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SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
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Self-identity and discourses of race: Exploring a group of white South Africans' narratives of early experiences of racism

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A research proposal submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology).

DECLARATION

I, Zamakhanya Makhanya, declare that the research report is my own unaided work. It has been submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology), to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before, for any other degree or examination, to any other university.

_____

Zamakhanya Makhanya

9 December 2010

ABSTRACT

This research project falls under the broader Apartheid Archives Project. The aim of the project was to collect the narratives of black and white South Africans, of their earliest quotidian or everyday racist experiences. This project focused particularly on the nature of the experiences of racism of (particularly 'ordinary') white South Africans under the old apartheid order and their continuing effects on individual and group functioning in contemporary South Africa, especially on the ways in which white South Africans are positioned by racialised discourses and the reproduction of power relations through these positions. The project utilised narratives that were written by white South Africans and were available on the Apartheid Archive Project's database. In total, the narratives of twelve white, middle-aged, middle class South Africans were analysed using Parker (1992) and Willig's (2008) guidelines for analysis of the discourses which converge with Foucault's ideas. This research report gives prominence to the discourses of race present in the narratives of white South Africans which were examined and it also focuses on how racialised discourses offer the narrators different subject positions to occupy in present day South Africa. Three discursive themes were identified, namely rationalising discursive strategies, race and racism discourses and discourses of redemption. Rationalising discursive strategies were found to utilise discourses of innocence, discourses of denial and discourses that avoid complicity. These discourses enabled the narrators to be positioned as victims. Race and racism discourses included othering discourses, discourses of whiteness and discourses of interracial relationships. Through an appeal to these kinds of discourses narrators were able to occupy opposing positions, such as perpetrator, hero, privileged and non-racial. Finally, discourses of redemption were also found to be prominent in the narratives. These comprised of religious discourses and notions of white liberalism. The utilisation of such discourses enabled constructions of the narrators as moral, virtuous and honest.

Key words

Whiteness, race, racism, the Apartheid Archive Project, narratives, discourses and Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA).

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Schutte (1995) proposes that South Africa is distinct with regard to race relations since in no other country has a group which is a minority in number dominated for so long a period of time in the postcolonial period. South African whites form a small group of people whose identity was shaped within a location in which they were greatly outnumbered by the indigenous, black people, who they dominated and oppressed, but were never able to completely subjugate. Thus, unlike in other parts of the world, white people in South Africa never attained a level of complete comfort in the different spheres that they dominated. Schutte (1995, p. 25) further argues that the consequence of their failure to obliterate those they colonised is that "whiteness in South Africa has always, at least in some part, been constellated around discourses of resistance against a constant threat."

However, though a numerical minority, South African whites held and continue to hold a position of "majority" in terms of the social and economic power that they exert in South African society. This fact is explained by considering the history of race relations in South Africa – where the European idea of white supremacy became fully realised and formed the foundation for the way in which the social, cultural, legal, economic and political structures are organised (Steyn, 2001).

In 1948 the Nationalist Party came into power in South Africa, and entrenched racial segregation in all spheres of South African life, as well as perpetuated the notion of race as naturally occurring and a belief in the superiority of one race and the inferiority of others. This false premise was used to establish an oppressive government that acted out some of the most atrocious violations of human rights in modern times. The government of that time created rigid and discriminatory apartheid laws, such as the Population Registration Act – which made a simple distinction between white and black people – which have had a lasting influence on white thinking (Schutte, 1995). These were used to openly assign people into different racial categories, thus separating the privileged from the rest, and making South Africa the society

"most overtly organised around a legal axis of "race"" (Steyn, 2001, p. 23). Schutte (1995, p. 71) argues that the law was used to preserve white interests, including their material interests – which culminated in the organization and protection of an economy of white privilege – their interest in providing security for the white lifestyle, and their interest in the maintenance of a stable lifestyle: "the (white) South African way of life."

The current democratic dispensation commenced in 1994, and it seemed that it would bring with it an acknowledgement of the crime, which was Apartheid, and redress its deeply entrenched psychological effects. However, this expectation was not fulfilled. Rather, the acts of discrimination and violence perpetuated under the previous order were either only minimally acknowledged as unjust, especially if they were regarded as the worst forms of human rights violations, or a hasty move was made to encourage South Africans to forget that the past had happened. Thus, the effects of a system that subjugated men and women physically, economically, socially and psychologically are still felt and continue to have detrimental consequences on the lives of many South Africans. These consequences cannot be ignored, since they are apparent in all aspects of South African life.

However, the effects of institutionalised discrimination have not only pervaded the psyche of those who are understood to be the legitimate "victims" of apartheid, but that of its "perpetrators" as well – that is, those who the system of Apartheid meant to protect and privilege on the basis of their white skin. Thus, it seems that the identities previously occupied by the different racial groupings in South Africa – mainly those of the "privileged" and the "underprivileged" – remain relatively unchanged, at least in the minds of ordinary South Africans. For these reasons many continue to demand that the past must be engaged with and that this must be done before South Africa can begin to truly look forward to an equal, fair and just society.

According to postcolonial theorists – for example Fanon and Biko – it is the psychological element of oppression that is the most pervasive, since it has a profound impact on identity development for both the oppressed and the oppressors. In South Africa, this impact has translated itself into a struggle for identity that has been perpetuated in post-apartheid South Africa, for many black and white people. Thus, as it has been argued by some, apartheid still

persists in the present, even though not in the same form, as it is now also of the mind (Straker, 2009). Nandy (1983, p. xi) also reiterates the point that colonialism can exist in the mind by arguing that it:

Colonises minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within colonised societies to alter their cultural priorities once and for all. In the process, it helps generalise the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds.

Treacher (2005) argues that colonialism and postcolonial relations continue to affect all of us in the present, as they have had an enduring impact on our lived experiences. It is obvious that many South Africans continue to see the world in racialised ways and thus racism persists in a subtle, and yet pernicious way in our everyday experiences. So we cannot persist to disregard the fact that the past does inform the present and vice versa. Rather, it must be understood and confronted in present day South Africa. In fact, as Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2003, p. 174) acknowledge, "while the layering effect of history has been mediated by each successive period, "erasing" what has gone before, all present experiences contain ineradicable traces of the past which remain part of the constitution of the present."

Following from the discussion provided above, this study was invested in exploring how the past still forms a part of white people's identities, as well as the ways in which white people's shifting positioning in society – including shifts that have limited their political power – have altered their perceptions of themselves as a group, and vice versa (Steyn, 2001). Further, it also hoped that the question of how important race is to white identity in South Africa – and the contributions made by apartheid to white identity – would be explored (Steyn, 2001).

This study was cognisant of the fact that whiteness has traditionally been constructed as neutral and invisible (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005). Often white racial identity is constructed in such a way as to maintain white people's position of power and privilege. Consequently, the 'racial other' is left in an inferior position. It is this taken-for-granted stance on whiteness that has made white identity invisible. It was in the early 1990s that whiteness began to be challenged worldwide (Steyn, 2004). The agenda of Critical Whiteness Studies is to make the constructedness of race and, in particular, whiteness visible. This study endeavoured to

contribute to this project, and in particular, to explore and make visible the social construction of South African whiteness.

1.2. OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The research report is comprised of five chapters. The current chapter provides an introduction to the study and presents the rationale for the research, as well as an outline of the subsequent chapters.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework, through its consideration of some of the prominent literature on identity and discourse within the post-structuralist perspective, as well as the literature on the subject of whiteness and white identity. The literature review also defines the most pertinent terms in this study, such as 'race' and 'ethnicity' and their association with racism – and the intersection between race, racism and discourse. The chapter concludes with a discussion of some of the previous theoretical and empirical research, from both a South African and international perspective, focusing on studies on whiteness that utilised discursive-based approaches.

Chapter three specifies the aims of the project and the methods utilised for sourcing participants, collecting the data and analysing it – here the notion of a Foucauldian discourse analysis will be discussed. A discussion of some potential ethical issues as well as reflexivity is also covered in this chapter.

The analysis and discussion of the results are presented in *Chapter four*, together with the interpretation of these findings and their integration with relevant theoretical literature. Thus, the discursive themes found to be central in the content of the narratives will be emphasised in the discussion section. These are rationalising discursive strategies, race and racism discourses and discourses of redemption. However, the subject positions occupied by participants as a function of racialised discourses are also discussed here. These subject positions also had effects on the power relations reproduced in and through the narratives.

Finally, *Chapter five* contains an integrated summary of the findings of the study, the concluding remarks, the researcher's reflections on the process of the research, as well as a discussion of some of the limitations and challenges of this research and some suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of identity is perhaps an elusive one. It has been understood in many different ways by various theorists. These understandings have been largely based on the theoretical perspectives that the theorists have supported – these range from the essentialist humanist theories which conceptualise the self as exclusive, coherent, rational and stable across time to more critical theories which question the very nature of identity and perceive it as being constructed. The present study adopts the post-structuralist conception of identity which abandons the notion of an essence of subjectivity and argues for a socially constructed identity, shaped through multiple discourses and laden with uncertainty (Weedon, 1987, as cited in Long & Zietkiewicz, 2006).

It should be noted here that although the term 'construction' is adopted in this study, there are some scholars who see it as problematic (Smith & Sparkes, 2006). Polkinghorne (1996) argues that the term suggests that the process by which people's identities are shaped and created through the use of storytelling is consciously driven. However, he sees the processes pertaining to identity formation as occurring in more subtle ways that are outside the realm of people's consciousness and rationality.

This chapter will examine some of the literature on race, racism and racialised discourses. Definitions of the terms 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'discourse' are also provided, since these have also been conceptualised in contradictory ways in the literature. Further, this chapter will make use of these theorisations on identity, as well as the literature on white identity to understand the notions of white identity and whiteness in a group of white South African adults.

Phoenix (1997) discusses how the literature on "race", racism, ethnicity, and identities, in other disciplines – and not just in psychology – has traditionally had black people and those from other minority ethnic groups as the focal point. However, over the last two decades there has been increasing recognition that "whiteness" is as much a social construction as is blackness. The fact

that a focus on "whiteness" has been lacking together with unspoken constructions of white people as "the norm" serve to maintain the privileged position of whiteness, and so render unclear the ways in which it is implicated in power relations.

Thus, in recent years the literature on white identity and on the subject of "whiteness" has been growing exponentially (Salusbury & Foster, 2004). The majority of this writing has emanated from the UK and the USA or from authors within the post-colonial field who are now living in these countries (Salusbury & Foster, 2004). Most of the literature on whiteness focuses on contexts in which white people are a numerical majority. As a result of white people's majority position in these contexts framing whiteness as normative and dominant has not been challenging. The study of whiteness analyses the ways in which whiteness and white privilege have become institutionalized, and identifies the systemic factors that emphasise its continued dominance (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005).

Steyn (2001) argues that at a material level the growing challenge to whiteness is a consequence of immigration, growing Diasporas and changes in economic patterns. At a theoretical and ideological level, the challenge has emerged from within postmodernism, postcolonialism, cultural studies and critical race studies. Here, the nature of whiteness as the norm within research – or the standard by which every other group is measured – is being questioned.

The invisibility of whiteness was mirrored and reinforced in psychologists' studies of race in the past as few psychologists interrogated the role of psychology, and some utilised the ideas of psychology to further conservative and racist ideologies – such as the essentialising of race (Hook, 2003; Morawski, 1997). This is evidence for psychology's collusion with structures of power. Morawski (1997, p. 13) discusses that there was a period in the USA when psychologists experimented with race, "alternately designating it a conceptual category, a variable, a genetic entity, a methodological problem, or a cognitive process." Researchers were also likely to treat their own race as a distinct variable or a factor of secondary interest. Research presumed, but did not interrogate, a normative psychology of whiteness. This sort of practice became a strategy to shift and manage scientific identities, not to question them. So, until very recently, race research encompassed a psychology of the "Other" wherein others' races were the subjects of examination (Morawski, 1997).

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.2.1. Post-structuralist thought

2.2.1.1. Post-structuralism and Identity

'Identity' is a concept that has taken prominence in the social sciences, including psychology, anthropology, sociology and discourse studies, however its definition is yet to be agreed upon. This study argues that, just like race, identity is socially constructed by individuals and groups (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991; Hall, 2000; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Thus, it will not be understood using the essentialist perspective, that is, as a "stable core of the self" that is revealed in a predetermined way, without suffering change (Hall, 2000, p. 17). What is also refuted is the traditional view that people's identities have the same origin or share some common features. Post-structuralism assumes that identity is constructed within an individual's or group's particular historical, cultural, political and economic context (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991; Rummens, 2003).

It is important to note that through its adoption of a constructionist perspective the study also rejected understandings of identity as a more structurally situated concept. Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a one of the pre-eminent theoretical frameworks within the latter (Brown, 1999). It posits a distinction between personal identity – which it conceives to be derived from individual personality traits as well as from interpersonal relationships – and social identity (McNamara, 1997). SIT is concerned with the latter and assumes that social identity is derived primarily from group membership. Social identity involves three stages, namely, social categorization, social identification and social comparison (Wetherell, 1996). These stages take place through particular cognitive processes and cognitive structures (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

However, SIT has been criticised by poststructuralist as it seems to understand categories as preformed, enduring and having a fixed structure. This understanding essentialises identity. Further, SIT is also criticised for its conception of cognitive processes and cognitive structures as causally determinant of social phenomena, such as stereotyping. Here it seems to ignore the historical, cultural, political and economic location of identity. SIT has also been criticised for holding a dualistic view of the individual and society, because of the distinction it makes between individual and social identity (McNamara, 1997).

The arguments made by social constructionism include the following (Michael, 1996): Firstly, that the historicisation and institutionalisation of identity production imply that it is constructed through and within multiple and at times opposing discourses, practices and positions and is thus varied (Hall, 2000). Discourses are passed down from generation to generation, thus past generations will affect the identity that future generations take on, through the kind of discourse that they pass down (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). These discourses are used in narratives, as the internal voices which make up the identity and consciousness of current generations.

Secondly, identity is social or relational in that it arises out of people's interactions with each other and is also interposed on individuals, especially through certain institutions and structures that exist within a society. So individuals or groups are often given or take up different, and at times opposing, identities within the society in which they are positioned (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Furthermore, identity is transitive in that the individual or group is always identified with something, abstract or tangible. For example, the individual may be identified with an ideology, an institution, or a group. Finally, identity is also dialectical, since it is actively and continually made by society, while it also makes society (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991; Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

The above discussion seems to lead to the conclusion that identity is not unitary, but is plural in its very nature (Hall, 2000; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). It involves the intersection of numerous social positions, such as class, race and sex, as the individual attempts to unify his or her past and present social positions. Its complexity then makes it a phenomenon that is constantly changing and being transformed (Hall, 2000). Post-structuralists also argue that identity is constructed through the existence of difference (Hall, 2000). It is through one's relation to the "Other" and through one's perception of his or her own position as exclusive and powerful that a hostile relationship between the included and excluded forms and that hierarchy is established. So, identity does not cover or remove the differences that exist between people, rather, it must perpetuate them. Paradoxically, it is the attempt to overcome differences, especially by those who hold traditional views of identity, which has resulted in the creation of more differences (Hall, 2000).

Finally, identity is the result of an individual's ability to join himself or herself to a discourse, as its subject: 'identity' … [refers] to the meeting point, the point of suture, between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'" (Hall, 2000, p. 19). Hollway (1984, p. 236) spoke of 'positioning oneself' and 'taking up positions':

Discourses make available positions for subjects to take up. These positions are in relation to other people. Like the subjects and objects of a sentence … women and men are placed in relation to each other through the meanings which a particular discourse makes available. Since then many post-structuralist scholars have used the term to understand the identities made available by discursive systems (Mama, 1995).

However, some post-structuralist scholars, whilst they maintain the epistemological stance assumed by post-structuralism – that is, that all knowledge is socially constructed – reject the terms 'identity' and 'self' and replace them with the concept of subjectivity, (Gregg, 1993, as cited in Boonzaier; Mama, 1995; Weedon, 1987). Mama (1995) argues that these terms provide a dualistic view which sees the psychological and social realm as separate, with the former reflecting something internal and the latter as being external to the person. In her conceptualisation of subjectivity the psychological and social are seen to be involved in a relationship of reciprocity with regard to the production of subjectivity. Further, her use of the term follows that of Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine (1984, p. 3) who use it to refer to "individuality and self-awareness – the condition of being a subject." Thus, subjectivity is understood by Mama as something that is non-essential, but as multiple, contextually-dependent, constantly changing and being shaped through social relations which are themselves changing and at times opposing. Further, Weedon (1987, p. 32) posits that the terms 'subject' and 'subjectivity' are the focus of post-structuralist thought and that post-structuralism posits a subjectivity that is in a constant state of flux, as well as conflicting. He then defines 'subjectivity' as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world."

Furthermore, the notion of existing subject-positions produced by discourse is found to be problematic by other social constructionist theorists who argue that this notion of identity is discursively deterministic (Wilbraham, 2004). This argument is put forward by scholars coming from a variety of backgrounds, such as feminist theory, positioning theory, speech acts theory, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. They propose that people can choose and shape particular positions to explore their individuality. Their assumptions include their view of the social world as 'talk-in-action; their focus on conversations as the locations of culturally available discursive resources; and their utilisation of the action-orientated model of language as constituting interactions such that individuals are seen to use language as an instrument with which act and accomplish certain goals through. For example, they reveal the ways in which positioning functions in everyday conversations. Harre and van Langenhove (1999) propose that speakers are able to position themselves and others voluntarily and purposefully, speakers may accidentally position themselves and others in conversation, and that speakers are able to challenge and oppose the positions allocated to them or to reposition themselves (Wilbraham, 2004).

However, Parker (1992) responded to this stance by proposing that it requires that social constructionist be concerned about what is going on in people's minds when they make use of discourse or are made use of by discourse. He proposed that this concern means that theorists enter into the realm of intentionality – where speakers' reasons, emotions, desires and resistances need to be analysed for how they control the subject-positions that speakers choose to occupy (Parker, 1992).

In the above section, the notion of identity has been engaged with by considering the anti-essentialist or post-structuralist understanding of identity. Further, the section also lays the groundwork for a discussion of whiteness and white identity as socially constructed though the normative or taken-for-granted stance which has rendered them invisible. Thus, the study posits identity, in general, and white identity, in particular, as being socially constructed and thus fluid, non-fixed, changing and plural. The study takes cognisance of the fact that constructs of 'race' are not homogeneous across individuals, groups of people and contexts. The study also argues that the ways in which white people currently position themselves, with regard to race, is informed by the past, as well as their changing identities in the present.

2.2.1.2. Discourse

There is no one single definition of discourse and often definitions originate out of the paradigms, perspectives and disciplines in which the concept is utilised (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Consequently, discourse analysis is both multi- and interdisciplinary and the different modes of performing discourse analysis differ in many ways – perhaps importantly, theoretically and methodologically. However, it is important that a conceptualisation of the term be elucidated since it will influence how the actual analysis will proceed.

Wood and Kroger (2000) discuss some of what they identify to be the central conceptual and theoretical areas of concern with regard to looking at language from a discursive perspective and emphasise talk as action, that is, that language has can do certain things, such as construct individuals in particular ways; talk as what is of interest; and variability as a feature of discourse, that is, discourse constructs different versions of the world and it is also has different functions. Thus, Wood and Kroger encourage the adoption of multiple approaches in order not to close off the possibilities for dialogue, richness and creativity (p. 25). This idea is taken from Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 2) who propose "bricolage" as a way to approach discourse analysis, that is, a "pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation." They argue that what this may entail is not necessarily using resources from various perspectives, but developing one's own techniques or devices.

This study attempted to use a Foucauldian framework as a theoretical paradigm and developed a way of doing discourse analysis drawing from Parker's (1992) and Willig's (2008) guidelines to discourse analytic data analysis. Foucault (1981) only offers two forms of analyses: critical analysis which examines the role of exclusion and restriction in discourse and genealogical analysis which investigates the historical production of discourse. Neither form of analysis applies to this research. However, Wilbraham (2004, p. 497) proposes that "Foucault-purists" – who follow genealogy without departure – have criticised discourse analytic studies that declare themselves to be 'Foucauldian' methodologically. These critics claim that discourse analytic studies tend to analyse present-day discursive processes through an identification of a set of current texts and whilst disregarding the historicisation of discourse. However, Wetherell (1998) proposes that any discourse analytic study will involve limitations on what is studied, how and why. Further, Wilbraham (2004, p. 497) states that "we are not in the business, here, of

producing ‘true’ analyses – as positivist validation criteria require – but of asking what a particular kind of analysis can do to unravel truth-effects.”

McHoul and Grace (1993) posit that Foucault’s use of the term “discourse" differs from its use in the traditional non-critical approaches to discourse and so his use of the term positions it within post-structuralism. Foucault understood discourses as practices which systematically produce knowledge or form the objects of which they speak and so construct the world. Illouz (1991, as cited in Peck, 1994, p. 92) expounds on this premise, positing that discourses are systems of truth, created within society, that are employed to "speak, classify, name, and establish the dominant and relevant categories of knowledge." Thus, discourses do not only describe the social world, but categorise it, providing frameworks for debating the value of one way of talking about reality over other ways and in this way bring phenomena into sight (Parker, 1992).

Further, historically specific discourses are separate from one another and from earlier and later versions of themselves, so that they are able to refer to one another (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Thus discourses are located within a particular history (Parker, 1992). But discourses can also overlap and intersect as they are transformed through history.

Peck (1994) describes how discourses also have ideological effects and how discourses are themselves products of ideology – the two can thus be said to be in a dialectical relationship (Hall, 2000). It is within discourse that elements of an ideology are connected and their relationship established, and vice versa. As "vehicles of ideology," – and the opposite can also be said – discourses define the contributions that participants can make, that is, what they can say, what relationships and interactions they may have, as well as the identities or subject positions that different speakers may hold in these relationships (Fairclough, 1989, as cited in Peck, 1994, p. 92; Althusser, 1971). Thus ideology constitutes individuals as subjects, that is, it creates subject positions. Ideology then cannot exist and function except if it has subjects. Peck (1994, p. 93) argues that ideologies are most effective when they are least visible, when they have become "common sense."

As a consequent of their ability to place the aforementioned restrictions on their subjects and compel them to adhere to these restrictions, discourses have power (Peck, 1994). Through these constraints power relations are reproduced within discourse, and are maintained by those who

want to maintain the status quo (Fairclough, cited in Peck, 1994). When discourses attain such social dominance, the restrictions that they have placed on their subjects become nearly invisible, they reach the status of "common sense" and "will come to be seen as natural and legitimate because it is simply the way of conducting oneself" (Fairclough, 1989, as cited in Peck, 1994, p. 93).

Following the above discussion then research into discourses defies the conventional divisions between individuals and society, as it seeks to explore and understand the ways in which knowledge about people, the positions they occupy in society, and their social interactions are produced (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001). This kind of knowledge production enables some individuals, groups and institutions in society to wield power, and it is the intention of those utilising discursive approaches to question the ways in which power is produced, maintained and challenged in our use of language and action.

2.2.2. Postcolonial perspective

The post-colonial theorists offer a definition of identity that is actually consistent with the definition held by post-structuralists – that is, that identity is social, constantly changing and makes use of cultural resources which provide the structure within which identity is made meaningful. However, they also emphasise the political through their assertion that racial identity is affected by racial oppression; so that Whiteness, as the dominating racial category, defines Blackness. Thus, the racial groups of Whiteness and Blackness are mutually dependent in that each of them can be used to describe and draw up the boundaries of the other (Hook, 2003). This conceptualisation of the constructs of whiteness and blackness as being involved in a recursive relationship places greater significance on the political context for its constitution of identity – such as the colonial, postcolonial, apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. This element seems to be of particular relevance in South Africa and in other countries where identity was treated as a political construct and so was politically determined – this had subtle and persistent effects on identity development in both black and white people.

Macey (2000, p. 164) asserts that in the post-colonial context the black man and the white man can never exist for themselves, “but always exists in a conflict-ridden relationship with others, or

the other. He exists to the extent that he is seen and heard by others, to the extent that he is for others. So, too, the white man… . Trapped in their respective "whiteness" and "blackness", they "are" only insofar as they create one another, though this does not imply any reciprocity." So Whiteness can only construct itself as superior, in every way, to the extent that something else, namely, Blackness, is devalued as inferior. Thus, it is only when the black person comes into contact with the white person that inferiority is imposed on him or her through his or her being made to believe that his or her blackness is the problem: "I begin to suffer from not being a white man to the degree that the white man imposes discrimination on me…robs me of all worth, all individuality" (Fanon, 1986, p. 98).

Furthermore, Fanon (1986) argued that the situation of oppression has resulted in a white person who views him- or herself as superior to the black person and a black person who yearns to prove to the white person that he is equal to him or her. Thus, the feelings of inferiority experienced by the black person are connected to the white person's feeling of superiority. A mindset of superiority cannot exist without a mindset of inferiority. Inferiority functions at the level of the conscious and the unconscious, that is, it is both known and unknown by the person experiencing it (Fanon, 1967).

Thus, for post-colonial theorists colonisation affects both the colonised and the coloniser in adverse ways. The colonial context itself is such that it breeds pathology and pathologises each subject that exists within it and is created by it. The coloniser has the power to appropriate all the resources that people use to create for themselves an identity, such as history, land and culture. However, Césaire (1972) argues that it should not be forgotten that the white person is also affected by his or her own debasement of the black person. He or she is dehumanised and degraded: "the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an animal, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform himself into an animal" (Césaire, 1972, p. 41).

2.3. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.3.1. Race, racism and discourse

2.3.1.1. Race and racism

As much as one may want to erase 'race' from discussions of identity, this is impossible, especially in the context of South African society, where race has historically permeated every level of social discourse, and continues to do so. However, this study sees race as a socially constructed term and so notions of scientific racism and racial essentialism are seen to be invalid.

The idea of 'race' was inherited from scientific theories, such as social Darwinism, Eugenics and other pseudo-scientific theories of race (Clark, 2003). Scientific racism constructed race as a naturally occurring phenomenon. Scientific arguments for 'race' have been used to justify great human injustices, such as slavery, colonialism and apartheid.

Race-thinking made the following propositions amongst them: 1) it is possible to categorise humankind into a number of races, which are defined by their physical and observable differences, 2) the races also share character, ability and moral qualities, 3) racial inheritance ensures that racial qualities are protected from one generation to the next, and 4) the races of the world are ordered in a hierarchical way, with the white race being superior to all other races (Fenton, 2003). It is important to note that the first three propositions made the fourth proposition possible.

The above discussion points to the social construction of race through history and this is briefly described by Cornell and Hartmann (1998, pp. 23-24): "Races, like ethnic groups, are not established by some set of natural forces but are products of human perception and classification… a race is a group of human beings socially defined on the basis of physical characteristics".

Further, race has pervaded societal structures, norms and practices and the result has been its self-perpetuation. Under the apartheid order, it was incorporated into the policies of separate development, as well as into various laws that were made at that time. The apartheid society was founded on the notion that different groups of people existed and that these groups could be distinctly categorised in terms of race (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998).

In present day South Africa, the idea that group identity can be determined by race continues to be a controversial one (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). Race is paradoxically perpetuated by equal opportunities policies that are now trying to redress the effects of the old system, such as the current government's Black Economic Empowerment policies and legislation on Affirmative Action. One significant consequence of these policies is that they have unintentionally re-inscribed categories of race.

Research that attempts to make the constructedness of race visible and has the intention to nullify the use of racial classifications may also inadvertently re-inscribe these same categories (Gallagher, 1999; Stevens, Swart & Franchi, 2006). However, Stevens et al. (2006, p. 6) propose that the "centrality of racial categorisation in providing a context for former oppression and continued privilege in South Africa, for example, accounts for some of the difficulty with simply doing away with these categories". Further, Dixon and Tredoux (2006) sustain this point, arguing that the system of racial classification created and perpetuated during the apartheid order continues to play a significant part in present efforts to address the effects of the systematic violence and exclusion that the black population were subjected to. However, they also caution researchers to be cognisant of the potential for this kind of research to reinscribe racial categories (Dixon & Tredoux, 2006).

Race has come to act as an apparently indispensable and thus determining quality of identity in South Africa (Hook, 2003). Although, it manifests itself in a different way today, since it and its tensions are implicit "it is now possible to perpetuate racial domination without making any explicit reference to race at all" (Winant, 1994, p. 19). Winant goes on to expand on this point by arguing that we have made a move from explicit to code or implicit racial domination, because we have come to embrace the popular stereotypical perceptions about race and how races behave, "we live in a racial society, in which race is engraved upon our beings and perceptions, upon our identities" (Winant, 1994, p. 34). Thus thinking in racist ways not only defines individuals according to their race, but also in terms of all the associations, stereotypes and values that such racial categories involve. As a result, these qualities have also become an essential part of identity, in that they are attributed to us without changing and without time or place. Prejudicial ways of thinking result in thinking about people using categories (Winant, 1994).

According to Laforest (1996) race continues to act as a dividing factor culturally, politically, socially and economically, since race is still a prominent factor in South Africa and still has a profound impact on the way in which people self-identify and construct identity. Hook (2003) argues that these categories function to idealise the privileged class and problematise the inferiorised class. This is because the inferiorised class is always understood through how they are thought to differ from the ideals and norms of the dominant group, even though the dominant class itself does not use these categories to understand and speak about itself. In this way, race continues to be a part of our society. It is the way we commonly organise and make sense of the world, and thus it has structured our world and impacted our functioning, even though it has no biological basis (Winant, 1994).

'Ethnicity' has replaced 'race' as the preferred terminology of social scientists, since it is now understood that although physical characteristics, such as skin colour and hair type do occur together in some populations, there is still significant variation within populations designated 'races' (Fenton, 2003). Further, the movement of people and the mixing of different populations have also made it difficult to determine the racial boundaries (Fenton, 2003).

The meaning of the term, ethnicity, is uncertain, since it can mean 'the essence of an ethnic group' or 'the quality of belonging to an ethnic community or group', or 'what it is you have if you are an "ethnic group"' (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996, p. 4). Thus, the concept 'ethnic group' is a key term in the field; however, there has also been no agreement on its definition (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). Hutchinson and Smith (1996), however, arrive at this definition: 1) a named human population, 2) with myths of common ancestry that includes the notion of a common origin in time and place and gives a sense of kinship, 3) shared historical memories, 4) one or more elements of common culture, such as religion, customs or language, 5) a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members. Thus, whereas race is usually signified by physical difference, ethnicity is very often linked to cultural difference (Fenton, 1999; Heath & McLaughlin, 1993).

However, the concept of ethnicity has itself been criticised as problematic and thus not as innocuous as previously thought insofar as it serves as another means for perpetuating 'race-ism'. Outsiders may assign an ethnicity to members of a certain group which then influences

their own conceptions of their identity. Thus, ethnicity is not just subjective, but can also be imposed. In this regard, the concept 'ethnicity' could externally mark and allocate fixed differences and thus merely replace racial categories, instead of changing them (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). So it seems that ethnicity can and does act as a container for race and has become associated with issues of 'race' (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996).

2.3.1.2. Race, racism and discourse

There is a large body of literature focusing specifically on discursive approaches in the areas of race and racism including studies conducted by Duncan (2001, 2002), Durrheim and Mtose (2006), Painter and Baldwin (2004), Stevens (1998), Stevens, Duncan and Bowman (2006),Wetherell and Potter (1992), and van Dijk (1989, 1991, 1992). Other studies also emphasised the use of culture (Essed, 1991; Rattansi, 1992) in everyday discourses and institutional discourses, to communicate racist prejudice and to perpetuate broader racist ideology.

Further, some researchers argue that discourses of race are utilised by the perpetrators and benefactors of racism and also by the victims of racism to construct the boundaries around the allocation of resources and power (Duncan, 1993, as cited in Stevens, 1998; Miles, 1989). Althusser's (1971, as cited in Stevens, 1998) provided a similar argument that racism, and other ideologies, emerge out of particular historical, social, economic and political contexts, and are also reproduced within material practices – such as the practice of discourse. Goldberg (1999, p. 363) echoes this view and states that there is "no racism without some reference, however veiled, to racialised discourse". He argues that racist expressions, and so racism, are produced through racialised discourses. In this way there is a point at which race, racism, and discourse intersect.

2.3.2. White identity and whiteness

Frankenberg (1993, p. 236) provides the following definition for whiteness: 'the production and reproduction of dominance rather than subordination, normativity rather than marginality, and privilege rather than disadvantage'. The significance of such a definition is that it factors in the

normalising effects of the previously taken-for-granted perception of whiteness, which have aided in the perpetuation of white domination and privilege in ways that may be hidden from the consciousness of white people (Zack, 2006).

The above definition of whiteness does not factor in a broader understanding of whiteness as complex, contextually specific, and open to re-definition depending on the alterations to the meanings of race that are being made in society (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007). Authors working this field have noted that there are many variations of whiteness, not just one form (Steyn, 2001). This is a result of the variations in socio-historical contexts in which white identities develop. Thus, the study of whiteness and white identity has tended to take the shape of the society in which it is investigated (Steyn, 2001). The inclusion of the aforementioned factors is recognition that the meanings of whiteness are divergent and dependent on elements such as, context, history, gender, class, sexuality, and region (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007).

Although South Africa shares with some Western countries some similarities with regard to whiteness – Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007) propose that understandings of whiteness in South Africa, in terms of skin colour, are similar to understandings of race in the United States in that in the U.S. skin colour is seen to be a marker of race – Salusbury and Foster (2004, p. 93) espouse Steyn's (2001) argument that South Africa is unique in that, "'Whiteness' in South Africa differs from Western contexts in that it is more obvious in its potency: self-conscious rather than deliberately obscured, and accepted rather than veiled as a site of privilege." Further, the invisibility of race in other countries, for example, Australia and New Zealand, obscures its identification (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007). In South Africa, especially during the apartheid era, race was clearly marked and prescribed through legislation. In present day South Africa, the racial labels enforced by the old government have been removed, however, these identifications are still being used, even though their use continues to be controversial (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998).

Thus, during apartheid, white identity within South Africa was shaped through whiteness (Salusbury & Foster, 2004; Steyn, 2001). The end of apartheid not only brought about the loss of political and economic supremacy of white South Africans, but a shift in definitions as well. Steyn (2004) argues that currently Afrikaner identity is experiencing a crisis or dislocation as a

result of the social changes that have taken place in South Africa in recent years, and what was previously hidden has now been uncovered, bringing about shame and guilt. These feelings are accompanied by the sense that Afrikaner people are in need of rehabilitation and change as they can no longer use the old ways to identify themselves (Steyn, 2004).

The coming of the new dispensation has brought with it changes in the way that whiteness is produced and perpetuated. This has largely been due to the laws that have been put in place. Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007) posit that white privilege was maintained through labour laws, such as the Industrial Conciliation Act. The new government replaced this policy with new labour practices. However, although white people in South Africa no longer hold a visibly dominant political position, the promotion and reinforcement of whiteness ideologies during apartheid continue to shape social relations in South Africa (Steyn, 2004). Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007) argue that even with the revision in legislation, economic power still remains with white people. This is seen, for example, in that white people still hold high-ranking jobs in sections of the job market previously reserved for whites.

2.4. PREVIOUS STUDIES

2.4.1. Discourses of whiteness

There is a growing body of work in the area of discourses on race and white identity internationally and in South Africa. The following discussion mentions a few studies in these areas as an attempt to summarise some of this work.

Steyn (2001) discusses the study of whiteness and white identity in South Africa, focusing on how white identity is shaped in the ‘new’ South Africa. She argues that whiteness is fragmented as a result of different competing narratives of what it means to be white. This fragmentation is in part due to the struggle between Afrikaans and English speaking whites (also known as ‘white English speaking South Africans’ or ‘WESSAs’) for the right to own whiteness (Salusbury & Foster, 2004, p. 93). WESSAs themselves are not a homogenous group, but drawn from the descendants of a number of European countries. Throughout the history of apartheid, and still today, this was the group that maintained its ties with Europe. The struggle between Afrikaans

and English whites has led to a whiteness co-constructed by two whitenesses. Afrikaner whiteness has come to be the subaltern whiteness, in that it has changed over time, but has remained inferior to another dominant white discourse, English whiteness (Steyn, 2001). Steyn (2004) argues that currently Afrikaner identity is experiencing a crisis or dislocation as a result of the social changes that have taken place in South Africa in recent years and that what was previously hidden has now been uncovered, bringing about shame and guilt. These feelings are also accompanied by the sense that Afrikaner people are in need of rehabilitation and change as they can no longer use their old ways of identification (Steyn, 2004).

In her study of whiteness undertaken in post-apartheid South Africa, Steyn (2001) analysed the questionnaires of a sample of fifty-nine white South Africans on their perceptions of, and attitudes to, being white in the New South Africa. Her unit of analysis was the narrative, especially the master narrative of whiteness that emerged during the time of colonialism, until the time of the elections in 1994. Steyn (2001) outlined five evolving narratives, namely (1) *Still colonial after all these years*, (2) This *shouldn't happen to a white*, (3) *Don't think white, it's all right*, (4) *A whiter shade of white* and (5) *Under African skies, or, white but not quite*. Steyn (2001) understands these narratives as variations of whiteness. These are opposed to the previously legally sanctioned master narrative.

Still colonial after all these years assumes a construction of whiteness by some whites which is fundamentally unrevised from the master narrative perpetuated under the colonial and apartheid era. This narrative is supported by the belief that whiteness is the ideal and that power still resides in the hands of white people for the manipulation of societal change in ways that best serve white people. This belief is founded on the assumption that black and white people are different at a biological or fundamental level, and that the difference between the races are comparable to the difference between "the sparrow and the elephant" (Steyn, 2001, p. 60). This narrative is similar to the essentialist discourse identified by Frankenberg (2003) in her research into the discourses of race utilised by white women in the United States. Like the master narrative the essentialist discourse also constructs race as biologically determined and as having a hierarchical order. Hall (1992) called it the discourse of the 'west and the rest' because it was through its incitement that Europe was able to construct the "Other", that is, those who are not European, as inferior.

In the narrative, *This shouldn't happen to a white*, respondents felt that their faith in the fact of their whiteness was unstable as what had previously been taken-for-granted and had allowed them to enjoy certain benefits was now on hostile grounds (Steyn, 2001). So respondents reflected on how they felt themselves to be victims in a state of affairs that felt for them to be a reversal of the natural order of things. These narratives are similar to that of studies conducted in Australia and the United States of America where whites believe themselves to be victims of what they perceive to be reverse racism (Green & Sonn, 2006). Green and Sonn point out that there is also a tendency for 'good' whites, who ignore their own complicity by focusing on the racism of other white Australians, to identify with these Australians' negative stereotypes of other races. The result is that they are able to profit from their proximity to racist views whilst simultaneously being able to separate from them (Green & Sonn, 2006).

Steyn (2001) discusses a third narrative, *Don't think white, it's all right*, which is supported by the white South Africans who accept the current position of whiteness in South Africa – which is the result of the change in power relations – whilst also attempting to maintain their white identity in the New South Africa. While there are elements of dissonance, on the whole there is a sense of hopefulness (Steyn, 2001).

A whiter shade of white – which is similar to certain narratives of white Australians and Americans – is a narrative entrenched in denial, where those in this group are terrified of reflecting on their whiteness and so avoid and deny it. Such narratives, evade issues of white privilege and power. Some outwardly resist the ways in which whiteness has been constructed, whilst others still separate themselves off from the white people seen to be responsible for racism in South Africa – they do this, for instance, by appealing to an overarching South African identity or by claiming that they did not support apartheid (Steyn, 2001).

Under African skies, or, white but not quite is the story told by the last group of white South Africans (Steyn, 2001). They are seeking to make and define for themselves new identities that complement or replace previous white identities. They do not deny their own complicity in social processes of racialisation, but rather speak of a desire to let go of their old ways of being and take on new ways of being in post-apartheid South Africa. Frankenberg (1993) found a similar discourse among some of her participants who were conscious of race and its legacy, thus

utilising discourse which acknowledged racial inequalities and white privilege in ways that constructed them as anti-racist.

Steyn (2001) draws the conclusion that white South Africans are making use of varied discourses to construct dissimilar versions of what it means to be white in the "new" South Africa – while some of these narratives are compatible others seem to contradict each other. However, what is essential about their constructions of whiteness are: firstly, they do construct one, integrated narrative about whiteness, and secondly, that white South Africans have to compete with a new reality that opposes the former master narrative of whiteness – a narrative involving assumptions of whiteness as superior and entitled (Steyn, 2001).

Steyn and Foster (2008) discuss other discourses of whiteness, referred to as *White Talk*, that are utilised by white South Africans in ways that enable positive self-presentation while resisting transformation. The authors analysed two weekly columns published through 2000 in the Sunday Times newspaper. Their findings revealed two discursive repertoires, *New South Africa Speak (NSAS)* and *White Ululation (WU)* (Steyn & Foster, 2008).

The first set of discourses, *NSAS*, emphasises the importance of such values as democracy, social development, non-racialism and non-sexism, reconciliation, equality and freedom (Steyn & Foster, 2008). Through the prominence it gives to these ideals the discourses present the conditions for living respectably in South Africa; they deflect the suspicion that white South Africans' criticism of the 'black' government emerges out of persistent racism; and these discourses also ensure that *White Talk* complies with international sanctions against explicit prejudiced discourse, whilst also assimilating South African whiteness into the whitenesses that is subscribed to by the rest of the neo-liberal global community (Steyn & Foster, 2008).

Steyn and Foster (2008) propose that NSAS focuses on rhetoric that presents white South Africans in a positive way, such as non-racialism and democratic principles, concern for poverty, and the rhetoric of good blacks. The discourse of non-racialism converts non-racialism into colour blindness and so denies the effects of racialisation. This is similar to the colour or power evasive race discourse identified by Frankenberg (1993) in her research in that it also draws on liberal discourse which argues that colour blindness is ideal as it enables us to see all people as colourless and as such to treat all people the same regardless of their race. Further, the evasion of

differences that are implicated in power results in a minimisation or denial of power differentials. Steyn and Foster follow the argument proposed by Essed (1991), van Dijk (1992) and Gallagher (2003) that this enables the reproduction of racism through its coding of racist discourse so as to evade racist accusations.

Furthermore, when there is any acknowledgement of race as continuing to have real effects in current South African society the discourse of democracy making fallacious comparisons between the old order and the new and by so doing an engagement with the continuing power differentials is avoided. Further, discussions of crime, corruption, ethnic conflict, laziness, pretentiousness, self-seeking opportunism and the shape they take in white society are disregarded, whilst at the same time complicity on the part of whiteness is evaded or minimised through petitions to the universality of our common human nature. NSAS also enables white people to assume the role of being the conscience for the nation through discourses that speak to concerns for poverty. By so doing they can criticise 'black' government for its failures whilst also averting any criticism for being self-interested. Here rhetorical devices such as silencing and misrepresentations of the past are utilised. Furthermore, NSAS plays off 'good blacks' against 'bad blacks' as a means by which black people who are more obliging in terms of their political standpoint are employed in an agenda to criticise and admonish those who are more defiant politically (Steyn & Foster, 2008).

The second discursive repertoire, *WU*, is discussed by Steyn and Foster (2008) as employing emotion to amplify white consciousness, promoting individuality and self-interest and as maintaining white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. It does this by constructing any change to the status quo as posing a threat to what is in everyone's best interests. Thus this repertoire is fundamentally antagonistic to transformation, utilising constructs of race as hierarchical and rearticulating discourses on white supremacy. The discursive strategies utilised by *WU* includes: stacking up negative tropes, topics and debates; casting reconstruction as an unjust process; denouncing elite blacks; delegitimizing concerns with morality; stressing the dire consequences for the society of transformative measures and urging the necessity to regroup.

Discourses of hopelessness, crime and decline make a compelling argument with the conclusion that the New South Africa has failed, as was expected. The construction of the African

Renaissance positions Africans at the heart of change in various spheres and thus this concept is also resisted by whites in so far as it defies the very basis of whiteness in Africa. Resistant whiteness is also evident in constructions of affirmative action as 'reverse racism. Gallagher (1997) identified a similar discourse in the United States as a response to affirmative action policies. His analysis revealed that white university students ignored the effects of white privilege, constructing success in America as based on merit. Thus, affirmative action was seen to as victimising white people through unfair discrimination.

Further, the discourses of whiteness in the newspaper were seen to be opposed to notion of 'Elite Blacks', or any sign of African advancement and so these were presented as the result of black tokenism, or even corruption. Further, *White Talk* resists transformation through its constant incitement of fear, predictions of failure and denying the experiences of the "Other".

Another study on white identity was conducted by Salusbury and Foster (2004) on WESSA identity where they interviewed white English-speaking South Africans. Although this study targeted white English-speaking South Africans its findings shared some similarities with the aforementioned studies. The following discourses of whiteness were discussed: *Cultural Evasion, WESSA Economics*, and *Globalisation and Language*.

The first discursive strategy, *Cultural Evasion*, was found to be salient through the participants' inability to recognize and demarcate their cultural identity. Consequently, participants were likely to see their own culture as neutral and invisible, that is, to deem themselves "a-'racial'" or "a-'cultural'" (p. 96). Furthermore, the authors argued that this understanding of white culture renders whiteness normative, whilst those who are said to be 'ethnic' are marginalised. This aversion to a cultural identity is similar to discourses of 'culturelessness' and 'cultural normativeness' in similar studies conducted in Britain and America. Further, this discourse performs a similar function to the discourses of non-racialism discussed by Steyn and Foster (2008), that is, by denying the ongoing unequal power relations racism is reproduced in a more subtle way. The authors also argued that since WESSAs see themselves as not having a cultural identity they are then able to see themselves exclusively as individuals. However, individualism itself supports the project of rendering whiteness normative, as it "becomes part of white

resistance to perceiving whiteness and indeed to being placed in the category ‘white’ at all” (Mahoney, 1997, as cited in Salusbury & Foster, 2004, p. 98).

Further, it seems that the adoption of these discourses by WESSAs is in fact not a failure to take on a cultural or collective identity, but a position adopted by white people in order to be able to claim normativity and thus reproduce a powerful social position that would be impossible if they claimed a distinctive group minority identity.

The second discourse of whiteness discussed by Salusbury and Foster (2004) was *WESSA Economics*, which links whiteness to privilege gained through economic structures. The authors argue that white people have had to redefine what it means in a material sense to be white, and to reposition themselves within the changing socio-economic landscape. The authors argue that they have succeeded in redefining their position by “constructing ‘white’ culture as ‘naturally’ middle-class” (p. 100). Hyslop (1999, as cited in Salusbury & Foster, 2004) argues that this kind of presentation means that white people can be identified less with ‘racial’ ideology. The authors found that there were many instances in the participants’ interviews when they identified themselves as middle-class. This reconstruction maintains white privilege and justifies the denial of white privilege in south Africa (Ansell, 2004; Steyn, 2001, 2004, 2005; Steyn & Foster, 2008).

Finally, Salusbury and Foster (2004) also discussed discourses of globalisation and language. Participants utilised discourses of being ‘proudly South African’ to justify that they belong to South Africa and to disavow their European heritage. However, there were other discourses that were utilised that linked WESSAs to Europe and the West more than other South African groups, as well as discourses of Eurocentric diffusionism that set Western standards above South Africa’s. Salusbury and Foster (2004) proposed that whereas the former set of discourses promote South Africans, the latter are implicated in promoting WESSA power in opposition to other ‘racial’ groups in South Africa – and by so doing they position themselves as the rightful leaders to assist South Africa attain to western standards. Further, the authors also proposed that the construction of being English as a site of privilege was not presented as shameful by participants, and so perhaps the language may serve as a socially acceptable way for WESSAs to

claim the privilege of being ‘white’ whilst also not engaging with the injustices of a system that allocates privilege on the basis of skin colour.

2.4.2. Discourses of denial

Several South African studies, including Ansell (2004), Ballard (2004), Steyn (2001, 2005), Salusbury and Foster (2004) and Statman (1999) also discuss the denial of white privilege as a discursive strategy that is often utilised by white South Africans to resist the ways in which their were complicit in the apartheid project, and also to refute the ways in which their privilege continues to take effect in present day South Africa. The international literature has also seen a growth in studies focusing on the discourse of denial and white privilege (Frankenburg, 1993; Gallagher, 1997; McIntosh, 2000; Roediger, 1991). For McIntosh (2000) white privilege is an invisible knapsack of undeserved benefits that have been afforded to the white race, on the basis of their skin-colour. In her seminal work she identifies some of these assets, one of them being that white people have the advantage, over people of other races, of being able to pronounce with authority in whatever contexts whether a particular racial issue or other exists or not (McIntosh, 2000).

Ballard (2004) uses a popular analogy, which constructs the middle classes as hard working ‘ants’ and the poor as indolent ‘grasshoppers’, to make an argument for the ways in which racial inequalities have been constructed in South Africa. His paper claims that white privilege is understood by many white people to be the result of their own work and so attributable to them and black poverty is seen to be directly related to black people’s laziness.

Further, Ballard (2004) proposes that the utilisation of such constructions of privilege and poverty creates negative responses by white people to the poor, such that the poor are blamed for their poverty and they are not seen as the objects of moral responsibility or deserving of sympathetic treatment. His study collected material from fifty-nine interviews conducted in Durban, focus groups and data taken from newspaper articles.

Ballard (2004) discusses three discourses that surface from the participants’ reports that apartheid was wrong: 1) that black people were treated unfairly – but that the white participants

themselves were not responsible for this unfair treatment; 2) some of them admitted that apartheid resulted in massive inequalities between the races and that they benefited from these, and 3) some participants also disconnected the inequalities in present day South Africa from apartheid. Ansell's (2004) study corroborated the latter finding in that her analysis of 154 written submissions to the South African Human Rights Commission in 2000 revealed a propensity in the submissions by white participants towards forgetting the past and the ways it continues to re-inscribe itself in the present.

Another discourse which is often found in studies of discourses of 'whiteness' is the discourse of the denial of racism. The majority of studies on whiteness internationally have been in the area of education, where the attitudes, beliefs and ideologies of white teachers, are being challenged (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005; Tatum, 1992). Studies have identified teachers' responses to explorations of racism which include ideological incongruence, dilemmas experienced by individuals when their ideological or belief sets are mismatched; the denial of the existence of white privilege and its resultant material benefits or attempting to explain its presence; liberalist notions of individualism and meritocracy – where teachers position themselves within liberalist notions of social movement and frame their analysis and understanding of social forces in an individualistic way; and the denial of race and racism (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005; Tatum, 1992).

Van Dijk (1990, 1991, 1992) and several other researchers including Antaki (1988), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Tedeschi and Reiss (1981) propose that race denials take on different forms and functions and that these are a strategy mainly for positive self-presentation or keeping face. The main concern for white group members tends to be around not being seen as racist given the international prohibitions on overt discrimination and out-group denigrations. Thus, white group members will often use denials, disclaimers or other forms that are intended to avoid a negative reaction with their listeners or their readers when they want to say something negative about minorities. Thus, denials function to avert any negative deductions by listeners about the thoughts and feelings of the speaker or writer. Further, denials are often used in defense when the speaker or writer presupposes the potential for accusation, reproval or doubts of others about his or her present or past actions or attitudes, or as a strategy of positive self-presentation (Van Dijk, 1990, 1991, 1992).

Oftentimes speakers may not only deny the alleged act itself, but also its intentions, goals, or its outcomes (Van Dijk, 1990, 1991, 1992). Another way to avoid negative reactions is for white group members to minimize, make light of or generally to diminish the seriousness, extent or results of their prejudicial actions. However, rather than explicitly or implicitly denying their racism, white group members may also make use of justifications – including justifications which pass blame onto the victim. Denials may also displace the allegation to others, such as I don't have a problem with black people, but my sister-in-law (cousin, father, and so on) does. Furthermore, denials may also reverse the allegations and lay blame on the complainant for having, deliberately or not, misconstrued the actor or speaker, for having charged the actor or speaker without evidence or even for being prejudiced (Van Dijk, 1990, 1991, 1992).

2.5. CONCLUSION

The focus of this chapter was to provide a comprehensive review of some of the literature that is available in the area of race, racism and discourse, and the literature in identity, white identity and whiteness. The constructionist view point on identity was taken, with a specific focus on the post-structural perspective. The chapter also defined the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' and the Foucauldian conception of 'discourse'. Finally, some of the empirical studies in the area of white identity and whiteness were considered.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the methods utilised in this study. Firstly, it outlines the aims of the project. Secondly, it provides a brief discussion of the methods used for the collection of the narratives, as well as the narrators' demographic information. Thirdly, the chapter examines the procedure followed by the researcher. Finally, the chapter also looks at the method of data analysis which was utilised. Finally, the ethical issues which were pertinent to the study are also discussed.

3.2. AIMS

This research project was part of the broader Apartheid Archives Project. The aim of the project is to collect the narratives of black and white South Africans, of the nature of their earliest everyday racist experiences. The project also hopes to engage ordinary South Africans with the past. One of the significant premises of the project is the assumption that the history of a nation will continue to exert its influence on the present (thus the effects of an oppressive order will constantly attempt to mark the psyches of those who live in the present), if it is not acknowledged and dealt with. In light of the broader aims of the Apartheid Archives Project this study utilised narratives that have been written by white South Africans and are available on the Apartheid Archive Project's database to more specifically address and explore the following: the identity or subject positions that a group of white South Africans occupy in their narratives of their early experiences of racism, the discourses that are mobilised by the narrators to this effect, as well as the effects of the discourses in terms of power relations. The researcher was aware at the onset that an argument could be made that the discourses that would be uncovered through a close examination of the data, and within which white South Africans would be positioned, would be too broad and thus the researcher should choose a section of the racialised discourses to focus on. However, the researcher was also cognisant that doing this prematurely would prevent

the data from speaking for itself, and any narrowing of the focus of the study may have obstructed the process of research.

3.3. QUESTIONS

1. How do a group of white South Africans make sense of their identity/subject positions in their narratives of their early experiences of racism?
2. What discourses does a group of white South Africans employ to identify themselves, in their narratives of their early experiences of racism?
3. What are the effects of the discourses of race in the narratives of early experiences of racism of a group of South Africans, in terms of the power relations they produce and perpetuate?

3.4. METHODS

3.4.1. Research design

The proposed research took the form of a qualitative, non-experimental, cross-sectional design. Research based within a qualitative paradigm is becoming increasingly popular in psychology. Qualitative data is a source of well grounded and rich descriptions in local milieus (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This paradigm is ideally suited for research which investigates people's stories. Further, Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 1) argue that qualitative research studies have a "quality of undeniability" in that words, particularly those that are presented as stories, have tangible and significant qualities that hold deeper descriptions than a set of numbers. Qualitative methods emphasise subjective experience and multiple realities and include the use of narratives of lived experience.

The study made use of narratives of early experiences of racism written by a group of white South Africans with the aim of examining the discourses utilised in the narratives, the positions that these discourses made available to the narrators and the effects of the discourses in terms of power relations. It is crucial that the method of analysis be integrated into the general theoretical framework of the study to allow for consistency. Thus, the narratives were analysed using

Foucauldian discourse analysis following the guidelines provided by Parker (1992) and Willig (2008). These methods of analysis will be discussed below.

The theoretical framework for the present study focused on the concepts of white identity and whiteness and discourse. The researcher was cognisant of the fact that the necessity for a theoretical framework in this study may not be immediately obvious since the research was explorative falling within a qualitative study. However, the researcher had her own preconceived notions about the nature of the narratives of white South Africans, the discourses within these and the ways in which the narrators would positioned within these narratives.

3.4.2. Data collection

In total, twelve narratives were examined. The data for the study was drawn from the narratives on the Apartheid Archives database. The narratives on the database were collected by researchers, in the last two years. The researchers had requested that participants describe their earliest and/or most significant experience, or series of related experiences of racism in narrative form (See Appendix B).

For the purposes of the present study, once access to the database was granted the researcher went through all the narratives on the database and then isolated those written by white, middle-aged South Africans. Of these, the narratives submitted by the first six males and the first six females were chosen for analysis.

The researcher of the current study has also made substantial contribution to the database, by way of narratives. However, she also collected three additional written narratives from new white, adult participants, including one male and two females, in their fifties. Though, it should be noted that the three new narratives did not form a part of the sample chosen and utilised for the purposes of the current study. The new narratives were from new participants, and thus the content of their narratives added new material to the already existing data in the archive. The researcher was aware of the importance of adding new data to the archive from which she drew the narratives for this study. The new participants were selected through a process of non-probability, convenience sampling (Breakwell, Hammond & Fife-Shaw, 1995). Members of the

target group were spoken to directly about participating in the study. However, snowballing also proved to be useful in this study, since those contacted were also be able to refer the researcher to other possible participants.

	Gender	**Age**	**Place of origin**
N7	Female	Thirties	Zimbabwe and Gauteng
N11	Female	Forties	Gauteng and Eastern Cape
N12	Female	Early forties	Western Cape
N14	Female	Late thirties to early forties	Eastern Cape
N15	Female	Forties	KwaZulu Natal
N20	Female	Fifties	Western Cape
N2	Male	Thirties	Gauteng
N22	Male	Forties	Gauteng
N34	Male	Fifties	Western Cape
N36	Male	Thirties	Gauteng
N37	Male	Fifties	Northern Cape
N47	Male	Fifties	KwaZulu Natal

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Research Participants

3.4.3. Procedure

The research process began with the preparation of a research proposal which was submitted to the internal ethics committee. However, the study was not sent to the external ethics committee, because it falls within the broader Apartheid Archives Project which had already received ethics

clearance (see Appendix D). Next, narratives were selected from the database through the methods already discussed above. Finally, the narratives were analysed by the researcher.

3.4.4. Data analysis

Wood and Kroger (2000) propose that there is a lack of consensus when it comes to a definition of the term 'discourse', as well as discord in relation to the methodological assumptions and strategies of discourse analysis. Antakia, Billig, Edwards and Potter (2003) are also of this view. They argue that the burgeoning of forms of discourse analysis is largely due to the complexity of the discourse territory with widely dissimilar assumptions being made about the fundamentals of the subject matter, such as method, theory and the nature of discourse – further these topics are influenced by the epistemological and ontological assumptions that are adopted by those who develop the methods and techniques of doing discourse analysis (Antaki et al., 2003).

To give a sense of the diversity in theoretical and methodological approaches Antaki et al.(2003) and Wood and Kroger (2000) note that that in social psychology discourse work emerges out of different schools of thought, some involves conversation analysis, whereas other work draws on critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995) and post-structural and Foucauldian ideas (Hodge & Kress, 1993; Parker, 1992; Willig, 2008). However, there is often tension between the different forms and approaches as a result of their differing objectives.

Furthermore, Wilbraham (2004) proposes that the disparities between discourse analytic methodologies can be conceptualised along discourse-as-data work and theory-driven work. The former is founded on the traditions of ethnomethodology, speech act theory and conversation analysis and sees humans as using language to do certain things in conversations (micro-contexts). Thus, in this way of working language is examined to find patterns and variations in the action orientation of talk. However, the latter encompasses the post-structuralist conceptualisations of Foucault, Derrida or Lacan to analyse discourse or discourses, ideology, power, subjectivity and social contexts (macro-contexts). This involves utilising concepts of analysis, such as discursive practices and subject positions, to emphasise the ways in which individuals are constructed and thus spoken for and about by discourses. Thus, the focus of this approach is on any discourse that can be interpreted as text (Hollway, 1984; Parker, 1992; and

Willig, 2008). Further, Wilbraham (2004), citing Hall (2000), argues that post-structuralists prefer pre-existing texts to talk-in-action, such as interviews, because of their stance towards the human subject and subject-positioning. Thus, the "subject-as-agent is deconstructed: it is discourse, not the subject who speaks it, that produces knowledge: subjects may speak and produce texts, but they are operating within the discursive formation and 'regime or truth' of their historical movement; 'the subject' is produced within discourse, must be subjected to its conventions of power/knowledge and becomes the 'bearer' of discourse" (Wilbraham, 2004, p. 499).

For the purposes of this study we will take we will take as our point of departure the post-structuralist approach to discourse analysis discussed by Wilbraham (2004) as the theory-driven approach and informed by Parker (1992) and Willig's (2008) guidelines for analysing discourse utilising the ideas of Foucault. However, as Wilbraham (2004) suggested, these should be used as tools for analysis rather than methods to follow without divergence. Analysis within this methodological tradition is interested in exploring language and the ways in which it constructs social and psychological life. So, because language makes available "certain ways-of-seeing the world and certain ways-of-being in the world" people can say what they do and who they are (Willig, 2008, p. 113). In this way discourses put forward subject positions to be taken up by people, but they are also involved in the exercise of power (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of the Foucauldian notion of discourse that is utilised in this study).

Parker (1992) argues that discourses are at work in or through texts. Further, discourses are historically located and institutionally specific systems of statements which provide frameworks for not only describing the social world, but categorise the world. Thus, through discourse objects are constructed, subjects are spoken about and power is reproduced. Parker presents a version of Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) based on his seven criteria for distinguishing discourses, as well as three auxiliary criteria. The criteria are as follows: 1) a discourse is realised in texts, 2) a discourse is about objects, 3) a discourse contains subjects, 4) a discourse is a coherent system of meaning, 5) a discourse refers to other discourses, 6) a discourse reflects on its own way of speaking, 7) a discourse is historically located, 8) discourses support institutions, 9) discourse reproduce power relations, and 10) discourses have ideological effects (Parker, 1992). The criteria guided the analysis of this study.

The process of data analysis commenced after the researcher had selected the narratives from the Apartheid Archives Project's database. Once the narratives were chosen, each one was read and re-read allowing a careful engagement with the narratives over a period of time. Next, the first level of analysis to find themes and categories was undertaken utilising Lieblich, Tuval and Zibler's (1998) categorical-content methodology. The steps taken can be summarised as follows: firstly, the selection of the subtext was on the basis of the research questions, all the relevant sections of a text were marked and assembled to form a new file or subtext, which may be seen as the content universe of the area studied. Secondly, the content categories were defined. These were the various themes or perspectives that cut across the selected subtext and provide a means of classifying its units – whether words, sentences, or groups of sentences. In this study categories were not predefined by a theory, but rather the subtext was read as openly as possible so that the major content categories that emerged from the reading could be defined. In practice, this involved careful reading, suggesting categories, sorting the subtext into categories, generating ideas for additional categories or for refinement of existing ones. Thirdly, the material was sorted into categories, that is, separate sentences and utterances were assigned to the relevant categories.

Since what was most significant was the study's aim to examine the discourses within the narratives and their relationships to the narrator's positionality and to power relations, data from the content analysis of the narratives was used to support material to the discourse analysis of the narratives insofar as it highlighted the kinds of issues that received more discussion or were alluded to within the narratives. In particular, what was utilised was Foucault's theorisation of discourse as outlined by Willig (2008). This second level analysis of analysis involved six stages (Willig, 2008): the first stage focused on the ways in which the discursive object was constructed – in the narratives the discursive object of interest was 'early experiences of racism' – thus, what was involved was an identification of the various ways in which 'early experiences of racism' were constructed, taking into consideration that constructions could be both explicit and implicit, as well as evident in the direct and indirect references to the object. In the second stage the different discursive constructions of the object were then located within broader discourses. The third stage was interested in an examination of the contexts within which the various

constructions of the object were placed in order to make sense of the function that the different constructions of the object had (Willig, 2008).

The subject positions constructed within the discourses were then identified in the fourth stage (Willig, 2008). The fifth stage was mainly concerned with the ways in which the discourses were related to practice or how the discursive constructions of the object and the narrators' subject positions restricted what could be said and done by the narrators. The last stage of the analysis focused on how the discourses provided the lenses through which the narrators could see the world and can be in the world. What was explored here was the ways in which the discourses that the narrators utilised constructed their social and psychological realities (Willig, 2008).

3.5. REFLEXIVITY

According to Macleod (2004) the status of 'objective outsiders' assumed in traditional research is untenable and researchers should not seek to minimise the 'investigator effect.' Instead, reflexivity (that is, awareness on the part of researchers of the constraints that they potentially impose on, and the power they have in relation to, participants) is called for. Thus, as Macleod (2004) recommends, the inherent power-relations in knowledge production should be uppermost in the minds of the researchers.

Obviously, the differential power between the researcher and research participants is even more pronounced in the case of non-academic research participants. One of the principal means of moderating such power is for researchers to constantly be aware of and reflexive in relation to what their research agendas are and how they influence what their research participants bring into the research process.

Steyn (2001) argues that the fact that research participants are denied the opportunity to represent themselves or speak for themselves is in itself colonising in effect. The very act of writing about research subjects may be construed as researchers' conspiring with structures of power, yet remaining silent may be seen to be a way of not taking responsibility and thus allowing the status quo to remain. Thus, the researcher in this study was cognisant of her own positioning as a young, black, female and how this subject position might influence the interpretations she made

when examining the narratives of white people's experiences of racism during the Apartheid era. Research requires an awareness that representation of experience is limited, as it is based on our own interpretations and the meanings we create through interaction with others and their stories. The result is that what we say about other people's stories will be based on our own interpretations of the world. Thus, researchers cannot be naïve to the knowledge that there is a delicate balance between representing participants, while remaining cognisant of the social constructedness of reality and participants' stories within that reality.

Braun and Clark (2006) discuss the importance of acknowledging our own theoretical positions, values and assumptions as researchers doing qualitative research. Of course, research cannot be viewed as merely an objective endeavour, which only seeks to 'give voice' to the participants. This process involves our input as we edit, select and categorise narratives in order to find evidence for our own argument positions. Thus, it is incorrect and, even, deceiving to talk about themes 'emerging' or being 'discovered' as this presumes that the process of analysis is passive, when it in fact engages the researcher in an extremely active way.

3.6. ETHICS

The three additional participants were provided with sufficient information by way of a Subject Information Sheet (see Appendix A) to provide informed consent to (a) participate in the study (See Appendix C), and (b) for their narratives or parts of their narratives to be analysed and possibly published (See Appendix C). Participants were also informed of their right to decline or withdraw participation from the study at any time.

It should be noted that anonymity could be guaranteed to the participants whose narratives were accessed directly from the database. The reason for this is that the identity of participants was not known by the researcher since the narratives that have been placed on the database have already been anonymised. However, anonymity could not be guaranteed to the three additional participants, although strict confidentiality could be guaranteed. This was done by leaving out the identities of the participants on their written narratives.

The three additional participants were also be informed that the narratives submitted to us would be placed on the Apartheid Archives database, analysed and integrated into various journal articles. Additionally, the narratives will be posted on this research project's website (titled The Apartheid Archives).

As this study did not target a 'sensitive' population and it did not evoke any significant traumatic events, the measures listed above were sufficient in ensuring that the participants' rights, dignity and well-being were not compromised.

Further, the researcher aimed to maintain a high standard of competency in her work by only using those methods for which she is qualified and by presenting information in a way that respects participants and does not distort the information they provided. The researcher also considered her own position in the research and, by so doing, showed an awareness of the fact that her beliefs, values, needs and limitations could affect her research.

3.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter of the report focused on the methods used in order to meet the aims of the project, which were to identify the subject positions that a group of white South Africans occupy in their narratives of their early experiences of racism, the discourses they make use of to facilitate the process of positioning, as well as the consequences of the discourses mobilised in terms of power relations. It began with a discussion of the methods used for sourcing participants and provided some of the relevant demographic information for each participant. The chapter also considered the methods utilised for data collection, as well as the overall procedure followed by the researcher. The methods of data analysis were also described and examined here. The chapter then concluded with a discussion of the ethical issues which impacted on the study.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSSION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The study examined the narratives of the early experiences of racism of a group of white adult South Africans, with a particular focus on the discourses of race mobilised by the narrators and the subject positions that the discourses enabled the participants to occupy. The participants' narration of their early experience or experiences of racism encompassed details such as the approximate year in which the participants were exposed to the experience reflected on, the place, the key protagonists and antagonists and the impact, if any, this incident may have had on their views of themselves and their relationships with others.

Three overarching discursive themes were identified in the analysis and will be discussed together with their sub-themes. These are: (1) rationalising discursive strategies, (2) race and racism discourses, and (3) discourses of redemption. These discourses constructed particular positions and subjectivities for the participants which will also be presented and examined. These include the narrators positioning as: (1) victim, (2) perpetrator, (3) hero, and (4) non-racial.

While these discursive themes are presented categorically, these should not be read as fixed and separate. Thus, even though the themes and sub-themes will be considered separately it is important to be cognisant of the fact that various sub-themes overlap, are intertwined and/or are involved in relationships of reciprocity. This relates to the fact that all of the themes and sub-themes reflect the influence of discursive practices at work on a broader societal level and how these inform the narrators' self-knowledge, experiences and identities, as well as display how they impact on the reproduction of power. The results thus expose the way in which subject positions, made available in and through discourses, are made invisible and are subsequently understood by the individual as self-knowledge (Wilbraham, 2004). The results are further discussed in this chapter and interpreted utilising the literature provided in the literature review.

4.2. RATIONALISING DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES

Most of the narrators drew on discursive strategies that both rationalised and justified their experiences of racism. They tended to draw on claims of innocence and discourses of denial to justify their involvement in past acts of racism. These discursive strategies are learnt and have come to have meaning for the existence of white victimhood. Specifically, the narrators asserted their innocence through the implication that perpetration is not really possible in childhood. These claims of innocence were further supported by discourses of denial that attempted to hold others responsible for their experiences of racism. Additionally, through their utilisation of these discourses participants were able to position themselves and be positioned as victims of apartheid and victims of their experiences of racism. When other rationalisations were not appropriate or plausible, some of the narrators explained their behaviour away through discourses that spoke to the naturalness of apartheid. Such discourses allowed the participants to possess an external frame of reference and in turn allowed them to avoid occupying the position of perpetrator. Accordingly, instances of blaming, scapegoating and avoidance of agency need to be viewed as powerful discursive mechanisms that assisted the participants in maintaining an identity that aligns with constructions of whiteness as neutral and invisible.

4.2.1. The discourse of innocence

The discourse of childhood was mobilised by participants through constructions of their early lives as a time of safety, innocence, unawareness and adventure. Thus, experiences of racism were perceived to be confusing, inexplicable, incomprehensible, intrusive, and disruptive, as well as involving the transfer of racialised ideologies from one generation to the next. Thus, acknowledgment of guilt was resisted across all of the narratives. The narrators' subjective incapacity to acknowledge their guilt affected their ability to occupy which in turn resulted in the use of rationalising discourse. Before the different types of rationalising discourse can be examined, it is necessary to establish this discourse as a means to maintain the subjective innocence of the narrators. Most of the narrators felt that they were not guilty of perpetuating racism and this was expressed with various claims of innocence such as ***"As a newborn I of course didn't know anything about any of these things … But in a way I do think these sorts***

of things must have been quite significant in how I got to be the racialised being I am today. I sort of took it in with my mother's milk, as they say" (N37), ***"At the same time, some of the people in the group ruffled my hair, picked me up, and made little jokes with me – the way people do with cute little boys (yes I was cute, really)"*** (N37) and ***"But I can't explain now because I didn't understand then"*** (N7).

Through this discourse the narrators were positioned as the victims of the "Other". From this position narrators' freedom to exercise power was restricted. Further, the construction of the "Other" as responsible for unsettling and disrupting the safety of the white world enabled the narrators to make use of discourse that averts engagement with their own complicity and to shift blame onto the "Other".

It is evident that the participants were unable to view themselves as transgressors and consequently they made others accountable for their experiences of racism. Further, the discourse of innocence seen in some of their narratives spoke to an avoidance of acknowledging their complicit identities and in fact this was only possible because the participants drew on rationalising discourse to uphold their innocence. It is in this way that the participants produced themselves as innocent subjects.

This theme is similar to one that Steyn (2001) discussed in her study. In *This shouldn't happen to a white* she constructed the argument that the "new" South Africa confronted some of her respondents with a sense that their whiteness was in danger as what had previously been taken-for-granted and had allowed them to enjoy certain benefits was now on hostile grounds. As a result, respondents seemed to perceive themselves to be the victims of a reversal of a natural order. These narratives are similar to those contained in studies conducted in Australia and the United States of America where whites believe themselves to be victims of what they perceive to be reverse racism (Green & Sonn, 2006).

Further, the use of rationalising discourses enabled the narrators to be positioned as outsiders and as non-racial, and this enabled them to construct themselves as not a part of the communities that entrenched racism in South Africa, through racial acts and discourse, or that their age or closeness to black people made them non-racial in some way and thus they were exempted them from complicity. This kind of positioning enabled participants to present themselves as anti-

racist and so as not having taken part in or benefited from apartheid. Steyn's (2001) theme, *A whiter shade of white,* is similar to narratives of white Australians and Americans. Within it she takes the position that white South Africans use denial to evade reflecting on their group's white identity and all that it implies, such as white privilege and power. However, some white people also outwardly refuse to accept the ways in which whiteness has been constructed, and others still separate themselves off from the white people seen to be responsible for racism in South Africa. Steyn (2001) proposed that participants did this by engaging an overarching South African identity or by claiming that they did not support apartheid. The latter seems to be similar to the appeal made by the participants of this study.

The following sub-themes were evident in the narratives: childhood as a time of innocence, childhood as a time of 'unawareness', childhood as a time of confusion, childhood as a time of adventure, children as impartial and children as the recipients of racism.

However, it is important to mention here that the constructions were not only explicit but also implicit. Implicit constructions were often reflected in participants' elaborate descriptions of their early childhoods in the opening paragraphs of some of their narratives which utilised particular imagery which presented childhood as an idyllic and innocent time.

> ***N7: … images of baobab trees and prickly pears which I transformed into fairies with the help of a few rose petals. The bush was exciting, full of all sorts of perils… These perils fascinated me and I loved the wildness surrounding my cocooned house with its little bridge over the stream made just for me.***
>
> ***N12: I can't get enough of books and voraciously imbibe stories mostly about the lives of other children in England and America. I journey up the faraway tree to exotic lands with the characters created by Enid Blyton. When I am a little older I escape to boarding school with the cast of characters from Malory Towers. I long for midnight picnics at boarding school and gaze enviously at the boarder from Hershel down the road from our house.***

Implicit positions were also subtlety managed in the narratives through some participants' descriptions of their own proximity to black or coloured people. This presents some of the participants as white people who share some intimate connections with some coloured people and so they appear to be non-racial and, perhaps, even anti-racist. This also gives a sense that participants were able to use discourse that rebels against the prescriptions of the apartheid government and have relationships with the "Other."

> ***N34: Our house was the second to last house, in what was to be zoned as the 'white' area of the town. Less than 30 meters away was the area which would in time be zoned 'coloured'. It was a Glebe, an area of Anglican Church owned land, on which parishioners were permitted to live. In fact people of all denominations, all of whom would eventually be defined as 'coloured', lived there, including a handful of Muslim families.***

This participant also seemed to describe his experiences in a way that placed his family on the border of the 'white' area. This subtly constructed his own position as an outsider, and possibly as not complicit in apartheid.

4.2.1.1. Childhood as a time of innocence

Most of the participants recounted events that occurred in childhood. The narrators presented themselves as too "young" and "cute" to be aware of the "horrors of apartheid", or as "newborn" at the time at which their experiences of racism occurred and consequently their childhoods were constructed as a time of innocence in their lives.

> ***N7: When I tried to convince him that I didn't mind going to school with black children, that we didn't have to leave home just because of me, I could not understand his derisive scoffing and scorn. We left anyway.***

N37: As a newborn I of course didn't know anything about any of these things … But in a way I do think these sorts of things must have been quite significant in how I got to be the racialised being I am today. I sort of took it in with my mother's milk, as they say.

N37: At the same time, some of the people in the group ruffled my hair, picked me up, and made little jokes with me – the way people do with cute little boys (yes I was cute, really).

The writer of N37 also presented parts of his narrative in a humorous way. The use then of humour trivialised the prejudicial actions in the experience recounted. This speaks to the use of a rhetorical device which aims to hide guilt and shame and to avoid a negative reaction from listeners by implicitly denying racism through a more positive self-presentation of the narrator as an innocent participant in the racism of the past (Van Dijk, 1990, 1991, 1992).

4.2.1.2. Childhood as a time of unawareness

Some of the narrators' experiences were constructed as being a time of oblivion for them to the racism and discriminatory practices instigated by the apartheid government. One of the participants described this time as involving him and his coloured friends going ***"in and out of each other's houses all the time"*** (N34).

N12: My childhood is insular and sealed off.

N15: Initially, caught up in the self-centered adventures of childhood, I was unaware of the full implications of the circumstances that had enshrined Emily as my primary protector. Listening to her I could understand the injustice, but I simply loved the fact that she was at my side morning, noon and night. I enjoyed her full attention and did not ponder what her commitment to me meant for her relationship with her own children.

> ***N37: There was some sort of animated discussion and there seemed to be quite a bit of aggression from both sides, but I didn't know what it was about.***

A little earlier in her narrative the writer of N15 had presented herself as conscious of what was going on around her.

> ***N15: "On the local front, Emily kept me fully informed about who treated their domestic workers respectfully and who did not. I became very conscious, when entering the homes of friends, of the tone in which they addressed their employees, whether they were given their meals in tin bowls and mugs, and whether they were referred to as 'boys' and 'girls'."***

This contradiction may suggest shifts that took place in the narrator's positionality and power in different and/or similar circumstances in relation to other people and events.

4.2.1.3. Childhood as a time of confusion

Some of the narrators utilised the discourse of childhood to construct their experience as confusing, inexplicable and incomprehensible to them.

> ***N34: As I had done in the past, I saluted him. The white assistant scout-master/mechanic, who happened to be around, asked me what I was doing, and I told him that I was acting out the precepts of the boy scout lore, saluting the scout-master. He told me I should not do that, but couldn't explain why not. I remember so clearly being completely confused by this.***

The participant suggests that he was confused because he was confronted with a different set of rules, rules about the treatment of people of a different race to his own and that he did not know

anything about these rules. Further, the discourse enabled him to be positioned as a confused child who did not know what was expected of him and in this way he is also presented as unaccountable in the everyday racism of that time, and perhaps also as non-racial in some way.

> ***N7: But we had to leave to go to South Africa because my father would not have me going to school with black children. When I tried to convince him that I didn't mind going to school with black children, that we didn't have to leave home just because of me, I could not understand his derisive scoffing and scorn. We left anyway.***
>
> ***N7: But I can't explain now because I didn't understand then.***

This participant utilised the discourse of innocence to present herself as not having the power to change her father's mind and as wholly confused by her father's reaction and thus, as unaware of her father's racism. In this way she is able to occupy the position of innocence.

> ***N12: Dad is always kind and friendly to his laborers. He jokes with them and sometimes lends them money. He's the one they turn to when they have problems. So I'm confused when he talks about "shogs' and 'schwartzes' and the dangers that they will drive us into the sea.***

The writer of N12 presents her father as the benevolent master – who cares for his servants and treats them well. So the implication of this kind of construction is that her father is not racist. Further, her appeal to the discourse of childhood as a time of confusion positions her as innocent and it also allows disengagement with her own complicity.

4.2.1.4. Childhood as a time of adventure

For some of the narrators the experiences are constructed as disrupting a protected and fantastical childhood and also as intruding on their sense of safety and adventure – benefits they enjoyed as a result of their whiteness or their position of privilege.

> ***N7: "I had just started school and was in the midst of a new adventure"***
>
> ***N7: So I came to South Africa with the hope that there would be no Terrs, with the imaginative flourish of another new adventure and with a child's self-centred guilt.***
>
> ***N12: I can't get enough of books and voraciously imbibe stories mostly about the lives of other children in England and America. I journey up the faraway tree to exotic lands with the characters created by Enid Blyton. When I am a little older I escape to boarding school with the cast of characters from Malory Towers. I long for midnight picnics at boarding school and gaze enviously at the boarder from Hershel down the road from our house. Every Wednesday I rush to the postbox to collect Twinkle and later princess.***

The discourse of innocence enabled these participants to be presented as naïve children who were unaware of the realities of apartheid. In this way they are also positioned as victims of apartheid.

4.2.1.5. Children as impartial

The experiences are constructed by the narrators as ones which occurred when they felt themselves to be outsiders in their communities or at least caught in the middle of opposing reactionary forces. This is achieved through the use of the discourse of impartiality which distances narrators from their experiences in a way that they may not be implicated in the racism of that time. Further, the first quote below seems to also suggest that the participant blames white people for segregating themselves. This implicates them without implicating him.

N7: When I tried to convince him that I didn't mind going to school with black children

N34: Being Jewish put one slightly outside both these camps, with quite complicated outcomes regarding relationships with both the English and Afrikaans communities, depending on the topic under discussion.

N37: There was some sort of animated discussion and there seemed to be quite a bit of aggression from both sides, but I didn't know what it was about.

4.2.1.6. Children as the recipients of racism

The experiences are constructed as involving ***"insidiousness of racialised ideologies"*** (N14) and the transfer of these ideologies by parents and the society at large into the minds of young children. Thus, children (and by implication the narrators themselves at the times at which their experiences took place) are seen to occupy positions of innocence and as indoctrinated into racist thinking by their parents and/or society at an early age – an age at which they are not yet able to resist this induction. One participant spoke about his experience as involving ***"something [being] put into [his] mind, and from [his] mind, into [his] mouth, which once it was out, [he] could never bring back"*** (N34). In these kinds of constructions blaming discourse are utilised and these implicate their parents and the society in which they were brought up in whilst also positioning them as innocent.

N14: I merely observed something and thought and felt certain (shameful) things. But looking back I see how easily I had been inducted into racist thinking at an early age.

N14: As a white person, being brought up in a conservative family and living in a conservative community, these are not hard to find. Stereotypes and racist language (not only the 'k' word, but a range of other discriminatory labels) were the common fare of my childhood. But I choose here to wear my scarlet letter, and show how I, as a child, was complicit in the racist project.

> ***N36: My father's racism was always filtered to me through my mom's disapproval of him as a man. Thus my experience of racism was negative – but only in a relational sense…these were the pathways of mom's displeasure with dad – and if given the choice of what kind of a man to be – this was not the way to go. Yet filtered through my mother's experience, the big black marauding man was a murderous, terrifying, sexually violating animal – never in so many words, but through a vigilant paranoia. From both my parents – sexuality was infused – either in the sexual relationship between my parents, or in the dangerous other in my mother's imagination.***

The author of N14 attempts to present herself in a way that appeals to a discourse of acknowledgement of complicity by stating she had chosen to wear her scarlet letter. But she also constructs her experiences of racism as taking place within the framework of her conservative upbringing. The latter functions to shift the blame from her to the environment in which she was brought up in a way that exempt her from guilt. Thus, the construction of her experiences as the "transfer of insidious racialised ideologies" seems to continue the process of positioning her as an innocent who was corrupted. In this way blame is not only shifted, but also externalised.

> ***N34: Growing up in Ceres, with the veneer of some time at boarding school, something had been put into my mind, and from my mind, into my mouth, which once it was out, I could never bring back.***

The author of N34 attributes blame to the society in which he was raised in and the boarding school he attended for his racist ideas. The utilisation of a discourse of blame allows his construction as a victim of his society.

N 37: But in a way I do think these sorts of things must have been quite significant in how I got to be the racialised being I am today. I sort of took it in with my mother's milk, as they say.

N37: My own dear mother's favourite movie was Sound of Music, which in its own way was also kind of about race, but by that time, 1965, my mom was already married to my dad and I was like 6 years old so I can't really personally blame the movie for anything in particular.

This participant offers an explanation for how he became the racialised being that he is. However, in so doing he utilises blaming discourse – he places blame onto a persons and factors extrinsic to himself, such as on his mother and on his parent's marriage. Thus, blaming discourse allows him a position as a naive person who does not have any complicity to engage with.

However, the use of humour by the participant also deserves some mention in so far as it trivialises the participant's experiences and by so doing aids in his presentation as a victim. This speaks to van Dijk's (1990, 1991, 1992) ideas about the importance of self-presentation in narrative and its role in the concealment of complicity.

4.2.2. The discourse of denial

The discourse of denial is yet another discourse that participants appealed to and which then enabled an avoidance of discussions of their complicity. Participants reproduced the discourse of denial discussed by Ansell (2004), Ballard (2004), Gallagher (1997), Statman (1999) and Steyn (2003, 2005). Thus strategies such as blame attribution and justifications of racism as natural or transferred to them by their parents and/or the society in which they grew up in where employed. Further, van Dijk (1990, 1991, and 1992) discussed how white group members make use of justifications – including justifications which pass blame onto the victim or displace charges of racism onto others as a way to deny their own racism. Statman (1999) argues that white Americans display similar strategies of amnesia in order to claim no responsibility and non-involvement when asked to consider whether the persistent disadvantage of African Americans

might be indicative of ongoing structural racism. Further, Ansell and Statman (1999) summarise this position as one of "I never owned slaves" and propose that this is a similar position as the one taken by white South African when they claim "I never voted for the Nats" and like the many Germans who after the war could not recollect ever having supported the Nazis or seeing evidence of the oppression of Jews. Several South African studies, including Steyn's (2001, 2005) also discuss the denial of white privilege as a discursive strategy that is often utilised by white South Africans to resist the ways in which their were complicit in the apartheid project, and also to refute the ways in which their privilege continues to take effect in present day South Africa (Ansell, 2004; Ballard, 2004).

A whiter shade of white is a narrative Steyn (2001) found in her participants' accounts. It is similar to this discourse because participants who utilized this narrative were also more likely to avoid, negate and deny their whiteness, its benefits and their complicity than to reflect on it. Steyn (2001) discusses that her participants did this by appealing to an overarching South African identity or by claiming that they did not support apartheid. The latter was more evident in the narratives of the participants of this study.

Further, Salusbury and Foster (2004) identified *WESSA Economics* as encompassing discourses that redefine white people's privileged position by "constructing 'white' culture as 'naturally' middle-class" (p. 100) – narrators in the sample of this study also identified themselves as middle-class – and argued that this reconstruction maintains white privilege and justifies the denial of white privilege in south Africa (Ansell, 2004; Steyn, 2001, 2004, 2005; Steyn & Foster, 2008).

The utilisation of a discourse of denial shifted the blame from the narrators themselves and onto the apartheid government for creating and maintaining a system that was kept in practice because the majority of white people defended, supported and/or accepted it. Through this discourse the narrators were exempt from occupying positions of complicity and responsibility for their role in maintaining such a system. Ballard (2004) had similar findings in his study conducted in Durban. He writes that his white participants were especially critical of apartheid and the apartheid government, but did not concede to their own complicity.

4.2.2.1. Blame attribution

Most of the participants in this study maintained their subjective innocence by locating a scapegoat for their own acts of racism. These scapegoats included friends, family and the apartheid system. For some of the participants acts of racism were constructed as violent acts committed by the State against the "Other". By using discourse that explicitly blames the apartheid government or by situating the experiences within a repressive era participants were able to occupy positions that did not implicate them. Further, blame attribution distanced the narrators from the government's actions and in so doing established the participants as non-racial and as anti-racist. Blaming discourse may have also positioned the apartheid government as the perpetrator of racism whilst positioning the narrators as the innocent and powerless victims of the state. It also allowed the denial of the narrators own perpetration of racism.

Ballard (2004) discusses three discourses that surface from the participants' reports that apartheid was wrong: 1) that black people were treated unfairly – but that the white participants themselves were not responsible for this unfair treatment; 2) some of them admitted that apartheid resulted in massive inequalities between the races and that they benefited from these, and 3) participants also disconnected the inequalities in present day South Africa from apartheid. Ansell's (2004) study corroborated the latter finding in that her analysis of 154 written submissions to the South African Human Rights Commission in 2000 revealed a propensity in the submissions by white participants towards forgetting the past and the ways it continues to re-inscribe itself in the present.

> ***N47: I had just returned to Durban, to work at the University of Natal, and had bought a new house in a suburb called Moseley Park, about 15 kilometres south-west of the city centre. The southern part of the suburb was experiencing quite a lot residential development, and so there were a few new houses in the area I was living. It needs to be remembered that this was a residential area "officially" designated, by apartheid law, for white people only!***
>
> ***N11: He is murdered, like so many other young men of the time, at the brutal hands of those masquerading as public protectors.***

N47: I was not unaware (at the time of this "encounter") of the horrors of apartheid, and the resulting alienation forced upon the black population…

N22: Anyway, this was a particularly repressive epoch and the government of the day arrested her for immediate deportation back to Holland.

The narrator of N22 placed his experience within a university environment. Perhaps this speaks to the way in which discourse can be utilised in certain social contexts in a way which attributes blame and positions narrators in a particular way. In this case it seems the discourse enabled the narrator to blame the UNISA for not taking a convincing stand against apartheid practices whilst also enabling him to occupy a position of an academic in this dangerous terrain – and all the connotations that this position may allude to, such as 'intellectual', 'liberal' and 'agentic'. Whatever the connotations it seems the position allows the narrator to not be associated with the apartheid regime.

Further, the participant's narrative seems to speak to a discourse of institutionalised racism. Robus and Macleod (2006) conducted a study on the discourses on race emerging in the talk of students and staff during the incorporation of Rhodes University and the University of Fort Hare. They pose the argument that higher education institutions are racialised through the complex interlinking of macro-level processes and discourses that persist in everyday talk and social practices. Their findings emphasised that participants constantly assigned racial identities to the institutions. There was evidence of this kind of racialisation in N22 in the way in which the narrator constructed the end of his narrative around resigning from UNISA and joining Khanya College – the College was given a racial identity of being black through the narrators assertion that he taught "first year maths to talented black students who would otherwise not have qualified to go to Wits**.**" Further, this kind of construction by the narrator also invokes the 'white excellence/black failure' discourse identified by Robus and MacLeod (2006) in that the narrator is positioned as having expert knowledge, whilst the black learners are constructed as needing his expertise, without which they would fail. Other studies which focused specifically on race and social location include those of Solomon, Portelli, Daniel and Campbell (2005) and Tatum (1992).

Some participants narrated accounts which reported that others in their lives were responsible for racism:

> ***N2: Gloria's mother, a committed primary school teacher, spent the better part of the meal bemoaning the 'collapse' of South African education under the new dispensation. Informed by her teaching experience, spanning some twenty years, Gloria's mother insisted that bleeding-heart white liberals were precipitating a national skills disaster by allowing 'all and sundry' into government schools.***
>
> ***N2: While she enjoyed some of the linguistic and cultural faux pas that characterised their everyday presentations in class, it was clear that they just weren't ready for engaging the historically high-levels of education in South African white schools.***
>
> ***N14: And I re-experience the anger I feel towards my parents … for supporting Apartheid (to this day, my father is one of the few people who still confesses to thinking that Apartheid was a good thing), and for making the journey that I have had to take to the anti-racist (and feminist) position that I now actively, consciously occupy, so very difficult.***
>
> ***N36: My father's racism was always filtered to me through my mom's disapproval of him as a man.***

These narrators wrote narratives which seem to be a commentary on the racism of some white people. However, the narratives also appear to strongly attribute blame to other white people in the narrators' lives whilst positioning the narrators as anti-racist – and so exempting the narrators from any complicity.

N2 also points to the notion of language as a powerful ideological tool in the landscape of South African politics. Ashcroft (2001) posits that language exists as much to conceal as to signify. Painter (2010) cites Mesthrie (1996) in his assertion of the centrality of language in South

African history since language was utilised as political instrument during the colonial and apartheid periods in that it constituted colonial and apartheid rule, which is evident in the ways in which ‘Afrikaans and English were used as gate-keepers for political power and dominance, as instruments for preserving certain privileges for whites, and ultimately as tools for unfair and unequal distribution of the country’s economic resources’ (Phaswana, 2003, as cited in Painter, 2010, p. 71). Further, language utilised in N2 speaks to discourses of race which appeal to essentialised understandings of race which construct the “Other” as inferior (Hall, 1992; Frankenberg, 2003; and Steyn, 2001).

> ***N7: Humiliated, crouching under my school desk, I pieced together that this was a bomb scare. It had to do with the blacks.***
>
> ***N15: Emily opened the box, gasped with joy, clasped her fingers together and bowed in gratitude. There was something deeply uncomfortable about the way she ingratiated my father with repeated bows and thanks, clutching the fingers of both hands together in a gesture of servitude. My father, nonplussed by her behaviour, smiled an amused grin while embarrassment climbed my spin …Reflecting on my childhood discomfort in relation to Emily ignites a memory of my own brush with racism.***
>
> ***N47: Having been startled, and a little frightened, I, rather angrily, asked him (in isiZulu), what the hell he wanted, why he had come to the back door, and consequently scared the shit out of me?! He replied that the reason he had come to the back door was because, “Ngiyikhafula” (translated, “I am a kaffir”). This made me even angrier, because I would never have called him such a name, nor would I have wanted to think about him in such demeaning and vile terms. I then said to him (again in isiZulu), that I had never treated him in such a way for him to presume that I saw him like this, and that I was angry and disappointed that he found it necessary to belittle himself as a precondition to approaching me. And in my preachy mode I told him never to refer to himself like this again, and certainly not with me.***

The authors of N7, N15 and N47 utilise blaming discourse against the "Other". However, this discourse is made use of with different effects. For the writer of N7 the "Other" is perceived to threaten her safety. So blame in this instance positions the narrator as a victim. However, for the authors of N15 and N47 the "Other" in their narratives is seen to be blameworthy because of her behaviour which is seen to be ingratiating or his use of a derogatory word. Both incidents, however, relate to standard practices of that time. So, blaming discourse positions the "Other" as guilty too. It also positions the narrators as aware of what was inappropriate and racist conduct, and this awareness helps to establish their positions as anti-racist.

Some participants blamed their mothers or both their parents for introducing them to racist ways of thinking:

> ***N2: Gloria and I got so caught up in our deliberations and pronouncements on the absurdity of her parents' racism that we did not notice the suddenness with which Jenny's vehicle came to a grinding halt.***
>
> ***N7: But we had to leave to go to South Africa because my father would not have me going to school with black children. When I tried to convince him that I didn't mind going to school with black children, that we didn't have to leave home just because of me, I could not understand his derisive scoffing and scorn.***
>
> ***N12: Dad is always kind and friendly to his laborers. He jokes with them and sometimes lends them money. He's the one they turn to when they have problems. So I'm confused when he talks about "shogs' and 'schwartzes' and the dangers that they will drive us into the sea.***
>
> ***N36: My father's racism was always filtered to me through my mom's disapproval of him as a man. Thus my experience of racism was negative – but only in a relational sense…these were the pathways of mom's displeasure with dad – and if given the choice of what kind of a man to be – this was not the way to go.***

N37: My own dear mother's favourite movie was Sound of Music, which in its own way was also kind of about race, but by that time, 1965, my mom was already married to my dad and I was like 6 years old so I can't really personally blame the movie for anything in particular.

Further, N37was written in quite a derisive way and perhaps this is an attempt to trivialise his own part in the experience he recounts and his own complicity.

However, the participants did at times attempt to minimise their parent's racism, and so mask their complicity by presenting their parents as having a racism that was comparatively less malicious than their friends' parents or by stating they were not racist.

N37: Although not exactly a racist, my mother very much liked the line "swart en sware drom-barbare" from some (decidedly racist) Afrikaans poem (which has presumably by now been banned from the Groot Verseboek), and whenever she recited it in later years I always visualised the incident at the dam.

N37: What I can say is that my parents weren't really nasty racist people at all – certainly less so, I think, than some of my friends' parents.

N15: On the local front, Emily kept me fully informed about who treated their domestic workers respectfully and who did not. I became very conscious, when entering the homes of friends, of the tone in which they addressed their employees, whether they were given their meals in tin bowls and mugs, and whether they were referred to as 'boys' and 'girls'.

One participant placed himself in the middle of the experience so that he maintained an image of himself as innocent and neutral. This enabled him to attribute the blame for racist aggression to both sides, that is, to both black and white people. Further, he implicated both groups in order to create the impression of impartiality and fairness.

N37: Suddenly there was a big group of (black) people coming from the other end and there was a lot of tension in the air. I remember the word "Bantu" being used. There was some sort of animated discussion and there seemed to be quite a bit of aggression from both sides, but I didn't know what it was about.

N37 I did also once have a dream where I was caught in the middle between a black horde and white-people-with-guns, but that was much later, when I was in my mid-30s, so probably doesn't count.

It is interesting that blame is such an important feature of the narratives, even though the narrators were not asked to discuss matters pertaining to responsibility and guilt.

4.2.2.2. Justification of racism as natural

For some of the participants their experiences of race were constructed as being common or natural to everyday life for white people. This is also seen in the way that the participants speak about their views of the "Other" as subservient, submissive and powerless. These kinds of views are presented by them as having been natural within the contexts of their upbringing.

N11: Notions of 'us' and 'them', difference and 'otherness' are central to my early constructions of the world. But it is complicated. The community I grow up in is so tightly woven, based on notions of a shared history, religion, culture, we only know each other. I am at preschool with the same children that I matriculate with. I hardly ever meet or even speak with a member of an 'other' community. Of course apartheid and other discriminatory practices are woven into the fabric of our day to day lives, but my primary sense of difference is about who is part of my community and who is not.

N36: I was raised in an extremely segregated society. My exposure to black people was limited to the staff who ran our home and maintained our garden (when we were able to afford this).

The account in N11 is preceded by a passage in which the respondent utilises rationalising discourse – especially blame attribution and justification – in relation to her views of the world by discussing them within the context of her conservative upbringing. The writer of N11 makes use of "us" and "them" categories, whilst the writer of N36 uses the term 'segregated'. However, both writers utilise the terms in a way which identifies them as members of a particular group – a white, conservative group whom contact with the "Other" was rare. It seems that these kinds of constructions of their experiences of racism enable the speakers to be positioned as victims of their upbringing, and as powerless at the time to their perceptions of the "Other."

> ***N14: What I noticed was his complexion and in a loud voice asked my mother whether coloured people were allowed in the dog club. I remember my mother's embarrassment as she tried to shush me. I realise now that her embarrassment was not about the explicit racism of the comment but rather because she was afraid that this man would hear that I thought he was coloured.***

This narrator presents her account using the discourse of childhood and unawareness – especially, the notion that childhood was a time of unawareness of the implications of her perceptions of others and her actions. The use of such discourses positions her as a victim. However, she also describes and experience in which she is portrayed as aware of the racial prescriptions of her society so clearly that she could even point them out. In so doing the narrator utilises discourse around awareness and guilt which positions her as a perpetrator. So, the narrator is positioned in contradictory ways by the discourses.

4.3. RACE AND RACISM DISCOURSE

Participants' narratives seemed to point to the ways in which the apartheid government ensured that race was incorporated into the social, economic, educational and personal lives of South Africans through policies of separate development (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). However, the understandings of race held by some participants were quite implicitly 'biological', that is,

participants understood race to be marked by physical differences – such as skin colour – and an understanding of the races as organized in a hierarchical way (Fenton, 2003). Though, it can be argued that the use of racial categorisations and distinctions between "us" and "them" is inevitable in a study where the subject is experiences of racism during apartheid and thus it necessitates reverting back to racial categorizations as that was the way in which the apartheid order – and all racial and racist discourse – constructed human beings.

For many of the participants the recounting of their experiences of racism utilised a race and racism discourse. However, participants utilised these discourse to positions themselves in contradictory ways as perpetrators, as heroes, as privileged and as non-racial. It was also obvious that these kinds of discourses functioned, as Hook (2003) argued, to idealise the white privileged class and problematise those who are thought of as inferior.

The sub-themes within this discourse are: white shame, guilt and complicity, respect for cultural diversity and racial injustice.

4.3.1. "Othering" discourse

One of the most prominent discursive themes emerging from the respondents' discourses was that of the othering. The "Other" was constructed in various ways, that is, as terrifying, dangerous and violent, as subservient and powerless, as poor and as blameworthy. Thus, the majority of the participants' references to the "Other" involved a de-legitimisation of the role and the power held by the "Other".

Ashcroft (2001) presents Hall's (1996) argument against the ontology of race that associated racial identification to any human feature. Hall emphasised how the meaning of the signifiers of racial identity have transmuted depending on the time and place in which they were being utilised. Consequently, even though the signifiers of race are mostly associated with the body, there is nothing in the body that gives those signifiers meaning. Furthermore, Hall (1996) argues that although race lacks a stable marker in the body it has remained a salient construct in that racial signifiers are imbued with meaning through discourses that organize individual and

institutional behaviour. Thus, discourses represent power through their encoding of the interests of various groups and institutions

Further, in the narratives othering and blaming discourses positioned the participants as victims of a persecuting "Other", rather than perpetrators. In this way the participants' responsibility for acts of racism was hidden behind their constructions of a terrifying "Other". These kinds of constructions of black people appeal to a broader social discursive pattern which implies that black men are perpetrators and white women are victims. Such discursive patterns have historically and socially been used as a means to construct power relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and as such the availability of these discourses made it easy for the participants to assert themselves as powerless victims. Further, these discourses enabled the white participants to hold contradictory perceptions of their own power – some of them perceived themselves to be powerless in the presence of the terrifying, dangerous and violent "Other" yet often at the same time they would also appeal to discourses of white privilege which make available to them certain rights which give them the power to dominate the "Other."

Ballard (2004) argues that othering – as a process that delineates social categories which classify some groups of people as superior and others as inferior – helps us understand which groups of people become the objects of moral responsibility. He proposes that people are more likely to feel a sense of responsibility for those they consider to be part of their group – especially people they share certain characteristics with, such as nationality, ethnicity and religion. Smith, (1994, as cited in Ballard, 2004) suggests that the use of group membership is a means by which some groups of people are marginalised on moral ground and prevented from accessing rights.

In their study Green and Sonn (2005), citing Dodson (2003) and Larbalestier (2004), proposed that by constructing knowledge about the "Other" white Australians were able to simplify reality and feel in control over their own lives and over the lives of the "Other." The results are that white people continue to prescribe to the indigenous people how they should understand their own experiences and so indigenous people continually have to defend, reaffirm and reinforce the legitimacy of their own narrative and their identity (Srivastava, cited in Green & Sonn, 2005).

However, there were exceptions to the way in which the "Other" was perceived and constructed by the participants. These included constructions of the "Other" as special and as an equal. The following quotations illustrate both notions:

> ***N20: This forced me to face my 'class' identity, in addition to my racial location highlighted in the previous decade. In order to survive and flourish in this inter-class environment, I was forced to see myself, and others, as 'one' … equal in every way. This paradigm shift was permanent. I can never see the world differently.***
>
> ***N11: Since my mother is absent, all of us know where we can get our comfort, enfolded in the large warmth of our 'nanny's' arms.***
>
> ***N11: Besides my sister, she is my favourite person in the world in those years – she is young, beautiful, full of fun.***

The quotations taken from N11 suggest that the participant shared a unique relationship with her 'nanny' who was perceived by her to be a substitute for her absent mother. What was interesting, however, was that even these kinds of discourses positioned the participants in a similar way to some of the other discourse discussed above, as non-racial and anti-racist. This may be because for most of, if not all, the participants the telling of their stories utilised discourses which suggested that complicity and the denial thereof – for instances through blame attribution – was a major preoccupation.

It is interesting that othering discourses utilised by participants in this study were similar to black participants' discourses on issues of racism and 'racial' difference in a study conducted by Duncan (2003). His findings from his first study revealed participants acute awareness of the ways in which black people are constructed negatively and as inferior through discourses of whiteness which appeal to white racist ideology. Further, like the othering discourse which the sample of white narrators of this study mobilised in their descriptions of black people, participants in Duncan's (2003) first study also emphasised the differences between black and

white people, and presented these differences using essentialist discourse which constructed white people as ‘craven’, ‘obtuse’, ‘avaricious’, ‘lazy’ and ‘inhuman’. Further, Duncan notes that it is interesting that the participants represented white people in this way since these representations are identical to representations of black people emerging from Apartheid racist discourses, as well as the colonial discourse discussed by Steyn (2001 and Frankenberg (1993).

Authors such as Connor (1999, as cited in Duncan, 2003) and Steyn (2001) argue that whites’ racist representations of blacks reveal pathological projections that are largely unconscious ‘‘of those things which are disavowed by the [white] self. To objectify the frightening forms and forces of irrationality, perversity and evil in the shapes of the subjugated races is reassuringly to distance these forces.’’ (Duncan, 2003, p. 149). Steyn (2001, p. 14) argues that during colonial times these fetishes, including both the fears and desires of the white coloniser, “were acted onto, and through, black bodies” (Steyn, 2001, p. 14).

However, Duncan (2003) also argued that although participants represented the white “Other” through the use of pessimistic language and that these representations resemble the negative representation of the “Other” through whites’ racist discourses during the Apartheid period, there also is a significant difference between these representations. That is, the representations used by the groups serve different functions, while white people’s racist discourses validated unequal power structures, the former can be seen as means by which black people attempt to resist the degrading ways in which they are constructed by whites and so it cannot be said to be justified as racism. (Duncan, 2003, citing Essed, 1991; Hooks, 1996; and Kuper, 1974).

4.3.1.1. The terrifying, violent and dangerous “Other”

Some of the participants’ experiences were constructed using othering discourses that enabled them to perceive a threat to their lives, their well-being and a threat to the ‘white’ world. Thus, discourse positioned the “Other” as threatening, violent and dangerous. This way the subject position available to the narrators was that of victim. Further, this position – as well as the position delineate for the “Other” – created a world in which black people have destructive power over white people. These kinds of othering discourses aligned themselves to the other

discourses utilised by the participants making subtle and at times overt references to the "Others" animalistic nature and tendencies.

> ***N7: My memory of hiding is a memory of fear, more terrifying than child-eating crocs, snakes or spiders.***
>
> ***N7: This was because we had to hide away from the Terrs who were coming to kill us.***
>
> ***N12: But there is always a fear hanging over us that one day this little England will be disrupted. That one day there will be majority rule and 'they' will drive us into the sea.***
>
> ***N37: I did also once have a dream where I was caught in the middle between a black horde and white-people-with-guns***

This kind of construction of their experiences enables the participants to present themselves as the victims of the "Other" – for the author of N7 both the white woman and the white child are the victims needing protection from their white fathers and husbands. She also attempts to establish that the threat did not come from white men – after all, they were only "trying to keep [them] and [their] country safe" – but that the threat came from the "Other". In this way the blame is placed onto the "Other" and the "Other" is established as the perpetrator.

What also deserves to be noted here is that constructions of the experiences of racism as terrifying and as involving a dangerous male "Other" seem to predominate in the sample of narratives written by white, female narrators than in those of white males. Perhaps this points to broader gendered discourses involving the construction of the white female as innocent and vulnerable and the black man as sexually perverse and marauding. These discourse ensured that the narrators' roles in the experiences remained passive and as such these discursive constructions functioned to uphold the impossibility of female perpetration.

> ***N12: But there is always a fear hanging over us that one day this little England will be disrupted. That one day there will be majority rule and 'they' will drive us into the sea.***

The writer of N12 provides a description of the "Other" as having a destructive potential within. Her use of othering discourse – especially discourse about the "Other" as violent - presents the 'white world' as being in danger from the "Other" and it also positions her (and the white race) as the victim of the persecuting "Other".

> ***N36: Yet filtered through my mother's experience, the big black marauding man was a murderous, terrifying, sexually violating animal – never in so many words, but through a vigilant paranoia.***

The writer of N36 uses of othering and blaming discourse to describe the constructions of the "Other" that he perceives to have been transferred to him. So, he attributes blame to his mother for transferring her perceptions of the black man - as a predator, murderous, sexually perverse, frightening, violent and animalistic – to him. However, this account also serves to distance the narrator from his own personal constructions of the "Other" and by so doing it places him in a position of the victim.

4.3.1.2. The subservient and powerless "Other"

Othering discourse was also utilised by the narrators in ways that constructed their experiences as having a submissive, powerless and unknown "Other". This is carried out through the use of discourses of "master-slave" interactions between black and white people, such as in the following narratives:

> ***N11: There are always Black women living with us. Not a part of the family, but living on the premises of our home. They perform the submissive role of servant…***
>
> ***N12: 'They' are the people we seldom see, except as laborers and domestic workers.***
>
> ***N14: My contact with black people was with the gardeners and domestic workers who, for the most part, lived on the properties of the white owners, and with the farm labourers of the farms where my parents used to take their well-bred pointers (hunting dogs) for training.***
>
> ***N15: On the local front, Emily kept me fully informed about who treated their domestic workers respectfully and who did not. I became very conscious, when entering the homes of friends, of the tone in which they addressed their employees, whether they were given their meals in tin bowls and mugs, and whether they were referred to as 'boys' and 'girls'.***

Further, the kinds of interactions described in the extracts were established in the narratives as a natural state of affairs. These descriptions utilised othering discourses which perpetuated the "us" and "them" distinctions between black and white people, and so re-inscribes notions of white superiority and black inferiority – or white privilege and black subservience. However, what is also significant is that these kinds of discourses position the "Other" as servant and powerless, whilst the narrators themselves (and perhaps white people in general) are positioned as superior and dominating and thus powerful.

4.3.1.3. The "Other" as poor

The "Other" was constructed as poor through discourses about poverty – especially discourses that make associations between poverty and second-hand and/or old clothes. For example:

N14: "Good shoes belonged to white people, in my experience, while black people wore second-hand clothes that were, in many instances, in a state of severe disrepair"

N15: …the afternoon when I accompanied her to a neighbor's second-hand clothing sale… domestic workers from near and far, dressed in floral overalls, trawled through the goods, purchasing clothing for themselves and their families… my eight year old self watched Emily hold up bra after bra, panty after panty - checking quality and size; fifty cents for a brassier; twenty cents for a panty. The stretched and faded fabric dangled from her fingers.

For the writer of N15 discourses about the "Other's" poverty produced emotions of detest and shame for them – possibility because these discourses were opposing to discourses about white privilege. However, the writer of N14 describes the indignation she felt when she saw black women wearing good shoes and her racist thinking that what was good only belonged to white people. Thus, the above extracts seem to point to the notion that discourses about the "Other's" poverty are linked to discourses about white privilege. This way the narrators are positioned as privileged and powerful versus the position the "Other" is forced to occupy as disadvantaged, inferior and powerless. However, the narrators are also positioned as aware of their privileged position. This is in contrast to the following extracts:

N12: I grow up thinking that we live in an extension of England, that the real world is across the ocean. Cultural treasures and everything of value.

N36: I think that it was uncomfortable for my parents to more closely identify with the poverty of blackness than the privilege of whiteness.

What is important to note in these extracts is that the cause of the "Other's" poverty is separated from white privilege. This is similar to the findings of Ballard's (2004) study. Further, as in his study the "Other" is blamed for his poverty which is seen to be a natural part of his disposition.

Ballard (2004) argued that participants in his study blamed the victim. The result is that social problems are locate within the "Other" rather than in social systems and practices, and so the participants are exempt from engaging with their own complicity and their own privileged positions.

4.3.2. Discourses of whiteness

Discourses of whiteness were utilised by some of the narrators in ways that avoided interrogating their position of privilege, but instead maintained it. White South Africans during apartheid enjoyed privileges that the other population groups were denied and many white South Africans continue to benefit economically in the 'new' South Africa, as well as through the invisible knapsack of taken-for-granted privileges given to them because of their race (McIntosh, 1997). Steyn (2001) proposed that white South Africans currently deny and defend their privileged positions utilising different discursive strategies.

This sub-theme seems to speak to one of Steyn's (2001) themes, *Still colonial after all these years*. Here she posits the argument that some whites still hold notions of whiteness that are the same as the master narrative of whiteness propagated under the colonial and apartheid era. This kind of narrative is founded on the assumption that black and white people are fundamentally and irrevocably different.

Further, it is important to note that the discourses of whiteness within the participants' narratives positioned them as powerful in one way or another – whether it is as a result of their access to certain rights, their character, their access to material goods, and/or their freedom to act or speak.

4.3.2.1. White shame, guilt and complicity

For some of the participants their experiences were constructed as involving shame and guilt resulting from their involvement in apartheid – some participants described themselves as being aware of their involvement, whereas others implied not being conscious of it. For example, ***"I was an unwitting part of apartheid…" (***N20) and ***"I'm also pretty sure that by the age of 6 I must already have had some conscious awareness of race"*** (N37). Perhaps N20 speaks to the

ways in which narrators can utilise discourses in ways that undo their complicity and so positions them as innocent again.

> ***N14: Well, I suspect that, as white people, we have, for the most part, lived like the pastor, denying our complicity, avoiding our shame. We have refused to wear our scarlet letter, to say, 'Yes, we participated and, often, continue to participate in acts, subtle and at times not so subtle, of racism'.***
>
> ***N14: But I choose here to wear my scarlet letter, and show how I, as a child, was complicit in the racist project.***
>
> ***N20: In so many ways, whether I liked it or not, I contributed to the system of apartheid.***
>
> ***N20: My response to all of this (and more), at the level of feelings, was … pain, and shame. My 'white guilt' began.***
>
> ***N34: I've regretted those ideas, those words and the effect of them since sometime in the mid-1950s. As the years have passed that regret has festered and matured into embarrassment, shame, and guilt.***

This sub-theme is similar to Steyn's (2001) theme, *Under African skies, or, white but not quite*. She argued that some of her participants did not deny their complicity in apartheid and had a desire to let go of their white identity replacing it with a new identity. For the participants in this study some of them did seem to display such a desire. One participant spoke about being perceived as a black person, even though she is white. Another participant said that he had hoped that he could ***"overcome some of the hurt and agony of apartheid social relations"*** (N47)

One of the participants expressed shame at being identified with the "Other."

> ***N36: Deep feelings of shame and embarrassment ran through the family about not having enough money… I think that it was uncomfortable for my parents to***

more closely identify with the poverty of blackness than the privilege of whiteness.

It seems his family's racism was connected to their identifications with the "Other" through poverty. This identification with the "Other" seems to have resulted in feelings of inferiority (and shame) for his parents which they defended against through their racism. However, the participant identifies himself with his family and identifies his parent's reaction to their poverty – and not his own feelings and thoughts about it. The use of blaming discourse in this account distances the narrator from a position of guilt.

4.3.2.2. The signification of whiteness

In a similar way in which othering discourse is utilised and constructs the "Other" in ways that position the "Other" as inferior and powerless, the narrators also used discourses of race and signification in ways that enabled them to occupy positions of superiority, privilege, dominance and power.

4.3.2.2.1. Power

The experiences are constructed using discourses of white power and discourses of the "Other's" subservience. In some of the narratives these discourses constructed the white figures as powerful because of their ownership of property – as well as their ownership of black labour. Further, discourse also positioned the narrators (and/or their parents, and/or their race) as privileged.

N12: Dad is always kind and friendly to his labourers. He jokes with them and sometimes lends them money. He's the one they turn to when they have problems.

N14: My contact with black people was with the gardeners and domestic workers who, for the most part, lived on the properties of the white owners, and with the farm labourers of the farms where my parents used to take their well-bred pointers (hunting dogs) for training.

N12: 'They' are the people we seldom see, except as laborers and domestic workers.

4.3.2.2.2. Knowledge, wealth and superiority

The white person is at times positioned as knowledgeable or as an expert. This signifier of whiteness privileges white 'ways of knowing' and white ways of being in the world – even white constructions of the "Other" are seen to be legitimate. For example, ***"I grow up thinking that we live in an extension of England, that the real world is across the ocean. Cultural treasures and everything of value"*** (N12). In this account 'white culture' is constructed as valuable where the implication is the devaluation of 'black culture'.

N2: Gloria's mother, a committed primary school teacher, spent the better part of the meal bemoaning the 'collapse' of South African education under the new dispensation. Informed by her teaching experience, spanning some twenty years, Gloria's mother insisted that bleeding-heart white liberals were precipitating a national skills disaster by allowing 'all and sundry' into government schools.

N22: Shortly after this, I resigned from Unisa and joined Khanya College, a Sached University project, teaching first year maths to talented black students who would otherwise not have qualified to go to Wits.

N47: And in my preachy mode I told him never to refer to himself like this again, and certainly not with me…When I had finished "lecturing" him…

Further, the participants also utilised discourses on race and signification – that is, whiteness was constructed in their narratives as associated with wealth, which also positioned them as privileged.

> ***N12: It also marks the beginning of the end of the boom, the beginning of a downward spiral from which my family never quite recovers.***
>
> ***N14: Good shoes belonged to white people, in my experience, while black people wore second-hand clothes that were, in many instances, in a state of severe disrepair. I remember feeling somewhat possessive. Why was she wearing them? Surely these were reserved (note the infiltration of Apartheid speak) for white people.***
>
> ***N36: Our economic life was always connected to racism. Deep feelings of shame and embarrassment ran through the family about not having enough money. Racism was the way in which our family could feel better about ourselves. Denigrations and put-downs served to bolster a very shakey whiteness that should have resulted in wealth, intelligence and superiority. I think that it was uncomfortable for my parents more closely identify with the poverty of blackness than the privilege of whiteness.***

Green and Sonn (2004) discuss one of their themes, *Expert analysis*. They proposed that white reconcilers often positioned themselves as experts of Indigenous people and the Indigenous people the subjects of their inquiry. This allowed them to analyse what they thought to be issues within the Indigenous community, such as alcoholism, domestic violence and unemployment. In this study it is possible that participants' position as knowledgeable enabled them to feel a measure of control in the current era, especially because of the loss of much of their political power – power which in the apartheid era allowed them to dictate to the "Other" the rules of engagement.

4.3.2.2.3. Skin colour

The experiences are constructed using references to skin colour as a signifier of whiteness and blackness.

> ***N11: We are having a relationship across the 'colour bar'***
>
> ***N14: What I noticed was his complexion and in a loud voice asked my mother whether coloured people were allowed in the dog club.***
>
> ***N20: Many of them, classified as coloured in those days, were in families that had 'some white, and some coloured' members of the family.***

It seems that although race is socially constructed (Cornell & Hartman, 1998) its existence in South Africa was and continues to be justified through physical differences, such as skin colour.

Ashcroft (2001) argues that by the nineteenth century colour had become the determining signifier of race, and thus the relation between physical characteristics and inner abilities, despite it being arbitrary and unreliable in describing those external features. He puts forward the argument that no two words have had the historic and calamitous consequences of the words 'white' and 'black'. Yet these two words, have restrained us to into a race discourse based on the binary of light and its absence. He links this to the importance of light in Western culture since the Greeks, and the associated link between seeing and knowing and moral righteousness and the profound effects that this binary has had on Western thought (Ashcroft, 2001).

4.3.3. Discourses of interracial relationships

The experiences are constructed as involving interracial relationships or references are made to intimacy between white and black people, whether in sexual relationships – which are perceived as involving an irrational desire to have sex with the "Other" – friendships or in relationships between black domestic workers and the families they were employed in. These relationships are perceived to be forbidden – and so as being necessarily kept a secret or involving the crossing of

a boundary to get to the "Other." Further, these relationships are also constructed as destructive or tragic, but also as involving the possibility for redemption. Such constructions of the experiences of racism enable the participants to be positioned in a non-racial or in a heroic way.

Studies of particular significance to the themes are ones by Ratele (2002), Frankenberg (1993) and Jayne (2007) which focus on discourses on interracial intimate relationships.

Ratele (2002) examined data from interviews and autobiographies and interpreted the accounts of interpersonal relationships around race into four categories: *rejectionism, difference, anti-racism,* and *Africanism. Rejectionism*, excludes the "Other" from a shared interpersonal relationship on the basis of the essentialist stance discussed earlier on in the study – that race is a naturally occurring phenomenon and that it can be used to classify people in a hierarchical way. Rejectionist discourses produce dualisms in identification – such as perception of there being an 'us and them' or 'self and other' (Ratele, 2002).

The discourse of *difference* not only accepts difference but it also celebrates it (Ratele, 2002). The discourse of difference is divided into three sub-categories: racial voyeurism or fetishism, multiracialism or multiculturalism, and colour-blindness. Within racial voyeurism or fetishism interracial relationships are viewed as occurring because an individual sought out another individual because his or her skin colour is experienced as sexually arousing. Multiracialism or multiculturalism assumes an essential race difference, but because of its desire for racial harmony it approves of interracial relationships, and even encourages the celebration of diversity. Colour-blindness advances the notion of a society where skin colour and other racial markers are disregarded (Ratele, 2002). However, this idea seems naïve in a society in which racial categories were created to discriminate against and exclude others from certain rights and privileges, and it can perhaps be argued that this kind of categorisation cannot be avoided as it "disguises, the power and privilege that still characterizes race relations" (Childs, 2005, p. 2, cited in Jayne, 2007).

The third category that Ratele (2002) discusses is *anti-racism* within which scientific race is invalidated. Thus, this study's assertion that race is socially constructed within particular socio-historical, socio-political, and socio-economic contexts. Thus, the focus of anti-racism is on the personal, the psychological and the societal levels as responsible for the production and

reproduction of racism. The final category, *Africanism*, features discourses about interracial relationships that utilise the idea of an African identity. This way of thinking about identity focuses on concepts such as, origins, roots, tradition, culture and values. However, Africanism is not one, unified perspective, but it is comprise of different forms, such as Pan-Africanism, Negritude, and African Nationalism (Ratele, 2002).

Frankenberg (1993) interviewed thirty white women between 1984 and 2986 and analysed the discourse on interracial relationships present in the data. Her findings revealed that the discourses were against interracial relationships. She provides a discussion which situates the discourses within the framework of scientific racism (see the above discussion on race and racism). Thus, participants drew from the essentialist perspective and constructed interracial intimate relationships as violating pre-determined racial and cultural boundaries. Further, participants held notions of masculinity and femininity which were filtered through race and at times they relied on racist sexual stereotypes, for instance, some of the participants reflected on the sexuality of black men and women as being "excessive, animalistic, or exotic", as opposed to that of whites as "civilized" or "restrained" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 75). Finally, Frankenberg (1993) also discusses that the different racial and cultural groups were ranked in a hierarchical way by the participants.

What should be noted is that discourses of sexual intimacy between black and white people predominated in the sample of narratives written by male narrators rather than in those written by females. However, this kind of intimacy was also described in ways that suggested it was forbidden. This speaks to broader discourses around the illicitness of intimacy between black and white people – both by state and personal prohibitions. Perhaps it also relates to broader gendered discourse involving the notions of black women as sexually perverse (Ashcroft, 2001; Steyn, 2003). Thus, the black female body is treated as an object of knowledge and so objectified, as well as perceived to be a site for illicit acts and redemption. These discourses ensured that the narrators' roles in the experiences remained passive and as such these discursive constructions functioned to uphold the impossibility of intimacy between white men and black women.

Further, hooks (1990, as cited in Jaynes, 2007, p. 25) argued that during the time of slavery, "black women's bodies were the discursive terrain, the playing fields where racism and sexuality converged". Thus, associated with the belief that black people are intellectually inferior is the belief that black people are sexually superior. Black women are thought to have "increased lubricity, and an unbounded and indiscriminate sexual appetite", whilst black men are supposed to have "enormous penises and sexual appetites" (Katz, 1996, as cited in Jaynes, 2007, p. 27). Additionally white women are upheld as the standard of chastity and virginity (Childs, 2005, as cited in Jaynes, 2007).

> ***N11: The beautiful tall man enmeshed with Phyllis becomes the hero of my novel… Of course I am the heroine, but I am myself, not Phyllis, a bit older though as I want to be enveloped in his arms too. We are having a relationship across the 'colour bar'… I am in love with him…***

For the author of N11, her account is preceded by her expression of a fantasy about what it would be like to be in an interracial relationship, and perhaps to be a non-racial person. Her position is also influenced by the power she exercises through the implication of her rebellion against the "sexually repressive" order of that time. Thus, she is also positioned as a hero.

> ***N11: There are always Black women living with us. Not a part of the family, but living on the premises of our home. They perform the submissive role of servant, yet I know they have power too. Since my mother is absent, all of us know where we can get our comfort, enfolded in the large warmth of our 'nanny's' arms.***

This narrator establishes the presence of an "Other" in her home as a natural state of affairs for her family, which presents her family as accepting of black people and so as non-racial.

> ***N15: Emily introduced me to the ideas of Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and the ANC at an early age. I have clear memories of listening to her stories about the men who were locked in prison because they were fighting for the rights of black people. These conversations usually took place when we were alone together, like the times when I stayed home from school due to illness.***
>
> ***N34: My playmates were the little coloured kids from across the street in the Glebe, and we were in and out of each other's houses all the time. It got to be so 'bad' that my Mother sent me to a little nursery school when I was 4 years old. This was quite unusual in those times, in that place, and the reason given was to '... get me off the streets'.***

The above excerpt from N15 is preceded by sentences in which the writer mentions that her awareness of apartheid was the result of her relationship with her nanny. Thus, the relationship between herself and her nanny is constructed as central to her experiences during apartheid. Further, she places her nanny as a key protagonist in the story and so as holding some power. Thus, the use of discourse in this account presents the narrator as a white person who shared a bond with a black woman and so it positions her as a non-racial and anti-racist.

The writer of N34 is also presented as a white person who shared some intimate connections with some coloured people through his descriptions of himself as living in close proximity to coloured people – he described his family's home as on the border of the 'white' area – and as having coloured friends.

However, the narrators' use of discourse about intimacy and the resultant positions that this discourse allows them to occupy does not engage the participants with issues of responsibility and complicity in apartheid.

> ***N36: An incandescence radiated the crisp light, breaking it into wavy illusions just before my eyes. The reason for the heat was a black body – my white one responding in a cutting jar of confusion, a seething many minded meander in***

> ***my tummy and loins. She had just told me about the death of her mother – scarcely an erotic conversion and here I was in a desirous sort of twist against my liberalism. It had never occurred to me that desire and sensibilities would tango on different sides of the trailor park. Can you be liberal and want to fuck in the same place? These incantations inside suggested not, but for the first time in my life I did not care. Her on the floor, her on my dick, touching me, fucking me and ultimately alienating me into an exquisite outsideness; beyond the tracking tedium of my reversal of historical fortunes.***

This participant perceives his sexual attraction to the "Other" as contrary to his liberal mindset and to his rationality – and as such as perverse and irrational. He constructs his desire and his liberalism as irreconcilable. As such, he positions himself as a rational human being with an irrational and perverse desire for the "Other" utilising discourses of othering, blaming and discourse about the "Other" as exotic. Further, the narrator also constructs his desire for the "Other" as destructive because of its potential for emasculation and separation from his whiteness, however, with a hope that he can also be redeemed through this kind of intimacy.

However, what also deserves some mention here is the discourse of respect for cultural diversity which was utilised by one participant. He constructed his experiences of racism as reinforcing ethnic differences and as about cultural differences that need to be respected. However, the concept of ethnicity has itself been criticised as problematic and thus not as innocuous as previously thought insofar as it serves as another means for perpetuating 'race-ism' (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998).

Further, some researchers argue that discourses of race are utilised by the perpetrators and benefactors of racism and also by the victims of racism to construct the boundaries around the allocation of resources and power (Duncan, 1993; Miles, 1989). Althusser (1971, cited in Stevens, 1998) provided a similar argument that racism, and other ideologies, emerge out of particular historical, social, economic and political contexts, and are also reproduced within material practices – such as the practice of discourse. Goldberg (1999, p. 363) echoes this view and states that there is "no racism without some reference, however veiled, to racialised

discourse". He argues that racist expressions, and so racism, are produced through racialised discourses. In this way there is a point at which race, racism, and discourse intersect.

> ***N2: As was also customary by this time, and despite my repeated remonstrations, we would prepare both roast pork and lamb. Gloria's parents argued that the preparation of these two meats was absolutely necessary because "one must always respect the historical differences of people and their customs" even if an individual representative of that culture does not deem this necessary.***

This narrator seems to be telling the reader that he is in an intercultural relationship perhaps in order to construct himself as accepting of people of different cultures to his own and so as culturally discriminating. Thus, he is presented as someone who does respect cultural differences and perhaps he does this to position himself as anti-racist.

The writer of N12 also made use of discourse about ethnic differences however, her utilisation of this discourse appealed to other discourses that speak to the superiority of the white culture. This discourse positions her as privileged, superior and powerful – and thus Africa's "culture" is presented as less valuable then her own. This participant also uses this discourse in a way that distances her from any identification with Africa which again speaks to her position as superior and privileged, but she is also positioned as an outsider through discourse that disengages her from complicity.

> ***N12: When I am ten years old, we go on a family outing to see Ipi Tombi at the three Arts. The white community turns out in droves to see Zulu culture safely on display on a stage. It might as well be in a glass cabinet. A safe reinforcement of our ethnic differences with lots of entertainment value.***

4.4. DISCOURSES OF REDEMPTION

Some narrators' experiences were constructed as regrettable and redemptive. This seems to be important especially when one considers that some of the participants utilised discourses of complicity that positioned them as perpetrators (this is similar to findings by Ballard, 2004). So, most of the participants drew from discursive categories such as moralism, virtue and integrity to construct themselves as moralistic, virtuous and honest, as well as to emphasise their humanity and integrity. This reinforced their positions as conscious and their commitment to make things right. Moreover, exceptions to this construction are considered to be deviant – that is, as indicative of racism. The participants' use of redemption discourses thus allowed them to present themselves positively and so avoid being associated with racism (Van Dijk, 1990, 1991, 1992).

> ***N20: So, my life choices are still informed by the stories outlined above; only now I am not driven so much by guilt, as by 'accountability', and by my ongoing need to live meaningfully and to learn to love during this short span of life-time.***
>
> ***N20: … and my tears fall when I experience or observe the enormous ability to forgive on the part of those who were structurally oppressed during apartheid***
>
> ***N36: She continued to share, with an openness that was burning me with the most sincere fire I had ever tasted. An erotic moment without a doubt; a destructive moment, yes; I was not sure if I could feel a possibility for newness – or an utter devastation from which I would not recover. I also could not discern which of these would be the more exciting. Annihilation or rebirth – maybe both…***
>
> ***N47: I suppose my surprise, or naivete, was hoping that by treating this man, and other black people, with respect and dignity, I, or we, could somehow overcome some of the hurt and agony of apartheid social relations, at least at the interpersonal level… And yet in this regrettable encounter there are some redemptive features lurking in the contradictions of our – my and my black***

> ***builder man's – socially inscribed inequality. While apartheid socialisation "required" that he referred to me deferentially as "father", even though he was about 10 years my senior, I hoped (at time) that the respectful humanity between us was what "allowed" him to approach me for help.***

The narrator of N36 wrote about the possibility of redemption, through a sexually intimate relationship with an "Other", as contrasted with the possibility of destruction.

This theme seems to be similar to the theme of *Righting wrongs*, discussed by Green and Sonn (2004). They discussed that this discourse was invested in finding solutions to the problem of racism. However, they also argued that white Australian reconcilers, the subject of their research, positioned themselves as the agents desiring and responsible for creating justice, and the Indigenous people were constructed as being the disadvantaged and victimised group. This participant, of this study, seemed to view the "Other" as a victim of apartheid and redemption as something that he and other white people are solely responsible for. Perhaps this allows him to be temporarily positioned as a perpetrator in need of forgiveness, and then as a social actor who is aware of his own guilt and is able to somehow redeem himself by making amends.

4.4.1. Religious discourse

Although this discourse was not apparent in the majority of the narratives it seemed to be quite significant in the narrative written by N20. She constructed herself as a religious subject, and implied that racism is incompatible with her Christian beliefs. In her narrative her religious commitments served the following function. Commitments to religion allowed for the portrayal of integrity, righteousness, and open-mindedness, characteristics which are often held to be inconsistent with racism thus serving to negate the participant's role as a perpetrator whilst simultaneously upholding the participant as a moral woman. For example, she constructed herself as a spiritual by explaining how she had been involved in the church from an early age, ***"During my teenage years, I was deeply involved in the youth work of a local church in Cape Town."*** She also constructed herself as righteous by describing the community work she had

been involved in through her service in the church: ***"I became involved in community projects (primarily relating to the terrible poverty referred to above), in local youth work, and in social justice campaigns."*** Her construction of herself as opened-minded was also evident in the way she spoke about having friends of other races, ***"I became aware through 'seeing', but also through becoming friends with black peers."***

However, for the writer of N20 her faith was also connected to her consciousness of apartheid as she spoke of it as raising her awareness of apartheid ***"This was a time of life-changing awareness raising for me. Through the youth club activities, I became involved in visiting the poorest areas of the Cape, becoming aware that so many people (all of whom were black) lived in terrible poverty, and becoming painfully conscious of all the 'whites-only' signs – everywhere! "*** and ***"The political and social stance of the minister (who was later centrally involved in the Christian Institute of South Africa, and was banned in 1977) resulted in my being exposed to the 'real' South Africa: the reality of apartheid... This was a time of life-changing awareness raising for me."*** Thus, she utilised religious discourse to assert her commitment to fighting apartheid and this enabled her to occupy the positioned of a hero.

Steyn (2001) discusses missionary discourses as having enabled white South Africans to present themselves as having a monopoly on morality in Africa. She also discusses how these discourses appealed to the master narrative in that they constructed Africans as immoral and sexually perverse, which enabled whites to be positioned as righteous and virtuous.

4.4.2. White liberalism or activism

Some of participants constructed themselves as liberals, and implied that racism was not compatible with their liberalist ideas – through their constructions of their experiences as unjust and as creating inequality between the races. For example, ***"We all know the economic disparities that Apartheid created, and I guess that the black people with whom I would have had contact in my childhood represented some of the most disadvantaged during that period"*** (N14), ***"Initially, caught up in the self-centered adventures of childhood, I was unaware of the full implications of the circumstances that had enshrined Emily as my primary protector. Listening to her I could understand the injustice, but I simply loved the fact that she was at my***

side morning, noon and night" (N15) and ***"I was not unaware (at the time of this "encounter") of the horrors of apartheid, and the resulting alienation forced upon the black population…"*** (N47).

In the narratives this discourse served the function of positioning the narrators in a similar way to the religious discourses as anti-racist, righteous, as open-minded, and also as heroes. As evidence for the latter position the writer of N2 clearly identified himself as having a responsibility to defend liberalist ideals, "Being two second year students at University of the Witwatersrand, and taking it upon ourselves to dutifully represent its liberal legacy, we countered that such ideas belonged on the stockpile of history and had no place in our new South African world." Further, the positions that the narrators were allowed to occupy by the discourse contributed to a discourse that denies complicity and a discourse that denies their privilege or the ways in which they benefited from apartheid (and in some ways still continue to benefit).

> ***N14: …for making the journey that I have had to take to the anti-racist (and feminist) position that I now actively, consciously occupy…***
>
> ***N15: I left home to attend university where I learned all about race, class and gender***
>
> ***N20: My response to all of this (and more), at the level of feelings, was … pain, and shame. My 'white guilt' began. Being who I am (reflecting my personal way of responding to difficult circumstances in my life), I responded to these feelings by trying to 'make it better', and by 'fighting injustices'. I immediately looked for ways that I could 'help'. Because I was steeped in a social gospel/liberation theology interpretation of Christianity at the time, my beliefs and values spurred me to get involved in fighting apartheid.***
>
> ***N36: An incandescence radiated the crisp light, breaking it into wavy illusions just before my eyes. The reason for the heat was a black body – my white one responding in a cutting jar of confusion, a seething many minded meander in my tummy and loins. She had just told me about the death of her mother – scarcely an erotic conversion and here I was in a desirous sort of twist against***

> ***my liberalism. It had never occurred to me that desire and sensibilities would tango on different sides of the trailor park. Can you be liberal and want to fuck in the same place? These incantations inside suggested not, but for the first time in my life I did not care. Her on the floor, her on my dick, touching me, fucking me and ultimately alienating me into an exquisite outsideness; beyond the tracking tedium of my reversal of historical fortunes.***

However, the participants' liberalist notions contribute to discourses around paternalism and the missionary mentality (Steyn, 2001; Steyn & Foster, 2008). These kinds of discourse reinscribe unequal power dynamics between white and black people. One narrator was aware of this and wrote, ***"Well, this decade, more than any other, taught me about the dangers of 'paternalism', of 'missionary zeal', of 'wanting to help'. I had to go through a lot of self-reflection (it never ends!), to see how I was reflecting an unacceptable attitude of 'up-down' – power inequality"*** (N20).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This study examined the early experiences of racism of a group of young black adults and their perceptions of the influence of these experiences on their sense of identity. This final chapter of the report will consider the value of the study, its limitations and the future research it hopes to inspire.

5.2. FINAL CONCLUSIONS

This study allowed the examination of the nature of the experiences of racism of 'ordinary' South Africans under the old apartheid order and their continuing effects on individual and group functioning in contemporary South Africa, especially with regard to their influence on the ways in which white South Africans were positioned by discourses of race and racism.

The discourses identified in the corpus of texts analysed fell into three broad categories, namely rationalising strategies, race and racism discourses and the smallest category, discourses of redemption. The variability of these discourses is indicative of the complexity surrounding discourses of race and racism in South Africa. The first discursive strategy identified spoke to the ways in which the narrators sought to rationalise and justify their experiences through their mobilisation of discourses of innocence and discourses of denial. Consequently, narrators could occupy a position of victimhood and in this way appeal to discourses that avoid complicity. Race and racism discourses included othering discourses, discourses of whiteness and discourses of discourses of interracial relationships. These positioned the narrators in contradictory ways, that is, as perpetrators, heroes, privileged and non-racial. Finally, discourses of redemption were also found to be salient in the narratives in so far as they constituted religious discourses and notions of white liberalism. Through the mobilisation of such discourses constructions of the narrators as moralistic, virtuous and honest were prominent. Further, these kinds of constructions displayed commitments to making things rights, but they were also a strategy for positive self-presentation.

Three significant strategies were utilised by the narrators to avoid complicity, namely, the denial of white privilege and racism, reproductions of whiteness and strategies for positive presentation. The construction of the experiences of racism of white South Africans is exemplified by a denial of their white privilege, which only serves to avoid its interrogation and so re-inscribes it even further in present day South Africa (Steyn, 2005). The denial of white privilege is understood by many authors as a discursive strategy utilized by white people to deny complicity, as well as to deny the effects that apartheid continues to have on the present (Ansell, 2004; Ballard, 2004; Steyn, 2001, 2005). Solomon, Portelli, Daniel and Campbell (2005), Tatum (1992), and Green and Sonn (2005) discuss similar discursive strategies that are mobilized in the U.S. and in Australia where white Americans and Australians construct their societies as liberal and utilize liberalist notions of individualism and meritocracy in order to deny the existence of race, racism and white privilege.

It is important to emphasise that the narratives that were utilised cannot constitute a reflection of 'what truly happened' during the apartheid period, nor can it provide a picture of the 'reality of apartheid'. However, this study seems to have allowed the possibility of examining the complex processes involved in retrospective (re)constructions of oppression and trauma, as well as processes of forgetting, remembering, memory, memorialising and, very importantly, transcending oppression and trauma.

Finally, this study undertook to explore and make visible the constructedness of South African whiteness in its unique socio-historical context. The goal, however, was not just to describe, but to make sense of the ways in which the past continues to exert its influence on the present, marking the identities of those who live in the present. Further, the current study yielded a wealth of data; however, the research report was not able to examine all the possibilities presented by the data. Therefore, it is imperative to consider the limitations of the study, and to also explore recommendations for future research in the area.

5.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The sample in this study consisted of white, middle-aged, middle-class South Africans. Drawing on a sample of this kind was limiting in that a large proportion of the narratives on the database came from academics and white people with more liberal political views – that is, the sample was relatively homogeneous. Thus, a category of people which were excluded by this method of data collection was white people with more conservative views.

However, despite the fact that the constructionist ambitions of this research were to provide an understanding of the construction of race, the theory is still located within the very language that oppresses, polices, disciplines and controls bodies. This point is articulated by Stevens, Swart and Franchi (2006) who argue that research that attempts to make the constructedness of race visible and has the intention to nullify the use of racial classifications may also inadvertently re-inscribe these same categories through its usage of the language of race. However, Stevens *et al*. (2006) and Dixon and Tredoux (2006) defend this kind of research through their argument that it is through the language of race that old forms of oppression and the perpetuation of privilege in present-day South Africa can be made more salient. However, these researchers also warn researchers to be aware of the potential for this kind of research to reinscribe racial categories (Dixon & Tredoux, 2006).

5.4. RECOMMENDATIONS

In terms of the study limitations outlined above, it is recommended that future studies take sampling issues into account. Additionally, future South African studies should attempt to choose samples which are more diverse in terms of class and socio-economic status. Further, perhaps analyses following a more inclusive sample of people as well as across generations would provide researchers with more opportunities for comparisons within and between groups.

Future studies should also focus on broader discursive practices that occur at the level of the system. This could be achieved by interviewing practitioners within such fields as law and medicine with regards to their perceptions of race.

Finally, one of the most notable themes that arose in this study was the participants' tendency to resist confession and to impute blame. It seems that white people are still more likely to disavow complicity. This is an avenue worth exploring in future studies.

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School of Human & Community Development

APPENDIX A: SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET (QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW BASED RESEARCH)

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Good day

My name is Zamakhanya Makhanya, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters degree in Clinical Psychology the University of the Witwatersrand. I am part of a multi-university team that is currently doing research on people's experiences of racism during the apartheid period.

Specifically, the aim of our research is to establish the nature of people's earliest experiences of racism during the apartheid years and the ongoing effects of these experiences on individual functioning and inter-group relations. However, my area of focus is self-identity in the narratives

of early experiences of racism in a group of white South African adults through an analysis of the discourses of race in those narratives.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

Participation in this research will entail submitting a written narrative, at a time and place that is convenient for you, but within a month of agreeing to the request. Participation is voluntary, and no person will be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study.

If you choose to participate in the study please write your narrative, as carefully and honestly as possible, using the attached questions as a guide (Appendix B). You can place your narrative in the envelope provided and deposit it in the sealed box provided. I will collect the questionnaires from the box at regular intervals. Alternatively, you can submit your narrative to the email address provide at the end of this information sheet. This will ensure that no one will have access to your narrative, and thus guarantee your confidentiality. If you do return your questionnaire, this will be considered consent to participate in the study. Alternatively, if you have any further questions, I can be contacted telephonically at 082 888 0370 or via e-mail at zamakhanya@gmail.com.

The narratives submitted to us will be analysed and integrated into various journal articles. Additionally, all the narratives will be posted on this research project's website (titled *The Apartheid Archives*). The findings of the study will not be posted on the website, but you will be sent a summary of these findings, upon request. Furthermore, a selection of the narratives submitted may be included in a book. If you agree to your narrative being used in these ways, please indicate so on the attached Consent Forms (Appendix C, D and E). You may refuse to answer any questions, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point and/or to withdraw your narrative from our database at any point in future.

Kindly note that the information that you provide as part of your written submission will be included in our database under a pseudonym and in a manner that will make it impossible for you to be identified. However, if you wish to be identified in the research and publications that will flow from this research endeavour, please indicate so – in which case we will include your narrative in our database under your own name.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. This research will contribute both to a larger body of knowledge on the contribution of early experiences of racism to identity development.

Kind Regards

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E-mail: Christopher.Sonn@vu.edu.au





APPENDIX B: INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE WRITING AND SUBMISSION OF NARRATIVES

We herewith request any volunteers to share whatever personal stories they can think of that will illustrate how they were affected by the racism of the apartheid system.

If **you** would like to share your stories and participate in this project, won't you please complete the following?

Recount in narrative form your earliest significant experience of racism. Your narrative should include the following details, amongst others:

The approximate year in which you were exposed to the experience reflected on
The place
The key protagonists and antagonists
The impact, if any, this incident may have had on your views of yourself and your relationships with others.

NOTE:

While your narrative can be of any length, ideally it should not exceed four typed pages. While all the narratives will be analysed, the most illustrative narratives will be published as is (under your own name or as an anonymous entry) in the proposed book.





APPENDIX C: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I, _____, having read the both the participant information sheet and guidelines for narrative submission, hereby consent to participate in the Apartheid Archives Study. In so doing, I understand that:

My participation in the study is voluntary.

I may withdraw from the study at any time by instructing the researcher listed above that I would like my narrative deleted from the archive.

My narrative will be anonymised.

My anonymised narrative could be selected for analysis.

My anonymised narrative could be selected for publication in a number of outputs generated by the project.

I may request that my name be attached to the published narrative if I so wish.

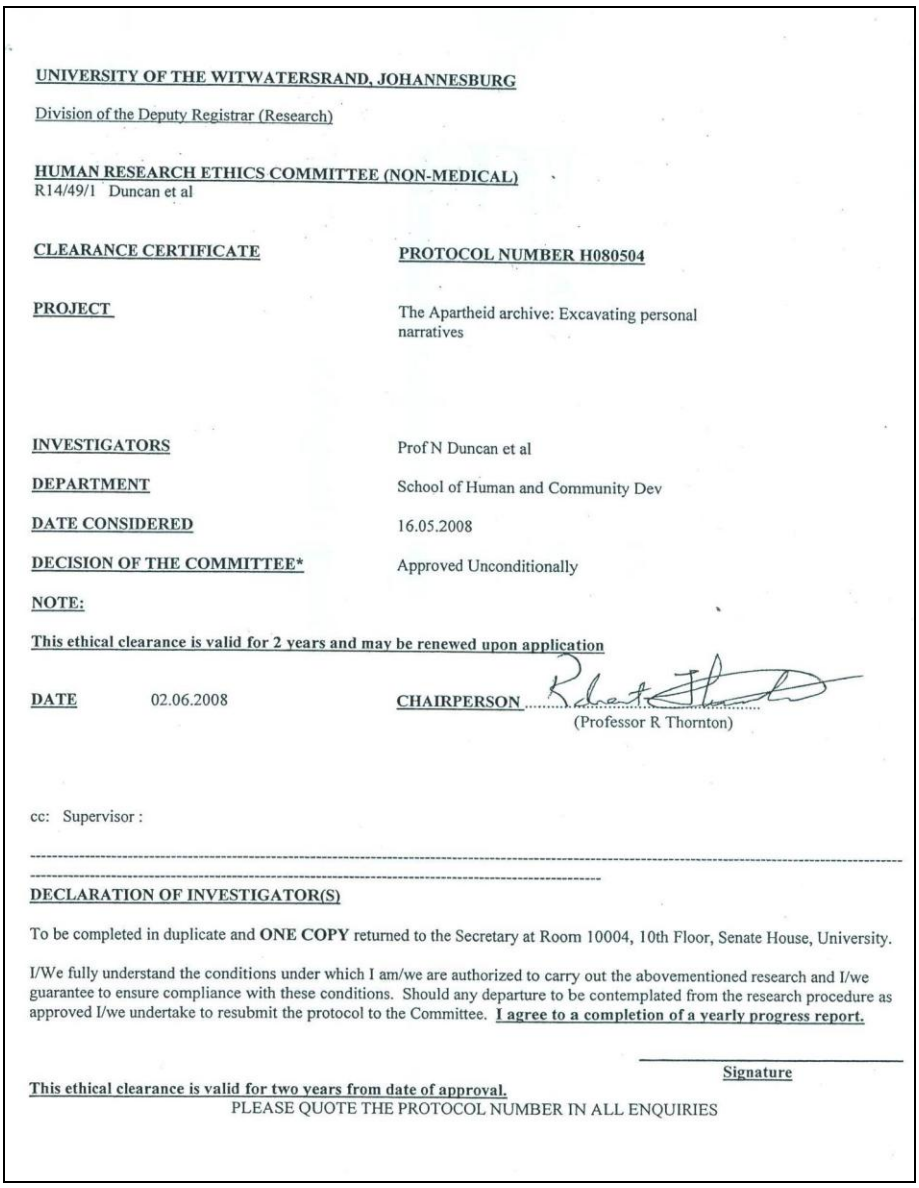
Signed: _____

Date: _____

School of Human & Community Development

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

APPENDIX D: ETHICS CLEARANCE



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49/1 Duncan et al

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H080504**
PROJECT	The Apartheid archive: Excavating personal narratives
INVESTIGATORS	Prof N Duncan et al
DEPARTMENT	School of Human and Community Dev
DATE CONSIDERED	16.05.2008
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE*	Approved Unconditionally

NOTE:

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE 02.06.2008 **CHAIRPERSON** .....
(Professor R Thornton)

cc: Supervisor :

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to a completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____
Signature

This ethical clearance is valid for two years from date of approval.

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES