, they would be more confident to tell stories about their experiences as it is their last year at this school.

Barker and Weller (2003) found that access to a suitable space that is quiet and confidential in a school to conduct interviews can be difficult. I, therefore, conducted the interviews in my classroom in the afternoons over three weeks. I use the racial categories of Indian, Coloured, White and black African as it was known in the apartheid era of South Africa. These socially constructed categories continue to impact the lives of South African citizens. Seekings (2008) reports that South Africans were categorised, according to the 1950 Population Registration Act, into three racial categories. "A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person, who in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person. A native is a person who is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or a tribe of Africa. A Coloured person is a person who is not a white person nor (is he or she) a native" (p. 3).

4.4 Learners' constructions of race and racial difference.

4.4.1 Introduction

This section is aimed at providing an exposé of how the learners in the study looked at themselves in terms of their understanding of race and the characteristics they have used to represent their racial differences.

4.4.2 Learners' self-categorisation in terms of race.

Dulin-Keita, Hannon Iii, Fernandez and Cockerham (2011) and Zembylas (2010) aver that children at a very young age are aware of biological as well as cultural differences

among people, and they display the social attributes that are extant towards these differences. This was evident when all the participants categorised people into different race groups according to their physical features and also spoke about their cultural differences.

Lezann said in an **individual interview**, *“Mum is Coloured and dad is Indian. I didn’t take much of him. I look like my mum so I classify myself as Coloured”*. This statement illustrates Lezann’s awareness of family lineage which is often used as a critical factor in race classification.

That the social construction of race is predicated on skin colour and other physical attributes was also visible in Jerome’s categorisation of himself as a black African because he is dark skinned; his hair has a tightly, curled texture; his mother tongue is isiZulu; his cultural dress is animal skins; and he loves traditional Zulu music, which is further characterised by beats on the drum and the sound of trumpets. Kirthita went a step further by her claim that she is Indian because of her mother tongue, the Hindi language; her religion, Hinduism; her taste for hot spicy foods; and her traditional dress which is the sari, the ‘punjabi’ or the ‘sherarah’; and the traditional red dot worn by married women on their foreheads. Both Jerome and Kirthita drew attention to their cultural and traditional characteristics to denote their racial differences. These observations accord with the views expressed in the works of Bryson (1996) and Warikoo and Carter (2009) that the social categorisation of race may be conflated by cultural and ethnic differences.

Bryson (1996) contended that there has been a tendency for individuals to differentiate themselves from one another on the grounds of their cultural preferences. When Sunita stated in an **individual interview** that she did not approve of the dress of Black African females because, *“it’s just too short, too open and they show most of their body parts whereas we are always covering our body and we do not show most of our body parts”*, it is evident that she was displaying what Bourdieu (1984) described as cultural tastes and distastes. Bourdieu (1984) posited that people use cultural artefacts such as tastes to divide themselves from each other because anything that is similar draws people together whereas anything that is different is regarded as unnatural and hard to reconcile

with. This was further amplified by Sunita's lack of preference for the type of foods the Black Africans eat *"because I feel they eat different types of food compared to even the Indians, because they eat something ... steak, pork and stuff, we don't eat it."*

Concurrence with this issue is evident in Erasmus and Ferreira's (2002) study of 323 Black African, Grade 9 learners from 18 schools run by the Gauteng Department of Education, into their experience of integration in formerly white suburban schools. The study revealed that cultural boundaries are set up by one's individual tastes. These learners did not take to the dominant white culture's selection of music at their school socials. One of the learners expressed his distaste by asserting, *"So now I think they should actually ask the pupils what they would like to hear, not what the school is organising for uswe've got different tastes of things.....I know a lot of us, especially the black pupils would have liked something else"* (Erasmus and Ferreira, 2002, p. 32). This finding further resonates with that of Lueck and Steffen's (2011) study of 41 high school students ranging in age from 15 to 18 into the extent to which white students were able to have a critical understanding of the significance of their racial identity in more diverse demographic settings. From the pool of both white students as well as students of colour, one white student remarked: *"black people are listening to hip-hop and we're not, so that is kinda why we don't mix"* (Lueck & Steffen, 2011).

That cultural cues or stereotypes do play a role in the way individuals create boundaries between them was evident in the assertions made by the participants. They reinforced their racial categorisations by discussing their traditional dress and foods. Jerome recalled in a **focus group interview** that Black Africans *"eat spinach, 'putu' which is made into 'rocks' from mealie meal as well as 'amadombolo' which is like a mixture of steamed bread or pudding"*. Kiritha narrated in a **focus group interview** that *"Indians liked eating hot spicy foods and curry"* as well as her preference for sweetmeats.

The Black African participants were very specific in the way they used the word 'black' which to them was synonymous with the notion of being 'African'. This may have filtered down to them in the racial socialisation practices of their parents and their racial pride is clearly evident.

I belong to a Black race group because of my colour. I speak isiZulu too. We communicate in isiZulu and we stay in a Zulu place. We wear clothes that come from animal skins (Jerome; Individual interview).

Fortunate displays similar racial pride with her self-categorisation when she states:

I classify myself as an African because it's easy to ... connect with a person...and it's easy to learn about your culture and everything. We wear the coloured traditional clothes when you go to ubuntombi ukuhlola (virginity testing) (Fortunate; individual interview).

Zinle is quite explicit about what defines her as a Black African:

Most of the African people lookblack.... and we call them African because....they speak Zulu and their hair is short. And remember, when I spoke about the jewelleries.... this is kept in a vest or maybe a t-shirt, and you also put one of jewellery on your head (Zinhle; individual interview).

Mandisa concurs with Zinhle:

I am African cos my mother and father.....they are Africans. And we speak a different language. And my hair too is.....not...like the other race...groups (Mandisa; individual interview).

The social construction of childhood is amplified by James and Prout (1990, p. 8) with their definition of children as social actors who are “active in the construction of their own lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live”. This is seen quite vividly in the edifying story by Nonhlanhla which gives impetus to the view that children do have a voice which must be heard:

Africans can make things and they can build and this is what makes them African. They know about technology (Nonhlanhla; individual interview).

While the above responses may have appeared to be clichéd in terms of their references to language, clothing, tradition, music, skin colour and other physical markers, what was striking was the conviction that accompanied these utterances. Young children do

make meanings of issues in their lives, as highlighted in the theoretical insights from the proponents of Children's Geographies and New Childhood Studies.

4.5 Experiencing the spaces of race relations in and out of the school.

4.5.1 Introduction

The aim of this section is to provide an account of the findings of the dynamics of the cross-friendship relations, the significance of the spaces of racism and what the children's narratives have to tell. The issues around identity and racial identity as well as identity, socialisation and agency will be explored, and this will be wrapped up by the learners' views on promoting race relations.

4.5.2 The dynamics of cross-race friendships

Practically all the participants laid claim to have joined friendship groups that were multiracial. They drew comfort from their companionship with them both at school and at home. The children remarked that they helped one another with their school work by engaging in discussions about how they should solve their problems. The Black Africans acknowledged their lack of proficiency in the English language, and welcomed the assistance they received from their Indian friends in this regard as well as in some of the other subjects in the curriculum. The Indian children reciprocated by showing their appreciation for the help they received in isiZulu. They also enjoy each other's company during the breaks although many of them did not meet after school hours and they did not visit each other at home.

Despite some isolated incidents of racial friction and intolerance, it would appear that the integration of learners from other racial groupings into that of the dominant Indian group has not been fraught with significant difficulties. Seven (7) out of 10 of the participants stated that they had friends from the other race groups at school. They had Coloured, Indian and Black African friends of both sexes. However, I observed that the Indian children did not visit the black African friends at home but socialised with them when they visited the Indian children at home. They were happy to integrate in school, sharing

lunches, helping each other with school work and lending each other stationery. For instance, Sunita remarked:

Jerome lives near me, so sometimes when he walks past and if I'm here, I see him. He does not come to my home..... but then after school, we do walk home together. He does communicate with me and he's very helpful, very friendly and we help each other with our schoolwork (Sunita; individual interview).

Wyness (2003) asserts that children's spaces provide the contexts where children's interests can be discussed, established and contested. Here the common experiences of children from different social and geographical backgrounds are brought together. However the subtle racial tension in the Indian child when it comes to fully embracing and accommodating the Black African classmate in her home is evident in Sunita's cautious response, "He does not come to my home" . This is probably a feature of the age-old prejudices that individuals and groups still carry from the legacy of apartheid in South Africa.

Tyrone spoke about the apartheid period during which people from the different race groups were forced to live in separate areas and were not allowed to socialise and now, in the new democracy, different race groups can live in the same neighbourhood and do things together. The responses of the following participants echo that of Tyrone,

Ma'am, Marcel, my friend just came to me and asked me if she could be my friend and I said ya. Tristan lives in Greytown Road, he comes usually over the week ends so I play with him. When I first came to this school and I didn't have any friends Tyrone, Nerisha, Tylon, Kerry-Ann and Asheena began playing netball with me and we ... we became friends (Fortunate; individual interview).

Amritha (*in an individual interview*) was quick to agree with Fortunate:

I get along well with the children from the different race groups in my class. They don't treat me differently and I don't treat them differently because at the end of the day we're all humans and we ... we're basically friends because we see eye to eye and agree on certain things so they treat me the same.

I like Haseena, a Black African girl, because she's really sweet and funny and she's always there for you and understands what ... you're going through and puts herself in the level you are.

Kithita couldn't resist adding:

*I admire a Black African girl from Grade 7 B because she's very courageous. She's also a confident person and ... even though she comes from a different race... she always calls us her brothers and sisters (**Kirthita; individual interview**).*

This notion of unconditional friendship across the races was explicated by Jerome:

*We both.....we both race groups are trying to learn from each other. I admireYakub a lot because.....he is always kind and gentl. When I ask him for things or any other Black child asks for something, he always says yes (**Jerome, individual interview**).*

The above assertions link very well with the research questions in that, despite having distinct racial identities, these learners do not allow these identities to cloud their close relationships with their peers. It would appear that their schooling experiences have become enriched in the process. The theory inherent in Children's Geographies is played out in the way these children act morally, ethically and politically towards one another. Moreover, from the way these children have articulated their views on their cross-cultural friendships, it is quite evident that they have clinched their roles as social actors in keeping with their ability, their maturity and level of comprehension as is embedded in the theory of New Childhood Studies.

4.5.3 Making sense of the spaces of racism

The study revealed that the participants do experience racism at the school in overt and subtle ways, and illuminates how they navigate these spaces.

Lezann was infuriated by the behaviour of an Indian teacher who often insulted them in the classroom. He said, *"You're so thick, your nose leaks and I'm surprised you don't have er ... cruse (reference to tightly, curled) hair and a flat nose or else I would understand*

the situation". She felt comments like these were racist. The children are afraid to voice their feelings as schools, as Weller (2006) pointed out, are places where power relations are dominated by adults. Van Ingen and Halas (2006) too have found that dominion over certain spaces, like schools, are normally held by adults, resulting in power struggles that favour the adult, who is the teacher. The child's voice is smothered by the figure in authority.

Lezann's stance is reminiscent of Addams' (1909) statement that the most sublime moment in human development is the young protégé's claim that he is not like any other person, that he too does have a worthy contribution to make and he must be seen in his own right as a social actor.

When probed about whether he has had problems with children from other race groups, in or out of school, Jerome responded: *We've been teased.... we've been chased around.....getting hurt, ending up in hospital. They like.... not being kind of friendly to us whenlike we are trying..... we both race groups are trying to learn from each other.*

When further asked about whether there has been any kind of problem that he has experienced at his school with regards to his being a Black African child, Jerome responded:

The one person said that we all Blacks stink. And then.....we were all shocked at why she said that. We thought she was racist or somethingand we quite felt bad about that..... we decided to tell.....like our parents about it but at the end of the day we ended up forgiving each other about what she said.

A parallel of this type of racial acrimony was drawn in an alleged offensive remark made by an Indian female teacher at a primary school in Sydenham, Durban, South Africa. The teacher is alleged to have remarked that Black children are "dumb and stupid like their parents" (Zulu, 2103, p.12) and that she would not be anywhere near Black children because "they smell and are full of germs" (p.12).

When asked about what she thought were the disadvantages of being an Indian in this country, Kirthita was outraged by her recollection of an unpleasant situation:

Some children.....not all, like the Black children tell us we don't belong here..... and this is their nation and that we are supposed to be in India and.....this Africa is for them, that's why they called them Africans.

To counteract this insensitive line of thinking, Kirthita was quick to point out,

They said that we don't belong here and that is not right because.....we're all born here andwe had a different government and we all fought for freedom and so why now when there's freedom, they want to send us to India, that is not right.

Jerome recalled what he viewed to be a racist comment with visible anguish, in a **focus group interview:**

And this one teacher, a male, we won't mention his name..... he called me a thin head. He said, 'You have a thick skin... yes.....you retarded one, you gonna fail...yes.

This is consistent with what Kohli (2008) found when a white male teacher abused a Chicana female student at a school in Los Angeles:

It was my first day in Chemistry class in 10th grade. The teacher, the first thing that came out of his mouth was....."Not many of you will be able to pass, because the trends are that mostly." I don't remember the exact words, but it was like, "Your type of people don't do well" (p.183).

Further concurrence with this type of skewed thinking is to be found in Pachter, Bernstein, Szalacha and Coll (2010, p. 65) who narrated what one of their participants in a study of 277 children from schools in Connecticut on perceived racism among children:

She [a teacher] was real racist. Like, Black people, she called us 'ignorant', that we won't learn nothing, that we'd always be here for the rest of our lives (15 year-old African-American girl).

Amritha also observed some racial friction between the Indian and Black African learners in the school and this is explicated in the following statement:

Like at school the Indian boys will tease the Black children and, then they'll tease the people who have white blood in them, or a person who is Coloured and make stupid

remarks. They feel very hurt.....and then the boys will all tap each other and they laugh and they all do that.

But Amritha conceded that this behaviour does not persist for too long. After a few days all is forgotten and they become friends. Although these comments can be viewed as playful banter, the learners involved viewed them in a serious light.

A similar situation existed in the Greek -Cypriot schools where Zembylas (2010) carried out his investigation. Children at the receiving end of racist behaviours often retaliated by using a number of strategies. In keeping with the outcome of Archer and Francis's (2005) study, as cited in Zembylas (2010), it was the children themselves rather than the school's structures on anti-racism policies that dealt with such behaviours. Some Greek-Cypriot children stood their ground against harassment of their Turkish-speaking peers. Some Turkish-speaking children attempted to ignore such behaviour and kept to themselves. Some retaliated physically with the Greek-Cypriots. Others attempted to resolve the impasse by befriending the Greek-Cypriot children and finally some Turkish-speaking children tried to fit into the majority group by adopting their traits.

Mandisa's agony at being one of six Black African girls who was ordered out of their classroom by a senior member of staff did not go unnoticed. *"Ma'am, sir was telling a joke and making funny sounds in the class and we all laughed. Then after that sir told Kader something because he was angry and it was funny and we all laughed again. Sir got angry and he told us to go sit by the office. We sat outside for four periods. Ma'am, it was racism because there were others who were laughing but they didn't go outside."* This overbearing attitude by an adult authority figure not only smacks of abuse of power but is also emblematic of what the proponents of New Childhood studies have been lobbying against, that children are passive objects to be seen only in the future as human *becomings*, dependent on their families (Skivenes & Strandbu, 2006).

Power struggles were in evidence between learners of the different race groups. Kirthita recalled an incident, in a ***focus group interview***, between Kreesan, an Indian boy, and Angeline, a Coloured girl,

One day there was no teacher in class and Kreesan had an argument with Angeline. She just asked him for her things back and...and Kreesan told her that she's a Kaf.....'Kaffir'. Kirthita's response: "I felt very bad. I actually teared because she's a close friend of mine and I'm sure she must have felt the same pain that I felt for her"

This critical incident illustrates that racism can rear its ugly head even in the confines of school spaces, and can have a marked effect on children of different race groups, socially, ethically, morally, politically and emotionally. Kirthita was affected emotionally by what she witnessed. How she navigated this experience is not evident in the data. The study suggests that children's emotionalities in the context of race relations is an important area for further research. Ahn (2010) and den Besten (2009) draw attention to the importance of researching children's emotional geographies in the context of their everyday lives.

4.6 Making sense of racial identity: What do children's narratives have to tell?

4.6.1 Identity and racial identity

Frale (1997, p.1) defines identity as "the individual's psychological relationship to particular social category systems." She believes that there is ample evidence in research to demonstrate that as far as gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and class are concerned, identity in these respects is a fluid, multi-layered, personalized social construction that is further impacted upon by the context that the individual finds himself or herself in. McAdams (1995) posits that one's identity is unified and purposefully constructed by oneself, and constitutes just one part of their self-concept.

The contextual, socially constructed and personalised nature of identity is evident in Nonhlanhla's lamentation: *"African people....they don't like nice things for other people. If you buy a new car and you come to the Indians, maybe the lady next door will say, 'Congratulations, you bought a new car.' But the Africans won't say that. If you bought a new car, they will feel jealous for you."*

Racial identity, according to Arroyo and Zigler (1995), stems from what an individual feels, perceives and believes about their very own racial group as opposed to the dominant racial group they come up against. Katz and Kofkin (1997) elaborate further that racial

identity is understood as racial consciousness that is intensified by personal choices and socialisation among children. McAdoo (1985) used operant learning condition in a study with preschool children to observe children's thinking and behaviours that indicated how parents influenced their children's racial attitudes and preferences. Stevenson (1994) claims that racial socialisation by their parents was beneficial to African-American children in their development of a positive self-image.

An individual with a bi-racial identity like Tyrone who describes himself as Coloured-Indian may feel conflicted in the way he reacts to the demands of each culture. There is the possibility that if there is no concerted effort on the part of significant others in his life, he could find himself in the same situation as 16 year old, Danny Lopez, a White Mexican, in a novel by de la Péna (2008), who after his parents' divorce lives with his white mother in San Diego but attends a mainly white school. He feels like an outcast on account of his dark skin. This feeling lingers when he visits his Mexican family during the summer holidays, and is unable to come to terms with the foods and smells there and his inability to communicate in Spanish.

When asked why she would like to be reborn as a white, Lezann, in an **individual interview** remarked *"I like Whites because of their accent. I like their hair colour and they are also a very friendly race group"*. She was supported in this belief by Nonhlanhla who added in an **individual interview**, *"Whites have beautiful skin and they are pretty."*

Jerome, A Black African, stated in an **individual interview**:

I'd like to be reborn as an Indian because I like their culture.....their dancing, their jewellery. My friends will ask me why did I choose this race group, for what... and how can explain it to them why I chose this race group as my own personal answer? But most of my friends will know that a good heart will never die.

This poignant statement probably reinforces the sad truth that race has been known to diminish the identity and the ability of those seen as 'raced'. They feel tainted and tarnished by the racist onlooker. They feel they have been cast in the mould of the 'racial others' and that they will always be destined with their black and brown skins to be seen as

less able, more different from, and not of the same level as the racist, societally-normed white, others (Howarth, 2006).

Even Mandisa who preferred to be Coloured said in an **individual interview**:

I like Coloureds. I like how they speak, especially those who speak Afrikaans.

Sunita remarked that given the choice of which race group she would like to be reborn into, she indicated that she would prefer to be born Black African and she was quite adamant that, *“If I was accepted as an Indian in a mixed friendship group, but if someone refused to be my friend because I am now a Black girl, my friends will not like that”*. This comment seems to exhibit her trust in her friends and that ‘race’ is not a criterion used in her choice of friends.

The aspirations of these participants do in some way challenge the perception that racial identity is fixed and immutable. It is far from that. This is reinforced by Wong (2011) who contends that *“racial identity is dynamic and in flux”* (p.167).

The way in which the participants in the study have constructed, contested and experienced their racial identities, as has been asked in one of the research questions, has been in evidence. Zembylas (2010) has shown that children’s identities are racialised from as early as possible in their lives and it is these social constructions that contribute to their knowledge of racism. Power relations are crucial to racist behaviours and these are apparent in a social setting such as a school. Power dictates who is in or out of any group structure.

4.6.2 Identity, socialisation and agency

When Jerome mentioned with pride, which obviously stemmed from the socialisation by his parents, *“I am black because of my colour, I speak isiZulu, I live in a Zulu place; we wear clothes made of animal skins”* his racial identity is quite explicit. This ring of racial pride about his identity is further accentuated by his very elaborate description of the jewellery that his womenfolk wear, *“The red symbolises the colour of blood and love, the*

green means growth, the blue means happiness and brightness, the yellow means peace and the orange symbolises everyone that is happy, that we are all living one place that's happy."

The fact that Jerome proclaimed, *"We get to do what we love, we get to play our traditional songs, we like to play some instruments, we like designing, we sometimes learn from the other cultures like Hindi, Muslim, we try to cope more from learning other people's culture and try to wear their kind of clothes too"*, shows that his identity is not only fluid by his assimilation into other cultures but also multi-layered by his being a male, an isiZulu-speaking Black African and his class and this accords with what Frable (1997) posited.

Sunita, on the other hand, is both appreciative of the presence of learners of other groups as well as repulsed by the behaviour of her own race group's attitude towards them. It is also heartening to note that the moral values instilled in her family are visible in her sentiments:

Ma'am, I think it's quite nice to be mixed up with different race groups because you get to learn different things from them and they from you, so you get to communicate and then you understand more about them than you understand from others. But some (Indians) tease them (Blacks) in our class. They call them different names and they tease them about their habits and stuff.

Masko (2005) also elaborates that the confusion over race arises when at times 'race' is biologically or physically constructed, and at other times it is socially categorised. Tyrone said in an **individual interview** that he would like to be reborn as a white person because whites are rich and have good stable jobs. He went on to say, *'I like to look good ... I like to be white in complexion and have nice eyes, nice hair'*. This concurs with what Krista, a white 8th grade learner in Bellota's (2008, p. 28) study of 44 white and non-white children in North Carolina said, *"I think because I'm a white person that maybe I have a better chance...If people just look at your colour...I know it's not legal, but maybe I have a better chance to get into things than if I'm black."*

The insensitive messages that some of the non-Indian learners have been receiving from one Indian teacher and which have impacted most adversely on their racial identities have been most disconcerting but fortunately were not reflective of that of all the other

Indian teachers. Lezann, a Coloured learner, as has been touched upon, condemned this behaviour most vehemently. This participant elaborated that the teacher favoured the bright learners. She felt scared to take action for lack of support from other learners but she was vociferous about children needing to speak out about how they feel. She maintained that children have a role to play to show that apartheid is over and that they are one nation. This endorses what Qvortrup (1994) and Mayall (2002), in line with the imperatives of New Childhood Studies, have maintained in their belief that children should be seen as social actors with rights of their own, active in their own affairs rather than as passive dependents on their families.

Another hint that some implied socialisation may have occurred in the lives of the Black African children and which may have acted as a buffer against any racist practice is seen in Jerome's remark to the taunt that they stink:

And then we were all shocked by what she said. We thought she was racist or something and we felt quite bad. We decided to tell our parents about it but at the end of the day we ended up forgiving each other.

The racial socialization that Jerome was possibly exposed to within his family may have been a compensatory or protective factor against this form of racial abuse in his life. Hughes (2003) defined *racial socialization* as "the transmission of parents' world views about race and ethnicity to children by way of subtle, overt, deliberate and unintended mechanisms" (p. 15).

Jerome's reconciliatory attitude and that of his parents is echoed in Berkel, Murry, Hurt, Chen, Brody, Simons, Cutrona & Gibbons (2009) who showed that the parents of African- American adolescents were able to ameliorate their adverse experiences with racism by driving them to inculcate in their children a sense of glory over their vibrant culture and tradition. These adolescents drew strength from their parents' experiences with disparity and injustice, and reframed them as challenges that needed to be overcome.

4.7 Learners' views on promoting race relations

As has repeatedly been laboured throughout this study, the idea of children's spaces extends beyond the obligations of adults to safeguard and control children's interests. It also incorporates the process of "reciprocal and negotiable relations between adults and children" (Wyness, 2003, p.224). It can never be overemphasised that it is within these spaces that children acquire an audible voice to articulate how they feel about issues that affect them and others around them.

Prout and James (1990) have echoed the sentiments around the social construction of childhood and have endorsed the belief that children should be accorded the due respect of being seen as active agents in issues that concern their very own lives as well as the lives of others and their societal groups. True to this sentiment, the young participants in the study were quite forthright about ways to correct the racial impasse that may prevail within the social site of their school.

Tyrone, a Coloured-Indian learner, was quick to suggest, in a **focus group interview**:

Ma'am, even if the teachers don't like a certain child, they should try to be nice to that child and not be mean and racist because if you are not racist you can learn a lot of things about the different groups.

This concurs with what Derman-Sparks and Edwards (2010) observed in an anti-bias classroom where children learn to develop pride in themselves and in their families, where they learn to respect differences among themselves, where they become aware of bias, are empowered to speak up for what they come to believe is right and are nurtured in a class where teachers are careful to teach their children not to use hurtful language to deride another's identity.

The other important quality that human beings need to apply is empathy. Jesuvadian and Wright (2011) conducted research on the role of race in the choice of peers by 24 nursery and kindergarten children in an ethnically mixed preschool centre in Singapore. They established that employment of empathy enables children to recognise similarities

rather than differences between and among them. To be able to listen to and feel with another goes a long way in building bridges than creating gorges.

Tyrone's wise comment, again in a **focus group interview** should not go unnoticed. It was fuelled in Jansen's (2004) observation that the biggest hurdle in white schools was not in admitting black learners, but not employing black African teachers in the same schools. He ascribes this to a culture of entrenched racial beliefs about white capability and black incompetence.

Tyrone's advice is very convincing:

Ma'am, this might sound stupid but maybe they can have like a Friendship Day where everybody comes to school, gets along with each other, talks to each other, plays with each other and have no time for fighting. Ma'am, maybe they should employ more Blacks, more Coloureds and Whites instead of mostly Indians and only one Black. Maybe we should inform the teachers that they are hurting the feelings of their learners. Maybe prepare a speech and deliver it in the assembly.

It accords with what a Head Start teacher in an American school had to say:

I remember that many adults put me down when I was a child, like saying, "Oh, she is just a little Mexican." These comments really affected how I felt about myself, and I vowed I wouldn't do the same to someone else. As a teacher, I wanted to break the cycle (Derman-Sparks and Edwards, 2010, p. 2).

Just as, according to Glenn (2012), taking time to read and pondering on issues in multicultural literature can enable white teacher candidates to seriously challenge what they assume about self and other in relation to racial, cultural, and linguistic identities, so too can the teacher in Tyrone's experience. This would then enable him to adopt a different conceptualisation of the norms of his own society in the way they look at the so-called "other" and most probably lead him towards realisation of his own agenda in reinforcing racial stereotypes (Glenn, 2012).

Just as Botman (2011) felt that unity takes us in a different direction from race and that by celebrating our commonalities and downplaying our differences we will be heading towards non-racialism, so too Fortunate, Mandisa and Lezann believed immensely in the reconciliatory force of Ubuntu.

Maybe, ma'am, they can sit in a group and talk. They can also achieve much by showing Ubuntu. They could also have a braai where everyone can have fun (Fortunate, Mandisa and Lezann, focus group interview).

This philosophy by Fortunate, Mandisa and Lezann connects with what Devine, Kenny and Macneela (2008) advocate in their contention that it is important to empower children to identify and understand their behaviour with one another and to reflect on the repercussions of such behaviour for children who are racially oppressed.

In addition, Fortunate, Mandisa and Lezann's emphasis on the need to demonstrate Ubuntu is echoed in the observation of Jentile (2011) who caught two beggars, one white and one Black African, sharing the bread that a motorist offered the white beggar after rolling up his window to thwart the entreaties of the Black African beggar.

These comments also unwittingly resonate with one of the basic human rights described in the United Nations (1989) Declaration of the Rights of the Child: The right to participate fully in family, cultural, and social life (Derman-Sparks and Edwards, 2010).

The astute minds of these young protagonists have provided very nourishing food for thought in promoting race relations within the social space of their school:

They can have a role play. Like when somebody's being racist, they can show like a solution to that problem (Sunita, focus group interview).

Ma'am, maybe that role play can show a school of different races and a different.....another race like there's a school only of Indians, Whites and Blacks and maybe a White person will come and the Indians, Blacks and Coloureds will get along with them(Tyrone, focus group interview).

*Or the role play can show that apartheid is over and we all need to be one nation
(Lezann, focus group interview.)*

Role plays have been found to have had a huge impact in the lives of Grade 4 learners at Cordwalles Prep School in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa (Denny-Dimitriou, 2011). While exploring the theme *Proudly South African* in a social science class, for three weeks, these learners chose a card that identified them as “white” or “non-white” for the day, labels which reflected the ideology of apartheid. During that time these learners, depending on which group they fell into, either enjoyed the fruits of being white or suffered the indignity of being Black. The very powerful emotions of anger, sadness and frustration at the horrors of apartheid were brought to the fore in this role play (Denny-Dimitriou, 2011).

*Maybe they should have a voluntary class where the different races of children, even adults attend and they all speak their personal opinion. Other ways of uniting the different race groups would be to have sports activities like volleyball, cricket or netball matches for girls. A Heritage Day would be an excellent idea to unite everyone, to have freedom and to enable everyone to understand each other and to motivate each other. As I told you, may be if the children got to understand each other, they would understand them. If Kreesan understands, and Angeline or any of the other children understands Jerome’s story, then maybe we can have a fixed understanding of each other. In a class project we all had to get together as a group and put our ideas and make a poster on what we understand on race. We drew pictures of the different races combined. We put our ideas together and we composed slogans like, ‘Don’t fight and make it a war, but be one and be happy’
(Kirthita, focus group interview).*

Kirthita’s observations resonate fairly well with those of Kohli (2008) who made mention of a student who felt that community building was an excellent means of fostering trust, respect and unity in a multi-racial environment.

We should have a dance, or track sport or a soccer tournament to unite the different race groups. A culture day or a youth day will make a big difference. In a class project

to promote race relations, we drew pictures of everyone uniting, holding hands. We also participated in a drama about race. Another good idea would be all of us getting together and playing together (Jerome, focus group interview).

This insight had found favour in Wells, Holme, Revilla and Atanda (2005) who found that inter-racial relationships flourished mainly through extra-curricular activities such as athletics, especially among the boys and co-curricular events such as drama, band, and chorus, for boys and girls.

4.8. Conclusion

The children's narratives in this study have brought to light some issues that have huge implications for future research. It brought to light aspects related to the learners' constructions of race and racial difference which was further explicated by their self – categorisation in terms of race. The dynamics of cross-race friendships was explored in depth with interesting results.

The study also foregrounded the spaces of racism, and how children make sense of their racial identities within these complex spaces. The rich data provided insights into children's racial socialisation and their agency in this process.

Finally, the very audible voices of these eager protégés, in keeping with the philosophy of New Childhood Studies and Children's geographies, the theoretical foundation on which this study was built, were given credence in their views on promoting race relations. Matthews (2001) has contended that as legitimate members of society, children have the right to engage in its activities with due regard to their ability, their maturity and level of comprehension. In keeping with this view, the participants in this study were indeed accorded their legitimate status of social actors in their own right.

The next chapter will round off the study in a concluding account of the intricacies of the study on hand.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an annotated version of the study undertaken in this dissertation. It will outline key issues the study raises, and discuss the implications of this study. Further areas for research will also be identified. It will finally include a short account of my personal reflections as the researcher.

5.2 Focus and Research Questions

With the demise of legally-sanctioned apartheid and the structural transformation of schools to include all race groups, the cloud of racial discrimination and re-segregation has not been entirely dissipated. The works of Bhana and Pattman (2010); Carter, Caruthers and Foster (2009); Erasmus and Ferreira (2002); Keizan and Duncan (2010); Marais (2010); Ndimande (2012); Smith and Langa (2010); Vally, Dolombisa and Proteus (2002); Vandeyar (2010) and Zuma (2013) have been very graphic in their explosion of the myth that democracy has brought with it a finality to the end of all our racial woes. The sentiments of these researchers have been echoed in the works of revered counterparts in the North. Berkel, Murry, Hurt, Chen, Brody, Simons, Cutrona and Gibbons (2009); Devine, Kenny and Macneela (2008); Dulin-Keita, Hannon lii, Fernandez and Cockerham (2011); Howarth (2006); Kohli (2008); Lueck & Steffen (2011); Masko (2005); Pachter, Bernstein, Szalacha and Coll (2010); Targowski (2005); Van Ausdale & Feagin (2001) and Zembylas (2010) have not minimised the corrosive impact that race can have on the lives of the racially disempowered.

With that in mind, my prime aim in this study was to hear the stories of mainly the Indian and Black African learners around their experiences of race and race relations and in which better context than in their very own school spaces.

The key research questions were:

What are learners' schooling experiences in relation to their own racial identities and that of their peers?

How are racial identities constructed, contested and experienced through the lens of learners within the context of a primary school?

In what ways do these constructions, contestations and experiences shape the social and schooling lives of children?

5.3 The theoretical framework and research methodology

The theoretical framework that steered this study is Children's Geographies and New Childhood Studies. Children's Geographies which, as has been stated, falls under the auspices of human geography and examines the places and spaces of children's lives experientially, politically and ethically.

New Childhood Studies, additionally, is an area of study which contends that children should be regarded as individuals in their own right rather than as helpless beings dependent on adult patronage. Furthermore, it is advocated that it is within the concept of children's spaces that children should be empowered to act independently, decisively and meaningfully in matters that concern them.

The narrative inquiry approach was opted for mainly to give voice to those who have a firm grasp of their social worlds and also because it gives advocacy to the belief that human beings live storied lives both individually and socially. People's lives are shaped by their own stories. Consequently, it is the researcher's task to engage in interpretation of the stories to be able to analyse the built-in narrative that the tellers of the stories may be unable to articulate themselves. This approach, moreover, grants one the licence not to undervalue the ability that children have to navigate their way around social constructs and social spaces.

Purposive sampling involved two friendship groups of five friends each. Data were gathered from individual interviews and focus group interviews.

5.4 Summary of the key findings of the study

Under the banner of the learners' constructions of race and racial difference, the study unearthed aspects of the learners' self –categorisations and differences in terms of race. It became quite evident that the participants in the study used the social construction of race to categorise themselves and this was predicated on skin colour and other physical attributes. Language, culture, food and clothing were also latched on as visible characteristics for the participants to differentiate themselves from one another.

The theoretical framework that underpins children's space played a vital role in according the participants an audible voice in matters that affect them and those around them. While 'space' refers to the rights of children in that it privileges the views and opinions of children, it also accords them the status of human *beings* and not human *becomings*. This was seen most vividly in the way the children in their roles as social actors rather than passive objects, denounced what they regarded as racial abuse on the part of their fellow learners and teachers.

Power struggles which were also in evidence between learners of the different race groups brought home the sad truth that racism which can rear its ugly head even in the confines of school spaces can have a marked effect on children of different race groups socially, politically and emotionally in keeping with the wisdom of Children's Geographies.

The Black African participants were very specific in the way they used the word 'black' which to them was synonymous with the notion of being 'African'. This may have filtered down to them in the racial socialisation practices of their parents and their racial pride was clearly evident. Their forthrightness in this regard is endorsed by the imperatives inherent in the theory of New Childhood Studies with its accent on granting children a voice.

The key message contained in this study is that racism has not entirely disappeared with the abolition of legally-sanctioned apartheid and in order to reverse any possible

damage to our flourishing rainbow nation, care must be taken to ensure that those who have been allowed to govern our schools should lead by example and not be self-deluded.

5.5 Reflections on the methodology and possible limitations of the study

The narrative approach with individual and focus group interviews was found to be most advantageous in allowing the participants of the study to lend credible voices to their stories. With just the right degree of exhortation, many of them were able to hold nothing back. An added advantage of incorporating both types of interviews into the same study was that the participants were able to articulate and refine their responses and also felt safe to disclose and share similar experiences.

However, there are some limitations that should be noted. The choice of location needs to have been very carefully considered to obviate what has been perceived as threats to the success of the study. The setting in which the interviews were conducted needed to have been more carefully established. On two occasions, deafening sounds from repair works in close proximity to the researcher's room proved to be a huge stumbling block to the smooth conduct of the interviews.

The time frame of the data collection should have been more carefully considered. The formal testing programme and the non-attendance of the learners at the close of these assessments also threatened to pose a problem to the continuity of the data collection process.

What may have inhibited the responses of the participants was that the researcher was a familiar figure through whose hands they passed when they were in Grade 1. Despite repeated reassurances regarding confidentiality, the ease and spontaneity with which they should have responded may have been tempered by a degree of apprehension.

Conducting the interviews solely through the medium of English may have compromised the contribution that the Black African participants made to the study. The services of an interpreter would have added more value to the study, but, despite this, these participants enriched the study in so many other ways.

My status as teacher and researcher was certainly a double-edged sword. It definitely allowed me to obtain the trust of the children as they had known me for seven years, and our relationship has always been most cordial. This was attested to by Sunita, Jerome and Tyrone. But my periodic visits to their classes for relief duty and where I had to exert my authority may have dampened their spontaneity to some extent.

The plethora of the research that was reviewed came largely from the developed countries like the U.S.A, the U. K. and Europe. A major hitch was finding more enriching material from more developing countries.

Another possible limitation may have been the very small sample of just eight participants. It may be presumptuous, then, to generalise from such a sample. Ideally, a larger sample would have provided material that would have embellished the study more.

5.6 Implications of the study

The study has illustrated the bold truth that there should not be any complacency about the issue of race and race relations in our schools today. In a staff notice dated 2014-03-27, the head of the institution in which the study was located stated that a District Director, in addressing a principals' meeting, was adamant that racism was prevalent at certain schools in the Umgungundlovu District. He was quick to add, however, that the School Governing Body, the School Management team, the staff and the learners at his school are not involved in racist practices. The colour-blind myth should not be the easy option to a very serious and burning issue that could trounce the ideals of our highly respected constitution. Important lessons should be taken from this study and, more especially, the voices of the young contributors must be heard.

In making sense of their experiences of the spaces of race relations in and out of the school, and more especially of the dynamics of cross-race friendships, practically all the participants laid claim to have joined friendship groups that were multiracial. They drew comfort from their companionship with these friends at school. The children remarked that they helped one another with their school work by engaging in discussions about how they should solve problems. Only a few isolated incidents marred race relations at the school.

In coming to grips with the spaces of racism, the Black African participants in the study were peeved by the petty racial behaviours of their Indian counterparts and this could be attributed to the stereotypical attitudes that adults were wont to display during the apartheid regime. However, it was not serious enough to erupt into full blown racial violence.

Racial identity does not appear to be a constant in the lives of some of the participants in the study. While some of the Black participants were open to the idea of being reborn as Indian or Coloured mainly because of the embellishments of their culture and the opportunities they have had, this may be attributed to the sad truth that race has been known to diminish the identity and the ability of those seen as 'raced'.

Mention must be made again of the mediating effects of racial pride and racial socialisation on the perverse effects of racial tensions on the lives of the Black African learners from their Indian peers and authority figures. But since this has been somewhat negligible, much significance cannot be attached to it.

Lastly the participants, once again in keeping with the philosophy of Children's Geographies and New Childhood Studies were very articulate in their suggestions about how positive race relations can be promoted at their school.

5.7 Recommendations for Further Research

It is strongly recommended that there be follow-up studies in a South African context to add to the growing body of research in the developing countries. This would help to strengthen the concerns that the issue of race and race relations should not be glibly dismissed by the hypocrisy in the colour-blind façade. More research accessing the voices of children is needed.

5.8 Conclusion

The journey on which this study was undertaken was long and arduous. Many theories were examined but none was as close to the mark as Children's Geographies and

New Childhood Studies which formed the bedrock of this entire research project. It is open to constructive criticism and further appraisal.

This chapter brought to light the findings that climaxed the individual as well as combined voices of the learners on the burning issue of race and race relations in their school spaces. Besides emphasising the focus of the study and the research questions, this chapter dealt with the reflections on the methodology, the possible limitations of the study as well as recommendations for further research.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Before conducting the interview proper the researcher engaged in informal conversations with the participants. The aim of this approach was to establish rapport with the participants.

Conversations with students were varied. To start a conversation, the researcher would ask simple questions such as what the participant's name was, how their day was, or possibly what they liked to do during their play breaks. Since the purpose of this exercise was not to generate data per se, but mainly to develop trust and familiarity, these conversations would usually revolve around topics determined by the participants themselves such as what colour they liked their hair to be, what they did over the weekends, and the number of brothers or sisters they had.

Usually the participants preferred to speak on topics closely linked to the study, such as who their friends were, who they often played with and why, and what spaces they liked to occupy. No notes were taken during these conversations (in order to create a relaxed atmosphere), but instead were made once the researcher was alone.

The interview schedule that was used was a mix of loosely structured questions. By means of this flexible and conversational interview schedule, the researcher was able to get a better understanding of the children's views on racial interactions and the meanings that they attribute to their personal relationships.

1. INDIVIDUAL

- Have you heard the word 'race' before? What does it mean to you? Explain – probe as much as possible.
- What are the different race groups in our country?
- Tell me about the different race groups at the school – amongst children, teachers etc.
- What does it mean to be an African?
- What does it mean to be an Indian?
- Tell me about your own race? Your own family, etc?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages of being Indian in this country?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages of being African in this country?
- Do you have children from different race groups in your class? Explain.
- How do you get along?

- Have you experienced problems with children from different race groups? Get them to recount critical incidents
- Tell me some good stories about how children get along? Get them to recount critical incidents
- Tell me about your friendship group. Who is your friend? Why? Who is not your friend? Why?
- Who would you like to be your friend? Why?
- Who would you not like to be your friend? Why?
- Tell me about an Indian child you admire most in your school.
- Tell me about an African child you admire most in your school.
- **Scenario:** -“If an alien were to come into your room late one night, while you were asleep, and change your race, make you white (or black), how would you be same or different? Friends? Other kids treat you? Teachers? Future?”

2. FOCUS GROUPS:

(TWO focus groups – TWO friendship groups - mixed gender and race groups).

2.1 Selection of friendship groups:

- Go to two classes (randomly select the classes if there are more than two) and ask each child to write down the names of the children in their *school* friendship groups. We do not want large friendship groups – maybe ask them to choose **FTVE** very close children in their **very close friendship** groups (so you will have 10 individual interviews to do – we do not want more).
- Then **select ONLY** the groups that have mixed gender and race – and if there are five that emerge – randomly select **two** friendship groups.

2.2 Focus Group Interview Questions: two separate focus groups.

(Raise any issues that emerge in the individual interviews in addition to questions below). Here again you will probe.

- Have you heard the word 'race' before? What does it mean to you? Explain – probe as much as possible.
- What are the different race groups in our country?
- Tell me about the different race groups at the school – amongst learners, teachers etc.
- What does it mean to be an African?
- What does it mean to be an Indian?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages of being Indian in this country?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages of being African in this country?
- Do you have children from different race groups in your class? Explain.
- How do you get along?
- Have you experienced problems with children from different race groups? Get them to recount critical incidents.
- Tell me some good stories about how children get along? Get them to recount critical incidents.
- Who do you think is the most popular child in the school that you know? Explain.
- Who is the most unpopular? Explain
- Do your teachers talk to you about race relations?
- Does the SGB in your school ask your advice about how to make all the races get along well? What would you tell them? (SCENARIO)
- What would you change in your school to make all the races get on better?
- Are there any projects that you did on race and race relations? Tell me about them

APPENDIX B: ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL



Research Office, Govan Mbeki Centre
Westville Campus
Private Bag x54001
DURBAN, 4000
Tel No: +27 31 260 8350
Fax No: +27 31 260 4609
snymanm@ukzn.ac.za

25 October 2011

Mrs K Moodley (204400437)
School of Education and Development

Dear Mrs Moodley

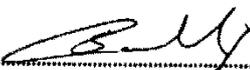
PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/1028/011M
PROJECT TITLE: How do primary school children experience race in relation to their social identities

In response to your application dated 05 October 2011, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.
PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


.....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics Committee

cc: Supervisor – J Ngcobo
cc: Mrs S Naicker

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APPENDIX C: ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL



26 April 2013

Professor A Muthukrishna 845
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0250/013

Project title: The geographies of children's schooling in six Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries:
Narratives of children, parents/caregivers and teachers

Dear Professor Muthukrishna

Expedited approval

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)

/px

cc Dr P Morojele
cc Academic leader researcher Dr MN Davids
cc School administrator Ms B Bhengu

Humanities & Social Sc Research Ethics Committee
Professor S Collings (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

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INSPIRING GREATNESS



APPENDIX D: CONSENT LETTER: SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

University of KwaZulu-Natal
Pietermaritzburg Campus
11 Himalaya Road
Belfort
Pietermaritzburg
3201
20 August 2013

The Principal

Sir

Permission to conduct the research in your school

I am a Masters in Education student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal doing a research project titled: **A narrative inquiry into how children experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces.**

I am interested in ways in which learners experience and think about race and race relations in their school. I kindly request permission to conduct my study at your school. Learners in Grade 7 will be the participants in my study. They will be required to participate in individual and group interviews.

Please note that:

- There will be no benefits to participants for participation in this research project.
- The learners will be expected to respond to each question in the manner that will reflect their own personal opinion.
- Their identity will not be divulged under any circumstance.
- There is no right or wrong answer.
- All their responses will be treated with strict confidentiality.
- Pseudonyms will be used (real names of the participants and the institution will not be used throughout the research process).

- Participation is voluntary; therefore, participants will be free to withdraw at any time without negative or undesirable consequences to them.
- The participants will not under any circumstances be forced to disclose what they do not want to reveal.
- Audio recording of interviews will only be done if the permission of the participant is obtained.

Yours sincerely

Kalaivani Moodley

Tel: 033 3910748 or 0845972180

kalaivani.moodley@gmail.com

Supervisor: Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

+ (27) 31 260 2494

muthukri@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX E: LETTER OF CONSENT: PARENT

University of KwaZulu-Natal
Pietermaritzburg Campus
11 Himalaya Road
Belfort
Pietermaritzburg
3201
20 August 2013

Dear Parent

Permission for your child to participate in my research project

I am a Masters in Education student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, doing a research project titled: **A narrative inquiry into how children experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces**. I am keen to find out about your child's experiences of race and race relations in his/her school.

I kindly ask you to assist me in this research. I would like to interview your child about race and race relations in his/her school on his/her own, and then I would like to interview him/her in a group with other learners. The interviews will take place at his/her school premises on these dates: (23 August 2013 to 23 September 2013). I request your permission for your child to participate in the study. This study will involve individual and group interviews.

Please note that:

- There will be no benefits that your child will receive for taking part in this research project.
- Your child's response to my question will be what he/she thinks, that is, it will be his/her own personal opinion.
- Your child's name and who he/she is will not be told to anyone under any circumstance.
- There is no right or wrong answer.
- All your child's responses will be treated with strict confidentiality.
- Pseudonyms will be used (your child's real name and the name of his/her school will not be used in the research).

- Your child will take part voluntarily. Your child will be free to withdraw at any time, and nothing will happen to him/her if he/she does.
- Your child will not be forced to tell me things that he/she does not want to talk about.
- Audio-recording will only be done with your permission.

Yours sincerely

Kalaivani Moodley

Supervisor: Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

033 3910748 or 0845972180

+ (27) 31 260 2494

kalaivani.moodley@gmail.com.

muthukri@ukzn.ac.za

If you agree for your child to participate in the research, please sign the form.

CONSENT FORM

I..... (Full Names) hereby confirm that I understand what is in this letter and I understand what the project is about. I consent to my child taking part in the research project.

I understand that he/she is free to withdraw from the project at any time, should he/she want to.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT FOR THE LEARNER.

University of KwaZulu-Natal
Pietermaritzburg Campus
11 Himalaya Road
Belfort
Pietermaritzburg
20 August 2013

Dear Learner

I am a Masters in Education student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, conducting a research project titled: **A narrative inquiry into how children experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces**. I am keen to find out about your experiences of race and race relations in your school.

I kindly request you to assist me in this research by being a participant. I will interview you about race and race relations in your school on your own, and then I will interview in a group with other learners. The interviews will take place at your school premises on these dates: (23 August 2013 to 23 September 2013).

I want you to know the following things:

1. There will be no benefits that participants will receive for taking part in this research.
2. You will be required to respond to each question in the manner that will reflect your own personal opinion.
3. Your identity will not be divulged under any circumstance.
4. There is no right or wrong answer.
5. All your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality.
6. Pseudonyms will be used (real names of the participants / institution will not be used throughout the research process).
7. Participation is voluntary; therefore, participants are free to withdraw at any time without negative or undesirable consequences to them.
8. The participants will not under any circumstances be forced to disclose what they do not want to reveal.
9. Audio- recording will only be done through the permission of the participant.

10. Data will be stored in the University locked cupboard for a maximum period of five years thereafter it will be destroyed by burning.

Thanks in advance for your assistance,

Yours sincerely

Kalaivani Moodley

Tel: 033 3910747 or 0845972180

E-mail address: kalaivani.moodley@gmail.com

This study is supervised by: Professor Nithi Muthukrishna/ Tel: + (27) 31 260 2494. E-mail address: muthukri@ukzn.ac.za

If you agree to participate, please sign the declaration form.

CONSENT FORM

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participate in the research project.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at anytime, should I so desire.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX G: EDITING LETTER

Krishnan Moodley
11 Himalaya Road
Belfort
Pietermaritzburg
South Africa
3201

krishnanm@webmail.co.za

C: 0847461340

H: 033 3910748

19 June 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to record that I have carried out a language editing on the dissertation **A narrative inquiry into how children experience and negotiate race and race relations in their school spaces, by Kalaivani Moodley.**

Yours sincerely

Krishnan Moodley

Krishnan Moodley

APPENDIX H: TURNITIN ORIGINALITY REPORT

Turnitin Originality Report

Page 1 of 42



Turnitin Originality Report

MED Dissertation 2014 by Kalaivani
Moodley

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