

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

**PERCEPTIONS OF RACE OF COLOURED CHILDREN
IN A CHILD AND YOUTH CARE CENTRE.**

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award
of the degree
of
MASTERS IN CLINICAL SOCIAL WORK

By

CINDEE BRUYNS (BRYCIN001)

Supervisor: Fatima Williams

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2012

PLAGARISM DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature

Date

University of Cape Town

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Peter and Patti Bruyns, who through the way in which they raised me, ultimately inspired this research. Thank you for instilling in me the belief that society's labels should never define me or limit my dreams. Thank you for nurturing my humanity in such a way that I am able to value the 'unique' in each person. Thank you for showing me the strength of character that demanded I became an advocate for equality.

University of Cape Town

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank several individuals without whom this thesis would not have been possible:

Fatima Williams, for her unwavering support, patience and commitment throughout this process. Thank you for your encouragement when completion seemed impossible. Thank you for the concern and compassion you showed me which reached far beyond the realm of this thesis.

The participants in this research, who showed bravery beyond their years. Thank you for your participation and for sharing your world with me.

To the board and management of Leliebloem House, for their encouragement and belief in me. Thank you for the confidence you showed by approving my research and for your continued support of my education and development.

To my colleagues and the children at Leliebloem House, for their support and patience. I am indebted to you for the sacrifices you have made and the gaps you had to fill in my absence.

To my friends, for your patience, understanding and support. My eternal appreciation goes to Charlene Jongbloed, Gillian Fortune and Ashleen Joorst. Thank you for standing by me in so many ways during this process. It has felt like 'our' thesis.

To my family, my deepest gratitude goes to you. You have been my foundation and my strength through this process. Thank you for believing in me and steering me back when I was lost. Thank you for the selfless way in which you have supported me and the extra burdens you have had to bear.

Last but not least, I would like to thank God for guiding my every action in the last four years. Thank You for the strength, courage, integrity and wisdom You have provided me with in order to complete this thesis.

ABSTRACT

This study was an exploration into the perceptions of race of coloured children in a child and youth care centre, Leliebloem House. The aim of this study was to evaluate the ways in which race is still present in the lives of these children, who were supposedly “untouched” by the former Apartheid dispensation.

The data was gathered using an exploratory qualitative method. One-on-one interviews, using an interview schedule as a guideline, were conducted. A quantitative component, an adaptation of a test carried out by Alfred Davey (1983) was employed to support, through concurrent triangulation, some of the data collected via the interviews. The test utilized a one-group posttest-only design. An accidental non-probability sampling method was used to select the 17 participants. All the participants were coloured children, between the ages of 8 and 11 years old, living at Leliebloem House. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, input into NVivo, a qualitative data analysis computer software and then analysed by the researcher. The results of the quantitative test were recorded and a numeric value was given to the results which represented the “strength” of the stereotypes held by each of the participants about each race group.

The findings of this study show that coloured children use race groups and racial indicators indicative of the Apartheid era to classify both themselves and others. The findings further demonstrated that the participants perceive the race group hierarchically with the coloured race group holding an intermediary status between the more inferior black and superior white race groups. The participants revealed that racial discrimination, especially towards the black race group, was salient in their

social sphere and perpetuated most often by their peers and parents. Another finding was that the participants chose their friendships according to perceived similarities and that race was not a factor even though their peers and parents expressed their opposition to interracial friendships. However the closer the perceived relationship, the more race became a factor for the participants. The findings showed that the participants held racial stereotypes based on their ideas of racial hierarchy. Finally, this study showed that the participants felt that membership to the coloured race group was as a predicting and limiting factor for their future job opportunities and areas of residence but not to their future financial security or level of education.

University of Cape Town

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
CHAPTER ONE: PROBLEM FORMULATION.....	1
1.1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM.....	1
1.3. RATIONALE.....	2
1.4. LELIEBLOEM HOUSE.....	3
1.5. RESEARCH TOPIC.....	4
1.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	4
1.7. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.....	4
1.8. CONCEPT CLARIFICATION.....	4
1.9. REFLEXIVITY.....	6
1.10. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	6
1.11. OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION.....	8
1.12. CONCLUSION.....	9
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	10
2.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PREJUDICE.....	10
2.3. CONCEPTUALIZING RACE AND RACISM.....	11
2.4. RACE CATEGORISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	13
2.5. THE COLOURED IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	14
2.6. CHILDREN'S AWARENESS OF RACE.....	16
2.7. RACE AND CHILDREN'S SPHERES OF SOCIALISATION.....	19
2.8. LANGUAGE.....	22

2.9.	THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF RACE AND RACISM ON CHILDREN.....	23
2.10.	THE EFFECTS OF THE PREVALENCE OF RACE ON CHILDREN'S EXPECTED QUALITY OF LIFE	24
2.11.	CHILD AND YOUTH CARE CENTRES.....	27
2.12.	CONCLUSION	27
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....		29
3.1.	INTRODUCTION.....	29
3.2.	RESEARCH APPROACH.....	29
3.3.	RESEARCH DESIGN.....	30
3.4.	SAMPLING.....	30
3.5.	DATA COLLECTION	31
3.6.	DATA ANALYSIS.....	33
3.7.	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	34
3.8.	CONCLUSION.....	37
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....		38
4.1.	INTRODUCTION.....	38
4.2.	FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS.....	38
4.3.	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....	39
4.3.1.	Objective one: To explore how coloured children categorize themselves and others with regards to race.....	39
4.3.2.	Objective two: To examine the experiences of coloured children with regards to their own and others race membership and the effects thereof.....	44
4.3.3.	Objective three: To ascertain in which ways race influences coloured children's relationships.....	54
4.3.4.	Objective four: To explore coloured children's racial stereotypes	58
4.3.5.	Objective five: To explore how membership to the coloured race group affects children's future aspirations.....	67
4.4.	Conclusion.....	71

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	72
5.1. Introduction:.....	72
5.2. Main Conclusions:	
5.2.1. Coloured children’s categorizations of themselves and others with regards to race.....	72
5.2.2. Coloured children’s experiences of their own and others race membership and the effects thereof.....	73
5.2.3. The influence of race on coloured children’s relationships..	75
5.2.4. Coloured children’s racial prejudices.....	76
5.2.5. The effects of membership to the coloured race group on children’s future aspirations.....	77
5.3. Recommendations.....	78
5.3.1. Recommendations to Child and Youth Care Centres	78
5.3.2. Future Research.....	79
5.4. Conclusion.....	80
 REFERENCES.....	 81
 GLOSSARY.....	 87
 APPENDICES.....	 88

LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS

TABLE 1: Framework of analysis

TABLE 2: Profile of participants

GRAPH 1: Racial stereotypes held by participants

TABLE 3: Breakdown of the participants' answers to quantitative test for stereotypes

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER ONE

Problem Formulation

1.1. Introduction:

This chapter presents the background to the problem, the rationale for this study and a brief description of the setting of the research. The topic, research questions and research objectives will be outlined and the concepts used within the research clarified. The researcher's reflexivity, the ethical considerations of this study and an outline for the chapters of the dissertation will also be provided.

1.2. Background to the problem:

Race is a social construct with no basis in biological reality. It originates from assumptions, unsubstantiated 'facts' and generalisations based on factors such as skin colour (Montagu, 1974 as cited in Sonn, 1996). Racial differences are perpetuated as a means of legitimising skewed distributions of wealth, power, and opportunities in favour of one race group (Hirschfeld, 1996). In South Africa, laws were implemented, entrenching the ideology of Apartheid by legitimising white supremacy (Hoffman, 1993). The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 55 of 1949 (South Africa, 1949), was the first of these legislations and heralded the beginning of nearly 50 years of institutional racism.

White South Africans, although the minority, were able to retain power through the implementation of the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950 (South Africa, 1950) which required all South Africans to be classified according to race. The majority's collective power was diffused by dividing them into smaller racial groups. Membership to these groups dictated all aspects of life.

The heralding in of the new democratically elected government, in 1994, instilled hope for many South Africans who had suffered under racial oppression. However, nearly two decades after the abolition of Apartheid, the transition into the "new south Africa" has not been a smooth one (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000). Compounded by a history of over 300 years of colonialism and indoctrination, it has proved

particularly difficult to break down racial barriers. After years of segregation, the cultural differences between the races in South Africa remain vast, manifesting in a wide range of different social practices and customs. Inequalities in opportunities, wealth and access to resources are still present. Many communities remain segregated and therefore contact between race groups is limited. Stereotypes and negative attributions remain salient (Finchelescu, 2005). Race labels of “white”, “black” and “coloured” are still widely used (Koopman, 1997).

1.3. Rationale:

Children born in the years after democracy carried many South Africans’ hopes for the future. Born in an extraordinary period of transformation and ‘unblemished’ by the former dispensation, they were believed to be the first generation of the future nation. The hope was that all South Africans would live as equals, no matter their skin colour, language or culture (Barbarin & Richter, 2001).

Children living in South Africa today have not directly experienced Apartheid but divisions in ‘colour’ are still seen on their playgrounds (Finchelescu, 2005). An explanation of this phenomenon might be found in the supposition that:

“[C]ulture is conservative, and once created prejudice will be sustained over time just like any other set of attitudes, values and beliefs. Prejudice and racism come through our cultural heritage as a package of stereotypes, emotions and ideas. We learn which groups are ‘good’ and which are ‘bad’ in the same way that we learn table manners and religious beliefs”.

(Healey, 2009:118)

The rationale behind undertaking research in this field was to contribute to a broader understanding of the legacy that Apartheid has left on those supposedly “untouched” by its regime. It was also the researcher’s intention to gain a greater understanding about how this legacy and membership to the coloured race group affects children’s lives currently and their future aspirations. It is through research in the field of prejudice, that the effects of prejudice on the development of children can be understood and diminished (Carter & Rice 1997).

This research focused on the views of coloured children. The rationale behind this was that the coloured South African identity has very unique attributes (Adhikari, 2006) as do the other race groups and that merging more than one would minimise some of the nuances experienced by a specific group. The population focused on in this research was specifically coloured children, between the ages of 8 and 11 years old, living at Leliebloem House, a child and youth care centre.

The setting of the research, Leliebloem house, will now be described.

1.4. Leliebloem House:

Leliebloem House is a Child and Youth Care Centre (CYCC) based in Crawford, Cape Town. It provides alternative care to 84 vulnerable children who have been found in need of care and removed from their guardians due to varying degrees of neglect and abuse (Children's Act 38 of 2005). Although Leliebloem House is located in a middle class neighbourhood, the children placed there come from high-risk environments plagued with poverty and other negative socio-economic conditions. Within the children's families of origin there are high prevalence of alcohol and drug abuse and unemployment (Leliebloem House, 2010).

A multidisciplinary team including Child and Youth Care Workers (CYCWs) and Social Workers provide specialised services to the children (Children's Act 38 of 2005). Leliebloem House aims to equip the children with the necessary skills to be able to live as functioning members within their families and communities as their overarching aim is the children's reunification and reintegration into society. The children are enrolled at schools in the local community and are encouraged to participate in community activities (Leliebloem House, 2010).

At the time of the study, Leliebloem had 30 staff members; 25 of whom would be classified as coloured, five black and no white staff members. Although not intended, all senior posts at Leliebloem House are held by coloured staff members. The racial demographics of the 81 children residing at Leliebloem House at the time of the study are as follows: 19 black children, 60 coloured children and two white children (M. Amroodt, personal communication, August 10, 2009).

1.5. Research Topic:

Perceptions of race of coloured children in a child and youth care centre.

1.6. Research Questions:

- 1.6.1. How do coloured children categorise themselves and others with regards to race?
- 1.6.2. What are the experiences of coloured children with regards to their own and other's race membership and the effects thereof?
- 1.6.3. In which ways does race influence coloured children's relationships?
- 1.6.4. Do coloured children carry racial prejudices?
- 1.6.5. How does membership to the coloured race group affect children's future aspirations?

1.7. Research Objectives:

- 1.7.1. To explore how coloured children categorise themselves and others with regards to race.
- 1.7.2. To examine the experiences of coloured children with regards to their own and other's race membership and the effects thereof.
- 1.7.3. To ascertain in which ways race influences coloured children's relationships.
- 1.7.4. To explore coloured children's racial prejudices.
- 1.7.5. To explore how membership to the coloured race group affects children's future aspirations.

1.8. Concept Clarification:

Perceptions:

Perceptions are the "psychic impressions made by the five senses (sight, sound, smell, taste and touch) and the way these impressions are interpreted cognitively and emotionally based on one's life experiences" (Barker, 2003:321).

Race:

Race is a contentious matter but for purposes of clarity the terms "black", "white" and

“coloured” are used in this research to refer to those groups of people that would have previously been categorised as such under the Apartheid regime. The terms race, black, white and coloured, although not indicated in inverted commas within this research, should be read as such.

Coloured:

During the Apartheid era, coloured referred to a group of people who seemed to have an intermediary position between the dominant white minority and the subordinate black majority but they too were severely disadvantaged by the discriminatory legislation of Apartheid (Adhikari, 2006).

Black:

In this research the term ‘black’ refers to the group of people who would have been classified as such under the Population Registration Act (South Africa, 1950) and does not include the coloured and Indian race groups. In South Africa, there is some controversy as to whom the term black includes and many researchers use the term black to refer to all those previously disadvantaged by Apartheid legislation (Koopman, 1997).

White:

Within this research the term “white” will be used to refer to those who would have been found superior and would have been afforded unearned privileges and access to resources and power under the Apartheid regime (Koopman, 1997).

Children:

The Constitution of South Africa (South Africa, 1996) defines a child as any person under the age of 18. For the purposes of this research, when referring to the participants as children, it is necessary to note that they were aged 9 to 12 years at the time of their interview. This age group was chosen because children at in this category are old enough to be interviewed.

The reflexivity of the researcher will now be discussed.

1.9. Reflexivity:

Reflection on the part of the researcher is paramount. The researcher needs to be aware of his or her own cognitive world and the influence and role it can have within human relations (DeVos, Strydom, Fouché & Delpont, 2005).

The researcher grew up with minimal first hand exposure to the restrictive laws of Apartheid. Her parents often shared what it was like to live in South African during Apartheid and what people had done to fight for equality. This made her value freedom and breaking the transgenerational transmission of racism became important to her.

While a social worker at Leliebloem House, the researcher, noticed that arguments and fights amongst the children often carried undertones of racism. The researcher was keen to implement anti-bias workshops but felt that a greater understanding of the children's perceptions of race was needed before trying to change them.

1.10. Ethical considerations:

Ethical considerations serve as guidelines for research and as this research was conducted on human subjects, certain ethical considerations needed to be observed. (DeVos *et al*, 2005). These will now be discussed.

1.10.1. Harm to participants:

The researcher needs to try and pre-empt any emotional or physical harm to participants that could have been prevented (DeVos *et al*, 2005). The participants in this research shared their meaning and perceptions of others and as they live together group discussions could have caused physical or emotionally retaliation. Risk of this was minimised through the use on one-on-one interviews instead of focus groups and data collection methods were child friendly and data collected remained anonymous.

1.10.2. Informed consent:

Participants need to be legally and psychologically able to give informed consent (DeVos *et al*, 2005). When participants are minors, consent needs to be obtained from their guardians (Holmes, 1995). The participants in this research are wards of the state so consent was obtained from the Director of Leliebloem House (see appendix A). Although consent was obtained from the director of the CYCC, the participants themselves were also given the opportunity to consent to the interviewing process. Their consent was obtained before the interview process began and then again once the intention of the research and the format of the interview were explained. The researcher also informed the participants that they would be allowed to opt out at any stage of the research process. One of the participants elected to opt out during the interview process. This demonstrates that the way in which consent was explained was child friendly and allowed the participants to feel free to decline from participating. When working with children informed consent includes the opportunity for informed dissent (Boyden & Ennew, 1997).

Working with children presents certain power dynamics issues (DeVos *et al*, 2005) which, in the case of this research, could have been exacerbated by the fact that the researcher works at the CYCC where the sample was taken. Coercion was prevented by ensuring that the children understood that they were free to decline being interviewed with no future repercussions.

1.10.3. Deception of participants:

Deception is the deliberate misinterpretation of facts so as to lead participants to believe what is not true (Lowenberg & Dolgoff, 1988 *as cited in* DeVos *et al*, 2005). The participants were informed about the research but were told only what was necessary to avoid deception without compromising the data collected. The researcher explained to the participants that the interviews were not for Leliebloem House and that questioning pertained to race so that if they felt uncomfortable about the topic they could decline to be interviewed.

1.10.4. Violation of privacy and confidentiality:

Observing the participants rights to privacy means that the participant has the “right to decide when, where, to whom and to what extent his or her beliefs and behaviours will be revealed” (Singleton *et al*, 1988 *as cited in* DeVos *et al*, 2005: 67). The dissemination of their information was explained to the participants and their names and any identifying information was kept anonymous at all stages of this research. The interviews were conducted in a private room.

1.10.5. Debriefing of participants:

Debriefing is a method used to repair issues that might have arisen as a result of the research (Babbie, 2001 *as cited in* DeVos *et al*, 2005). The participants should be given the opportunity to discuss their feelings immediately after the interview (DeVos *et al*, 2005). The participants were debriefed immediately after the interview and invited to approach the researcher at a later stage if any concerns arose. The researcher was also able to monitor the participants for any effects after the interviewing process.

1.11. Outline of Dissertation:

Chapter one presents the problem formulation of this research.

Chapter Two is a presentation of the literature reviewed relating to race in South Africa and its impact on the lives of children.

Chapter three presents the methodology used to conduct this study.

Chapter four presents the research findings using a framework of analysis.

Chapter five provides the main conclusions drawn from the findings of this study as they pertain to the research objectives and recommendations are provided.

1.12. Conclusion:

This chapter provided an introduction to the research. The background to the problem was discussed as well as the rationale behind doing research in this field. Leliebloem House, the site for the research was described. The topic, research questions, research objectives were outlined and the concepts used clarified. The researchers reflexivity was explored and some ethical considerations observed in this research where discussed.

The following chapter will present the literature review.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction:

This literature review explores racism and race categorisation within the South African context. The coloured South African identity will be reviewed. Children's awareness of race and their development of prejudice will be explored. Children's spheres of socialisation through which they learn about race and the link between language and race will be unpacked. The psychological impacts of race and racism will be discussed. The effects of race on children's expected quality of life will be explored. Finally, the setting of CYCC's with regards to race will be examined. As a point of departure, the theoretical framework used in this research for how children develop prejudice will be explained.

2.2. The development of prejudice:

Prejudice is accepted by theorists, as a learnt phenomenon. Experts in the field believe that children enter the world unbiased and that they develop prejudice from their environments (Bergen, 2001). The theoretical base for prejudice used in this study, the Normative Approach (Fishbein, 2002) will now be clarified.

2.2.1. The Normative Approach, a theoretical base for prejudice:

Many theories of prejudice exist but for this research, a social normative approach was most appropriate. This perspective locates the formation of prejudice within the realm of socialisation. It identifies the opinions of one's in-group, namely family, peers and their community as key to the development of prejudice. These opinions are internalised and one's view of the 'other' is shaped by these in-group views rather than through contact with the 'other' themselves (Fishbein, 2002).

Morland and Suthers (1980) suggest that in multi-cultural societies such as South Africa, where a dominant and subordinate race is found, a structural explanation of norms is added to the normative approach. In societies where one racial group is found to be in a position of privilege, social norms develop against the

disadvantaged race (Morland & Suthers, 1980). This theory helps explain the continued prejudice of coloured South Africans towards black South Africans. Coloured South Africans have been, and to an extent still are, in a position of privilege over black South Africans.

Similarly, social norms are still closely adhered to when it comes to the expression of prejudice and discrimination (Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002). Although prejudice socialisation customs can be subtle or overt, children learn which prejudices are prohibited from being expressed and which are acceptable (Fishbein, 2002). Although there seems to be a decrease in prejudice (Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses & Seekings, 2010), the decline might be as a result of conformity to social norms rather than a change in personal values and beliefs (Crandall *et al*, 2002).

The concepts of race and racism will now be discussed.

2.3. Conceptualising race and racism:

Race is a means of categorising 'the other' distinguishing one group from another based on factors such as skin colour, language and customary behaviour (Holmes, 1995). Race should be seen as a socio-political construct that "persists as an idea, practice and identity and as part of the social structure of society" (Ramji, 2009:4).

The notion of race is the foundation on which the act of racism is based and although race is not based on fact, racism is very real. (Mason, 1994 *as cited in* Ramji, 2009). Racism is the beliefs, behaviours and attitudes which help justify the domination of one race over another (Duncan, Stevens and Bowman, 2004). Racism is an umbrella term which includes stereotypes, discrimination and prejudice, all activities which demean human beings based on their phenotype or 'race' (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999 *as cited in* McKown, 2004). Arising out of 'inter-group' competition for social, political and economic power or limited resources (Duncan *et al*, 2004; Diller & Moule, 2005) racism inevitably skews power resulting in legitimising the domination of one group over another based solely on race group membership (Duncan *et al*, 2004).

A deeper understanding of racism will be found through unpacking the concepts of stereotypes, discrimination and prejudice.

2.3.1. Stereotypes:

Stereotypes are generalisations, which are excessively simplistic, impervious to being challenged and are gross exaggerations (Pettigrew, 1980; Jones, 1997 as cited in Healey, 2009). Stereotypes lay emphasis on certain traits as assumptions of the group as a whole and does not take into account individual difference (Healey, 2009).

2.3.2. Discrimination:

Discrimination refers to actions based on prejudiced ways of thinking. Prejudiced thoughts, however, do not necessarily lead to discrimination. Avoidance, withdrawal, verbal hostility, physical attacks and ultimately genocide can be seen as acts of discrimination (Pettigrew, 1980).

Allport's Scale (1954) places discrimination as the third stage prejudice. The first stage is *antilocution* which refers to racist literature and verbal assaults. *Avoidance* is the second stage. As prejudice deepens, the third stage, *discrimination*, occurs. This stage sees prejudice put into action through excluding the target group from opportunities and social privileges. *Physical attacks* and *extermination* are stages four and five respectively and are seen as ultimate expressions of prejudice.

2.3.3. Prejudice:

Racial prejudice is the negative thoughts and actions directed towards members of other race groups. Allport (1979 as cited in Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993) put forward the notion that human beings have a predilection for prejudice and that prejudice can easily result with the culmination of three factors: Firstly, an innate human tendency towards ethnocentrism through which an overvaluation of one's own group and an innate dislike for the 'other' occurs (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993; Diller & Moule, 2005). Secondly, a lack of intergroup contact resulting in flawed

generalisations about an entire group of people based on the observations of a few members of the group (Diller & Moule, 2005). The third factor is human beings' proclivity towards organising information into predetermined categories. Within this natural human mechanism of classification, stimuli are sorted into sets but a prejudiced person would tend to overestimate in-group similarities of the "other" and overvalue the differences between "us" and "them". This error in thinking manifests in a view of separateness and incompatibility between themselves and "others" (Pettigrew, 1980).

Racism is not unique to South Africa but it has a very unique history here. Race categorisation within the South Africa context will now be reviewed.

2.4. Race categorisation in South Africa:

The Constitution of South Africa (South Africa, 1996) strictly prohibits acts of racism yet race categorisation and negative attributions are still taking place (Finchelescu, 2005). Citizens maintain indoctrinated views of race and the "other" (Mubangizi, 2004). Discrimination has just become more subtle and covert (Koopman, 1997; McGlothlin, Killen & Edmonds, 2005).

Racial categorisation, during and after Apartheid will now be reviewed.

2.4.1. Racial classification during the Apartheid era:

The practice of racial classification was instituted by the Population Registration Act (1950). People called racial classifiers were appointed to use their subjective opinion and 'experience' of race difference to assign individuals and families to specific race groups (Posel, 2001). As there are no scientific markers for racial difference, trivial physical and social markers were used. Posel (2001) listed some of these markers such as the texture of a person's hair; facial features such as cheek bones, ear lobes, eyelids and nails; and other aspects of a person's size and body shape. Aspects of social standing such as way of life, place of birth, school attended, own and friend's area of residence, where children went to school and with whom they played as well as home language and the ways in which it was spoken was also

used. The type of work people did, their place of work and wage earned, religious affiliation and even the amount and type of alcohol consumed was interpreted as indicators of race (Posel, 2001).

Many of these racial indicators are intertwined in racial categorisations and race group identities still used today. Racial categorisation in the post-Apartheid South Africa will now be discussed.

2.4.2. Racial categorisation in a post-Apartheid South Africa:

Racial categorisations have become the language and basis for the country's attempts to rectify the inequalities of Apartheid such as seen in the racial criteria for Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment policies (Seekings, 2008a). Political parties continue to use race as a platform for change and race remains evident in the media (Posel, 2001). Individuals are required to fill out their race when making certain application and filling out forms and although the consequences are relatively minor, these practices perpetuate racial labelling (Maré, 2001).

Race categorisations, introduced by the Apartheid government, are still used to classify self and others. Zegeye (2002) purported that self-categorisation used today arose out of a resistance to the Apartheid era imposed categorisations and that race categorisations have endured because of the cultural meaning it retains in the lives of South Africans.

The formation of and the unique attributes of the South African coloured identity will now be discussed.

2.5. The coloured identity in South Africa:

A history of vagueness surrounds the South African coloured identity and boundaries of classification to this group are unclear and permeable. Coloured race group indicators were imprecise (Posel, 2001). Seemingly a wastebasket categorisation, the coloured race group has more often been described in terms of what they are not (Martin, 2000).

Adhikari's (2006), four key attributes of the South African coloured identity provides further clarity. These attributes will now be discussed.

2.5.1. Attributes of the coloured identity:

Adhikari (2006) noted four key attributes of the South African coloured identity. The first of the four attributes is *assimilationism*. Adhikari (2006) purports coloured people, during the Apartheid regime, sought assimilation with white South Africans in order to justify their claims to better resources.

The second is that of *intermediate status* (Adhikari, 2006). For the majority of coloured South Africans, assimilation was not possible and thus it became essential to promote coloured in-group similarities in an attempt to defend their rights and promote their interests. They promoted their intermediary position as different to and better than black South Africans, placing the coloured race between the dominant white minority and the subordinate black majority. This status was unstable as coloured South Africans remained the minority with no political power (Adhikari, 2006). These feelings of instability have prevailed and the notion of intermediate status has been maintained by many coloured race group members resulting in continued hostility between black and coloured communities (Rasool, 1996 as cited in Majavu, 2009).

The third attribute is *negative associations* (Adhikari, 2006). The coloured race group was described as people who were neither white nor black, instead of being defined according to their own in-group characteristics. As a result, coloured people do not have a common and distinct cultural heritage. Furthermore, numerous deeply entrenched negative associations have meant the coloured identity for many, especially its members, carries negative connotations (Rasool, 1996 as cited in Majavu, 2009). Immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness (Erasmus, 2001 as cited in Adhikari, 2006) as well as gangsterism, a propensity for criminality, drug and alcohol abuse and vulgar behaviour (Ariefdien, unpublished 2003 as cited in Adhikari, 2006) are some of the negative associations attributed to the coloured identity.

The final attribution listed by Adhikari (2006) is *marginality*. Feelings of marginalisation gave rise to much of the anger, frustration and fatalism felt by the coloured community (Dickie-Clark, 1996 as cited in Adhikari, 2006).

In the years since the abolition of Apartheid there has been a revival and strengthening of the coloured identity (Adhikari, 2006). The coloured identity is being constructed and redefined by coloured people themselves who are trying to find meaning to their daily experiences (Erasmus, 2001 as cited in Majavu, 2009). This trend has given rise to a renewed wish to be likened to their white counterparts and an increased racism towards black South Africans (Adhikari, 2006). There has also been devaluing and denial of certain aspects of their history and culture in an attempt to distance themselves from black South Africans (Majavu, 2009).

Children's experience of race will now be reviewed.

2.6. Children's awareness of race:

Awareness of race is said to be reached when children learn that differences exist between groups of things and that people can be categorised into these different groups based purely on certain perceptual cues (Porter, 1971). By the age of three, they recognise the 'intransience' of racial groups and can classify people on the basis of skin colour and other cues (Katz, 1976 as cited in Healey, 2009). Others' reactions to the child's physical appearance warn the child that they too are different and they start to describe themselves as different to others (Butler, 1989 and Ruble, 1987 as cited in Holmes, 1995). Children have nearly 100 percent accuracy in race awareness by age seven (Foster, 1986).

Children use more prominent cues than adults for social comparison such as skin colour and language spoken. Children believe the world to be absolute and therefore believe the categories which they use to classify others are homogenous and unconditional and that, for example, brown people all share a common feature namely brown skin and therefore describe the colour of the peoples skin in varying degrees to a core member. Children rely on terms such as black, white and brown or ethnic terms to classify people but believe that other physical features such as eyes,

other body parts and hair colour was common to all people (Holmes, 1995).

From the discussion above it can be concluded that children have an awareness of race, this will now be discussed in the context of South Africa.

2.6.1. Children and race in post-Apartheid South Africa:

Children today, although they have not lived through Apartheid, live with the legacy of Apartheid which is evident in the deeply racialised cultural and social climate (Seekings, 2008a). Neighbourhoods, by and large, remain segregated, schools consist mainly of learners from the same race groups and disjunctures remain in access to services and income opportunities (Bray *et al*, 2010). It is this milieu that children are socialised about the meaning of race and through which they learn to racially identify themselves and others.

Children's self-identification is dependent on two factors, the understanding of the child that they belong to a race group and their willingness to accept that fact (Porter 1971; Aboud, 1987). Research carried out in Cape Town by Seekings and Nattrass (2005 *as cited in* Seekings, 2008b) showed that Apartheid-era race classification and post-Apartheid classifications of self and other are all inextricably linked. This means that children, considering the current context of South Africa, are likely to classify themselves according to the same classifications that the rest of society does. There has however been a movement towards non-racial classification. Seekings (2008a) found that people seemed to be using cultural, class, religious and ethnic classifications more often. However, in South Africa, race and class are still very much intertwined (Bray *et al*, 2010).

Seekings (2008a) noted numerous studies showing that children and youth have redefined the concepts of race, recreating racial difference and division with cultural markers that were more significant to them. Many of the biological attributions previously used to categorise race are being replaced by factors based on shared interests such as music and clothes. However, individuals straying from the accepted in-group tastes were humiliated and ostracised (Dolby, 2001 *as cited in* Seekings, 2008a).

In more recent research conducted in Cape Town, Gooskens (2006) found that although similarities and differences were based on gender, lifestyle, class, religion, moral values and language, race remained a salient factor in the children's thoughts and language. The learners were found to simultaneously reject racial identification while perpetuating racial labels. Finchelescu (2005) found that the differences between race groups in South Africa are manifest in a wide range of customs for example language, food and music preferences and a variety of social practices, compounding perceptions of difference. This further intensifies the fear of norm conflicts resulting in increased intergroup avoidance. Intergroup anxiety may very well be one of the main reasons for the segregation still seen in South Africa today (Finchelescu, 2005).

Thus far, children's awareness of race has been discussed and the racial milieu in which they are defining the meaning of race was explored. The following section will explore children's understanding of race group dynamics.

2.6.2. Children's understanding of race group dynamics:

Nesdale and Lesser (2001) noted various authors (e.g. Radke & Trager, 1950; Milner, 1996; Vaughan, 1987) who found that children as young as five years old are aware of which race group is at an advantage and are able to make evaluations on their status as a member of a specific group. However, prejudice is unlikely to develop in children younger than seven as they lack the social motives and cognitive abilities necessary. The development of prejudice implies a shift from a desire to belong to their in-group to a dislike of and hatred for the out-group (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass & Griffiths, 2004).

As children become aware of race and others reactions to race, they start to realise that others may possess racial stereotypes or prejudices towards them and their race group (McKown, 2004). This may affect the child's feelings towards their own group and they might develop fears of being judged or being treated unfairly (McKown & Weinstein, 2003 *as cited in* McKown, 2004). Furthermore, children's beliefs about race affects how they view the significance of social interaction, the context in which they store and retrieve memories of social events and how they

react in interracial situations (McKown, 2004).

Within a highly racialised society it is usually the majority's in-group norms which are seen as most desirable (Diller & Moule, 2005). In South Africa, it is not the majority's norms that are idealised but rather that of the 'privileged', in other words white South Africans (Adhikari, 2009). White race group characteristics such as clothing worn and language spoken are valued over the norms of others groups. Standards of beauty are based on eye colour, hair texture and body shape indicative of white race group membership (Wijeyesinghe *et al*, 1997 *as cited in* Diller & Moule, 2005).

Specific attention will now be given to children's socialisation as it pertains to race.

2.7. Race and children's spheres of socialisation:

The racial milieu in which South African children are being socialised has been explored above. Children are being exposed to racial difference not only through the visible segregation and skewed access to services and opportunities but also through the lifestyle choices and racial valuations of those in their spheres. South Africans distrust and feel uncomfortable around members of other race groups and find it difficult to imagine interracial friendships (Gibson & Macdonald, 2001 *as cited in* Posel, 2001). It is within this context which children are socialised and form their perceptions, feelings and beliefs about race (McKown, 2004).

The ways in which race is present in the child's different spheres of socialisation will now be discussed.

2.7.1. Parents and family:

Parents are the most influential socialisation force for their children and the attitudes children develop towards race (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993). Children's sense of self is located in their membership to their family. They internalise their parent's norms, values and behaviour patterns (Bergen, 2001). Through this internalisation, children are exposed to sophisticated levels of social analysis. Children overhear adult discussions and inferences made about others, evaluations made about the

abilities and actions of others and essentially the comparisons of others to members of the child's in-group (Erwin, 1993). Children learn from their parents, even when taught inadvertently, that friendships with certain race groups are undesirable (Carter & Rice, 1997).

Peer groups form yet another important socialisation sphere and this will now be discussed.

2.7.2. Peer Groups:

Children's relationships with their peers in childhood are crucial to the development of both positive and dysfunctional behaviours (Pepler & Craig, 1998). Two types of peer relationships will be discussed with regards to race; namely friendships and romantic relationships.

2.7.2.1. Friendships:

The diversity of the people that children are able to socialise with, depends largely on mobility and the available opportunities for contact (Gooskens, 2006). Many children lack these opportunities as their schools and communities consist mainly of members of their own race (Bray *et al*, 2010). Although, interracial contact has increased, many black and coloured children's closest friends are still from the same race group (Seekings *et al*, 2005 as cited in Seekings, 2008a). However, Aboud (*et al*, 2003) found that cross-race friendships, once chosen, were valued no differently same-race friendships.

Children find it hard to describe their decision-making process with regards to friends and attribute their choices to random selection. However, there are certain overarching factors that are found in their decision-making such as perceived similarity (Holmes, 1995). The significance attributed to similarity is partially dependant on cultural and environmental circumstances (Rubin, 1980 as cited in Erwin, 1993). In a hierarchical society such as South Africa, children are pushed towards relationships with those similar to themselves. McGlothlin (*et al*, 2005) cited numerous authors (eg: Sagar, Schofield, & Snyder, 1983; Graham & Cohen, 1997)

who found that children view same-race peers more positively than others. McGlothlin (*et al*, 2005) also found many authors (eg: Singleton & Asher, 1979; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a; Graham & Cohen, 1997) who suggested that cross-race friendships are rarely seen and that the few that do exist, decline with age. Aboud (*et al*, 2003) found that children with many active cross-race friendships were less biased towards other race groups.

2.7.2.2. Romantic relationships:

"Romantic relationships" was a popular topic brought up by children in a study by Holmes (1995). Although these children were very young and the relationships were fantasies, the relationships and their significance were very real to the participants. Although children find interracial friendships acceptable, many children feel that romantic relationships should be between members of the same race. However, children who have had exposure to positive interracial relationships were more open to interracial romantic relationships. Children's valuations of interracial romantic relationships are learnt through socialisation. This being said, interracial contact within South Africa, including marriage, remains very limited (Seekings, 2008a). In a survey done in Cape Town (Seekings *et al*, 2005 as cited in Seekings 2008a) participants showed a markedly higher preference to same race marriages.

The socialisation environment of school will now be discussed.

2.7.3. School:

Children spend much of their time at school making and maintaining friendships but most children still attend schools that consist predominantly of children that are the same race as themselves (Bray *et al*, 2010). The prevalence of race and racism in society affects both children's academic success and their social development within the school environment. School going children are especially sensitive to the views of their peers. They fear being different or excluded and seek desperately to belong (Carter & Rice, 1997). Children rejected through the prejudice actions of their peers may feel worthlessness and confused and withdraw, limiting their opportunities to improve their social skills or develop a healthy self-esteem (Erwin, 1993; Carter &

Rice, 1997). Attributes previously seen as normal by the child, start being viewed as different or inferior and the child may choose not to excel so as to fade into the background resulting in them not achieving their full academic potential (Carter & Rice, 1997).

Children are now allowed to attend whichever school they wish, regardless of race, but many race based factors still limit their choices. Many black and coloured children live in poorer areas with under resourced schools (Beutel & Anderson, 2008). The cost of transport (Seekings, 2008a) and steep school fees at well resourced schools limit these children's choices (Beutel & Anderson, 2008).

At school, children interact with both their peers and their teachers. Teachers that ignore racial abuse and violence can be seen as colluding with the racism. Racism in teachers can also be found in the language teachers use or jokes that are made at the expense of black¹ scholars (Donald & Rattansi, 1992).

Race, education and language are still terms inextricably linked within modern South African society (Painter, 2006). The next section will discuss language, a aspect of socialisation which cuts across all social spheres.

2.8. Language:

Throughout the struggle against Apartheid, language was used as both a tool of oppression and a catalyst for revolution. Today, it still carries elements of division and hierarchy. Certain languages have become fixed racial signifiers (Painter, 2006). English is viewed as the universal language of inclusion and neutrality and in South Africa, it is deemed the 'acceptable' language to be spoken in public spheres (Painter & Baldwin, 2004). Speaking a language other than English in public spheres, is seen as disrespectful and racially insensitive (Painter, 2006). This is however problematic as only 8.2% of South Africans speak English as a first language (Lehohla, 2003) and only 45% of the population has an adequate competence in the language (Painter, 2006). isiXhosa is devalued and negatively

¹ As this is an American text, the term black is used by author as a term to describe what in South Africa would be; all race groups previously discriminated against by Apartheid laws.

attributed and Afrikaans falls hierarchically between the two (Painter & Baldwin, 2004).

99 percent of white and coloured Cape Townians speak English or Afrikaans and very few can speak isiXhosa, the home language of 96% of the black population. This is yet another way in which coloured South Africans find themselves situated more closely to their white counterparts (Beutel & Anderson, 2008).

The psychological effects of race and racism within children's social spheres will now be discussed.

2.9. The psychological effects of race and racism on children:

Racism has adverse effects on psychological and physiological functioning (Williams, Lavizzo-Mouray and Warren, 1994 *as cited in* Pachter, Bernstein, Szalacha & Coll, 2010). Racism affects children socially and impinges on the development of healthy self-perceptions and esteem (Carter & Rice, 1997).

Self-esteem can seriously be affected by prejudice or discrimination (Carter & Rice, 1997). Black² children are more openly confronted and personally affected by racial evaluations than white children. They are forced to cope with being judged negatively and treated differently, ultimately inferior, because of the colour of their skin colour. The negative effects of racism can leave them rejecting their own race or ethnicity (Porter, 1971) and it is during this stage of their lives when it is important for children to feel as if they are a part of a group or community (Brentro, Brokenleg & Van Bockern, 1990).

The psychological effect on victims of racism can be seen in their internalisation of oppression (Koopman, 1997). Internalised oppression can result in self-deprecation, self-rejection and low self-esteem (Lambley, 1980 *as cited in* Durrheim & Mtose, 2006). It prevents black³ people from aspiring to achieve their potential, accepting a

² *As above*

³ *As above*

meaningful role in society and feelings as if they are equal (Koopman, 1997). The stigmas attached to certain race groups makes it hard to accept certain identities as it means accepting the negative stereotypes still associated with it (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006).

Internalised oppression affects black and coloured people's self-perceptions and informs the boundaries and limits of their desires (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006). This defective thinking can prevent black and coloured children from assuming certain roles in the leadership and transformation of South Africa (Koopman, 1997). The ways in which race affects South African children's feelings of agency and the effects of this on their aspirations for their future will now be explored.

2.10. The effects of the prevalence of race on children's expected quality of life:

It has been established in the discourse above that race is still prevalent in all spheres of a South African child's life and impacts on their psychological, social and educational development. It would be neglectful if when discussing children and the impacts of race on their lives, not to review the literature which pertains to how race could impact on their quality of life in the future.

One of the questions posed in the Cape Area Panel Study (2005 as cited in Bray *et al*, 2010: 297) was "What opportunities do people like you face in the future?" The research found that poor coloured youth were most pessimistic about opportunities available to them (Bray *et al*, 2010).

2.10.1 Education and race:

Education provides the possibility of social mobility (Barbarin & Richter, 2001) and improves opportunities for formal employment (StatsSA, 2010). The South African government has, since 1994, been attempting to correct the impact Apartheid education policies have had on the nation (StatsSA, 2010). Unfortunately there are still racially based discrepancies found within South African schools. Black and coloured children have a higher chance of dropping out of school, failing and

repeating grades and a lower chance of staying in high school through to their mid-twenties (Anderson, Case & Lam, 2001 *as cited in* Beutel and Anderson, 2008). In the last national census, the coloured race group showed the lowest number of individuals completing some form of higher education (Lehohla, 2005).

Beutel and Anderson (2008) found that across all races in South Africa, there was an expectation of tertiary education and that the expectations of educational achievement was high considering the actual attainment of results. Black participants were found to have higher expectations than white participants while white and coloured participants' expectations were similar when all other factors such as socio-economic background and academic performance were controlled.

2.10.2. Occupational opportunities and race:

The Employment Equity Act (South Africa, 1998) was implemented in an attempt to redress labour market inequalities. Implementation of policies such as Affirmative Action was intended to limit the impact of race for previously disadvantaged job seekers. In parts of South Africa, other than Cape Town, there is a burgeoning black elite and middle class due to an increase in opportunities for employment and better-paid occupations opening up to them. However, a climate remains in which most white South Africans are more privileged while the majority of Black South Africans suffer from chronic poverty (Seekings, 2008a). The black and coloured working class are far more likely to hold elementary occupations while large number of white males still dominates managerial and professional occupations (Lehohla, 2005).

The post-Apartheid coloured identity has been constructed to be distinctly different from that of black South Africans and therefore many coloured South Africans do not feel that they are privy to the same benefits made available to black South Africans (Maggot, 2003 *as cited in* Majavu, 2009). The implementation of the Employment Equity Act was met with contention as many coloured South Africans, contrary to the ethos of this document, feel that it favours their black counterparts (Boonzaier, 1999 *as cited in* Majavu, 2009). Many therefore still view black South Africans as a threat in the competition for limited job opportunities (Stevens, 1998 *as*

cited in Majavu, 2009). Contrary to these sentiments, Ozler (2007) showed that during the period between 1995 and 2000 a large number of coloured South Africans were able to improve their economic standing and shift away from the poverty line.

The socio-economic mobility of race groups will now be discussed as it pertains to their areas of residence.

2.10.3. Area of residence and race:

Even though South Africa is less segregated in recent years, the Western Cape remains one of two provinces that are still considerably segregated (Christopher, 2001). Informal settlements and public housing developments are mainly inhabited by coloured and black residents and are located in areas which lack amenities. These forms of housing are associated with crime, lack of security and other social ills (Mongwe, 2010). The integration of many former white suburbs has been prevented by the high cost of housing in these areas (Christopher, 2001). Currently, Cape Town is suffering from increasing housing shortages especially effecting coloured and black citizens. It has been argued that housing policies seem to favour black South Africans (Mongwe, 2010). Within the few integrated residential areas that exist, high levels of racial “othering” and very little interracial interaction is evident (Seekings, 2008a).

According to the 2001 national census (Lehohla, 2005), white households still have access to better services while coloured households fell between their black and white counterparts with percentages closer to that of white households. Taking into account the fact that most neighbourhoods still consist mainly of one race group and that the type of residence one lives in is seen to be an indication of financial and social status (Barbarin & Richter, 2001) it can be deduced that coloured and black South African might need to move to a “better” neighbourhood if they wish to improve their socio-economic status.

The setting of the CYCC where this research was conducted, will now be outlined.

2.11. Child and Youth Care Centres:

Approximately 16% of South African children live in CYCC's (Lehohla, 2005). The Children's Act (South Africa, 2005) outlines the vital part in service provision that CYCC's play. Children are placed into CYCC's for a period of approximately two years but for many their stay may be longer (South Africa, 2007).

Children referred to CYCC's, frequently display a low self-image, poorly developed modulation of emotion, deficiencies in forming relationships and limited playing skills (Boyd Webb, 2003). They have great difficulties developing a healthy and well-integrated racial identity as they not only come from environments where poor socio-economic conditions prevail but once in the CYCC are exposed to an environment where people of colour are paid less and access to training and education is limited (Peacock & Daniels, 2006). In South Africa, legislation ensures that children in CYCC's have the right to have their cultural, religious and linguistic heritage respected. Education and practice of these heritages are encouraged (Mahery, Jamieson & Scott, 2011). This milieu not only enforces respect for others but encourages cultural pride. (Allsopp & Thumbadoo, 2002).

Allsop and Thumbadoo (2002) highlight CYCC's capacity to undo the ills of Apartheid. They identified the multi-lingual environment of CYCC's, with its values of inclusion and acceptance, as one that enables children to learn through modelling and life-space work to respect difference. They purport that an all inclusive positive African identity is being established as children are encouraged to learn about the cultural practices of those around them. This notion is supported by Allport's (1954) supposition that direct personal contact between members of groups would decrease prejudice. Research conducted on children in the Western Cape (Holtman, Louw, Tredoux & Carney, 2005) found that socio-economic class, demographic integration of their schools and the participants' racial identification were less important factors than contact as a predictor of racial attitudes.

2.12. Conclusion:

South Africans are now free of the institutionalised oppression and marginalisation of Apartheid. Children are growing up in a milieu where social mixing between race

groups has increased, previously disadvantaged individuals have seen economic mobility, residential area and public amenities are no longer segregated by law, schools are integrated and ultimately the relationship between class and race is shifting apart (Posel, 2001). This however, is an inaccurate depiction of the reality that many children are facing. Although much has changed in the nearly two decades since Apartheid, many children still face severe disillusionment and racial inequality in opportunities, wealth and access to resources (Barbarin & Richter, 2001). Race is still salient in the lives of children and it is through research in the field of prejudice that the effects of prejudice on the development of children can be understood and diminished (Carter & Rice 1997).

This literature review discussed the Normative approach and race and racism within the South African context specifically with regards to the way in which South African children understand and are impacted by race. Special emphasis was given to the coloured South African identity throughout this literature review. Children's spheres of socialisation were explored highlighting the ways in which race is learned and impacts on children's social and psychological development as well as their expected quality of life. Finally CYCC's were discussed with regard to the ways in which race is present for children who are placed there.

The following chapter will discuss the methodology used in this research.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1. Introduction:

The methodology used in this study will now be discussed including the research design, research approach and method of sampling used. The data collection and data analysis methods will then be described and the limitations of this study outlined.

3.2. Research Approach:

A qualitative research approach underpins this empirical research. A qualitative approach is inductive in nature, allowing the participants personal meaning to be used to develop new theory (DeVos *et al*, 2005). This was the most appropriate method of inquiry for this study as the topic called for the participants' insights, perceptions and opinions into the phenomenon of race. Furthermore, qualitative research allowed for the flexibility needed when working with children (DeVos *et al*, 2005).

Overall this research required the participants subjective perceptions and therefore the qualitative research approach was appropriate but objective four, *to explore coloured children's racial prejudices*, required somewhat more objectivity. A small quantitative component was therefore added to the research approach as it pertained to objective four. The aim of quantitative research is to produce objective measurements of the social world. It is used to test hypothesis and to be able to "predict and control human behaviour" (DeVos *et al*, 2005:79).

The combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches as it was used for objective four is called triangulation. Triangulation is the combining of multiple methods with the purpose of improving the quality of analysis and minimizing the short comings of each method (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The following section will discuss the research design used in this research.

3.3. Research Design:

The research design is the planning component of scientific inquiry (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

An exploratory phenomenological strategy was used to design the qualitative approach used in this study. A phenomenological strategy is employed in research which seeks to understand and interpret the meaning that the experiences of a phenomenon, in this case race, has in the everyday lives of the participants (Creswell, 1998 *as cited in DeVos et al, 2005*). This strategy was most appropriate for this research as it allowed the researcher, after gathering information from the participants in their life space, to reduce their experiences to a central meaning (DeVos *et al, 2005*). When exploring insights, an exploratory research method is often employed. It is a suitable method in studying both new subjects and more persistent phenomena (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The quantitative component of this research employed a one-group posttest-only design. This according to DeVos (*et al, 2005*) is when a single case is compared with other observed events. The quantitative component was used in conjunction with qualitatively method. This combination is called triangulation of method (DeVos *et al, 2005*). More specifically, concurrent triangulation was used. This is used when cross-validating or substantiating findings for a single study is the reason for triangulation. The qualitative and quantitative data are collected in the same interview session, analysed separately and the data gathered was only combined during the analysis of the findings (Harwell, 2011).

The following section will discuss the sampling methods used in this research.

3.4. Sampling:

An accidental sampling method was used in this research. This is a type of non-probability sampling approach (DeVos *et al, 2005*). Accidental sampling utilised participants which are easily accessible, already at hand and appropriate to the research topic. This method of sampling is appropriate for the qualitative method used in this research as samples are small and do not have to be able to be

generalised to the wider population. The sample is taken within the domain where the process being researched is prevalent (Denzil & Lincoln, 2000 as cited in DeVos *et al*, 2005). The sample was taken from Leliebloem House, a community which the researcher had access to as she is employed there. A benefit of using participants from this population was that it allowed for more in-depth data collection as the researcher already has an excellent rapport with the participants (DeVos *et al*, 2005).

A sample of 17 coloured children, all 8 to 11 years old, was selected. One of participants elected not to continue only a few minutes into his interview. This left 16 participants who complete the data collection process which included both the interview and the quantitative test. Although this number seems small, Creswell (1998 as cited in Mason, 2010) proposed that five to 25 participants were suggested for a phenomenological study while Bertaux (1981 as cited in Mason, 2010) proposed that no less than 15 participants was an acceptable sample size for qualitative research. Furthermore saturation was achieved through the 16 interviews conducted. This means that no new information seemed to be coming to the fore by the end of the interviewing process (Mason, 2010).

Participation was voluntary. Utilising voluntary participants can enhance research as they are more motivated to participate (DeVos *et al*, 2005).

The data collection methods used in this research will now be outlined.

3.5. Data collection:

Qualitative research most commonly uses individual interviews as it does not have the limitations of predetermined hypothesis-based questions found in other methods (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). One-on-one interviews in both English and Afrikaans were used in this research. One-on-one interviews are semi-structured and therefore more flexible. The researcher uses an interview schedule (See appendix B) as a general plan of inquiry. Questioning is nearly always open ended allowing the participant's responses to be free of as much bias on the interviewer's part as possible (DeVos *et al*, 2005). This method was employed in this research as

it allowed the researcher to gain a more detailed account of the participant's perceptions and meanings attached to race.

Pilot studies are integral to the successful execution of research. It is a test run and a means by which the researcher can orientate him or herself to the research (DeVos *et al*, 2005). One child at the top and one child at the bottom of the identified age bracket were interviewed. The pilot was to assess suitability of the interviewing schedule and to eliminate any foreseeable problems with its implementation. In this way any changes were made before data collection commenced.

Recording the interviews ensures a more thorough record of the data collected (DeVos *et al*, 2005). In this study a digital Dictaphone was used, with the permission of the participants, to record the sessions. The interviews were later transcribed and translated into English, only leaving certain words in Afrikaans so as not to distort the meaning.

The quantitative component of this research is an adaption of the method used by Davey (1983) to test children's racial stereotyping. To replicate this, test five positive (works hard, friendly, truthful, clever and clean) and five negative personality traits (lazy, tells lies, stupid, dirty and argues) were written on cards. The ten cards were given to the participants one at a time and they were each asked to sort it into four cups. Three of the cups had a photograph on it of a black child, a white child and a coloured child respectively. The fourth had the word "nobody" on it. This was used as the control. The pictures (See appendix C) were chosen to ensure minimal difference besides race to avoid compounding the results. This test was administered at the end of each participant's interview.

The quantitative test was added to collect data through an additional method as it pertained to objective four. Directly questioning the participants about their prejudices held might have been too direct and confrontational in nature for them to answer. Race is a sensitive topic and prejudice taboo. The participants in this research might have had conscious and subconscious reasons to withhold or inaccurately report their perceptions of the different race groups if questioned directly. The inclusion of the quantitative component allowed these perceptions to be

revealed in a less confrontational manner. Collecting data using two different methods would allow for triangulation of the findings during data analysis and therefore consistency of the information collected from the interview and the quantitative test could be examined (Caracelli & Greene, 1997 *as cited in* Harwell, 2011).

The data analysis method will now be explored.

3.6. Data analysis:

The process of data analysis brings order, structure and meaning to the mass of data collected (DeVos *et al*, 2005). A framework for analysis was developed according to themes, categories and subcategories which arose through the interviews. The transcriptions were input into NVivo, a qualitative data analysis computer program. The researcher then sorted the data gathered according to the framework for analysis using NVivo to streamline the process (Richards, 1999).

For the quantitative component of this research, the test was scored by tallying the number of positive and negative trait cards in each cup. The negative traits were subtracted from the positive traits to get a numeric result for each participant's stereotype of the three different race groups. If the score for a specific cup yielded a positive score, it meant that the participants held a positive stereotype and a negative score meant that the participants held a negative stereotype. The results of this "game" showed how positively or negatively the participant regards each race group including their own.

The findings relating to objective four were analysed using concurrent triangulation. This means that the quantitative and qualitative data were analysed independently from each other and then the results of each were only combined when the findings were interpreted (Harwell, 2011). The findings of objective one were compared to the quantitative test to draw conclusions about the prejudices held by the participants in general so that conclusions could be drawn for objective four. Caracelli and Greene (1997 *as cited in* Harwell, 2011) purported that mixing methods in this way allowed for the agreement of findings to be tested. This was done to validate to what degree

the participants reported positive and negative categorisation of the different race groups, analysed for objective one, were true reflection of their prejudices. Furthermore, the test minimised the risk of incorrect inferences being made by the researcher with regards to the participants' reported prejudice (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989 as cited in Harwell, 2011).

The limitations of the research will now be discussed.

3.7. Limitations of the Study:

3.7.1. Research Design:

A limitation of the qualitative design used in this research is that findings are not generalisable. The information collected is the subjective of these participants. Lying to participants about the purpose of the research is common in qualitative research (DeVos *et al*, 2005). This should be avoided as it could affect the ethics of the research. In this study, the researcher limited the explanation of the topic by only telling the participants that the interview would be about race and their experience of it.

The limitations of using a one-group posttest-only quantitative design are that the results are not generalisable to the broader population (DeVos *et al*, 2005).

3.7.2. Sampling:

The sample of coloured children in this research was chosen according to the race assigned by the CYCC for statistical reasons. As this race is assigned by a staff member, it is subjective and therefore can be seen as a limitation of this study.

At the time of the study there were no white staff members and only two white children at the CYCC. Furthermore, the schools that the participants attend and the areas in which their families reside consist predominantly of coloured people. This means that the participant's exposure to children of other races is limited. The findings therefore had to be presented as the perceptions of children still living in

highly segregated environments which further limited the extent to which the findings could be generalised.

The participant's perceptions of how race affects their quality of life in the future could have been compounded by the fact that they come from impoverished backgrounds where education levels are low and unemployment is high. The ways in which their exposure to poverty and limited opportunities affects their aspirations for their future could not be extrapolated from the ways in which they viewed race to influence it.

Only 16 participants complete the interview and the quantitative test. This is a relatively small sample size. Although this is an adequate number of participants for this type of research, it can be seen as a limitation of this study. The conclusions of this research are therefore not presented as indicative of all coloured children.

3.7.3. Data Collection:

Lack of rapport between the participants and researcher can affect the strength of data collected (DeVos *et al*, 2005). The researcher, in this study, had an established rapport with the participants prior to the interviews, minimising the effect that this could have had on researching a topic such as race.

Many of the participants did not seem to understand the meaning of the word 'race' when the topic of the research was explained. The researcher attempted clarifying it in a simple, unbiased way but this might have affected the findings of this study.

A Dictaphone was used to record the interviews and at times it proved distracting to the participants and data collection was affected.

Using a translator can hinder the information collected in qualitative research (DeVos *et al*, 2005). The researcher is not proficient in Afrikaans, the home language of many of the participants but a translator was not used. This might be seen as a limitation as the participants could have misunderstood the interviewer or vice versa but the researcher has worked with these children for quite some time and a mixture

of English and Afrikaans is their normal method of communication. The participants seemed comfortable with this type of communication and asked for clarification when needed.

3.7.4. Data analysis:

The method of analysis used is prone to being influenced by the researchers own bias. The researcher needs to remain unbiased when choosing and coding the categories and themes used (Richards, 1999). The researcher conducted this research due to her background knowledge of that had been occurring at the CYCC. She therefore needed to remain open to discrepancies when creating the frame work for analysis and coding the interviews.

A certain degree of competency is needed when using NVivo for data analysis as small nuances like coding too little information could lead to changing the meaning of or misinterpreting the data collected.

3.7.5. The researcher:

The researcher's race can affect the data collected but researchers are unable to control for this factor as it has been found that both same race and different race interviewers can affect the data collection process negatively. Researchers found that children would appear less prejudiced if tested by a person of the same race that they would usually be prejudiced against (Aboud, 1988). Milner (1973 *as cited in* Davy, 1983) observed same-race testers also compounded findings by showing a more favourable in-group bias. A same-race tester was used in this study which could have led to an over inflated result of in-group bias towards the coloured race group. The limitations of was monitored through the implementation of the quantitative component in this study.

The participants' relationship with the researcher was, largely, an advantage in this research. However, their perceptions of the researcher based on previous interactions could have had a negatively influenced on the data collected. If they had perceived the researcher to be someone that advocated against racism, they might

have felt less free to express their views on the matter. In an attempt to minimise these issues, the researcher explained there were no incorrect answers and that during the interview they should feel free to express themselves.

3.7.6. Children as participants:

Holmes (1995) highlighted some of the intrinsic concerns when using child participants. Firstly, experimenter bias was highlighted. This is due to the inherent difficulty of staying objective while working with children. In this research this could have been exacerbated by researcher's relationship with the children as she might have already developed perceptions of the participants. The researcher remained actively reflective and aware of these perceptions throughout the research process.

The second point made by Holmes (1995) was that the researcher's presence would affect the children's behaviour to some degree. In this research, there are already power dynamics which have been set by the fact that the researcher is a staff member at the CYCC. In an attempt to shift these dynamics, the researcher conducted the interviews in a room other than her office and was cognisant of her tone and body language throughout the interviewing process.

The third concern pertains to the fact that the way questions are phrased by the researcher will have a direct effect on children's responses (Holmes, 1995). The questions in this research were phrased simply and open ended questions were employed wherever possible. The researcher also ensured that the questions were phrased in such a way as to not lead the participants to the desired responses.

3.8. Conclusion:

This chapter has outlined the methodology used in this study. The sampling, data collection methods and data analysis were explored. The limitations of the study were also described.

The penultimate chapter will discuss the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

4.1. Introduction:

This chapter presents the findings of this research according to the framework of analysis. The presentation of the findings will include a review of the data collected in this study as well as a discussion regarding how these findings conform to previous research as discussed in chapter two.

4.2. Framework of Analysis:

The table that follows outlines the main themes, categories and sub-categories that arose through the analysis of the data.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	CATEGORIES
	Children's general categorisations of race <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black race categorisations • White race categorisations • Coloured race categorisations
	Coloured children's self-identification
	Family's race membership
Coloured children's experiences of their own and other's race membership and the effects thereof.	Participants experience of their own race, the coloured South African identity
	Participants experience of the black South African identity
	Participants experience of the white South African identity
	Observed racial discrimination by others in their social spheres <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observed at home • Teachers attitudes observed • Peers attitudes observes at school • Staff's attitudes as observes at the CYCC • Peers attitudes as observed at the CYCC
The influence of race on coloured children's relationships.	Children's choices in friendships
	Children's choices in romantic relationships
	Others influence on their relationships <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parental influence • Peer influence
Coloured children's racial prejudices	Quantitative results of stereotypes carried by participants
	Racial stereotypes carried by participants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical appearance • Actions and behaviour • Areas of interest • Social standing
The effects of membership to the coloured race group on children's future aspirations	Occupational expectations
	Educational expectations
	Projected financial Security
	Future area of residence

Table 1: Frame work of analysis

Profile of the Participants:

The following table provides a profile of the participants at the point of sampling.

PARTICIPANT No.	RACE OF PARTICIPANT	AGE ^a	GENDER	AREA OF RESIDENCE ^b	
				SUBURB	PREDOMINANT RACE GROUP OF SUBURB
1	Coloured	11	Female	Stellenbosch	Coloured
2	Coloured	12	Female	Kraaifontein	Coloured
3	Coloured	11	Female	Jo Slovo, Langa	Black
4	Coloured	9	Male	Belville South	Coloured
5	Coloured	9	Male	Cape Town CBD	White
6	Coloured	9	Male	Cape Town CBD	White
7	Coloured	10	Female	Lotus River	Coloured
8	Coloured	12	Female	Epping Forest, Epping	Coloured
9	Coloured	10	Male	Epping Forest, Epping	Coloured
10	Coloured	11	Female	Woodstock	Coloured
11	Coloured	9	Male	Woodstock	Coloured
12	Coloured	11	Female	Delft	Coloured
13	Coloured	12	Female	Mannenberg	Coloured
14	Coloured	12	Female	Strandfontein, Mitchelsplein	Coloured
15	Coloured	11	Female	Belville South	Coloured
16	Coloured	10	Male	Delft	Coloured

Table 2: Profile of Participants

Note:

- 'Age' is age at the time of interview, August 2009
- 'Area of Residence' is the area/suburb in which the child's family or guardians live and where they spend most of their time when not at the CYCC.
- "Predominant race group of suburb" has been included to show that most of the participants are from residential areas consisting of predominantly their own race group, coloured.

4.3. Discussion of Findings:

The findings of this research study will be presented as they relate to the research objectives.

4.3.1. Objective One: To explore how coloured children categorise themselves and others with regards to race:

The participants showed an awareness of race groups and most of them identified the race group they felt they belonged to. Their responses showed that race and racial categorisation are salient in their thinking and their environment. The discussion that follows addresses the participants' general race group categorisations. It also looks at their self-categorisations and the ways in which they

categorised their families' race group membership.

4.3.1.1. Children's general categorisations of race:

Most of the participants showed an awareness of racial categorisations specifically race classifications used during the Apartheid era namely; black, white and coloured. Almost all of the participants were aware of commonly used racial indicators. Skin colour was the most common race group indicator used. Other than skin colour a combination of other cues were used by the participants such as language spoken, physical features and in-group customs. A few of the participants used individuals known to both the researcher and the participant as a reference to describe specific race groups.

***Participant 2:** Sometimes Xhosa's have darker skin than us and then children say to them Kafirs...boertjies.... some of the children say whities... [when someone is coloured] they are light brown*

***Participant 5:** Like a child at school that's coloured told another child at school that's he's black....people can also be white.*

Gibson and Macdonald (2001 as cited in Posel, 2001) found that racial difference and distance remained salient in South Africa. The findings above show that, more than a decade later, this has not changed. The participants used, mainly, skin colour and native language⁴ as cues to categorise race which supports Holmes' (1995) findings that children use more overt cues than adults for social comparison including skin colour and language. However, these findings contradicts those of Dolby (2001 as cited in Seekings, 2008a) who found that many of the biological attributions used to categorise race in the past have been abandoned for factors based on shared interests.

Nearly two decades after the birth of democracy in South Africa, it is disconcerting to find that only two of the participants in this research showed no evidence of using or being aware of racial categorisation or stereotypes. These two participants' answers

⁴ Xhosa is by far the most frequently spoken first home language of black/African people living in the Western Cape. 89% of the black population of the Western Cape speaks Xhosa (STATSA, 2001). For this reason the participants in this research's reference to Xhosa people has been interpreted as synonymous with the black race group.

to both the qualitative and quantitative sections of this research, showed no evidence of racial stereotypes or racially categorisation but it cannot be definitively concluded that they do not racially categorise others. Cognisance needs to be taken of the possibility that these participants were overly aware of the social inappropriateness of discussing race as mentioned by Cradall (*et al*, 2002) who asserted that the decline in prejudice seen in society might be as a result of conformity to social norms rather than a change in personal values and beliefs.

The participant's racial categorisation will now be discussed as it pertains to the different races, namely black, white and coloured.

4.3.1.1.1. Black race categorisations:

Almost all of the participants could identify membership to the black race group. The participants predominantly used skin colour or language cues to identify black race membership. Many of the participants also noted other visual differences such as hair and clothing worn, as black race indicators. Most of the racial indicators used to identify black race group membership were negative connotations and overwhelmingly more negative than those used to identify the other race groups.

Participant 6: When they speak Xhosa then I know they are black...If people talk about being Xhosa then I know that they also black people.

Participant 7: *You can see somebody is black...On their face and their body...they are just different*

A vast number of statements which showed racial "othering" towards black people were shared by the participants. Although a degree of "othering" was expected in these findings, the extremely negative views that some of the participants held towards the black race group were not. The findings of "othering" in this research supports the work of Gooskens (2006) and Finchelescu's (2005) who found that race remained a salient factor in children's thoughts and language and that race categorisation and negative attributions are still taking place in South Africa, respectively.

4.3.1.1.2. White race categorisations:

Most of the participants were able to identify white race group membership. The participants mainly used skin colour as white race cues. Language cues were used less frequently when identifying white race group membership than when the participants categorised their black counterparts. All the cues used for white race group categorisation were either neutral or attributes generally considered to be positive.

Participant 9: *[I know when someone is white] because they are white.....and they are rich...*

Participant 10: *their skin colour... so like white and pale... and the way they talk...they speak high English and high Afrikaans ...white people's nails are always long with manicures ...and the white people hair is always thin and they always jog with their hair loose or in a bolla (bun)*

The participant's use of positive attributes as racial cues for white race group categorisation is explained by inferences drawn from the work of Diller and Moule (2005) and Adhikari (2009). Within an environment of cultural racism the majority's norms are seen as superior and minority groups are expected to accept these norms as their own or be seen as an outsider (Diller & Moule, 2005). This being said, in South Africa, it is not the majority's norms that are idealised in this way but rather that of the privileged, in other words white South Africans (Adhikari, 2009). The participants in this research were therefore predicted to view the white race group with more positive attributes and the findings proved this supposition.

4.3.1.1.3. Coloured race categorisations:

A few of the participants struggled to discern coloured race group membership but those that could used skin colour as cues or themselves as reference when explaining the coloured race group. Compared to other race groups, even fewer participants used language as a cue when classifying coloured people. Overall most of the cues used for coloured race categorisation were neutral.

Participant 1: *Coloured people are not like the black people, they are in the middle of black and white.*

Participant 6: *When I see that they talk like my language and they the same colour as me then I know that they are coloured.*

In the light of the participants' categorisations of the other race groups, the neutrality they attributed to coloured race categorisation seems to allude to a middle domain in which they position coloured people. Through their overwhelmingly positive attributions, the participants still seem to view the white race group as best while distancing themselves from the black race group by viewing their attributes in a more negative light. These findings illustrate Adhikari's (2006) *intermediate status* attribution of the coloured race group. These findings show a much higher prevalence of hierarchical race categorisation than one might have expected nearly 20 years after democracy.

The findings with regards to the way in which the participants classified themselves according to race will now be discussed.

4.3.1.2. Coloured children's self-identification:

Almost all of the participants identified themselves as either coloured or *brown*. A small number of participants did not know which race group they belonged to.

Participant 4: No one told me but know I'm coloured.... I can see because of my colour

Participant 5: I'm coloured...I can see in the mirror...the colour

The use of the word "brown" in this research is not unique to children in South Africa. Research conducted outside South Africa by Holmes (1995) found that children relied on terms such as black, white and brown or ethnic terms to classify people. Many of the participants attributed knowing which race group they belonged to, to being able to see it in the mirror. This finding points to the participants use of overt visual cues for self-identification, as purported by Holmes (1995).

The participant's classification of their family's race group membership will now be explored.

4.3.1.3. Family's race membership:

Half of the participants identified their family in the same way they had themselves.

A few of the participants described the race of their family by using varying degrees of colour or as consisting of members from multiple race groups.

***Participant 2:** my mommy is J's colour (baby sister's name omitted)...like light like your colour (pointing to the researcher) and my daddy is a dark colour and my aunt is little darker and her children is also light and my uncle is also light and my nephew...he's also brown and my sister and her children is dark and light.*

When the participants used the terms white or black to describe their family they seemed to feel it was self-explanatory and unambiguous but when they tried to describe a member which they classified as coloured they were more descriptive. This is supported by Holmes' (1995) research in which she purports that children believed brown people share a common feature namely brown skin and that they described the colour of the people's skin in varying degrees to the core member.

In summary, the findings showed that the participants had an overall understanding of race and are aware of their own and other's race categorisations. The racial identifiers that the participants used were mainly that of skin colour and language. The cues they used alluded to a hierarchical placement of the race groups reminiscent of Apartheid-era thinking.

The findings as they pertain to the second objective will now be discussed.

4.3.2. Objective Two: To examine the experiences of coloured children with regards to their own and other's race membership and the effects thereof:

Most of the participants openly shared their perceptions and experiences of their own and other's race groups. Some of the participants' comments remained general or were reported as hearsay instead of being presented as personalised accounts. This shows that race is remains a sensitive issue in South Africa.

4.3.2.1. Participants experience of their own race, the coloured South African identity:

When asked directly, most of the participants reported that they personally felt the same way about coloured people as they did about the other races while a few alluded in some way to feeling that coloured people have an intermediary status.

To assess how they felt others perceived the coloured race group, the participants were asked to recall positive and negative comments they had heard other saying. There were many more participants who could recall positive comments made about coloured people rather than negative comments. The negative things reported were traits such as; coloured people are rude, swear and have dirty houses.

The participants seemed more reluctant to admit to being treated differently due to their race when the races were compared. When asked whether they felt they would have been treated differently had they been white or black most of the participants felt that people would not treat them any differently. Only a few felt that they would be treated in a more inferior way if they were black. However, when asked, without comparison, if their membership to the coloured race group affects the way people react to them, many more reported feeling that in at least one social environment they were treated poorly by their peers because of their race.

***Participant 1:** Coloured people are not like the black people, they are in the middle of black and white.*

***Participant 7:** Sometime I do feel [people treat me differently because I'm coloured] and sometimes I don't. Sometimes [A...(Black child)] hits me then I leave her like that...yes [it's because] I'm not the same like her*

***Participant 8:** yes [people at home treat me differently because I'm coloured]... They call me names with, they don't play with me...[they call me] chippie , bos hare*

The participants varied in their experience of their membership to the coloured race group. They seemed to defend their membership to the coloured race group when it was compared to the other races but overall their experiences fell into two core clusters.

The first cluster was the participants who, although they acknowledged the diversity

between the different race groups and that society viewed the various race groups differently, felt that their race was essentially no different and that they weren't treated any differently from their black or white counterparts. More than half of the participants fell into this cluster. This finding contradicts the supposition of McKown and Weinstein (2003 as cited in McKown, 2004) who suggested that children's awareness of racism and other's reactions to the child's physical differences may affect the child's feelings towards their own race group and might make them develop fears of being judged or being treated unfairly. Furthermore, even though most of the participants identified themselves as belonging to the coloured race group, only a nominal number of participants expressed negative perceptions about the coloured identity contradicting numerous authors cited by Adhikari (2006) and Majavu (2009) who found that for many the coloured identity does not allow for a positive self image or positive group identity.

The second cluster, consisting of just less than half of the participants, was formed by those who felt that their race affected the way others treated them. A few of the participants in this cluster felt that the coloured identity bore a midway status between that of white and black. These participants asserted their own identity as 'different to' and 'better than' black South Africans. This finding is supported by Adhikari (2006) and Majavu's (2009) assertions that the coloured identity is being redefined and there is a renewed wish to be identified as similar to white people while distancing themselves from black South Africans.

Most of the participants in this second cluster felt that they had been the victim of racial prejudice in at least one social environment, supporting Porter's (1971) theory that non-white children are often forced to cope with being judged negatively and treated differently, ultimately inferior, because of the colour of their skin colour. It is disconcerting to think that nearly 40 years after he's findings were published and nearly 20 years after democracy, so many of the participants in this research still felt this way.

4.3.2.2. Participants experience of the black South African identity:

Many of the participants held their opinion that all the races were equal when asked

directly how they felt about black people but through their responses there was a definite tendency towards more negative valuations of the black South African identity compared to the other two races.

The participants' perceptions of how others viewed the black race group were overwhelmingly negative. They reported bearing witness to numerous racial slurs and acts of prejudice against black people.

Participant 3: *I heard people say "jy's a swart", "... "jou kaffir"... "jou black mamba" and you're a boegie man and other stuff... They say [black people] live in a hokkie where people have to go [to the toilet] in a bucket...[they] wash in buckets....not in baths and showers like us but it's not true*

The findings also showed that overt racism towards black South Africans was still prominent within the participants' social spheres. Much of the negative attributes the participants reported were indicative of the Apartheid-era thinking. This is in keeping with the argument put forward by Seekings and Natrass (2005 as cited in Seekings, 2008b), who showed that Apartheid-era classification were inextricably linked to self-classification and classification of others still used today.

The participants maintained, when asked directly, that all the races were equal but analysis of their interviews as a whole showed that the participants were more willing to verbalise negative feelings about black South Africans. The discrepancies in the participants' answers can be seen to be as a result of the conflicting norms within their areas of socialisation. The milieu of the CYCC is one of acceptance and racial equality (Allsopp & Thumbadoo, 2002) whilst the findings shows the participants regularly confronted with their peers and parents negative evaluations of black people. This theory is supported by the combined work of Crandall (*et al*, 2002) who asserts that the decline in prejudice could be as a result of conformity to social norms as opposed to an actual decline in prejudice and Fishbein (2002) who claims that children learn through social norms which prejudices are accepted and which are prohibited from being expressed.

The participants' attributions of the black race group were extensively more negative in comparison to the other two races. Their negative attributions could be ascribed to

the prevalence of racism towards the black race group within their social spheres. This theory is supported by that of McKown (2004) who asserts that the meanings and attributions assigned to race is defined within the social context and it is within this environment that children are socialised and form their perceptions of race.

4.3.2.3. Participants experience of the white South African identity:

All but one of the participants' valuations of the white race group was positive. Overall, the participants perceived white people to be either the same as coloured people or better than both black and coloured people. The black race group maintained the lowest hierarchical positions of all three races, even by those participants who felt that the white and coloured race groups were equal.

The participants' perceptions of how other people view the white race group were overwhelmingly more positive than the other who races. Only a very small percentage of the participants reported hearing white racial while more than half of the participants reported only having heard positive attributes.

***Participant 3:** [they say white people] teach you what's right and what's wrong*

***Participant 11:** A white person's nails is nice and they're good [people]*

***Participant 12:** [white people]...some of them are pretty and some are nice...they aren't rude*

The findings showed a revering of the white race group by the participants through their excessively positive stereotypes and attributions. This supports the suppositions of Adhikari (2006) and Majavu (2009) that many coloured South African's still hold a 'white is best' mindset.

The participants' answers in their interviews showed they have minimal contact with people who they classified as members of the white race group. Much of their comments pertained to white people were observations of strangers or stereotypes carried by those in their social spheres. This finding shows that the participants views about the 'other' is shaped by their in-group more so than through contact with the 'other' themselves as purported by Fishbein (2002).

The findings above have shown that the opinions and actions of those in their social spheres, greatly influences the participants' perceptions of race. These social spheres will now be looked at in greater detail.

4.3.2.4. Observed racial discrimination by others in their social spheres:

All but one of the participants reported witnessing someone they knew displaying discriminatory behaviour or prejudice against a race group or towards an individual because of their membership to a race group. Most of the participants could recall numerous examples of observed discriminations against the black race group while less than half could remember at least one against a member of the white race group. These findings will now be discussed in more detail as they pertain to different influencing groups in each of their social spheres.

4.3.2.4.1. Observed at home:

A majority of the participants reported having bore witness to acts of racial discrimination or prejudice within their families' homes or communities.

Participant 2: some of the people are Xhosa's, dark people....and the other people are white...and then they don't want to mix

Participant 11: The black children.... I couldn't play with them

The prevalence of racial prejudice found in the participants' home environments corroborates the work of Seekings (2008a) who found that many South Africans still verbalise and perpetuate negative views of other racial groups.

The participants' comments showed that within some communities, discomfort levels between the different races are still high. Although some level of discomfort was expected, the high number of reported incidents of racial prejudice and the severity thereof was higher than the researcher expected to find in Cape Town considering research by Seekings (*et al*, 2005 as cited in Seekings. 2008a) who reported that Cape Town was found to have the least discomfort about racial interaction as it had the highest level of interracial interactions compared to other cities in South Africa. Critically looking at this phenomenon, it is important to note that most, if not all, of the

participants in this research come from very poor families residing in low socio-economic areas where unemployment is high. This could account for the high levels of prejudice in their families and communities if understood through the lens of Stevens' (1998 as cited in Majavu, 2009) theory that coloured South Africans perceive their black counterparts as a threat in the competition for limited job opportunities. This theory is further strengthened by the work of numerous authors including Diller and Moule (2005) and Duncan *et al* (2004) who attribute inter-group competition for limited resources to being one of the causal factors of racism.

4.3.2.4.2. Teachers attitudes as observed by the participants:

All the participants felt that their teachers treated all the learners equally, regardless of race. Some of the participants felt that their teachers spoke up against prejudice when it happened. Although some of the participants mentioned that the teachers treated certain children differently because they displayed poor behaviour, only one of the participants showed personal stereotyping by attributing the children's bad behaviour to their race.

Participant 12: *Some of the teachers will pull the children's hair...its cos the children don't want to listen...some of the teachers also pull our ears... [it's not because of race, they do it] to all the children if they don't want to listen*

Participant 13: *I've heard people saying stuff about Xhosa's and then the teacher says the children mustn't say that*

Participant 15: *The teachers are the same with all the children*

A number of participants stated that their teachers spoke up against prejudice in the classroom. This can be seen to inform the participants opinions that their teachers treated everyone equally if taking into account the work of Donald and Rattansi (1992) who found that teachers who ignored racial abuse and violence could be seen to be colluding with racism.

4.3.2.4.3. Peers attitudes as observed at school by the participants:

Nearly all of the participants reported being the victim of or witnessing racial prejudice or discrimination by their school peers. Many of the examples shared by

the participants showed reluctance by their peers to have race groups mix and play together.

Participant 3: *[if you play with children of a different race the other children] will say things 'like you are playing with a boertjie⁵'... 'you playing with a kaffir'... like that ... and if you play with a white child they say you just want to keep yourself like a big deal.... They also do stuff... they will kick you... they will pull your hair... they will kick you continuously in your stomach and in your face and they will punch you and smack you in the face*

Participant 13: *They also say things like white bread and then the children laugh in class.... If the one child sit next to the other one then the one will say... "no I don't like you because you are black" and " no look here he's black, I don't want to sit next to him"*

The participants' accounts of their peers' interactions painted a very different picture of the racial milieu of the school environment as opposed what they reported about their teachers. The participants' reports showed an exposure to the first four stages of discrimination as described by Allport (1954). This shows the gravity of the acts of prejudice and racism that children are still being exposed to within their school environments.

Very few of the participants reported witnessing acts of racism towards themselves or their peers because of their membership to the coloured race group. This could be because they do not want to verbalise or acknowledge the comments made towards members of their own race. This conclusion is supported by the findings of Carter and Rice (1997) who put forward that children are extremely sensitive to the views of their peers and that their overarching fear is that they are different or don't belong. Exacerbating this matter is the fact that the participants might be highly sensitive as children who live in CYCC's have a high chances of having low self esteem and poorly developed modulation of emotion (Boyd Webb, 2003).

4.3.2.4.4. Staff attitudes observed at the CYCC by the participants:

More than half of the participants said that they felt that the staff at the CYCC treated all the children equally with regards to race. There were however, a few of the participants felt that staff did not treat all the children the same. The reasons they

⁵ Meant here as a derogatory name for a white child

gave for feeling this way was based mainly on the fact that isiXhosa speaking CYCWs spoke isiXhosa to the children with whom they shared a native language in front of themselves and other children who do not understand it. Only some of these participants stated that they didn't feel speaking isiXhosa in their presence was discriminatory. A negligible number of participants reported having witnessed overt prejudice behaviour from a staff member.

Participant 11: *[the child care workers treat the children] different...like Miss Y (isiXhosa speaking) talks to the black people in Xhosa and coloured in English. [She doesn't like the black children more] she just talks to them different.*

Participant 16: *[The child and youth care workers] treat all them all the same*

The high number of participants who felt that the staff at the CYCC treated all the children equally supports Allsop and Thumbadoo's (2002) assertion that CYCC's ethos is one of inclusion and acceptance.

The fact that the participants raised the issue of language is noteworthy because of its societal relationship to race. Using languages other than English in public spheres is seen by many as being racially insensitive (Painter, 2006). The participant's reluctance for isiXhosa to be used in their company could be seen as speaking directly to this societal issue even though many of them did not directly link it to racial discrimination. Although some of the participants might have found the use of isiXhosa undesirable and unfair, the Children's Act promotes the notion that children in CYCC's should have their linguistic culture encouraged. Speaking to children in their native tongue is done by many as a way of respecting difference and promoting equality (Mahery *et al*, 2011).

4.3.2.4.5. Peer attitudes observed at the CYCC by the participants:

Half of the participants in this study reported having been witness to or a victim of acts of prejudice and discrimination by other children at the CYCC. The rest reported that although there were fights and verbal abuse between children at the CYCC, these were not racially motivated and if racial epithets were used they were used more as a form of profanity rather than racially driven.

Participant 2: *they don't [fight] over colour but if they make you cross...then you want hit him then after you hit them then... they say "gaan jou swart ding" or "gaan jou wit ding" [they just saying it, its not about colour]*

Participant 15: *....if the child care worker tells K (Child's name omitted) to do something then K throws a tantrum with me. Then I have to go say sorry. [it's not because of colour it's] because I am being naughty.*

The number of acts of prejudice observed amongst their peers at the CYCC was as noteworthy as the number of reported prejudices expressed by their school peers. Looking again to Allport's (1954) five stages of discrimination it becomes evident that the participants have been exposed to levels of prejudice not expected in an environment where they themselves have reported that in their opinion the staff are racially unbiased.

It is important to note that quite a few of the participants when questioned further, revealed that in their opinion the fights and racial epithets used were not racially driven. In no way minimizing the participants' experiences of prejudice this might mean that that the participants' reported incidents of racial prejudice and discrimination at the CYCC might be overinflated. This could stem from the fact that their beliefs about race informs and affects how they view the significance of social interactions as purported by McKown (2004). The participants in this research, as do most children in residential care (Peacock & Daniels, 2006), come from a demographic of the community highly affected by the legacy of Apartheid. Socialised within in this milieu, their views can be seen to be tainted with the views of their parents, leading them to interpret actions of others through a racially tinted lens (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993). This been said, the accounts of racism the participants reported are not to be disregarded as, even if their reporting on events are not entirely accurate, it is their belief that these events are occurring and it is within this belief that they will interact with and react to others now and in the future (Erwin, 1993; Carter & Rice, 1997).

In conclusion, the participants' experience of the different race groups seems to be a hierarchical one reminiscent of Apartheid-era thinking. Their perceptions of the race groups seem to be informed to a large extent by the views of others in their social

spheres. The participants experience high levels of racism and prejudice within all their social spheres. Most of the acts of prejudice reported were perpetrated by their families and peers but they reported feeling that their teachers and the staff at the CYCC treat all children equally.

The findings of this research as they pertain to the way in which race affects the participants' relationship choices will now be discussed.

4.3.3. Objective Three: To ascertain in which ways race influences coloured children's relationships:

Children's views of racial difference influence their thoughts and actions towards others. The dynamics of children's relationship choices and the factors that inform their decisions will be discussed in greater depth in the sections below.

4.3.3.1. Children's choices in friendships:

A large majority of the participants shared that they personally felt it was no different being friends with children of other racial groups even though other people in their social spheres were not always as accepting of these friendships. Many of the participants that could verbalise why they chose their friends, shared that it was due to the fact that they went to the same school, spoke the same language and enjoyed the same things, to name but a few.

Participant 3: They will make fun of me... they will say look you are playing with a K....(*kaffer*) but I will just carry on playing

Participant 10: *I have about seven Xhosa friends and only about two "high class" friends ... [we friends because] we went to school together...we always played together...we were close but not anymore because some of the children left the school ... now I have two Zulu friends and I like them because they teach me a lot of dances.*

Most of the participants felt that friendships with members of all race groups are the same while some of the participants, although only a small percentage, expressed that race was a factor in choosing their friends. These findings do not necessarily contradict each other as much as they might seem. Aboud (*et al*, 2003) suggests

that for most children, race was a factor in predicting their choice of friends but that, once chosen, cross-race friendships were no different to same-race friendships.

Some of the participants listed similarities in schools, language and interests as reasons for choosing their friends. This finding concurs with the findings of Holmes (1995) who concluded that children found it hard to describe their decision making process when choosing friends and attributed it to random selection although some overarching factors were found in their selection process, one of which was the notion of similarity.

4.3.3.2. Children's choices in romantic relationships:

More than half of the participants felt that race was not a factor when choosing a romantic partner. There was, however, a large portion of the participants who were against interracial romantic relationships. Most of these participants gave reasons of perceived difference such as skin colour or language as their reason for racial bias.

When asked whether they would marry someone of a different race the number of participants who felt that race was a deciding factor increased. A few of the participants who felt that they would marry someone of a different race specified that they would marry someone that was white but not someone that was black.

***Participant 4:** I don't have a girlfriend [but if I did] I won't mind what colour they were... but no [I wouldn't marry someone that was white or black]*

These findings are supported by the findings of Holmes's (1995) who concluded that although interracial friendships were acceptable, many children felt that romantic relationships should only be between members of the same race.

The numbers of participants who were opposed to interracial relationships increased when they were asked about marriage. The increased reluctance for interracial contact seen in the participants, when discussing marriage, can be accounted for by looking concurrently at the work of Seekings (2008a) and Holmes (1995). Seekings (2008a) purported that interracial contact within South Africa, including marriage, remains very limited while Holmes (1995) found that

children who have had exposure to positive interracial relationships did not seem to find interracial romantic relationship problematic. The participants are part of society in which interracial marriages are uncommon. This may affect the way in which the participants interpret these types of relationships and the meaning they attach to being part of one.

4.3.3.3. Others influence on their relationships:

The influence of other people on the relationships of the participants will be discussed below as it pertains to parental influences and peer influence.

4.3.3.3.1. Parental Influence:

Many of the participants revealed through their answers to other questions that they felt that their parents would disapprove of interracial friendships. However, more than half of the participants felt that their parents would not oppose them marrying someone from a different race group. Just less than half of the participants did not know how their parents would respond to an interracial marriage while very few felt that their parents would overtly oppose it.

Participant 5: No they won't mind [if I marry someone that's black or white]

Participant 8: No [my parents] won't have a problem with it

Participant 15: They would be okay with it.

Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) found that parents are the most fundamental influencing factor when it comes to attitudes developed by their children and both Porter (1971) and Bergen (2001) found that children internalise parent's norms, values and behaviour and that racial attitudes are learnt from the child's parents through direct and explicit transmission. In the light of these findings, it was unexpected that the numbers of participants who were opposed to interracial marriages outweighed the number of participants who felt that their parents would object to them, especially considering the high number of prejudices reported by the participants within their families. Carter and Rice (1997) help shed light on these unexpected findings. They purported that even parents who were not overtly

negative or stereotypical about other race groups could inadvertently teach their child prejudice through their non-verbal cues. These findings are not unique. Seekings (*et al*, 2005 as cited in Seekings 2008a) revealed a markedly higher preference for same race marriages although only a few participants were verbally explicit about their prejudice against interracial marriages.

4.3.3.3.2. Peer Influence:

More than half of the participants reported that their peers, in some way, overtly objected to interracial friendships, mentioning incidents of bullying, verbal abuse or arguments between peers due to interracial friendships. Although many of the participants mentioned that they knew their peers would object, they maintained interracial friendships regardless of these objections.

Participant 1: some coloured children at school, if I play with my black friends then they become jealous.....because I don't want to play with them'....they are just rude...They want to hit you... They fight. They fight over colour. Then they say ooh they can't speak Afrikaans and the black children can't speak English

Participant 9: Some of the white children will say don't play with that child he's black but he's my friend so I ignore them...then they laugh at the child

Rubin (1980 as cited in Erwin, 1993) suggests that in a hierarchical society, such as South Africa, children are pushed towards relationships with those similar to themselves. The participants experienced this through their peers' overt expressions of disdain and mockery towards interracial friendships. The reactions of the participants' peers was expected as research by numerous authors (*as cited in McGlothlin et al*, 2005) found that children view same-race friendships more positively than interracial ones. What was not anticipated in this research was the participants' choice in friendships regardless of their peers' opinions and chastising. Carter and Rice (1997) maintains that children seek to be included and are extremely vulnerable and sensitive to the views of their peers and fear being different or feeling as if they don't belong. Children that are placed in this situation are expected to withdraw to avoid being a target of prejudice and other acts of racism (Erwin, 1993; Carter & Rice, 1997). This was not the case with the participants in this research, who despite the opinions of their peers, defended and maintained their

interracial friendships.

The participants' persistence with interracial friendships, despite their peers opinions, can be more aptly understood through the work of Goosken (2006) who found that, in Cape Town, ideas of similarities and differences were based more on gender, lifestyle, class, religion, moral values and language even though race remained a salient factor in children's thoughts and language. This theory explains a contradiction in the findings of the research, namely that although the participants were very much aware of racial difference and revealed that many of their choices in friendship were due to perceived similarities, racial difference was not a deciding factor for many of them.

To summarise, the findings as they pertain to objective three has shown that the participants choose their friendships as a result of perceived similarities and that very few of these similarities are based on race. However, the participants are more influenced by race in their perceptions of appropriate interracial romantic relationships and marriage. The findings showed that although many people in the participants' social spheres were opposed to interracial friendships this did not affect their actions and they defended and maintained their interracial friendships despite others opinions thereof.

The findings as they pertain to objective four will now be discussed.

4.3.4. Objective Four: To explore coloured children's racial prejudices:

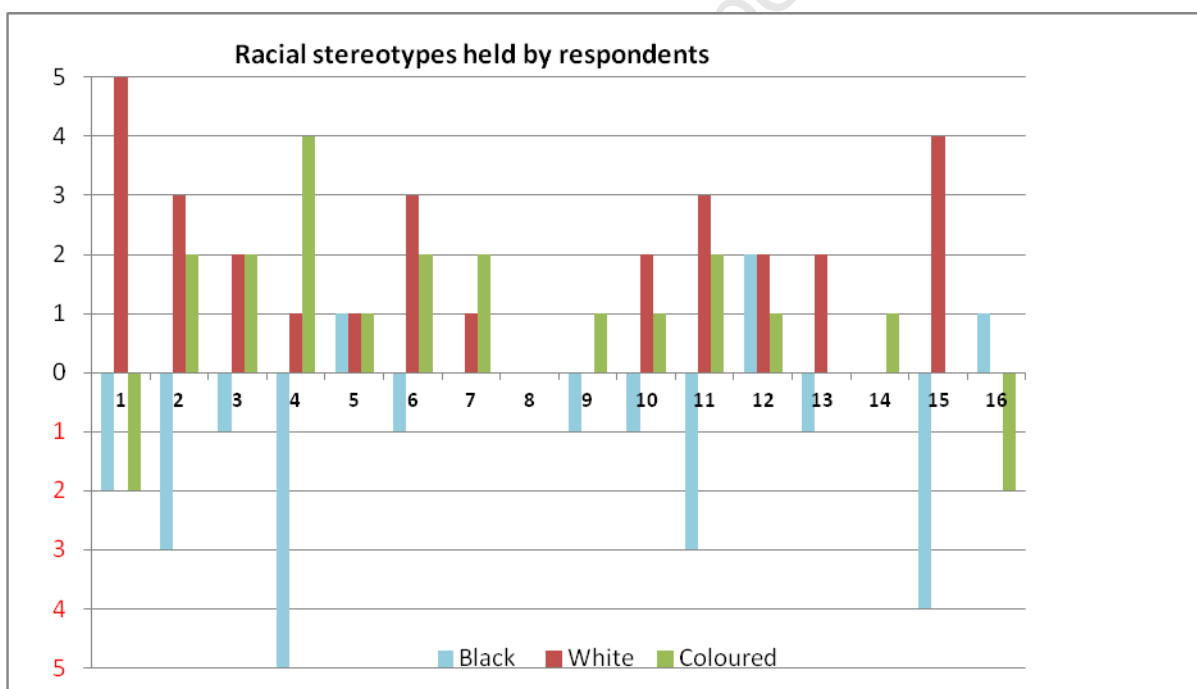
The participants racial prejudices were explored both qualitatively through the interview process and quantitatively through a game played at the end of the interview. The findings will be discussed, firstly, by presenting the results of this quantitative test. Thereafter, the participants' valuations of the different race groups will be unpacked according to their stereotypes held about the groups' physical appearance, actions and behaviours, areas of interest and social standing.

4.3.4.1. Quantitative results of stereotypes carried by participants:

The participants' stereotypes were tested quantitatively. The results showed the positive, negative or neutral stereotypes carried by the participants. Theory suggests that although indoctrinated views of race are still held (Mubangizi, 2004) discrimination has become more subtle and covert (Koopman, 1997; McGlothlin, Killen & Edmonds, 2005). The overall results of this quantitative test were then compared to the findings of objective one. This was carried out to ascertain whether the participants categorisation of the different race groups and the valuations which emerged, corresponded to their unconscious prejudice towards the different race groups as revealed by the test.

The results of this test are represented below in both graph 1 and table 3.

Graph 1: Racial Stereotypes held by Participants



Graph 1 illustrates the individual racial prejudices held by each of the 16 participants. The valuation of each race group can be seen in this table with responses falling below the axis showing negative stereotypes held and positive attitudes lying above it. The strength of the participants' valuations is depicted on the y-axis with -5 showing a very strong negative stereotype and +5 showing a strong positive stereotype held by the participant. When the graph shows no visible numeric

assignment to the participants' evaluations, this means that the participant held a neutral view of this specific race group. Neutral evaluations could be as a result of two phenomena. Firstly, a neutral value could be as a result of the participant not having placed any attributes into this specific cup and secondly, as a result of the participant placing equal negative and positive attributions into the cup resulting in the attributions cancelling each other out. The exact number of positive and negative attributions, placed into each cup by the participants, is represented in table 3. Table 3 also shows the number of attributes placed into the "nobody" cup by the participants. This was not included in the table above as the "nobody" cup was used as the control for this test.

Table 3: Breakdown of the Participants' answers to quantitative test for stereotypes:

Participant	Black		White		Coloured		Nobody	
	Breakdown	Sum	Breakdown	Sum	Breakdown	Sum	Breakdown	Sum
1	(-2)	-2	(5)	5	(-2)	-2	(-1)	-1
2	(-3)	-3	(+3)	3	(+2)	2	(-2)	-2
3	(-2) -(+1)	-1	(+2)	2	(+2)	2	(-3)	-3
4	(-5)	-5	(+1)	1	(+4)	4	0	0
5	(+1)	1	(+1)	1	(+1)	1	(+2)-(-5)	-3
6	(-1)	-1	(+3)	3	(+2)	2	(-4)	-4
7	(+1)-(-1)	0	(-1)-(+2)	1	(+2)	2	(-3)	-3
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	(+5)-(-5)	0
9	(+1)-(-2)	-1	(+1)-(-1)	0	(+2)-(-1)	1	(+1)-(-1)	0
10	(-1)	-1	(+2)	2	(+1)	1	(+2)-(-4)	-2
11	(-3)	-3	(+3)	3	(+2)	2	(-2)	-2
12	(+2)	2	(+2)	2	(+1)	1	(-5)	-5
13	(+1)-(-2)	-1	(+2)	2	(+1)-(-1)	0	(-2)-(+1)	-1
14	0	0	0	0	(+1)	1	(+4)-(-5)	-1
15	(-4)	-4	(+4)	4	(+1)-(-1)	0	0	0
16	(+2)-(-1)	1	(+1)-(-1)	0	(+1)-(-3)	-2	(+1)	1

Table 3 reflects the attributes placed into the "nobody" cup as well as the "black", "white" and "coloured" cups. The numbers shown in brackets represents the number of positive and negative attributes the participant assigned to each cup. The sum total of these assigned attributes is reflected by the numbers in bold. These bold numbers are the values reflected in graph 1. Zeros reflect that no attributes were assigned to that cup.

The results of the quantitative test for prejudices revealed that of the three race

groups, the participants viewed the black race group most negatively. Graph 1 shows that ten of the 12 negative stereotypes held by the participants, were of the black race group while no negative stereotypes were shown towards the white race group. These findings correspond with the finding in objective one, which showed that the participants used extremely negative racial indicators to identify members of the black race group. These results also show that the participants hold prejudices towards the black race group since prejudice is defined as the propensity for an individual to think or feel negatively about a member of another group (Healey, 2009).

11 of the 12 participants viewed the coloured race group in a positive manner. This seems to differ from the findings under objective one which states that the participants' categorisations of the coloured race group were neutral in comparison to the other two race groups. Many of the participants used themselves or skin colour as coloured group indicators. Although this was deemed neutral in objective one the findings of the quantitative tests show that the participants view the coloured race group in a positive manner. It can therefore be deduced that the participants' valuations of themselves were positive and therefore their use of themselves as coloured race group indicators was also positive.

As stated above, 11 participants viewed the coloured race group positively however, the results showed that nine of these 11 viewed the white race group more positively than the coloured race. This supports the findings of objective one that established that the participants placed the coloured race group into a middle domain between the black race group which they deemed inferior and the elevated white race group. This is what Adhikari (2006) referred to as the *intermediate status* attribute of the coloured race group.

Only one of the 16 participants showed neutral attitudes towards all three race groups by assigning all the attributes, after what seemed like careful consideration, to the "nobody" cup. Apart from this participant only one other showed neutrality towards the black and white race group by assigning no attributes to these cups as seen in table 3. The other neutral stereotypes shown in graph 1 were as a result of positive and negative attributes, placed into the cups, cancelling each other to

produce a neutral stereotype rating. When taking this into consideration and looking at all the neutral valuations, as shown in graph 1, three of the participants rated the black race group in a neutral manner, three rated the coloured race group neutrally and four rated the white race group neutrally.

Now that it has been established that most of the participants hold prejudices, the stereotypes which informs these prejudices will now be discussed.

4.3.4.2. Racial stereotypes carried by participants:

The participants were asked questions with regards to the physical attributes, actions and behaviours, areas of interest and social standing of the different race groups. This was done to assess the differences the participants perceived between the race groups, ultimately eliciting the stereotypes they held of each group.

The racial stereotypes the participants held with regards to physical appearance will now be explored.

4.3.4.2.1. Racial Stereotypes regarding physical appearance:

Almost half of the participants mentioned differences between the race group's hair type, noting differences in colour and texture. Words which had more positive connotations were used to describe the white race group's hair. Only a few participants held stereotypes about the differences between the nails, nose shape, lips and eye colour of the different race groups. White nails carried positive connotations while black nails carried negative connotations of poor hygiene. None of the participants reported perceived differences between the race groups with regards to body shape or skin type, besides skin colour. Very few participants showed prejudice and stereotypes across all of the questions asked with regards to physical characteristics.

***Participant 1:** ...the whities hair is sometimes like styl...and the Xhosa's put hair food in their hair and some of the children say the coloureds have kroes hair....brown people have winter lips, their lips have cuts..[and black people] they are like wrinkled [white people's lips have] no slits or cuts ...Black people and coloured people always have long nails but white*

people make sure that their nails are cut....[coloured people's noses] is so in (gesturing a flat nose) and a black one is round in front, [white people's noses are] sharp.

Participant 10: *white people's nails are always long with manicures ... black peoples nails are always short ... coloured people leave their nails just the way they want them.... [black people] have big round eyes, [white people] have medium eyes [and coloured people] mostly have sleeky eyes, not slits...just like normal just smallish.....The one has kinda like bush hair, that's kind of the Xhosa's and the white peoples hair is always thin and the coloured people's hair is always frizzy-curly. You can always see the difference because the Xhosa's wear something around their head to keep their hair but you can see by the back part and the coloured people always wear their hair loose and some tie their hair up. And White people always jog with their hair loose or in a bolla (bun).*

Most of the participants showed prejudices or stereotypes, to differing degrees, regarding the perceived differences of race group's physical characteristics with very few participants showing no prejudice at all. As with many of the other findings of this research, the participants showed that white group characteristics were valued while black group characteristics were devalued. This further supports the salience of Adhikari's (2006) attribution of coloured people's *intermediate status*.

The manner in which the participants described the differences they perceived between the race groups showed strong associations with Apartheid-era thinking. Posel (2001) cited characteristics such as hair texture, nails and facial features such as cheek bones, earlobes and eyelids as indicators used during Apartheid.

The valuations the participants attributed to the different race group characteristics supports the findings of Wijeyesinghe (*et al* 1997 as cited in Diller & Moule, 2005) who found that, in South Africa, characteristics that are indicative of white race group membership are valued over those of other races.

The participants' racial stereotypes regarding the different race groups' actions and behaviours will be explored next.

4.3.4.2.2. Racial Stereotypes regarding actions and behaviours:

More than half of the participants felt that behaviours and actions did not differ

across the race groups. The remaining participants showed high levels of prejudice in their valuations. The stereotypes of white people's actions and behaviours was viewed extremely positively while the stereotypes of black people were exceedingly negative. Coloured people were also viewed negatively by the participants with regards to perceived actions and behaviours.

Participant 1: *White people always think good things and some [brown] people always think of bad things to do....the black people they just want to hit a person...coloured people like to swear. White people don't fight so easily.....The White people always make their house beautiful, the coloured people allow their children to play and they just leave it and then... their houses are dirty.... Black and coloured drink, the white people drink ciders, but the black people and coloured people drink!...[black people] are rude and don't like white people and coloured people. They just like their own colour...If it is someone's child's party then they only invite the black people... White people will always invite black and coloured people's children.*

Participant 11: *[Black people] they fight...like on the news and then they throw stuff... and black people swear and they fight.*

The propensity for coloured people to overvalue white attributes and negatively value black attributes was once again highlighted in the participants' views of race group actions and behaviours. This has already been discussed in previous analysis of both the qualitative and quantitative findings. What is pertinent here is the fact that the participants showed a negative prejudice towards coloured people when discussing their actions and behaviour. This attitude was contradictory to the valuations of the coloured race identity reported thus far. In all other areas explored, besides actions and behaviours and areas of interest which will be discussed below, the coloured race was mainly attributed with neutral, if not positive characteristics. The negative evaluations of the coloured race's actions and behaviours supports findings by Erasmus (2001 as cited in Adhikari, 2006) and Ariefdien (unpublished 2003 as cited in Adhikari, 2006) who listed numerous negative associations attributed to the coloured identity including gangsterism and drug and alcohol abuse.

These negative perceptions of coloured race group's behaviours and to a lesser extent the negative perceptions of coloured areas of interest, discussed below, were the only evidence of Adhikari's (2006) coloured race group attribution of *negative associations* found in this research. Rasool (1996 as cited in Majavu, 2009)

purported that due to the coloured race group's lack of a common and distinct cultural heritage, coloured people have not been able to establish a positive self image or group identity. It was unclear in this research why these were the only attribute of the coloured identity viewed negatively by the participants.

4.3.4.2.3. Racial stereotypes regarding areas of interest:

The participants' prejudices concerning race groups' areas of interest were assessed according to perceived differences in the types of music listened to and the way the different race groups dressed. More than half of the participants felt that there was no difference in the race groups in either of these areas. Many of the participants who viewed the way the race groups dressed as different, held negative and culturally based stereotypes about the black race group including the perception that they wear skins, traditional clothes only and robes. There were also stereotypes held about the coloured race group although these included more innocuous ideas. The participants also demonstrated stereotypes about the types of music the different race groups listened to. Overall, their answers reflected the view that people listened to music in the native language the participant perceived spoken by that specific race group.

***Participant 2:** some of the brown people wear hip hop clothes and their pants are pulled up here (gesturing to a rolled up pants leg) and [people] like to wear dresses like the Xhosa's they put a blanket around them ...white people mostly like jazz music...coloured people like mostly hip hop music ...some Muslims like that stuff like when they pray and the Xhosa's like Xhosa music*

***Participant 10:** Xhosa people will always wear those robe stuff around them, they were different colours and their sandals are also different. They will have like that horses skin colour on their shoes and the coloured people they like their jeans mostly with a top and the white people always dress like they are going to a lawyer or something*

Although some of the stereotypes held by the participants were not necessarily negative, the researcher found these disconcerting in the light of Healey's (2009) theory that stereotypes are assumptions of a whole group that does not account for individual difference. The stereotypes held by the participants that the black race group veers from the 'norm' in the way they dress is concerning as the society in

which they live reveres white race group indicators including the way in which white people dress (Wijeyesinghe *et al*, 1997 *as cited in* Diller & Moule, 2005). These concerns are highlighted by Dolby (2001 *as cited in* Seekings, 2008a) who found that individuals straying from the accepted in-group tastes were humiliated and ostracised.

The participants' stereotypes with regard to social standing will now be discussed.

4.3.4.2.4. Racial stereotypes regarding perceived social standing:

Stereotypes of social standing were assessed according to the differences the participants perceived in intellect, language spoken and the way in which it was spoken as well as the occupations held by the different race groups. Very few participants showed stereotyping with regards to intellect but showed levels of stereotyping when it came to the language spoken by the different races. Very few participants felt that the language spoken by an individual was not dependent on their race. Many indicated that black people spoke isiXhosa with some of them feeling that this was the only language they could speak. A couple of the participants commented on the fact that the way white people and coloured people spoke Afrikaans was different. Just less than half of the participants showed stereotyping with regards to occupation, all of whom felt that members of the white race group held better jobs.

Participant 1: *Some white people goes to study further to become what they want to be one day and black and coloured people works hard in the vineyard like my daddy*

Participant 10: white people is smart...coloured and Xhosa people aren't that smart.... the Xhosa's speak can sometimes only speak Xhosa and they can't pronounce the English words nice... [they] can't speak English properly.. coloureds speak *gam* English and... they talk like normal people, they don't talk high English and high Afrikaans they not like the *whities*... black people will always pack shelves in the shop, the coloured people they will go for the jobs like teaching and the white people they will only go for the jobs like technicians and science and that kind of stuff.

During the Apartheid era the type of work people did and their places of work were used as racial indicators (Posel, 2001). The participants in this study showed that

there are still residual stereotypes about the types of work people of different races do. These stereotypes can also be seen as based on observations of the participants within their social sphere as data collected through the last national census showed that black and coloured people who were employed were far more likely to hold elementary occupations (Lehohla, 2005).

Many of the participants carried stereotypes about the languages the different race groups speak and the way in which they speak it. These findings are supported by Bray (*et al*, 2010) who purported that in South Africa, language was still used as an instrument of division and hierarchy and Painter (2006) who found that certain languages, especially isiXhosa, has become racial signifiers. Many of the participants, at some time in the interviewing process, referred to the fact that they viewed the fact that black people spoke isiXhosa in front of them negatively. This supports the findings of Painter (2006) previously discussed as well as the findings of Painter and Baldwin (2004) who purported that isiXhosa is devalued and negatively attributed in South African society

In summary, the participants carry numerous stereotypes of the different race groups. Stereotypes of the black race group were extremely negative while white stereotypes were more positive. A few participants hold negative stereotypes about coloured race group actions and behaviours.

The findings of this study as they pertain to objective five will now be explored.

4.3.5. Objective Five: To explore how membership to the coloured race group affects children's future aspirations:

The participants perceptions of how their membership to the coloured race group affects their future opportunities and quality of life will now be explored as it pertains to their occupational and educational expectations, projected financial security and future areas of residence.

4.3.5.1. Occupational expectations:

Just more than half of the participants felt that career opportunities were not based on race while only a few felt they were. Most of the participants who felt that race was a factor, felt that members of the white race group would have better career opportunities than their coloured counterparts, who would have no or fewer career opportunities. Very few of the participants commented on black race group job opportunities but those that did felt that they would either have the same substandard opportunities as coloured people or that their opportunities would be even worse.

***Participant 2:** Yes [there is a difference in the types of jobs they'll have]...white coloured and black can work mixed... [but they can't have any jobs they want] because most of the white people take black people to work for them....like at their house*

***Participant 16:** yes [they will have different jobs].. the black children and coloured children will live on the streets..[the white children] they will work.*

Just less than half of the participants felt that race had an influence on the occupations that would be available to them in the future. These findings are supported, in part, by the findings of The Cape Area Panel Study (2005 as cited in Bray *et al*, 2010) which revealed that poor coloured youth were most pessimistic about opportunities available to them compared to their black and white counterparts. The participants' opinions deviate from these findings with regard to the way they felt about their black counterparts. Many of the participants felt that their black counterparts would have equal or inferior career opportunities to the coloured race group.

Many of the participants that reported that race was not a factor in future job opportunities was found to carry racial stereotypes about occupation in objective four. However, the converse was not true. Most of the participants that were found to carry no racial stereotypes about occupation in objective four had reported that race was not a factor in future job opportunities. From this it can be deduced that some of the participants that held racial stereotypes about occupation did not necessarily feel that these stereotypes dictated their future.

4.3.5.2. Educational expectations:

A large number of participants felt that race did not predict whether an individual complete their schooling or further their education through tertiary studies. Most of the participants attributed opportunities of future education to attitude, hard work and financial ability. A nominal number of participants professed to feeling that race was a factor in future educational success.

Participant 4: *[They will all finish school] if they work hard.*

Participant 8: *[They can all finish school] It just depends on if they study.*

Participant 11: *[black, coloured and white children] can all study what they want to study.*

These findings are supported by a study Beutel and Anderson (2008) who found that there was an expectation of tertiary education across all races. Although not unique to this study these findings are surprising as the reality that children are faced with is that black and coloured children have a higher chance of dropping out of school, failing and staying in high school through to their mid-twenties as purported by Anderson, Case and Lam (2001 *as cited in* Beutel & Anderson, 2008). This shows that the participants believed that they could achieve regardless of their race and the societal trends that are showing them otherwise in their daily lives.

4.3.5.3. Projected financial security:

Almost all of the participants felt that race was not a predicting factor for coloured children's future earning potential. Those participants who felt that race was a factor mainly felt white race group members had the highest earning potential.

Participant 11: *no, [black, white and coloured people will have] the same money*

Participant 12: *Some people earn a little money...It's about the type of job they have*

Participant 13: *No, there's no difference*

These findings are supported by a drift in society as purported by Ozler (2007) who found that between the period of 1995 and 2000 a considerable number of coloured

South Africans were able to improve their economic standing and shift away from the poverty line.

4.3.5.4. Future area of residence:

Approximately a third of the participants felt that race was not a factor in the future residential areas of the different race group while half of them felt that race group membership affected the areas in which people could live. Almost all of the participants felt that the type of house that someone would live in was not dependent on race.

***Participant 2:** Yes [there's a difference in the area they will live]... like Khayelitsha there's mostly dark brown people...and then mostly here in South Africa there by the buildings and flats its mostly white people.*

***Participant 5:** The white children [will live in the better areas] ...The coloured children [will live in the worst areas]*

***Participant 15:** Yes White people, and [coloured] people will have a double story [and black people] sometimes stay in a hokkie or a wendy.*

The large number of participants who felt that, to some degree, future areas of residence was dependant on race, can be understood in the light of the racially segregated society in which they are growing up. In many communities racial segregation remains salient (Christopher, 2001) and white South Africans live in better houses (Barbarin & Richter, 2001) and neighbourhoods (Bray *et al*, 2010). Furthermore, Mongwe (2010) found that housing shortages in Cape Town are severely affecting black and coloured South Africans and Barbarin and Richter (2001) found that the financial inequalities that are evident in the country are inextricably linked to areas of residents as more affluent members of society are able to afford to live in better neighbourhoods. Through the work of these authors and understanding the age of the participants, the higher number of reported links between race and future quality of life found with regards to areas of residence can be understood. The participants' age is important because at this age they are probably more likely to be exposed to the realities of housing inequalities and geographical segregation than inequalities found in tertiary education, income and occupation.

Reviewing the findings as they pertain to objective five reveals that in very few instances did the participants feel that the reality of today's economical and racial climate had a bearing on what they were able to attain in the future as a member of the coloured race group.

4.4. Conclusion:

This chapter presented and discussed the research findings of the study. The framework of analysis and a profile of the participants were provided to contextualise the in-depth discussion of the findings that followed.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Introduction:

Chapter five presents the main conclusions of the study as well as recommendations from the researcher. Furthermore, recommendations are made to CYCC's and for further research in this field.

5.2. Main conclusions:

The main conclusions that follow are based on the research objectives of this study.

5.2.1. Coloured children's categorisation of themselves and others with regards to race:

Children, by the age of 7, have an awareness of race (Foster, 1986) but they learn the appropriateness of these expressions of race through the social norms in their society. The decline in overt prejudice is therefore attributed to conformity to these social norms rather than a transformation in personal values and beliefs (Crandall *et al*, 2002). The participants in this research showed an initial reluctance to talk about race even though they were very much aware of and used racial categorisations of black, white and coloured to categorise themselves and others. This shows that the participants have learned that race is still a contentious topic within South Africa.

Factors of shared interests are believed to have replaced many of the biological cues formerly used in racial categorisations (Dolby, 2001 *as cited in* Seekings, 2008a). This research showed that this is not as prevalent as one might have hoped. Participants, albeit to varying degrees, still used racial indicators reminiscent of the Apartheid era. Skin colour was the main cue used by the participants to identify race group membership although other physical characteristics such as language spoken and in-group customs were also used. These findings were expected due to literature reviewed, especially that of Holmes (1995) who found that children use overt cues such as skin colour and language to categorise others. Skin colour was used by the participants as an indicator for all the race groups but language was most often used as a race group indicator for the black race group.

Distinctly more negative indicators were used by the participants for black race group membership and more positive stereotypes were used as white race group indicators while the coloured race group indicators seemed to be more neutral. The undertone of the indicators used by the participants seemed to place the coloured race group between the other two. The conclusion of these findings is that the coloured race group still holds an *intermediate status* (Adhikari, 2006) and that white race groups' attributes are seen as superior (Adhikari, 2006; Majavu, 2009), at least in the eyes of the participants of this research. Furthermore, as was found by Seekings and Natrass (2005 as cited in Seekings 2008b), Apartheid-era classifications can still be seen to influence the ways in which the participants classified both themselves and others.

A large majority of the participants were aware of which race group society would place them into and used terms such as 'coloured' or 'brown' for race group self-identification. The findings of this research showed that Holmes' (1995) findings that children use overt visual cues for self identification is still true. Many of the participants used physical similarities to themselves as cues for membership to the coloured race group and attributed knowing which race group they belonged to by saying that they could see in the mirror.

When the participants in this research used the race categorisations of black and white they seemed to show that the skin colour indicators of the group were absolute while members of the coloured race group were described in varying degrees of 'brown' using the terms lighter and darker. They described the members of their family in varying degrees to a core member as found in the research of Holmes (1995). The participants also showed understanding that families could consist of members of multiple race groups.

5.2.2. Coloured children's experiences of their own and other's race membership and the effects thereof:

Literature reviewed indicated that membership to the coloured race group did not allow members to experience a positive self image (Adhikari, 2006; Majavu, 2009) and that awareness of others negative thoughts and reactions to race would affect

children's experience of their own race group (McKown & Weinstein, 2003 *as cited in* McKown, 2004). The initial findings of this research seemed to contradict these notions. More than half of the participants, even though they acknowledged that society viewed the race groups differently, felt that they weren't treated any differently from their black or white counterparts. Furthermore, very few participants expressed having experienced the coloured identity in a negative way. However, broader analyses of their valuations of the race groups showed that many of the participants placed the coloured race group between what they seemed to perceive as the inferior black and more superior white race groups. From these findings it can be concluded that many of the participants still experience membership to the coloured race groups with attributes of *intermediate status* and *assimilation* (Adhikari, 2006). The coloured identity is being redefined and there is a renewed wish to be similar to white race group members while distancing themselves from their black counterparts according to Majavu (2009). This still seemed to be true through the findings of this research. The participants' attributions to the white race group are considerably more positive than that of other races and they reported seeing white people as either equal to or better than coloured people.

Most of the participants in this research, when asked directly, reported feeling the same about all the race groups. This however seems to point to the conformity to social norms rather than beliefs of equality (Crandall *et al*, 2002; Fishbein, 2002). This conclusion was reached because even though the participants reported perceiving all race groups to be equal, there was a tendency to attribute more negative valuations to the black race group and more positive valuations to the white race group.

Just less than half of the participants reported having personally been the victim of a racist act in at least one social sphere. Many more reported having witnessed racist acts perpetrated by or against others in their social spheres. The high number of participants who reported having witnessed acts of discrimination and racism allows us to conclude that negative attributions are still taking place in the social spheres of the participants (Finchelescu, 2005). Discrimination against the black race group was most common. Since the participants all hail from communities where poor socio-economic conditions prevail it can be understood through the findings of Stevens

(1998 as cited in Majavu, 2009) who stated that, in the competition for limited job opportunities coloured South Africans perceive their black counterparts as posing a threat, fuelling “othering”.

Almost all of the acts of racism and discrimination reported by the participants were perpetrated by their peers or within their communities of origin, while teachers at school and staff at the CYCC were perceived by the participants, to treat all children equally. Most of the reported acts of racism and discrimination pertained to the belief that race groups should not mix or play together. According to the literature reviewed, Cape Town is supposed to have the least interracial discomfort levels due to the fact that it has the highest level of interracial interactions (Seekings *et al*, 2005 as cited in Seekings 2008a). The conclusion of this research is that the participants were exposed to high numbers of incidents where interracial contact was shunned because they come from residential areas and schools which are still to a large extent segregated.

5.2.3. The influence of race on coloured children’s relationships:

Parents are the most influential force in attitudes children develop towards race (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993) and children are very susceptible to the opinions of their peers (Carter & Rice, 1997). In light of this, it would have been assumed that the participants would have adopted their parents’ and peers beliefs on race. However, parental or peer influences on the participants’ choices in relationships were not as strong as expected. Most of the participants reported feeling that it is no different to be friends with someone from another race group even though their parents and peers didn’t share this opinion and showed overt disapproval of some of their friendship choices. One can conclude from the findings that the participants choose their friends as a result of shared interests and perceived similarities rather than racial similarities. This conclusion echoes the findings of Holmes (1995).

Many more participants reported that racial difference would affect their choices in their intimate relationships such as whom they would date when they are older or whom they would marry. Most of the participants who reported that they would consider interracial intimate relationships felt that they would marry someone from

the white race group but not the black group. Differences such as language and skin colour, which was not perceived as important in their choices of friendships, became more prevalent as deciding factors to the participants when these more intimate relationships are considered. Holmes (1995) found that although children found interracial friendship acceptable they didn't think that interracial romantic relationships were. Nearly 20 years later, the conclusions of this research was the same. The participants' parents and peers overt opinions about interracial relationships, whether positive or negative, did not seem to influence their opinions of who they would choose to enter more intimate relationships with either.

5.2.4. Coloured children's racial prejudices:

The decline in prejudice, found in South Africa, has been attributed the fact that discrimination has become more subtle and covert (Koopman, 1997; McGlothlin, Killen & Edmonds, 2005). The participants' stereotypes were tested quantitatively to ascertain whether their responses to the qualitative questioning were a true reflection of their prejudices held. The conclusion of the quantitative testing was that the participants' interviews reflected their unconscious or unstated racial prejudices accurately. The participants mainly held negative stereotypes about the black race group and positive stereotypes about the white race group. Most of the participants held neutral or positive stereotypes of the coloured race group.

Stereotypes of physical characteristics were most commonly held by the participants. Many of these stereotypes pertaining to physical appearance still had strong connotations of Apartheid-era thinking and characteristics emulating those of the white race group seemed to be valued over other race group attributes. These conclusions concur with the findings of Wijeyesinghe (*et al* 1997 as cited in Diller & Moule, 2005).

Stereotypes regarding the behaviours and actions of the different race groups as well as the way in which the different races dress were less prevalent but when they did occur, showed high levels of prejudice against the black race group. Most of the participants held negative stereotypes of the coloured race group only when discussing their behaviour and actions and to a lesser extent 'areas of interest'.

These findings were the only evidence found in this research of Adhikari's (2006) coloured race group attribution of *negative associations* although there was far more evidence of Adhikari's (2006) attributes of *assimilation* and *intermediate status*.

Stereotypes about the music different race group listened to were mainly based on the perceived native language spoken by each race group. Stereotypes regarding language held by the participants shows that isiXhosa is still perceived as a black race group indicator and that it is viewed negatively if spoken in the company of those whose native language is not isiXhosa. The conclusion drawn from these findings is that isiXhosa is still devalued and negatively attributed as found in literature reviewed on the research of Painter and Baldwin (2004) and Painter (2006).

Very few participants held stereotypes about the perceived intellect of the different race groups although some of them showed stereotyping with regards to the jobs held by the different race groups. They perceive white race group members as having access to better jobs.

5.2.5. The effects of membership to the coloured race group on children's future aspirations:

The participants' membership to the coloured race group affected what they perceived they could attain in the future in varying ways. The conclusions as they pertain to the findings of this research objective are discussed below.

Just less than half the participants felt that their race group membership will affect the job opportunities available to them in the future. They felt that children belonging to the white race would have access to the best jobs when they grow up while coloured and black children would either have no or fewer career opportunities in the future. This conclusion was in keeping with the findings of The Cape Area Panel Study (2005 as cited in Brey *et al*, 2010), although it was conducted on youth. The study found that poor coloured youth were most pessimistic, in comparison to their white and black counterparts, regarding opportunities available to them in the future. However, the participants did not link occupational opportunities to how much they

would earn in the future and therefore felt that race is not a factor in predicting future financial security.

Most of participants highlighted the fact that race is an influencing factor in their future areas of residence but not in the types of residence they would occupy in the future. It was concluded that these findings were influenced by the fact that the participants are growing up in a society where communities are still, to a large extent, racially segregated (Christopher, 2001) and black and coloured South African's are severely affected by the housing shortages still found in the country (Mongwe, 2010).

The participants did not perceive race to be an influencing factor in whether or not coloured children will finish school and study in the future. Completion of school and tertiary education was attributed to factors such as attitude, hard work and financial stability.

5.3. Recommendations:

The recommendations that arose from this study will now be discussed.

5.3.1. Recommendations to Child and Youth Care Centres:

- CYCC's should aim to become aware of the racial milieu in their facilities. Policies and practices that are promoted within the child and youth care field honour the 'African' child. This should be understood to mean *all* children of South Africa. CYCC's should plan culturally diverse menus and activities in order to foster understanding and tolerance of all cultures and races in South Africa. Cultural days should be celebrated and the reasons for them explained to the children.
- CYCW's who work in the life space of the children should role model acceptance and equality. They should have a zero tolerance for racial slurs and actions in the children's interactions with each other. If prejudices and racial discrimination is being perceived by the children or workers in the centre, anti-bias training should be offered. Staff should do this training first as their entrenched and subconscious racial stereotypes and prejudices can affect the children's attitudes that they learn through socialisation. Staff should do the training first as it would then also provide

a supportive environment to the children's learning as they work through the anti-bias training. It should, however, not be assumed that if the staff undergo training that it would automatically affect children's racial attitudes and beliefs.

- Group activities facilitated by the CYCW's or social workers at the institutes should address diversity, tolerance and equality.
- The social workers or case managers at the CYCC's should ensure that the children receive career guidance in an age appropriate way so that children are exposed to the numerous career opportunities available to members of all races. Many children are only exposed to the occupations that those adults in their social spheres hold and many of these are still indicative of Apartheid divisions in labour.
- CYCC's should include programs and community initiatives that can reduce racism and prejudice into their already established prevention and awareness programs. The CYCC's could also participate in activities already organised by organisations such as The Department of Social Development.
- Certain activities could be included into the CYCC's program that allows the children to mix with children from outside the CYCC.

5.3.2. Future Research:

- There remains a need for research in the area of children and race. Children's perceptions of race should be investigated, not only to inform anti-bias initiatives, but also to gain an understanding of how race still impacts their lives and how they perceive residual Apartheid stereotypes to predict their futures.
- Much of the previous research amalgamated different race groups into one group, 'previously disadvantaged'. This mitigates many of the experiences unique to each group. Future research could look at the unique experiences of each race group.
- The racial demographics in suburbs, cities and provinces are very different and this yields very unique experiences to those living within these communities. Future research can include the different experiences of children in different communities and focus on samples such as rural versus urban, multi-racial versus segregated as well as high versus low socioeconomic areas.
- Many of the studies thus far have been conducted within schools. More research should be conducted within CYCC's and other institutes and community groups.

- Future research be conducted with a larger sample group and gauge the perceptions of children of other age groups.
- The participants in this research tended to answer quite briefly even though open-ended questions were used. Future researchers conducting studies on the age group might consider more non-direct methods of data collection.
- Children's perceptions were explored in this study. It was not within the scope of this research to investigate whether the actions of others, interpreted by the participants as racially fuelled, were in fact so. Investigations should be done into whether or not racially neutral actions and arguments are being misinterpreted by children as acts of racism as a result of faulty thinking and attitudes that has been informed by their learnt stereotypes and prejudices.

5.4. Conclusion:

This chapter presented the main conclusions of the study as well as the recommendations of the researcher. This chapter presented this information as a conclusion to this dissertation.

REFERENCES:

- Aboud, F.E., Mendelson, M.J. & Purdy, K.T. 2003. Cross-race peer relationships and friendship quality. *International journal of behavioural development*. 27(2): 165-173.
- Aboud, F.E. 1988. *Children and prejudice*. New York: Blackwell.
- Adhikari, M. 2009. Predicaments of marginality: cultural creativity in Southern Africa's coloured communities. In *Burdened by race: coloured identities in South Africa*. M. Adhikari. Ed. Cape Town: UCT Press. VIII – XXXII.
- Adhikari, M. 2006. Hope, fear, shame, frustration: continuity and change in the expression of coloured identity in white supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994. *Journal of Southern African studies*. 32(3): 465-487.
- Allport, G. 1954. *The nature of prejudice*. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Allsopp, M. & Thumbadoo, Z. 2002. Child and youth care in post-Apartheid South Africa: innovative responses to the challenges of poverty and AIDS. *The international child and youth care network*. 43. [Online]. Available: <http://www.cyc-net.org/cyc-online/cycol-0802-allsoopp.html> [2011, December 3].
- Babbie, E.R. & Mouton, J. 2001. *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Barbarin, O.A. & Richter, L.M. 2001. *Mandela's children*. New York: Routledge.
- Barker, R.L. 2003. *The social work dictionary*. 5th ed. Washington D.C.: NASW Press.
- Bergen, T.J. 2001. The development of prejudice in children. *Education*. 122(1): 154-162.
- Beutel, A. M. & Anderson, K.G. 2008. Race and the educational expectations of parents and children: the case of South Africa. *The sociological quarterly*. 49:336-361.
- Boyden, J. & Ennew, J. 1997. *Children in focus: a manual for participatory research with children*. Stockholm: Grafisk Press.
- Boyd Webb, N. 2003. Children living in kinship and foster home placements. In *Social work practice with children*. 2nd ed. London: Guilford Press. 215- 234.
- Bray, R., Gooskens, I., Kahn, L., Moses, S. & Seekings, J. 2010. *Growing up in the new South Africa: childhood and adolescents in post-Apartheid Cape Town*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Brendtro, L., Brokenleg, M., & Van Bockern, S. 1990. *Reclaiming youth at risk: our hope for the future*. Bloomington: National Educational Service.

- Carter, C. & Rice, L. 1997. Acquisitions and manifestation of prejudice in children. *Journal of multicultural counselling and development*. 25(3): 185-194.
- Christopher, A. 2001. Urban segregation in post Apartheid South Africa. *Urban studies*. 38(3): 449-466.
- Crandall, C.S., Eshleman, A & O'Brien, L. 2002. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. 82(3): 359-378.
- Davey, A. 1983. *Learning to be prejudiced: growing up in a multi-ethnic Britain*. Suffolk: Edward Arnold.
- DeVos, A. Ed., Strydom, H., Fouché, C.B. and Delport, C.S.L. 2005. *Research at grassroots: for the social sciences and human service professions*. 3rd ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Diller, J.V. & Moule, J. 2005. Understanding racism and prejudice. In *Cultural competence: a primer for education*. Belmont: Thomas Wadsworth. 28-51.
- Donald, J. & Rattansi, A. 1992. *'Race', culture and difference*. London: Sage.
- Duncan, N., Stevens, G. & Bowman, B. 2004. African psychology and racism: historical determinants and future prospects. In *Critical psychology section*. D.Hook. Ed. Landsdowne: UCT Press.
- Durrheim, K. & Mtose, X. 2006. Being black in the new South Africa. In *A race against time: psychology and challenges to deracialisation in South Africa*. G. Stevens, V. Franchi & T. Swart, Eds. Pretoria: UNISA Press. 153-170.
- Erwin, P. 1993. *Friendship and peer relationships in children*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Finchelescu, G. 2005. Meta-stereotypes may hinder inter-racial contact. *South African journal of psychology*. 35(3): 460-472.
- Fishbein, H.D. 2002. *Peer prejudice and discrimination: The origins of prejudice*. 2nd ed. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Foster, D. 1986. The development of racial orientation in children: a review of South African research. In *Growing up in a divided society: The context of childhoods in South Africa*. S. Burman & P. Reynolds, Eds. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Gooskens, I. 2006. Boundaries and crossing points: children, geography and identity in the Fish Hoek Valley. *Social dynamics*. 32(1): 135-168.

- Harwell, M.R. 2011. Research design in qualitative/quantitative/ mixed methods. In *The Sage handbook for research in education: pursuing ideas as the keystone of exemplary inquiry*. 2nd ed. C. Conrad & R.C. Serlin, Eds. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Healey, J.F. 2009. Prejudice and discrimination. In *Race, ethnicity, gender and class: the sociology of group conflict and change*. 5th ed. Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press.
- Hirschfeld, L.A. 1996. *Race in the making: cognition, culture and the child's construction of human kinds*. London: The MIT Press.
- Hoffman, R.C. 1993. *An exploratory study of attitudes, beliefs and perceptions amongst child care practitioners, regarding racial and cultural integration of residential facilities for children*. MSocSci. Thesis. Department of Social Development. University of Cape Town.
- Holmes, R.M. 1995. *How young children perceive race*. London: Sage Publications.
- Holtman, Z., Louw, J., Tredoux, C. & Carney, T. 2005. Prejudice and social contact in South Africa: a study of integrated schools ten years after Apartheid. *South African journal of psychology*. 35(3): 473-493.
- Koopman, A. 1997. *Shifting paradigms: using an anti-bias strategy to challenge oppression and assist transformation in the South African context*. Cape Town: Early Learning Resource Unit.
- Lehohla, P. 2005. *Census 2001: Stages in the life cycle of South Africans*. Report No. 03-02-46. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. [Online]. Available: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/C2001LifeStages.asp> [2011, December 3].
- Lehohla, P. 2003. *Census 2001: census in brief*. Report No. 03-02-03. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. [Online] Available: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/CInbrief/CIB2001.pdf> [2011, December 3]
- Leliebloem House, 2010. *Annual report year ending March 2010*. Cape Town: KamPress.
- Lockhat, R. & Van Niekerk, A. 2000. South African children: a history of adversity, violence and trauma. *Ethnicity and health*. 5(3): 291-302.
- Mahery, P., Jamieson, L. & Scott, K. 2011. *Children's act guide for child and youth care workers*. Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town & National Association of Child and Youth Care Workers.
- Majavu. M. 2009. *Questioning 'colouredness': Tracing the identity development of people who chose to reject 'coloured identity'*. MSocSc. Thesis. Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town.

- Martin, D. 2000. Classifications and constructions of identity: the case of the "coloured" in Cape Town (South Africa). *African philosophy*. 13(2): 99-124.
- Mason, M. 2010. Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Forum: Qualitative social research*. 11(3). [Online]. Available: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/viewArticle/1428> [2012, August 9]
- McGlothlin, H., Killen, M. & Edmonds, C. 2005. European-American children's intergroup attitudes about peer relationship. *British journal of developmental psychology*. 23(2): 227-249.
- McKown, C. 2004. Age and ethnic variation in children's thinking about the nature of racism. *Applied developmental psychology*. 25(5): 597-617.
- Mongwe, R. 2010. Race, class and housing in post-Apartheid Cape Town. *HSRC Review*. 8(4):18-19.
- Morland, J.K. & Suthers, E. 1980. Racial attitudes of children: perspectives on the structural- normative theory of prejudice. *Phylon*. 41(3): 267-275.
- Mubangizi, J.C. 2004. *The protection of human rights in South Africa: The legal and practical guide*. Lansdowne: Juta.
- Nesdale, D., Durkin, K., Maass, A. & Griffiths, J. 2004. Group status, outgroup ethnicity and children's ethnic awareness. *Applied developmental psychology*. 25(2): 237-251.
- Nesdale, D. & Flessner, D. 2001. Social identity and the development of child's group attitudes. *Child development*. 72(2): 506-517.
- Ozler, B. 2007. "Not separate, not equal: poverty and inequality in post-Apartheid South Africa". *Economic development and cultural change*. 55(3): 487-529.
- Pachter, L.M., Bernstein, B.A., Szalacha, L.A & Coll, C.G. 2010. Perceived racism and discrimination in children and youths: an exploratory study. *Health & Social Work*. 35(1): 61- 69.
- Painter, D. 2006. 'All the black people speak English or Afrikaans, so it doesn't matter...': Ideologies of language and race on a South African school ground. *A race against time: psychology and challenges to deracialisation in South Africa*. G. Stevens, V. Franchi & T. Swart, Eds. Pretoria: UNISA Press.
- Painter, D. & Baldwin, R. 2004. "They all speak your language anyway ...": language and racism in a South African school. *South African journal of psychology*. 34: 1-24.
- Peacock, C & Daniels, G. 2006. *Applying an antiracist framework to a residential treatment centre: sanctuary, a model for change*. [Online] Available: <http://jea.haworthpress.com>. [2011, December 3]

- Pepler, D.J. & Craig, W.M. 1998. Assessing children's peer relationships. *Children psychology and psychiatry review*. 3(4): 176-182.
- Pettigrew, T.F. Ed. 1980. *The sociology of race relations: reflection and reform*. New York: Free Press.
- Ponterotto, J.G. & Pedersen, P.B. 1993. *Preventing prejudice: a guide for counsellors and educators*. London: Sage Publications.
- Porter, J. D. R. 1971. *Black child, white child: the development of racial attitudes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Posel, D. 2001. What's in a name? Racial categorizations under Apartheid and their afterlife. *Transformations*. 47: 50-74.
- Ramji, H. 2009. *Researching race: theory, methods and analysis*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Richards, L. 1999. *Using NVivo in qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Seekings, J. 2008(a). The continuing salience of race: discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 26(1): 1-25
- Seekings, J. 2008(b). 'Just Deserts': race, class and distributive justice in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African studies*. 24(1):39-60.
- Sonn, J. 1996. Breaking down borders. In *Now that we are free: coloured communities in a democratic South Africa*. W. James, D. Caliguire & K. Cullinan, Eds. Cape Town: Idasa. 62- 69.
- South Africa. 2007. *Children's Amendment Act, No 41 of 2007*. Pretoria: Government Printer. [Laws.]
- South Africa. 2005. *The Children's Act, No 38 of 2005*. Pretoria: Government Printer. [Laws.]
- South Africa, 1998. *Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998*. Pretoria: Government Printer. [Laws.]
- South Africa. 1996. *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996*. Pretoria: Government Printer. [Laws.]
- South Africa. 1950. *Group Areas Act, No 41 of 1950*. Pretoria: Government Printer. [Laws.]
- South Africa. 1950. *The Population Registration, No 30 of 1950*. Pretoria: Government Printer. [Laws.]
- South Africa. 1949. *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages, No 55 of 1949*. Pretoria: Government Printer. [Laws.]

StatsSA. 2010. *General household survey: revised version*. Statistical release P0318. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. [Online] Available. Available: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0318/P0318June2010.pdf> [2011, December 3]

Stevens, G., Swart, T. & Franchi, V. 2006. Changing contexts of race and racism: problematic, polemics and perspectives. In *A race against time: psychology and challenges to democratisation in South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA Press. 3-27.

Zegeye, A. 2002. A matter of colour. *African and Asian studies*. 1(4): 323-348.

University of Cape Town

GLOSSARY

Boere and Boertjies (diminutive of boere) - a term used for white Afrikaaners. Used today it is most often a derogatory term for white people

Boeretaal - this is used to describe the language spoken by *boere*, Afrikaans. Although Afrikaans is spoken by many South Africans this refers to dialect, intonation and linguistics spoken in a specific manner by Afrikaaners. It is seen by some to be a 'more pure' use of the language.

Bos - an Afrikaans word which in this study has been used by the participants to describe wild or bushy hair

Buckies – a colloquialism in South Africa used for pickup trucks

Daakie – used to describe a black person. It is an extremely offensive and derogatory racial slur in South Africa today.

Gam - a derogatory colloquialism used to describe a coloured person from the cape flat that has no sense of decorum. It is often used to describe a coloured person with a lack of decorum

Hokkie – a colloquialism for a very small informal dwelling, erected from scrap materials and waste products. Also known as a shack.

Kaffir - an offensive term used for a black person. Originally used in the 1865, 1875, 1891 and 1904 population censuses to describe people that are now classified as African/black it is still used today as a racial slur.

Kroes and kroeserig – used to describe very thick, dry, course and unruly hair

Ou tyds – Afrikaans meaning 'old fashioned' or 'out dated'

Plaas jaapie – an Afrikaans colloquialism used to describe someone that is unsophisticated and doesn't know the ways of a big city.

Siessies - from the Xhosa word 'sister' used by the participants in this study to describe black women.

Skel – Afrikaans for 'reprimand' or 'scold'

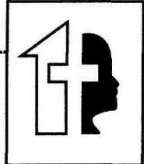
Skinner- colloquialism from the Afrikaans word *skinder* which means 'to slander' or 'gossip'

Sturvy refers to someone who thinks highly of themselves and who behaves in a manner that shows they think they are better than others

Styl – Afrikaans colloquialism used to describe straight hair

Whities - a derogatory term used to describe white people

Appendix A: Consent form from Leliebloem House:

	LELIEBLOEM HOUSE (EST. 1868)
	Korne Close off Belgravia Road, Crawford, Western Cape Province 7780 SOUTH AFRICA TEL: 27 21 6974947 FAX: 27 21 6964174
RECLAIMING CHILDREN, YOUTH AND RESIDENTIAL FAMILIES IN HIGH RISK ENVIRONMENTS	FAMILY CENTRED CARE AND TREATMENT
Director: Shereen Gorvalla	Email: sgorvalla@leliebloem.org.za Email: sjoshua@leliebloem.org.za Email: bronwynne@leliebloem.org.za NPO No:003 227

We provide Residential Care, Community Outreach Programmes, Experiential Learning Camps, Family Preservation, Family Reunification, Foster Care, Parenting Skills Enhancement, Entrepreneurial Skills Training & Life Skills

To whom it may concern:

We, the board and management of Leliebloem House, are aware of the research that Cindee Bruyns has requested to complete at our organisation. We realise that this research will be in completion of her Masters in Clinical Social work at the University of Cape Town and may be published in form of an article for academic publication. We realise the sensitivity of the subject matter and are confident that she will be able to complete this with the tact and sensitivity required. We hereby give Cindee permission to complete her research on the perceptions of children on race.

I the director of Leliebloem House am also the court appointed guardian for the children that have been placed into our care. To this end I give permission for her to interview the children as long as she has their voluntary participation. I understand that she will need to use quotes from the children for her dissertation and give my permission for this on condition that anonymity is maintained. I am aware that she will be recording these interviews for her use only and have given my permission for her to do so. Should there be any queries about my guardianship of one of the minors, legal documentation can be provided as proof that the children we under our care at the time of the interviews.

Yours Sincerely

Shereen Gorvalla
DIRECTOR

LELIEBLOEM HOUSE
Korne Close, Crawford, 7780
Tel: 021 697 4947
Fax: 021 696 4174
NPO 003 227

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Appendix B: Interview Schedule:

1. Categorisation:

- 1.1. Tell me a bit about your family?
 - 1.1.1. In which area does your family live?
 - 1.1.2. In which area did you grow up?
 - 1.1.3. Who are the people that you call family?
- 1.2. What does the word race mean to you?
- 1.3. Which are the different races that you have heard people talking about?
- 1.4. Which race are you? How do you know that?
- 1.5. Which race do other people think you are?
- 1.6. What race is your family?
- 1.7. Can children be a different race to their parents? What do you think it's like if they are different.
- 1.8. How do you know when someone is....
 - 1.7.1. black?
 - 1.7.2. coloured?
 - 1.7.3. white?
- 1.9. If you think about people that are called black, white and coloured. Is there any difference in their....
 - 1.9.1. Body shape
 - 1.9.2. Face (eyes, nose, mouth)
 - 1.9.3. Hair
 - 1.9.4. Brain
 - 1.9.5. Skin
 - 1.9.6. Nails
- 1.10. Besides the things that you can see... what tells you that someone is...
 - 1.10.1. Black?
 - 1.10.2. Coloured?
 - 1.10.3. white?
- 1.11. If you think about people that are called black, white and coloured. Is there any difference in their....
 - 1.11.1. The language they speak...
 - 1.11.2. The way they talk...
 - 1.11.3. The way they act...
 - 1.11.4. The things they do...
 - 1.11.5. The music they listen to...
 - 1.11.6. The jobs they have...
 - 1.11.7. The way they dress...

And if so, what are the differences?

2. Influence and affect on thoughts and actions in their current lives:

- 2.1. Do you have friends that are not the same race as you? How many, Who are they, how did you meet them? How close are they?

- 2.2. Is there anything different being friends with them? Are there people that are nicer to be friends with?
 - 2.3. What do people say about friends that aren't the same race?
 - 2.4. Are there people that won't be friends with you because you are...(Race)?
 - 2.5. Would you have a boyfriend/girlfriend someone of another race?
 - 2.6. Would you marry someone of another race? What do you think others would say if you did? And your parents?
 - 2.7. How do you see people from different races treating each other:
 - 2.7.1. What do you see at school? (peers and teachers)
 - 2.7.2. At the children's home? (staff and other children)
 - 2.7.3. At home? (parents, neighbours, friends)
 - 2.7.4. Do you think people put the different races on different levels? If so what are they?
 - 2.8. Have you ever noticed people being different to you because you are....(race)
 - 2.7.1. At school? (peers and teachers)
 - 2.7.2. At the children's home? (staff and other children)
 - 2.7.3. At home? (parents, neighbours and friends)
 - 2.8. If you think of black, white and coloured children, is there a difference in the.....
 - 2.8.1. type of jobs they can have when they grow up
 - 2.8.2. amount of money they can make when they grow up
 - 2.8.3. type of car they can drive when they grow up
 - 2.8.4. amount of children they can have
 - 2.8.5. the type of house they can have
 - 2.8.6. The area they can live in
 - 2.8.7. The education they can have
 - 2.9. Do you think you will be able to have these things? Do you think that there is competition between races to get these things? Do you think that you will have to fight to get these things?
3. Experiences:
- 3.1. What have you heard people say about black people? Which ones of those are true?
 - 3.2. Are black people different to you? What do they do that is different to you?
 - 3.3. What have you heard people say about coloured people? Which ones of those are true?
 - 3.4. Are coloured people different to you? What do they do that is different to you?
 - 3.5. What have you heard people say about White people? Which ones of those are true?
 - 3.6. Are White people different to you? What do they do that is different to you?
 - 3.7. What are the good things you heard people saying about other races? Which are true?

- 3.8. What are the bad things that you heard people saying about people of other races? Which are true?
- 3.9. How do you feel about black people? Coloured people? White people?

Appendix C: Pictures used for quantitative test for stereotypes:

