How do two Afrikaans textbooks for learners in Grade 4 and Grade 7 construct child?

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Abstract

We live in a post apartheid society which has created new possibilities for identity formation. Within education, identity construction has been under investigation. This study explores the relationship between visual imagery and the construction of child. It examines through different social categories what identity positions are available to the child. The research analysed two different Afrikaans textbooks: Grade 4 and Grade 7 to determine if post apartheid we have moved beyond our common sense perceptions based on race, gender and geographical location. The research looks at apartheid identities and tries to discover if the construction of child is still part of this old identity. In order to uncover such identities, many images were analysed. Identities in this project is understood through poststructuralist theory on identity which argues that identities are hybrid and dynamic and are not fixed or essentialized as was often the case during the apartheid period.

Child and images form an essential part of this research project. The notion of child is not only analysed through social categories but through how visual imagery can construct a learner as visually competent and how images can create lessons that includes the child being actively involved and is given a space to inquire about ideas and social issues. The work of Philosophy for Children provides an interesting construction of child and how images in Philosophy for Children picturebooks can contribute to how we select visual imagery for children to learn from.

The analysis makes the reader aware of identities and how they are constructed historically and in relation to the socio-political context. There is evidence in the textbooks that past discourses linger and that the images found in the textbooks struggle to problematize the past issues of the country. How child is constructed in South Africa, intellectually and emotionally, still seems to be stuck on old traditional theories of child and therefore child does not have complete room to grow. Images used for children to learn from are mostly denotative leaving little room for imaginative or creative engagement. Ultimately the analysis calls for a reconsideration of the kinds of visuals are used to teach children, which in turn have influences on how we construct child.

Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters in Education by coursework and research design in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

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Stacey-Jean Goodall

14 March 2014

Dedication

To my grandfather Kenneth Goodall

To my Parents Eugene and Emily Goodall

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1.1 Rationale

The rationale for this study is explained in terms of my own history, the history of South Africa and the increasing importance of visual semiotics in education.

1.1.1 Background

The following research project was undertaken while I was in a teaching post at a school in northern Johannesburg, South Africa. I was a primary school teacher at a government school that taught Afrikaans from Grade 4 to Grade 7. The school that I was teaching at was a former Model C school which meant that the school was predominantly for White children. Today the school is made up of Black children only, with the majority of staff being Black too. Most of the children live in the surrounding area as parents work there; the rest of the learners travel from the township areas or surrounding city areas.

In my teaching experience, I found that Afrikaans was a new language to most of the children as their home languages consisted of Zulu, Sotho or Xhosa. When using the set textbook I found the lessons to be very technical and unengaging because lessons

in the textbooks focused only on skills to develop language. The lessons found in the textbook never made provision for me to discuss many issues in depth due to the images and text provided. I therefore only taught what was needed so that children could pass and progress to the next level in Afrikaans.

As a result of my study of Philosophy for Children (P4C) and Critical Literacy (CL) during my Master's degree, I have become aware of the notion of child and how we design educational texts which contribute to the learning and teaching experiences in a classroom. The notion of child in Philosophy for children's literature is a person who can think for him / herself and one who is able to engage with any topic and enjoy the art of visual imagery. I have also come to learn from Critical Literacy that deconstructing, re-designing and questioning texts and images is useful in a learning environment in order to change assumptions which are taken for granted.

1.1.2 Still imprisoned by old identities

According to Khan (2006, p. 1),from Dutch and British colonization to institutionalized racism in the form of apartheid to a democratically Black elected government, South Africa as a country and a nation has gone through turmoil and many changes. As I looked at the images in the textbooks I thought to myself: Have social differences moved beyond the legacy of apartheid? Given the normalisation of race, the new South Africa works on achieving a non-racial society and, in education, certain Acts were passed to promote and heal the racial and segregated wounds of the past.

The constitution of the Republic of South Africa, (Act No.108 of 1996) provides the basis for curriculum transformation and development in contemporary South Africa (Revised National Curriculum Statement Grade R-9, 1996, p. 7).

The government has specific rights that have to be met in terms of education. The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (Department of Education, 2001) takes these principles a step further by advocating fundamental values. It "identifies ten fundamental values of the Constitution. These are: Democracy, Social Justice and

Equity Non-Racism and Non-Sexism, Ubuntu (Human Dignity), An Open Society, Accountability (Responsibility), Respect, The Rule of Law, Reconciliation" (Revised National Curriculum Statement Grade R-9, 1996, p. 7).

The new democratic policy in South Africa has made the removal of gender discrimination one of its primary goals. In the relevant chapter of the Bill of Rights, the constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) stipulates that no one may: "unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone or more on the grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth" (Act 108 of 1996).

Upon reading these different values and rights found in the Constitution, I enquire about the textbooks and question whether the images chosen support the vision of a 'new' South Africa.

1.1.3 Why visual images?

Philosophy for Children (P4C) in relation to specific picturebooks as well as Critical Literacy methods of analysing images taught me to see the value of images as a means of learning and developing a democratic experience for children. It also taught me how important images are in textbooks as they can represent different cultural values as well as social differences. However, due to curricular constraints, written words take precedence over images and therefore images function as a means of specialised form of representation. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)

> Writing remains the expected and dominant mode of assessment in schools, but images play an increasing role outside of school through prints or electronic media such as websites and magazines. Most texts now involve a complex interplay of written text, images and other graphic elements. But the skill of producing multi modal texts of this

kind, however central its role in contemporary society it is not taught in schools (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 17).

Kress and van Leeuwen show that images are fundamental in the learning experience of children. If they are exposed to high value images outside school, then why not embrace them within the schools? The kinds of images children are exposed to in textbooks highlights how the child is constructed. This research project analyzes the images children are exposed to in the textbooks and how they work to position children within different identities.

The experiences I've had in the classroom and in my tertiary education have led me to choose this topic and as I undertake this research project I explore the discourses that shape the construction of child in the particular Afrikaans textbooks that I was expected to use for teaching in my Afrikaans lessons.

1.2 The research questions

This research is carried out on two Afrikaans textbooks *Latti*, M., & Gouws, S. (2000) *Nuwe Afrikaans Sonder Grense 4.*

 Latti, M., & Gouws, S. (2005) *Nuwe Afrikaans Sonder Grense 7 Tweede Addisionele.*

Both textbooks were used at the school where I was teaching. The all encompassing question which this research seeks to answer is:

How do two Afrikaans textbooks for learners in Grade 4 and Grade 7 construct child?

This entails consideration of the following sub questions:

1. What is meant by child?

2. How are children constructed in the textbooks through the visuals?

3. Are there any developments or differences between Grade 4 and Grade 7 textbooks in terms of how child is constructed through the visuals?

4. How does philosophy for children contribute to our understanding the construction of child in textbook visual images?

1.3 Aims and value of study

The primary aim of this research is to understand the identities available for children to take up in a post apartheid society. Identity construction has come to be an unavoidable discourse in South Africa due to past discrepancies.

This research investigates the social representations of identity to see if we have moved beyond naturalised apartheid representations of identity. The kinds of picturebooks used in P4C will be investigated as a point of comparison and contrast

Work of this kind can contribute to greater sensitivity in our choice of images for children to enjoy and learn from, which in turn influences how we produce educational texts for learners. In particular, this research seeks to contribute to ways in which we can embrace differences and open up spaces that encourage learners to engage with social complexities in meaningful ways through visual imagery.

Chapter 2

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2.1 Introduction

The construction of child forms the heart of this research project. How children are represented through the images in the Grade 4 and Grade 7 Afrikaans textbooks forms the basis of this study. Various identities are constructed in the textbooks under investigation.

One of the main reasons for this project is to understand why certain identities are constructed the way they are. In order to understand identity construction, I use a poststructuralist theory of identity and discourse. This theoretical framework provides me with the conceptual tools to make sense of my data and is organised into three sections.

In the first section, key concepts of poststructuralist theories on identity and discourse will be outlined. The next section delineates identities in a South African context and here the laws and ideologies of apartheid will be discussed. In the third and final section I discuss the notion of child and childhood and draw on theories that describe how child is constructed. Philosophy for children will be included in this discussion as it forms an important part of the image analysis which is to be found in later chapters.

2.2 Poststructuralist theories on identity and discourse

2.2.1 The Foucauldian perspective

In order to understand how identities are structured through social and historical processes I begin this section by examining key Foucauldian terms focusing on the relationship between discourse and identity construction.

Foucault considered that human subjects are produced and not simply born; how the subject comes to be produced is in, and through, discourse because we are situated in different discourses. Identities can be understood as multiple, discontinuous and these identities are constructed by the social historical conditions of our lives.

Discourse, for Foucault, "refers to groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking" (Rose, 2001, p.136). In other words, a discourse is specific knowledge about things in the world and this knowledge shapes how we understand the world around us.

For Foucault, discourses are bodies of knowledge; and within the discourse, are disciplines that produce different meanings and subjectivities. For example discourses that led to the emergence of education as a discipline enable the subject position of a

principal, teacher and learner to appear. "Thus discourses produce subjects through the forms of knowledge associated with them; additionally discourses also provide subject positions from which their particular knowledge and meanings most make sense" (Hall, as cited in Ferreira, 2012, p. 31).

Foucault is clear in his theory of identity that discipline is a form of knowledge and this links in with his concern about power. Power and knowledge directly relate to the process of subject formation because discourse "is powerful, but it is powerful in a particular way. It is powerful, says Foucault, because it is productive" (Foucault, as cited in Rose, 2001, p. 137). Power then produces human subjects and produces a reality that provides discipline and specific ways of constructing and talking about the subject. Since discourses are found everywhere, it means that power is everywhere too and, because many discourses construct identity, one might find that discourses compete or resist each other. "Power allows for resistance in discourse to appear: where there is power there is resistance" (Foucault, as cited in Rose, 2001, p. 137). Power is particularly resisted when there are dominant discourses and this happens because many discourses push to create different effects. Dominant discourses occur in "socially powerful institutions - those given coercive power by the State for example such as the police, prisons and workshops, but also because their discourses claimed absolute truth" (Rose, 2001, p. 138). It can be understood that power is created through different institutions and therefore power produces knowledge and identities are constructed through the intersection of power/knowledge.

In society there are powerful discourses that produce social effects. These effects stem from the truth claims found in discourse. "The particular grounds on which truth is claimed and these shift historically constitute what Foucault called a regime of truth" (Rose, 2001, p. 138). Identity constructions - especially those that have been seen as obvious - have been produced according to a regime of truth.

To conclude on the Foucauldian perspective, our identities are constructed through discourse. The notion of discourse is constituted by power and/or knowledge and regimes of truth that work to produce identities. We make sense of who we are through

our social and historical locations that are underpinned by discourse. We are constructed by many discourses. However, not all discourses are accepted and many are the result of struggles and challenges we find in society.

2.2.2 Contemporary poststructuralist theories

In this research project, it is important to understand socially located categories of identity. Therefore I move towards a contemporary poststructuralist framework of identity. The theorists that I will be using take up a Foucauldian framework, but they are clearer in the relationship between discourse, identity and social subject positions that produce certain subjects. In this next discussion I draw on the work of James Gee who works intimately with discourses and gives further insight as to how discourses operate in everyday life. Stuart Hall is discussed for his work in representation, whilst Chris Weedon provides a feminist poststructuralist perspective.

In Chapter 4 identities will be categorised according to race, gender and geographical location. These factors predominate in the textbook. They are socially constructed occurrences that reflect the organising principles of our individual identities and our society as a whole. This research project is primarily based on an analysis of the images and not on the ways in which the subject positions they offer are taken up by the children. In the research project I seek to understand why images associated with specific children Black / White urban / rural or girl / boy are the way they are in the textbooks and what positions they make available for children to take up. To understand how these identities have been constructed in the post apartheid South African schooling context I will explore the notion of discourse and how it has come to operate in the production of identities.

According to Gee discourses are a sort of "identity kit, they are ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes" (Gee, 1990, p. 142). Discourses are, therefore, ways in which we express our ideas, thoughts, values and beliefs. They govern our social practices and allow us to act in particular ways to others

and to ourselves. To be part of a discourse community means being part of what that particular discourse holds as valuable, the attitudes it accepts, the clothes that are worn.

> Discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or network (Gee, 1990, p.143).

We become members of many discourses; members of communities with many different attitudes, beliefs, values and social positions that influence who we are. Because the discourses we inhabit are often not consistent with each other, Gee argues that "there is often conflict and tension between the values, beliefs, uses of language and being in the worlds which two or more discourses represent" (Gee, 1990, p. 145). Not only are we part of many discourses but we also have a choice, to some extent, on what discourses to embrace.

So far, we have come to understand that identities are constructed in and through discourses and that a discourse may determine how we construct ourselves and others in society. In this investigation the specific discourses of race, gender, location and child are analysed as a means through which to read the visuals as these discourses have constructed the identities found in the images that are being investigated. The different discourses found in the textbooks position child in different ways and open up a range of possible subject positions for the child to take up or reject.

An important point to note here is that discourses have limits and constraints. People may be restricted within a particular discourse. Gee claims that "discourses are intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society… as discourse can lead to the acquisition of social goods (money, power status)" (Gee, 1990, p. 144). Therefore, within a discourse, one will find that they are positioned in a superior way at the expense of others in order to serve particular interests.

Gender and race are biologically grounded signifiers of social and cultural differences. In this section I focus on gender. However, both categories of difference can be understood through a poststructuralist lens as the theory challenges identities that are constructed as commonsensical and static. Therefore what is implied for gender can be implied for race. The writings of Weedon challenges the ways in which women are produced and, as a poststructuralist theorist, she develops the notion of discourse. In societies we have come to define difference by comparing one to the other. However the difference has led to unjust divisions between subjects. In the discourse of gender, women have become the 'other' of men and this difference is based on binary oppositions and a relationship that is hierarchical. Weedon argues that "there is no such thing as a natural or given meaning in the world, meaning is an effect of language and as such always and historically and culturally specific" (Weedon, 1999, p.102). The discourse of gender is rendered meaningful through different cultures and is, therefore, not fixed or static. Particular meanings are produced in institutionally located discourses as Foucault explained; and the powers that work within these institutionally located discourses are sites for political struggle. "This struggle involves the defining and contesting of differences in discourse which have different degrees of power to shape social relations" (Weedon, 1999, p. 103). Who women and men are and the roles that they are positioned in are not fixed and natural. The discourse of gender, which holds certain powers, allows socially recognisable identity positions and this process is historicised as available positions differ from moment to moment and situation to situation.

> An important focus of feminist poststructuralist analysis has been to deconstruct the binary oppositions on which traditional ideas of difference rest. The process of deconstruction reveals how binary oppositions are not expressions of natural order, but rather discursively produced under the specific historical conditions (Weedon, 1999, p. 105).

The meanings of female, Black, child and working class are thus cultural and they change. In a poststructural theory "identities are never unified, they are increasingly fragmented, multiple and constructed across intersecting discourses; they are constantly in the process of change and transformation" (Hall, as cited in Ferreira, 2012, p. 28). Individuals are multiply located, people are simultaneously raced, classed, gendered and so forth.

To conclude, the traditional theories of identity include identities that have been naturalised and fixed to different degrees. A poststructuralist approach challenges primitive notions of identity, and suggests that discourses can be disrupted and questioned.

2.2.3 Identity and Representation

Different communities are found in the images that are in the Afrikaans textbooks under investigation. How meaning is produced and exchanged in the images can be understood through theories of representation. In this section I discuss Stuart Hall's notion of representation and show how representation works in creating meaning in the language of images. The semiotic approach by Ferdinand Saussure is explored as it had a major influence on the analysis of images.

> Representation is the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the real world of objects, peoples or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events (Hall, 1997, p. 17).

According to a constructionist approach to representation what we see, imagine or write is represented through images, words or objects. However, these things are only rendered meaningful in language. By language I mean various representational systems such as codes, signs or words and things functioning as signs.

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Saussure (1976) argues that language is a system of signs and that these signs function within language. In this theory "the sign has two elements: the signifier is the concept in your head with which the form is associated and the second element (is) the signified, the corresponding concept that triggered off in your head" (Saussure, as cited in Hall, 1997, p. 31). For example if you read the signifier of a word that has woman, it correlates with the signified of the concept of long hair, a dress and painted finger nails. Saussure argues that "both are required to produce meaning but it is the relation between them, fixed by our cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representations' (Hall, 1997, p. 31). In this theory we find that representation of identities is based on how we are taught to make meaning, thus the image we find in our heads must correlate with the concept that is associated with it. Our cultures construct certain identities which we are taught and at most times are fixed. However, the signifier and the signified will differ depending on the culture.

This means that representations will differ from one culture to another and meaning is not actually fixed.

Roland Barthes' theory on representation argues that there is more to the signified than just the sign. He argues that there are denotative and connotative levels of meaning. "Denotation is the simple basic, descriptive level where consensus is wide and most people would agree on the meaning ('dress', 'jeans'). At the second level – connotation - these signifiers which we have been able to 'decode' at a simple level by using our conventional conceptual classifications of dress to read their meaning, enter a wider, second kind of code - the language of fashion- which connects them to broader themes and meanings" (Barthes, as cited in Hall,1997, p.38). In the example of the signifier and signified a woman was used. To explain the idea of denotation and connation, I re-use the example of a woman. On a denotative level, some would agree that women have long hair, wear dresses and paint their nails. On a connotative level, the women would be described as feminine, mother and caretaker. Hall (1997, p. 38) claims that connotation moves away from obvious interpretation and begins to be interpreted in the wider sphere of social ideology and the value systems of society. Representations of

images and words etc have different levels of interpreting the images or texts. We find that, in the denotation and connotation concept, the meaning is deeper than just the sign it has. Identities found within specific images or texts may have denotative or connotative meanings and identities found within a connotative level produce culture and knowledge.

Identity construction cannot happen outside of representation. Cultural signs and codes work within language and language is made meaningful through representation. Identities that are found in the textbook are represented through images with certain codes and signs which allow the reader to make sense of South African society.

2.3 Apartheid

South Africa faced many years of discrimination and oppression. This can be traced back to the years of colonisation followed by apartheid. The country's identities are therefore, not only influenced by apartheid but colonisation too, which set the tone for certain people to be treated and positioned in specific categories. This section discusses apartheid and how it produced identities based on race, gender and location.

Apartheid's policy was mainly based on race: people of the country were classified in accordance with the Population Registration Act of 1950 into four racial categories: African, Coloured, Indian and White. The first three categories fell under the heading 'non White' or 'Black'. What this Act implies is that categories of race are based on skin colour and ancestry which was used to determine the health, education, occupation, political status, residential area and final resting place of South Africans. In essence, the apartheid system and its segregation policy was to prevent racial mixing and maintain an all-White government where Whites remained White and White privileges were not shared. The lynchpin of the apartheid system was the Population Registration Act as race led to every other Act that would be made lawful. As van Zyl Slabbert concluded "the Population Registration Act is the generic act structuring racial privilege over a wide range of activities, it is in the competition for jobs, land, schools, houses, that the real sense of racial deprivation and discrimination is kept alive, nothing competes with the

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population registration act in drawing the racial lines of this conflict" (Van Zyl Slabbert, as cited in Welsh, 2009, p. 54).

Another fundamental pillar of the apartheid system that led to segregation and identity construction was the Group Areas Act of 1950. This act provided residential and business segregation of the different racial groups in every city, town and village. It was claimed by the Minister of the Interior that it was "designed to eliminate friction between the races all contact between the races must be avoided" (Welsh, 2009, p. 55). This statement verifies the fact that every racial group was put into different living areas to avoid contact.

The Job Reservation Act of 1956 allowed particular categories of work for a specific racial group. Since there was a huge influx of Black people to the cities known as the 'swart gevaar' (black peril) this act was a precautionary measure against inter racial competition. According to your race you were confined to specific jobs. The good and better paying jobs were meant for White people; Black people worked on the mines they were labourers or had menial jobs; Black women were domestic workers or worked in factories. Many Black people never found jobs that were high paying and many rural women found themselves working on farms under extreme conditions. According to Welsh "the core of apartheid was the attempt to thwart, neutralise or abort the African urbanisation that from segregationists point of view had begun to assume such alarming proportions" (Welsh, 2009, p. 57). The fear of the Black man having economic wealth sparked great emotions in White South Africans.

Separation extended to practically every sphere of society, including public facilities, restaurants, transport and schooling. South Africa, during this time, was truly separated and the separation gave privileges to the White race. "Racial domination rested not only on its political, economic, education and social pillars but also on what Steve Biko was to call 'colonisation of the mind' (Welsh, 2009, p. 49). This highlights that the laws implemented had a profound influence on the way that we thought about ourselves and others. The specific boxes of identity which determined our jobs, where we lived and where we could socialise had an impact on our social behaviour.

Apartheid power played out in the production of identity and created a divided society in which people had different access to knowledge and opportunities. What the power of the apartheid government created was "to construct dominant forms as the natural default position, with different forms constructed as other" (Janks, 2010, p. 103). Otherness was constructed in negative ways and ingrained with prejudice.

The political project of the State allowed for identities to be fixed. It created essentialised, homogenous identity categories according to race. Racist definitions of people who were classified as non-White were produced by means of binary opposites, where White was privileged over 'non-White': us / them; civilised / uncivilised, coloniser / colonised. Identities were static and normalised and this led to the formation of many stereotypes about races and gender due to the power of the White supremacist as well as the legislature of the country. Haymes further elaborates on this notion of identity formation by stating that "within the cultural logic of White supremacy difference is defined as the Black other. Black identity functions for White culture as a way to mark off differences and define White people as normal. In contemporary society this is how power passes itself off as embodied in the normal, as opposed to the superior" (Haymes, as cited in Janks 2010,p. 103).

The discussion so far on apartheid has centred on race and how identities were constructed through the discourse of race. In the next section, gender and location will be discussed in relation to apartheid. This discussion will show what identities were available for different subjects to take up during this period and this serves to help understand how identities have been constructed in the images.

2.3.1 Gender

The construction of gendered identities was influenced by colonisation, apartheid and African traditional societies. All three discourses construct gender of traditional ideas of men and women such as biological differences and patriarchy. Differences between men and women are hierarchal and formed on binary oppositions. To understand the

identities available during these periods that have influenced our societies today, I draw on (Walker, 1990) and (Weedon, 1999) to elaborate on gendered identities.

Davies (1989) confirms that there is a social order, as well as social structures, that work to position children into masculine or feminine individuals. Knowledge of gender and sexuality are socially determined by the people and social organisations that are most influential in a person's life. The identities constituted seem to be forced. During this time, difference is taken as one versus the other and led to social practices and the development of the social self. Based on feminine and masculine roles, this in turn led to a set of polarised binary oppositions. According to Weedon

"the feminine pole tends to be identified with a long list of predictable characteristics including lack of aggression, lack of independence, emotionality, subjectiveness and lack of confidence" (Weedon, 1999, p.10). These are the total opposite of the masculine pole. In South Africa, gender differences were practiced as many roles in society in the past were gendered. Men were leaders in government and women maintained the household and were seldom in positions of power.

One of the social structures that determined gender identities was the system of patriarchy. A patriarchal system is a universal one influenced by religion. It is also oppressive and dehumanising to women as it encourages the power of men over women. More specifically "it is the domination of the father within the household over women but also over sons and junior male kin. It has also become a widespread term for describing women's subordination to men and not simply to fathers" (Walker, 1990, p. 346).

"The patriarchal system meant that the proper place for White women centred on the domestic field of children and the kitchen, which was not part of the world of money and power which was the field of the man. Women were not really included in economic production as it was not recognized as feminine. The dominant ideology of colonial patriarchy stressed that women were not producers rather they were reproducers. Women of all races in the country suffered under the system of patriarchy even though

some were more oppressed than others, they all fell under the domain of domesticity" (Walker,1990,p. 88). In maintaining men's superiority over women the system of patriarchy infiltrated into all spheres of life such as sport, work, games, opportunities and education. Women were always encouraged and forced to maintain the domestic and feminine identities.

Walker (1990, p. 89) claims that apartheid further entrenched inequality through a combination of patriarchy and radicalisation. Employment was gendered, raced and classed. Black women were cleaners, domestic workers and tea ladies. Black men were physical labourers, gardeners and factory workers. White women were secretaries, clerical workers and teachers. White men had good paying jobs: they occupied most of the prestigious jobs available in the country from lawyers to doctors to school principals.

2.3.2 Location

Apartheid not only created a racial issue but a spatial issue too. Identity formation was based on the social control of belonging and exclusion. Social space played a key role in the production of identities in the country as, according to race, it determined where you could live and work.

> Work opportunities primarily on the mines led to the growing presence of Black people in the cities which led to the 'native problem' in the country. White people feared the Black existence because "White people considered cities their territory and cultural domain. It was important for whites to maintain what they saw as the civilized nature of cities so they could feel secure in their identity as civilized people and the presence of Black people was seen to contradict this civilized space (Ballard, 2002, p. 76).

On the contrary, it was believed that the rural, tribal homestead or kraal was the natural pastoral setting of Black people and that they could not cope with a civilised city life. The spatial issue in the country was therefore based on racial binaries of civilised and

uncivilised which stemmed from the racial mentality found in this country and, in order to uphold White superiority and Black inferiority, urban and rural areas took on racialised manifestations. "White people were seen to be at home in the cities and Black people were seen to be at home in the rural areas" (Ballard, 2002, p. 77).

As the cities grew so did the dependency for African labour. This meant a great number of Black people moved into the cities. Prior to apartheid the Native Land Act of 1913 created native reserves and allowed Black people to buy very small pieces of land. Cities were promoted as places for White people and this was found in the Urban Areas Act of 1923. The Native Administration Act of 1927 further kept rural and urban identities separate as Ballard (2002, p. 77) states that firstly it emphasized black customary laws instead of European laws such as lobola and polygamy. Secondly, the act encouraged blacks to maintain the traditional Native ways of life by geographically placing them in rural areas. Who black people are were found in their 'natural' rural lifestyles. The white government felt that urbanization would remove black people from their primitiveness and that civilization is foreign to the African person.

During apartheid the need for African labour increased and despite the fact that Acts were passed for Black people to remain in rural areas, Black people became urbanised. White people were dependent on Black labour in the urban areas as they ministered to White people's needs such domestic workers and working in White-owned industries. Even though the Black urban population was unwanted, it was bound to grow as they were necessary for the Whites. White superiority and Black inferiority needed to be sustained in the urban areas. Therefore the process of urban segregation took place. Black people were constantly reminded that their presence was temporary in the urban areas as they were put into certain locations and compounds and sent 'home' back to the rural areas or to the Bantustans when work was done. Spatial geographical Acts worked to keep Black people tribal and uncivilised and unwelcome in White urban communities and these reinforced rural identities. The urban and rural identities infiltrated into the discourse of class as many people who worked in the urban areas had working class jobs and were viewed as cheap labour. This was due to the Job

Reservation Act of 1956. This Act also meant that rural people were left with little or no income as the amount of land they had to work with was very unproductive and jobs were scarce.

Indian and Coloured people are also excluded from the urban identity as the Group Areas of 1956 Act affected all races. There are, however, poor Coloureds in rural areas.

White identities were produced out of the idea that their civilisation was found in the urban areas. This continued to keep the racial hierarchy that was found in the country by separating different race groups by location.

2.4 Child

The notion of child plays a fundamental role in this investigation. In this section I explore the notion of child and seek to find out what discourses are found surrounding child that influence how one constructs child and the type of education that children may be given.

The discussion looks at theories on child in order to give a history on how the discourse of child has been produced and how we as adults have come to think about childhood and child as a learner. I then discuss Christian National Education (CNE) as it formed the basis on how child was constructed and the type of education the child received in South Africa. Lastly, the discussion addresses Philosophy for Children and how this notion constructs child. Both Christian National Education and Philosophy for Children are important discourses to be discussed as they shape the data found in Chapter 5 of the investigation.

2.4.1 Theories on the construction of child

Children are all around us and who they are and what they offer in our lives is not only meaningful but necessary. According to Friqueqnon "we value childhood both for itself, as an age of uncorrupted innocence and also as a potentiality for a new generation that we hope will transcend our own" (Friqueqnon, 1998, p. 136). Children can possibly

become what we teach them and society has certain beliefs that may liberate or limit child in his / her process of becoming a flourishing adult.

 Many people who study child ask the question: what is child? No absolute definition is found in the discourse of childhood, but people have come to construct child based on historical and social structures. "The notion of child cannot be discussed outside the dimensions of childhood as a social phenomenon" (Ndofirepi, 2013, p. 70). Childhood is, therefore, a social category that produces certain identities and identity positions. Like other social categories such as race and gender, the notion of child is not a natural or a universal category that is determined on biological factors nor is it something with a fixed meaning. Rather, childhood is socially, culturally and historically variable. According to Haynes "the issue of culture is important, particularly when it comes to arguments about a child's freedom of thought and expression, voice and agency" (Haynes, 2009, p. 31). Childhood can be understood to differ from one culture to another.

A definition that focuses on what child is "focuses on common behavioral indicators and maturation and seems to require an emphasis on similarities between all children and differences between children and adults" (Haynes, 2009, p. 31). Defining children compared to adults, and asserting that all children are the same, leaves the notion of childhood to be fixed in its definition and a childhood experience to be defined according to what adults do and don't do.

> How child is positioned as a learner is hugely influenced by how childhood is constructed and different theories based on child will be discussed to show how childhood was constructed as these theories are still prevalent in society today. The most influential theorists are John Locke (1632-1704) and Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), who are Western educational philosophers who had certain ideas on who a child is as a learner. Rousseau argued that children learn in different developmental stages. Here he argues that human character should follow nature where children move from the simple to the complex and

concrete to the abstract. Locke had a different theory and he argued that children are, in a sense, empty and need knowledge to be given to them by the teacher. This implies that children may not have the capabilities to construct or make sense of the world on their own. Children are considered to be a clean slate (tabula rasa)' (Haynes, 2009, p.31).

Followers of the development psychology perspective argued that adults are in a position to know what children need or think and this idea stems from positioning children as objects of research and teaching. This perspective creates the binary oppositions that exist in society based on child and adult and ultimately adults are positioned as the ones who are in power.

The theories that were discussed above contrast sharply with John Calvin who saw "childhood as a necessary evil to be passed through as quickly as possible" (Haynes, 2009, p. 30). His doctrine leads to the next discussion found in this section which looks at Christian National Education and Bantu Education.

2.4.2 The construction of child in a South African context

In the previous section we learnt that childhood differs from culture to culture and that child is either a blank slate or develops in stages according to nature. In this section we look at two ways the apartheid system constructed child. Firstly, Calvinism and its influence on education and, secondly, Bantu education and how it constructed the Black child.

2.4.2.1 Christian National Education

Christian National Education (CNE) was a philosophy created by the apartheid regime and had a major influence on South African education. The principles of CNE are based on John Calvin's religious doctrine and will be discussed to show how child was constructed as a learner.

The philosophy of CNE is directed towards Afrikaners and is founded on Christian and National principles. "CNE is a twentieth century extension of the logic of Calvinism" (Hofmeyer, 1982, p. 27). The apartheid government used CNE to promote Afrikaner nationalism as well as to defend their reasons for racial discrimination.

Calvinism had certain principles and these influenced the construction of child and educational aims. According to the theology of Calvin:

> (God) adopts his children such as he foreknows will be deserving of His grace, and devotes to the damnation of death others, whose dispositions He sees will be inclined to wickedness (Lewin, as cited in Hofmeyer, 1982, p. 28).

For Calvin, God and the word of God was supreme and was meant to influence all aspects of life. Most importantly he "defined the relationship of the state and the church as close. He maintained that the church and the state were separate domains that should assist and not compete with each other" (Rose & Tunmer, as cited in Hofmeyer, 1982, p. 29). Therefore the Calvinistic ideas based on God permeated to schools which had to maintain principles of God.

> According to CNE principles, the view of child is influenced by Calvin's beliefs children possessing, within them the seed of sin, must be moulded and guided in the right direction by adults: in the child's condition of unripeness, his dependence, his ability to learn by experience, his docility and his imperfection lie in the possibility and necessity of all teaching and education (Hofmeyer, 1982, p. 30).

In this idea, the construction of child is based on the religious idea that child needs to be shaped in all good values and moral ethics. The child cannot do this on his or her own and the child is not allowed to question anything. Hofmeyer (1982, p. 30) claims that Learning becomes teacher centred thus making the teacher authoritative and the learner a respectful and obedient recipient of knowledge.

2.4.2.2 Bantu Education

Education for Black people in South Africa was vastly different from that of White people. Msila (2007, p. 147) states that pre-apartheid, missionary education was constituted as a means of educating black people. Even though both the Dutch and the British colonised Africa the British had a bigger influence on the education of black people received prior to apartheid. The educations of black people by British colonisers were used as a means of spreading their language and traditions as well as social control. Education therefore included learning Christian philosophy; however the intention behind missionary education was to spread the western way of life to backward Africans. From missionary education we learn that there were certain goals kept in mind concerning black people and the education they received. The Afrikaner on the contrary had a different view on black education.

When the apartheid government came to power in 1948, black education was understood through the Bantu Education Act of 1953. In this Act, education for Black people was based on keeping the social order of the country and retaining Bantu culture

> Educational practice must recognise that it has to deal with the Bantu child, i.e. a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with knowledge of Bantu Language and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education (Hofmeyer, 1982, p. 36)

The Bantu child was therefore constructed within an identity that was limited to Bantu culture. Child was seen as one who should not embrace other forms of knowledge except the knowledge meant for a Bantu child. Due to this construction of child as a learner the Black child received a specific education "In the first four years of schooling the curriculum only taught the three R's through the medium of the mother tongue, languages such as Afrikaans and English were taught simply, religious education and

singing was included in the curriculum" (Hofmeyer,1982, p.37). Apartheid education influenced all races in the country as Msila (2007, p. 147) claims education enhanced the divisions of society and reinforced the inequalities of a divided society as schools under apartheid education were divided according to race and this determined the type of education you would be given. According to Apple "many people deemed the apartheid curriculum irrelevant and monocultural since it served to strengthen the citizenship of one race over others" (Apple, as cited in Msila, 2007, p. 146).

CNE and Bantu Education both had serious implications on the construction of child as a learner. The apartheid child was limited in agency, voice, expression and choice. Both ideologies limited the child in terms of education. Authoritative teaching as well authoritative pedagogies led to a learning experience where the child did not actively participate and were different curriculums were used to construct certain forms of identity.

2.4.3 Philosophy for children

This section discusses Philosophy for Children (P4C) and how this notion constructs the child as learner. P4C is been included, as P4C teaches us that children can think beyond the curriculum content and that they are able to contribute in the process of making sense of particular issues. Therefore tools used in P4C lessons such as picturebooks push children in a direction where their interests and visual capabilities are built on and extended in order to get the most out of lessons that teach controversy or work with hidden messages. I will give a concise explanation on what P4C means and how it contributes to the field of education. Since this investigation focuses on child in terms of what the child can bring to education I do not focus on every principle of P4C but emphasise the ideas of how child and education can work together to produce a productive learning experience.

The child as a learner is constructed differently from the traditionalist theories on childhood and what child is capable of. The notion of Philosophy for Children constructs child as one who is able to contribute, philosophise and confront controversial issues.

The teacher who is found in a philosophical environment can create thoughtful lessons that challenge the learner in terms of intellectual abilities.

"P4C is an approach to teaching that encourages questioning, critical thinking and open dialogue in a classroom community of enquiry" (Haynes & Murris, 2012, p.1). In a community of enquiry, the child is not constructed as in need of correction and dependent on adults to be told what to think. Children are seen as people who have the freedom of thought and are able to express themselves on many issues that are censored in society such as sex, love, death and what's fair or not. P4C argues that "when children are provided with genuine space to express their ideas, their thinking and talking can help change the classroom from a place of instruction into a place where education is possible" (Haynes, 2009, p. 28).This notion is very different from old theories on childhood as well as the prevailing South African views on child.

P4C bases its theory of child on post-modern theorists' views on education and one such example is the work of Kennedy and Kohan (2008),who argue that "childhood is not an absence of power but a singular mode of practicing power" (Kennedy & Kohan, as cited in Haynes & Murris, 2012, p.163). Childhood can be described according to this theory as the space where children explore sophisticated ideas by taking authority over their thoughts. One of the ways that authority is put into practice is through picture-books which encourage philosophical ideas and thinking.

> Philosophy thrives on the capacity to re-describe, to imagine the possibility of things being otherwise. Creative and imaginative thinking are associated with the ability to think freely without the constraints of given theory about the explanations of events, as well as the ability to construct 'other worlds', all strengths when it comes to philosophizing (Haynes & Murris, 2012, p. 142).

Therefore picturebooks and the visual characteristics found in a picturebook allow children to think freely and construct other worlds as the images don't just serve a technical purpose but contribute as creative ways to develop thinking. (See Chapter 5)

Education is an area that concerns children profoundly. Past experiences found in the education system in South Africa have had weighty impacts on lessons and how child participates in the classroom. P4C allows teachers in a classroom that moves away from authority to reciprocity, where the teacher listens to the voice of the child and includes the child as a participant in his or her learning experience.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Research design

3.1.1 Critical discourse analysis

3.1.2 Reading images

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 The textbooks

3.2.2 The picture books

3.2.3 The images

3.3 Data analysis methods

3.1 Research Design

3.1.1 Critical discourse analysis

The aim of this research is to investigate the identities available to children found in the images in two Afrikaans textbooks, making this content based research. The research design used is a content analysis approach using qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

The focus of this research project is on identity and how certain socially constructed discourses construct identities in the images found in the two textbooks. Identities can be understood as ever changing therefore I analyse the images to investigate what discourses are available to children reading these textbooks and if the discourses available have possibly moved beyond apartheid discourses that previously existed in the country. The discourses are established and analysed through social categories that are influenced by a political and social context, the discourses include race, gender and location. In order to understand the images and what discourses are available in the

images the content analysis approach is supplemented by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as presented by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1995, and 2003). CDA "is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (T.A Van Dijk, as cited in Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001, p. 352). It is therefore CDA that is ideally suited for this type of content based analysis.

According to Van Dijk (2001), Fairclough and Wodak summarize the main tenets of CDA which are: 1. CDA addresses social problems, 2. Power relations are discursive, 3. Discourse constitutes society and culture, 4. Discourse does ideological work, 5. Discourse is historical, 6. The link between text and society is mediated, 7. Discourse is interpretative and explanatory, 8. Discourse is a form of social action.

CDA is useful as it enables me to focus on socially constructed discourses and unpack the identities found in the discourses. The images in the textbooks are used to find the possible social discourses and the links between text and society.

Specific images in the textbooks are analysed. These images include the identities of children only and are analysed in terms race, gender and location. These are the categories that emerged as predominant in the content analysis.

I will be looking at the degree to which the images reproduce hegemonic socio historical ideas and the degree to which the images correspond to, or challenge, discourses of power within which dominant apartheid and post apartheid discourses are reified.

How CDA will be used will be discussed in 3.3, Data analysis methods.

3.1.2 Reading Images

I use the theory of Kress and van Leeuwen in order to understand how images work and what purpose they serve in textbooks. In the section of analysis that particularly deals with Philosophy for Children, images in the picturebooks that are often used in

P4C lessons are compared to those of the textbooks. As Saussure (1976) shows, we can often understand signs in contrast to what they are not.

In many textbooks writing remains the dominant mode of learning where most images function as illustration, decoration and information. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that images can communicate knowledge and don't have to be specialised in their representation.

> Today children are exposed to a number of images through the media that are sophisticated, eye catching that involve a complex interplay of written texts and images; these images are referred to as multi modal images; more so any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic code is multimodal. Multimodal images don't seek to see the picture as an illustration of the verbal text, thereby treating the verbal text as prior or more important, nor does it treat the visual and verbal text as entirely discrete elements. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177).

This means that the written work does not have to be more important than the images, if it is considered more important it leaves the images to serve a technical purpose. Written text and images can work together; they can be integrated to form a learning experience that does not favour the one over the other. Images will therefore serve to allow the child to question, challenge, use their imaginations and enjoy what visual imagery can bring to learning. On this premise I base my analyses of the images.

Multimodal images include different artistic techniques such as the use of colour, horizontal and vertical lines, as well as images that have hidden messages and that are creative, interesting and thought-provoking. In essence, there is more to the picture than just the text it accompanies; the image does not have to show exactly what the text is saying.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 The Textbooks

The textbooks chosen are taken from the school where I had been teaching. These textbooks are the only books obtainable at the school therefore I was limited in the choice of textbooks that I could teach from. Although the stories in the textbooks were interesting, what really interested me were the visuals found in the textbooks. I looked at the images and was surprised at how children are positioned. I have therefore sought to investigate the images and find out what identity positions to the visuals offered for children to take up.

Two Afrikaans textbooks from two different grades will be used in this analysis

Textbook 1: Latti, M., and Gouws, S. (2000). *Nuwe Afrikaans Sonder Grense Graad 4*; age of learner in Grade 4

Textbook 2: Latti, M.; and Gouws, S. (2005). *Nuwe Afrikaans Sonder Grense Graad 7 Tweede Addisionele Taal*; age of learner in Grade 7

The textbooks chosen are from two different grades the beginning of the intermediate phase to the end of primary schooling. The importance of this is to see if there are any developments or limitations in terms of identity at these different stages in the Afrikaans textbooks. Secondly the textbooks are chosen because both are published after the apartheid era and interestingly five years apart from one another. The grade 4 textbook is published in 2000 and the grade 7 textbook published in 2005. Because the textbooks are years apart it helps to show if there are any fundamental differences in identity construction from the year 2000 to the year 2005.

Both textbooks are written by the same authors and this created limitations on my research. I found that not working with other textbooks written by different authors I was unable to experience different imaginations, biases and voices that could be found in other Afrikaans textbooks. I missed out on the benefits of other author's views on identity construction. To a certain extent I found that working with the same authors

made it possible to examine whether or not the authors constructed identities suitable to children of different ages and grade levels.

3.2.2 The Picturebooks

The picturebooks chosen for this research show immense artistic detail and serves to demonstrate a possible way of designing and choosing images for children to enjoy and learn from. Both picturebooks have been used for reading P4C. They are included as a point of comparison with the textbooks in order to investigate a different orientation to visual representation.

The two picturebooks were written by different authors these include

Picture book 1: *Voices In The Park,* Author: Anthony Browne, Published: 2001

Picture book 2: *Tusk Tusk**,* Author: David McKee, Published: 1978

Both picturebooks images will be analysed and discussed in order to show the difference in visual design between the textbooks and picturebooks.

3.2.3 The images

The images used for the analyses are the focal point of this assignment. What identities the images produce or reproduce are the focus of this research. The textbooks images include drawings, illustrations, and photographs. Only images that have children depicted in them are analysed in order to make the data set more manageable and because they offer identity positions for the learners to take up. The accompanying verbal texts will not be analysed unless they anchor the image.

3.3 Data analysis methods

The images found in the Afrikaans textbooks and picturebooks are analysed to find how images position child in terms of specific categories and secondly to find if images are visually pleasing. In order to determine what is available in the images in terms of social categories and design a quantitative method of research is used. Chapter 4 deals with

images from the Afrikaans textbooks only that look the social categories and how they work to position child, Chapter 5 includes images from the textbooks and picturebooks and are analysed according to form and design. Both chapters seek to find how child is constructed through what is available for them to visually engage with.

The quantitative methods of the research project are found in the numerical count that is done of all the images found in the textbooks and picturebooks. The images found in the different categories; race, gender, location is found in chapter 4 and kinds of images are found in Chapter 5. All categories are counted to establish quantity of representations in the textbooks. Tables are used to represent the numerical count of all the images and this found in Chapters 4 and 5. The tables are used to help inform what identities are numerically available and what kinds of images are represented. The Grade 4 images were counted and analysed separately from the Grade 7 images in order to determine the differences between the two textbooks. The social categories are:

Race: All race groups were analysed in all the images. These included White, Coloured, Black and Indian. Races were analysed on physical signifiers such as skin colour and hair texture as well as on what they were seen to be doing in terms of work, play, social activities such as sport or cultural, where they lived and what they did where they lived. The limitations found in race were that it was difficult to analyze physical signifiers.

Gender: Girls and boys were analysed on the activities, sports, preferences in different things to do and the different roles that were available to them. Physical features and appearance such as clothes and accessories were used to determine the different sexes.

Location: This category looked at urban and rural images. The images were analysed according to rural and urban signifiers which included housing, background, transportation, names of rural areas and activities found in rural or urban settings. Images were also intersected with race to determine who was constructed as rural or

urban child according to race. Location was also used to find the discourses that characterised class.

All social categories intersected as human subjects are over determined.

In chapter 5 images are analysed based on the quality of the images. The Grades 4 and 7 Afrikaans textbooks are compared to the picturebooks in order to find out if the images found in the textbooks are visually creative or have visual characteristics like the picturebooks. The analysis specifically looks at images in relation to type, form and medium. Tables drawn from the numerical count based on the textbooks help with the comparison between the picturebooks and textbooks. The tables are divided into; drawings: which can either be black and white or colour as well as photographs: which can be black and white or colour. The number of drawings and photographs also contribute to how the images are compared to the picturebooks. Everything about the images is analysed: the colour, artistry, the quality of paper, the sophistication of the drawings and photographs and the overall feel of reading the visual images in the textbooks and picturebooks.

This study also produces an interpretative analysis of the textbook data using discourse analytical tools informed by Fairclough's model for critical discourse analysis. See Figure A below. As mentioned before the use of this model is to analyse different discourses that are found in a society as it is through language that the transmission of discourse that the dominant ideologies in society are transmitted. Language through written texts or visuals is socially generated, socially transmitted and unequally distributed. It is through CDA that one can discover how language works to produce different discourses. In this research working with Fairclough's model seeks to expose the dominant ideologies found in two textbooks. Quantitative methods are also used in the research
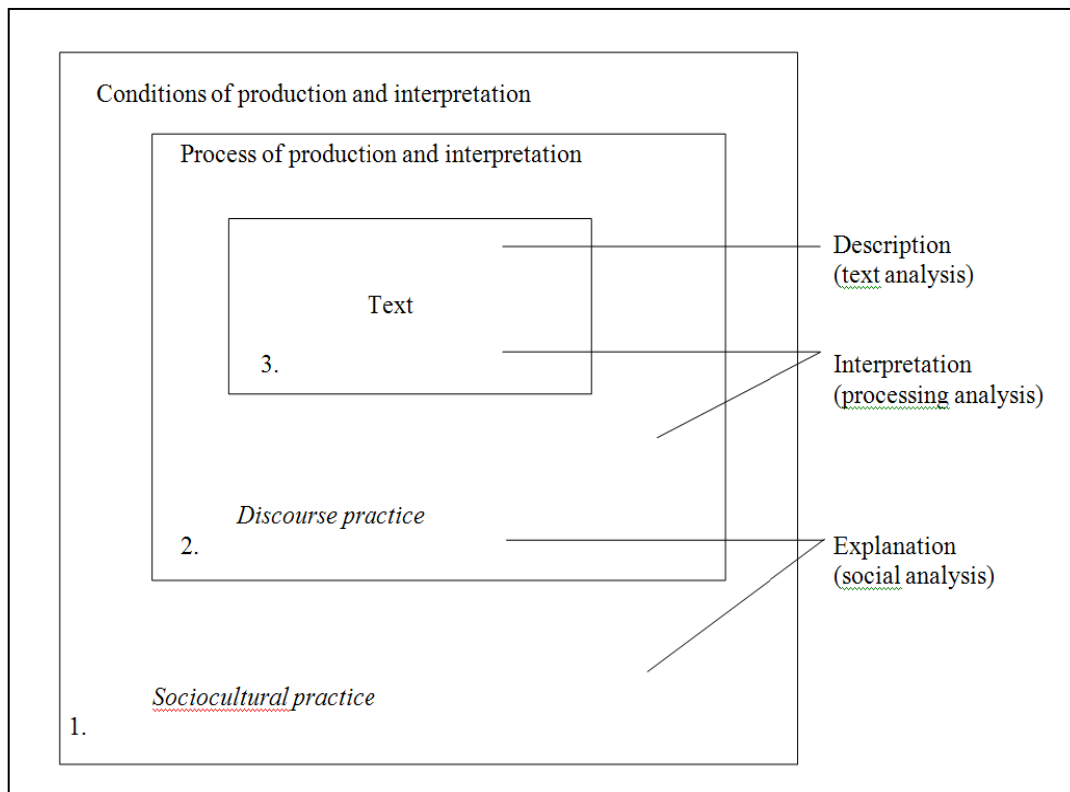
Figure A. *Fairclough's model of dimension of discourse and discourse analysis (as cited in Joseph 2012, p. 31)*

Below Fairclough's model of dimension of discourse analysis is described and discussed in relation to my research analysis of the images found in the two Afrikaans textbooks.

> Fairclough's model consists of three inter-related dimensions of discourse which are tied to three inter-related processes of analysis. The three dimensions of discourse are:
>
> 1 the object of analysis (language: including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts);
>
> 2 the process by means of which the object is produced (written, spoken, designed) as well as how it is received (read/listened to/ viewed);
>
> 3 the socio-historical and contextual conditions which govern these processes and establish what is considered truth.

According to Fairclough each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis:

1 text analysis (description)

2 processing analysis (interpretation)

3 social analysis (explanation) (Janks, 2010, p. 94-95).

The model in Figure A and the explanation that follow describe how I used CDA to find how discourses in the textbooks and picturebooks construct reality and work to position children into different discourses. This model allows me as the researcher to analyse the relationship between visual texts, interactions and contexts.

In this research project the object of analysis is the grades 4 and 7 Afrikaans textbooks and the picturebooks, where the images or visual texts are analysed. The description (text analysis) is found in appendix A and B, chapter 4 and chapter 5. This part of the model looks at what types of images are represented such as the design, when it was produced and who it was produced for. Thus the textbook and the images found is the product of social processes.

The interpretation (processing analysis) is again found in appendix A and B, chapter 4 and chapter 5. In the interpretation part of the model images are interpreted and analysed according to different categories in this research project. This is done as particular discourses are found within the different categories; the discourses also express the social meaning found in the pictures. The categories are; social categories: race, gender and location as well the category of design that looks at the types of images available to children. Every image was analysed and interpreted in the textbooks and images that are explicit in their representation found in the different categories of analysis are used in the discussion of the data. Each category is analysed, interpreted and discussed separately.

The socio-historical and contextual conditions which govern these processes and establish what is considered truth is found in chapter 2 the theoretical framework. All

theories are used to understand how child is constructed in the images. The social analysis (explanation) looks at the socio-cultural practices and the discourse practices found in the images. To explain what discourses are found in the images I discuss apartheid and what constituted apartheid that led to the production of certain discourses found in the social categories of analysis. A post structuralists lens is also discussed as it enlightens the reader to how discourses construct identity and how identities were constructed and how identities can be constructed. Philosophy for children and their idea of child and how child ought to be constructed also develops the explanation as to how child can possibly be constructed through the choice of visuals.

Most of the images found in the textbooks cannot be understood without reading the text. In the analysis, many images will be described as anchored by text. Anchorage means "the verbal text comes first and the image is used to illustrate what the verbal text is meaning" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 18). Anchorage is useful as it helps put most of the images in context and allows an understanding of the text and how the text works with the images.

At the end of this analysis, I hope to show that what we choose for children to connect to visually has a major influence on the identities that are available to them.

Chapter 4

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Analysis and discussion of images found in the Grade 4 and Grade 7 textbooks according to the following categories:

   4.2.1 Urban and rural

   4.2.2 Gender

   4.2.3 Race

4.3 Discussion of Data

4.4 Concluding comments

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the images that are found in the Grade 4 and Grade 7 textbooks are analysed according to categories of race, gender and location while recognizing that these overlap. Each category will be analysed to see if there are patterns of representations. The focus of this analysis is to establish whether, and how, such patterns move beyond the discourses of the past. The analysis will be informed by the theories on identity construction discussed in Chapter 2.

There are images in the textbooks of race, gender and rural / urban categories which are unclear and which are not able to be categorised. Therefore the numbers in the tables may lack accuracy.

4.2 Analysis and discussion of images found in the Grade 4 And Grade 7 textbooks according to the following categories:

Section 4.2.1: Urban and Rural

The tables below show the number of images found in the grade 4 and 7 textbooks that represent urban and rural images.

Table 4.1: Images representing Urban and Rural lifestyles in the grade 4 textbook

Image	Number
Urban	29
Rural	3

Table 4.2: Images representing Urban and Rural lifestyles in the grade 7 textbook

Image	Number
Urban	31
Rural	10

In the above tables the urban images total more than the rural images in both textbooks. The tables show that the textbooks have adopted an urban structure of representation and that rural images only make up a very small percentage in the representation. In the Grade 4 textbook all rural images are drawings, in the Grade 7 textbook nine images are drawings and there is one photograph of a rural child. The over use of rural signifiers in both textbooks implies the backwardness or the lack of sophistication that rural children are depicted to live with.

The predominant signifiers for rural life are farmlands, farm animals, trees (baobab) informal housing such as shacks and huts, and informal stores such as markets or farm stalls. Transportation includes bicycles or donkeys. Children dress in African attire and they are bare foot, clothes are torn. In most of the stories based on rural life, households are depicted with one parent usually mothers. These images can be found in Figure 4.1. The rural signifiers suggest that life in the rural areas is poor due

to the informal houses and means of buying and selling. Rural life is traditional due to a lack of technology (such as their modes of transportation), it requires hard work in order to survive and children have work responsibilities at a young age.

By way of contrast, signifiers for urban life are parks, sports fields, formal housing such as flats and urban schools, and townships. Transportation includes cars and bicycles which are used for fun. The dress code is modern. This suggests that urban life is more sophisticated and that children have more time to play. Urban life is represented as having easier accessibility to many things in life that allow people to thrive in a capitalist society.

The rural patterns in both textbooks use Black children in the majority of the images. When reading a text found in the Grade 7 textbook which accompanies a White rural image, we learn that the White child lives in a small town in a rural area. What's interesting is that the child enjoys the leisure activity of photography and this shows that the White rural child has an advantaged lifestyle despite living in a rural area; this image is found in Figure 4.2. All rural images of Black people depict them as poor and their means of survival are based on subsistence living. Play was not fully enjoyed as Black children were loaded with work responsibilities. No Coloureds or Indians are included in any rural representations.

Urban images found in the textbooks included all races. Urban images depict a lifestyle that includes a variety of sports, going to school, fun days at a market, job opportunities and job aspirations as well as learning about issues such as Aids. Life for the urban child is modern and sophisticated and their survival is easy. Children in the urban areas also experience inter-racial friendships. The difference between urban and rural is that urban includes all races and maintains a middle class identity. Rural excludes other races and no White child in rural images is represented as poor. These patterns are exemplified in Figures 4.2-4.3
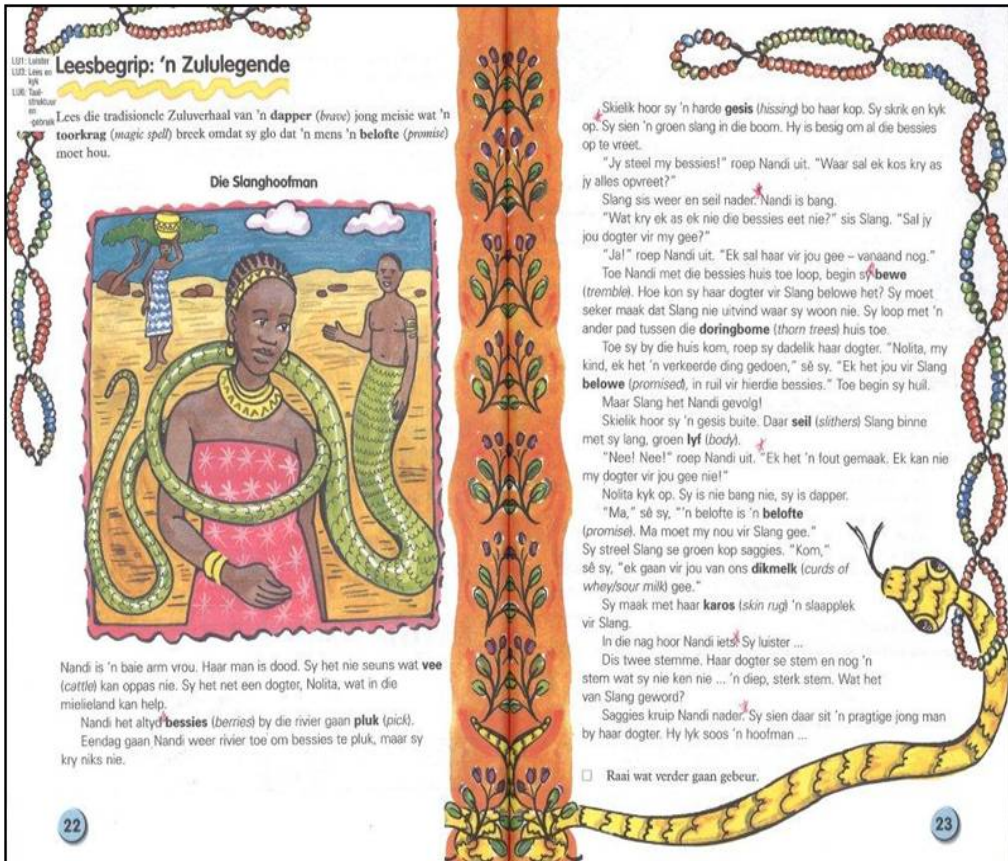
Figure 4.1: page 22-23 Grade 7 textbook rural image - poor Black family
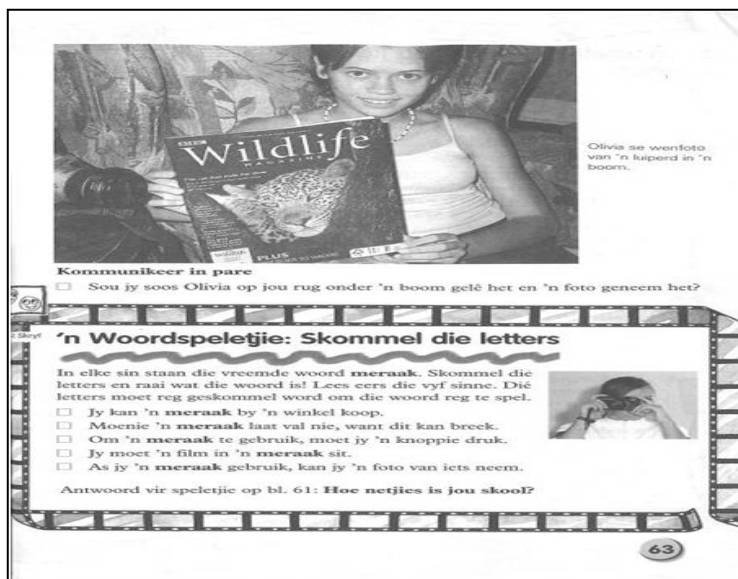

Figure 4.2: Rural image White girl as a photographer in a rural location page 63 Grade 7 textbook

Figure 4.3: Urban image: school children having fun at a market page 22 Grade 4 textbook

Two rural and two urban images will now be discussed in detail to show the specificity of these patterns.
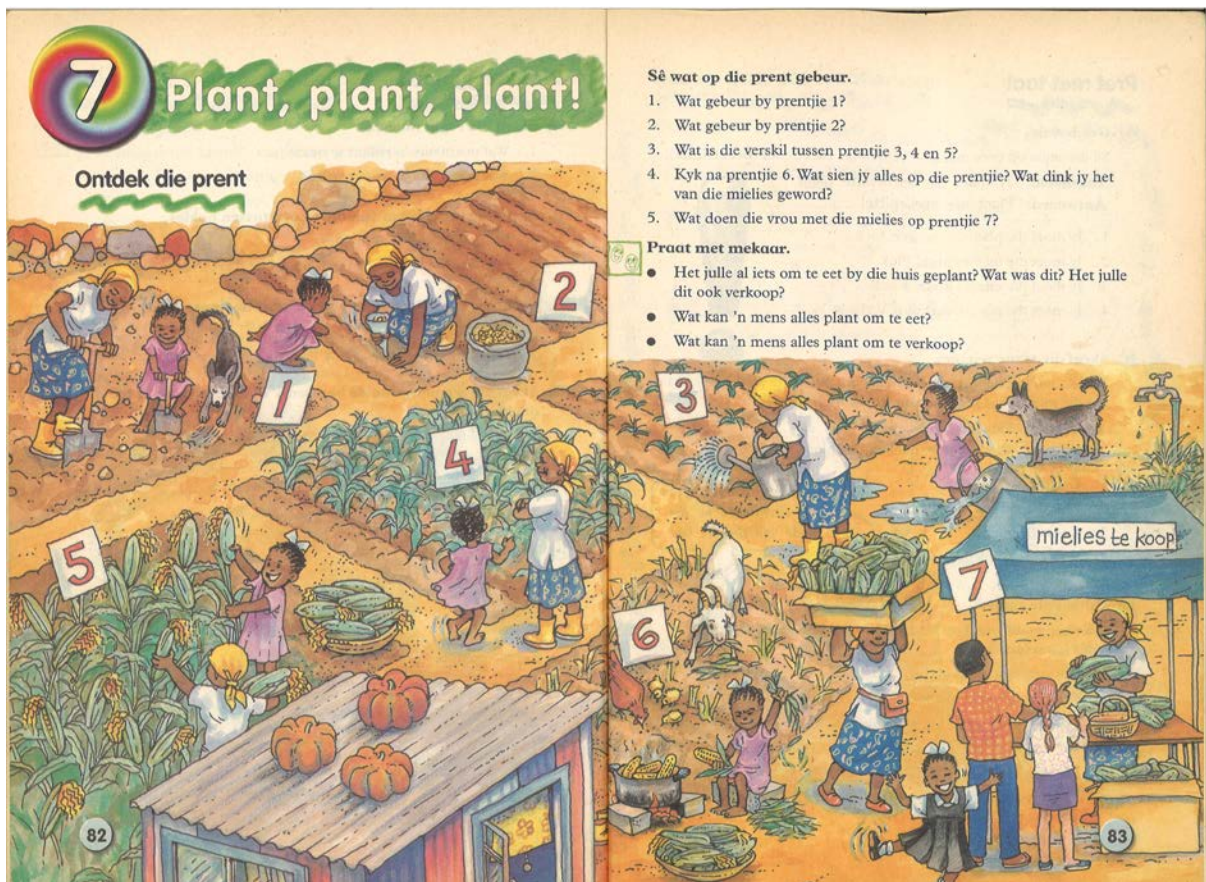
Rural

Figure 4.4: is an image from the Grade 4 textbook found on pages 82-83

The image is a drawing of a young Black girl helping her mother plant corn to sell at the market. In the image we see the rural setting of a goat, a farm and informal housing as the pumpkin holds the roof of the house down. The girl is also barefoot. The house is made out of zinc and appears to be a shack that has one room. There are seven steps to planting corn and, in all seven steps; the girl is smiling, showing that she is having a good time in her activities. In step 1: she digs up the soil with a spade; in step 2: she watches her mother plant the corn seeds; in step 3: she helps her mother water the soil; in step 4: she and her mother watch the corn grow; in step 5: they pick the corn; in step 6: she boils the corn on an open fire; and in step 7: the mother carries the corn on her head to a stall to be sold for cash.

This image represents the life of a young Black rural female child her farming activities represent her way of life and show that she needs to work on the farm. The informal house and their means of making money suggest an underprivileged lifestyle. Life in the rural area allows children to enjoy themselves as they attend to responsibilities. At the bottom right hand side of the image there is a drawing of a White girl with her back towards us. This image does not include her in the rural activities of farming, but rather depicts her with access to money to buy the products derived from the labours of the Black girl.
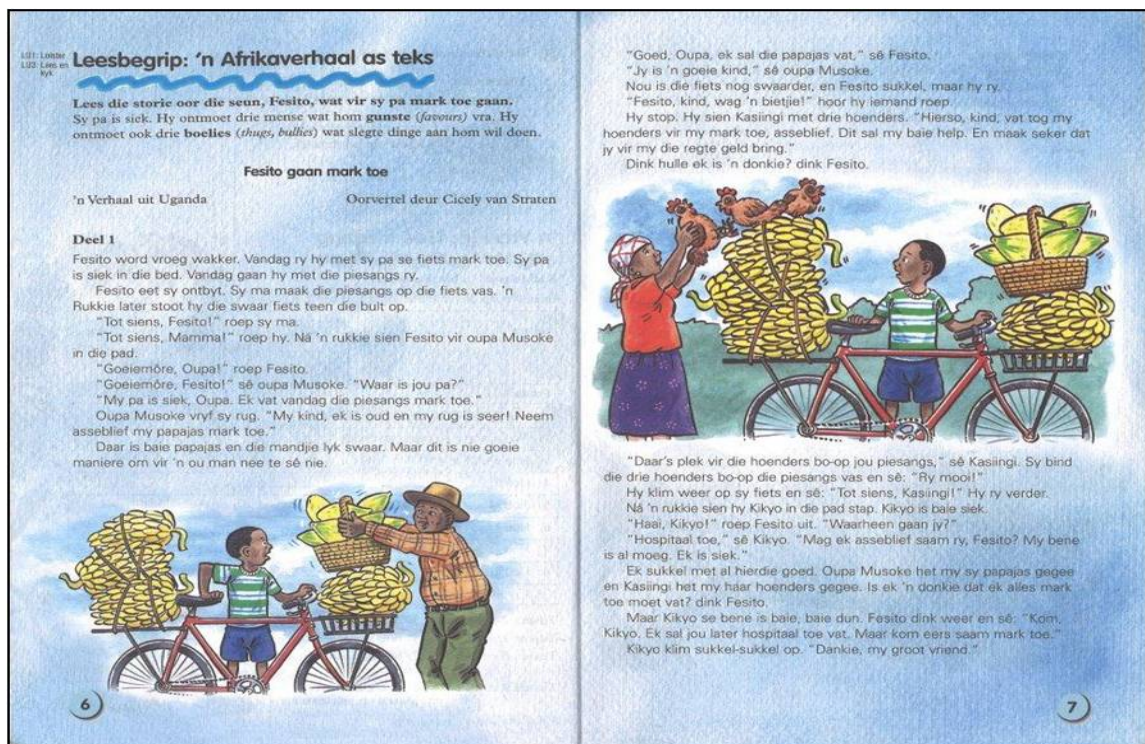

Figure 4.5: is an image found on pages 6-9 Grade 7 textbook anchored by text

In this image a young Black boy has the responsibility of transporting fruit for his family and neighbours to the local market to sell for money. The boy's father is sick and he takes on the role of going to the market. The image shows him helping an old man and a woman transport their fruit and chickens to the market. The story also describes his journey on his father's bicycle down a gravel road where he encounters a few problems such as bullies and a sick friend. The image represents a rural lifestyle for a young Black boy and in this representation life is seen as difficult. Firstly he makes money by selling fruit at a market and his means of transport is his father's bicycle thus showing that the bicycle is the only means of transportation. Secondly he is a child and he is responsible for maintaining the household. Life in a rural area is not easy as a working class income only provides for a certain amount of necessities.

Gender differences are also found in the images as they represent the different roles of boys and girls in rural areas. In Figure 4.4 the girl has more of a domestic role in comparison to the boy who has a more responsible role as he has to move out of the home to sell products.

Rural identities, as illustrated in both textbooks, emphasise that the discourse of a rural child is not only racial and gender based but identities are also signified by a lack of technology and modernity. As a result, life in the rural areas is ultimately traditional. It is of concern that, in both textbooks, the images used to represent rurality are of Black children. This a reflection of who our society believes rural people to be. It can be argued that, through these images, rurality and a working class standard of living is intended only for Black people.

Urban

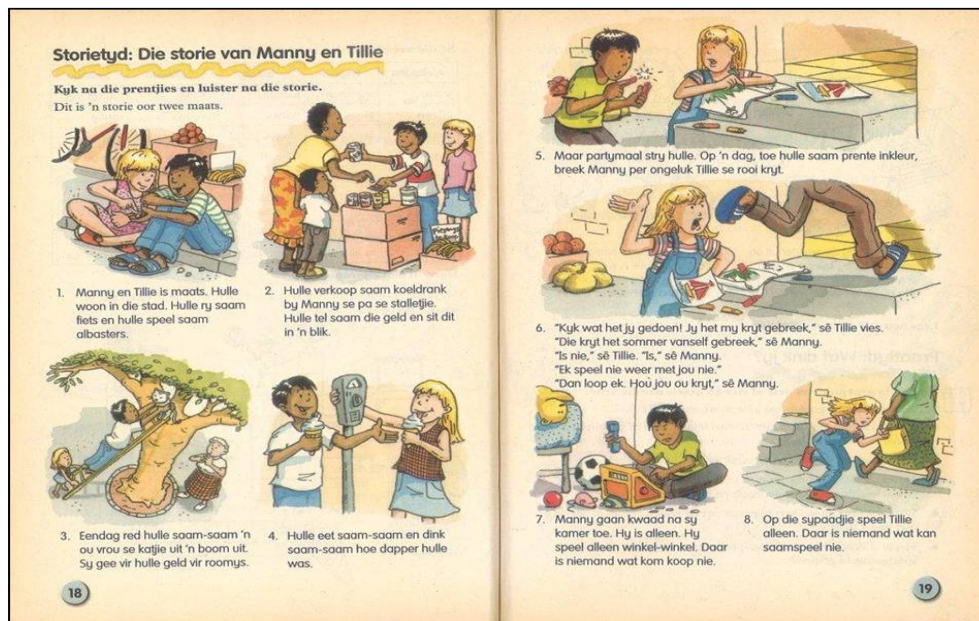The urban images chosen will show how different identities are constructed for urban children

Figure 4.6: is an image found on pages 18-19 Grade 4 textbook anchored by text

The images in Figure 4.6 are about two friends a Coloured boy and a White girl who live in the city. The text describes the many things they do together such as playing marbles, riding their bicycles together and selling cold drink together at the boy's father's stall. These images represent the activities that children can enjoy in an urban location. The set up is more diverse as more than one race is used in the image it's not exclusive to one race. In picture number 2 in figure 4.5 the children are selling things at the father's stall. In Figures 4.4 and 4.5, the children help their parents to sell fruit or corn to make money. These images show the differences between work and play in the urban and rural identities. Children in the urban image are selling foodstuffs for fun in order to make spare cash. This is clearly not a survival activity as they are not represented performing other work activities. In a rural location the children are shown to be labouring and working in order to help the family to survive.

Throughout the images, gender roles are highlighted. In the images the boy does most of the work such as saving a cat from up a tree or selling food at a stall; and they play games which are predominantly masculine, such as marbles. When the

two children fight in the last three images we see the children playing games that are gender suited which means games that are supposedly meant for boys and games that are meant for girls. The boy plays with his money machine and the girl plays hopscotch.

The child in the urban setting is represented as one who has less responsibility and more time to play. Nothing in the text explains a struggle to survive; none of the children have to work hard to make a living, the children are positioned in a space of privilege as they have a formal place to live, toys to play with, money to enjoy luxuries and time to enjoy each other's company. This image does not only represent an urban discourse but also highlights feminine and masculine roles as seen in the activities they perform.

Figure 4.7: is an image found on pages 50-51 Grade 7 textbook

Figure 4.7 is an urban image of a sports field and schools playground. The children have the options of enjoying swimming, athletics, tennis, netball, javelin, cricket, skipping, hopscotch, hand-clapping and soccer. There are a variety of sports to be enjoyed on the sports field and playground and the options available make this image exciting. All races are represented in this image and both girls and boys are

seen enjoying the sports and games available. Sports and games are gender specific for example soccer and cricket are played by boys, whilst the girls play netball and skipping.

Figure4.7 is an example of activities, sports and facilities available in an urban area. The image represents the access to facilities and the benefits for children who stay in the urban areas. The image gives the readers of this textbook an idea of what is possible in an urban setting. Again, as seen in the previous image the children are shown having fun without the burden of work responsibility. Different races are represented in the image which shows that an urban identity can be enjoyed by all races. However, when this image is compared to the rural image it shows the differences about what is available according to different locations, urban vs rural. For example, some of the sports facilities available in the urban area would unlikely be found in a rural setting. I don't think a tennis court would be found in a rural area but that does not mean that rural children couldn't try to play tennis on a grassed area or on a dirt road.

From the urban images selected it is evident that the urban child is shown as very different from the rural child. However the important issue in this section is to note that rural life is limited to one race only and this leads to unjust representation of rural identities, which in turn has serious implications on how children and adults construct the rural discourse.

4.3 Discussion of the data

Certain identities are produced through the urban and rural discourses found in the images. What concerns me is the construction of the rural child's identity in comparison to the urban child's. The urban population in South Africa was characterised by Whites leaving Black people in the rural areas. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Land Reform Act of 1913 and the Groups Areas Act of 1956 have influenced identities according to geographical space. Therefore Blacks living in rural areas are structural consequences of racist policies that existed in the country and the images used to depict rural life are not far from the truth. Many Black people do live in the rural areas, they are poor, life is hard, farming is important for their survival and all of this is due to a legacy of segregation based on location.

The critical point based on rural and urban identities is that we cannot limit the rural discourse to one race. In reality there are other racial groups that reside in rural locations and who struggle to survive such as the Coloured people who work on the wine farms in the Northern and Western Cape.

The images are problematic as, by excluding other races from rural images, they create the stereotype that only Blacks are rural and working class. They also create class distinctions between the urban and the rural people. The images represent rural as poor and Black and urban as middle class and more racialised. The incorrect conclusion is drawn that the White child is never constructed as poor or working class.

The textbook images allow racial prejudices to continue as the textbook has concealed the socio-historical origins of the urban and rural discourse. As mentioned before the structural racial policies had consequences and this is not discussed in the textbook and, because of the lack of history, reification is the product. Reification leads to naturalisation which means "socially constructed realities are presented as natural" (Janks, 2010, p.39). It has become natural that our understanding of rural identities is Black as this representation has not been challenged. To escape this naturalisation of rural identity our means of understanding our socio-historical origins need to be addressed. Children should be given a democratic space to deal with socially complex issues and the skills to reason, grasp and negotiate with societal issues of the country. Educational textbooks could be designed in a way that allows this to happen by means of redesigning images, texts and pedagogy so that learners are fully aware of, and are able to fully engage with, what the textbooks offer.

We can conclude that images of rural and urban identities not only essentialise identities but create a site for class struggle. Racial segregation in essence is the fundamental influence on how we position people from different locations. The geographical locations reinforce ideas about racial segregation, therefore showing that we still make sense of our society based on racial differences.

Section 4.2.2: Gender

The tables below show the number of images found in the grade 4 and grade 7 textbooks that represent gender images.

Table 4.3: Images representing Gender grade 4 textbook

Gender	Number
Boy	75
Girl	73

Table 4.4: Images representing Gender grade 7 textbook

Gender	Number
Boy	84
Girl	80

From the tables we find that there are more images of boys in comparison to girls. However the difference between the sexes is not great. The representation, to all intents and purposes, is equal.

Despite the numerical difference the fundamental issue with gender is how girls and boys have been represented in terms of their gender roles, which influences how the child constructs what it means to be a boy or girl.

Figure 4.8: Girls playing dress-up in women's clothes page 46 in the Grade 4 textbook

Figure 4.9: Mixed-sexed friendship groups singing page 6 Grade 4 textbook

Figure 4.10: is an image found on page 2-3 in the Grade 7 textbook

In the category of gender there are significant differences in the construction of roles for girls and boys. In this chapter I will argue that there are gender differences that have been reproduced in the textbook and that traditional thinking that existed on gender is still ongoing in the textbooks today.

Many of the images in the textbooks based on gender are not as explicit as the images you would find in magazines or newspapers that depict men and women. Images in the textbooks are simplistic in the sense that how gender difference is identified is through appearance, games and sports the children play and certain things they take pleasure in such as computers and listening to pop music. It would also not be possible to identify sex without the presence of gender signifiers such as hair and clothes.

The images that will be analysed are taken from the Grades 4 and 7 textbooks. Specific images are chosen and discussed in detail to show the dominant patterns of gender in the textbooks. Although the Grade 4 textbook has some gender clichéd images, the Grade 7 textbook has far more. Therefore more than one image from the Grade 7 textbook will be discussed.
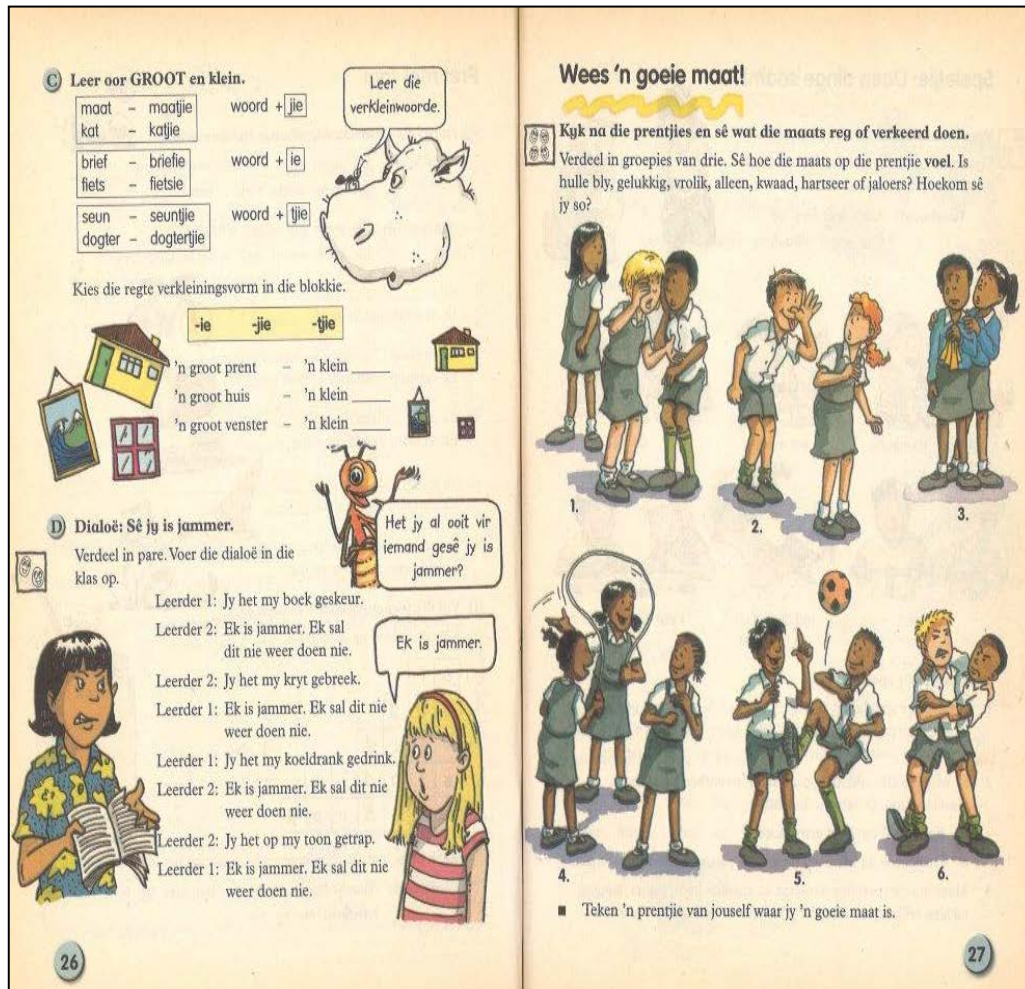

Figure 4.11: **is an image found on page 27 Grade 4 textbook**

Figure 4.11 is titled "Wees 'n goeie maat! Translated into English: Be a good friend! This image illustrates and discusses how to be a good friend and what it feels like to be treated in a friendship. The children represent feminine and masculine identities. As Weedon (1999) discussed there is a feminine pole that constructs women as emotional, showing lack of aggression and subjectiveness for example. The masculine pole shows boys as the opposite. These are binary opposites that exist in terms of gender and this shifts across all aspects of life such as sport, games, emotions and roles in society. In the following images these feminine and masculine roles are highlighted. In figure 4.11 picture 1 there are three children - two girls and a

boy. One girl and the boy are talking to each other as the other girl looks on. It seems that the two are gossiping as the girl's hand covers her mouth. The girl who is looking on seems to be in a vulnerable position. In picture 2 a young boy is teasing a young girl by pulling faces at her. She has her back turned towards him and her facial expression shows that she is upset as she is frowning. In picture 3 a girl is crying and another girl comforts her by putting her hands on her shoulders. In picture 4 there's a group of three girls with two of them holding a skipping rope. These two are gesturing to the third girl inviting her to join their skipping game. Picture 5 shows two boys having fun playing soccer. They're both smiling. In picture 6 two boys are fighting with each other. The boys must have had an argument or disagreement and this led to the male response of fighting.

The important point to be derived from this drawing is that the images on this page are gender specific as gender roles that are represented are typical roles of girls and boys. In Figure 4.11 pictures 1, 2, 3 and 6 demonstrate the emotional behaviours of girls and boys. In the pictures girls are represented as vulnerable and emotional as one girl is crying and another girl is being teased. Boys are represented as aggressive as they are fighting and teasing other children. The behaviours are the recognisable identities found within the gender discourse and are stereotypical representations. Pictures 4 and 5 are also gender specific representations through the games and sports children enjoy. Boys are playing soccer and girls are skipping. This image makes a clear distinction between what boys and girls enjoy physically and this, too, is a typical representation of gender games and sports. Children's identities based on gender roles follow the social order of how children from different genders should conduct themselves and this image reproduces typical unchanged gender identities.

Figure 4.12: is an image found on page 52 Grade 7 textbook

In Figure 4.12 three school girls are skipping, whilst the boy in the image stands and watches. In the image his hands are folded in front of him as he looks on and this could mean either that he is not interested in what's going on or that he is watching so he can learn how to skip. The image is anchored by a text and, on this page, children are taught to write sentences in the negative. On top of the image it is written: Wil die seun touspring? (Does the boy want to skip?) Nee die seun wil nie touspring nie. (No the boy does not want to skip.)

By looking at the image we are not really sure if he wants to skip; it is through the text that the gender assumption is made. The text showing that he does not want to skip reinforces the notion of gender preference in terms of games. Girls skip, boys don't.

The image reproduces the idea of what games girls and boys enjoy and maintains the social order in the gender discourse by excluding the boy from the skipping game and representing girls as the only children who can enjoy a game of skipping. The textbook may seek to maintain gender specific roles so that children know how to position themselves into masculine and feminine roles and, in turn, have recognisable identities within the existing social order.

Figure 4.13: **is an image found on page 69 Grade 7 textbook**

As I was analysing Figure 4.13 I found an activity that highlights gender differences and gender roles. The image is found on page 68 the left hand side of the page in Figure 4.13 and is not of an actual person. It shows utensils one could use to bake such as a whisk, measuring cups and a baking bowl. The passage describes how a child baked a cake for a competition and in the passage the child is sharing the recipe. Not surprisingly, the child described as baking the cake is a girl. The use of the girl's names Bronwyn and the pronoun 'she' establishes that this passage is about a girl.

Baking is seen as a common thing for girls and women to do. This passage and image therefore reinforces gender static identity for girls and in a way brings in the old stereotype that women belong in the kitchen. This idea of domesticity is found in a patriarchal system and this image emphasises that idea. A boy could have baked a cake too, but gender roles based on patriarchy make no exception for men to be found in the domestic field. Today there are many male bakers and chefs. Even media show a move away from women in the kitchen by having men in the kitchen, but the textbook has not embraced this notion.

In Figure 4.13 the right hand side of the page which is page 69, there is an image showing four boys playing a soccer game in a stadium with people cheering in the background. One boy is kicking the ball towards the goal posts while the other two boys are defending. No girls are included in the soccer game.

Figure 4.13 reinforces the notion that soccer is a male sport and therefore enforces the feminine and masculine discourses in the textbook which in turn fixes the identities of girls and boys. In the images found on soccer only boys are playing soccer As Davies (1989, p. 9) argues there is a social order and structures that work to position children to masculine and feminine. It is seen that soccer is a masculine sport and if girls partake in it they are considered to be rejecting the social norm or being unfeminine.

"Soccer in South Africa, as in much of the world, has been explicitly gendered as a male sport. The historical exclusion of women in South African soccer was instituted at the time of British colonialists" (Alegi, as cited in Joseph, 2012, p. 9); "In the late 1960's South African women collectively challenged the gendered boundaries within the sport and formed their own teams" (Pelak, as cited in Joseph, 2012, p. 9). Today the country has a national women's soccer team - Banyana Banyana - and many other club teams have participated. In many international games, however, media attention given to women's sport within the country is not nearly at the level or frequency of the positive promotion given to male sport. Joseph (2012, P. 9) claims this is because media coverage and advertising is solely focused on male sports it is difficult to promote female sports.

The important point to note here is that both males and females enjoy playing and watching soccer. However, sports played by men are far more popular than female

sports and the image used in Figure4.13 supports the social structure of male sport over female sport, therefore maintaining the idea of male dominance in society and sporting cultures.

Most importantly the construction of child in these images maintains the female and male dualism as inevitable as girls are limited to certain sports and the refusal of girls into the soccer discourse allows for female and male dualism to be reproduced. Instead of the images upholding gender inequalities in the textbook, the images could allow the learner to challenge unfair social practices in the country, thus leading to a generation of new discourses and therefore helping the readers of this textbook to understand that identities are not fixed.

Figure 4.14: is an image found on pages 66-67 Grade 7 textbook

Wees 'n wenner. Translated into English: **Be a winner**. Figure 4.14 is an image that talks about how to be a winner. In this image they advise the child to work hard and he/she will be a winner. A winner is described as someone who achieves something. The bottom line of the images is about choosing careers that will help you to be a

winner in life. These images, in combination with the text, have implications for gender identity together with implications for construction of race and class identities.

The image has six photographs of girls and boys. There are three boys and three girls as well as three White and three Coloured children. In the image they are describing their different career aspirations. The girls choose careers like modeling, teaching and ballet dancing. The boys choose careers such as architecture, racing car drivers and becoming a vet.

The career choices are stereotypical; the girls have chosen stereotypical female careers and the boy's stereotypical male careers. The divisions made between career choices maintain the social order of what is suitable careers for girls and boys and these are based on the intellectual and physical capabilities that society has given to different genders.

Discussion of data

In the representation of gender girls and boys are positioned differently with the constructed identities being unfair and closed to new possibility for gender roles. The images chosen show how fixed the identities are.

The images in the textbooks analysed show the emerging patterns. In both textbooks girls are represented as feminine according to the sports chosen such as netball, career choices and games played like skipping. One of the dominant signifiers of gender activities for girls is skipping. Girls are also seen as being emotional, lacking aggression and being submissive and subordinate. By way of contrast, boys are represented as masculine through their sports, career choices and emotions. Boys were represented as aggressive, strong, powerful and non-domesticated.

Images showing friendship groups displayed same sex friendships especially in the Grade 7 textbook. In the Grade 4 textbook mixed sex friends were shown more often, but there were exceptions particularly when sports and games activities were represented.

In the analysis of the images I found something interesting there were no Black children chosen to represent career aspirations. No Black children were positioned

as winners; the image consisted of White and Coloured children only. As discussed in the urban / rural images found in category 4.2.1 urban images represented the White child as middle class and the rural Black child as working class. By excluding Black children from urban middle class career choices they have excluded the middle class status from Black identities, again reproducing the ruling ideologies of class in South Africa. This leaves the Black child with a rural, racialised, gendered and working class identity.

The essential point at this stage is that identities found in the textbooks are limiting as they are distinctly gender based. Children have been positioned into female and male roles and have not been allowed to shift to a place where they are given other options to move out of the confining feminine or masculine stereotyped discourses. The structural consequence of the country's gendered past through patriarchy found in apartheid, colonisation and traditional African discourses where men are positioned as superior and women as inferior in terms of gender roles and activities have made gender identities appear natural and inevitable. Both the constitution and curriculum 2005 discussed in Chapter 1 mandate gender equality, yet the textbooks have not complied with this principle.

In order to change stereotyped gender identities, the textbooks have to have a closer look at gender by discussing and raising issues that expose gender inequalities in the country. Binary opposites between genders can be challenged by representing images and texts outside the norm. Careers could be chosen that are different from the social norm such as a male choosing to be a nanny or a girl choosing to be a taxi driver. Images in both textbooks could possibly compel the learners to explore such issues relating to gender by choosing images that illuminate the ideas and theories around gender inequalities. Here the aesthetic quality of images would play a vital role in allowing a wide range of questions and thoughts to surface. Through the choice of inventive images and texts, critical engagement could allow for interesting lessons for children and this will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Section 4.2.3: Race

The tables below show the number of images found in the grade 4 and grade 7 textbooks that represent race.

Table 4.5: Images representing Race grade 4 textbook

Race	Number
White	65
Black	60
Coloured	20
Indian	6

Table 4.6: Images representing Race grade 7 textbook

Race	Number
White	53
Black	58
Coloured	36
Indian	5

In Chapter 2 it is mentioned that there are four main racial groups found in South Africa due to apartheid. They are White, Black, Coloured and Indian. The tables above show the number of images found in the textbook according to the different race groups. In the Grade 4 textbook there were more images of White people in the textbook, but ultimately the difference is not major between White and Black images. Coloured and Indian races make up the smallest number of images in the textbook.

In the Grade 7 textbook there were more images of Black people. White children comprised 53 images, which is not drastically different numerically when compared to the Black images which numbered 58. Again Coloured and Indian children made

up the smallest representation in the textbook and it is only images of Blacks and Whites that are equally represented.

The tables show the difficulties that South Africa faces in terms of race. The difficulty includes finding a balance in representing all races equally in the textbooks, if that is possible. Even though there are numerical imbalances the crucial point lies in how the children were represented in terms of race. There are 118 images of Black people in total found in the textbooks but the really important question is: how have the Black children been constructed? And this question will also be asked for children of other races.

Figure 4.15 and figure 4.16 represents race images found in the textbooks. Both images show how different race groups are represented in terms of racial signifiers as well as how identities are positioned according the different racial groups. There are only two images but the brief explanations give an idea of how the different racial groups are represented.
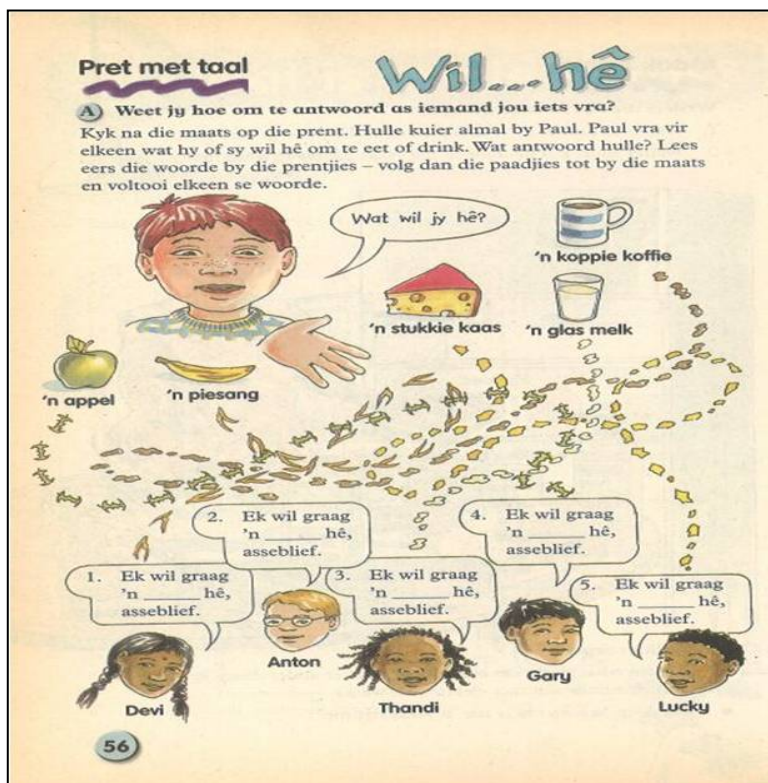
Figure 4.15: Signifiers of the different race groups page 56 Grade 4 textbook

Figure 4.16: Text describes a young Black boy saved by White people who eventually becomes successful page 76 Grade 7 textbook

In this section I discuss images that relate to race. I argue that the images used are still racially stereotypical which in essence means that many racial group identities are still fixed. I also argue that many images of the different racial groups are represented as unproblematic.

Racial signifiers that are found in the textbook include: skin colour: yellow is for Whites, dark shades of brown for Blacks, lighter shades of brown for Coloureds and Indians. Hair texture and hair colour: yellow signifies blonde hair. Blonde, red and brown hair predominantly is found on Whites and has a smooth texture. Black hair is predominantly found on Coloureds, Blacks and Indians. Black children have curly or braided hair; Coloured children have softer curls or smooth textured hair and Indians have smooth black hair. Dress code: traditional such as traditional African attire or Indian traditional attire where Indians have a red dot on their foreheads; religious clothes such as Muslim or Jewish religious headgear. Names and language choice also served as signifiers for race. Analysing the racial groups is very difficult as the races are unclear due to the use of color such as brown for coloreds, Indians and blacks; racial differences are made by looking at specific signifiers such as names and clothes. In the category of race it is harder for the researcher to classify the images.

In the Grade 4 textbook many images were diverse in the sense that many of the drawings used showed images of all races represented together. However, there are images that clearly came across as racially stereotypical and these are the images I chose to analyse.

The Grade 7 textbook had far more images that were racially biased in comparison to the Grade 4 textbook. Specific images from both textbooks are chosen to analyse the dominant trends found on race in the textbooks. Two images were chosen from each textbook.

Figure 4.17: **is an image found on page 93 Grade 4 textbook**

The image in Figure 4.17 shows two policemen and a young boy with a woman in the background. In this image the boy is being arrested, he is handcuffed and is being led away by one of the policemen. The boy looks frightened and the woman in the background looks shocked and confused as she is holding her mouth. All the

characters in this story are Black and the perpetrator in this image is a young Black boy. This image is taken from the previous pages that describe the boy living in poor conditions in the rural area. In order to make money he sells his bull and receives corn seeds in exchange. His mother, not wanting the corn seeds, throws them out of the window and a huge corn plant grows. On top of the corn plant lives a giant man who has many luxuries. The boy ends up stealing these luxurious possessions from the giant and then chops down the huge plant, thereby killing the giant. The image in Figure 4.17 is teaching the children the consequences of stealing.

The image highlights a few problems with race. Firstly showing a Black boy as a person responsible for criminal activities is stereotypical of the crime discourse in South Africa. The crime discourse depicts Black people as the criminals in the country. The high rate of poverty in the country has resulted in a life of crime, but confining crime to only Black people reinforces the stereotype that all Black people steal.

Secondly the identities available to the learners reading the textbook are all negative. The identities of being poor, Black and a criminal reinforce the idea that the identities of Black people have negative connotations. In terms of gender it shows the boy to be a perpetrator in terms of causing trouble, stealing and murdering. Again, these are all negative characteristics which represent the young male figure and which are supposed to be stereotypical of boys.

Images in the textbook could be more innovative in their representations of crime by addressing the painful, difficult, uncertain and disturbing aspects of the discourse and thus allowing discussion and understanding based on crime to come from different angles, thereby creating more than one identity position in relation to crime.
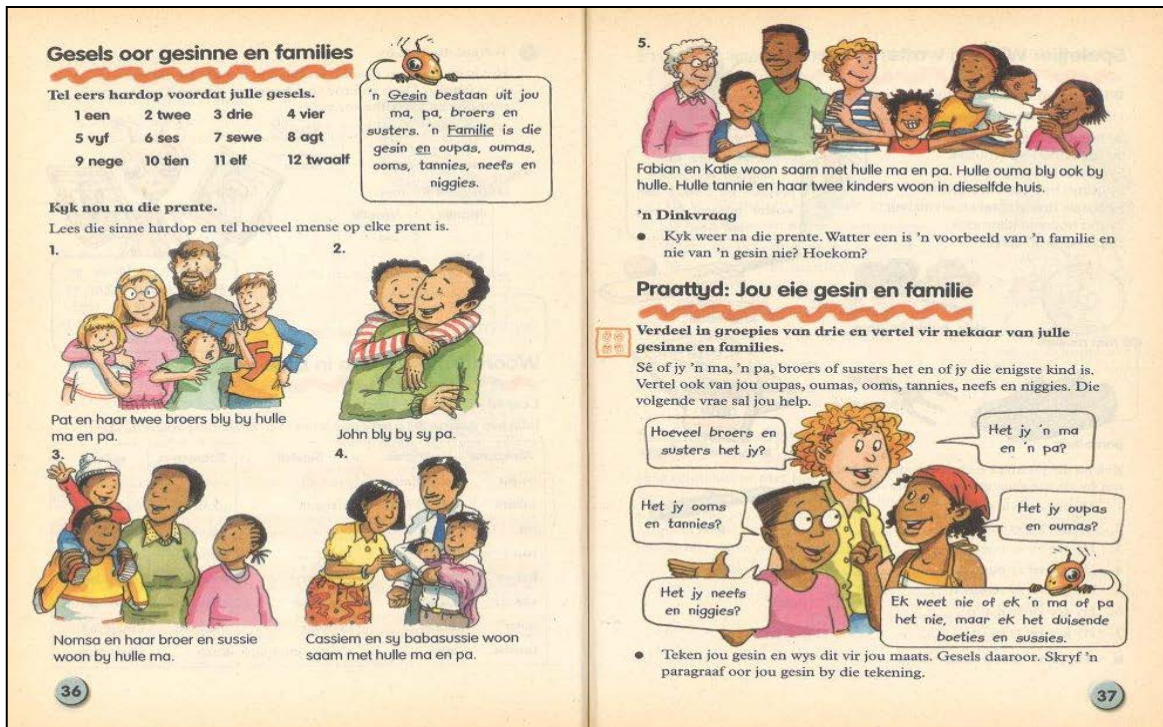
Figure 4.18: is an image found on pages 36-37 Grade 4 textbook

In this image there are five different families. On top of the left page 36 there is an ant describing who you find in an immediate family and who you find in the extended family. The ant describes that an immediate family consists of a mother, father, brothers and sisters. An extended family includes the immediate and other family members such as a grandmother, grandfather, aunts, uncles and cousins.

Family 1 is an immediate family; there is a mother and father, a sister and two brothers. This family is White. Family 2 is made up of a single parent home. The boy describes that he lives with his dad. This family is Coloured. Family 3 is a family with a mother and three children. This family is Black. Family 4 is an image of a boy who lives with his mother, father and baby sister. The family is Indian. Family 5 is an image of a big family. The text describes that the granny, the aunt and the aunt's children live with the immediate family. The mother is White, the father is Black, the children are 'Coloured'. The granny is White and the aunt and the children are Black. This family represents a racially mixed extended family system.

There are many racially different families in these images. The issue that concerns me is the representation of the White family in comparison to the Black family. Picture 1 in Figure 4.18 is a White nuclear family and Picture 3 is a Black single parent family. A family that has both parents is encouraged in most societies as it

seems to create a more stable environment for children to grow up in as financially and emotionally both parents contribute to the child's well being. The image positions the White family in a place of advantage due to having both parents and the Black family in a place of disadvantage due to only having one parent. In Chapter 2 it was discussed that race is constructed through binary oppositions where White is advantaged and Black is disadvantaged. A racist discourse is found in this image because it has created binary oppositions between White and Black families and Figure 4.18 has reproduced this binary by privileging the White family. At the same time the mixed race extended family in Picture 5, Figure4.18, contradicts this argument. However the point I am trying to prove in this particular image analysis is that, throughout the analysis, we find that White children are always positioned differently (usually superior and strong) in relation to Black children (usually inferior and weak). Another very important factor in the category of race is the stereotype of the White child who has no problems. Not all White people are privileged despite the structural realities of apartheid. This matter needs to be addressed because, if it is not questioned, it leaves the binary oppositions based on race intact.

Figure 4.19: is an image found on page 32 Grade7 textbook

In Figure 4.19 there are two girls a White girl on top of the page and an Indian girl at the bottom of the page. In order to understand what's happening in this image I use

the text to show the relationship between the two girls. In this image the White girl is asking the Indian girl a series of questions about who she is. The White girl has all the questions around her and the Indian girl answers them at the bottom of the page. The questions and answers are written in Afrikaans and I have translated them into English. They include:

1. What is your name? **Zora**

2. What is your home language? **English**

3. What other languages can you speak? **Gujarati, Afrikaans and Tswana**

4. What religion do you belong to? **I am Muslim**

5. What is your favourite traditional festival? **Ramadaan**

6. What is your favourite food? **My favourite food is curry and breyani**

This image offers racial stereotype of Indian people. The stereotype is found in the food preference of the Indian girl. In question 6 she describes her favourite food as curry and breyani. This is a common dish found amongst Indian people, but not all Indian people would describe their favourite food as curry and breyani. The image implies that all Indians like curry and breyani .The theory chapter discusses apartheid and its effects. We learn that apartheid overshadowed people's individual features and excluded important differences. Therefore each racial group was boxed to a normative construction. Identities were fixed not only in location but in food, appearance and language. Figure4.19 reinforces the normalised identities within the discourse of race.

In both textbooks Indian children are represented in a stereotypical manner. For example, in appearance they are wearing a sari or have a red dot on the forehead; and are shown participating in Indian traditional activities. This is a concern because there were so few images of Indian children, yet all of have them were represented in a normalised Indian identity. No images stepped outside the norm by representing Indian children differently.

The main point to note here is that, in reality, identities are fluid and always changing, but the choice of this image has kept identities fixed. Within the racist

discourse, stereotypes will always emerge because identities have been naturalised in the past. The textbooks should make room for the exception and possibilities of change within different racial groups. Dealing with race in schools; means questioning racial stereotypes and dealing critically with the apartheid discourses.

Figure 4.20: is an image found on pages 34-35 Grade 7 textbook

The image is headed LEEF GESOND! (LIVE HEALTHY) and centres on the Aids virus. A young Black girl who lives in a township reads a newspaper article about Aids. On the cover of the newspaper is Nkosi Johnson one of the first Black children to speak openly about his Aids status. In the first picture the girl is described as inquisitive and asks her granny about the virus but her granny turns her head and does not answer her. In the second picture the young girl asks her teacher about the virus and her teacher explains that she is busy and that they can talk about it later. In the third picture she asks her older brother. He gets angry and tells her she is too

young to know about Aids. In the fourth picture she shows her disappointment and explains that no one wants to listen, or talk, to her about Aids. In the fifth picture she watches television and Bishop Desmond Tutu explains that if you love your children talk to them about Hiv/Aids. In the sixth picture her parents sit her down and tell her how the virus is transmitted. In the final picture she is happy and says "knowledge is power" and that people "must protect themselves against Aids".

The image in Figure 4.20 serves to promote a healthy living lifestyle by discussing the Aids virus. The image teaches the reader how the virus is transmitted and that one must not be afraid to talk about Aids. The virus is an important topic to be discussed at schools as it has serious consequences for children's lives. Certain issues materialise when this image is analysed. Firstly, the fact that the girl's granny, teacher and brother deny her information on Aids because they are uncomfortable or feel she is too young has implications on how child is constructed in terms of what she is able to know or not. Secondly, her parents only discussed the basic information about Aids with the young girl. Issues about race and Aids, as well as gender and Aids have not been addressed and this, too, has implications on the construction of child in terms of what the child is presumed to understand or not. The fear of discussing controversial issues with children is evident in this image. The questions posed in the textbook about Aids don't expose other issues related to Aids. How children are constructed and what children are capable of understanding will be discussed in Chapter 5 as this chapter looks closely at how controversial issues can be included in lessons.

The second issue that materialises in this image is the issue of race and Aids. There is only one section on Aids in the textbook and a young Black township girl has come to represent the Aids virus. Using a Black child to raise and discuss issues on Aids falls into the race discourse of the country because all the stereotypes and stigmatisation around the Aids virus in this country are directed at Black people. The image therefore, reinforces the stereotype about Aids as a Black disease.

It can be argued that this image is a representation of fact as the vast majority of people statistically who suffer from the virus are Black and they therefore would constitute the most number of Aids cases. Socio economic factors also influence why Black people are at higher risk of being infected with the Aids virus. Using the

Black girl as a representation of Aids is, therefore, not an untruthful depiction, but the exclusion of other race groups strengthens the stereotypes and stigmas that exist about Aids and Black people.

Khan explains "While HIV/Aids may spread more easily and rapidly in poor, rural or informal Black areas that is not to say that poorer Indian people living in former council housing or that suburban educated White business people following particular sexual behaviors aren't equally susceptible to the disease as Black South Africans."(Kahn, 2006, p. 40). My argument, therefore, is that Aids does not have to be limited to Black people and all races in the country can be included to represent the virus and allow children to discover that, within their particular racial group, people also suffer from Aids.

This image has clearly perpetuated racial stereotypes in conjunction with the virus. This stereotype and thoughts that go with it need to be changed so that it is not only seen as a Black problem but as the country's problem.

4.3 Discussion of data

There are emerging patterns to be found in the category of race and racialised identities of child in specific race groups. Most racial identities revolved around stereotypes. In the textbook stereotypes are dominant representational practices and move across all aspects of life such as food, language, location, gender, class, appearance and health. The stereotypes have positioned children as racialised subjects.

The majority of the images in the textbooks are of Black children. In the images Black children are represented as middle class and living in urban environments together with other racial groups. Nevertheless serious socio political issues in the country such as poverty, crime, rural living, working class and Aids are primarily represented by Black children. As discussed previously this is due to the structural inequalities of the past. The images exclude other races and therefore maintain the racial stereotypes of Black people.

The images have reproduced the binary logic of the privileged and underprivileged social positions in society. Most of the images have reproduced the binary

oppositions in the textbook and these binaries have positioned the Black child as inferior and the White child as superior.

My argument in this section is that race continues to act as a crucial signifier in constructing identities in South Africa. In Chapter 2 it is discussed that apartheid and colonisation have played a key role in fixing identities. The political project of apartheid constructed, essentialised and homogenised identity categories according to race. Racial policies created identities that were based on misconceptions, prejudice and misinformation that inevitably had symbolic and material effects.

4.4 Concluding comments

The disruptive past of the country has led to the stereotypical representation of racial groups. In the textbooks race is constructed through binaries that the colonial and apartheid discourses enforced through the ideology of racism. Our current experiences are bound by race. Gender, class and location identities are understood and constructed through the lens of race. Race has taken hold of our imaginations and has in the end constructed child in the textbooks. All social categories work together and are connected to produce and reproduce identities of the child. The images in the textbooks represent the country's past and current situation; our experiences, interpretations and social interactions are rendered meaningful in the images. Visual communication in the textbooks express meanings that are structured by our society and cultural values and these values affect how the child is constructed. In this chapter we have come to learn that visual imagery has played a fundamental role in how we represent child according to the different social categories and that visual imagery is an important mode of representation that works to construct our reality.

In this post apartheid era we are struggling to move beyond the logic of race. We are caught between structural truths and fair representation. We are struggling to let go of naturalised identity construction and to enjoy our differences. The textbooks lack contextualisation as to why race, gender and location are the way they are. "In contemporary South Africa identity cannot be reduced to race since race is never the whole story about who we are as individuals and as members of communities" (Soudien, as cited in Ferreira, 2012, p. 46). From this we learn that we can move

beyond race in terms of constructing identities. It is possible to deconstruct the past identities and plan for the future but this will happen with great effort.

Chapter 5

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Analysis of the Afrikaans textbook images

5.3 Analysis of Philosophy for Children picturebooks

5.4 Discussion of data

5.5 Concluding comments

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4 the images are discussed in terms of social categories. We find that child is represented through the structural consequences that shaped the past identity of the country. The images, as well as the questions, lacked depth as they never challenged the issues that the country faces and never created a space to allow the child to have a say about what he or she thinks.

This chapter focuses on the visual characteristics of the images found in P4C picturebooks. As discussed in chapter 2 P4C constructs child as a capable thinker a child who is competent and can contribute actively to everyday life. Picturebooks found in a P4C approach encourage such traits in children by allowing the visual imagery to open up room for active participation and not looking at things from a fixed or normative perspective.

The discussion of images in this section centre's not only on images that have children depicted in them but on all images found in the textbook that construct the notion of child. All kinds of images are analysed to understand the overall sense of the textbooks however only a few images will be used in this chapter for analysis.

The first part of the chapter discusses the tables that inform the types of images found in the textbooks. Certain images will be analysed to discuss patterns that are found in the images. The second part of the chapter concentrates on picturebook visual design.

5.2 Analysis of Afrikaans textbook images

The tables below show the number of images found in the grade 4 and grade 7 textbooks that represent the types of images.

Table 5.1: Grade 4 textbook

Type of image	Colour	B/W	Total
Drawings number:	31	21	52
Photographs number:	2	0	2

Table 5.2: Grade 7 textbook

Type of image	Colour	B/W	Total
Drawings number:	11	23	39
Photographs number:	21	26	47

When comparing Table 5.1 with Table 5.2 we find that there are differences in the types of images chosen. The kinds of images found in the Grade 4 textbook shown in Table 5.1 reveal that drawings are the dominant form of visual imagery; only two photographs are found in the textbook. There are more color drawings than black and white drawings. Table 5.2, made up from the Grade 7 textbook, shows that photographs are the dominant visuals, specifically black and white photographs. The drawings used in the Grade 7 textbook consist mainly of black and white images and these images out number the color drawings. We find that the textbooks are very different in the types of images they choose to represent child.

The Grade 7 textbook has many photographs and this makes the textbook, to some extent, more modern than the Grade 4 textbook. However, at the same time, it has an old fashioned look, due to the kinds of photographs and drawings used. The abundant use of black and white drawings and photographs and the lack of color make the book appear dull, uninteresting and dreary. In the Grade 4 textbook 52 old-fashioned drawings are used and the excessive use of these creates an out of date

feel to the textbook The use of color drawings, on the other hand, gave the textbook a more stimulating and appealing look in comparison to the Grade 7 textbook. The lack of photographs as well as the use of boring images which lack variety make the Grade 4 textbook appears uninteresting. The paper used in the production of the textbook is inexpensive and this adds to the overall outdated feel of the textbook.

Patterns of the types of images found in the Grade 4 and Grade 7 textbooks are very similar. Since the Afrikaans textbooks' main purpose is to teach language skills, the majority of the images serve the purpose of teaching particular skills. The discussion focuses on the quality of the images found in the textbooks. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 are examples of images used to help the child develop their understanding of the Afrikaans language.

Figure 5.1: is an image found on pages 42- 43 in the Grade 4 textbook

Figure 5.1 teaches the child Afrikaans vocabulary and assists learning with the use of pictures of the words. The images are colourful, but the drawings are simplistic and lack creative appeal to make them eye catching and interesting for learners.

Aktiwiteit 15

Kyk na die prentjies en vul die **voorsetsels** in. Kies die regte woorde in die blokkie.

op	agter	in	oor	voor	onder

Die bal is 1. _____ die doelhok.

Die hond spring 2. _____ die muur.

Die koppies is 3. _____ die rak.

Die seun lê 4. _____ die boom.

Die hasie sit 5. _____ die bos.

Die kat sit 6. _____ die deur.

Figure 5.2: is an image found on page 102 in the Grade 7 textbook

The image in Figure 5.2 teaches the language skill of prepositions. In this image different objects are placed in relation to something else to illustrate the prepositions. These images are small and squashed into a small section of the page, which makes them difficult to read. The drawings are in black and white and drawn very simply. Nevertheless the image serves its language teaching purpose.

The images found in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 are denotative of objects, things, positions as an aid to learning the vocabulary of what is depicted. Whilst the images are informative, they lack imagination and creativity and it appears as if little thought has been given to engaging the reader.

The textbook also provides stories or comprehensions that teach moral lessons. The images which illustrate these stories lack creativity and leave little room for a critical discussion based on the image. The images don't tell a story of their own; instead they serve a denotative function and literally show exactly what the story is about. They provide little opportunity for different thinking about the story or imagining other possibilities. Suspense, contradiction, puzzlement are also lacking in the drawings. All stories have happy endings and therefore no story disrupts the social norm. All the images for teaching moral lessons are drawings. Sometimes the drawings are in

color on the first couple of pages of the story and on the last pages of the story the drawings change to black and white and vice versa, showing inconsistency or perhaps ways to save costs. Overall most drawings in the stories lack sophistication and value and the use of colors is very ordinary. Most drawings do not create space to actually interrogate the image and to find hidden messages within the drawings. Interrogating images is important particularly when they contribute to developing moral lessons.

Figures 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 represent the quality of images used in stories to teach moral lessons.
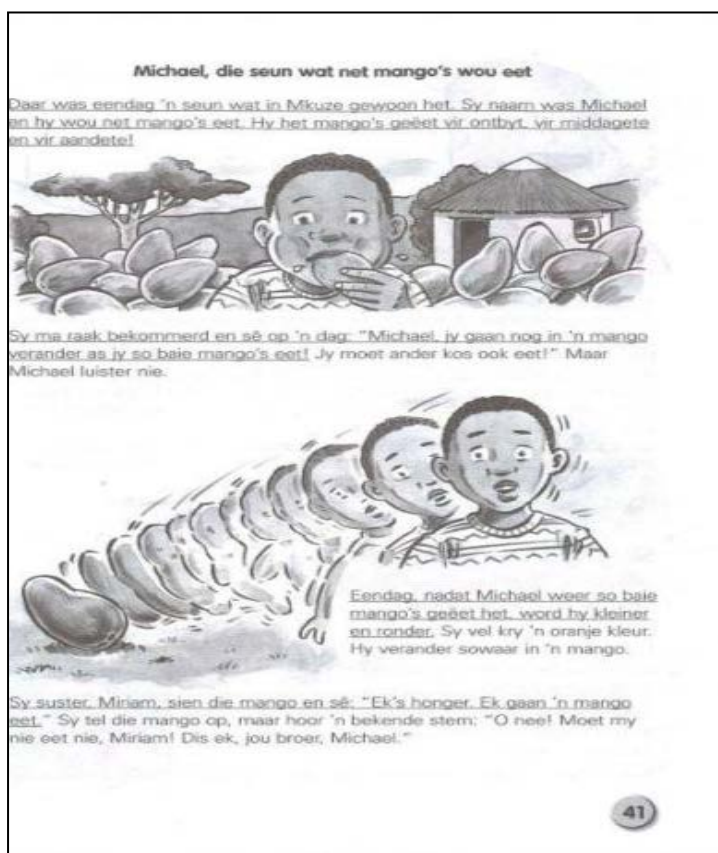
Figure 5.3: is an image found on page 41 in the Grade 7 textbook

Figure 5.3 is a black and white drawing of a young boy turning into a mango. The image shows him gobbling a mango and slowly turning into one. The image teaches a moral lesson of respecting and obeying your parents as well as having a balanced diet. In the story the boy turns into a mango because he does not listen to his mother who encourages him to eat properly. Nothing interesting comes out of the story such as knowing what it might feel like to be a mango. Even though children know that the chances of a person turning into a mango are zero, the drawing could have been

more playful with the fantasy of turning into a mango and this may have initiated a discussion. The reader is not given a space to engage with the experience of turning into a mango as the image denotes what is literally happening in the story. As a result it is difficult to engage emotionally and imaginatively with the story.

Figure 5.4: is an image found on page 42 in the grade 7 textbook

Figure 5.4 is part of the story and this image is in color showing how representation in terms of color shifts during a story.
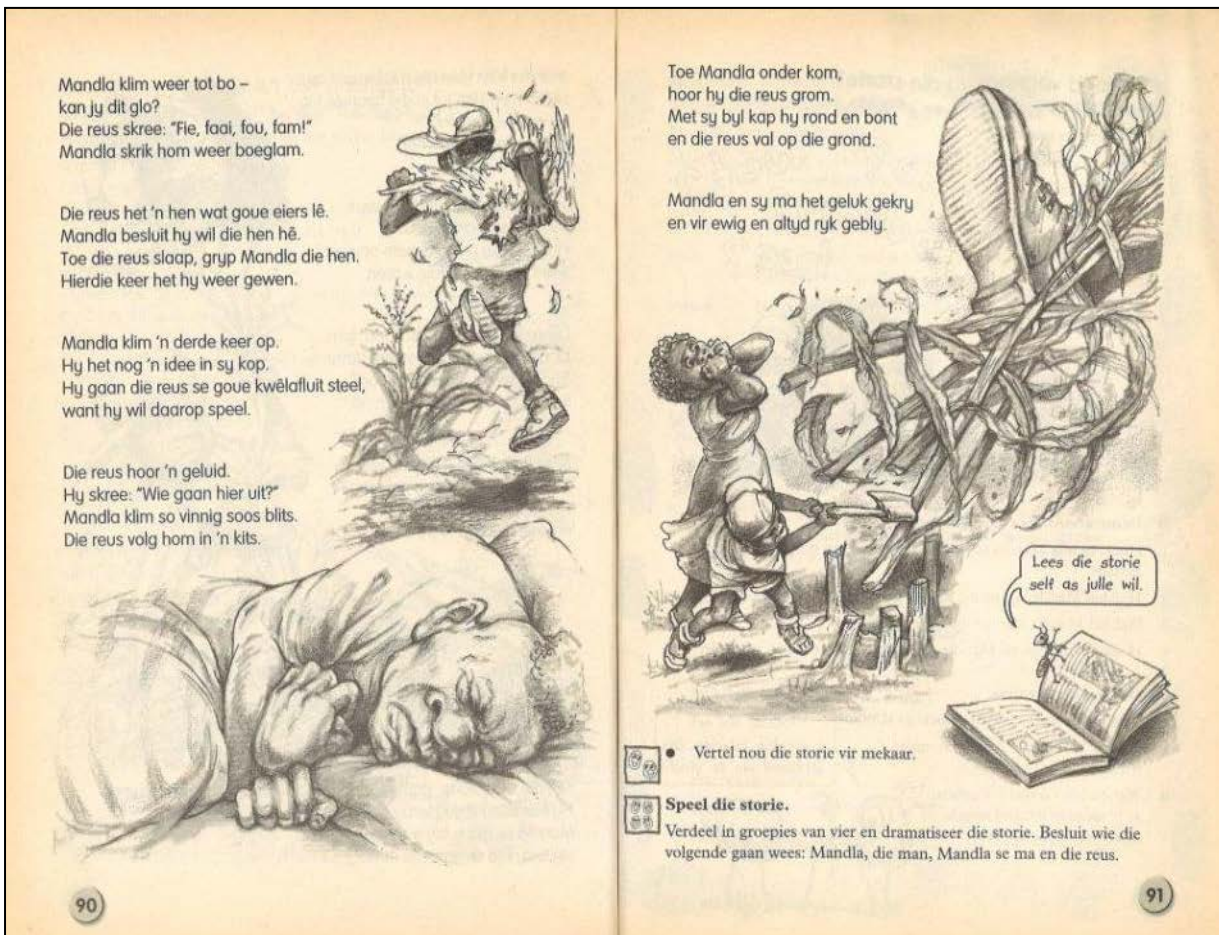
Figure 5.5: is an image found on page 90- 91 in the Grade 4 textbook

The image found in Figure 5.5 teaches the moral lesson of stealing. The little boy steals from a giant man and chops down the plant in which he lives so that he is unable to harm the boy and his mother. These are the best images to be found in the Grade 4 textbook as the exaggerations of the giant's features his body and foot allow the reader to feel his threatening presence in the story. The distressed emotion shown by the woman draws in the reader to feel as if they are part of the desperate situation. The boy's body position as he chops down the plant shows his panicked need to get rid of the giant. The problem with this image is the lack of color. The drawings are in black and white but due to the quality of the paper the image is dull and looks sepia in color. This image would have had a lot more appeal and impact with better use of color.

When analyzing the photographs in the textbooks we find that the photographs in both textbooks are black and white and in color. They are straightforward and banal and are used simply for the purpose of anchoring the topic that has been discussed.

They don't offer the learners a place to examine and question the picture as they are one dimensional in their representation.
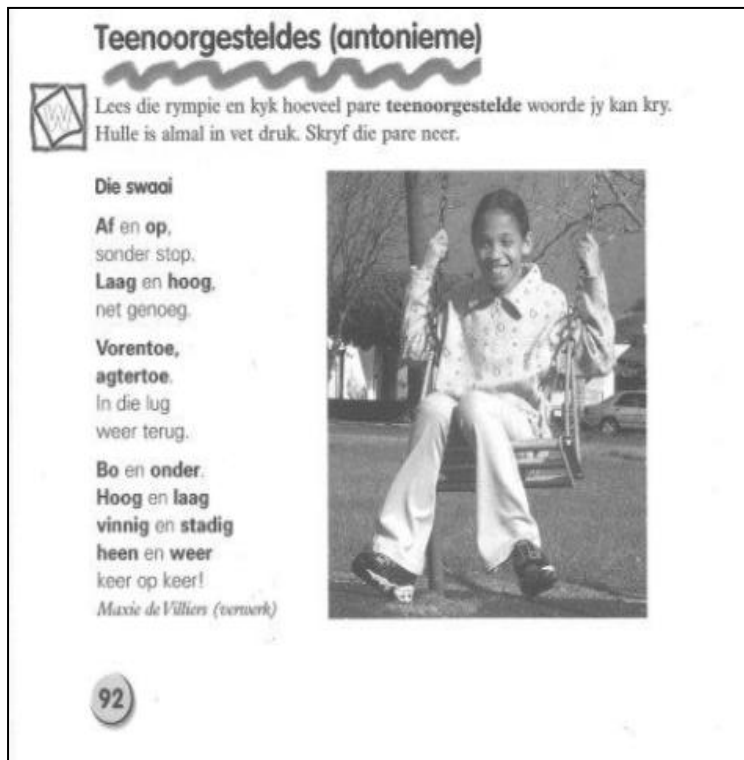
Figure 5.6: is an image found on page 92 in the Grade 7 textbook

The image in Figure 5.6 shows the plain and boring nature of the photographs in the textbook. In order to understand the photographs they have to be viewed with the text. The photographs do not go further than a literal representation of what the topic or the discussion set out to teach. The photograph of the girl on the swing teaches the language skills of opposites such as high and low, above and below, up and down. However the girl on the swing is just sitting and smiling. The image could have captured the moment of having fun on swings by showing the actual movement of being on a swing.

From the above discussion it can be determined that the drawings and photographs are used in the textbook to serve a denotative or illustrative function. This is because images are not a form expression but are used simply to develop the language skills in the textbook. The simplistic line drawings and basic color use made the images unsophisticated and old-fashioned. The photographs were unappealing and uncreative. Illustrations that taught moral lessons closed down discussions as the text anchored the images, thus leaving no room for discussion. The images are

therefore, not productive for creating discussions in the classroom or for compelling learners to read.

Out of school learners often read glossy and high quality magazines, so the low quality of the paper and images used in the textbooks are not conducive to encouraging them to read the textbooks. The paper used in the textbooks is neither glossy nor of a high quality, it is rough and cheap. Appendices C and D are samples of the paper used in the textbooks. Overall the poor quality of paper and images used in the textbooks suggest that it is assumed that children are not used to being exposed to high quality paper containing high quality printed images and therefore they will be happy with the low quality contained in the textbooks.

Both textbooks could improve their images in order to create lessons that are more enjoyable and critically engaging. How this could be achieved is discussed in the next section.

5.3 Analysis of Philosophy for Children Picturebooks

In this section I discuss and analyze picturebooks that a P4C lesson uses to evoke and engage learners. These images are analysed to show the difference between the images in the Afrikaans textbooks and the high quality art images found in picturebooks that a P4C lesson would use. This comparison serves to show how images can be used to possibly promote textbook design through the use of the picturebooks visual design and imagery as well creating a space for children to be constructed as visually skilled.

Chapter 2 showed that "P4C is an approach to teaching that encourages questioning, critical thinking and open dialogue in a classroom of 'community of enquiry' that aims to be democratic" (Haynes & Murris, 2012, p. 1). A P4C classroom also encourages the exploration of controversial subjects as this is an important part of education. Picturebooks are, therefore, used to develop critical thinking and to explore controversial issues. Picturebooks which are used in a P4C enquiry differ from other picture books. The writers of P4C explain that

> When using such works of art with children they are not
> spoon fed by ready made products of other people's
> imaginations. It takes a different process of finding out

what the pictures denote or literally represent. (Lewis, as
cited in Haynes & Murris, 201, p. 67).

Picturebooks in a P4C lesson generate discussion; they engage readers emotionally and cognitively and have a high aesthetic quality. The images that will be analysed are taken from two different picturebooks. Three different illustrations taken from each picturebook will be analysed. The images chosen are good examples of the point I'm trying to make as they raise issues that are relevant to a South African society and the social categories found in this project. The picturebook illustrations also show how we can use images differently to discuss worrying issues. The images will be analysed to establish how appealing and suggestive the images are and how the images work to construct the notion of child differently from the images used in the textbooks.

Figures 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 are taken from the picture book *Voices In the Park* written by Anthony Browne. The drawings in this book are deft and exquisite in their imagery. The images are based on the lives of four different families and illustrate through a range of color and artistic technique. The images are playful, fascinating and pleasurably confusing. The drawings provoke emotions and keep your attention through their visual metaphors. The park in which the story takes place is realistic in its representation; the images found are peculiar and lead one to think about what's really going on in the park. The images are colourful and artistic from start to finish and are drawn in detail to capture the story. When reading the book the images allow the reader to feel an array of emotions such as excitement, sadness, anger and joy. The main characters of the story are from different animal groups - the children who are 9-10 years old are monkeys and their parents are gorillas, highlighting the difference between child and adult.

The story is about two different families and their trip to the park. The first family is a mother and son and the second family is a father and daughter. Both families describe their experiences in the park, but their experiences are told separately. The images don't come right out and let you know what the story is about. Rather they tickle the imagination and allow you to think about what the story might be about, as different ideas flow through your mind. Upon reading the text we find many themes are hidden in the images such as gender, friendship, family relationships, adult control over children, childhood experiences, loneliness and class. The story

ultimately revolves around class and how people from different class groups struggle emotionally and financially. The class divisions are seen through the clothes the characters wear, the houses they live in, their surroundings and how they describe each other verbally. The mother and son are from a wealthy background, while the father and daughter are from a poorer background. Throughout the story we see how the different families live, as well as their experiences of family relationships and childhood according to the class they belong to.

The reader of this book does not know immediately that the story is about class as the images raise many other subjects. One would first have to engage with the images and the text and have a critical discussion to actually find out that it boils down to class. The fact that it raises a variety of issues helps to make the lesson more interesting and creative. Drawings in the Afrikaans textbooks illustrated exactly what the issues were about and left no space for the child to think or develop a discussion around any other issues that might influence the central issue in the story. The P4C images deliberately go about telling the story in a roundabout way in order to create room to generate thinking and enjoyment via the illustrations.

There was a very friendly dog in the park, and Victoria was having a great time. I wished I was.
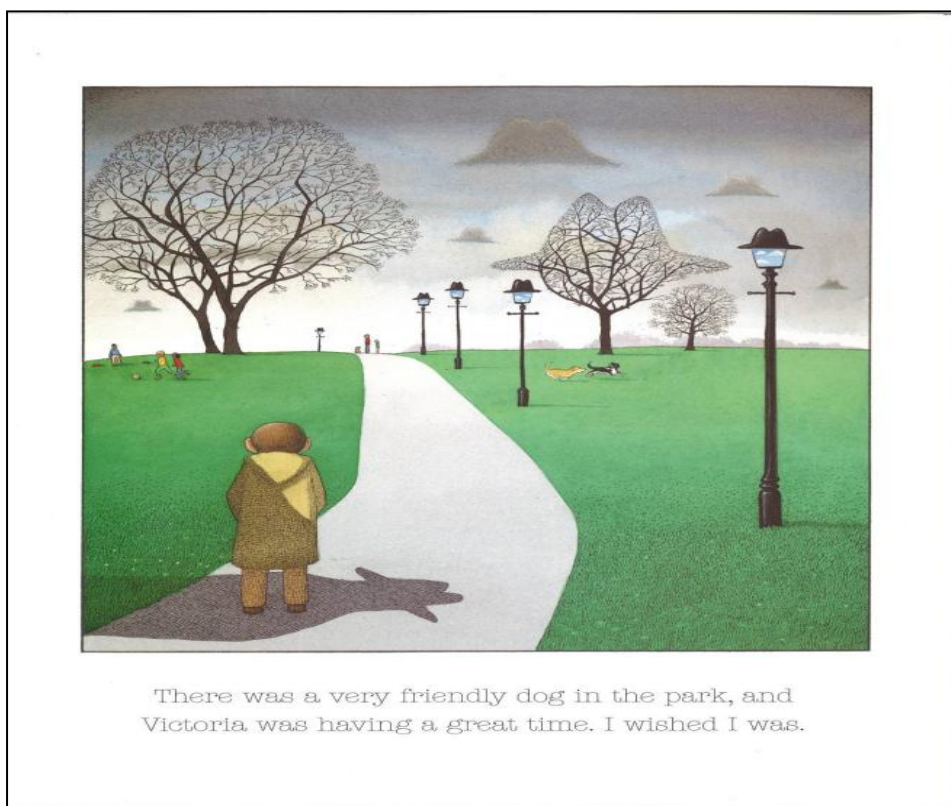
Figure 5.7

This image shows the use of color and skillful artistry. The image is simple yet very interesting and thought provoking. In the image the clouds, the tree and lamp posts are in the shape of the mother's hat; the young boy has a shadow over him which is also in the shape of the mother's hat. The use of different shades of grey in the clouds creates a gloomy effect in the image. The drawing elicits the emotion of sadness through the dark skies and the shadow of his mother over him makes it seem as if he is not happy about where he is in his life. This allows the child reader to think about issues of childhood and adult control in a child's life.

Figure 5.8

This drawing shows the father and daughter walking to the park. The different shades of dark brown and light orange create a distressing feel to the image. The use of color is clever as the image is meant to suggest sadness. The lifeless trees, the crying portraits, dirty streets, Santa as the beggar and the father's sad facial expression and body language further add to the distressing feel of the drawing. This

drawing stirs up emotions and many questions as to why there is sadness. It is interesting, artistic and the over exaggeration of Santa's need for money in the poster makes the image funny too. The drawing represents the father's frustration due to not having a job, thus leading the reader to question and think about poverty.

I got talking to this boy. I thought he was kind of a wimp at first, but he's okay. We played on the seesaw and he didn't say much, but later on he was more friendly.
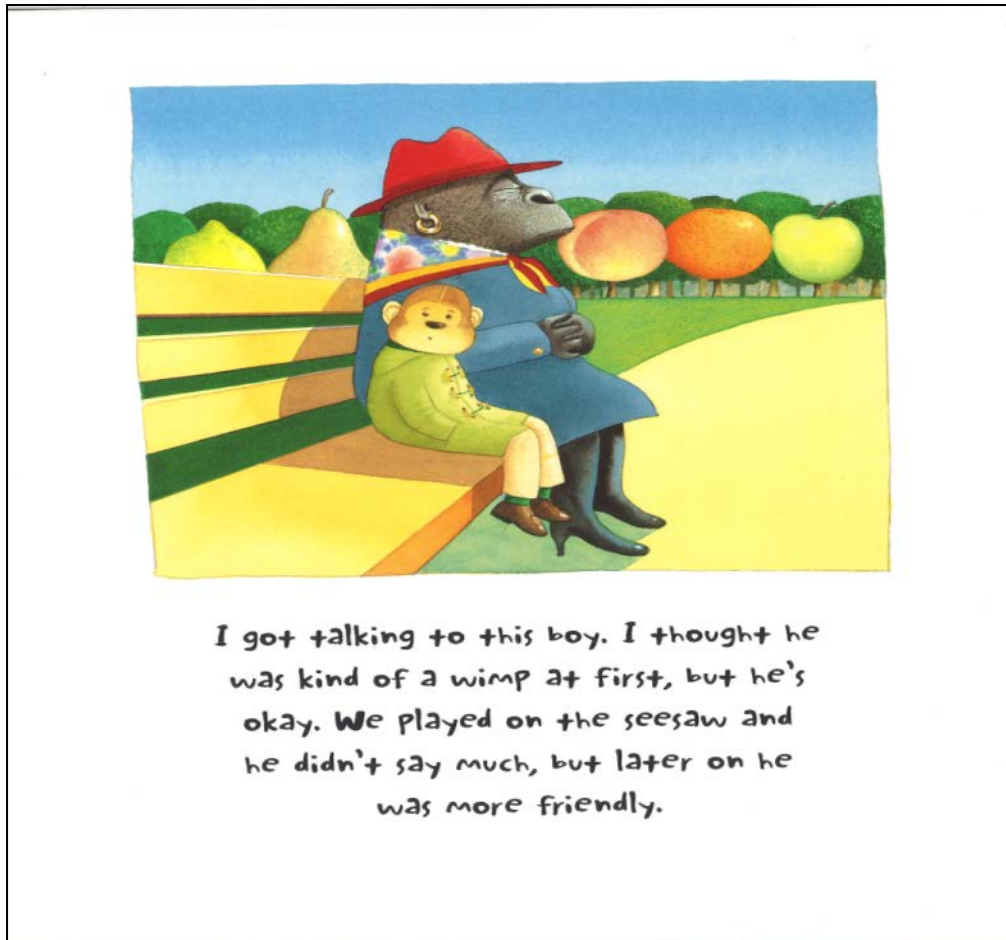
Figure 5.9

This drawing represents the mother and son relationship. They are in the park yet neither of them is mindful of the other. In the background are giant fruits found in the trees. The drawing is colourful, realistic and imaginative and illustrates the emotions of loneliness and alienation well.

Figures 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12 are taken from the picture book *Tusk Tusk* written by David McKee.

In the story black and white elephants kill each other by turning their trunks into weapons until they are all dead. A small group of peace loving elephants however manages to escape the massacre and disappears into the maze. The reader is not privy to what happens in the maze, but years later grey elephants appear. At first they live in harmony until the elephants with the big ears and the small ears start to give each other strange looks. The story ends with uncertainty about the future of the remaining elephants (Haynes & Murris, 2012, p. 115)

The story *Tusk Tusk* has the themes of tolerance of differences and conflict resolution and these issues are very important especially in South Africa due to our troubled past. The illustrations capture the themes of the story very carefully and creatively, the colors are especially lovely as they evoke the sense of turmoil and strife as well as peace and harmony. The elephants and the birds are illustrated in such a manner that they display intense emotions that inform the reader that the story has an element of seriousness. The images are all in color and are interesting on every page. The white and black elephants are drawn the same size and their trunks are given human characteristics making it possible for them to fight each other. This creates the idea that, despite it being fantasy, it is also real. The images are drawn simply but are capable of expressing thoughts about difference, nature and violence as well as emotions such as anger, confusion and peace.

A battle began.
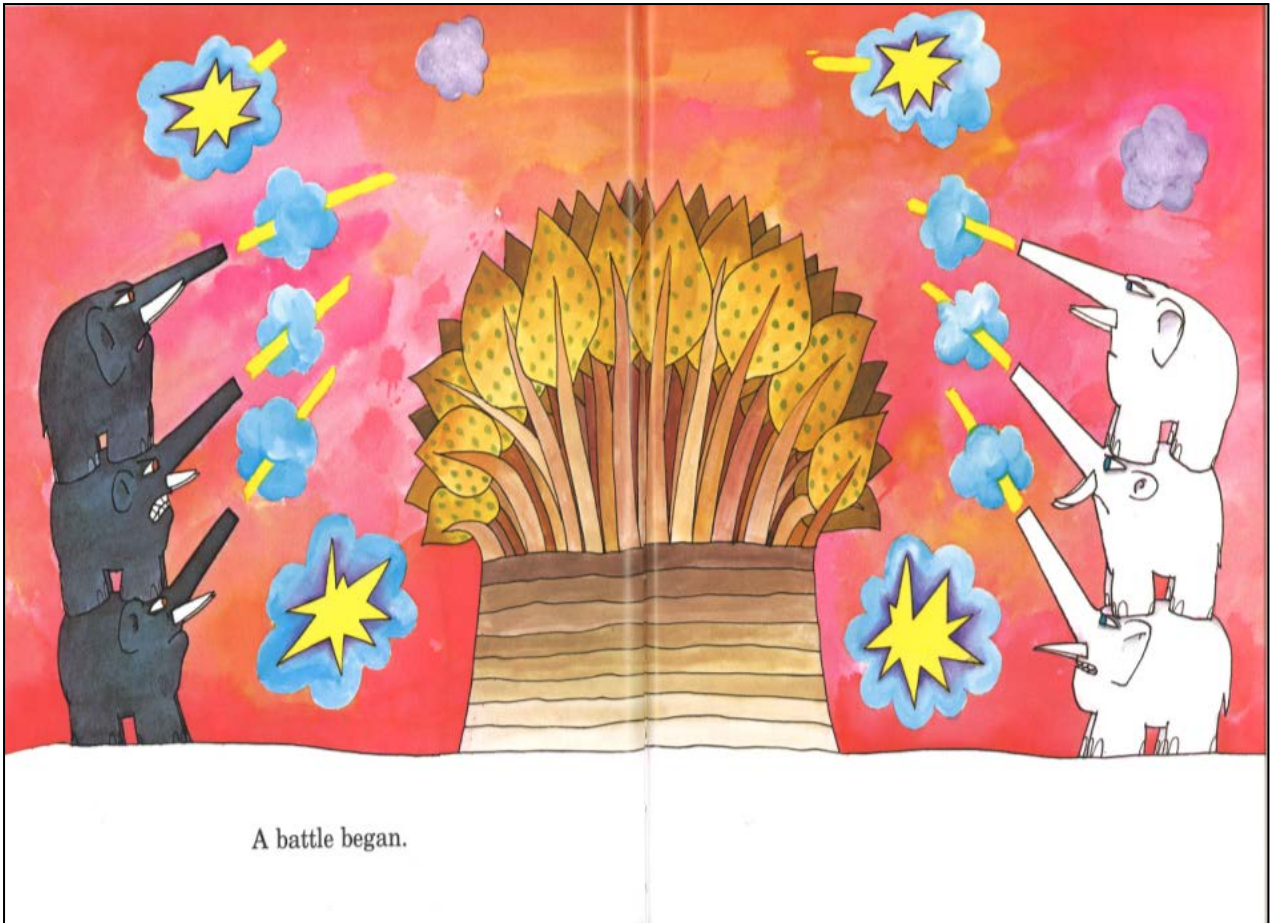
Figure 5.10

This illustration represents the battle between the white and black elephants, the image shows how the trunks of the elephants change to guns in order to fight in the war. The colors used in the illustrations are bright and dramatic. The pink and orange background allows the white and black elephants to standout in the battle which is taking place. The blue smoke from the gun shots creates a violent effect and the big brown tree in the middle of the image allows the reader to feel annoyed as the tree seems to prevent the battle from being completely confrontational.

But recently the little ears and the big ears

have been giving each other strange looks.
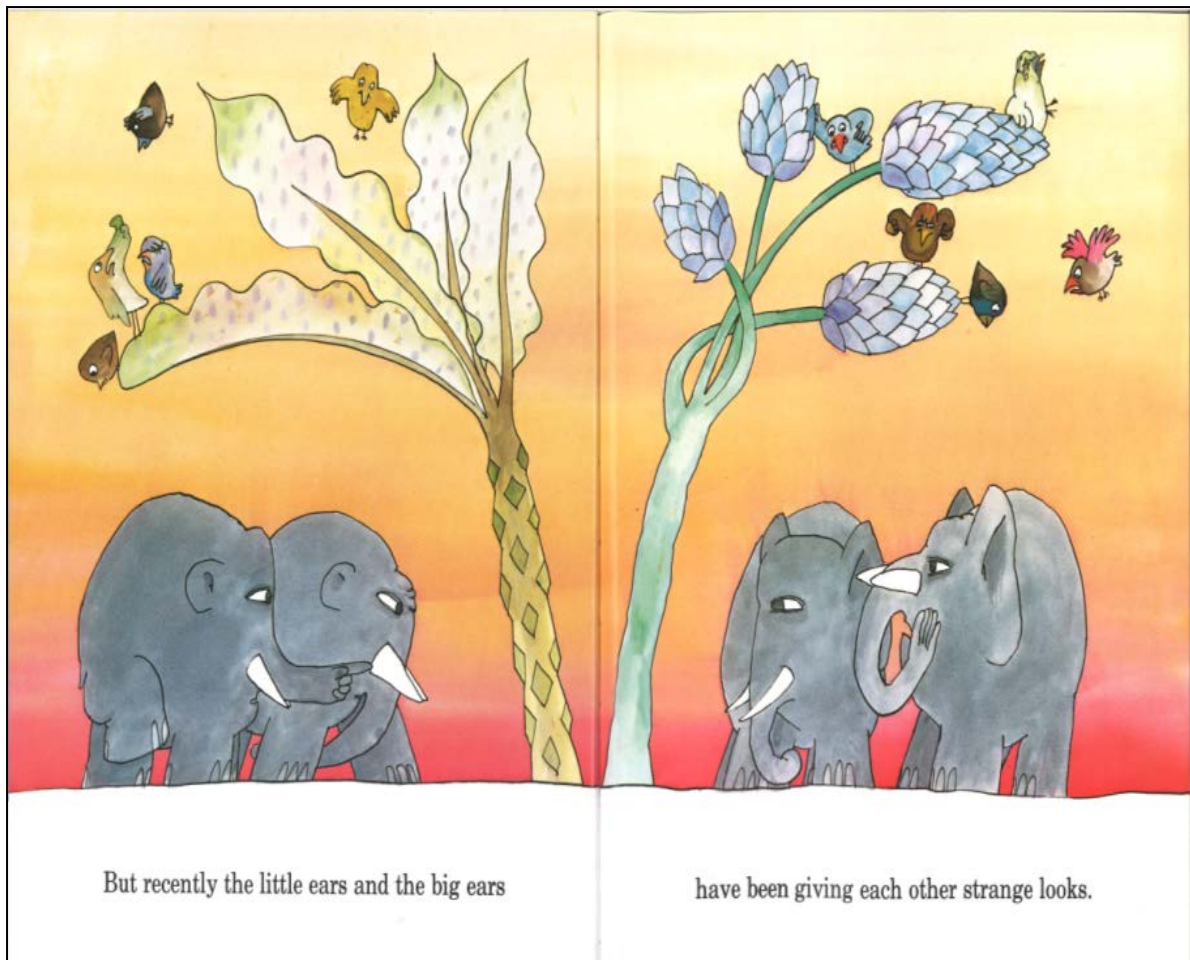
Figure 5.11

The illustration represents the frustration between the big-eared and the small-eared elephants. The colors in the background fade into one another from light yellow through to a dark pink allowing the illustration to hold your attention. The trees are redrawn in different colors and different forms. This highlights the notion of difference in the illustrations which is the physical difference between the elephants. Both the birds and the elephants show emotions that capture what may possibly happen between the elephants. The reader is given the space to relate to the consequences of difference.

Since then the elephants have lived in peace.
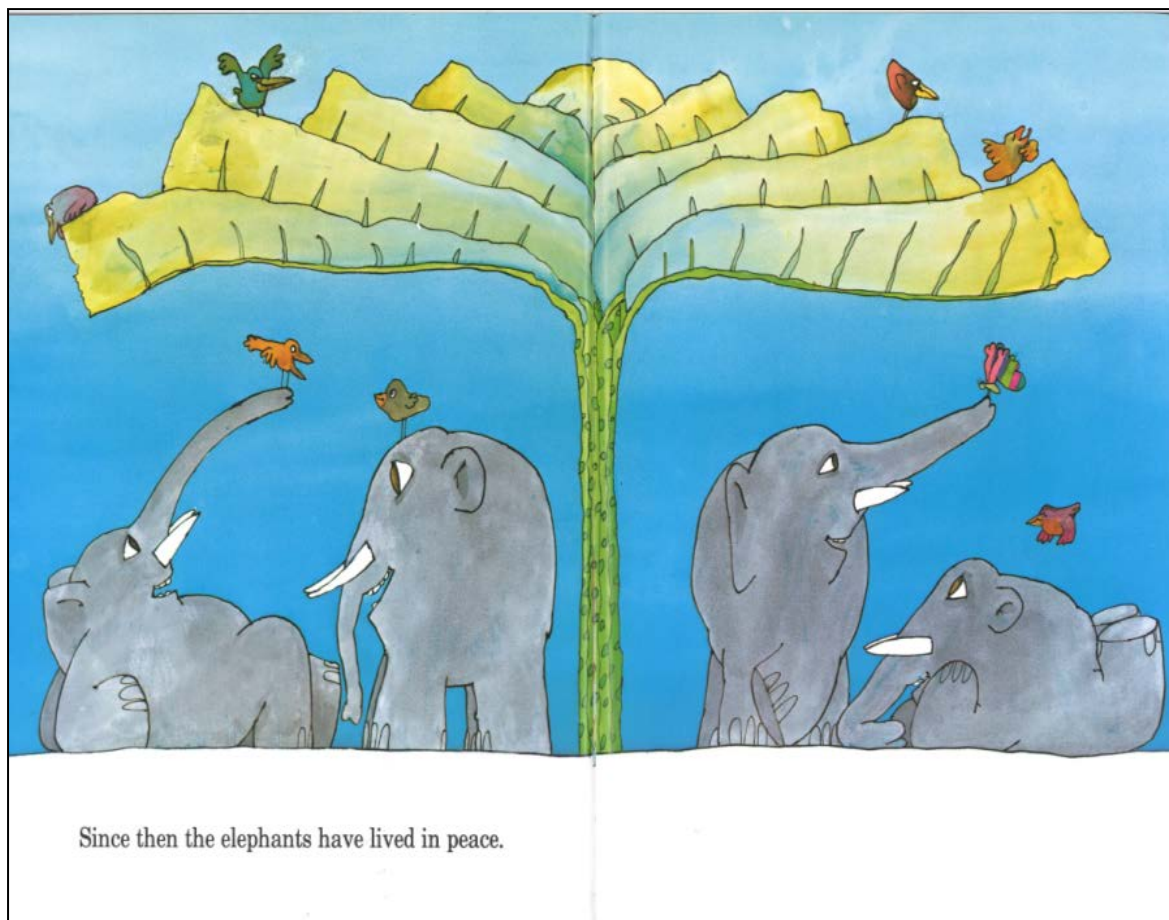
Figure 5.12

In the illustration the elephants with big ears and small ears are playing with each other, everyone is at peace. The different shades of blue in the background help to create an environment which is calm, peaceful and joyful. The large green and yellow palm tree in the middle of the page and the colourful birds enhance the peaceful mood of the image. The use of rich color in these images enhances the feeling of calm and peace, yet there is a suggestion that differences may yet emerge as a source of conflict.

5.4 Discussion of data

The images found in the Afrikaans textbooks in comparison to those used in the picturebooks are very different in terms of creativity. The picturebook images are more artistic in terms of how illustrations work to evoke feelings and ideas which allow the reader to engage with the story. The representations found in the

picturebooks are connotative as they allow the reader to use the imagination to suggest what the image may be about. On the contrary the Afrikaans textbooks are denotative as the illustrations denote literal translations of the text to image. There is no need to use the imagination for the images found in the textbooks as the majority of them are so literal.

The heart of this project is centered on the construction of child and the images from the different books have constructed child very differently.

Today children are exposed to a visually sophisticated world of images governed by technologically advanced print and electronic media. The images in the textbooks firstly don't capture the modern society we live in and, secondly, the images don't allow the child to explore their imaginations and interrogate critical issues through the use of images. The choice of images used is a reflection of our society and how we construct child. According to Hollindale "children's authors express (often unknowingly) the social moral and political views of their society" (Hollindale, as cited in Haynes & Murris, 2012, p. 40). South Africa's moral and political views are trying to move away from apartheid and attempting to embrace the notion of democracy. However old moral and political views still creep into our society as does our way of constructing child in a particular manner one who is always in need of adult assistance to make sense of the world.

In Chapter 2, Christian National Education and Bantu Education were discussed. This discussion gave an idea of how children were constructed during the apartheid era. We find this ideology is explicitly present in children's textbooks and the images are used to mould the children into desirable forms through a particular construction of child. Post apartheid democratic curriculum aims were used to construct child differently, but the child is not given full freedom to embrace a democratic learning experience due to curriculum constraints and censorships.

According to Haynes and Murris "censorship perpetuates not only many adults' assumptions about who and what children are but also reinforces the myth that speaking to children is simple" (Haynes & Murris, 2012, p. 40). Hence images in the textbooks are simple and uninteresting. In the textbooks many implicit and explicit expressions of ideology are present, but children are not given space to deconstruct and interrogate the texts. The assertion here maybe that child is only capable of

handling the simplistic images of life, as seen in Figure 4.20 in chapter 4. The image, as well as the text, denies the girl a deeper understanding of the Aids virus.

An exciting image captures the imagination of a child right from the beginning. In capturing the imagination, the child's enquiry and curiosity is triggered thus constructing child as an enquiring learner and making language accessible and engaging. Images can serve more than one function in this case; firstly to open a discussion on the illustrations and secondly to raise critical and controversial matters in imaginative ways. Since the images in the Afrikaans textbooks lack imagination, controversy and artistic experimenting, they do not inspire the learner to engage with the image. Therefore the construction of child through the images in the textbooks are children who are unable to enjoy sophisticated imagery in school and are unable to grasp ironic, metaphoric and controversial issues, thus leaving no room for critical discussion.

The picturebooks were published in 1978 and 1998 respectively yet the realistic and artistic techniques used allow the illustrations to have a modern suitability. Most importantly, the authors and illustrators of the picturebooks have a particular view of child as great readers of visual metaphors and complex thinkers. P4C argues that "children are people who can initiate, grasp and initiate irony" (Haynes & Murris, 2012, p. 40).

5.5 Concluding comments

In the Afrikaans textbooks child is constructed through fixed identities through the text and images. The images positioned the child reader in ways that limited, censored and silenced the voice of the child. Options for interpretation are not available in the text or the images as both forms work together to construct closed meanings. In the picturebooks the interaction between the text and the images served a connotative purpose and this created a multimodal visual representation; whereas in the Afrikaans textbooks, text and images interacted in such a way that the written text was treated as more important than the imagery. This created the images to serve a denotative purpose creating the fixed identities found in the images.

Writing Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 I had very different experiences in how I formulated my arguments. Discussing the picturebooks allowed me as the researcher and

reader of the picturebooks to feel liberated as the images allowed me to engage and also to feel a sense of enjoyment when analyzing the images. This is because the images were so interesting and appealing. When analyzing the textbooks I felt I struggled to find things to say. One of the reasons for this is the denotative nature of the images. I found myself repeating the way I described the images as most of the drawings lacked the intrigue and artistic grip that the picturebooks have. I feel that the picturebooks may create a better learning experience for the teacher and the learner. Images can include P4C visual characteristics as this would give the learner an opportunity to analyze and deconstruct texts both critically and creatively.

Chapter 6

6.1 Discussion of findings

6.2 Conclusion

6.1 Discussion of findings

The construction of child in two Afrikaans textbooks is centered on the social categories of race, gender and location and these categories were chosen in the light of our segregated past. There are many images in both textbooks and the images were questioned as to how they contribute to the construction of children as social beings and/ or as learners.

The findings of the images showed that identities based on race, gender and geographical location are fixed and normalised, thus making many images stereotypical in their representation. In the textbooks identity positions that are on offer to children have been shown to be based on binary oppositions that privilege Whites over Blacks, urban over rural and males over females. We find that race gender and location overlap to create identities that are inter-related. These produce the fixed and normalised identities found in the textbooks. I also found that, as the three categories overlap, it allowed for the discourse of class to surface. Within the representation of class there were limitations because, as the categories overlapped, identities of poor children were racialised, gendered and linked to rurality.

These findings in the images are established through structural consequences of past events in the country and have ultimately led to the normalisation of identities. The effects of apartheid are evident in the images. Even though some of the images are naturalised to a large extent, they are based on reality. Many Black people do live in the rural areas, many women are limited to certain sports and careers and many people's thoughts and practices are governed by race. Also, these structural realities found in our society are generally not questioned or challenged in the images of the textbooks.

In South Africa many things have changed in relation to race, gender and geographical location. Children have access to more opportunities despite their race, gender and location. Many people have come to learn that the restrictions made on our identities are not permanent. However the textbooks have not created images that convey the changes in society. Even though the structural realities exist, images need to be transformative in order to change the thinking of what is, as this may allow for new possibilities to open up and allow people to see beyond the limited identities reflected in the textbooks.

In comparing the Grade 7 Afrikaans textbook to the Grade 4 textbook I find that the Grade 7 textbook is more explicit in its representation of stereotypical child identities and in reproducing binaries. The content found in the Grade 7 textbook deals with more socio political issues but the choice of images used to represent these issues are simple as they lack depth. In the Grade 4 textbook children are depicted with inter-racial friends and identities and are not as blatant as in the Grade 7 textbook. However, racial, class and gender differences have been shown to exist. The Grade 4 book was similar to the Grade 7 textbook in that constructions pertaining to friendship, stealing and poverty were not questioned or challenged.

The images photographs, drawings and illustrations that are found in the textbooks are not aesthetically pleasing or sophisticated enough for students living in a world saturated with visually sophisticated imagery. The images are technical and specialised in their function. They serve the sole purpose of showing what is going on in the text. Images lacked modernity and the sophistication enabled by new technologies. The child is then not taken seriously as a person who can appreciate visual images. Images are denotative and tell the reader what to think. No space is created for children to question or deconstruct the image.

Under apartheid, education in South Africa was organised to maintain White superiority and Black inferiority through Christian National Education and Bantu Education.

Education was tightly controlled, teacher centered and the child was constructed as not knowing and in need of adult supervision to help him / her think. In a democratic South Africa, education serves a different purpose. However these textbooks still perpetuate some of the old identity representations and transmission pedagogies.

6.2 Conclusion

> HF Verwoerd was overheard (by an Afrikaner clergyman) to say that he would entrench apartheid so deeply in the society that whatever government came to power afterwards would find it impossible to undo what had been done. (Welsh, 2009, p. 578).

In this research I have looked at the possible identities available to child based on social categories of race, gender and location. In order to ascertain if we have moved beyond the constraints of apartheid identities, various images in the Afrikaans textbooks were analysed. In the research I have tried to understand how child is constructed post-apartheid and if space has been made for children to become reasonable thinkers in a striving non-racial society. As a point of contrast and to show what possible, images from picture books is used in a P4C approach were considered. Both the analysis of the images chosen and the contrast with thought-provoking art in children's books have revealed that, after 20 years of a democracy, we are still caught up in identities and pedagogies that reproduce and reinforce the old patterns of thinking.

In my teaching classroom all learners are Black. The education that is provided to them is constraining as the unchallenged representations in their textbooks may lead the children to accept the discourses associated with being Black. Education could be the place where certain identities are questioned, as well as the place that encourages differences. The textbooks have not opened up space to look at different identities nor question why things are, or to transform and challenge old identities.

According to Davies (1989) "the texts through which children are taught to read are usually based on a realistic rather than a fantastical version of the world. Within this realistic world the man is presented as active agent in the outside world, and the woman as passive, supportive other" (Davies, 1989, p. 44). The images and stories in the textbooks resemble the argument that Davies has made. Images have, therefore, not embraced the possibilities for reconstructing gender, race and location. Instead the images position girls and boys, Blacks and Whites and urban and rural in old discourses. It would seem that transformation is a challenge with identities of the past prevailing. Will they continue into the future?

Through a poststructuralist lens I have come to learn that poststructuralist writers have deconstructed individual identities and have argued that the discourses which we find ourselves in are complex, changing and contradictory and allow people to think beyond race, gender and class dualisms as inevitable. Knowing this made me realise that identities do not have to be constructed as fixed and naturalised.

There is another way of seeing identity in South Africa as my research shows there is a need to move beyond static representations. Education can, and should, open up space to disrupt and make room for new identities. New discourses should be produced in order to recognise the non-unitary nature of self. The country has faced over 300 years of oppression, depression, humiliation and marginalisation a transition to a new form of thinking is very difficult. It is, however possible. The transition may take a long time as the effects of apartheid are so deeply rooted in our consciousness, but through social structures such as the school, education can and should provide a way forward. In and through education we can unlearn the false certainties of difference. The construction of child can, therefore, be understood as more than just a fixed subject but a child who is part of many discourses.

The argument by Soudien (2012) supports this. He states that:

> Education has the capacity to make real, in our will and
> desire, this possibility. Education is the deliberative act of

working with and in our consciousness in a way that is fully open. In its fullness it has to be alert to everything. It is here that the promise of education lies the promise is that within us as reasoning subjects, resides the capacity to engage with obfuscation, with ideology and with mystery in all their wiles (Soudien, 2012, p. 8).

In order for education to disrupt the knowledge based on social difference Jansen (2009) argues that in a "postconflict pedagogy the teacher's intervention has to go beyond acknowledgement and embracing those hurt by such acts. A postconflict pedagogy requires that the target of racism be empowered to confront such behavior and so from a position of strength" (Jansen, 2009, p. 269). A critical approach to teaching is needed in order to change the notions of the past and the teacher who is in the classroom should make provision for critical discussions on social issues. It is, therefore, imperative that images and texts create this space.

Welsh (2009, p. 560) claimed that social inequalities can be undone. What Verwoerd said can be challenged difficult yes impossible no. I stand in agreement with Davies as she explains that "we can move beyond differences all we have to do is stop doing work that maintains the difference." She explains that it "is hard but nevertheless possible" (Davies, 1989, p. 136). The people who are involved in educational practices need to sit and carefully design and redesign textbooks so new positions can be constructed and recognised as meaningful.

A possible way to transform education is through Philosophy for Children; P4C has inspired me to construct child differently. The importance of listening to children's voices and seeing them as able participants in the classroom who are visually skilled has led me to believe that there are creative ways of incorporating the child into everyday learning. There are also ways of expanding child's knowledge on certain socio political issues in imaginative and critical ways. I have come to appreciate the idea that images

found in a P4C classroom are liberating and educational and could be a possible start to educational transformation in post conflict classrooms.

If we want children to grow up as flourishing adults, the change starts in the classroom where ideologies are reproduced. The school, classroom, teacher and education can lead us to find that small measure of freedom we all seek and that some of us seldom find.

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Appendix A Grade 4 Afrikaans textbook images analysis

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page2-3: Drawing color	A drawing of a girl. In the drawing different body parts are highlighted Especially the eyes. She is smiling in the picture. .	Girl	Unknown	W	A drawing used to describe different body parts. Happy
Page4: Drawing b/w	A boy wearing a cape. It looks like he is flying as his one arm is stretched out. Around him are arrows pointing to different body parts. He is smiling	Boy	Urban (urban idea)	B	A male superhero used to describe different body parts. Boy looks powerful happy
Page 5: Drawing b/w	A group of children pointing to different body parts on their bodies. All children are smiling.	7 Girls 9 Boys	Urban	5W 2B 3B 5W 1C	Children describing their body parts. Happy
Page 6: Drawing b/w	A picture of children doing different things like stretching their legs, shaking hands and raising their hands. The picture also has a musical bar. The children look happy	2Girls 3Boys	Urban	1W 1B 2W 1B	Learning different body parts by means of song. Children enjoy singing Interracial friendships

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page 7 **Drawing Color**	A girl standing with hand on her hip and the other hand in the air. She is smiling	Girl	Urban	W	The girl is using her body to demonstrate the language tool of plural. Importance of physical activity for learning Happy
Page 8: **Drawing b/w**	A group of children: one group is sitting down, the group is standing and one boy has his hands lifted in the air. They all smiling.	4 Boys 3 Girls	Urban	2W 1C 1B 1B 2W	In this activity children are in groups to learn the language tool of plural. Interracial friendships Happy
Page 9: **Drawing b/w**	A boy holding his ear as if he is trying to hear something. Next to him is a music bar that looks like it is moving into his ear. He is smiling	Boy	Urban	B	The boys are used to show that song and actions are required on this page learners read a rhyme and the actions to it.

The importance of song and movement in learning Happy |

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page10: Drawing color	A picture of a girl thinking about a race she ran. She looks exhausted as she is perspiring and wiping her face with her hand. A boy thinking about a tennis game he won he looks proud as his arms are folded and he is smiling. .	1 Girl 1Boys	Urban clothes	1 B 1 W	A girl who is tired from partaking in a race. Sport seems stressful for her. A boy who shows pride in the game of tennis he won. Sport looks easy for him. Gender ability in sport. Happy
Page11: Drawing Color	Top of page 11: a group of children climbing in, out, over and around certain objects. All children are smiling. Bottom of page 11: two different boys doing the same activity but on the boys are doing the opposite of the other boy, the goes up the other boy goes down.	4 Boys	Urban	2 B 2C 1W	Activity used to teach prepositions. Importance of movement to teach language. Learners look at the pictures and are encouraged to try the exercise. Happy (picture can be found on page 12)
Page 13: Drawing b/w	A girl in a leotard and a cape. Her hand is up in a fist and her hair is blowing upwards showing that she may be flying. Around her are arrows' pointing to different body parts she is smiling	Girl	Urban (urban idea)	W	Girl as superhero. Girl used after a boy to demonstrate body parts. Happy Male domination

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page18-20: Drawing color Anchored by text	A boy and a girl are friends. They do things together all the time like play marbles, the boy sells cold rink at his dads store and the girl stands and watches. The boy rescues a cat out of the tree and the girl holds the ladder and they eat ice cream together. A boy buying cold rink with his mother.	2 Boys 1 Girl	Urban Clothes and setting	1 C 1W 1B	Interracial friendships. An activity done together but boy is more in charge of the activities. Play marbles together. Mixed gender friendship. Girl passive both happy
Page19: Drawing color	While playing together the boys breaks the girls crayon by accident. The boy runs away. They start fighting the girl looks upset as she shouting. Both end up playing alone where the boy plays shop keeper and the girl plays hop scotch. Both kids look unhappy	See above	See above	See above	Games children choose to play without the influence of the opposite sex. Emotional reactions of the different genders.

Both characters are upset |
| **Page 20**: **Drawing color** | The girl ends up going to the boys flat and asks him to come down and play. She looks happy and he looks shocked. At the end he describes its better to be together than to be alone. | See above | Se above | See above | Girl seeks to mend friendship. The boy looks shocked at the idea. Girl as peacemaker. The value of friendship. No apologies were made in the story. Happy |

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page22: Drawing color	A group of children at a market where they are selling different treats such as toffee apples, cold drink and cake. They also sell different toys such as puppets and balloons. Most of the children are smiling, having a good time. The children look happy. .	6 Girls 6 Boys	Urban Clothes and setting	3B 2C 1W 4B 2W	Friendship across race and gender. Demonstrating things children like to buy and eat at market. .
Page26: Drawing Color Anchored by text	A girl looking at an adult apologizing for tearing her book. Her mouth and eyes are wide open with her eyebrows raised. There is a speech bubble on top of her saying: I am sorry. The adult looks furious. The image and the text are used to teach children how to apologize	1 Girl	Urban clothes	W	Teaching children how to apologize. An adult used as an example on how to teach children to be apologetic. Adult involvement in moral behavior. Girl is shocked.

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page27: Drawing in color Anchored by text	A group of children doing different actions that describe the way in which a friend should act and not act. In the pictures we see children doing mean things like fighting, gossiping and pulling faces at each other. We also see them doing good things like playing together.	6 Boys 8 Girls	Urban clothes	3B 2W 1I 2W 3C 3B	Ideas on how friends should behave. Interracial friendships. Boys: teaser, bully or being bullied, fighter or as mean. Boys play sport such as soccer. Girls: victim, sad tearful and playing games such as skipping Gender
Page28: Drawing color	A drawing of a group of children doing different activities together such as eating ice cream, riding their bicycles and counting money. Both children look happy	1Boy 1Girl	Urban	1C 1W	Activities friends do together. Interracial friendships. Mixed gender friendships. No girl activities such as playing with dolls, most activities are boyish.
Page 29: Drawing Color	A group of children standing in a circle holding hands and looking up. They are all smiling. Next the children are musical notes. The activity requires them to sing and move in a circle.	3 Girls 3 Boys	Urban	2B 1W 2I 1W	The importance of song in learning. Interracial friendships. Happy

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page31: Drawing color	A boy posing with a tear running down his face. His mouth is closed and his eyebrows are raised this boy is sad. Underneath its written alleen (alone). A girl holding a boy the boy is laughing and the girl is smiling and both are eating ice cream. Underneath them it is written saam (together) .	1 Girl 1Boy	Urban clothes	1W 1C	Children are sad when they are alone. Children are happy when they have a friend or someone else Interracial friendships. Mixed gender friendships. Children need friends to be happy
Page32: Drawing Color	This is a drawing of a family doing different things: the girl is reading a book her eyebrows are raised, the younger girl is smiling with her hands in the air. The young boy is holding his head and frowning at his younger sister. The older boy is taking pictures	2Girls 2Boys	Urban clothes	4B	The enjoying reading, the younger brother is upset due his sister playing with his cards. Activities boys and girls enjoy. Dealing with younger children Different roles in the family.
Page 36-37 : Drawing Color	This is a picture of different families. The families include single parent homes, nuclear families as well as large interracial families.	9 Boys 5 Girls	Urban clothes	2W 1C 1I 5B 1W 1I 3B	Different families' children are found in. White and Indian children have both parents. Coloured and black families are single parent homes Happy Racial implications

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page37: Drawing color	Three girls talking to one another. Around them are speech bubbles that ask questions about different family members. The one girl has her finger pointed up. .	3 Girls	Urban clothes	1W 2B	Three girls are describing different family structures by means of questions. Girls seen as family orientated Her finger is pointing up to show she is asking a question They all look happy
Page 41: Photograph Color	Two photographs of two coloured families. In photo number one the children are sitting on the floor smiling and looking at the camera. Both parents are sitting on the couch. In photo number two the children are standing with their parents. The younger child is in his mother arms and the little girl is standing behind the table that has a cake. They all have Muslim names.	2 Girls 2 Boys	Urban clothes	4C	Images used to demonstrate different families and people in the family. Children sitting on the floor: respect or submissive Muslim families due to the Muslim names. Children look happy
Page 44-47: Drawing color Anchored by text	Three girls sitting at a table enjoying cake and cold drink, they also are introducing themselves. The girls then go on to talk about the different things their grannies made for them like a jersey and a t shirt. One girl says her granny does not care what she wears.	3 Girls	Urban Clothes	1W 1C 1B	Friendship across races Girls talking about things they like such as clothes. Girls way of having a good time.

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page45: Drawing Color	The girls then enjoy cake again and talk about what their grannies can bake. The one girl describes that her granny does not bake and that she prefers to paint. The manner in which the girls were talking was described as bragging.	See above	See above	See above	Girls or children enjoy eating cake. Grannies influence over what girls talk about. Girl's topic of conversation based feminine activities. Girls influence is not only baking
Page 46: Drawing Color	The girls then talk about the things their grannies bought. The white girl describes her granny buying a new car, the coloured describes her granny buying a new hat and that her granny cannot drive, and the black says that her granny bought new shoes and a bicycle.	See above	See above	See above	Girls describing class distinction. Race implication Girls again talking about their grannies this time based on material things their grannies have
Page 47: Drawing Color	A girl smiling and dancing with her granny her leg is raised The girls then talk about the different activities they do with their granny like going to the movies and a concert. The one girl says her granny teaches her how to dance at home.	See above	See above	See above	Some girls are better of than others. Black girl seemed to be the one who does not brag and enjoys things less fancy than her friends. Demonstrating children's relationships with their grannies and how different it is

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page51: Drawing anchored by text	There are two girls. The one girl is standing showing an old lady a hole in her jersey; she has a speech bubble that says "please". The other girl id receiving a t shirt from an old lady her speech bubble says "thank you" the following image teaches good manners: please and thank you	2 Girls	Urban clothes	1B 1W	Children learning good manners Older people used to teach children good manners Girls chosen to represent children who learn please and thank you. Influence of elders on learning moral behavior
Page56: Drawing color	A boy holding his hand out and smiling, at the bottom of him are head shot images of children describing the different foods they would like to eat such as cheese, milk and an apple. All the children are smiling	4 Boys 2 Girls	Unknown	2W 1C 1B 1I 1B	Children describing food they would like to eat. Children been introduced to healthy eating. Important section for children to learn. Happy
Page 60: Drawing b/w	A girl has a mouth wide open and she is about to bite into an apple. Her whole face and her hand is huge, next to her picture are musical bars that describe apples.	Girl	Unknown	B	Child demonstrating good eating habits. Her face and hand look in human. Exaggeration of image: Importance of eating apples Importance of song in learning.

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page82-83: Drawing color	A young girl learning how to plant seeds. In this picture her mother teaches her how to plant corn in order to sell it at the market for money. The process of planting has seven steps and she partakes in all seven. Bottom of the picture she is dancing in her school uniform She is smiling.	2 Girls	Rural	1B 1W	Rural lifestyle of a rural child Activities girls learn for the future. Girls learning how to cook. Ways in which rural people make money to survive. Activities done after school hours Happy
Page86: Drawing Color	A boy standing next to his mother a bull and a man. He is smiling and his hands are behind his back.	1 Boy	Rural	B	The boy is demonstrating life in a rural settlement. He is happy Rural life as hard.

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page88-91: Drawing b/w anchored by text	A boy standing with his hands behind his back. In his hands there is a rope with a bull attached to it. The story describes the boy ad his mother to be poor. In exchange for money he sells the bull to an old man who gives him corn seeds in stead of money. The mother is upset and throws the corn away into the yard.	Boy	Rural	B	The boys' means of surviving in the rural area. Rural people as poor. Boy as money maker. Boy as caretaker of the family Adult influence over choices in children.
Page89: Drawing b/w anchored by story	The boy has his body wrapped around the corn plant. He is frowning and his eyes are wide open. The story explains that corn grew from the seeds the mother threw out; the boy then climbed to the top of the plant and found a giant man who had lots of money. The giant is scary looking and is explained as one who is greedy and will eat children, the boy stole his money and the mother was happy.	See above	See above	See above	Stealing as means of survival due to poverty. Poor people depicted as thieves Giant man who lives at the top of a corn plant brings about a fantasy aspect to the story. Fantasy used in stories Adult influence over child's behavior The boy looks afraid

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page: 90-91 Drawing in b/w	A boy running away with a chicken in his hand. The story explains that the boy climbed back up the corn plant to see what the giant has. While the giant was sleeping he stole a chicken who laid good eggs and a flute that belonged to the giant man. The giant man followed him in a hurry. Before the giant man could get him the boy used an axe and cut down the plant. His mother stood and watched in shock the story explains that the boy and his mother never had to struggle. They stayed rich	See above	See above	See above	South African version of jack and the bean stalk. Boy as one who looks after the family Lesson of the story not clear Rural stories to describe life. Mother used the boy to make ends meet. Parental role vs child role Black child as rural
Page93: Drawing b/w	A boy in handcuffs. His eyes are wide open his mouth is skew and his head is shaking. His been pushed by a police man. Behind him a police holds all the things that he has stolen from the giant, like the chicken, money and flute. The activity on this page asks the learner to role play a different ending to the story, an ending where he gets caught.	See above	See above	See above	Story is about stealing. Moral lesson stealing is wrong and you will go to jail. Boy used as an example for stealing and its consequences. Stereotype boys/blacks steal. Children don't know right from wrong. Fantasy vs. reality Terrified

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page98: Drawing b/w	A group of children looking at an ant and talking to the ant. Some are responding to his question on how they are doing. The ant is teaching all the children how to greet. All the children are smiling .	3 Boys 3 Girls	Urban	1B 2W 2B 1W	Children relating to talking insects. The ability of an ant to teach children. Happy
Page99: Drawing b/w	A group of children sitting on the floor. They are talking to an ant. Their mouths are open wide or they smiling others have round mouths and water drops are all around them. Some are wiping their faces with their hands or a towel. All children are smiling.	3 Boys 3 Girls	Urban	1B 1C 1w 2B 1W	Children have partaken in a physical activity, therefore they a perspiring and have tired expressions. Physical activity as a means of learning different language tools. Children talking to ants Happy
Page 102: Drawing b/w	A boy standing with his hands up in the air. He is smiling. He must count from 1-5 and from 5-1 doing different things with his arms	Boy	Urban	W	Physical activity as means of learning how to count. Children may enjoy counting by using their arms. Happy
Page 106: Drawing b/w	Three boys posing around a calendar describing the different seasons and what happens at certain times of the year. One boy is wearing school uniform waving, the other is playing with leaves and the last boy is relaxing on the beach.	3Boys	Urban	3W	Boys used to describe the different months of the year. Boys have having fun throughout the year. Happy

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page112: Drawing b/w	A girl neatly dressed and smiling with her hands behind her back. Next to her is another girl sitting crouched up with tears rolling down her face and her clothes are tattered and torn. The picture is next to a song that describes opposites At the bottom of the page is children who form part of a crossword puzzle, here they are partaking in different activities in order to complete the puzzle.	3 Girls 6 Boys	Urban	3W 6W	Song used to teach language tools. Importance of song in learning. Girl is sad as she is dirty; girl is happy as she is clean. Boys partaking in physical activity. And one boy crying.
Page 115: Drawing b/w	A girl brushing her hair, brushing her teeth and eating her food. She then waves as she is on her way to school. She is smiling	Girl	Urban	W	Activities girls do before they go to school. Children are happy
Page116: Drawing b/w	A group of children partaking in physical exercise. One boy is climbing a rope; another boy is skipping and the last boy lying down holding his face and smiling. One girl is running, another girl is stretching and the last girl is lifting weights. All children are smiling	3 Boys 3 Girls	Urban	1C 1W 1B 2B 1W	Exercises done by the children are un gendered as all activities can be done by both girls and boys. Physical activities used to teach language tools. Happy

Appendix B Grade 7 textbook images analysis

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page1: Drawing b/w	**Picture 1:** A boy drawing a picture while lying on the floor .	Ungendered	Urban clothes	B	A child enjoying an activity of drawing The body posture of the child relaxed
Page1: Drawing b/w	**Picture 2:** A girl being frightened by what looks like a ghost. The picture shows that she is shaking her hands are holding her face her are, feet turned in.	Girl Bow in her hair	Urban clothes	B	Out of control Victim – powerless Inhuman – no nose Fear shown by expression on her face and her body shaking
Page 2-3: Photograph Color	4 boys posing for a photo and describing their interests such as computers and soccer. Formal mid shots of the boys	4 Boys	Urban	2 C 1 W 1B	Looking pleased activities chosen sport-computers-stereotype Friendship across races Happy
Page 2-3: Photograph Color	2 girls posing for a photo and describing their interests such as pop music Formal mid shots of the girls	2 Girls	Urban	1 B 1W	Looking pleased activity chosen pop music all girls enjoy cultural actives instead of sport-stereotype Friendship across races Happy

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page 6-7 Drawing Color Anchored by text	-Man adds paw paws to boy's bike already packed with bananas. Boy watches and thinks it's a problem. Boy says nothing. -Women adds chickens to load Boy watches Boy thinks they think he is a donkey and says nothing	Boy	rural transport	B	Boy is powerless Youth vs. adult Boy feels imposed upon Powerless to voice his opinion. Feels burdened like a donkey Boy feels imposed upon Rural life style
Page 8: Drawing b/w Anchored by text	Boy tries to topple bike with a stick. His eyebrows are raised and has a smirk on his face	Boy	Rural	B	Boy as bully Boy being bullied
Page 9: Drawing b/w	Boy with 'stick' has been defeated therefore boy with bicycle with his friend rides safely to the market smiling.	2 Boys	Rural Setting: roads are dusty and gravel like Boy is barefoot	2B	Boys on bicycle Having a good time Smiling

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page10: Drawing color	A boy holds his stomach to demonstrate he is hungry.	Boy	Generic	B	He looks desperate and famished. Starving children in Africa – stereotype due to using a black child.
Page22: Drawing color	A boy standing waving his hand. The picture shows that he is half man and half snake. His lower part of his body is a snake. The snake part of his body is wrapped loosely around the girl's neck. A girl posing with half man half snake. Her one hand is covering her stomach and her body language shows that she is passive as she is not even fighting the snake the girls head position is facing towards the half man, which could give the impression of courtship	Boy Girl	Rural: setting	B	Fantasy vs. reality Power hold over the girl Looks calm in his actions boy is strong The girl is constructed as a victim and powerless Passive behavior Submissive Lack of power Rural lifestyle

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page27: Drawing Color	A boy and a girl sitting on blanket listening as an elderly man speaks. The boy is relaxed as he is leaning back on his hands. The girl's body is leaned towards the man and they are both looking at him, the boys face looks more attentive.	1 Boy 1 Girl	Rural: setting and clothes	2 B	Adult vs. child Body leaning towards him and both children are looking at him attentively shows interest and respect for elders.
Page 30: **photograph color**	A boy and a girl posing in traditional Islam attire. Both the children are smiling for the photo. Both children are not doing anything other than posing for the photo	1 Boy 1Girl	Urban	C	Presenting religion and using both sexes to describe the religion. It is a heterosexual picture as boy and girl are paired for the photo. Happy

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page30: photograph color	Two boys reading the torah and wearing traditional Jewish head gear.	2 Boys	Urban Setting: they in a park	2W	Representation of the Jewish faith by using boys. Diversity in South Africa
Page30: photograph color	A girl partaking in an Indian religious activity. This takes place during festival of Diwali. She is wearing a sari and has the traditional Indian dot on her forehead. She is smiling in the picture	Girl	urban clothes	I	A girl used to represent an Indian festival. Girl looks happy Diversity in South Africa
Page 31: photograph Color	A few boys in a mosque reading the Koran. They are all sitting in a straight line. One boy is facing the camera. The other boys all have their heads down.	Boy	Urban	I	A representation of Islam by using boys. Could also represent the cape Malay culture. Disciplined due to the straight line. Boy facing the camera looks nervous. diversity

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page31: Photograph color	Two women dressed in Indian attire are posing with their children. Both women are carrying their children and one little boy in an Indian outfit is standing in between them looking away from the camera.	Girl: blanket and bangles on her arm Boy	Urban setting	2I	A girl and boy representing the Indian culture by wearing Indian clothes. Indian parents dressed the same.
Page31: Photograph color	A girl wearing traditional African clothing. Her photograph is part of a collage that shows diversity. She is smiling	Girl	Rural	B	Her image shows diversity in South Africa. Black heritage and black clothing
Page 32: Photograph b/w anchored by text	Two photographs of girls. The first girl has a spider diagram around her asking the second girl questions about her religion, home language, favorite food, festivals and other languages she can speak. The activity requires learners to find the answers that best suit the question. It is also used to help learners to get to know different people.	2Girl	Urban	B	Friendship across races. White girl used to find information on the Indian girl. Indian girl answers: on the different things she likes her food festivals and what she speaks at home Answers are assumptions on Indians. Girls look happy

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page34: Drawing color Anchored by text	A young girl in her school uniform has read an article in the news paper about a boy who had aids and therefore wants to enquire about it. She is asking her teacher; granny and brother about the aids virus. No one is responding positively to her as they are all cutting her off in a rather rude manner. The young has a serious facial expression	Girl	Urban Clothes: school uniform	B	Girl is silenced Power positions between characters Adult vs. child Restriction of information to children Sensitivity to the aids virus Miserable and ignored Black child used to discuss Aids
Page34: Drawing Color Anchored by text	A young boy telling his sister to be quiet when she enquires about aids and informs her she is too young to know about aids. He has a finger pointing up to show that he is serious about and has a stern look on his face.	Boy	Urban clothes	B	Girl is silenced Boy vs. girl Boy in power position Power struggle of different age groups as well as gender. uncomfortable annoyed
Page 35: Drawing Color Anchored by text	Girl watching the television were a priest is informing the girl that if parents love their children they should warn them about Hiv and aids. She then sits and has a conversation with her parents about aids where she is allowed to ask questions. The story ends with the girl showing thumbs: knowledge is power.	Girl	Urban	B	Power of religion to inform children morally. Adult vs. child Parental influence Parents as all knowing Value of education Moral message: children have the right to know. glad

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page38: Photograph color	Two boys sitting on the grass where both boys are sharing a sandwich. They sitting apart from one another and looking into the camera, both boys are smiling. Two girls hugging one another, in the next picture they sharing a bathroom both girls are smiling. .	2Boys 2Girls	Urban clothes	1W 1C 1W 1B	All pictures are demonstrating ways people won't get Aids. Friendship across race. Boys actions are normal Girls seem to be more caring in their actions: hugging Children are happy.

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page39: **Photograph in color**	A young boy who is an Aids sufferer is speaking on a microphone. He looks skinny and ill at the same time. His face shows concern .	Boy	Urban clothes	B	Aids representative View on how people look when living with the aids virus Aids and child Anxious
Page41: **Drawing b/w anchored by text**	In this picture a boy is stuffing his face with mangos. His cheeks are swollen due to eating so many mangos. His mother warns him not to eat too many mangos or else he will turn into a mongo. His eyes are wide open	Boy	Rural clothes setting: the thatch roof hut and the boab tree	B	Fantasy vs. reality Adult vs. child Healthy eating habits Child portrayed as needing to be disciplined by means of threats Shocked Rural stories
Page 41: **Drawing b/w**	Due to the boy not listening to his mother; in this picture you can see the boy slowly transforming into a mango. His head is shaking; his eyes and his mouth are wide open.	Boy	Rural	B	Consequences of not listening to your parents Ways of teaching a moral lesson through fantasy Boy not in control: terrified Simplistic story
Page 42: **Drawing Color Anchored by text**	A girl is reaching her hand out to eat a mango. She then learns that her brother is the mango, her eyebrows are raised her mouth and her eyes are wide open, she trembling.	Girl	Rural	B	Girl in opposite position of her brother. Less dramatic position for the girl Shocked and afraid: trembling and wide eyes

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page46: photograph color Anchored by text	A young girl holding a bird to her face with both her hands. She is being used to advertise cereal She has a smile on her face and her eyes are closed.	Girl	Urban Clothes	W	Breakfast cereal advert represented by a white young girl. Healthy eating Child looks happy
Page:50-51 Drawing Color	Girls and boys partaking in a variety of sports and games	14 Boys 15 girls	Urban clothes	5B 3W 6C 8B 2W 5C	Girls partaking: in netball, hopscotch, skipping and tennis. Boys partake in javelin, soccer and cricket. Differences in the sports and activities boys and girls partake in: gender activities
Page 52: photograph b/w	Girls partaking in a game of skipping. Two girls swing the rope while one girl jumps. A boy is watching but he stands with his arms folded and smiles slightly	3Girls 1Boy	Urban	2W 1C 1C	Skipping girl's activities that they enjoy. Boy seems uninterested. Differences between boys and girls in choice of games to play They look happy the boy looks not keen. Gender roles

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page58: **Photograph b/w**	In this picture there are a whole lot of children throwing litter away. Some of their arms are reaching in order to throw the litter away. There is also an insert of a young girl giving her name and surname and saying what school she comes from. .	6 boys 6 girls	Urban Clothes: school uniform	8W 4B	Keeping the environment clean Girl mascot for litter at the school she is black Responsibility of children Teaching morals, values and good behavior as you teach the language: children treated as human subjects
Page61: **Photograph b/w**	Photograph of a girl posing on her school bag She is leaning onto the bag and smiling Bottom of page: Head shots of a both and girl looking at one another. The boy has a speech bubble were he is talking in code Both have smiles on their faces	2 girls 1 boy	Urban Clothes: school uniform	1W 2B	Representing school life Happy Boy in charge of conversation Girl passive thinker Glad
Page 63: **Photograph b/w**	A girl posing with a book on wild life. She enjoys photography and is from a rural area in the country. Bottom of page: Another girl taking a picture with a camera	2 Girls	Urban Clothes	2W	Showing interest in books based on wild life rural life of a white girl Showing interest in photography Pleased

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page66-67: photograph	3 Boys and 3 girls posing in a photograph where they are describing there career aspirations. All children are smiling	Boy Girl	Urban clothes	3W 3C	Girls want to achieve careers in: modeling teaching and ballet. Boys want to achieve careers in: race car driving, architecture and a vet. Different careers girls and boys hope to achieve
Page68: **Drawing b/w**	The picture shows a head shot of a group of children singing and smiling. There are musical bar notes found in the picture .The picture is accompanied by instructions to sing a song. Same picture found on page67and 73	3 Boys: hair 4 Girls: hair pigtails	Urban clothes	3B 1W 2C 1B	Children require singing as an activity. The importance of singing Activities children like
Page 69: **Drawing b/w**	Boys playing soccer at a stadium this is evident due to the crowd cheering in the background. The boys faces are stern as they are frowning	4 boys	Urban	2 B 2W	Boys enjoying soccer as a sport. Gender Facial expression shows they take it seriously Sport people enjoy
Page 73: **Drawing b/w**	A boy riding a donkey. The donkey has a bag and a stick on it.	Boy	Rural: clothes and transport: a donkey	B	Rural way of life

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page74: Photograph b/w anchored by text	A young boy looking up at the camera. He is holding a pencil in his hand and has a book on the table. He is accompanied in the photo by an older woman who looks like she is helping him with his work. He has a serious facial expression and his eyes are wide open. He is described as a poor township child	Boy	Urban clothes	B	Teacher and learner relationship Picture is taken from above; could show power over child Surprised Black child as poor and in need of charity
Page76: Photograph b/w anchored by text	In this picture a boy is posing with his horse. We can see he has won a prize due to his trophy and sash that says first place. He was saved by a family as he was a street child and the family helped him achieve his dreams He is smiling	Boy	Urban clothes	B	Sports boys enjoy: horse racing and careers in sport for boys Pleased and proud Black child as poor and in need of charity.
Page 79: Photograph b/w anchored by text	A boy in an all black outfit sitting in his wheelchair; posing for a photograph. The text mentions that he is a top achiever academically in history; math and afrikaans. He is smiling and looks relaxed	Boy	Urban	C	Representation of a disabled person Representation of a disabled person who does well academically Capabilities of a child Content

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page80: **Photograph b/w anchored by text**	A young boy and a young girl posing for a photograph. In the picture the boy is holding the girls hand and keeping her up as well. Boy described as saving his sister from a fire, they live in a rural area Both children are smiling	1 Boy 1 Girl	Rural clothes	2W	Roles of different age groups and genders Life as a white rural child Happy
Page82-83: **Drawing b/w anchored by text**	Two girls riding in a car with an older man. They engage in a conversation with the older man where he asks them what they would like to be when they grow up. He then asks the girl what she would do if in trouble and she replies by saying she would pray to God. Both girls are smiling	2 Girls	Urban	2W	Girls want to be a model and an airhostess. Career choices for girls; gender Influence of religion Glad
Page 92: **Photograph b/w**	A girl is sitting on a swing. She looks comfortable and has a smile on her face.	Girl	Urban Clothes	C	Child having fun on a swing Young childs activity going to the park pleasant

Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page 95: **Drawing b/w**	A boy carrying branch on his back. His body is leaned forward and his carrying the big branch with two hands. His face is hidden by the branch.	Boy	Rural	B	Boy is struggling to carry the branch his black Burdened by weight of the branch Hardships of a rural child
	A group of children demonstrating what pronouns are by pointing to one another. Two other children are reading a book. The children are smiling	5 girls 8boys	Urban	3B 2W 4C 4W	Method of teaching certain language tools in afrikaans. Capabilities of children understanding Happy and pleasant
Kind of image	**Description**	**Gender**	**Urban Rural**	**Race**	**Interpretation**
Page: 96 Drawing in b/w	A group of children singing behind a table that has a cake and other party stuff on it. They are surrounded by music notes and some of the heads are up and mouths open demonstrating that they are singing. A girl and a boy are standing in front of the table listening to them sing. They have smiles on their faces	7 boys: bow ties 8 girls: hairstyle and clothes	Urban clothes	3C 4W 6W 2B	Simple image for learners to look at Song as important to learning Children having a good time Happy and excited

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Kind of image	Description	Gender	Urban Rural	Race	Interpretation
Page97: Drawing b/w	A number of children are participating in activities that are meant to teach verbs .	10 Boys 10 girls	Urban clothes	3W 6C 1B 7W 3B	Girls partake in activities like: washing, cleaning running, jumping, catching and reading. Boys partake in activities like: painting, throwing, pulling and walking the dog. Active boy domestic girl
Page101: Drawing b/w	A child running on a summer's day catching butterflies. The sun is smiling and she looks happy.	Girl	Urban clothes	B	A child having fun. Girl catching things like butter flies. Immature drawing as the sun is smiling. Correct choice of media for child?
Page 102: Photograph Color	A boy lying underneath a tree. His eyes are closed and his mouth is open. His hands are behind his head. His lying alone underneath the tree	Boy	Urban	W	He is resting well as he is snoring. Liberty boys have to relax where they want too. Limits vs. opportunities: for girls and boys.

Appendix C

Example of the type of paper found in the Grade 4 Afrikaans textbook

Appendix D

Example of the type of paper found in the Grade 7 Afrikaans textbook