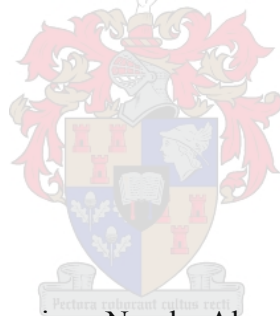


**Kaaps: exploring the power of language as lived experience and its formative
role in knowledge production and self-understanding within an art gallery in the
South African context**

by

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March 2020

Abstract

During my undergrad education in the Visual Arts Department at Stellenbosch University, as a working-class ‘coloured’¹, I was immersed in a white Afrikaans culture for the first time. It allowed me to see that the Kaaps variety (a non-standard variety of Afrikaans) reflected a deep-rooted colonial and apartheid ideology around the ‘coloured’ experience and language purity. The effects of this are troublesome in a post-apartheid South Africa, with non-standard varieties like Kaaps still being marginalised by race hierarchies. The non-recognition of specific language use persists in influencing people’s ideas about themselves and others. This case study is an exploration of Kaaps speakers’ lived experiences and attitudes toward the Kaaps variety through dialogue and visual representation within an art gallery. This was done in order to promote the potential educational capacity of the art gallery to renegotiate more just recognitions and representation of oppressed narratives and racial identities outside of the classroom setting.

The theoretical perspectives of critical theory and pedagogy, indigenous knowledge, and social justice were employed to inform the research. As research design a case study was used. Probability sampling and qualitative methods were used to collect data. Individuals participated in the research through interactive dialogue and interview processes concerning lived experiences and attitudes toward Kaaps within a specific art gallery and exhibition space in Cape Town. To understand the data collected, inductive content analysis was used.

It was found that participants recognised the education system as a significant roleplayer in how they perceived their racial identity through language, due to standard language ideology. Any association with the Kaaps variety is personal and practical and their preference for the ‘master’ language of English is for ‘successful’ social integration and economic or political reasons. The difficulty in properly integrating or acknowledging individuals’ actual (multilingual) language in their learning environments, as well as recognition of cultural difference, was problematised by the participants and they responded with recommendations.

Implications from the findings and conclusions involve integrating more creative and critical engagement around marginalised narratives. The context significance of non-standard varieties in the personal and social environments of learners must be more effectively considered, and must be engaged through identity texts for just recognition, representation, and dialogue. This implies that the art gallery’s educational capacity should be realised to renegotiate dominant ideology through critical processes of creativity that help better articulate the lived experiences of marginalised communities, as well as the potential to evoke responsive meanings for social justice.

¹ The term ‘coloured’ within the South African context refers to the racial classification for multicultural ethnic groups during Apartheid government; that is, those considered neither ‘black’ nor ‘white’. In the Western Cape, the large population of ‘coloureds’ were a result of slave trade during colonisation, and the distinctive use of the term ‘Cape coloured’ helps distinguish ‘coloureds’ from Cape Town from other ‘coloured’ groups in South Africa, particularly through the language or speech (Dyers 2015).

Opsomming

Tydens my voorgraadse opleiding in die Departement Visuele Kunste aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, as 'n werkers-klas 'kleurling', was ek vir die eerste keer in 'n wit Afrikaanse kultuur gedompel. Dit het my toegelaat om te sien dat die Kaaps-verskeidenheid ('n nie-standaard verskeidenheid van Afrikaans) 'n diep gewortelde koloniale en apartheids ideologie rondom die 'kleurling' ervaring en taalsuiwerheid weerspieël. Die gevolge hiervan is bemoeilik in 'n post-apartheid Suid-Afrika, met nie-standaard variëteite soos Kaaps wat steeds deur ras hiërargieë gemarginaliseer word. Die nie-erkenning van spesifieke taal gebruik word voortgesit om mense se idees oor hulself en ander te beïnvloed. Hierdie gevallestudie is 'n ondersoek na Kaaps-sprekers se ervarings en houdings teenoor die verskeidenheid deur dialoog en visuele voorstelling binne 'n kunsgalery. Dit is gedoen om die potensiële opvoedkundige kapasiteit van die kunsgalery te bevorder, om meer regverdigde erkenning en voorstelling van onderdrukte vertellings en rasse-identiteite buite die klaskamer te heronderhandel.

Die teoretiese perspektiewe van kritiese teorie en pedagogie, inheemse kennis en sosiale geregtigheid is gebruik om die navorsing in te lig. As navorsings ontwerp is 'n gevallestudie gebruik. Waarskynlikheid steekproefneming en kwalitatiewe metodes is gebruik om data te versamel. Individu het deelgeneem aan die navorsing deur middel van interaktiewe dialoog en onderhoudsprosesse met betrekking tot ervarings en houdings teenoor Kaaps binne 'n spesifieke kunsgalery en uitstalruimte in Kaapstad,. Om die inligting wat versamel is te verstaan, is induktiewe inhoudsanalise gebruik.

Daar is gevind dat die onderwys-stelsel 'n beduidende rol gespeel het op die manier waarop deelnemers hulle rasse-identiteit deur middel van taal beskou het, as gevolg van standaard taal ideologie. Enige assosiasie met die Kaaps-verskeidenheid is persoonlik en prakties, en hulle voorkeur vir die 'meester-taal' van Engels is vir 'suksesvolle' sosiale integrasie en ekonomiese of politieke redes. Die moeite om die werklike (meertalige) taal van individue behoorlik te integreer, of te erken in hul leeromgewings, sowel as om kulturele verskil te erken, was geïdentifiseer by die deelnemers en hulle het met aanbevelings geantwoord.

Implikasies uit die bevindinge en gevolgtrekkings behels die integrasie van meer kreatiewe en kritiese betrokkenheid rondom gemarginaliseerde vertellings. Die konteks beteken van nie-standaard variëteite in die persoonlike en sosiale omgewings van leerders moet meer effektief oorweeg word, deur identiteits-tekste, vir net erkenning, verteenwoordiging en dialoog. Dit impliseer dat die kunsgalery se opvoedingsvermoë moet gerealiseer word om die dominante ideologie te heronderhandel, deur kritiese prosesse van kreatiwiteit wat help om die geleefde ervarings van gemarginaliseerde gemeenskappe te verwoord, en die potensiële betekenis daarvan om te reageer vir sosiale geregtigheid.

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1. Orientation to the study

1.1 Introduction to the research

My interest in the study of *Kaaps* began with how I perceived the language throughout my schooling years including (but not limited to) my academic environment during my undergraduate education in the Visual Arts Department at Stellenbosch University. As a working class ‘Coloured’ growing up in Cape Town, experiencing a white² Afrikaner- and Afrikaans culture for the first time allowed me to see that its *Kaaps* variety reflected a deep-rooted colonial ideology around the coloured experience, as well as the narrative surrounding language purity. Non-standard ‘ways of speaking’ languages are often referred to as a ‘variety’, and a widely held opinion is that a non-standard language variety is an inadequate ‘imitation’ of the standard one. Travelling in and out of campus by taxi and train in my final year, I was confronted with the reality of language as a social currency. It relates to social class, with the identity and power of each class being expressed in its language. This realisation motivated me to reconsider my position as an artist. Although photography plays an important role in my practice, as a printmaker I have to rebuild an image, as it were, to rebuild understanding while considering every aspect of the image or experience. I began to acknowledge the symbolic act in narrative and lived experience. On this reflection, I desired to negotiate the corrupt narrative that often emerges when we speak about *Kaaps*, founded in self-prejudiced perceptions, through new representations and lived experiences.

During my studies, I would regularly encounter speakers of *Kaaps* as it is part of my everyday environment, and I found there to be a significant amount of negative perceptions and lack of understanding around it. This gave me a greater motivation for this study. Rooted in my personal experience of the *Kaaps* vernacular and the ideologies imposed upon me and the community I share it with, I now see the importance of foregrounding the lived experiences of *Kaaps* within an environment that encourages dialogue and critical engagement. In exploring the role of language in knowledge production and self-understanding through visual art, the gallery stands as a political space in its educational capacity. The narrative that often corrupts *Kaaps* speakers’ view of themselves, and which is reproduced by colonial ideology, is illegitimate. We must therefore shed light on marginalised ways of knowing and being, recreating an accurate narrative for our communities and the world by engaging with our lived experiences with language. I believe that when people feel they are partaking in the creation of something, or contributing to new knowledge, collaborative learning can take place. This can help us reflect and acknowledge marginalised histories and lived experiences in our modern South African society.

² I use the term ‘white’ Afrikaans (Bedeker, Roos and Rensburg 2007:15) to denote the cultural and ideological racial association or assumption ascribed to the Afrikaans language as an exclusive language variety, while other preeminent colloquial varieties of Afrikaans exist.

1.2 Background to the research

Language (policy) cannot be understood in separation from its social contexts or disconnected from the historical context in which it was produced (Cooper 1987: 183). The interrelationship between language and power is so integrated into state planning that it affects all areas of daily life. The requirement of policy which involves everyone learning the same language is largely viewed as a reasonable answer to the communicative ‘problems’ of multilingual communities. The notion that economic and social discrimination will be solved through learning the dominant language is an instance of an ideology used to maintain power and privilege. In post-apartheid South Africa, the perceived ‘superiority’ of standard language use has produced conflicting language attitudes and marginalised racial identities (Braam 2004:8). The favouring of single language use in educational practices can be seen as being in conflict with the multilingual communities produced by colonisation and the contemporary crossing of social groups in South Africa. Present language use can therefore only be understood within South Africa’s colonial and apartheid past. This chapter presents a background to the research, which is followed by the problem statement, an overview of the research methodology, the boundaries and limitations of the study and, lastly, the presentation of the structure of the thesis.

When discussing a language or a variety like *Kaaps*, it is important to understand that in the South African context languages are viewed in terms of racial distinctions. In addition, to understand how ideas about racial identities become dominant knowledge through language, we must look to education and its function in reproducing dominant culture. The apartheid system systematically linked race, language, and culture to intentionally bring about the division rather than the integration of the people of South Africa (Busch 2014). In effect, the political attitude of apartheid was an expression of European cultural superiority built on the denial of the African person’s humanity (Cloete 2012:121). Education was therefore controlled by the white minority who decided on both the curriculum as well as the schooling system. The curriculum was used to divide races and to organise groups into different inferior and superior economic, political, and social statuses by sustaining and reinforcing racial prejudice and racism through language barriers (Busch 2014:212).

In South Africa, the language-in-education policy during apartheid demonstrated a divide-and-rule approach which involved the ethnic grouping of communities speaking different languages. Each ‘ethnic’ group was to be defined by its language. English and Afrikaans were to have equal status. However, an affirmative action policy in effect promoted Afrikaans as the language of instruction (Busch 2010). Language played an instrumental role in the struggle against apartheid. The Soweto uprising in 1976 was a political response by school students categorised as coloured and black against the attempt to institute Afrikaans as the main language of education (Busch 2010:285). The uprising also highlighted the language question in South Africa as a class issue and not just a race issue. In post-apartheid South Africa, however, language is seen as instrumental in nation-building and language policy in order to promote and establish linguistic diversity more visibly (Busch 2010:284).

The Constitution of 1993 recognises 11 official languages: isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Sepedi, Sesotho, Tshivenda, Ndebele, English, isiZulu, Setswana, siSwati, and Xitsonga. Re-distributing the status of African languages was intended to undo the prejudiced system of Bantu Education under the apartheid government (Busch 2010:284). Braam (2004:12) notes that the systematic discrimination of apartheid policy is however maintained in schools' educational practices. The commissioned LANGTAG³ Report by Minister Ngubane in 1995 addressed the tendency to cultivate unilingualism (Afrikaans or English as the only official languages) in a multilingual South Africa, including the intolerance of language diversity (Braam 2004:11). Furthermore, the recognition and function of languages that are considered as unofficial, non-standard, and multilingual varieties are part of the struggle for linguistic diversity and resistance to the notion of cultural purity. These varieties are viewed through dominant ideology as being in conflict with the 'standard' form of a language, which encourages racial prejudice and marginalisation.

Racial or ethnic distinctions are discursive, not biological. This refers to aspects of language and culture, the ways of speaking, methods of representation, and social practices that are used to establish difference. Race as a social convention is then not concerned with the inherent or possible physical differences of people as much as it is concerned with the distribution of power and privilege (Smedley 1998:699). In South Africa, the emphasis on standard languages is an attempt at recognition and nationhood (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech 2015:3). The concept of a nation is not merely a political thing but a producer of meanings revealed in cultural representations. A nation is a symbolic community and the thing that justifies its "power to generate a sense of identity and allegiance" (Schwartz 1986 cited in Hall). The use of the dominant standard language is therefore viewed as an indication of successful integration into society.

Since the 1990s Afrikaans was viewed as the language of the oppressor and a preference toward English in all social life emerged. However, Afrikaans remained and remains the main language of communication in the Western Cape among the people formerly categorised as coloured in rural areas. However, their affiliation with the Afrikaans language is rooted in their historical and colonial role in the development of the language. Adam Small (Cloete 2012), the South African poet and philosopher, referred to the language spoken by the 'coloured' community as a 'black' African language (Cloete 2012:120). Whether enforced from 'above' or resisted from 'below', black Afrikaans' cultural and political importance not only for the 'coloured' people but also for 'other' groups in South Africa cannot be denied. This black Afrikaans Small refers to is known as *Kaaps*, and is part of the total system of Afrikaans.

Although learners bring multilingual varieties with them to school, the instruction of 'mother-tongue' or standard languages in South Africa has resulted in them being pre-categorised and reduced to the monolingualisation of either English or Afrikaans speakers. Their actual languages are effectively marginalised and denied any social credibility. As a

³ LANGTAG- Language Plan Task Group (Braam 2004).

result, people self-consciously affirm group identity as an important aspect of self-definition and devalue their culture in favour of the dominant one. Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin White Masks* (1952:17) attributes a fundamental importance to the lived experience of language. He explains that the ‘black’ man has two standpoints, one being with members of his community, and another with the white man. In this instance, the black man behaves himself differently with a white man than what he would with another black man. This separation from himself is directly linked to colonial oppression. The act of speaking involves the ability to use specific syntax and repertoire, and to understand the adaption of that particular language. It ultimately presupposes a culture to promote the influence of a society.

Harrison (1999) notes that race used to be a distinct biological concept (skin colour), but is frequently recoded in terms of culture. Prejudice against cultures is repackaged in renewed racism through language. A language holds the world uttered and suggested by that language. What this means is that mastery of a language offers significant power. In other words, colonised people in whom an inferiority complex has been formed by the suppression of its local cultural creativity are left to assimilate the language of the colonising nation. Fanon (1952:18) calls this the language of the ‘mother’ country. The perceived low status of non-standard language varieties as inferior to official languages, and the denial and prejudice attributed to non-standard language varieties in post-apartheid South Africa are affirmed within the educational system (Ramphela 2008). Erasmus (2009:2) describes it as culture misdirecting diversity.

Only once we understand that all cultural statements and practices are produced in this conflicting and uncertain space are we able to understand why the hierarchical claims to the originality or ‘purity’ of cultures are weak, even before we opt for practical historical experiences that establish their hybridity (Bhabha 2003:208). The ideological denial of multilingualism in South African society both during apartheid and (even more so) in the post-apartheid context has been perpetuated throughout the time of apartheid in order to relegate indigenous and non-standard language varieties to a low status and that of irrelevant knowledge. Alexander (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:170) notes that only once you clarify the relation between language and class, cultural identity, cultural practices, economy and so forth, can we understand how ‘race-thinking’ in South Africa persists, while simultaneously being committed to rising above the racial divisions produced under the apartheid system.

1.3 Problem statement

The ideological inheritance of educational policy under apartheid and the reproduction of social injustice toward marginalised linguistic identities affect individuals’ self-understanding. The exclusion, in terms of representation of the concrete ways individuals learn and act using non-standard varieties and the significance of these lived experiences, cannot be understood apart from racial and cultural identity. The aim of this study is to explore the ways in which standard language ideology in formal education is represented as attainment, and how it renders the racially marginalised non-standard variety of *Kaaps* as inferior, fostering negative perceptions among its speakers. In order to promote critical dialogue around representation and recognition, this study aims to encourage more creative

and transformative ways of challenging the dominant ideology that influences the personal and social identities of working-class South Africans. Opening up the art gallery for dialogue about *Kaaps* is intended to aid in promoting ideas of representation and recognition in order to encourage critical engagement through creative and social processes that are not specific to a traditional educational setting.

With this conviction, the research question was developed: *Can the educational capacity of the art gallery be realised through the visual representation of Kaaps, in order to understand the power of language in the lived experiences of its speakers' and the possible factors influencing their attitudes toward the non-standard variety?* In order to answer this question, specific relevant aims and objectives were established.

Aims:

1. To create and foster positive representations of *Kaaps* as a non-standard variety through dialogue within the art gallery.
2. To explore the factors influencing the language attitudes and linguistic identity of speakers of *Kaaps*, or those who have a personal and or social relationship with the variety.
3. To discover whether the visual rendering of *Kaaps* as lived experience could evoke specific meanings and visual recall in the participants that are meaningful.

The above aims can be realised through the following objectives:

Objectives:

1. To create an installation in an art gallery that explores the lived experience of *Kaaps* in a specific exhibition space.
2. To engage selected visitors in dialogue about their lived experiences with *Kaaps* within the specific exhibition space in order to understand the power of language use in shaping their ideas about themselves and others.
3. To create a critical, comfortable, and expressive environment by activating the exhibition space through an interactive aspect for visitors where they can communicate their lived experiences of, and insights about *Kaaps* as evoked by the specific artworks.

The potential benefits of engaging participants in dialogue about *Kaaps* within the art gallery, with regard to race and culture, can include uncovering or confronting the problematic ways in which corruptive narratives are reproduced and negative representations perpetuated in expressions of racial identity. Furthermore, benefits could involve creating a comfortable and interactive space for participants to express their feelings and opinions concerning language and identity. The benefits could also include creating a sense of representational affirmation that validates marginalised identity. Additionally, opening up the gallery to the public means different racial identities will surface which could help us better understand our social

interactions through language and build a greater sensitivity toward dialogues around issues of racial identity, and thereby achieve inclusive and accurate narratives in the post-apartheid context. Lastly, engaging individuals in an art gallery and activating the specific exhibition space for dialogue facilitates the collaborative production of new knowledge to realise the possibilities or formative ways of visually and verbally expressing racial and cultural identity.

1.4 Overview of research methodology

An interpretive research approach that involves transactional epistemology and relativist ontology is used in this study to acquire meaning (Denzin & Lincoln 2018). To obtain specific and detailed knowledge, a case study research design is used that involved participatory research and dialogic inquiry. The case study used is an exemplifying case (Yin 2009). A systematic probability sampling method was used and coupled with maximum variation sampling to obtain empirical data. The sampling involved the selection of individuals who speak *Kaaps* or have a personal or social relationship with the variety, and an interactive aspect for visitors to the exhibition allowed for multiple voices to emerge in the study. Qualitative research methods were used to conduct semi-structured interviews, and inductive content analysis was used to analyse the data collected. Stellenbosch University's guidelines for responsible research were used to ensure ethical accountability. Validity and trustworthiness were obtained through a sample study and respondent or member validation for correct representation and transparency.

1.5 Boundaries and limitations of the study

The research for this case study was conducted within the context of a specific art gallery group exhibition, and an even more specific exhibition space. Data collection was therefore purposefully limited to the art gallery. Access to the art gallery during data collection was not problematic, and the limited time in which to conduct the research in the exhibition space proved to be sufficient. Because of the time constraints within which the research was conducted; a case study research design was applicable to gain more detailed knowledge. Moreover, a case study means that the findings cannot be generalised.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured into six chapters.

Orientation to the study: Chapter 1 serves as an introduction and presents a rationale for and orientation to the study. The introduction situates the study within the South African context with regards to race, language, and education. The background to the research is outlined, as are the problem statement, the aims and objectives, an overview of the research methodology, the boundaries and limitations of the study, and the structure of the thesis.

Context to the Study: Chapter 2 is an important chapter which situates the study within a specific context and setting. The general context is explained by specifying the particular art gallery, group exhibition, and focused exhibition space within which the study was conducted; that is, the exhibition space of the researcher which explores the lived experience

of *Kaaps* through visual representation. The chapter also explains what *Kaaps* is, and the purpose of conducting the study in the specific art gallery.

Theoretical Perspectives: Chapter 3 contains the literature review that shapes the theoretical outline for the study. Critical theory and pedagogy is discussed, followed by perspectives on indigenous knowledge and social justice. These theoretical perspectives are reflected upon within the context of South Africa, where historical systems by dominant ideology continue to influence personal and social identities through language, education, and visual representation.

Research Methodology: Chapter 4 discusses the research methodology that has been applied to the study. A case study design was used for this study, and inductive content analysis was employed. Participant observations and dialogues were conducted in the art gallery within the specific exhibition space as the participants critically engaged the exhibited artworks.

Findings and Discussion: Chapter 5 presents the data collected during the study. Findings were grouped into themes which emerged from the study after analysis. The data is presented and discussed concurrently with the findings as it relates to specific themes.

Conclusions and implications: Chapter 6 concludes the study with a discussion regarding the implications of the findings for exploring speakers' attitudes toward the *Kaaps* variety within the art gallery. I also include some possible implications that may have relevance and value in better understanding the art gallery's educational capacity for negotiating issues of race and class.

2. Contextualising the Study

Contextualising the study is essential in order to explore whether the educational capacity of the art gallery can be realised through the visual representation of *Kaaps*, in order to understand the power of language in the lived experiences of its speakers' and the possible factors influencing their attitudes toward the non-standard variety. Firstly, in this chapter the specificity of the art gallery and group exhibition in which the study emerged is presented, with a focus on the specific exhibition space in which the study was conducted. In addition to this, I also position myself as visual artist within the study, particularly in relation to the specific exhibition space focussed on for the study, and the art gallery in general. Lastly, an explanation of *Kaaps* is presented in order to better understand the colonial and historical context in which the variety emerged, and its position present-day.

Earlier in the year I was presented the opportunity to partake in a group exhibition at *Eclectica Contemporary Gallery* in Cape Town. The title of the exhibition was *KWAAI Vol.2*. 'Vol.2' denotes the fact that it is the second year the exhibition had been organised. The word '*Kwaai*' in standard Afrikaans derives from the Dutch word '*kwaad*', meaning *angry*. However, in *Kaaps* vernacular the word '*kwaai*' has a positive connotation meaning *cool* or *excellent*. The aim of the exhibition was to explore the specific ways 'Coloured' artists choose to investigate or represent the narrative around 'Coloured' identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Coloured identity as a concept has for the longest time been a very contentious topic and grey area in South Africa, and how you go about discussing it or representing it may by some be viewed as perpetuating it or as a challenge against prejudiced ideology. In their press release in the *Art Times* the gallery stated:

Even though the aim of this exhibition is to celebrate 'coloured' identity we should not forget the systematic way in which 'coloured' people in South Africa, especially in Cape Town and its outskirts, remain marginalized. A concern often expressed is, "Wat van ons?" ('what about us') - which talks about exclusion from opportunities, be it economic, social or political. Opening a dialogue can act as a catalyst in understanding our identity and can simultaneously provide a means of healing. We need to openly speak about the impact of our slave history, our imposed identity, our struggle founded within the cruel and oppressive Apartheid state and the consequences of social and economic injustices our current democratic state has inherited. Understanding the past, how it links to the present, and lived experiences, should create deeper insight into the community and identity of 'coloureds'. When we look back on history that extends outside of race and class, it is evident that there needs to be a disruption in the oppressive cycles for further liberation to occur. The stories told need to be brought to the forefront. It is within the creativity of our 'coloured' communities that many of them have found refuge and have managed to create aspirations for a better future. Many eras have passed, each of them imposing their own context onto an entire nation. Yet, we have reached a time, where there is necessity in not only celebrating who we are and our diversity, but to speak up against new forms of oppression and systematic control.

- *Eclectica Gallery, 2019*



Figure 2.1: Bushy Wopp, *Perception Unmasked*, 2019, Spray paint and Acrylic on canvas A2, one of the participating artists in *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.

Figure 2.1 above titled *Perception Unmasked* (Figure 2.1) by artist Bushy Wopp represents his personal response to the prejudiced and stereotypical ‘gangster’ archetype ascribed to the coloured community. The common negative perception of coloured people as gangsters is often projected onto the coloured community as a whole, even though it is representative of a very specific sub-group. These negative perceptions of gangsterism and drugs, regarding coloured and black people alike, are perpetuated through corrupt cultural representations produced under the apartheid government. Wopp notes that the way the media portrays coloured people robs them of their ‘real’ identity. His artworks are therefore a renegotiation and celebration of the lived experiences of the person of colour in post-apartheid South Africa. *Figure 2.2* below, by artist Kayman Herd, titled *In the Hood* (Figure 2.3), forms part of his series ‘*Oppie Flets*’ (On the Cape Flats). Based on first-hand experience, Herd chooses to highlight the lived experiences of marginalised communities on the Cape Flats. He purposefully confronts and depicts the harsh realities those communities face on a daily basis. These ‘real’ experiences are strengthened by his use of Cape Flats slang and relevant information. Herd documents and transposes these ‘real’ experiences regarding gang warfare, drug abuse and a wide range of social issues invoke necessary conversation.



Figure 2.2: Kayman Herd, *In the Hood*, 2019, Acrylic on Canvas, 90 x 120 cm, one of the participating artists in the *KWAAI* Exhibition.

The exhibition space

In order to frame the reason for the specificity of the exhibition space in which the study was conducted, it is necessary that I position myself as visual artist within the study and the *KWAAI* group exhibition; particularly, with regard to my artwork that was exhibited in relation to the research topic of the study. Furthermore, my position with regards to the art gallery in general is also considered, and forms part of the rationale to this study.

As a visual artist, I believe that visual art has a formative aesthetic ability to evoke visual memory to which we attach meaning, specifically regarding things that may seem basic to perception. As one of the exhibiting artists of the *KWAAI* group exhibition, my exhibited works are a personal exploration of *Kaaps* as lived experience produced during my undergraduate studies.

The focus of this study as titled *Kaaps: exploring the power of language as lived experience and its formative role in knowledge production and self-understanding within the art gallery in the South African context*, is therefore specifically limited to my exhibition space and installation of artworks, and not primarily to the *KWAAI* exhibition as a whole. For the purposes of contextualising the study, I have specified the art gallery and group exhibition. Through the medium of printmaking, specifically silkscreen printing and lithography, my intention with the exhibited works was to visually communicate my experience of *Kaaps* (as a ‘non-standard’ language variety) in post-apartheid South Africa. This was to subvert notions of racial and cultural inferiority ascribed to the language through re-presentation. My installation piece (Figure 2.3) ‘*kussies en laptops*’ (milk crates and laptops) is especially unique for initiating dialogue and setting a communal space. They speak specifically to the

object-language relation. ‘Laptops’ are extra seats found in taxi’s, which are placed in between seats to create an extra seat, which I placed on the milk crates or ‘kussies’. Completing the installation of functional artworks are framed prints on paper, that are visually investigating object language relations which represent common spaces and places where *Kaaps* is spoken. By placing these within the gallery space the everyday or common experience that is basic to perception becomes significant. I believe that only through praxis-reflection and action can we hope to encourage new perspectives.



Figure 2.3: Exhibition space, Chelsea Ingham, *Kussies en Laptops* installation, *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.

While producing these works I became very aware of the huge racial and cultural role language plays in informing our understanding and view of our personal and social identities. Developments in western Europe, through capitalism, have presented us with a wrong view of how people actually deal with language: the fixed monolingual *habitus*. This *habitus* as conceptualised by Bourdieu refers to the actual expression of cultural capital, deep rooted habits, skills and qualities influenced by our life experience (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:167). Opening up the gallery space for dialogue and engagement around the narrative of language presents an opportunity to gain honest and real responses from the audience of visitors as they experience language through visual rendering. Ollerhead and Choi (2018:5) note that intervening activities such as identity texts, which involve environments of creativity and cultural expression through multimodal means, not only inspire creativity but allow individuals to articulate, re-represent, and engage their identities before distinct groups of people.



Figure 2.4: Chelsea Ingham, exhibition space in *Eclectica Contemporary Gallery, KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.

The art gallery is a political space. Historically, it has been constructed within cultural classicism based on European standards of cultural superiority (Sayers 2018:139). With that being said, I found that even though I am an artist, as a person of colour, the gallery had often made me feel uncomfortable. In this sense, the gallery can either evoke a sense of inclusion or exclusion, with the latter being more common. Taking this study into the gallery space aims to disrupt the dominant discourse of the institution and create possibilities for new perceptions about art to be realised (*Figure 2.4*). The gallery as a space of resistance to existing cultural ideologies can allow for the purpose and potential of the gallery to be transformed by participants, with the curators and artists as facilitators. Opening up dialogue around *Kaaps* as lived experience within the gallery space is a step toward activating silenced and marginalised voices and narratives (Sayers 2018). As I set out to explore the *Kaaps* language within the art gallery, the next section presents a historical foundation and context in order to better understand and establish what *Kaaps* is.

What is Kaaps?

Afrikaans is recognised as one of the eleven official languages of South Africa, with there being three dominant varieties of this language spoken around the country. Firstly, Oosgrens Afrikaans, as identified by Costa, Dyers and Mheta (Dyers 2015:64) is the Afrikaans variety that was spoken by the Dutch settlers and selected for standardisation in what we now know as Eastern Cape. The second variety is Oranjerivier Afrikaans, which was formed as a result of the contact between Khoisan speaking languages and Dutch settlers in the northwest province of South Africa (Dyers 2015:57). Thirdly, we have Kaapse Afrikaans (later known as *Kaaps*) which was originally spoken by the slave population made up of Khoi-Khoi, San, and other indigenous peoples surrounding Cape Town at the time of colonisation (Cloete 2012:126).

The *Kaaps* variety is a distinctly stigmatised Afrikaans variety and viewed as lower in status than the official Afrikaans language as it is specifically associated with the working-class community of the Western Cape. This racially-produced claim intended to turn *Kaaps* into something ‘negative’ by Eurocentric notions, and it ignores the indigenous African and creolised Asian cultural roots of the Afrikaans language (Cloete 2012:126). When translated to English, the name *Kaap* means Cape and *Kaaps* (as in ‘Dit is Kaaps’) means ‘from the Cape’, correctly indicating that the language finds its origin in Cape Town. Theoretically, the *Kaaps* variety is alternatively known as ‘Cape Afrikaans’ or ‘Cape Vernacular Afrikaans’ which equally suggests that *Kaaps* is a form of Afrikaans (Dyers 2015:56). The more hybrid origins of Afrikaans therefore oppose the tradition that Afrikaans has its origins exclusively within the Afrikaner (European) practice of cultural purity (Cloete 2012:126). Afrikaans can therefore be understood as a creole language that was developed by the non-standard variety of *Kaaps*. ‘Creole’ appeared when pidgins⁴ were taught as ‘mother-tongues’ from one generation to the next (Stewart 2007:2). For this reason, the concept of creole or ‘creoleness’ is significant in understanding language and identity formations. Although in South Africa it was not referred to as such, ‘creole’ came to be applied to mixed languages or nonstandard varieties of accepted languages by the late-seventeenth century. For this reason it is a suited term for the context of this study in South Africa.

The name *Kaaps* is not a new name, and was used by locals and foreigners alike as a shortened form of *Kaapse-Hollands* when referring to the South African form of Dutch at the time of Dutch and English control at the Cape. This was specifically during the period before the start of the Great Trek and Boer self-government (Roman 2019:3). *Kaaps* as a name came to be recognizable in various substitutes for *Kaapse-Hollands* as well as *Kaapsch Taaliegen* (‘own Cape language’) and *Kaapschen tongval* (‘Cape tongue/dialect’). The association of *Kaaps* as a spoken variety of the working-class is therefore connected “by name with the Cape-Dutch as the earlier layer of the Afrikaans language” (Hendricks 2016:8). In its description, Kaapse Afrikaans according to Hendricks (2016:8) is greatly influenced by English as it assimilates English and Afrikaans lexemes⁵, “giving existing words new or extended meanings” (Dyers 2015:57). Kaapse Afrikaans essentially ‘Afrikaansifies’ English words by borrowing lexemes from English, expressing an informal mixing of words from languages, and is open to constant modernisation and change (Blignaut & Lesch 2014:21).

In the same way, Dash and Glissant (Stewart 2007:3) view creolisation as a process, that is unending and fluid and which cannot be minimised or essentialised, by acknowledging the crossing of spaces they connect, to express the creative and changeable process of cultural contact. Socially, *Kaaps* is mainly spoken by lower classes, but also those who associate with upper or middle classes. In the early developments of Afrikaans, it is found that the term ‘Hottentot’, a word to describe someone who in uttering his words stammers or stutters, was used by the Dutch to refer to the inhabitants at the Cape and was later transferred onto the ‘Cape Coloured’. The contempt is made clear by early Afrikaans adversaries unsurprisingly

⁴ Contact languages that enabled trade among Europeans and locals (Stewart 2007).

⁵ Lexemes is a unit of meaning in language, consisting of a word or group of words.

referring to the language as ‘Hotnotstaal’. The association of Afrikaans to the Khoi essentially made it a language of low cultural rank, denoting the uncivilised. Consequentially, Afrikaans was merely be considered a comical language, as is often assumed of *Kaaps* today (February 2014:1). Hendricks (2016) notes that despite the differences between *Kaaps* and standard Afrikaans, *Kaaps* is part of the total system of Afrikaans. The following sentence in Afrikaans and then *Kaaps* demonstrates the key differences between the two varieties:

Wanneer gaan jy weer in Kaapstad wees vir ‘n uitstappie?
(Standard Afrikaans)

Wanne’ gat djy wee in Kaapstad wies vi’ ‘n outing? (*Kaaps*)

Translation: When are you going to be in Cape Town again for an outing?

Although *Kaaps* is historically spoken by people of colour, it is no longer completely exclusive to this community and is therefore called a ‘colour variety’ (Hendricks 2016:11). *Kaaps* is however distinguishable from sub-varieties of Afrikaans that are recognised as ‘colour varieties’, such as: a) Bushmanland colloquial Afrikaans, Namaqualand and Griqua Afrikaans; b) Tsotsi Afrikaans, a jargon spoken by Black males in urban townships; and c) Black Afrikaans, a geographically spread variety showing traces from one or two Black languages (Hendricks 2016:12).

Accordingly, *Kaaps* also has influences deriving from the *Fanagolo* language which has contributed to negative perceptions of the variety. *Fanagolo* was used as the common language in the mining industry between speakers of different languages of both African and European origin which then infiltrated back home, transcending its social context (Ravyse 2018). These languages include the mixing of English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Zulu and other languages alike. It is recognised as a language of command and when filtered back home, became associated with the gangs on the Cape Flats⁶. This reveals the continual political circumstances under which non-standard language varieties in the South African (apartheid) context have been formed, and the perpetuated racialization of language (Ravyse 2018:4).

While linguistic hybridity is not a new phenomenon, the evolving understanding of the role it plays next to (and oftentimes in place of) the standardized varieties, specifically in the informal and formal ways people obtain knowledge, is directly connected to the changing status of non-standard language varieties such as *Kaaps* (Dyers 2015:57). Questions of cultural, social and personal identities remain critical. Since these unofficial languages hold no status and are largely undervalued within the greater linguistic trade, it is of interest to consider why these languages persist, as well as the persistent role language plays in knowledge production and self-understanding. Furthermore, how education perpetuates and

⁶ The Cape Flats, known as ‘Die Kaapse Vlakte’ is the region of the Western Cape where the vast population of working-class ‘Coloured’ and ‘Black’ communities reside as a result of the apartheid Group Areas Act which forcibly removed and displaced people of colour on the outskirts of Cape Town.

reproduces notions of linguistic and racial ‘purity’ through language should also be considered. *Kaaps* speakers have been injured by the powerlessness that stems from the ‘suggested non-existence’ of Afrikaans in the multilingual repertoire of its speakers, and the displacement or erasure of African languages from being viewed as of importance.

In the next section, Chapter 3, I detail and discuss the specific theoretical perspectives that were employed in this study. The theoretical perspectives of critical theory and pedagogy, indigenous knowledge, and social justice were used in order to frame the study within the context of a post-apartheid South Africa.

3. Theoretical Perspectives

3.1 Introduction

The exploration of the lived experiences and attitudes of *Kaaps* speakers toward the variety within the art gallery through dialogue can potentially play a formative role in providing insight into how language informs knowledge production and self-understanding. It presents language's ability as experience to challenge social injustice, and requires transformative, collaborative, and creative thinking. Transformative means of thinking are a challenge to dominant knowledge that maintains social injustice and oppressive practices in education. This suggests transforming the way we think about ourselves and others. Educational researchers seek to understand and negotiate issues of social injustice and marginalisation, and view liberatory learning as a social activity. Through dialogue and reflecting on what we know and do not know, we are then able to respond critically to transform society (Freire & Shor 1987). Placing attention on daily experiences is an attempt to confront a naïve understanding of the world. As a representational practice, the arts can be greatly valuable for evoking and communicating meaningful aspects of our social and cultural environments (Leavy 2009:13). Thinking about injustice and oppression in this way involves challenging unequal ideologies in which certain identities and ways of being, knowing, and doing are excluded by dominant cultures (Leavy 2009). It is necessary to understand the broader subtleties of injustice and oppression in educational and learning practices that limit the creativity with which much of our South African experiences are shaped.

This case study aims to explore the educational capacity of the art gallery by activating both the space and silenced voices and identities, in order to promote critical engagement and dialogue around the ways in which individuals perceive and understand their identity through language. Accessing silenced voices (Freire 1985) and promoting dialogue in the art gallery can aid in problematising dominant ideologies in an attempt to subvert, esteem, and re-represent marginalised identities and narratives (Leavy 2009). This involves opening up the gallery space as a place for collaborative knowledge building to cultivate understanding of our social and cultural identities. To contextualise the research within post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa, the concepts of language ideologies, identity, and culture are explored. Further informing the research are the theoretical perspectives of critical theory and pedagogy (Pongratz 2005), indigenous knowledge (Akena 2012), and Nancy Fraser's (1996) concept of recognition for social justice (Lovell 2007). These perspectives are discussed and viewed within a South African context to articulate and understand the captured data.

3.2 The South African context

In order to understand the significance of language as an instrumental tool in establishing inequality and inferiority within South African society, this section contextualises language in post-apartheid South Africa through an overview of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid in promoting difference in educational practices.

It was only after 1994 that South Africans started using the term 'post-colonial' to define their socio-political situation and cultural practices (Walder 2007:188). When referring to a

post-colonial South Africa, Walder's (2007) distinction between 'post-colonial' and 'postcolonial' is useful. He refers to 'post-colonial' as the formal or political condition of independence, and refers to 'postcolonial' as the term to describe the strong presence of colonialism irrespective of the formal condition. This formal condition denotes a specific critical engagement in understanding the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised in both historical and contemporary post-colonial discourse (Walder 2007). In addition to this, western or Eurocentric knowledge and cultural representation has made colonial control normative or otherwise desirable. According to Bhabha (1995:207) the expression of cultural difference problematises the separation between past and present. It is the issue of how when we attempt to represent the present, things are repeated, repositioned, and interpreted without a critical consciousness of its historical implications.

These effects can be understood by recognising the cultural power language holds as the most evident representation of colonial relationship, as observed by Frantz Fanon (1952). Apartheid continued the colonial agenda by using language to sow ethnic divisions. Linguistic prejudice and resistance to it is then equally rooted in the colonial beginnings of modern South Africa. Understanding colonial conquest, slavery, and apartheid helps us better understand the use of language to reproduce racial identities through 'standard' language ideology in post-apartheid South Africa (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:215). Specifically, how in spite of how immersed non-standard varieties are in the lived experiences of multilingual or variety speakers like *Kaaps*, dominant culture continues to perceive them as racially inferior. It is therefore an issue of how identity formations and ethnic prejudice through language continues to affect the post-apartheid context (Busch 2014).

Critical theory and pedagogy, indigenous knowledge, and social justice allows for an understanding of the South African context regarding language and education. For this reason, the three aspects of importance to consider in the South African context are language ideologies, identity, and culture; particularly within a contemporary South African context that is fore-shadowed by a colonial and apartheid history.

Language Ideologies

Language ideologies in the colonial agenda played a key role in the social order. Apartheid granted a specific place for race, ethnicity, and nation in our society, as well as the regulation of practices concerned with divisions between these classifications that produced a rationale of difference (Thornton 1996:144). The emphasis on vernacular instruction in the apartheid system would become a vehicle to promote separateness. The restrictions between languages and language varieties in post-apartheid South Africa, as with Standard Afrikaans and *Kaaps* for example, are described in relation to socio-political instead of solely linguistic reasons, making languages social constructs. Language ideologies maintain the current situation even now (Dyers 2015:58). In this section, language ideologies are reviewed in terms of language standardisation and language (in education) planning within the social order, and the conflicting attitudes they may produce among non-standard or multilingual communities.

According to Blommaert (2006) rapid development has taken place in the study of language ideologies and its significance in studies relating to language use, discourse, and language planning. In accordance with this study, Weber and Horner (2012:16) highlight distinct descriptions of current language ideologies, of which I consider the following three: the first being *language hierarchy ideology*, in which language uses are identified and separated into ‘languages’ or ‘dialects’, and where some languages are afforded higher status than the languages that are identified as national or official languages; the second distinction is the *standard language ideology* (Milroy & Milroy 1999), which is founded on the principle that languages are homogenised within restricted individuals, while a particular variety is selected for standardisation solely for the purpose of socio-political reasons, and not as a result of any fundamental dominance of these varieties over others; and thirdly, there is the *ideology of language purism*, which specifies what represents ‘good’ or ‘bad’ language use, and commonly occurs at points of rapid social change.

Language ideologies of the aforementioned types, and their effects, are very pervasive. They help us understand the difficulty in redressing language policies that move toward promoting broader multilingualism through which to realise such policies (Dyers 2015:59). Additionally, the inequality toward non-standard varieties that are largely spoken by ‘coloured’ and ‘black’ working-class communities cannot be understood without renegotiating standard language ideology in formal education.

Language planning, as Fishman (1987:409) notes, remains the commanding appointment of capital when it comes to the execution of language status and language objectives. These may be working toward new objectives or renegotiating old objectives that need to be more effectively removed. It is important to remember that the discussion concerning language planning and language policy focuses on national languages in the attempt to rectify concerns of the past. This is the case in the post-apartheid South African context with regards to marginalisation of multilingual or non-standard varieties.

Alexander (2014) notes that language planning has to be viewed as part of social planning. Language is not just sociolinguistics but much rather politics of language; it is more about the power of discourse and the construction of discourse as a means to influence the spreading of power. Language planning can either work to promote multilingualism or constrict it. Discourses that emphasise standard languages have their roots in conflict for identification and nationhood. The ability to use the dominant standard language form, such as the mastery of the English language among speakers of African and non-standard language varieties, is largely viewed as an indicator of loyalty and successful assimilation into the nation state (Liddicoat & Leech 2015). Language ideologies' debilitating effect can therefore be witnessed in the personalities and identities of oppressed people, and the effectiveness of language as an instrument of knowledge production and self-understanding (or misunderstanding).

It is also useful to take into account how unofficial languages (languages with supposed non-existent national or cultural identities) are sustained even without the backing of language planning or policy to assist in their maintenance (Ravyse 2018:4). Studies have been done

from varying perspectives concerning language varieties that are not recognised as official languages, such as Tsotsitaal⁷. These studies often demonstrate the vitality of unofficial languages through social contact (Mesthrie 2008). In debates concerning education for speakers of marginalised languages, one ideological view supports educational responses to control linguistic diversity, while the other supports the expansion of language used in educational environments. This comparison of ideologies helps us understand the linguistic identities of national governments and the role of education within them, as well as other influencing language ideologies that contribute to how language is planned in education (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech 2015:3). The most important ideology pertains to how specific language varieties are valued in society, and how language ideologies exist that de-values languages by representing them as dialects or non-standard forms of other languages. While these unofficial languages or non-standard language varieties are viewed as valueless in the broader linguistic context, their survival emphasises their worth and can help promote extra-linguistic value systems involving the social status of their speakers and language purity. Language planning therefore constructs the role and function of languages in multilingual contexts in complex ways.

Dominant ideologies within a society, and the attitudes and values produced and reproduced within it, play a significant part in the context in which language education occurs (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech 2015:2). What is relevant to the study, is the necessity of a better understanding of language ideologies as they relate to this so-called ‘standard’ in formal education as a deeply ideological notion, and their cultural significance in influencing personal and social identity.

Identity

Identity is understood to be formed in the interaction between self and society (Hall 2000:597). This section discusses language and identity by engaging the concepts of language attitudes, creolisation, and linguistic identity as they relate to multilingual communities and non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps*.

An appropriate theoretical context to consider regarding how language informs our identity is what Rampton (2009:705) refers to as sociolinguistics of contact rather than the conventional sociolinguistics of community. The idea is that there has been a shift in sociolinguistics from a focus on communities in specific spaces and places to a focus on contact. This basically pertains to what truly happens in situations of language contact between speakers of different languages and varieties. This presents a particular difference to the language practices of specific speech communities in a country like South Africa, where speech communities are categorised as Sepedi, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Zulu, and so forth. Identifying these speech communities as unchanging groups with clear-cut norms for language use is made

⁷ Tsotsitaal is a vernacular or creole language variety of mixed languages predominantly spoken in the black townships of the Gauteng province in South Africa, but also in other multilingual communities in South Africa. ‘Tsosti’ is a Sesotho, Pedi and Tswana slang word for ‘thug’, ‘criminal’ or ‘con’ and the word ‘taal’ in Afrikaans means language (Mesthrie 2008).

problematic by migration and urbanisation. The idea of speech communities however still remains ideologically constructed according to more ‘standard’ methods of language use and identity (Dyers 2015:58).

Dyers (2008:60) makes some distinctions about language attitudes as they relate to linguistic and social identities: 1) attitudes can have emotional or logical roots. Individuals may ascribe emotive attitudes toward a language that is based on particular group symbolism. This also suggests the more influential attitudes toward language, where languages are perceived as being a means to obtain specific socio-economic or educational achievements; 2) language attitudes vary between people. Some people may have positive attitudes toward a language and yet hold a negative view toward those who speak the language; and 3) the use of a language can be in conflict with language attitudes. The affirmative attitude many South Africans have toward English does not correspond with their ability to use it, and the connection between attitudes and behaviour could therefore be unimportant.

When dealing with colonial and post-colonial societies, personalities, and identities, the concept of creolisation⁸ or ‘creoleness’ is important. For the most part, it helps us better understand the conditions under which societies and communicating language varieties were formed amid dominating systems of colonisation and the cultural exchange between people of different heritages. Chivallan (2004) notes that this ‘meeting in conflict’ created new cultures of ethnic and linguistic hybridity. For this reason, creoleness has been recognised by Edouard Glissant⁹ as an open and complex identity and a key concept in perceiving identity. The theoretical ability of the concept of ‘creolisation’ must be considered, not to claim the erasure of difference but instead to support the notion of the complex action of making social connections as noted by Nuttal and Michael (2000:10). In post-colonial South Africa it can open up interesting perspectives concerning non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps*. Dyers (2004:31) notes that Afrikaans has historically played a significant role in the group identity of ‘coloured’ people in Cape Town. It is possibly the most distinct marker of ‘Cape coloured’ identity, especially where a clear sense of group culture and identity is absent, considering the vast diversity of the groups’ origin. This could bring about in some an emotional affection for the language as self-identity and group identity. What is of relevance here is the difference between linguistic identity and identity through language. Linguistic identity is made up of the given features of languages that make it distinguishable from other languages, but is also equally the identity of an individual based on their language (Dyers 2008:56). Identity through language denotes that the “the identity of the person is represented or co-represented through language and language use” (Dyers 2008:56). This is a necessary

⁸ Creolisation as a concept was understood to have been introduced by Barbadian writer Kamau Brathwaite in 1971 to account for the cultural processes through which the confrontations were not only cruel, but creative (Martin 2006).

⁹ A Martiniquean writer who broadened the conceptual field covered by creolisation as synonymous with the Caribbean, so that it would no longer be confined to the West Indies and the Americas (Martin 2006).

consideration, because although *Kaaps* is largely associated with ‘Cape coloured’ identity, the social interaction and integration of different communities have resulted in the use of *Kaaps* in everyday life being used by a multiplicity of identities.

Nuttal and Michael (Martin 2006) suggest in a more general sense that adopting creolisation to examine culture-making in South Africa places a focus on ‘transformative fusions’, which refers to meanings of multiculturalism and hybridity (Martin 2006:166). Creolisation does not however, as Wasserman and Jacobs (Martin 2006:165) notes, take place in a space devoid of power struggles; it also does not signify a complete break from the past. Although differences exist in the debate around creolisation in the South African context, especially the making, remaking, and perpetuation of identities, authors generally agree that creolisation can help us understand the past and how it shapes culture. They associate it with social contact (that does not eliminate differences in relationships) and creativity, but in a context of oppression and power struggles.

The concept of identity is relevant to the research question in that it helps us better realise and understand how the choice of language usage produces a specific attitude toward non-standard and standard varieties alike. Particularly, how linguistic choices are essentially always tied to social constraints, and once they are learned and internalised (Busch 2010:2) language usage (in whatever form) becomes a source of reference for identity and, consequently, culture.

Culture

The concept of culture can often be a very contentious subject, since it is constantly in the process of change, reproduction, and repositioning (Martin 2006). However, culture is a tool that can be used to strengthen ideology. In this section, culture is discussed in relation to standard and non-standard language usage. Understanding how dominant cultures use educational practices to reinforce ideology and maintain class formations through language is essential to this study.

Culture can be understood as the interconnections of meaning that are communicated, reproduced, explored, and experienced through a specific social order (Tomaselli 1987). As Tomaselli (1987:59) notes, there are two points to consider, namely the elimination of fixed meaning in language, and as Jacques Lacan (1968) argued, that meaning is produced unconsciously. In other words, ideology is a discourse producing multiple meanings that precedes the individual. In order to understand class struggle as it relates to South Africa, Gramsci’s (2000) concept of hegemony is of interest to us.

With hegemony¹⁰ (Gramsci 2000), power is not only maintained by intimidation but also through the intentional consent of those who are suppressed by it (Bell 2007). A dominant ideology of a group can so effectively enforce its particular way of viewing social reality that

¹⁰ Hegemony as conceptualised by Antonio Gramsci, is largely maintained through ‘discourse’; that is, ideas, texts, theories, and language, which is embedded in networks of economic, social and political control (Adams & Griffin & Bell 2007).

it becomes recognised as common knowledge. Accordingly, Apple (2004) argues that hidden curricula point towards hegemony. The claim is that the school is shaped by hegemony in that it both distributes and produces culture, which is essential for learners' socialization. Learners' social lives in the school are informed by norms and cultures through instructions and behaviours during their school and classroom life. The hidden curriculum corresponds to the ideological needs of capital.

The literary syllabus is the institutional form through which knowledge is distributed, and is represented in Pierre Bourdieu's dual notion of cultural capital. The first being linguistic capital, where an individual achieves a socially 'credible' and valued form of speech, known as 'Standard Language', as is the case with Afrikaans and English in South Africa. Secondly, language has 'symbolic' capital, knowledge capital that can be presented on request and qualifies its owner to the cultural and material 'advantage' of the well-educated individual (Guillory 1993:2).

Normative narratives are therefore produced as we become socialised into a system of social oppression (Hardiman & Jackson & Griffin 2007). We learn to accept systems of oppression as normal through our cultural interactions (Martin 2006). When institutionalised, these pervasive and Eurocentric norms produce racially specific social injustices (Fraser 2008:18). Because of this, specific normative ideologies of legitimate culture and values are powerlessly embraced and entered into curriculum. Socialising children to embrace specific values like 'achievement' and 'equality of opportunity' is the prominent function of education. Parsons (Margolis (2001) notes that schools teach the ideology that inequalities in social class status are a result of differences in educational achievement, and are therefore normal. In this practice they validate and normalise specific forms of knowledge, ways of speaking, varieties, meanings, dispositions, and perspectives.

Henry Giroux (2001) identifies schools as political institutions directly connected to issues regarding power and control in the dominant society. The social and cultural reproduction of class and racial relations is facilitated and legitimated through schooling. Paulo Freire (1987:129) notes that despite its importance, systematic and formal education cannot truly be the means for transforming society when it is modelled on manipulation and hegemony in what Shor (1987:130) calls a 'culture of sabotage'. It openly affirms itself as 'classless' while creating and reproducing inequality. This is evidenced in the marginalisation of non-standard varieties as inferior to the standard form of language. Schools are considered places within which educational ideologies are enacted in order to maintain the dominant cultures. This means that the values and culture of the dominant class are preeminent throughout the schooling experience (Gramsci 2000), and those of the lower-class suppressed. In this way, social inequality is reproduced through hidden curriculum (Kentli 2009:87).

In addition, Bernstein's sociology (1977) of education, which examines social linguistic codes that are based on class, presents commonalities with Bourdieu's sociology. They recognise that different classes' language and knowledge is directed at different educational avenues. By employing and legitimating the language and culture of the dominant groups, schools act to reproduce prevailing class formations (Margolis 2001:7). Freire (1987:148)

similarly notes that when we consider language as being involved in social classes, the classroom problem becomes clearer. Non-standard varieties like *Kaaps* illustrate how class conditions are expressed through language.

As previously stated, the lived experiences and attitudes toward the *Kaaps* variety will be explored by means of dialogue within a specific art gallery context. The study will be informed by the specific theoretical perspectives of critical theory and pedagogy, indigenous knowledge, and social justice within the historical context of South Africa. Critical theory and pedagogy is a valuable perspective when attempting to challenge and renegotiate colonial and apartheid ideologies that are reproduced and reinforced through oppressive educational practices. It is concerned with transformative practices and ways of teaching and learning that confront social constructs and the practice and maintenance of marginal identities and narratives. Indigenous knowledge has historically been undermined as inferior and backward by western knowledge and Eurocentric ways of knowing, in order to justify colonialism and cultural domination. It has the political potential to reclaim context-significant ways of knowing for marginalised identities. Social justice is concerned with cultural change. It involves respectfully recognising cultural variety in order to transform social formations of representation, interpretation, and communication, that change people's perceptions of their identities.

3.3 Critical Theory and Pedagogy

Critical theory and pedagogy is a useful theoretical perspective for transformative thinking. In this section, critical theory and pedagogy is discussed in order to understand or discover the critical ways or possibilities of engaging dominant ideologies concerning language, and that gravitate to more creative and process driven approaches to learning. Confronting and engaging marginalised narratives like *Kaaps* in the art gallery is therefore fundamental to the objective of critical pedagogy.

Pedagogy can be described as the 'theory and instruction of teaching and learning', from the Greek, 'to lead the child' (Hickey-Moody & Page 2016). The term critical pedagogy aims to develop teaching and learning practices by which the oppressed become more reflective on their socio-economic and political conditions to the point where they feel empowered to take action to improve their current situation (Johnson & Morris 2010:79). Paulo Freire's pedagogic method and developed approach to education argues that the 'banking' approach to education, which views learners as empty containers who need to be filled with knowledge by educators, creates hegemonic oppression. To liberate people, a context-specific method of education needs to be developed in educational settings where educators and learners use dialogue to open up the critical consciousness of people. Central to these methods is the

concept of ‘praxis’¹¹, which refers to the process of reflection and action (Johnson and Morris 2010:80).

The three expectations of critical pedagogy are that praxis can aid in social transformation, teaching and learning are not neutral practices, and that society can be transformed when those engaged become critically conscious (Hickey-Moody & Page 2016:15). Critical theory and pedagogy is therefore not an individualistic practice. McLaren (1995:34) and Freire (1987:109) dispute the notion of self-empowerment, and help us understand the aim of critical pedagogy. In this view there is no personal self-empowerment. Instead, empowerment is viewed as a social act in which educators and learners negotiate and produce meaning, taking into consideration their roles within discursive practices of knowledge and power relations. Pedagogy considers how we represent ourselves and others within our social and cultural environments, and always involves a transformative vision for society by always being involved in renewed critical questioning of pedagogic objectives, institutions, and practices.

Exploring the pedagogy of the art gallery within critical pedagogic theory aims to determine how the arts and pedagogy present openings and interventions to resist dominant and traditional attitudes to discourse, and the systems by which cultural value is endorsed. What is important to engaging pedagogy within the art gallery is dialogue. Dutta and Pal (2010:369) note that methods of dialogue emphasise the idea of ‘listening to the other in the context of human experience’, to listen to subaltern voices which have historically been undervalued by dominant knowledge (Dutta & Pal 2010:269). In accordance with Buber, Freire underscores the aim of dialogue as not to persuade but to bring about an interactive understanding of the other *as* other. Dialogue is therefore a means of transforming praxis and is one of the most important aspects of critical pedagogy by counteracting the ‘individualistic and competitive approaches to learning’ as Giroux (1997) notes.

Sayers (2016:134) notes that in twenty years of experience as an educator in different educational contexts, no educational situation is as unique or progressive as learning in an art gallery. Institutional practices of schools, colleges, and universities are fixed by curricula, assessments, and programme outlines. By contrast, the art gallery setting does not necessitate qualifications, and accomplishment is not determined by programmed outlines. Gallery educators often do not know who they will work with in advance, and individuals possess different levels of skill. They must be adaptable and prepared to teach beginners and experts alike. The aim is toward learning that offers interactive interventions for dialogue in which ‘learners’ share ideas, negotiate ‘standard’ knowledge’s, and develop opinions and voices. This is significant to this study. In its potential educational capacity, dialogue aided by visual stimulus within the gallery can create or encourage critical thinking. A situated practice like this, outside of a formal educational setting, has the “ability to negotiate new meanings that

¹¹ Paulo Freire’s concept of praxis as described in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, explains that through praxis, oppressed people can acquire a critical awareness of their oppression through reflection and action for transformation (Freire 1970).

are fundamentally experiential and fundamentally social” (Wenger 1998). The act of learning in this way becomes collaborative and disrupts the notion that learning is a passive process in which intelligence is ‘acquired’. Learning, like language, is a relational process in which theory is interwoven with everyday practices and with other people. This does not however mean that pedagogy is devoid of conflict or is always encouraging, it may contain tensions, conflicts, oppression, and dominance (Hickey-Moody & Page 2016:12).

Tate Modern¹² is an example. Having started in 2000 as a gallery for modern and contemporary art, their learning and interpretation strategies aimed at being more inclusive, allowing multiple voices to be heard speaking about art. For instance, their youth learning programme for 15 to 23-year olds called *Raw Canvas* (1999-2011) was formed to empower young people to engage with and develop their own opinions about contemporary art and culture by disrupting the dominant discourse of the institution (Sayers 2016). Critical pedagogy from a culturally focused perspective aims to place culture at the centre, in order to work from within the community’s culture. Once again, the importance of dialogue is acknowledged. Therefore, subaltern voices in postcolonial studies, as a culture-focused dialogue method, relates to this study in that it is concerned with ways of being that are absent or disregarded from main discursive expressions of everyday life. These are ways of knowing that are rejected from dominant spaces of knowledge production and marginalised as inferior (Philips 2014:68).

Accordingly, Freire (1985:101) notes that we must view our place in the world as a focal point for critical exploration. In returning to our past experiences, we acquire knowledge of those experiences. The more we reflect on our reality through critical and creative processes in order to discover the reasons why we are the way we are, the more we can perceive the reason for our reality. We are then able to disable our naive understanding. This means that we must use our or other subjects’ experiences as the focus of our reflection as we try to improve our understanding. Any genuine pedagogical practice requires a committed attitude to social transformation and engagement with marginalised communities. Therefore, my position as artist, researcher, and curator within the exhibition space was to create opportunity for learning *with*, and not supplying information *to* the visitors as described by Freire (1970). In this sense, peer-led work like critical pedagogy views the facilitator and the participants as committed to the idea of ‘praxis’ in which the ‘teacher’ and the ‘learner’ are learning and teaching alongside each other.

Giroux (1991) contended that critical pedagogy is able to access spaces in which to perceive new futures, employ new identities, and equally pursue social alternatives that may be concealed by contemporary dominant ideologies and struggles (Fenwick 2001). The posing of real critical questions to individuals as they experience life for themselves is important. For this reason Freire (1970) implored educators to engage individuals in dialogue, to identify their oppressive experiences and rename them in a practice of transforming themselves into

¹² Tate Modern is an institution that houses, in a network of four museums, the United Kingdom’s national collection of British art, an international modern contemporary art.

empowered agents of social change. To inform critical pedagogy, understanding the idea of indigenous knowledge as it relates to language within the South African context, and its suppression by Eurocentric ideologies can be helpful.

3.4 Indigenous Knowledge

Indigenous knowledge is significant for self-understanding. In this section, indigenous knowledge is discussed as it relates to non-standard varieties like *Kaaps*, and how indigenous linguistic knowledge is framed as inferior next to western knowledge within educational practices, despite the importance of context-specific language use in informing our understanding of the world around us.

Indigenous knowledge is understood as a lived world. It is an intentional practice that informs and maintains peoples' ways of knowing and doing within a particular environment. Indigenous knowledge interlinks people and their environments through historically-formed knowledge that involves the continuing adaptation of people to their environments (Akena (2012:601).

Western knowledge production and its implications for indigenous knowledge are critical since formal education is generally viewed as a space where knowledge is transferred from educators to learners. It is also important to understand that knowledge is not only distributed in educational settings, but also produced and reproduced within them (Akena 2012:606). In South Africa, colonial and apartheid language ideologies were a systematic means of emphasising racial identities. What this means for multilingual or non-standard varieties like *Kaaps*, is that dominant cultures' intentional doubt in the capacity of non-standard varieties to fulfil all the functions of a language in all areas of modern society is strengthened by notions of racial inferiority and cultural purity. The people of non-standard communities begin to accept as 'natural' the presumed inferiority of their own languages, and embrace the approach that is controlled by concerns about the social status value of their language within their multilingual communities (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:268). Hybrid knowledge therefore continues to be a contentious debate within western knowledge, indigenous knowledge, and decolonisation, in that colonial knowledge is a result of indigenous context, class, and cultural interactions.

(Abdi 2006:10) notes that life prospects before colonialism, alongside educational systems, were more pragmatic and engaged with the everyday life experiences of the African people. Colonialism's use of education was not as a vehicle for human development or progress but rather a tool to establish and maintain the mission of colonialism (Abdi 2006:15). It acted as a project to 'de-culture' and 'mis-educate' Africans by subliminally and successfully distorting the identities of individuals, and where education in 'normal' human interactions would be a means for individual and community development, it was instead used to intellectually oppress (Abdi 2006:16).

Ngugi wa Thiongo'o (1986:11) notes that languages in indigenous or multilingual communities are not merely sequences of words. It has expressive power that exceeds its verbal meaning. When you enter the educational system, which is modelled after colonial

education, the language of your education is no longer the language of your culture. This means that every language is the keeper of the speakers' cultural experiences (Wane 2006:100). Bakhtin's work on dialogism (1989:3) known as *heteroglossia*, refers to the co-existing ways of speaking in society, and views multilingualism through situated practices. In this instance, the notion of perfect control of one or two languages is rejected in favour of multilingual skills (Busch 2010:284). From this viewpoint, linguistic practice contrary to the normative standard, specifically the fusing, appropriation or merging of languages, is understood as resource instead of inadequacy. When we consider standard language ideology in the South African educational system, there is a disconnect from the everyday lived experiences or contexts of how language is actually used in social and cultural interactions of working-class communities.

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* makes a distinction between 'what is said' and 'what is expressed'. *Habitus* is generated through practical and social interaction; that is, ways of doing and being which allow children to learn in specific contexts (Lovell 2007:74). In other words, it is what is taken for granted or goes without saying. *Habitus* is personal and practical. Learners' early socialisation is therefore varied, and they bring with them into the school environment a distinct class 'habitus' of a specific system of social meanings and understandings. *Habitus* is particularly associated with communities that may or may not contain 'cultural capital' or 'symbolic capital' that makes for a successful educational experience (Margolis 2001:7).

When knowledge is produced by outside personalities and enacted on an educational system or society, it has a biased nature and negatively impacts the indigenous knowledge of a people. The outside imposition is both disempowering and colonising (Akena 2012:606). In the contemporary education system, western knowledge denies indigenous knowledge of any significant authority and therefore marginalises it intellectually. The delegitimisation of indigenous knowledge by western academics suggests that to understand a social happening, like knowledge, we must engage in the study of the social conditions within which the knowledge has been created and accepted (Akena 2012:600).

For indigenous communities, indigenous knowledge is a practical tool in reclaiming their context-specific ways that have been suppressed by western knowledge and marked as inferior and primitive (Akena 2012:601). Ferguson (2010) notes that communities who view knowledge not merely as a tool, but rather as a perspective on development and a sense of knowing, realise that this occurs within a distinct context. This alters the focus of indigenous knowledge enquiry from a focus on content to a focus on practice (Briggs 2013:238). Non-standard or unofficial languages like *Kaaps* do not have official status and are openly excluded from the Constitution's multilingual language policy. The policy however states that "recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages" (Constitution 1996, Chapter 1, Section 6[2]).

A group of people cannot represent a nation unless the individuals it contains understand each other. This does not however mean that they must speak a particular language, such as a

‘mother-tongue’, as Alexander notes (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:186), in order to do so. Dyers (2015:60) suggests that the ideological understanding that a mother-tongue belongs to one group does not effectively capture the *linguaging* that occurred in South Africa through the immersion of societies and peoples amid colonisation and apartheid. It produced integrated language varieties of shared cultural and linguistic knowledge. This continues to be practised in urban South Africa. *Linguaging* is described as sets of linguistic resources presented by language users in various social and cultural situations. It is how people make use of their language resources to produce and transfer meaning, and represent identities (Dyers 2015:60).

What we could encourage, is the promotion of the multilingual *habitus* as indigenous knowledge, without any misconceptions about how distinctly people can or should communicate. This could help better realise the value of indigenous knowledge, and could potentially work toward social justice.

3.5 Social Justice

In this section, the theoretical perspective of social justice as it relates to Nancy Frasers theory of recognition is discussed. The theory of recognition for social justice in educational practices regarding standard language instruction can be useful for engaging injustices toward marginalised narratives and identities perpetrated by dominant culture. This is particularly the case in terms of non-standard or unofficial language varieties like *Kaaps*.

Social justice is concerned with cultural and symbolic change (Fraser 1996:7). These cultural and symbolic changes require the critical engagement of injustices related to unequal distribution of capital and power. It is also concerned with the recognition of every individual as being full participants in society, while renegotiating the prejudiced social constructs of identity that inform non-recognition, marginalisation, and disrespect toward people (Lovell 2007). In order to attain social justice, there should be an incorporation of participation, inclusion, and affirmation of human influence and our ability to work in collaboration in order to create change (Bell 2007:2).

Social justice through the theory of recognition (Fraser 1996) aims to transform unjust social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication of marginalised identities and narratives. This includes unjust social patterns of cultural domination, non-recognition, and disrespect (Fraser 1996:7). Cultural domination is evident in the ways in which individuals or social groups are marginalised through interpretation and communication that is different or discriminatory to their own cultural interpretation or way of being. Non-recognition considers conditions in which individuals are represented, communicated, and interpreted as socially and culturally inferior (Fraser 1996:7). Disrespect is concerned with how individuals are racially or ethnically stereotyped on conditions related or connected to cultural attributes in everyday public situations or interactions, such as language use.

Social justice education as expressed by Bell (Lovell 2007:2) involves an interdisciplinary approach to explore different forms of oppression, that includes interactive and experiential teaching and learning practices to help individuals understand the meaning of social

difference within both their personal and social lives. Fraser's (1996:9) theory of recognition identifies two ways of considering differences. In one, group differences are predetermined, and cultural distinctions that are unjustly interpreted are placed within a socially constructed value hierarchy. In the other, group differences are not predetermined by their hierarchically 'accepted' standard, but are instead produced with it at the same time through discursive systems that resist differences. Either way, the theory of recognition presumes one of the two; it either aims to acknowledge but not disqualify group differences; or two, it seeks to examine, negotiate, and challenge the actual conditions under which such differences are presently developed (Fraser 2008). Art education for social justice should then be less concerned with information dispersal, but rather be engaged in ideas, investigation, and consideration. It should also be geared toward individuals producing and perceiving the visual arts as a means to understand their meanings and purposes, associations and experiences (Steers 2009:40).

Therefore, attaining social justice would involve recognising and encouraging positive affirmations regarding linguistic variety and hybridity. This would mean incorporating transformative social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication that would help individuals better understand how people view identity. Clouder (2005) notes that learning about difference can be a 'troublesome' space, where people, specifically those engaging with new concepts, are personally affected by their learning experiences. Issues of identity and difference are therefore relational. Learning and unlearning demonstrates how the hegemony of racism can be deep rooted and internalised (Leibowitz 2010). Recognition as social justice through creative processes aims to renegotiate, explore, and re-represent differences that aid in helping marginalised racial and cultural identities have equal opportunity to express their narratives.

In this chapter, the study was contextualised within post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa using the concepts of language ideologies, identity, and culture. This was followed by the theoretical perspectives that informed the study, which were critical theory and pedagogy, indigenous knowledge, and social justice. All of these concepts and theoretical perspectives are significant when exploring a non-standard variety like *Kaaps*, as well as the overall power of language as a resource to better understand how we engage our social environments, and frame our understanding of each other. In the next chapter we explore the means by which to better understand each other through lived experiences, as we discuss the research methodology for this study in detail. The research methodology includes: the research approach, research design, sampling selection and data collection, data capturing and ethical considerations, data analysis, and validity and trustworthiness.

4 Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In an effort to explore *Kaaps* speakers' lived experiences and attitudes towards the variety, the meanings evoked in the exhibition space through visual representation aid in dialogue. This helps to realise the potential educational capacity of the art gallery to investigate dominant ideology about racial and cultural identity and its influence on the self-understanding of multilingual communities. Visual art is employed as a critical expression to challenge and voice accurate narratives and representations of language as lived experience. For this research an interpretive approach was applied, followed by a case study research design, borrowing from participatory research, and qualitative data collection methods. This case study involved participants; therefore, ethical management was necessary. The data captured was evaluated interpretively with the intention to attain validity and truthfulness.

4.2 Research Approach

The most important influence in choosing a research methodology is revealed in what the researcher wants to learn. This aim establishes how the researcher should go about conducting the research (Rowlands 2005). To investigate lived experiences and attitudes toward the *Kaaps* variety as it is expressed in racial and cultural identity representations, the lived experiences and narratives of those concerned are vital. An interpretive research approach, transactional epistemology, and relativist ontology are therefore valuable to this research (Denzin & Lincoln 2018).

Interpretive research aims to understand phenomena by opening up the meanings the participants ascribe to them. This means "how they perceive it, describe it, feel about it, judge it, and talk about it with others" (Patton 2002:104). This human interaction is viewed as significant and takes into account the personal connection between the researcher and the study being explored (Rowlands 2005:81). Understanding and exploring this interaction from the participant's perspective acknowledges the importance and intention of interpretive and qualitative research. Relativist ontology presupposes that reality as we experience it is produced socially and experientially through shared meanings and understandings. This view of reality is a conduit for transactional epistemology, and foregrounds the importance of interaction between the researcher and participant in generating new knowledge based on the interpretations of the participants, as well as on the researcher's own interpretations of what has been learned (Leavy 2009:10).

Epistemology addresses the question of what is or should be considered as acceptable knowledge (Allsup 2003). As researcher and artist, the knowledge I have obtained and the knowledge that the research participants possess will allow for new and collective knowledge production. Qualitative research is therefore a public, participatory, and collaborative mission in which the researcher and researched are joined in an open-ended and meaningful dialogue (Denzin and Lincoln 2000:1049). This new knowledge will assist the development of a greater understanding in the representation of *Kaaps* as a multilingual, non-standard language variety within the dominant knowledges of language standardisation. The exploration of

participants' perspectives within the knowledge-building process can allow for transformative ways of thinking about their lived experiences. Therefore, what is emphasised in the research approach is the importance of participant engagement and lived experience through dialogue within a specific case study.

4.3 Research Design

Research essentially requires collaborative and reflexive dialogue with social and cultural worlds (Searle 2012). For this research, a case study research design was used, borrowing from participatory research and dialogic inquiry in order to obtain rich and detailed knowledge within a specific time limit for maximum validity.

In order to obtain specific and detailed knowledge the research is framed as a representative or typical case, which Yin (2009) describes as an exemplifying case. An exemplifying case aims to capture the contexts and realities of everyday lived experience or situations. A case study research design challenges generalised theoretical knowledge as being the single most important form of knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln 2018:342). Borrowing from participatory research in this case study involves engagement between action and reflection upon reality. Participatory research recognises that there is no direct view into the private meanings of an individual's experiences, which are passed on to the researcher and then interpreted by the researcher into new meanings. The individual's view is always processed by means of language, social class, race, and ethnicity (Denzin & Lincoln 2008:29). Knowledge as a discipline, therefore, is not separate from concepts relating to 'beliefs', 'attitudes', and 'opinions'. Dialogic inquiry within this case study aims to reveal that generating a space for dialogue with the audience is equally fundamental to the negotiation of meanings and inclusion of multiple perspectives. Creating a dialogue within the research design assists this goal and at the same time provides an aspect of validity to the data (Leavy 2009:18).

A case study involves gathering information systematically. The purpose of this information is to successfully understand how an individual person, social setting, experience, or community performs or functions. Through the aforementioned, a case study is able to generate data that is rich and detailed (Searle 2012). The process of selecting or inviting participants into the study will be explained in greater detail in the sampling selection and data collection section that follows.

4.4 Sampling selection and data collection

The research methodology included a systematic probability case study sampling which provided empirical data.

A systematic probability sampling allowed participants to be selected because they speak *Kaaps* or have a personal or social relationship with the variety. In some instances, as with this case study, a single representative sample will not be the only means of acquiring data. For this reason this study has an exploratory feel to it. The study is aimed at obtaining multiple perspectives and participant engagement. Therefore, systematic sampling is coupled with a maximum variation sampling (Searle 2012). The researcher made use of her existing

knowledge on the subject being studied to allow people with varying experiences and attributes to be included in the study.

In order to collect empirical data, qualitative research methods were applied. Data capturing was mainly done in *Eclectica Contemporary Gallery* within the context of the *KWAAI* group exhibition. The data collection process within the specific exhibition space provided the opportunity to activate the art gallery. This was important for the case study as the focused installation, as stated before, was directly related to the research. Opening up the exhibition space for the public to interact with allowed the visitors to respond and imagine language visually and differently. The focus was on the engagement between opening up for social dialogue among varied voices while, on the other hand, managing the process in attaining personal and collective opinions (Stirling 2008).

Data was captured by participant observation and dialogue within the specific exhibition space. I used participants' responses (evoked by the exhibition), their lived experiences, and attitudes through interviews as the main source of my data, as well as the shared responses by the exhibition visitors on the interactive wall, which will be explained shortly. Throughout the research process, pictures were taken within the exhibition space for documentation and reference purposes as part of the data collection. All the data collected added to the exploratory feel of the case study, as well as contributing to the drawing out of themes and sub-themes, which will be analysed and discussed in the findings and discussion section. The data collection process took place over two opening nights of the *KWAAI* exhibition on *First Thursdays*¹³ at *Eclectica Contemporary Gallery* in Cape Town. This was within the two months for which the *KWAAI* group exhibition was up. During both *First Thursdays* of the two months (6 June and 4 July 2019) I remained in the exhibition space for the entirety of the exhibition (+/- 5 hours, from 5:30pm to 21:00pm) in order to engage with the visitors, who would be involved as participants in this case study. Over the two *First Thursdays* (6 June and 4 July 2019), the combined duration for data collection was just over 11 hours. By being in the exhibition space and engaging visitors in dialogue and knowledge sharing, a bridge was formed between the researcher as artist and the participants (Phillips 2014). This created a comfortable environment for the participants to express their opinions.

In order to investigate the topic more in-depth, I approached and recruited five young adults, both male and female. Three males and two females were selected as participants. These participants engaged in semi-structured interviews (lasting between 30 and 45 minutes) within the specific exhibition space. Byrne (2012) describes qualitative semi-structured interviews as helpful in attempting to understand individuals' attitudes and beliefs. Qualitative interviewing allows the participant to share their lived experiences and opinions in a more natural way, as opposed to a formal and structured interview style. To open up conversation, participants were prompted by two main questions as they spoke with me about

¹³ On the First Thursday of every month many of the galleries in the Cape Town city centre are open until nine o' clock in the evening. People walk from gallery to gallery to experience the rich art and culture the city has to offer.

the artworks: *Do you feel language informs your self-understanding and generation of knowledge about the world around you? How has your educational experience made you think about language in relation to your actual lived experience of language?* These discussions and responses by the participants were also naturally influenced by what the participants experienced in the exhibition space and how the art was able to trigger certain experiences through visual recall. Interviews with participants in this were conducted in the exhibition space and in the participant's language of preference (Afrikaans or English).

As part of the explorative nature of this research, an interactive wall was set up in the exhibition space for visitors to engage the exhibition more critically. This contributed to the data. The interactive aspect of the exhibition involved a two metre long piece of fabric/cloth displayed on one of the walls within the exhibition space (*Figure 4.1, Figure 4.2*), accompanied by four coloured koki markers with which the visitors could write on it. The visiting audience could write down their lived experiences and insights about *Kaaps* (as evoked by the exhibition) on the fabric. This was open to multiple voices and created dialogue and respectful collaboration between the visitors. According to Zembylas and Barker (2007), the activation of the gallery space by participant observation and dialogue endeavours to engage praxis which is concerned with consciousness, feeling, thinking, and relating. Visual art, as Leavy (2009:20) explains, challenges viewers in a direct and intuitive way, yet remains open to multiple meanings.



Figure 4.1: A view of the scale of the fabric used for visitors to write on with coloured koki markers in exhibition space, *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.



Figure 4.2: A view of the fabric or interactive wall within the exhibition space, *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.

Often a situated learning practice such as this can become a more educational experience, than the specificity of ‘school’ environments (Winstanley 2018). For this reason, the notion of ‘spaces for coping’ becomes significant. According to Zembylas and Barker (2007), the idea of ‘spaces for coping’ creates an equally literal and metaphoric space in which the visual is able to interconnect itself within the educational context. In other words, space may seem to be a vague metaphor until we realise that it describes our everyday life, as does visual art. In this sense, the gallery space becomes that space in which to foreground and identify the crossing between individual experiences and social power relations, as explored through the formative power of art. The gallery exhibition space becomes a site in which to consider the possible ways in which individuals’ emotional responses are contextualised socially, culturally, and politically (Zembylas and Barker 2007:2).

4.5 Data capturing and ethical considerations

Data was captured using audio and video recordings of participants during interviews in the exhibition space. Audio and video recordings were transcribed verbatim for data analysis. Selected written responses, perspectives, and opinions of varying individuals in the interactive aspect of the exhibition will be highlighted as part of the data analysis. All data captured was safely stored by the researcher for confidentiality purposes. Only the researcher and the participants had access to the data if desired.

In order to achieve ethical accountability, Stellenbosch University’s guidelines for responsible research were followed. Stellenbosch University, in its research conduct, is committed to applying values of equity, participation, transparency, service, tolerance, mutual respect, dedication, scholarship, responsibility, and academic freedom (Stellenbosch University 2013). The Policy for Responsible Research Conduct at Stellenbosch University implies that the involvement of human participants in the research process should be relevant, and maintain sound methodology, and the researcher should inform participants effectively so

that they understand the purpose and use of the particular research. Research should uphold participants' rights to privacy and the protection of their confidentiality. This can be done by obtaining participant consent. It is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that research communities are co-ordinated successfully, in order to prevent any unnecessary burdens on the participants concerned or others in the community (Stellenbosch University 2013).

Permission was initially gained from the gallery assistant and curator of *Eclectica Contemporary Gallery* and the *KWAAI* group exhibition. Permission was gained to conduct interviews for data collection within my (the researcher's) exhibition space. Permission was also granted to mention the name of both the specific gallery concerned and the name of the group exhibition involved, for the purpose of contextualising this particular case study. Stellenbosch University's guidelines for responsible research were considered in this case study, and consent forms¹⁴ based on Stellenbosch University's guidelines were physically at hand of the researcher as artist in the exhibition space. The consent forms were provided to all participants who agreed to participate in the study before research started. The forms clearly state that participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time. The participants' identities were therefore coded (Stellenbosch University 2013). The research was approved by the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) at Stellenbosch University. All of the raw data captured throughout the research process will be destroyed after one year post collection.

4.6 Data analysis

An inductive content analysis method was used. Qualitative research is about making sense of findings by re-presenting social meanings to an audience. This process in meaning-making is both artistic and political (Leavy 2009). Using inductive content analysis, all data from recorded interviews and dialogues with participants, written, and visual responses were analysed. Data captured were received raw, then processed and analysed. Inductive reasoning involves investigating all data in detail, where theories may arise in the process of revisiting the data captured (Searle 2004).

An inductive method is especially interested in attaining multiple meanings and any silencing of opinions deviates from the inductive analysis perspective (Leavy 2009). The data was grouped or considered according to the particular explorative aspects within the case study, particularly where meaningful concepts emerged, where similarities arose, or where ideas or thoughts spoke to each other. Thought was given to how ideas were repeated in different ways, as well as to distinctions that surfaced within the data. Data categories were then linked to establish a few overarching themes and possible sub-themes.

During data analysis, codes were given to the participants according to of the nature of their participation in the research process. Participants involved in the semi-structured interviews were identified as (Exhibition Dialogue 1 or 2 [ED1 or ED2] etc.). No codes were given to the participants' comments written on the interactive wall in the exhibition space; however,

¹⁴ Addendum A: Examples of signed consent forms by participants and investigator.

from these comments I highlighted three responses as reference points to reflect on and discuss more in depth. This is reflected in the findings and discussion section in Chapter 6.

4.7 Validity and trustworthiness

Social and cultural research should involve validity, reliability, and ethical accountability (Searle 2012). The value of a research study is perhaps determined by whether it furthers insight, understanding, or dialogue, or if it provides a voice to specific social communities whose perspective has been masked from public view.

In order to improve validity and reliability, a sample study was conducted with the visitors at the opening night of the *KWAAI* group exhibition at *Eclectica Contemporary Gallery*, within the specific exhibition space. This assisted in determining how the visitors would respond to the activation of the exhibition space, and also measured their willingness to interact and engage with both the exhibition and the researcher as artist. Additionally, it aided in testing the effectiveness of the time frame in which the data was to be collected: from when *First Thursdays* started to the time it ended. A few sample interviews and dialogues were conducted, which helped inform the interview style and process for maximum engagement, clarity, and consistency. All field work, research processes, and a record of all participants were recorded and kept.

Participants were made aware that all recorded or captured data within the exhibition space could or would be used in the final research project of the study. If, for any reason, at the end of the dialogue the participant felt they shared something they would like to retract, they were free to do so. Respondent or member validation was done in this way, with all participants following the collection of data so that they were able to communicate whether or not their opinions and voices were clearly and correctly represented in the research. This is so that transparency and trustworthiness of the data collected may be attained.

In Chapter 5 which follows, the data collected within the specific exhibition space is presented, and the findings that emerged from the data are discussed.

5 Findings and Discussion

5.1. Introduction

In this section I present specific findings based on participant dialogue in the exhibition space. This was based on the research question: *Can the educational capacity of the art gallery be realised through the visual representation of Kaaps, in order to understand the power of language in the lived experiences of its speakers' and the possible factors influencing their attitudes toward the non-standard variety?* This is to understand the formative role of language in knowledge production and self-understanding. The observed perceptions influencing the participants during dialogue were greatly affected by their social and cultural environments. These included notions of difference through social constructs of race and class that are so contained in racial identities, and which are tied to language and cultural experiences. Data is therefore presented by the following categories: *Responses evoked in the exhibition space, lived experiences, attitudes*. Because of the nature in which the data collection was conducted, the presented data and the discussion thereof will occur collaboratively. As mentioned, all dialogue happened organically, so as to produce natural and real responses evoked by the artworks, the participants' personal experiences, and attitudes of *Kaaps*.

5.2 Responses evoked in the exhibition space

The gallery space is a political space. Opening up this study of *Kaaps* within the context of the art gallery is part of an attempt at making the political more pedagogical. By making individuals' experiences both private and public objects of dialogue and evidence, such experiences are validated in order to give those who live within them the ability to display an active voice and presence (Freire 1985). The pedagogical experience within the art gallery becomes an encouragement to make visible the languages, values, aspirations, and encounters that represent the lives of those whose experiences with language have been marginalising in terms of knowledge production and self-understanding. For the visitors, entering the specific exhibition space and seeing artworks that signal visual recall to either childhood or daily experiences they take for granted was greatly effective in promoting dialogue, which is critical in cultivating understanding (Leavy 2009:14). The specific ways in which art enables conversation in this study are important, as they relate to representation. An interactive wall in the space encouraged this.

Visitors were encouraged and excited to see representations of their *Kaaps* language and culture and what they ascribe as part of their identity in an art gallery. Personal meanings were also evoked by prejudice they experience because of racial stereotypes connected to language. Perceptions and dominant ideologies that discredit non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps* and deem them to have no social benefit outside of the specific speech community, affects multilingual or 'hybrid' (coloured and black languages mixed with colonial languages) identities daily (Busch 2014). The specific way in which art connects people emotionally and viscerally by facilitating empathy is vital in identity research. By accessing marginalised voices, art-based practices encourage the role of the gallery in

facilitating the continued negotiation and problematising of dominant knowledges. Activating the gallery space and making it interactive becomes a reflexive practice and opens up a public discourse through alternative knowledge-building methods, in order to subvert narratives that continue to corrupt. Dialogue in the art gallery is therefore focused on evoking meanings.

Interactive Wall

In this section are highlighted lived experiences and insights visitors chose to express to describe *Kaaps*, as evoked by the exhibition space. These were written on the interactive wall in the exhibition space and contributed to the findings and discussion considerably. The interactive wall was meaningful because it allowed visitors to engage both with each other and with the exhibition, making it collaborative. It added to creating a comfortable environment in the exhibition for multiple voices to surface:

You talk like a whtie.

You're so well-spoken! Why didn't you expect me to be?

Only kwaai when it's trendy for white people! Claim it before they do!

Gentrify together.

Art is hard work but somebody must do it.

Joh! Really enjoyed the installation. Made me laugh and took me back.

Be proud and kap aan.

I've lived in Cape Town for 5 months now and still am in awe at the ability of people to operate in so many languages. It's inspiring for my monolingual self.

Kaaps is a creative language.

Kaaps is not a trend, it's a language and it is just as important.

Afrikaans was created by coloured people not whites, know your history.

Kaaps is a historical document, it reflects our environment.

Language carries identity and draws us closer and closer to ourselves.

The tongue is power.

Mixed is Beautiful.



Figure 5.1: Visitors leaving their comments about *Kaaps* on the interactive wall in the exhibition space. *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.



Figure 5.2: Visitor leaving his thoughts about *Kaaps* on the interactive wall in the exhibition space. KWAAI Exhibition, 2019.

Discussion

In this section, three responses or insights written by visitors on the interactive wall about *Kaaps*, and which evoked specific meanings, will be focused on, presented, and discussed. The three reference points for these three insights are: “*You talk like a whtie*”, “*Kaaps is a creative language*”, and “*Language carries identity and draws us closer and closer to ourselves*”. These insights were chosen because they revealed corresponding commonalities in responses from visitors, although phrased differently.

“*You talk like a whtie*”

The first reference point is: “*You talk like a whtie*”. This expression within the coloured community is often used as a humorous or offensive statement which suggests that you, as a ‘coloured’ or person of colour, think you are ‘white’ because you do not speak *Kaaps*, or that your accent implies you prefer to be associated with ‘whiteness’ as opposed to the ‘coloured’ racial identity. This is interesting because it can also be perceived as a sense of in-culture discrimination. Tomaselli (1987) notes that culture eliminates fixed meaning in language, and meaning is produced unconsciously. Through what Gramsci (2000) called ‘hegemony’, we learn to accept systems of oppression as normal through our cultural interactions (Martin 2006). In this practice we validate and normalise specific forms of knowledge, ways of speaking, varieties, meanings, dispositions, and perspectives (Margolis 2001). Social justice is therefore concerned with cultural and symbolic change (Fraser 1997), while renegotiating prejudiced social constructs of identity through language that informs and affirms non-recognition, marginalisation, and disrespect toward people (Lovell 2007). Guess (2006) notes two distinctions of racism: racism by ‘intent’ and by ‘consequence’. This distinction is useful for understanding the relationship between language and power.

‘Intent’ functions at the level of the individual and is expressed as racial prejudice and discrimination against people of colour. The latter functions socially and represents a

historical realisation. What this means is that racism by consequence, as Guess (2006:651) states, is a slow move from a conscious, nearly personal belief of the inferiority of an ‘othered race’; a belief that “expresses itself in attitudes and prejudice and is acted out in discriminatory behaviour”. Instead, replacing the former are social practices which depersonalises through institutionalisation. Over time racial prejudice may regress; however, more subtle forms of discrimination may continue. Racism by ‘intent’ eventually informs cultural practices of institutions and implies white superiority over non-white ethnic groups. Freire (1985:101) notes that through critical pedagogy we begin to view our place in the world as a point of focus for critical exploration. As we return to our past experiences, knowledge is obtained. Critical pedagogy that is culturally focused therefore aims to place culture as a focal point, in order to work from within the community’s culture. I argue that when ‘coloured’ or ‘black’ people use the statement “*you talk like a whitie*” toward someone of their ethnic group, they internalise their self-prejudice regarding an accent which represents, in their mind, ‘superiority’. However, they do so without realising that perhaps that person may also feel a sense of cultural inferiority among their ‘own’ community but, because of their formal education, have assimilated to the culture of their environment and now have to answer for their ‘*whitie*’ accent.

“Kaaps is a creative language”

The second reference point is, “*Kaaps is a creative language*”. In South Africa, colonial and apartheid language ideologies acted as a systematic means of emphasising racial identities. What this means for non-standard varieties like *Kaaps* is that standard language instruction in educational practices by dominant culture rejects linguistic hybridity. The ideology of linguistic purity demonstrated an intentional doubt in the capacity of multilingual or non-standard varieties to fulfil all the ‘functions’ of a language in all areas of modern society, and is strengthened by notions of inferiority and cultural purity (Alexander 2014). Martin (2006:170) explains that creolisation as a term was introduced in 1971 to describe the cultural process in which the conflict between cultures was not only painful but also creative. This understanding opens possibilities for opposing the separation of indigenous knowledge from ‘legitimate’ thinking, by acknowledging the linguistic ability of humans to construct meaning and create cultural and social structures in adverse circumstances (Akena 2012). The marginalisation of non-standard varieties against the ideological understanding that mother-tongue belongs to one group did not effectively capture the ‘*linguaging*’ occurring in South Africa amid colonisation and apartheid through the immersion of societies and peoples, and which produced integrated language varieties of shared cultural and linguistic knowledge (Dyers 2015:60). “*Kaaps is a creative language*” speaks to the multilingual habitus conceptualised by Bourdieu (Lovell 2007), which is generated through social interaction in the practical and ‘integrated’ competence (Dyers 2015:60), and which is what aids children in learning in specific contexts (Lovell 2007:74). Multilingual or non-standard varieties of language like *Kaaps* are therefore personal, practical, and meaning driven. The maintenance of the *Kaaps* variety, despite it not being recognised as an official language, reinforces its creative resourcefulness and subverting capacity in everyday life.



Figure 5.3: Chelsea Ingham, *I speak creole*, 2017. Silkscreen print of fabric, mixed media. *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019. Photograph by author.

Kobena Mercer’s (Stewart 2007:6) theoretical expansion on the concept of creolisation, which helps communicate the creative understanding of the *Kaaps* variety, is seen in how he drew on the linguistic restructuring involving the formation of creole languages. Mercer related creolisation to the Bakhtinian dialogical struggle over meaning by stating that:

“Across a whole range of cultural forms there is a ‘syncretic’ dynamic which critically appropriates elements from the master-codes of the dominant culture and ‘creolises’ them, disarticulating given signs and rearticulating their symbolic meaning. The subversive force of this hybridising tendency is most apparent at the level language itself where creoles, patios and black English decentre, destabilise and carnivalise the linguistic domination of ‘English’- the nation language of the master-discourse through strategic inflections, re-accentuations and other performative moves in semantic, syntactic and lexical codes. Creolising practices of counter-appropriation exemplify the critical process of dialogism...” (Stewart (2007:6)

Accordingly, Zimitri Erasmus (2001) uses the term ‘creolisation’ in her exploration of coloured identities to signify the “cultural creativity under conditions of marginality”. Although *Kaaps* is part of the total system of Afrikaans (Dyers 2015), dominant ideologies regarding non-standard varieties continue to be the standard by which individuals frame ideas about themselves and others. Critical pedagogy, as Giroux (2001) notes, is able to access spaces in which to perceive new futures or renegotiate our often naïve understanding or view of our lived experiences. These naïve understandings may be concealed by dominant ideologies that marginalise the context significance and creativity of non-standard varieties of language. I argue that the creativity in *Kaaps* lies in giving existing words extended or new meanings, or a multiplicity of meanings, like the word ‘*kwaai*’ and ‘*gevarlik*’. In standard Afrikaans they both denote negative connotations meaning ‘*angry or strict*’ and ‘*dangerous or unsafe*’, but in *Kaaps* they become terms of endearment. Other distinctions (apart from the

Afrikaansifying of English words) of *Kaaps* (Blignaut and Lesch 2014:21) from standard Afrikaans include:

1. The use of certain characteristic expressions like '*Kom ons pak*' meaning '*let's go*'.
2. Phonological traits like 'vowel raising', for example '*uk*' (*ook*) meaning '*also*', and shortening of words or deletion of sounds, such as '*vek*' (*werk*), meaning '*work*'.
3. Morphological traits such as the insertion of '*ge-*', the Afrikaans past tense, in an English word, for example '*ge-worry*'.

Western ideology would argue that scientific knowledge can only be recorded in standard language. Non-standard varieties have always been modern in the process of localisation – the actuality of what is happening with language in everyday use (Dyers 2015:56). Therefore, Ngugi wa Thiongo'o (1986) notes that the significance of language as indigenous knowledge is that it is not just a sequence of words, but rather that it has expressive power that exceeds its verbal meaning. Social justice education is able to equip the colonised psyche by opposing marginalising narratives through interactive and experiential teaching and learning practices that could help individuals understand the meaning of social difference within their personal and social lives (Bell 2007:2). In the exhibition space (Figure 5.4), visitors' responses among each other to the artworks opened up understandings regarding the creativity of *Kaaps* and its ability to produce linguistic meanings for concepts that speak to a range of experiences, while demonstrating its ability to add humour to situations; particularly, when responding, re-telling or explaining an experience. Likewise the creativity and humour in the use of varieties like *Kaaps* for environmental adaption among black, white and coloured people, produced by urbanisation; can help us understand that language and words are important for framing how we relate to one another in community. Humour and linguistic creativity, culturally, is an effective tool for social inclusion and human relation.



Figure 5.4: Visitors in the exhibition space reading comments on the interactive wall.

“Language carries identity and draws us closer and closer to ourselves”

The third reference point is, *“Language carries identity and draws us closer and closer to ourselves”*. People’s language attitudes, which describes the way they classify the different languages in their repertoire, how they feel toward those languages, and how they act toward those languages and speakers of those languages, is therefore important in understanding how they think about themselves and others (Dyers 2008:59). Language attitudes become a necessary aspect to consider when dealing with knowledge production and self-understanding, and the social and cultural practices in school environments which reinforce the inferiority/superiority relationship through language instruction. This means that such a combination of issues can influence either the shift or maintenance of individual language choices. An individual could practice one language that is strongly maintained by the specific community they identify with, but may have personal or individual reasons that reveal different forms of language use and attitudes to the dominant class. Individual identity through language can therefore differ from group linguistic identity (Dyers 2008:56). Identity in terms of language is therefore both a social and personal construct. Socially distinguished and tangible attributes like language are personally and individually constructed by psychological experiences and choices. Fanon (1960) accordingly stated that our historical and political context (of language) develops a personal psychological experience (Ramphela 2008).



Figure 5.5: Visitors engaging with the interactive wall in the exhibition space.

Schools act as places that limit the linguistic complexity of learners’ everyday lives, and monolingualise speakers that are heteroglossic by instructing them to become literate in the language that Derrida (1996) describes as, ‘the language of the other’. Discourse in educational constructs institutionalises groups to define individuals as learners of English as a second language, thereby leading to them being defined in terms of a value they lack (Busch 2010:290). Critical theory and pedagogy realises that all identity created within the ‘civilising’ process includes aspects of enforced rejection (Pongratz 2005:162). Fundamental

to critical pedagogy is the recognition and inclusion of the marginalised ways of knowing and doing that are devalued and excluded: oppressed and indigenous knowledge (Fischman and McLaren 2005:352). Socialising children to embrace the suppression of non-standard language varieties within educational practices, with the goal of standard language proficiency, produces race-specific social injustices (Fraser 2008). The privileging of western cultural exclusivity reproduces and reflects unjust patterns of cultural recognition with which social justice is concerned with opposing (Fraser 2008).

In contemporary educational systems, indigenous knowledge is not given any considerable authority and is therefore intellectually marginalised (Akena 2012). Colonialism's mission to 'mis-educate', 'de-culture', and intellectually suppress pragmatic knowledge continues to be a system of thought where non-standard varieties are concerned (Abdi 2006:16). The damaging influence of this is part of the struggle against colonialism. For any meaningful struggle for decolonisation there must be a critical engagement of the internalised and accepted view of dominant discourses that marginalise the culture of the colonised. Learners' early socialisation is varied, and they bring with them into the school setting a specific class habitus of a specific system of social meanings and understandings. It can be argued that the objective of formal education is to weaken context-specific language varieties that make for a successful educational experience (Margolis 2001:7). Fraser (2008) focuses on the concern within indigenous education by suggesting that struggles of reification and change may be overcome by a different approach to recognition that not only recognises group identity based on marginality or privilege, but also aims to undo systems of thought that inhibit equality. Engaging indigenous knowledge for transformative learning in more creative and dialogical ways can help *Kaaps* speakers look to their linguistic creativity as an "indigenous intellectual resource" (Akena 2012:605) and not an inability, as Busch (2012) notes. This could help non-standard language variety speakers, like *Kaaps* speakers, to better understand the process and significance of knowledge production and self-understanding that is obtained through language. Additionally, it could lead to an understanding of how it is expressed in our personal and social identities, whether positive or negative.

5.3 Lived experiences and attitudes

In this section I present and discuss specific dialogue responses collected in the exhibition space. Participant dialogues within the exhibition space were accomplished with five young adults (both male and female) between the ages of 20 and 26, who identified as speakers of *Kaaps* or have a personal or social relationship with the variety. The central questions prompting the participants were: *Do you feel language (Kaaps) informs your self-understanding and generation of knowledge about the world around you? How has your educational experience made you think about language in relation to your actual lived experience of language?* The dialogues were largely directed by what the participants experienced in the exhibition space, the meanings evoked by the artworks, and the personal lived experiences and attitudes that came to inform their personal and social identities. This was important in the bid to acquire truthful and visceral responses. Where necessary, I identified the racial or ethnic backgrounds of the participants to designate the multiple voices

that emerged in the study. Themes that emerged from analysis of the lived experiences and attitudes of participants are: Difference, Assimilation, and Privilege.

Difference

In South Africa, post-colonial understandings of culture have often focused on difference. However, more complex explorations of similarities and the situations within which they are made are necessary. Creolisation as an exploratory concept comes into play not to bring about the erasure of difference but to support the complex process of making connections through language, and understanding its influence on racial identities (Martin 2006:166). Dialogues with the participants opened up discourse regarding notions of difference in their experiences with the *Kaaps* language variety. This section explores participants' responses relating to difference, through the concepts or themes of culture and identity.

1. Culture

Participant *EDI* - Extract 1:

"Just to be blunt, I'm a whittie, and if I speak 'white' then I'm keeping myself white, I'm sure you have heard that... I've had an interesting past that has led me to many different things...I feel like there's a massive cultural barrier and it's got to do with the way people talk because firstly you got the negative aspect that's linked to it with the drugs and the gangsterism, and obviously it comes from 'sabela' and then that's obviously mixed in with 'mengels'¹⁵ ... Are you a normal person, then why do you speak like that, why don't you speak like a normal person? Because I went to a school where it was fine to speak like that in school, that's why I speak like that now. But no, I'm not like one of those people but you see me as one of those people [gangsters]."

We learn to accept systems of oppression as normal through our cultural interactions (Martin 2006). In order to confront the reality of our cultural interactions, critical pedagogy considers how we represent ourselves and others within our social and cultural environments, and always involves a transformative view of society by being involved in renewed critical questioning (Freire 1987:109). Participant *EDI* is a 'white' male coming from the rural areas of Mokopane, who moved to Cape Town at a young age. Because he is white and speaks *Kaaps*, his experience with the variety is complex, and demonstrates a counter white-superior position. The participant's 'whiteness' is not one of dominance in this situation. Giroux (1997) suggests a third space for 'whites' that does not valorise their achievements or exaggerate their involvement in dominating relations. This means that their history is not determined by the original crime of racism; instead, it is determined by a complicated make up of what it means to be white in any context. Participant *EDI*'s understanding of *Kaaps* is strongly associated with drugs and gangsterism at a very personal level. What this means is

¹⁵ A colloquial term to describe the mixture of English and Afrikaans.

that his use of the *Kaaps* language may present or hold specific preconceived prejudices toward him and the community he is immersed in – as he stated, *“there’s a massive cultural barrier and it’s got to do with the way people talk...”*. An individual’s choice of language can be far more varied than those of the group to whom the individual ‘belongs’, and is dependent on the individual’s specific situation or environment (Dyers 2008:56). What this means is that context-specific language, no matter the race of the individual, is continually influenced by that person’s lived world. This lived world is what is known as indigenous knowledge; an intentional practice which informs and maintains people’s ways of knowing and doing within a particular environment (Akena 2012:601).

This *‘sabela’* that participant *EDI* refers to is linked to the Fanagolo language of the mines dating back to the 1800s, which then filtered back home with its speakers staying in different provinces and communities (Ravyse 2018). In the Cape it became synonymous with gang vernacular known as *‘sabela’*. It is described as a mix of Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Zulu, and English, all of which are traced in *Kaaps* – *“I went to a school where it was fine to speak like that in school, that’s why I speak like that now. But no, I’m not like one of those people but you see me as one of those people [gangsters].”* Contributing to the negative perception of *Kaaps* is its association with gangsterism. The way language pervades how people are received in social interactions highlights the complex and contradictory ways in which marginalised cultures are formed. The cultural barriers of language use are in the marginalisation of non-standard language varieties.

Lived experiences of alteration, hybridity, and ‘transformative fusions’ (Nuttal & Michael 2000) of multiculturalism through language can help create better understandings of racism and black political culture which have been presented by cultural absolutists, and can assist in providing a perspective that is not limited to blacks (Martin 2006:168). When the participant states *“Just to be blunt, I’m a whittie, and if I speak ‘white’ then I’m keeping myself white...”*, his relationship with the *Kaaps* variety of language can be understood using hybridity to symbolise his “diaspora experience” – this experience is not defined by purity, but by the recognition of cultural fusions that are produced when using language, and which presents a “conception of ‘identity’ “that exists with and through, not despite, difference, through hybridity” (Martin 2006:168). Fraser (2008) notes that cultural or social justice of recognition where ‘distinctiveness’ is concerned, is important for interrupting social patterns of misrecognition. Discourse about language continues to be underestimated regarding racial expectations (how someone of a particular race is supposed to speak because of how they look).

Participant *EDI*- **Extract 2:**

“A lot of kids out there, they in survival mode. ‘Or they questioning my culture mode’. Where does my culture even fit into this modern society? Does this modern society even have room for cultural difference? Should culture in general just be kept to a personal level? I think it should. Because a lot of the times we break each other’s connections by being like ‘oh, he’s nothing like us’, but you can’t expect everybody to be in your culture”.

The process of colonisation involved denying the history of the colonised by rewriting it, intellectually devaluing their knowledge, and corrupting their cultural values and practices (Wane 2006). Colonisation and apartheid essentially could not embrace difference. In a post-apartheid South Africa it leaves us questioning, as participant *EDI* has; “*Does this modern society even have room for cultural difference? Should culture in general just be kept to a personal level? I think it should.*” Critically engaging indigenous knowledge when thinking about difference can help us better understand the process of knowledge production that informs our idea of culture (Akena 2012:605). Culture is the collection of meaningful practices with which self-defined groups within or across social classes express themselves in distinctive ways, or localise themselves within specific significations they ascribe as part of their identity (Tomaselli 1987). The problem, however, is that culture often misdirects the notion of diversity (Erasmus 2001), “*because a lot of the times we break each other’s connections by being like ‘oh, he’s nothing like us’, but you can’t expect everybody to be in your culture*”. Language is important when it comes to concepts of exclusion, ‘othering’, marginalisation, and the resistance approaches that are necessary when opposing such practices which are so ingrained into culture (Dei & Kempf 2006:116). Through language we examine voice through preconceived notions of race, class, and difference, by which we measure or understand the intellectual ability of the colonised.

Critical pedagogy geared toward transformative learning that can equip colonial thinking aims to develop teaching and learning practices that liberate people through context-specific methods to education, in order to create dialogue and open up individuals’ critical consciousness (Johnson & Morris 2010:80). Critical pedagogy that engages political and cultural conditions can help confront the ways in which language functions to maintain racial and colonial exclusions, specifically in ‘official’ discourses around social and cultural integration. Dominant culture’s agenda toward official languages in South Africa exhibits a form of intolerance for linguistic difference as it relates to non-standard varieties like *Kaaps*. What this also means is that a critical engagement with questions about power, resources, fairness, and difference is needed.

Furthermore, language through power and hegemony is the practical tool through which social exclusion and racial difference are affirmed and acted out through cultural interactions (Dei & Kempf 2006:16). This means that language is always in question. Fraser (2008) notes that cultural injustices emerge when institutionalised or hierarchical social patterns of cultural value produce misrecognition or problematise difference through social inequality toward particular social groups. Therefore, connecting with histories, cultures, and views relating to marginalised groups (such as the speakers of non-standard varieties of language) through curriculum, is a step toward bridging cultural connections and understandings, rather than denying them. Practices like these are important for generating more just patterns of cultural recognition that suggest greater respect and regard for marginalised groups and cultural difference.

Participant ED5- Extract 3:

"I think cultural drive is like the most effective way to get a message across and get people to think in a certain way, like YoungstaCPT, he is like the biggest name in rap in Cape Town, this is who he is and this is normal for a lot of people".

'Symbolic activity' is exclusive to humans and represents our ability for shared intentionality (Coffee 2008:263). Language is our principal and essential system of symbols. Language does not emerge unexpectedly from within the person; instead, it is obtained and established through social interactions (Coffee 2008:264). Akena (2012:603) notes that knowledge produced by an individual and which is valuable for liberation can only be accomplished by individuals whose aim is to confront subjugating ideology of marginalised communities, and who promote the liberation of an inferior psyche. "...like YoungstaCPT, he is like the biggest name in rap in Cape Town, this is who he is and this is normal for a lot of people". 'YoungstaCPT' raps in *Kaaps* and lyrically bears witness to the marginalised narratives and lived experiences of the coloured community. His symbolic and lyrical narratives confront, challenge, and renegotiate issues relating to the prejudices toward lower-class coloureds, colonial thinking, and apartheid legacies that grip the community daily. His often used pseudonym "*YoungvanRiebeeck*" reflects his intention to not only subvert historical narratives by foregrounding the *Kaaps* variety, but to also 're-write history' from the perspective of the 'colonised'. Using this 'habitus' – what is taken for granted or goes without saying – and the ability to take these narratives and mobilise them through cultural practices, becomes significant in addressing unjust social patterns regarding race and language (Lovell 2007:74).

Although much of cultural transference is conscious and intentional, cultural transference can also be unintentional and unconscious. During this process specific tools like language are used for different purposes, apart from just communicating. "*I think cultural drive is like the most effective way to get a message across and get people to think in a certain way.*" Learning in galleries in terms of critical pedagogy can help realise new strategies for engaging marginalised audiences and voices that could be more creative and productive for the visitor. Cultural drive through symbolic narrative – that is, visual representation – can be effective in negotiating cultural domination. This refers to the ways in which individuals or social groups are marginalised through interpretation and communication that is different or discriminatory to their own cultural interpretation or way of being (Fraser 2008:133). In order to achieve a form of social justice, it is necessary to challenge non-recognition, which considers situations in which individuals are represented, communicated, and interpreted as culturally inferior (Fraser 1996:7). Historical context is important to understand how racial identities are produced in one context, with specific meanings, and how they persist as fact without being questioned from generation to generation. What this reveals is that language is a very effective conduit for transferring meanings about race and class. Given our racialised or Eurocentric knowledge about the relationship between language and ethnic consciousness, Stephen May (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:258) notes that language is a marker of ethnic

identity, and accepting another view means taking a more critical view of the connection between language and identity. Often, accounts of collective ethnicity are devalued, as are its close relations to specific, historically-associated languages, such as *Kaaps*.

Participant *EDI-Extract 4*:

“During high school, my teen years... of who I become, I learnt it then (Kaaps), so is it wrong for me to speak it now, I don’t know. I get judged for it, I get challenged for it but I don’t know, it’s how I grew up. Now I’m 23, I’m out of high school now all of a sudden I must become this white person that knows how to speak properly...people look at me and by my look, face value, they assume that’s your culture, that’s your background. It’s because there’s a racially presumed culture attached to that”.

Cultural integrations of different linguistic and cultural communities can be understood as ‘communicative resource’ (Dyers 2015). In other words, you cannot communicate or learn in a social environment or share or produce meanings if you cannot speak the language of the community. This means that culture becomes subjective. It can, in terms of non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps*, be either socially or biologically determined, or both. As the participant stated, *“During high school...I learnt it then (Kaaps), so is it wrong for me to speak it now, I don’t know. I get judged for it, I get challenged for it but I don’t know, it’s how I grew up.”* There seems to be an agreement that our everyday life experiences are meaningful for communicating indigenous knowledge which is important for our necessary existence (or survival) within our social environments (Akena 2012:602). Freire (1985:101) notes that we must view our place in the world as a crucial point for critical exploration. Through reflecting on our reality through critical and creative processes we are able to disable our naïve understanding. What this means is that we must use our own experience or other subjects’ experiences to reflect on as we try to improve our understanding. The cultural implication of language use and integration can mean that no matter what your biological race is, where you grow up, or which community you are personally and socially invested in, your personal and social distinctiveness is formed by that specific environment and interactions with those people.

Similar to the concept of recognition as an issue of social status, Fraser (2008:8) notes that recognition should be concerned with better understanding and negotiating ‘the specific nature of specific oppressions at specific sites’ – *“people look at me and by my look, face value, they assume that’s your culture, that’s your background. It’s because there’s a racially presumed culture attached to that”*. ‘Race-thinking’ is so pervasive in our post-apartheid society that we do not realise that we root our understanding of each other based on racial claims, which are essentially socially constructed. We can recognise, as Fraser (2008) notes, the reification of race and language necessitates cultural critique and engagement in relation to conflict and injustice. This focus could, in contrast, involve the rejection of unnecessary racism attributed to cultural distinctiveness. This sort of critical engagement pays attention to the complex ways in which marginalised cultures are formed. It also challenges oppressions informed by dominant cultural norms, as well as negotiating oppressions produced through

marginalised cultural norms, like a white person who grew up in a lower-class coloured community and who speaks *Kaaps*.

2. Identity

Participant *EDI*'s - **Extract 5:**

"We so worried about people being racist that we don't realise that us doing that, we are becoming racist. By questioning, 'oh that person's white or if I do that will I be more white...You being just as racist. Sometimes I walk around like, I should just hou my bek now, I should just hou my bek.¹⁶ ...I'm 23 now and I'm starting to re-evaluate the way I speak... I'm trying not to say 'this' anymore because if I say this I get a specific reaction... if you don't speak the language you an outsider, if you do speak the language you an outsider, where do you fit in? Where do you fit in? I only have coloured friends, and still today don't even have one 'white' friend. That's why I'm still confusing the situation because I'm not your average white person... I basically could have grown up in the [Cape] flats..."

Although racial hierarchy, which previously controlled the social relations of South Africans, has been abolished, inter-group relations in South Africa, post-apartheid, have produced greater complexities (Adhikari 2005:175). *"By questioning, 'oh that person's white or if I do that will I be more white...' You being just as racist."* The emphasis on racial and ethnic differences continues, and one cause of this is the new government's transformation policy that still leans heavily on the racial classifications of apartheid. This encourages the potential for racism to reinvent itself in new postcolonial and postmodern ways. Social justice education in this instance is necessary in order to assist people in developing the critical abilities necessary to understand the oppression and their own social role within these oppressive systems (Bell 2007:2).

We often take for granted the way in which identities are defined through language. It must therefore be noted that *Kaaps* can be spoken by anyone in close contact with the variety, and cannot be confined to a strict association with a specific speech community any longer, although it is historically linked to the 'Cape coloured' (Dyers 2015:59). Zimitri Erasmus (2001) notes that there seems to be a developing discourse of African opinion that "denies creolisation and hybridity as signifying African experiences". *"I'm starting to re-evaluate the way I speak...That's why I'm still confusing the situation because I'm not your average white person... I basically could have grown up in the [Cape] flats..."*- What this means is that every language is the keeper of the speaker's cultural experience (Wane 2006:100). In Martin (2007:173), Glissant's use of creolisation which is rooted in *métissages* –"it is the social way of thinking about hybridisation" (Martin 2006:169), and needs to be thought of as

¹⁶ "I should just hold my mouth now, I should just hold my mouth". This means "I should just keep quiet".

breaking down the oppositions between people and groups that are constructed by ideologies of racial differences, so as to establish connections, interactions, and shared creations that are always evidenced through culture. Western educational practices have helped produce and uphold a colonising knowledge system, whose evident injustices are organised in terms of language, ethnicity, culture, and class (Akena 2012:603). Dei & Kempf (2008:16) note that language is the unspoken discourse in which power and hegemony operate to silence and reject certain experiences, histories, and identities. Linguistic racism and the symbolic capital of language help to discriminate against and marginalise the colonised. To control culture and ways of thinking is to control individuals' means of self-definition that is comparative to others (Dei & Kempf 2006). For Freire (1987:109), critical pedagogy views empowerment as a social act in which individuals negotiate and produce meaning through dialogue, while taking into consideration their roles within discursive practices of knowledge and power relations.

Participant *ED3* –**Extract 6:**

"I hate the fact that they say Afrikaans is the domain of the Afrikaner, because if we go into every other African nation that was colonised by every other nation, Portuguese, French, they speak that language. So my question is, if you were an Afrikaner or per se Dutch, why are you speaking the Kaaps language? That means we are so powerful as people of colour that influenced your language. I do understand that black people might not appreciate Afrikaans but as an indigenous 'half-breed' I find power in that".

South African provincial and national language policies might stress multilingualism, but are in actuality based on the monolingual determinants that give no recognition to the linguistic hybridity and 'linguaging' of ordinary people, such as the speakers of *Kaaps*. What is necessary is contextualised language practices in schools with more flexible double medium methods that reflect the complex repertoires children bring to school. *"That means we are so powerful as people of colour that influenced your language. I do understand that black people might not appreciate Afrikaans but as an indigenous 'half-breed' I find power in that"*. Helping learners understand the difference between their actual language varieties and standard varieties may discard the negative perceptions they attribute to their variety, which may have been defined in derogatory terms like the variety of *Kaaps*, which is often called '*mengels*' (Afrikaans mixed with English) or '*Kombuisafrikaans*' ('Kitchen Afrikaans'). Dyers (2015:62) notes that this does not represent "the linguistic reality of *Kaaps* as part of the range of varieties that form part of the system known as 'Afrikaans'". Knowledge production in a society by hegemonic groups naturally leads to domination, oppression, and control. Knowledge production should therefore be investigated from the perspective of struggles between different groups which make up a society. What may be considered as rational knowledge in society is often not, and should be understood as being influenced by politics, ethnicities, and group ideologies (Akena 2012:604). A lack of critical engagement in historical narratives and cultural formations produced by 'white' hegemony contributes to *Kaaps* speakers' misunderstanding of themselves as a community and racial identity. Fraser

(2008) notes that the valuing of marginalised cultures or non-standard varieties of language like Kaaps reproduces recognitive justice, which has the ability to disrupt dominant social patterns that create prejudiced hierarchies founded on ideologies of cultural purity.

Participant *ED5*- **Extract 7:**

"It is a stigma, like, 'why you speaking funny?' (Referencing Figure 5.6), but the truth of the matter is most people in Cape Town speak like that (Kaaps). Like I work at Tygerberg hospital and like most of the patients speak Afrikaans and if I can't understand them they speak in English and they speak with an accent, that's just who they are, like you can't make fun of them. You see some of the doctors snicker when the patient says something and it's just rude, you don't do that".

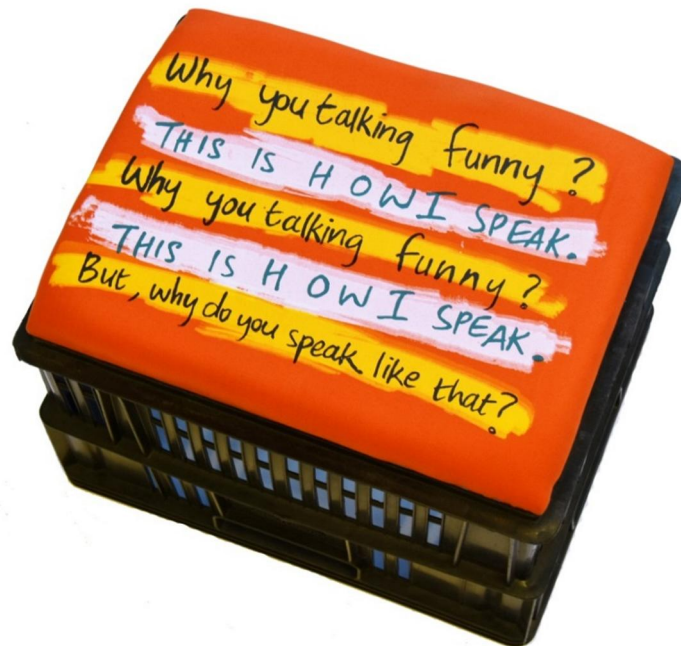


Figure 5.6: Chelsea Ingham, *Why you talking funny?* 2017, Silkscreen print on fabric, mixed media, installation. *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019. Photograph by author.

The value attributed to specific language practices should not be understood in separation from the community of people who perform them or from the wider networks or social engagements from which they emerge. Repertoire is therefore recognised as active, where linguistic characters are subject to change or variation across time. In this instance, we understand linguistic repertoire to not only refer to languages that an individual or community can speak or use; instead it refers to “all the accepted ways of formulating messages”. “...but the truth of the matter is most people in Cape Town speak like that (*Kaaps*).” Repertoires develop through “experiencing language equally in interaction on a cognitive and on an emotional level” (Busch 2010, 2012). “*It is a stigma, like, 'why you speaking funny?'*” Social justice for recognition identifies two ways of considering differences: It either aims to acknowledge, not disqualify group differences; or two, it seeks to examine, negotiate, and challenge the actual conditions under which such differences are presently developed (Fraser 1996). Non-standard varieties of languages, such as *Kaaps*,

without a doubt have a very humorous undertone. However, this is when it is contextually specific, and certain meanings or statements are used which evoke humorous responses. “*You see some of the doctors snicker when the patient says something and it’s just rude, you don’t do that*”. That being said, finding humour in the fact that an individual cannot fluently respond to you in the language you speak, does not justify laughing at the individual in front of them.

In actuality, the majority of South Africans do not have a high status command of English or Afrikaans (Busch & Busch & Press 2014). The effect of this is that most people want to obtain a sort of skill in English for economic reasons and have, as Kellman (1975) terms, an “instrumental not sentimental allegiance to the English language” (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:246). The sentimentality and value is naturally placed in their ‘own’ languages as community and home languages; as carriers of their cultural identity. In other words, the concreteness of everyday vernacular or non-standard language varieties reflects the concreteness of the speaker’s existence, and their language is as concrete as their experience (Freire 1987:148). To devalue non-standard varieties like *Kaaps*, therefore, is to purposefully exclude and marginalise the lived experiences of the speakers’ personal, social, and racial identities and realities.

Before the standardisation of Afrikaans, the *Kaaps* variety or Cape Vernacular Afrikaans was considered socially inferior. Assuming the values attributed to the respective languages, most coloureds chose to assimilate the English language as a language of ‘culture’ and ‘progress’, despite Afrikaans being their home language (Adhikari 2002:121). In post-apartheid South Africa, non-standard varieties of language continue to be marginalised in educational practices and the complexities of assimilation reintroduced.

Assimilation

The marginality of coloured people before and during apartheid prevented them from establishing themselves politically or entering institutions, relationships, and professions that were more influential and significant within dominant society (Adhikari 2002:124). What this means is that the ultimate goal for marginal communities was assimilation into the dominant society, through the power of language.

Participant ED1- Extract 8:

“I’ve seen coloured children being slapped by their parents being like ‘why you speaking like that?’”.

Coloured communities and speakers of *Kaaps* believe in and value their ‘actual’ language and therefore, to a certain extent, the vitality of *Kaaps* is not doubted (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:268). They do, however, believe that non-standard varieties like *Kaaps* can never achieve equal power and status as the English language. I have personally experienced this in an English primary school class of around forty learners who spoke predominantly *Kaaps* and

are more on the Afrikaans side of the language continuum, but were in an English class because their parents insisted on it. Because of a Eurocentric education system and the linguistic market, there is an obsessive relationship between the indigenous and the dominant colonial languages. In the South African context, this is evidenced in parents with colonised identities who have a preference for English, and their scepticism or opposition toward their ‘mother-tongue’ or their actual language. *Kaaps* and other non-standard language varieties are viewed as not having adequate or intellectual capacity. *“I’ve seen coloured children being slapped by their parents being like ‘why you speaking like that?’”* This helps us understand that language is a psychological process used to affirm inferiority and maintain an attitude of a ‘colonised mind’, by accepting the view that aptitude in the dominant language allows them to experience what Bourdieu refers to as ‘profits of distinction’ (Alexander 2014:269). Multilingualism in this sense is denied for linguistic ‘purity’, despite its formative influence on development and understanding from a young age. Attaining social justice in this regard would therefore involve recognising and encouraging positive affirmations regarding linguistic variety and hybridity. This would mean incorporating transformative social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication that would help individuals better understand how people view identity. Freire (1987:148) notes that when we consider language as being involved in social classes, the classroom problem becomes clearer. Non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps* illustrate how class conditions are expressed through language. Learning and unlearning demonstrates how the hegemony of racism can be deeply rooted and internalised (Leibowitz 2010).

Participant ED5- Extract 9:

“You get stereotyped by the accent you speak; it’s sometimes difficult to overcome that. You identify with people with the same accent I guess. Because of where we all went to school, this is how we speak now, we speak mostly without the accent because this is how we were taught to speak, but I know just speaking to three very different types of people, if I speak to my white friends then I won’t speak slang. But if I speak to a coloured man I will throw in a few words, like more natural. If I spoke to my Afrikaans friends using slang they would be like ‘listen buddy, what are you doing?’ ”

If we consider language as it relates to cultural domination and systematic oppression, more just narratives need to be encouraged toward non-standard varieties and identities. Freire (1987:73) notes that everyday vernacular must be recognised as having an unacknowledged benefit, and to regulate such knowledge would mean confronting the dominant class. *“We speak mostly without the accent because this is how we were taught to speak, but I know just speaking to three very different types of people, if I speak to my white friends then I won’t speak slang.”* In addition to this, educators have to explain that the way you speak holds the question of power and, because of the political issue with power, you need to master the dominant language to contend in the fight to transform society. The three expectations of critical pedagogy are that praxis can aid in social transformation, that teaching and learning is not a neutral practice, and that society can be transformed when those engaged become

critically conscious (Hickey-Moody & Page 2016:15). Critical theory and pedagogy are therefore not individualistic practices.

Social aspirations of coloured communities are often entirely assimilationist. *“You get stereotyped by the accent you speak, it’s sometimes difficult to overcome that. You identify with people with the same accent I guess.”* I know from personal experiences that the effect of the stereotype expressed through race and language can sometimes be cast on you by yourself. What I mean is that through corrupt narratives about *Kaaps* and in certain conversations with certain people, you instinctively become aware that you must speak in a more ‘educated’ way; that you must posture your speech in accordance with the speech you are met with. This speaks to Bakhtin’s (1981) dialogism in language use.

Participant *ED5* demonstrates this in his sentiments above, which describe the situated practice of voice in which an individual positions themselves and others in conversation. This is understood as a variety or ‘heteroglossia’ involving conflicting voices in which individuals during conversation are constantly “choosing whether to privilege one voice over another to merge certain voices together or to position voices in ways that lead to consensus or disagreement” (Barge & Little 2002:42). Assimilation in this sense does not mean denying your culture, but rather infiltrating or subverting the culture for pragmatic reasons. As a process or practice, culture informs the way people historically develop themselves and socially construct meanings and definitions, and is not a fixed experience, but is constantly subject to change, fragmentation, and restructure. Non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps* demonstrate a good example of what Canagarajah and Wuhr Dyers (2015:60) call ‘integrated competence’ and what Busch (2012) refers to as ‘repertoire’, which denotes ‘all the accepted ways of formulating messages’ (Busch 2012) and which cannot be restricted to racial boundaries, but rather is experienced in social interaction and on an expressive level.

The notion, however, of being taught to ‘out learn’ the language or speech you grew up with is deeply ideological. In this sense it is aimed at assimilating you into the dominant culture by marginalising your linguistic identity.

Participant *ED1* Extract 10:

“Like my coloured friends in the street would be like, nai¹⁷ we understand you we cool and my black friends would say nai we cool, you don’t judge me and I don’t judge you because language comes from where you grow up and what you grow around. It doesn’t matter about what you say, it matters about who you are and your intent. The intent behind the language, the action”.

Local knowledge may exist in conflict with practical knowledge that has been accepted and acculturated as indigenous ways of knowing and survival (Akena 2012:604). What this means is that racial and cultural representations are expressed through language as indigenous

¹⁷ ‘nai’ is Kaaps for ‘no man’.

knowledge. The maintenance of the *Kaaps* variety cannot be denied. As a non-standard variety of language, its effectiveness is in its ability to communicate the multilingual life experiences of its speakers; to produce, evoke, and transfer meanings between languages. “*Language comes from where you grow up and what you grow around.*” Because languages are open systems, always moving and mixing rather than being fixed or bound systems, they are a constant process of assimilation. Akena (2012:614) notes that home and community knowledge can be used as relevant resources for knowledge production within educational practices. Language shift is a natural occurrence that opens up new forms of language diversity, and which cannot be wished away by the dominant culture. Instances may occur in which the dominant culture may even conform to it. The notion of language death therefore becomes a relative concept, explained by Pennycook (2004:231) “as the newer forms always contains elements of the older ones”. This means that no matter how much the systematic education instructs learners in monolingual standard language, non-standard varieties like *Kaaps* cannot be wished away. Critical pedagogy considers how we represent ourselves and others within our social and cultural environments, and always involves a transformative vision for society by always being involved in renewed critical questioning of pedagogic objectives, institutions, and practices (Freire 1987:109). *Kaaps*’ context-significance will continue because of its formative, communicative, personal, and social relevance as people and languages come into contact.

Participant EDI- Extract 11:

“What does this say?... ‘Code-switching [linguistics] the act of alternating between two languages in a conversation, eg. ‘Yor bra, im vrek hungry’¹⁸.” (Figure 5.7) That’s fine. See now, that, we would have used in Mokopane as well, but the thing is because we 2000km away now it’s a (Cape) flats thing, like ‘Awe’. ‘Awe’, we use it in Mokopane, I never even knew it existed in Cape Town, we use it the same, ‘AWE’ “.

Most of the time we use words or sayings without understanding the history or context from which they emerge. *Kaaps* shows that language is something we carry with us no matter where we go, filtering in through relationships, connections, or social interactions, whether in the past or the present. The social context in which non-standard language varieties are used is significant. For indigenous communities, indigenous knowledge is a practical tool in reclaiming their context-specific ways that have been suppressed and marked as inferior and primitive by western knowledge (Akena 2012:601). The reality is that if you are around someone for long enough their speech or way of speaking becomes a part of your linguistic repertoire. Dominant culture, which is rooted in the colonial system of thought, informs marginalised identities and communities whose ‘own languages’, through ‘mother-tongue’ and standard language ideology, have no valuable social status. They therefore view the dominant master language of English as a means to overcome their linguistic inferiority. They adapt to dominant culture, which presents ways of assimilating within social changes in

¹⁸ “Wow man, I’m so hungry”.

order to survive and make sense of, or be equipped for, social, economic, and political purposes. Sentiments like ‘awe’, or ‘yor!’ , which have multiple uses and ways of expressing meaning, become communal and true to our South African context, and colonial languages, with all of their grand concepts (which are indisputably important), could not be more effective than a simple ‘yor!’ in local contexts. ‘yor’ could mean ‘wow’ and express disbelief, disappointment, excitement, and many more.

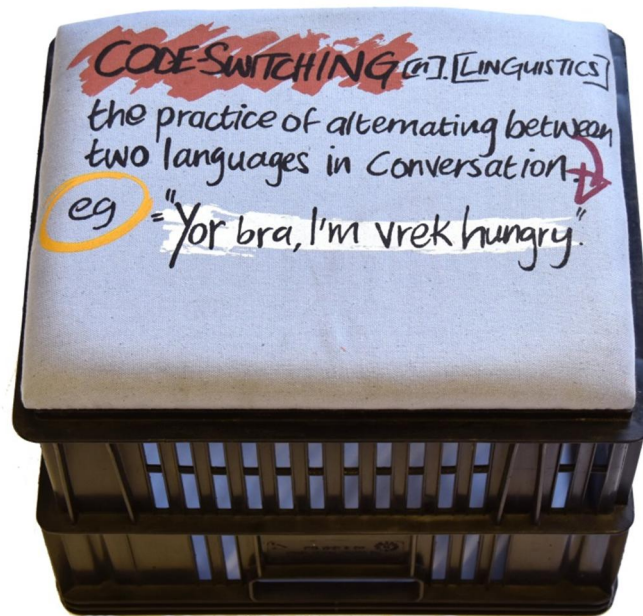


Figure 5.7: Chelsea Ingham, *Code-switching*, 2017. Silkscreen print of fabric, mixed media, installation. *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019. Photograph by author.

Non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps* cannot be reduced to mere ‘street talk’. They are languages with actual meanings, semantics, and structure. Figure 5.7 helped to illustrate the point that “engagement with visual theory makes recognizable the potential critical theory has for current pedagogic discourse” (Pongratz 2005:162). Ferguson (2010) notes that communities who view knowledge not merely as a tool, but rather as a perspective on development and a sense of knowing, realise that local knowledge occurs within a distinct context. This alters the focus of indigenous knowledge enquiry from a focus on content to a focus on practice (Briggs 2013:238).

Participant *ED5*- **Extract 12:**

“For the first 8 years of our life we grew up in Athlone, ya Athlone, Rylands so they speak pretty strong Kaaps with an accent. From primary school through high school we went to schools in the southern suburbs and like the teachers there would shun and like correct students who spoke like that. To say, ‘no...it’s pronounced this way and not like that’. We ended up changing our accents, I only realised when I spoke with my parents. So most of your 12 years of school you grow up thinking that it’s wrong, it’s lower class to speak like that, you won’t fit in if you don’t speak like them”.

Learners enter into school with multilingual or non-standard repertoires, like *Kaaps*, which correspond with their *heteroglossic* social environments. They are, however, reduced to an either/or monolingualism, which in the context of this study would be English or Afrikaans, by the educational systems standards. They would be identified as mother-tongue speakers of either English or Afrikaans. This approach, however, neglects to recognise learners as multilingual subjects who are reduced to a singular voice and linguistic identity that does not reflect the dynamic way in which non-standard language varieties produce meaning in social interaction and dialogue. This identification is rather a misidentification that results in a reduction of complexity (Busch 2010:293). *“...the teachers there would shun and correct students who spoke like that. To say, ‘no...it’s pronounced this way and not like that’. We ended up changing our accents, I only realised when I spoke with my parents.”* This can be attributed to the unjust ways in which racial identities are interpreted, represented, and communicated through Eurocentric ideology of language ‘purity’. Social justice is therefore concerned with the recognition of every individual as being a full participant in society, while renegotiating the prejudiced social constructs of identity that inform non-recognition and marginalisation of people (Lovell 2007). The mixing of languages in the classroom environment sees educators constantly reprimanding or reminding learners that there is no place in the classroom setting for their multilingual varieties. What this means is that it makes learners want to identify with that which is furthest from themselves, particularly with other languages instead of their own (Dei & Kempf 2006:16). Non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps*, through cultural domination, suffer from non-recognition and are disregarded. Social justice, in terms of disrespect, is concerned with how individuals are racially or ethnically stereotyped based on conditions related or connected to cultural attributes, in everyday public situations or interactions, like language use.

Participant *ED4* – **Extract 13:**

“I have currently been busy doing research on how to decolonise education systems, and Julius Nyerere, who is like the first person of Tanzania to have this idea of decolonising education and something that he started, exactly what you said which is that separation between school and home. There shouldn’t be that separation it should be more like integrated.”

When knowledge is produced by outside personalities and implemented in an educational system or society, it has a biased nature and negatively impacts the indigenous knowledge of a people. The outside imposition is both disempowering and colonising (Akena 2012:606). In the contemporary education system, western knowledge denies indigenous knowledge of any significant authority and therefore marginalises it intellectually. Understanding the context significance of language use in learning is important. I argue that the undervaluing of non-standard varieties of language in educational environments also contributes to hindering learners’ confidence in integrating into these settings. Dyers (2015) suggests that there should be a better understanding of the practically subjective way in which specific languages have been selected for standardisation. Dyers (2015:61) notes that standard varieties should always

be open systems, prepared to be changed and adapted in relation to what users are actually doing with language. Non-standard varieties demonstrate the everyday context and significance of multilingual speakers (like *Kaaps* speakers) in social interactions, and the complexity of language used to articulate meanings that informs their ways of knowing and doing.

Participant *ED3*- **Extract 14:**

"I do regret that I did not take up an indigenous language growing up. I went to high school, I went to Herschel¹⁹ and then there was either isiXhosa, German, French. My dad convinced me to take German for business opportunities but now I feel that it held me back in everyday conversation, be it an argument in a taxi or to get a point across... Though if I were to say it in your vernacular, you would understand me at some level because you understood what that means and you would appreciate that..."

The pragmatic utilisation of language and non-standard varieties like *Kaaps* should be better understood or viewed as 'communicative resources'. Alexander (Busch & Busch & Press 2014) notes that the significance of language is in its 'aid to thinking'. Understanding the effects of the system of language, how thought flows through language from a person or community to another, and then becomes the foundational system for thought and of visualising the world is crucial, as this is much closer to the reality of how people use language. If we view language as merely an instrument of communication, then language's ability to be formative and transformative is overlooked. Developing an understanding and a view of language as a means of expression of thinking is closer to how we should approach language and specifically *Kaaps*. Following Bantu Education there was no systematic attempt to modernise or develop indigenous languages alongside English by spreading knowledge of the indigenous languages for empowering value or cultural-political resistance (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:173). *"I do regret that I did not take up an indigenous language growing up... My dad convinced me to take German for business opportunities but now I feel that it held me back in everyday conversation."* In this instance, the necessity for critical theory and pedagogy, as Pongratz (2005:157) notes, is that social domination would not have been possible without the weakening of the self-understanding. However, making indigenous knowledge essential destabilises the relational movement between indigenous knowledge and Eurocentric knowledge, in which indigenous knowledge is determined as 'nature' and Eurocentric ways as 'reason'. Validating Eurocentric knowledge above indigenous knowledge is therefore problematic, and positions the former to a lower status of knowledge production, legitimisation, and distribution (Akena 2012:616).

¹⁹ Herschel Girls High School is one of the top academic and exclusive schools in South Africa.

Participant *ED2*- **Extract 15:**

"With language comes knowledge. That's obviously on a higher level, I mean knowledge can mean many things...history and interaction you can learn so many things in light of language. That's why I find your work interesting".

The importance of visual rendering to evoke meanings and memories is significant in speaking to people in a deeper and reflexive way. I argue that this view on education is valid because the way we learn and acquire knowledge through language is both personal and experiential and is grounded in our social environments, through which we are constantly attaining knowledge. Learning does not merely require prior knowledge, appropriate inspiration, and a mixture of "emotional, physical, and mental action" it also needs an appropriate context in which to communicate itself. (Falk & Dierking 2002:32). 'Languaging', which is described as sets of linguistic resources presented by language users in various social and cultural situations, helps us understand that through "*history and interaction you can learn so many things in light of language...*". 'Languaging' is how people make use of their language resources to produce meaning, transfer meaning, and represent identities (Dyers 2015:60). "*That's why I find your work interesting.*" Critical pedagogy in an art gallery is aimed at learning which offers interactive interventions for dialogue in which 'learners' share ideas, negotiate 'standard' knowledge, and develop opinions and voice. A situated practice of dialogue in a gallery (outside of a formal educational setting) has the "ability to negotiate new meanings that are fundamentally experiential and fundamentally social" (Wenger 1998). The act of learning in this way becomes collaborative and interrupts the notion that learning as a process is passive and in which intelligence is 'acquired'.

In the next section the notion of privilege is explored as all-encompassing of the education system, as it relates to issues of race, language, and class in post-apartheid South Africa.

Privilege

Following colonialism, apartheid was in a more restricted way a system of racial hierarchy in South Africa. Through formal and hidden curricula, schools reproduce the necessary social relations in order to maintain 'white' hegemony. This is revealed in the suppression of indigenous knowledge by Eurocentric ways of being that only serve to heighten racial consciousness (Adhikari 2002:124).

Participant *ED3*- **Extract 16:**

"Having been awarded a scholarship to a white school, all that did was make me feel really poor because they don't understand the reality of South Africa... I asked someone the other day, how can you not be racist if you are displaying racist remarks to someone else? And they said like, the dominant society is not the people that you can change because they don't understand the struggle...."

The legacy of Bantu Education, which was historically grounded in segregationist ideology by the apartheid system, purposed to keep coloured and black individuals at a certain level through specific language instruction (Thaver 2010). Class and race were, and continue to be, interchangeable. Politically and economically the education systems racialised contexts of knowledge production and perpetuated ‘race-thinking’ through standard language ideologies and class distinctions by what many refer to as ‘good schools’. *“Having been awarded a scholarship to a white school, but all that did was make me feel really poor.”* A statement like this can help us understand that the persistence of racism by dominant society’s thinking reflects the disappointment of coloured and black South Africans’ experiences in seeing the continued privileges of their white counterparts, who oftentimes do not evidence any understanding of the privileges they possess, as a price paid by people of colour (Ramphela 2008:12). *“...they don’t understand the reality of South Africa...”* It can be argued that the notion of ‘good schools’ in the very name carries hierarchical value. Its very nature assumes educational inequality in that underprivileged or working-class communities’ schools are cast as ‘bad schools’.

Any genuine pedagogical practice requires a committed attitude to social transformation and engagement with marginalised communities. Social justice is concerned with cultural and symbolic change (Fraser 1996:7). These cultural and symbolic changes mean critically engaging injustices related to unequal distribution of capital and power. When people are physically, culturally, politically, and economically overpowered, it may not be too long until they internalise their lesser status. In addition to this, they may generate among themselves a supposed likeness to the coloniser, and as the relationship is established it is formed into an ‘open’ collaboration between the coloniser and the colonised, which both perpetuates the domination and reproduces it with counterfeit validity (Abdi 2000). Critical pedagogy aims to promote critical consciousness of people, and focuses on ways in which to achieve ‘praxis’, which refers to the process of reflection and action (Johnson and Morris 2010:80). Freire (Dutta & Pal 2010:369) underscores the aim of dialogue in critical pedagogy as not to persuade, but rather to bring about an interactive understanding of the other *as* other, and emphasises the idea of “listening to the other in the context of human experience”

Participant EDI -Extract 17:

“Wealth doesn’t determine who you are as a person...a lot of people get neglected just because their language or their ‘pure’ language ability is hindered by the lack of education within those areas, in terms of formal education... like our English classes weren’t like fancy ass English classes. We had a teacher, an African teacher, and he used to say...“No one person can be the master of all languages” and that comes from kids dissing [ridiculing] him when he mispronounced a word as he was teaching ...like the whole class will ‘bass out’²⁰ in laughter. And the same thing will happen

²⁰ ‘Bass out’ - *Kaaps*, meaning to ‘break out’ in laughter.

here! Like, you get somebody that talks local slang and now they want to sound a little bit more 'formal', they feel like they not, you know, up to a level, and they feel 'okay, let me try and better my speech', and they might mispronounce a word and the first reaction they get is people making 'gat'²¹ of them (which is kak²²). Honestly, you don't even wanna try after that."

Bakhtin's dialogism, as a critique of monologic forms of communicating which attempt to force through a singular voice, speaks to the standard ideology of what it means to be 'well-educated' in the South African context, in terms of its race and class implications (Phillips 2014:68). This includes notions of power and privilege that have been constructed by European notions of cultural superiority expressed in language use. *"I feel a lot of people get neglected just because their language or their 'pure' language ability is hindered by the lack of education within those areas."* Notions which attribute 'whiteness' as cultural purity present a type of denial toward cultural hybridity in language use.

Like, you get somebody that talks local slang...they want to sound a little bit more 'formal'...and they might mispronounce a word and the first reaction they get is people making 'gat' of them...Honestly, you don't even wanna try after that." This demonstrates how, in the classroom setting, the standard language ideology creates a prejudice toward non-standard language varieties. Learners become so conscious of what represents 'wrong' language that mispronunciations are viewed as a deficit that they must overcome by the 'purity' of standard language. A common view of non-standard language varieties like *Kaaps*, is that it is a defective 'reproduction' of standard Afrikaans. By Eurocentric standards there persists in educational practices a 'policy of correctness' that exists toward the English language, and can be applicable to standard Afrikaans in relation to the *Kaaps* variety (Paterson 2008:18). Eurocentric education systems teach learners that the use of non-standard Afrikaans reflects an uneducated social status. Standard languages are associated with people who are educated, and non-standard varieties are viewed and associated with a lower class status. Non-standard varieties are viewed as 'bad' and 'inappropriate', while standard language varieties are viewed as 'good' and 'correct'. Despite teaching these ideologies to learners as 'law', it is important to point out that such assessments are linguistically unsupported (Stewart & Valette 2001:310). Non-standard varieties will persist despite being marginalised. Critical pedagogy focusing on transformative teaching and learning, as well as on critical engagement strategies, and can help others understand that we should understand and accept the view held by linguistic research and lived experience that anything, whether it is an idea or sentiment, can be voiced in any language. Although the connotations and meanings will be different from one variety to another as a result of the specificity of their linguistic identity (distinct contexts of all experiences), what is important is that people are not just able to communicate, but to express themselves and be understood (Busch & Busch & Press 2014:167). This helps us understand that in using language, thought and experience

²¹ 'To make gat' - *Kaaps* meaning to 'make fun of'.

²² Colloquial Afrikaans meaning 'crap'.

are transformed. Eurocentric thought that so permeates our education systems has given us the wrong idea of how people truly operate with language, which is this standard monolingual habitus; a kind of rigid standard.

Participant *ED4*- **Extract 18:**

"I think language definitely shapes or informs our identity, so it is an intimate thing, I think it can be used as a tool of power. It can be just as empowering as it can be disempowering. I think the way it's used in schools currently is connected to power that is very disempowering...African students in Eurocentric education systems, like their identities have been pushed down through language. So I think what needs to be done it just like reconnecting with the indigenous or reconnecting to like what is true to your everyday life and then making that a part of the education, like make it valid. Your experiences, your language, the way you speak, the way you think is valid. I think that information is part of the process. I think all of this stuff could be abstract but, so I think that if its visually rendered you can engage with it and I think that it can speak to you in a deeper way, it can evoke memories".

Participant *ED4* is a young woman from Malawi. The privileged position Eurocentric knowledge holds in the South African society is more often than not damaging to the self-understanding of marginalised communities. *"I think language definitely shapes or informs our identity... it is an intimate thing, I think it can be used as a tool of power. It can be just as empowering as it can be disempowering."* Stewart and Valette (2001) note that speaking a different form of language does not make one's language ability inadequate. It is normal for everyday language to have different ways to express the same meanings. Linguistically, the relationship between standard and non-standard varieties is not based on which one is right and which one is wrong. "They are simply different ways of speaking (Stewart & Valette 2001:311). Critical pedagogy therefore views education as a political act for social justice, by pursuing social alternatives that may be concealed by contemporary dominant ideologies and struggles (Fenwick 2001). What is important for critical pedagogy is the posing of real, critical questions to individuals as they experience life for themselves. To a large extent our ways of doing and speaking that have been obtained by indigenous knowledge are underprivileged in our daily lives. *"Your experiences, your language, the way you speak, the way you think is valid."* Abdi (2002:31) notes that the idea surrounding the usefulness of education when situated within responsive sociocultural environments is a necessary perspective. Cultural variety is more valuable for realising community objectives than cultural separateness. This presents the potential positive outcomes of combining western education, for instance, with fundamental and secondary values of indigenous cultures (Abdi 2002:31). I therefore argue that a valuable concept to consider here is identity positioning. McKenny and Norton (2008) suggest that centring identity and the realities it presents is vital to engage language marginalisation critically. Educating individuals in tactics that exploit knowledge and pull on their linguistic and social capital helps learners to cultivate an affirmative learning identity (Ollerhead & Choi 2018:4).

Critical pedagogy in the gallery space must first and foremost be recognised as a cultural space in which meanings are produced. *“I think all of this stuff could be abstract but, I think that if it’s visually rendered you can engage with it, and I think that it can speak to you in a deeper way, it can evoke memories.”* The gallery is therefore a place and space of representational practices or ‘ways of seeing’ that can be “challenged in order to open up new or modified ways of seeing, to open up possibilities and to question how and by whom cultural value is ascribed” (Sayers 2016:151). Social justice in this sense starts with people’s lived experiences as the means to develop a critical perspective, in order to take actions that are directed at social change (Lovell 2007:14).

This section discussed the findings of the data collected for this case study, based on the research question, *Can the educational capacity of the art gallery be realised through the visual representation of Kaaps, in order to understand the power of language in the lived experiences of its speakers’ and the possible factors influencing their attitudes toward the non-standard variety?* The findings that emerged from the collected data were considered using the following main concepts: Responses evoked in the exhibition space, lived experiences, and attitudes. Themes that emerged from analysis of the lived experiences and attitudes of participants are: Difference, Assimilation, and Privilege. The sub-themes under Difference were categorised under Culture and Identity.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to explore whether the educational capacity of the art gallery could be realised through the visual representation of *Kaaps*, in order to understand the power of language in the lived experiences of its speakers' and the possible factors influencing their attitudes toward the non-standard variety. As a working-class 'coloured' from Cape Town, my relationship or perception of *Kaaps* when I was younger was greatly informed by prejudiced ideologies imposed upon me. As an artist I realised that the main reason for this thinking was largely accredited to the education system and a lack of positive or affirming representations of 'coloured' identity or cultural attributes. This did not only include representations that are of colonial origin, but reproduced them in modern contexts.

Representation is important, and when something becomes visually rendered meanings are evoked. The problem is that negative associations with *Kaaps* or non-standard language varieties in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa are perpetuated by colonial and apartheid race hierarchies of linguistic 'purity'. Language, although it is a social engagement, is a deeply personal thing. This caused me to become more aware and conscious of my lived experience with language. My art practice intrinsically became a liberating and cathartic experience, so much so that I became empowered to accept that *Kaaps* has significance to both the speakers and the community they share it with, and its maintenance proves its social influence and reality. However, there is no personal or self-empowerment as Freire (1987:109) notes – empowerment is a social act. The case study was an exploration of *Kaaps* speakers' lived experiences and attitudes toward the variety through dialogue and visual representation within an art gallery. The study involved interactive and personal dialogue engagements about the *Kaaps* language variety through visual art in the specific exhibition space which focused on it. The study aimed to present the educational capacity of the art gallery through shared dialogue within the exhibition space by exploring the specific personal meanings and visual recall that the artworks evoked for the participants. The gallery, therefore, is a political space, and can help to critically engage marginalised voices and narratives for social change.

Critical pedagogy, indigenous knowledge, and social justice were used as theoretical perspectives to explore the responses and lived experiences of participants within the *KWAAI* group exhibition at Eclectica Contemporary Gallery in Cape Town, focusing on my exhibition space and artworks, which are re-representations of my *Kaaps* lived experience. Participants involved in the study identified as being speakers of *Kaaps* or as having a personal or social relationship with the variety. Visitors or participants viewing the exhibition could interact with the exhibition through written dialogue on an interactive wall, as part of activating the space. This, alongside personal dialogues, would allow for multiple voices or ethnic identities to emerge. Time constraints were an important consideration in terms of obtaining reliable resources during the research process. Inductive content analysis revealed concrete lived experiences and attitudes of participants. In this chapter, the conclusions drawn

from analysing the data are emphasised, and implications regarding resourceful educational possibilities in the South African context were suggested.

6.2 Conclusions from Findings

The data was categorised according to the meanings evoked by the exhibition, lived experiences, and attitudes. These lived experiences and attitudes were revealed as a consequence of the meanings evoked by the exhibition within these four areas. Firstly, visitors' comments about *Kaaps* on the interactive wall revealed that the exhibition space inspired a sense of comfort, openness, and agency. Secondly, participants' lived experiences revealed that their social identities are greatly informed by racial hierarchy attached to language. Thirdly, Eurocentric educational practices concerning standard languages impacted participants' self-understanding. Lastly, the problem of how non-standard language varieties are marginalised in educational systems was explored. These findings allowed for conclusions to be drawn about the reasons for multilingual or non-standard varieties like *Kaaps* to continue to be stigmatised and marginalised, and the way in which language in dominant culture is used to reproduce and maintain racial difference.

During dialogue, it was discovered that almost all of the participants held the sentiment that, because of their educational or schooling backgrounds and environments, their linguistic identity was largely informed by or modelled after the idea that their non-standard variety language of *Kaaps* is inferior. As a result, the ideological standard languages represent 'true' cultural value to which they must aspire in order to escape the 'poverty' associated with their actual vernacular. The participants' relationships with their indigenous languages are therefore characterised by conflict. Although *Kaaps* is a great part of their personal and social identities, there is a constant striving to work around the feelings of racial inferiority that they encounter in specific situations because of the political past of South Africa. The exhibition of artworks made the participants realise how significant visual representation could be, and highlighted the ability of cultural drive or visually-rendered narratives to evoke meaning and pull on our critical consciousness. According to critical pedagogy, teaching and learning must involve action and reflection in order to achieve social justice. This requires a better understanding of how racial prejudice and oppression are reproduced through colonial views of language and apartheid ideologies, and how this is reflected in language attitudes.

In activating and opening up the exhibition space, it was found that people, especially in our visually-driven culture, are very enthusiastic to be a part of creative processes. Through this study it was made clear that the art gallery does have an educational capacity. I think this was increased when visitors realised that I, as the artist, was in the exhibition space and actually wanted to engage with them. The ability to have access to the artist, to ask questions, and to share insights bridges the gap between artist and viewer, and is fundamental in order to build knowledge collaboratively. Important in social justice education is the fostering of respect for all racial identities. It was found that no matter the race of the individual, I had the opportunity to engage in dialogue. Even though the exhibition explored the *Kaaps* variety of language, because language is such a personal thing the effectiveness of visual representation

in prompting dialogue and evoking meanings in the gallery space made speaking about race, as it is expressed through language, cultural instead of racial. Many visitors also expressed excitement, laughter, and joy in seeing their culture represented, and in this sense positive representation and recognition was affirmed. This was an encouraging observation.

Formal education and hidden curricula reinforce the schools' hegemonic function. Standard language ideology separates multilingual speakers like *Kaaps* speakers from the concreteness of the lived experiences of their non-standard varieties. Their personal identities and linguistic diversity are instead hindered in terms of being recognised and represented, even though post-apartheid South Africa is modelled on claims of diversity. Formal education excludes and fails to acknowledge the formative situated contexts in which individuals learn, by perpetuating the racialisation of indigenous knowledge instead of using it as a resource. Critical pedagogy in the art gallery sees the individual and his or her personal experiences as a resource. Overcoming a naïve understanding of our experiences requires an awareness of critical injustices and the liberating potential that visual representation can have on marginalised identities. This was found to be true for the majority of the participants. The uniqueness of learning in the art gallery is that creative and critical dialogue is centred and is a challenge to existing domination (Freire and Shor 1987:99).

6.3 Implications

Implications obtained from the findings concern the meanings evoked by the exhibition, prejudice in standard language ideology and education, and attitudes toward multilingual individuals and non-standard language varieties. Educators and educational practices should strive to build a more positive linguistic identity in learners by recognising non-standard varieties and not treating them with contempt. The problem in favouring standard languages over non-standard and multilingual varieties in formal education is that there is a separation between school language and the learners' actual language, which speaks to their lived experiences. Rather than looking to non-standard varieties as inferior and an indication of inability to master a language, educators should be looking at them as resources so that there is a better understanding of how learners acquire knowledge and understanding of the world. However, because there are not positive affirmations toward non-standard language varieties within educational practices, instead of being viewed as 'integrated competence' (Dyers 2015:60), non-standard varieties of language seemingly serve a very basic role for their speakers without one realising how deeply personal their language actually is.

Placing artworks that focus on *Kaaps* in the context of an art gallery created dialogue around the lived experience of *Kaaps* speakers in a creative environment. Dialogue in the art gallery had a liberating potential for the participants, and opened up opportunities for expression that they have not had in their everyday life regarding their experience of language. In this way, visual art can evoke certain meanings for certain people and bring to consciousness the true effect of language on their identities. Furthermore, it was discovered that participants came to experience the aforementioned as they acknowledged the ability of the visual representations of *Kaaps* to take them back to specific memories of their environments, and childhoods. They experienced joy in seeing something that seems so basic to their everyday experiences

represented and existing in an art gallery. Representation and recognition should be engaged more creatively in educational practices in order to foster more positive perceptions of non-standard language varieties and multilingual identities, and in a way which validates their lived experiences.

The failure of formal education is its failure to recognise the problem in Eurocentric and hegemonic ways of teaching, which reproduces unjust systems. This is expressed in the neglect of indigenous ways of knowing and doing which involve creative and formative ways in which learners engage with their social environments. This refers to the more concrete ways in which learners formulate knowledge and understanding, and includes the creative possibilities of local and multilingual languages in social interactions. Educators and educational practices should strive to build a more positive linguistic identity in learners by recognising non-standard varieties and not treating them with contempt. Many of the participants could attest to this. When they mixed their languages in the classroom environment they were always reprimanded or reminded that, “that is not the way to speak and this is the correct way” This is a clear example of how there is little regard given to considering the multilingual environment of the learner, with the goal rather being to ‘educate’ it out of them by implementing a standard language.

The reality, however, is that, in spite of its importance, systematic and formal education cannot truly be the vehicle for social transformation when dominant knowledge is constantly reproduced. The reproduction of dominant ideologies such as standard language is dependent on its cultural influence to make hegemonic dominance seem beneficial to the working-class. The educational capacity of the art gallery in cultural resistance is better suited to initiate dialogical learning than a single classroom is. The visual and creative stimulation or the formative aesthetic power of art can evoke meanings, critical scrutiny, political consciousness, participation, habits of intellectual enquiry, and interest in social change, all of which are pragmatic objectives for gallery pedagogy. Creative and artistic dialogue in gallery pedagogy can subvert the passivity of formal education and encourage praxis, which can influence the personal and social identities of learners constructively.

6.4 Final Comments

Implications based on the findings and conclusions involve critical dialogue to understand *Kaaps* speakers’ lived experiences and attitudes toward non-standard language varieties. Representations and recognition of marginalised identities and narratives are necessary in order to foster new perspectives and positive affirmations that can promote critical thinking. Acknowledging the class and race inequality reproduced through language ideology in South Africa’s formal education suggests that perhaps the school environment does not encourage a safe space for critical dialogue and personal expression of issues relating to personal and social conflicts. The art gallery, although it comes with its own ideologies of inclusion and exclusion, has demonstrated its formative and educational capacity aimed at dialogue in this study. When considered carefully, the gallery can serve as an open environment, devoid of the teacher-learner hierarchy present in the classroom, with collaborative learning occurring through dialogue instead. New knowledge may emerge through visual rendering that evokes

specific meanings and which challenges or negotiates suppressive ideology. This study has demonstrated not only the necessary engagement with artistic practices concerning social issues for social justice, but also that marginalised communities desire representations that empower their personal and social identities. However, how any audience perceives an art gallery will essentially be dependent on the gallery's narrative practice or liberating efforts. In South Africa there should be a greater investment in gallery practices among curators and gallery educators to initiate programmes or engagement with not only young people from working-class schools, who experience a disparity in exposure to the arts (for whom critical pedagogy is primarily important), but marginalised communities alike. Exploring language, specifically a non-standard variety that is racially stereotyped, within an art gallery through dialogue, not only revealed the potentialities of more liberating ways of learning, but also the effectiveness of positive representations for transformative thinking and affirmation.

Further research could explore cases that may be broader. This could involve initiating the opening up of specific art galleries and setting up interactive exhibitions for dialogue with school learners or young adults from different demographics, and who speak different non-standard language varieties which are not used for teaching and learning in formal education, in order to visually represent their lived experiences of their languages. This could also mean investigating another social issue or marginalised narrative for collaborative learning and critical consciousness. This would allow educational researchers to obtain valuable evidence regarding the effectiveness of engaging individuals in critical art practices within the art gallery, for more inclusive recognition and representations of marginalised narratives and identities in the South African context.

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Addendum A: Examples of consent forms by participants and investigator

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT	
<p>As the participant I confirm that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with. I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered. All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained. 	
<p>By signing below, I <u>Chelsea Ingham</u> (name of participant) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Chelsea Ingham.</p>	
<p><u>[Signature]</u> Signature of Participant</p>	<p><u>04/07/2019</u> Date</p>

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	
<p>As the principal investigator, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:</p>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<p>The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.</p>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<p>The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.</p>
<p><u>[Signature]</u> Signature of Principal Investigator</p>	<p><u>04/07/2019</u> Date</p>

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT	
<p>As the participant I confirm that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with. I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered. All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained. 	
<p>By signing below, I <u>Chelsea Ingham</u> (name of participant) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Chelsea Ingham.</p>	
<p><u>[Signature]</u> Signature of Participant</p>	<p><u>4/7/19</u> Date</p>

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	
<p>As the principal investigator, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:</p>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<p>The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.</p>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<p>The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.</p>
<p><u>[Signature]</u> Signature of Principal Investigator</p>	<p><u>4/7/19</u> Date</p>

Addendum B: Exhibited artworks and viewers engaging them



Chelsea Ingham, *We lam it uit*, 2017, silkscreen print on fabriano, limited edition 1/1, 70,5cm x 50cm, KWAAI Exhibition, 2019.



Chelsea Ingham, *Krag Box*, 2017, silkscreen print on fabriano, limited edition 1/4, 70,5cm x 50cm, KWAAI Exhibition, 2019.



Chelsea Ingham, *[Vibe]* *acrete Gallery*, Lithograph and silkscreen print on fabriano, limited edition
1/4, 70,5cm x 50cm, *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.



Chelsea Ingham, *Don't Paap*, Installation, 2017, silkscreen print o fabric, mixed media, KWAAI Exhibition



Chelsea Ingham, *AWE*, Installation, 2017, silkscreen print o fabric, mixed media, KWAAI Exhibition.



Chelsea Ingham, *Raak Wys*, Installation, 2017, silkscreen print o fabric, mixed media, KWAAI Exhibition.



Chelsea Ingham, *Dij wiet mos!*, Installation, 2017, silkscreen print o fabric, mixed media, KWAAI Exhibition.



Chelsea Ingham, *Afrikaaps*, Installation, 2017, silkscreen print o fabric, mixed media, KWAAI Exhibition.



Chelsea Ingham, *Ai, yinne!* Installation, 2017, silkscreen print o fabric, mixed media, KWAAI Exhibition.



Viewers in the exhibition space of researcher and artist engaging the artworks exploring Kaaps, *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.



Viewers in the exhibition space engaging the artworks exploring Kaaps, *KWAAI* Exhibition, 2019.