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2012-02-10
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University of the Witwatersrand

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Department of Psychology

First year students' narratives of 'race' and racism in post-apartheid South Africa

A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Masters in Educational Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, November 2011

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Supervisor: Prof. Garth Stevens

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the Degree of Master in Educational Psychology at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Kirstan Puttick

November 2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are several people whom I would like to acknowledge for their assistance and support throughout the life of this research project:

Firstly, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Prof. Garth Stevens, for his guidance, patience and support throughout.

Secondly, I would like to thank the members of the Apartheid Archive Study at the University of the Witwatersrand for all their direction and encouragement.

Thirdly, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to all my friends and family who have been a tremendous source of support throughout this endeavour. I would also like to thank my patient and caring partner for all his kindness and understanding.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, I would like to thank my participants without whom this project would not have been possible. I cannot begin to express how grateful I am for the contributions that were made so willingly and graciously.

ABSTRACT

The democratic elections in 1994 marked the formal end of apartheid. During apartheid 'race' was, for the most part, a somewhat rigid construct which, despite many nuances and complexities, typically seemed to frame whiteness as dominant, normative and largely invisible, and blackness as subordinate and marginalised. The transformations brought about in post-apartheid South Africa have heralded many positive reformations, such as macrolevel institutional changes. However, many of apartheid's racialised patterns of privilege and deprivation persist and 'race' continues to influence the identities of South Africans. Furthermore, an inherent tension exists in South Africa's social fabric, where 'race' and racism are often juxtaposed against narratives of the *Rainbow Nation* and colourblindness. This study, which is framed by critical 'race' theory and social constructionism, aims to explore the extent of the fluidity and rigidity of 'race', racialisation and racialised identities in post-apartheid South Africa by exploring the narratives of black and white first year students. This study collected the narratives of seven black and seven white first year South African university students. It was found that South African youth identities can be seen to be functioning in relation to and reaction against both South Africa's racialised past as well as its present socio-cultural context. It was found that the racialised patterns which characterised apartheid still impact on black and white youth identity in contemporary South Africa. For instance, despite the many disruptions to whiteness post-1994, it was noted as still being a normative and dominant construct to some extent. Similarly, despite attempts to rectify power imbalances in the new South Africa, blackness is still constructed as being somewhat *other* and inferior. However, many alternative voices emerged which subverted these narratives, suggesting that identity is in a state of flux. Thus, despite the continued influence of apartheid's racialised patterns of identity, shifts and schisms are appearing in post-apartheid racialised identity, where issues of racialised dominance and power relations are no longer as clear cut as they once were.

Keywords

Apartheid, Apartheid Archive Project, blackness, critical 'race' theory, identity, narratives, post-apartheid, 'race', social constructionism, thematic content analysis, whiteness

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1. Background

Prior to 1994 South Africa was distinguished as an apartheid state which was legally structured along the axis of 'race'[1], resulting in gross social inequality. Apartheid policy was introduced in 1948 by the Nationalist Party government and it remained the official practice until the party's fall from power following the first democratic elections in April 1994. The Nationalist apartheid government was ideologically committed to the maintenance of racial separateness and purity, which, on the one hand, privileged the dominant white[2] population and, on the other hand, exploited and marginalised black South Africans. For instance, laws such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 ruled that South Africans would have different rights and privileges based on their 'race' (Clark & Worger, 2004; Loomba, 1998; Osterhammel, 2005; Stevens, Franchi & Swart, 2006; Terre Blanche, 2006; van Dijk, 1996).

During pre-1994 South Africa racialised identities were, for the most part, reified as a result of apartheid policies which institutionalised and prescribed certain identities according to 'race' (Adhikari, 2006). While many seem to understand what is intrinsically meant by 'identity' it is perhaps fruitful at this point to clarify that identity is a fluid, manifold construct which is both social and personal. Identity is perhaps best described as the way in which an individual or group defines who they are within a given context. An individual typically occupies more than one identity at any given moment and these identities can shift according to the subjective position of the individual. Identities are thus constantly subject to formation and re-formation and to contextual negotiation (Driedger, 2003; Fearon, 1999; Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007; Rattansi, 2007).

[1] This study has placed 'race' within inverted commas as it questions the validity of the term whilst acknowledging that it has had and continues to have a tremendous impact on social relations both in South Africa and globally (Stevens et al., 2006).

[2] Like 'race' the use of categorical labels such as white, non-white, black, coloured, African, Indian and Asian which were imposed on South Africans during apartheid are viewed as socially constructed categories. As such the author acknowledges that these labels, categories and constructs are socially constructed entities that reflect and convey meanings about the historical and ongoing forms of social asymmetries associated with 'race', racism, racialisation and process of de-racialisation. In no way does the author support the existence of these categories, labels and constructs as intrinsic or essential entities; however, the author has elected to use the terms white and black for pragmatic reasons (Stevens et al., 2006; Tatum, 2003).

Contemporary literature has emphasised that adolescence is a critical period for identity development. It is during this time that many begin to question who they are as well as their previously held identities, beliefs, values and so forth. This is especially highlighted when individuals are exposed to new environmental opportunities and demands through exposure to unfamiliar social agents. For instance, when individuals enter tertiary education institutions many of their previously held identities, beliefs, values, and so forth are questioned by new environmental opportunities and demands. Furthermore, these institutions often provide individuals with the freedom to explore various identities, values and roles whilst remaining relatively free from adult responsibilities. Thus, it is during adolescence that many individuals begin to incorporate their past, present and future in order to construct a more coherent sense of self (Adams et al., 2006; Cockcroft, 2002; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Meacham & Santilli, 1982; Tatum, 2003).

During apartheid 'race' emerged as the dominant form of identity in South Africa, as well as a system of social stratification. In many respects this seemed to limit alternative identity choices available to individuals and, in a way, may have forced a particular identity upon them. However, despite its relatively fixed nature during apartheid, identity was somewhat fluid and liable to change. For instance, many white South Africans actively opposed apartheid and resisted prescribed identities (Smedley, 1998; Steyn, 2001).

Despite efforts to ensure the prolonged dominance of whites during apartheid, the anti-apartheid movement struggled for independence and equality, which came to fruition in April 1994 with the first democratic elections in South Africa. The ensuing changes heralded the formal end to the apartheid regime and welcomed in a new political era in South African history. This political transition resulted in many dramatic political, social, economical, ideological and personal changes. These changes have, in turn, had a substantial impact on South Africans' individual and group identities as well as the perceptions of power relations amongst various racial groupings. In contrast to the harsh inequality which characterised South Africa's past the new government's vision of nationhood and citizenship has been constructed around sentiments of equality, commonality and consensus (Clark & Worger, 2004; Stevens et al., 2006).

Yet, despite these changes, racial categories, racism and other such relics of apartheid are still manifested in society and undoubtedly impact on the lives and identities of South Africans. In many regards there is still an unequal balance of power in South Africa. For instance, despite the macrolevel institutional changes and black political empowerment, patterns of apartheid's racialised privilege and deprivation still seem to persist. Furthermore, the racialised parameters imposed during apartheid are still visible to some degree. However, they are no longer as clearly defined as they once were which has resulted in a relatively more nuanced fluidity of 'race' and racialised identity. The racialised prescriptions which provided a sense of identity during apartheid have, to a large extent, been dismantled and individuals and groups are being forced to negotiate new identities in a rapidly shifting social context (Gillborn, 2005; Rabaka, 2007; Sonn, 2006; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Steyn, 2001).

For instance, following the democratic changes of 1994, many notions of dominance have been disrupted. Thus, whilst black South Africans are politically dominant, a vast majority of the country's black population remain marginalised in the socio-economic sphere. Similarly, despite whiteness no longer being politically dominant, it still seems to be the socio-cultural norm. Thus, previously held notions of dominance no longer appear to be as clear cut as they once were during apartheid. These emerging tensions seem to highlight the relative rigidity and fluidity of racial identities in post-1994 South Africa. This study aims to explore the relative fluidity of 'race' and racialised identity in post-1994 South Africa by examining first year students' narratives (Cole, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Mills, 2009; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Roediger, 2009).

2. Research Rationale

Non-racialism was a laudable and integral goal of the anti-apartheid movement and has, to a large extent, remained a central and constitutive part of the current government's ideology. This non-racialism is perhaps best captured by the metaphor of the *Rainbow Nation,* which promotes the image of different racial, ethnic and cultural groups being united and living in harmony. However, sixteen years after South Africa's democratic changes, racial categories and racism that were characteristic of apartheid are still prevalent in public and private life. Moreover, 'race' and racialised categories are still a central tenet

in the development of contemporary South Africa, despite the acknowledgement that 'race' is a socio-cultural construction that has no intrinsic relationship to any actual human physical variations (McKinney, 2007; Smedley, 1998).

Following the colonisation of countries such as South Africa and India the construct of 'race' and racial ideology was imposed on the non-white *other* and 'race' emerged as the dominant form of identity and functioned as a form of social stratification. During apartheid these racial asymmetries became institutionalised as the Nationalist government extended pre-existing forms of racial exclusion. This process labelled black South Africans as the lowest status groups in society, and myths about their assumed inferior moral, intellectual and behavioural features began to emerge. Conversely, whites were labelled as being superior and dominant. Thus, 'race' is considered a container for the social meanings imposed by these so called physical variations. Theories, such as critical 'race' theory (CRT), seem to echo these relatively rigid constructions of racialisation, where whiteness is painted as the dominant and blackness as the oppressed *other*. Yet, there is a body of literature to suggest that 'race', racialisation and racialised identity are no longer such inflexible constructions and that whiteness and blackness are in many respects in a state of flux (Fisher, 2007; Stevens et al., 2006). However, despite 'race' being a fluid, socially constructed phenomenon, it still continues to exert great force over the identities and everyday lives of South Africans, and therefore demands academic focus and disruption (Smedley, 1998).

Furthermore, it is necessary to contest the taken for granted assumptions regarding racial identity and racism if the status quo is to be disrupted. The persistence of racialised asymmetries and differentiations in various forms pose a significant potential for social crisis if left unchallenged and uncontested. Indeed, the potential for its appropriation into various processes of intrapsychic, interpersonal, group and intergroup identifications, political management and manipulation, promotion and justification of social conflict as well as the continued domination of certain persons by others remains self evident in South Africa and is worthy of study. For instance, due to the legacy of apartheid, 'race' is inextricably linked to most systems of politics and economics in South Africa. 'Race' therefore continues to have implications for the development of class structures and threatens to maintain the

unequal distribution of wealth and privilege along racial lines, further prompting study and investigation (Fisher, 2007; Stevens et al., 2006).

However, despite the persistence of certain racialised asymmetries and the continued importance of 'race' in post-apartheid South Africa, support for explicit forms of racism have, for the most part, dissipated. This is primarily due to the perceived social undesirability of such behaviours and beliefs. Yet, despite changes to old racist stereotypes and practices, a number of challenges still face South Africa. For instance, in spite of political empowerment, many black South Africans are still oppressed both economically and personally. The paradox of racism today is that the more socially unacceptable explicit racism becomes, the more sophisticated covert or implicit forms of racism are likely to become. For instance, symbolic racism is a covert form of racism which allows individuals to harbour racist beliefs whilst simultaneously practicing equality. For example, whites may often define commercial merit in terms of characteristics they see themselves as possessing. They will then frequently apply those standards in a way which appears even handed, yet maintains racial exclusion (Ansell, 2004; Bornman, 2006; Durrheim & Dixon, 2001; Kasese-Hara, 2006; Picca & Feagin, 2007; Trepagnier, 2006).

These more subtle forms of racism are no less racist or offensive than 'old-fashioned' overt forms of racism. Instead they are disguised in a more sophisticated and socially accepted argument. Thus, one cannot assume that because the racialised policies of apartheid have been formally abolished that racism is neither prevalent nor problematic in post-1994 South Africa. Rather, it is imperative that one continues to not only examine but also disrupt notions of 'race', racialisation, racialised identity and racial inequality in post-apartheid South Africa so that insight into anti-racist praxis can be provided (Ratele, 2002).

In addition to this, South African youth[3], regardless of their 'race' or ethnicity, represent one of South Africa's major investments for the future and therefore warrant research. Adolescence is a period considered to be crucial for identity development. It is at this stage

[3] Youth will be used to refer broadly to persons between the ages of 12 and 30, unless otherwise specified. Furthermore, while adolescence has traditionally been earmarked as a crucial period for identity development the meaning of adolescence has shifted over time and, as a result, many of the challenges once attributed to the physiological period of adolescence are now extended into a person's early twenties. Thus, this study will broadly refer to adolescents and youth interchangeably (Govender, 2006; Huq, 2006).

that individuals begin to grapple with the question of "who" they are and thus experiment with various identities. These developments are usually accompanied by the individual's transition from school to tertiary education institutions where new social meanings are created, generating new social roles, which inherently disrupts previously held identities, beliefs and values through exposure to peer groups and other social agents. Similarly, higher education is seen to offer a vehicle for social mobility, where many feel that a degree will afford them the opportunity to move into the middle class (Adams, Berzonsky & Keating, 2006; Cockcroft, 2002; De Fina, 2003; Dolby & Cornbleth, 2001; Dolby, 2001b; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Fisher, 2007; Goldschmidt, 2003; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Meacham & Santilli, 1982; Scanlon, Rowling & Weber, 2007; Stevens et al., 2006; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Tatum, 2003).

However, despite the changes in the South African social climate, South African universities continue to be spotlighted as sites of racism. For instance, Goga (2010) notes that at a university in the Eastern Cape, racist utterances on the university's online discussion forums led to the use of these being temporarily suspended in 2006. Similarly, a university in the Free State has been the site of numerous spates of racism. In 2007 four white students reportedly made a racist video in which black cleaners were made, among other things, to eat food said to have been urinated on (Evans, 2010; Soudien, 2010). Thus, universities in South Africa not only offer the opportunity for social change and social mobility, but also the possibility of re-inscribing racism and perpetuating a racial order reminiscent of apartheid. For many there is a deep sense of confusion around position-taking, both at the personal and at the social level. Therefore, these institutions offer fertile grounds for studying 'race' and racism and their continued impact on the lives of South Africans.

Yet, despite these difficulties, youth identity is not frozen within rigid, essentialised categories, instead it is constructed and modified in relation to the identities of others and has enormous potential for change. It is perhaps necessary at this point to stress that, in accordance with social constructionist thought, identity is considered to be the accomplishment of human construction and activity. Thus, identity is not seen to be a stable construct based on an individual's subjective beliefs and feelings. Rather, identity is a set of relations and interrelations, where we see or define ourselves in relation to various individuals, groups and contexts. As these situations and relations change, so does a

person's conception and enactment of their identity. Thus, in many respects, youth identities are a reflection of the manifold and often contradictory nature of identities in South Africa and are therefore an important point of departure for academic inquiry (Adams, Berzonsky & Keating, 2006; Cockcroft, 2002; De Fina, 2003; Dolby & Cornbleth, 2001; Dolby, 2001b; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Fisher, 2007; Goldschmidt, 2003; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Meacham & Santilli, 1982; Stevens et al., 2006; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Tatum, 2003).

Similarly, it is important to emphasise that the racialised identities of South African youths are not merely a reflection of previous generations struggles, but rather indicative of their own negotiations with 'race' in post-1994 South Africa. Indeed, it seems that in South Africa at present 'race' is inexorably linked to youth identities. Furthermore, a study of this nature will not only help illuminate the continued effects of apartheid on identity development, but will also aid transformation and reformation attempts aimed at addressing racial inequalities (Adams, Berzonsky & Keating, 2006; Cockcroft, 2002; De Fina, 2003; Dolby & Cornbleth, 2001; Dolby, 2001b; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Fisher, 2007; Goldschmidt, 2003; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Meacham & Santilli, 1982; Pattman, 2007; Stevens et al., 2006; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Tatum, 2003).

A central tenet to the study of identity is narrative. This is primarily due to the fact that narrative allows for the expression, construction and enactment of identity. The narratives that people tell about their lives are a pervasive form of text through which they construct, interpret and share experiences (Schiffrin, 1996). As discussed above, identity is the emergent construction and outcome of rhetorical and interpretive processes in which individuals make situationally motivated selections from socially constituted repertoires of identity and formulate identity claims for presentation to others. Thus, identities are the accomplishment of social construction and are a reflection of the individual's contextual positioning and circumstances. In many respects narratives furnish culture and reflect the broader narratives circulating within the public domain (De Fina, 2003). By studying narratives one is able to make explicit the operations that produce particular kinds of meaning and to draw out the implications that these meanings have for understanding the experiences of people, and in this instance, the experiences of those living in contemporary South Africa (Polkinghorne, 1988).

Lastly, this study is aligned with the Apartheid Archive Project and it is anticipated that it will add to an archive which is aimed at the preservation of everyday experiences of racism. The Apartheid Archive Project is located in the understanding that traumatic experiences from the past will constantly attempt to re-inscribe themselves in the present if they are left unacknowledged, un-interrogated and unaddressed. In particular this study will document the continued effects of apartheid on both individual and group functioning in present day South Africa by addressing issues relating to 'race', racialisation and racialised identity. Similarly, the archive aims to not only document more traumatic or salient narratives of apartheid atrocities but to also detail the more quotidian experiences, which are pervasive and no less significant manifestations of apartheid abuse and the legacy thereof(Apartheid Archive Project, 2009). This highlights the need to explore what everyday reiterations and repetitions of racism allow it to retain the social salience it has within South African society (Goga, 2010). By compiling such an archive it is hoped that South African society will be provided with a means of reviewing the past, which will in turn better enable South Africans to understand, negotiate and manage both the present and the future (Apartheid Archive Project, 2009).

3. Theoretical Framework

This section shall now discuss this report's theoretical frameworks, which guide the report and form its theoretical basis (Houser, 2008). Firstly, social constructionism shall be discussed. Social constructionism argues that a critical stance be taken towards our taken for granted knowledge and ways of understanding the world. In particular, social constructionism challenges the notion that conventional knowledge is based on objective, unbiased observations of the world (Burr, 2003). Secondly, critical 'race' theory (CRT) will be explored. CRT is a form of oppositional scholarship which challenges the experience of whites as the normative standard and grounds its conceptual framework in the distinctive experiences of the marginalised *other*. CRT insists that the social and experiential context of racial oppression is crucial for understanding racial dynamics, particularly the way that current, more covert, inequalities are connected to earlier, more overt, practices of racial exclusion (E. Taylor, 1998).

i. Social Constructionism

This study will use a social constructionist framework to examine the relative fluidity and rigidity of 'race' and racialised identities in post-1994 South Africa. The term 'social constructionism' itself emphasises the problematic nature of social reality within this framework (Segal, Segal & Eyre, 1992). Social constructionism views discourse, knowledge and 'truths' about the world not as objective mirror images of the world, but rather as artefacts of communal interchange and production. Social constructionism endeavours to place knowledge within process of social interchange. For instance, it is assumed that what we take to be the experience of the world does not, in itself, dictate the terms in which the world is understood. Thus, contrary to more positivistic perspectives, our 'knowledge' of the world is not a product of inductive or scientific endeavours, rather it is the product of social practices of meaning making (Gergen, 1985; Kiguwa, 2006a).

Social constructionism is a somewhat radical contestation of our knowledge of the world, which is typically taken for granted. For instance, social constructionism attempts to show how the objective criteria for identifying various constructs (such as gender, 'race', identity, etc.) are circumscribed by culture, history or the social context. Furthermore, social constructionism asserts that the degree to which a given form of understanding prevails or is sustained across time is not directly proportioned to its empirical validity. Instead, it is the change and variation of social processes, such as communication, negotiation, conflict, rhetoric and so forth which maintains or quells the understanding over time. Through this challenge to conventional knowledge social constructionism offers a unique form of social criticism (Gergen, 1985).

According to the social constructionist perspective, 'race' is a pseudo-scientific construction which has no intrinsic connection to material reality. Instead, 'race' has come to denote socially constructed categories, which divide and classify the social world (Foster, 1992). Thus, it is acknowledged that racism is inextricably linked to processes of social, political and economic domination and marginalisation, especially in South Africa. Similarly, social constructionism sheds light on how phenomena, such as 'race' come to be naturalised within society at trans-individual and extra-personal levels. As such, this study recognises that 'race' is a social construction, which is always situated within a certain socio-historical

context. Thus, this study seeks to disrupt and unsettle notions of 'race' and racism by aligning itself with a social constructionist framework (Hook, 2004c).

Similarly, social constructionism offers a useful framework for research on racial identity. As stated previously, social constructionism is primarily concerned with explicating the processes by which people come to describe, explain and account for not only the world around them, but also themselves (Hill & Volker, 2000). While social constructionism acknowledges individual realities and differences, it also recognises the commonalities in people's experiences. Thus, while each person's racial identity is unique, it is important to note that individual realities are all connected to the prevailing discourses in society and that identities do not differ in all ways. Furthermore, social constructionism recognises the multiplicity of identity, where identity is formed by the interconnected and mutually dependant axes of 'race', gender, class, sexuality, etc. For example, an individual in an interracial partner relationship may be managing multiple racial identities because of their cross racial affiliation (Hill & Volker, 2000; Nash, 2008). Thus, in accordance with social constructionism, this study acknowledges that South African youth identities defy essentialised definitions and that they are constructed in relation to the identities of others as well as in relation to the individual's sociocultural milieu.

In line with social constructionism this report will also acknowledge that the participants' representations of their social world are not merely based on their perceptions of this world, but that they are rather constructed. Furthermore, it is recognised that events in the social world are constructed and that no grand Truth of these events exists (Potter, 1996). Thus, this study will be principally concerned with explaining the processes whereby the participants (and people by extrapolation) come to describe the social world and their position within it (Gergen, 1985). Similarly, the study will be cognisant of the fact that the process of understanding or interpreting the participants' narratives does not occur within a vacuum, but is the result of an active, cooperative enterprise of persons in relation to one another (Gergen, 1985). Thus, people are not merely acted upon by social forces. Instead they are seen to be actors who are constantly moulding and inventing their social worlds through interactions with others. The world is therefore humanly produced and has no ontological status apart from the human activity that produced it (Segal et al., 1992).

Moreover, in keeping with the social constructionist framework this report recognises that identity is very much constituted from narratives. In other words it is acknowledged that the management of identity is a 'storying' process, where a person's identity has an inherently narrative structure. This narrative is constructed as the social discourses of the broader sociocultural context interact with the chosen possibilities of the individual. As individuals negotiate their multiple identities in an array of contexts, they re-narrate their identities. This process takes place in the space between the personal agency of self construction and social discourse (Hill & Volker, 2000; Kenyon & Randall, 1997).

ii. Critical 'Race' Theory

This study will also draw on critical 'race' theory (CRT) to address and explore the relative rigidity and fluidity of 'race' and racialised identities in post-apartheid South Africa. CRT, which was originally designed to uncover how 'race' and racism operated in the law and society more broadly, takes the position that racism is a normal, everyday occurrence and attempts to make plain the racial context of public and private spheres in our society. CRT became noticeable in the mid-1970s when scholars of colour in the United States of America realised that the civil rights movement of the 1960s had stalled and that there was a need for alternative and critical explanations for the continuing presence of racism in American society. By attempting to understand the oppressive aspects of society CRT aims to generate societal and individual transformation. As such, this study will provide an understanding of the oppressive aspects of 'race' and racism in contemporary South African society in order to attempt to generate societal and individual transformation and reformation (Cole, 2009; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Gillborn, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Mills, 2009; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Rabaka, 2007; Roediger, 2009; Scott & Marshall, 2005; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000; Sonn, 2006; Steyn, 2001; E. Taylor, 1998).

During apartheid, racism overtly shaped the social fabric of South Africa and, despite the democratic changes brought about following the 1994 elections, continues to impact on the lives of South Africans, albeit more covertly. Thus, researchers, practitioners and students are still searching for the necessary tools to effectively analyse and challenge the impact of 'race' and racism in South African society (Yosso, 2005). In many respects critical 'race' theory seems to provide a solution to this difficulty as it is a form of oppositional scholarship

which challenges experiences of whiteness as the dominant, transparent norm used to define ‘race’ and grounds its conceptual framework in the distinctive experiences of blacks (E. Taylor, 1998). CRT has in many ways been advanced as a framework for examining the experiences of blacks who encounter a world in which ‘race’ and racism permeate all of their experiences (Morris, 2001). Furthermore, CRT insists that the social and experiential context of racial oppression is crucial for understanding racial dynamics, particularly the way that current inequalities are connected to earlier, more overt, practices of racial exclusion (E. Taylor, 1998). Utilising a CRT lens, this study challenges traditional interpretations of ‘race’ and racism and thereby disrupts the status quo (Yosso, 2005).

Similarly, CRT views racism as a normal, not aberrant or rare, fact of daily life. It is felt that the assumptions of white superiority are so ingrained in the socio-political structures as to be almost unrecognisable. Thus, according to CRT, 'race' and racism are endemic, permanent and central features of social life. CRT finds that racism is often well disguised in the rhetoric of shared ‘normative’ values and ‘neutral’ social scientific principles and practices. However, when the ideology of racism is examined and racist injuries are named, victims of racism can often find their voice and learn to make the arguments to defend themselves. Furthermore, CRT is deeply critical of traditional liberal reforms and challenges claims of objectivity, meritocracy, colourblindness, 'race' neutrality and equal opportunity on the basis that such claims act as a camouflage for the self-interest, power and privilege of dominant groups. Critical ‘race’ theorists’ feel that these constructs allow one to ignore the racialised constructions and reinforces the privileged and oppressive position of whiteness. Thus, whiteness is allowed to remain the normative standard and blackness remains different, other, and marginalised (Aguirre, 2000; Cole, 2009; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Gillborn, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Mills, 2009; Morris, 2001; Roediger, 2009; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Solorzano et al., 2000; Sonn, 2006; E. Taylor, 1998; Yosso, 2005).

In this manner CRT emphasises multiple ways of knowing and being as part of the process of developing and transforming hegemonic ways of knowing. CRT offers insights, perspectives, methods and pedagogies that guide many efforts to identify, analyse and transform the structural and cultural aspects which maintain systems of racism. CRT asserts that such standards are chosen, they are not inevitable, and they should be openly debated and

reformed in ways that no longer benefit privileged whites alone (Aguirre, 2000; Cole, 2009; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Gillborn, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Mills, 2009; Morris, 2001; Roediger, 2009; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Solorzano et al., 2000; Sonn, 2006).

E. Taylor (1998) notes that although CRT is not an abstract set of ideas or rules, its scholarship is marked by a number of specific themes. CRT consists of five basic elements namely: (1) the centrality of 'race' and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination, (2) the challenge to dominant ideology, (3) the commitment to social justice, (4) the centrality of experiential knowledge and (5) the transdisciplinary perspective. These five elements, which are discussed in more depth below, form the central thrust of this study as they provide a lens for not only exploring the pernicious effects of 'race', racism and apartheid's legacy in post-1994 South Africa, but also provide a means for unsettling taken for granted norms. Furthermore, the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* seems to imply that South Africa is a colourblind society which is no longer troubled by racism. Through the lens of CRT this study will problematise this assumption and illustrate that not only is racism not a problem from a bygone era, but that it continues to have a substantial impact on South African lives and identities (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Solorzano et al., 2000).

CRT is founded on the premise that 'race' and racism are central, endemic, permanent and a fundamental part of defining and explaining how society functions. However, despite 'race' and racism being at the centre of CRT it is also important to view them at their intersection with other forms of subordination such as gender and class discrimination. Intersectionality highlights that subjectivity is constituted by mutually reinforcing vectors of 'race', gender, class, sexuality and so forth. Intersectionality therefore rejects the single-axis framework often embraced by anti-racism scholars. Instead intersectionality aims to analyse the various ways in which 'race' and social constructs, such as gender and class, interact to shape the multiple dimensions of human experience. Intersectionality maintains that identities are formed by the interlocking and mutually reinforcing vectors of 'race', gender, class, sexuality and so forth, further emphasising this study's assertion that identity is a socially constructed phenomenon which is in a constant state of flux. Thus, according to CRT's notion of *The centrality of 'race' and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination,* this report acknowledges the inextricable layers of racialised subordination based on

gender, class, immigration status, surname, phenotype, accent, sexuality and so forth (Davis, 2008; Nash, 2008; Yosso, 2005)

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that popular and academic discourses are frequently limited by the Black/White binary. CRT, however, continues to expand this dialogue to recognise the ways in which the struggle for social justice is limited by discourses that often omit and thereby silence the multiple experiences of blacks. Thus, this study will avoid essentialising the participants' discourses and identities, and will accept that experiences of 'race' and racism are manifold and diverse. It will also subvert 'race' binaries in the service of theorising racialised identity in a more complex and nuanced fashion (Nash, 2008; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Yosso, 2005).

Similarly, CRT offers a *Challenge to dominant ideology.* In other words, CRT challenges white privilege and refutes the liberal claims institutions and individuals make about objectivity, meritocracy, colourblindness, 'race' neutrality and equal opportunity. Indeed, CRT argues that these traditional, liberal claims act as a camouflage for the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in society. Thus, this study shifts the centre of focus from notions of white, middle class culture to include the cultures of the marginalised *other*. As such, this study aims to unsettle the status quo by questioning this camouflage (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Yosso, 2005).

CRT also has a *Commitment to social justice* and offers a liberatory or transformative response to racial, gender and class oppression. As such, this study aims to work towards the elimination of racism, sexism and poverty, as well as the empowerment of subordinated groups. Furthermore, according to CRT's notion of the *Centrality of experiential knowledge,* this study recognises that the experiential knowledge of the marginalised *other* is legitimate, appropriate and critical to understanding, analysing and addressing racial subordination. Furthermore, CRT draws explicitly on the lived experiences of the marginalised *other* by including such methods as storytelling, family histories, biographies, scenarios, parables, chronicles and narratives. CRT argues that collecting the *counterstories* or the stories of experiences that are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society) offers a unique tool for analysing and challenging the narratives of those in power and whose story is a natural part of the dominant discourse. Thus, this study aims to provide *counterstories* to

apartheid's master narrative of 'race' and racialised identity as a means of dislocating these narratives and providing alternative voices. Similarly, this study will disrupt the perceived fixity of 'race', racialised categories and racialised identities in South Africa by demonstrating how these categories are fluid and characterised by diversity (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Yosso, 2005).

Lastly, CRT has a *Transdisciplinary perspective* as it goes beyond disciplinary boundaries to analyse 'race' and racism within both historical and contemporary contexts, drawing on scholarship from ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, law, psychology, film, theatre and other fields (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Yosso, 2005). Yosso (2005) emphasises that while these themes are not new in and of themselves, they collectively represent a challenge to the existing modes of scholarship. CRT is a theoretical and analytical framework that challenges the ways 'race' and racism impact social structures, practices and discourses. Thus, CRT and, by association, this study can be conceived of as a social justice project that is committed to the liberatory potential of South African society (Yosso, 2005).

CRT is, however, not without its own limitations and shortcomings. Firstly, CRT's assumption that whiteness and blackness are understood in predictable and homogenous ways is not entirely accurate. For instance, as the socio-political lines between blackness and whiteness blur, with some blacks espousing traditional, conservative views and some whites promoting progressive racial policies, it makes less sense to speak of group interests as monolithic. It is therefore perhaps necessary to conceive of whiteness as not being dominant, or at least perceived of as dominant, in each and every circumstance (Wray, 2006). Secondly, as educational institutions become increasingly racially diverse, their self-interests no longer represent those of a single racial group. Lastly, CRT may be criticised as too cynical, nihilistic, or hopeless. Indeed, its assumption of the permanence of racism and its prediction of continued subordination of blacks can be read as excessively negative (E. Taylor, 1998).

4. Scope of the Present Study

i. Research Aims

Since the 1994 democratic elections many South Africans have come to believe that, because apartheid is a thing of the past, racism too is a thing of the past. Yet the reality is that racism remains a minefield in South Africa and 'race' still impacts on the lives of all South Africans. The present context, namely 16 years after the abolishment of apartheid, provides an opportune moment to consider new and changing contexts of 'race', racialised identity and racialisation in South Africa (Fisher, 2007; Stevens et al., 2006). As such this study is concerned with examining the narratives of black and white first year students in present day South Africa. The students' narratives, which will outline the nature of their everyday experiences of 'race' and racism, will be analysed to identify the relative fluidity and rigidity of 'race' in post-apartheid South Africa. By exploring constructs of 'race' and racism in various contexts and situations this study will critically address the inherent racial tensions in South African society. Lastly, this study will contribute to the Apartheid Archive Study, which was initiated with the aim of establishing an inclusive and holistic archive, in that it shall document the continued legacy of apartheid in South Africa.

ii. Research Questions

The research questions for this study are as follows:

1) How are racialised identities reflected in the narratives of black and white first year students?
2) How are participants' personal racialised identities reflected in the narratives of black and white first year students?
3) How are racialised perceptions of the *other* reflected in the narratives of black and white first year students?

5. Chapter Organisation

This research report contains five chapters. *Chapter I* provides a brief introduction to the study by means of locating it within the current South African context. This chapter then provides a brief overview of social constructionism as well as critical 'race' theory which

form the basis of this study's theoretical framework. Furthermore, this chapter aims to outline the rationale behind the study as well as detailing both the research aims and the research questions of the study.

Chapter II provides a synopsis of the key theoretical concerns of the study. Firstly, 'race', racism and identity are discussed in relation to social constructionism. It is argued that 'race' and identity are socially constructed. Following this, the role that narratives play in the construction of 'race', identity and racialised identities is explored and discussed. The construction of 'race' and identities are then discussed within the context of both pre- and post-1994 South Africa. This section draws to a close by examining past research which has examined South African identities via the lens of narratives.

The report then provides a discussion on the methodological concerns of the study in *Chapter III*. Here the paradigms and design section will briefly outline the study's social constructionist perspective as well as its qualitative orientation. In addition to this discussion, *Chapter III* describes the manner in which participants were sourced as well as the manner in which the data were collected and subsequently analysed. This chapter concludes by examining the researcher's reflexivity as well as the various ethical considerations which impacted on the study.

Following this methodological overview, *Chapter IV* presents the key findings of the research as well as the interpretations of this study. Broadly speaking, this section examines how racialised identities in South Africa are being informed by both the master narratives of apartheid as well as the new narratives of the *Rainbow Nation.* The chapter then shifts its focus and looks at how the black and white participants perceive both their own racialised identities as well as the racialised identities of the *other*. This chapter concludes by exploring the 'race' and racism in contemporary South Africa.

Finally, the last chapter (*Chapter V*) contains the concluding remarks, as well as the researcher's reflections on the process of the research. This section will begin by elucidating the key findings of this study. Following on from here, this chapter will discuss the study's strengths and weaknesses. Lastly, this section will discuss several recommendations which are seen to be useful in directing future research.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Introduction

Exploring the influences that 'race' and racism have on youth identity is a complex task, with many nuanced paradoxes and intricacies. This chapter attempts to provide an exposé of the study's key theoretical concerns and interests. As stated previously, this study is underpinned by the theoretical frameworks of social constructionism and critical 'race' theory. This chapter builds onto these theories and offers a substantive overview of 'race', racism, identity, narrative as well as how these constructs intersect within the South African context in the construction of racialised identities.

Firstly, it is argued that 'race' is a socially constructed category which was employed during apartheid as a means of social categorisation and stratification. It is then shown how, despite the formal end to apartheid in 1994, 'race' exacts a pervasive and powerful force over the lives and identities of South Africans. The chapter then argues that as overt acts of racism and racist ideologies have become increasingly socially unacceptable, the more racism has mutated into more sophisticated and cunning covert forms.

Following this discussion, the chapter then addresses the socially constructed nature of identity by illustrating how identity is never created within a vacuum and is always situationally responsive, where particular attention is paid to notions of youth identities. The chapter then considers how identities are constructed by narratives. Moreover, it is highlighted how these narratives are interconnected with those of others and the broader sociocultural milieu. The chapter then moves on to explore how narratives of 'race' and racialised identity were informed in both pre- and post-1994 South Africa.

Lastly, this chapter provides a brief and by no means exhaustive overview of past research which has examined white identity, black identity as well as black and white youth identity. The studies which are drawn from are largely situated in the current South African climate, however, a few international studies are also examined. Following this a brief conclusion of the chapter is provided.

2. 'Race' and Identity as Socially Constructed Categories

i. 'Race' as a Socially Constructed Category

As stated previously, social constructionism maintains that all claims to knowledge, truth, objectivity or insight are founded within communities of meaning making. As such, knowledge and the construction always involves seeing or hearing from within a particular socio-cultural perspective, context or location. Yet, despite this, social categories such as 'race' and gender are often seen to be objective, natural, inevitable and unchanging facts about the social world. Social categories, therefore, have often been considered to be products of human nature rather than the products of various social conventions and practices (Gergen, 2001; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003).

'Race' is a pseudo-scientific construct which exists as neither a biological nor a scientific entity (Foster, 1992). During the 19th and 20th century biological realism was the dominant view which promoted the notion that 'race' was a biologically objective category which was independent of human classifying activities (Andreasen, 2000). However, racial categories do not correlate in any material way to genetic differences between various groups or individuals. Instead, through a process of racialisation, social significance is attached to certain biological and phenotypical human features on the basis that those people possessing those characteristics are designated as a distinct collective (Miles, 1989).

Thus, 'race' has come to signify the socially constructed divisions of social groups according to their so-called 'race' where the idea of racial classification has come to be intimately associated with racism and the claim that there is a hierarchy of 'races' (Drislane & Parkinson, 2010; Perry, 2007; Scott & Marshall, 2005). Racism comprises a set of representations of the *other* in terms of negatively evaluative contents. Racism is essentially the unequal treatment of a population or group based on their supposed 'race'. Here the supposed physical and biological differences of different 'races' is uncontested and seen to reinforce the notion of a racial hierarchy (Scott & Marshal, 2005). Racism is a discourse that involves particular representations of real or imagined semantic features and that entails attributions of what are taken to be negative characteristics (Hook, 2004c).

Furthermore, racism is a complex and obstinate construct, which is fluid and therefore constantly shifting and evolving. Thus, racism inherently defies an easy and definitive definition. However, having said this, it suffices to say that racism has a number of features which seem to remain constant over time and in various contexts. Firstly, racism is inexorably linked to the assumption that 'race' is a natural, biological phenomenon. Secondly, at an ideological level, racism attempts to legitimise and validate the domination over and marginalisation of certain 'races'. Thirdly, despite the constructedness of 'race', racism has a consistently damaging effect on those who fall under its gaze. Lastly, while racism disadvantages those it victimises it simultaneously benefits racists (Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey & Seedat, 2001).

However, despite the considerable and insidious impact that 'race' and racism exert, it is necessary to emphasise that 'race' is always a product of certain historical, cultural and political conditions and is therefore a social construction. Social constructionism seeks to destabilise notions, such as those outlined above, by demonstrating that the content and membership rules of such categories are often taken for granted, have surrounded us since birth and are fluid as they shift over time and space. Thus, social constructionism suggests that knowledge and the social categories it produces are fragmented and forever shifting (Gergen, 2001; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003).

Apartheid policy adopted 'race' as an unquestionable and inalienable truth, despite evidence to the contrary which suggested that it was a socially constructed category employed to legitimise racialised oppression and domination. The notion of 'race' was used to establish and maintain a state of white dominance which discriminated against black persons and fostered inequality. 'Race' was internalised as an objective social fact and accepted by many as natural and normative, especially when fused with notions of power and supremacy. In many respects 'race' was a rigidly defined construct which allowed little opportunity for the individual to deviate from the roles prescribed by the Nationalist government (Ansell, 2004; Cooper, 2008; Lopez, 2000; Picca & Feagin, 2007; Scott and Marshall, 2005; Rattansi, 2007).

Today 'race' has, however, been widely accepted as a tenacious social construct which is continually evolving with great elasticity to shape social relations, subjectivities and

configurations of personhood. This is mainly due to the fact that racialised truths or realities have essentially been destabilised and are now understood of as products of different contexts, perspectives and sense-making mechanisms. 'Race' and racial categories are now considered entities deployed in scientific racism which reflect various socially constructed features of the world. There is a deep criticism of ‘race’ as a marker of any fundamental material differences between people, and ‘race’ is no longer seen as the indelible mark of one’s bloodline, phenotype or other biological marker. Instead ‘race’, like other qualifications such as ethnicity, gender, identity, etc., is accepted as a social construct marked by subjectivity, fluidity, multiplicity, contingency and corruptibility. 'Race’ is a social construct brought into existence both in and through discursive practices and is only real in that it is experienced as real (Govender, 2006; Green et al., 2007; Lee, 2004; Freedman and Combs, 1996; Foster, 2006; Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003; Mir & Watson, 2000; Mir & Watson, 2001; Olssen, 1996; Shefer & Ratele, 2006; Stevens et al., 2006; Steyn, 2001; White, 2002).

Whilst racial categories like whiteness and blackness do not exist as credible biological properties, they paradoxically still have very real effects. For instance, whiteness can best be understood of as a range of cultural identities and practices, which are in many respects invisible, unnamed, natural and normative. Whiteness is often a somewhat dominant and normative space against which difference is measured and only exists in so far as other racialised identities exist, such as blackness. In this manner whiteness is frequently seen as a standpoint from which the self and others are perceived and understood. Whiteness is a contingent social hierarchy which grants differential access to economic and cultural capital. On the other hand, blackness is often seen as the antithesis to whiteness, that is to say the black *other* is considered by many to be inferior and subordinate (Fearon, 1999; Frankenberg, 2004; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Garner, 2006; Garner, 2007; Mir & Watson, 2000; Rasmussen, 2001; Stevens et al., 2006).

However, despite the constructedness of blackness and whiteness they still have a very real and pervasive impact on society. This illustrates the manner in which social categories, despite being products of social creation and construction, have the potential to be accepted as objective social facts. As such individuals and groups may come to accept and internalise these constructs in their personal capacities and are thus often unable to change or contest them. Thus, social categories, such as 'race', blackness and whiteness, are often

naturalised and viewed as being normative and often have the same necessity as laws which govern the natural world (Fearon, 1999; Frankenberg, 2004; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Garner, 2006; Garner, 2007; Mir & Watson, 2000; Rasmussen, 2001; Stevens et al., 2006).

Furthermore, while overt forms of racism are becoming increasingly rare due to their socially unacceptable nature, new forms of more covert racism are beginning to emerge, highlighting the constant mutability and resilience of such behaviours and beliefs. These more subtle forms of racism are no less racist or offensive than overt forms of racism which were characteristic of apartheid. Instead they are disguised in a more sophisticated and socially accepted argument. Symbolic racism, for example, is a form of covert racism which creates the illusion that the racist is indeed a liberal who espouses racial equality and tolerance. It is a form of resistance to racial change and is based on a moral feeling that blacks violate such traditional white values as individualism, self reliance, work ethic, obedience and discipline. For example, many whites may feel that government assistance to blacks, in the form of welfare, affirmative action policies and so forth are unfair and undeserved (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001; Kinder & Sears, 1981).

Aversive racism, on the other hand, represents a subtle, often unintentional form of prejudice. Here individuals, despite having strong egalitarian values, come to possess negative racist feelings and beliefs, which they are either unaware of or try to distance themselves from by rationalising such beliefs. According to this framework contemporary racism is expressed in indirect ways that do not threaten the aversive racist's non-prejudiced and egalitarian self-image. Aversive racists are often liberals who genuinely believe that they are not racist, but who have deep seated racial prejudices which are in many respects repressed within their unconscious. This causes an experience of ambivalence between the aversive racist’s egalitarian beliefs and their negative feelings toward blacks. This seems to emphasise the perniciousness and insidiousness of racism and racist ideologies, which appears to alter their forms according to changes in the social context and seemingly have a momentum of their own (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Durrheim & Dixon, 2001).

Similarly, the social constructs ethnicity and culture are being utilised with increased frequency as discursive vehicles through which the ideology of racism is being conveyed in

post-apartheid South African society. Stevens, Duncan and Bowman (2006) note that, given the social undesirability of overt forms of racism, ethnicity seems to have emerged as one of the dominant ways in which social inequality is being created, perpetuated and justified in today's society. In this way, ethnicisation is a form of social structuring and differentiation, which produces and reproduces social inequalities along existing social cleavages previously borne out of racist ideology. This process provides a discursive alternative to 'race' and essentially increases the sphere of influence and the tenacity of racist ideology within societies which no longer support overt forms of racialisation. However, the process of ethnicisation is no less damaging than more overt forms of racism. Indeed, ethnicisation is, in many respects, merely a re-articulation of the ideology of racism (Stevens, Duncan & Bowman, 2006).

ii. Identity as a Socially Constructed Category

Similar to 'race', identity is socially constructed, fluid and the product of human thinking, discourse and action. In many respects a person's identity allows them to orientate themselves in physical, social and moral spaces. It is through identity that a person experiences awareness of coherence and distinctiveness of the self. Historically, however, identity has been assumed to be a relatively stable subject. Similarly, people have often come to assume that their identity is a steady constant, which provides a thread of continuity in an otherwise rapidly shifting world. This rather essentialist way of thinking about and understanding identity assumes a unique core or essence of a 'true self', which is seen to be constant and to remain more or less the same throughout one's lifespan (Hall, 1989; Scott & Marshall, 2005). In many ways identity is seen to provide structure for understanding "who" one is by supplying meaning and direction through commitments, values, goals and the sense of personal control. Furthermore, identity is felt to enable the recognition of potential through a sense of future, possibilities and alternative choices (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Driedger, 2003; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Foster, 2006; Hall, 2009; Heer & Wodak, 2008; Kiguwa, 2006b; Meyer & Viljoen, 2003; Sonn, 2006; Rattansi, 2007; Vorauer, Main & O'Connell, 1998; Westwood, 1994).

However, defining identity as a naturally given is in many ways problematic as it seems to ignore and deny the continuous contestations and negotiations which are an intrinsic part of

any identity formation process. Identification is rather a (1) social, (2) transitive and (3) dialectical process which takes place within a specific historical context. Identification is a social process which is not an isolated, individual act taking place within the individual psyche. It is transitive in that we not only 'identify' but rather identify with something or someone. The process of identification is a complex dialectical one because social groups, as identification agents, may actively attempt to ensure identification and in this way transform the individual (Louw-Potgieter, 1992). Identity is an inter-changeable, diverse and sometimes contradictory category which is related to broader socio-historical and political processes. There is no such thing as an inborn self, instead we constitute and invent ourselves through interactions with others and an individual will hold any number of identities at any one time, ranging from an individual identity to a social and/or racial identity. Indeed, context is an essential feature of the self (Nash, 2008).

As noted previously, adolescence is a period which is considered to be crucial for identity development. It is during this period that individuals grapple with a process of self-definition and begin to make choices regarding their sexual, occupational and racial identities, for instance. Furthermore, identity is constructed and modified in relation to the individual's social, cultural and historical context, the transition to tertiary institutions during adolescence also has a substantial impact on identity development. For many, this transition away from childhood to university destabilises previously held beliefs, understandings and values. As such, new social meanings are created, generating new social roles, which inherently disrupts previously held identities through exposure to a relatively more diverse peer group as well as other social agents (Adams, Berzonsky & Keating, 2006; Cockcroft, 2002; De Fina, 2003; Dolby & Cornbleth, 2001; Dolby, 2001b; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Fisher, 2007; Goldschmidt, 2003; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Meacham & Santilli, 1982; Stevens et al., 2006; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Tatum, 2003).

This highlights the fact that identity is not only constructed in relation to the self but rather in relation to the social world more broadly and the *other* more specifically. Social categories, for instance, do not only divide the social world into categories in which others can be located but also provide a system by which we can define our own place in society. It is during this process that we place ourselves as members of some groups and exclude ourselves from other groups. In turn this group membership becomes internalised as part of

the self-concept (de la Ray, 1992). This echoes Fanon's notion that the gaze of the *other* fixes one's identity. Thus, one can assume that there is no identity without the *other*. This further highlights the assertion that identity is not a fixed point, but rather an ambivalent point which is fluid and transient (Hall, 1989).

During apartheid racialised identities, labels and roles were imposed with relative rigidity on South Africans, to some extent, predetermining life paths and access to social, cultural and political resources as well as identities. During this time identity was, to a great extent, assigned more than it was selected or adopted. Furthermore, racial identity was typically formed around the axis of 'race' and in relative isolation from other racial groups. For instance, many white South Africans shared an experience of whiteness which contained the individual and offered an in-group sense of relative privilege as well as belonging and identity. Similarly, politicisation provided black adolescents with a framework in which to generate meanings for social experiences and to challenge these adverse experiences. Through a process of political activism, where common oppressive experiences and a common enemy were identified, a shared social identity was actively promoted amongst black South Africans. Thus, during apartheid 'race' became a key determinant of one's identity (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Dolby, 2001b; Foley, 1992; Green et al., 2007; Howard, 2000; Kiguwa, 2006b; McCandless & Evans, 1973; Salusbury & Foster, 2004; Sennett & Foster, 1996; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Steyn, 2001; Steyn, 2004).

In post-apartheid South Africa, however, the socio-political changes have in many ways disrupted the status quo and many South Africans, especially the older generations, have the feeling that they are adrift in a world which they don't fully understand or relate to. The shared racialised experiences that contained individuals and provided South Africans with a relatively stable set of identities have been unsettled. Furthermore, whilst identities were formed in relative isolation from other racial groups during apartheid they are now being formed in constant conversation and conflict with the *other*. However, despite the unsettling of previous markers of identity which characterised apartheid, 'race' as a marker of identity is not something which can be relegated to older generations. Indeed, 'race' still exerts a great force over the lives of South Africans as the country is still relatively divided and defined by 'race'. Thus, the racialised identities of the youth are not merely reflections of previous generations' battles and antagonisms. Instead, the youths' identities and

relationships are products of the 'new' South Africa and the racial politics of this time. This emphasises both the continued impact that 'race' and the socio-political context has on identities as well as the relative fluidity of racialised identities in post-1994 South Africa (Dolby, 2001b; Steyn, 2001).

Furthermore, it is also important to reiterate that identities and subjectivities[4] are composed of the mutually independent constructs of 'race', gender, class and sexuality, especially in post-1994 South Africa (Nash, 2008). For example, class identity often becomes salient when the individual moves from one context to another. Thus, as South Africans adjust to the sociocultural and political changes in South Africa, which have, amongst other things, seen an emerging black middle class, so class becomes a more prominent marker of identity. This is especially noticeable amongst South African youths (Frable, 1997). Thus, by merely concentrating on a specific facet of identity, for instance 'race', class or sexuality, one is at risk of neglecting the overall complexity of human identity. Indeed, thinking of these facets of identity as discrete and separable has been artificially limiting. Thus, the self is both constituted and fragmented by the intersections of various identity categories (Areheart, 2006; Davis, 2008).

3. Narratives in Relation to 'Race' and Racialised Identity

As stated previously this report maintains that what is described, understood and even seen is not necessarily a direct consequence of the materiel 'reality' of the world, but rather of the meanings carried within a given society. Similarly, our understanding of our and others' identities are a product of communal interchange (S. Taylor, 2007). In an attempt to understand the world around us, ourselves and our identities, we draw on the repertoires of sense making devices, such as narratives[5], which furnish our culture. It is through these narratives or stories that individuals and groups are able to construct, maintain, alter and share identities as they choose. In many ways identity is a narrative of the self; more

[4] As discussed previously, identity allows a person to experience awareness of coherence and distinctiveness of the self (Scott & Marshall, 2005). In this way identity refers to the salient, situated characteristics that individuals attribute to themselves and which are attributed to them by others (Scanlon, Rowling & Weber, 2007). Conversely, subjectivity refers to the individual subject and their personal perspective, interpretations, feelings, beliefs and desires (Lester, 1999; Solomon, 2005).

[5] It is important to note that narrative is not only a literary genre or form of human discourse but a basic property of the human mind (Riessman, 1993).

specifically it is the story we tell about the self in order to know who we are. Thus, narratives contribute to the construction and display of our sense of who we are as an integrated whole, with properties of stability and continuity over time (Hall, 1989; Howard, 2000; Schiffrin, 1996). These private constructions typically correlate and mesh with a community of narratives and therefore reflect deep structures about the social world, including the power structures inherent to any given society. Thus, narratives offer a worthwhile vehicle for studying not only the social world but also identity (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001).

In general, narratives refer to a particular kind of text organised around consequential events and memories in the teller's life, which define values and specify a set of fixed points of historical significance (Hyden & Overlien, 2004). Furthermore, this narrative can occupy any written or spoken form (Polkinghorne, 1988). Many have argued that the ability to make meaning from events, both past and present, is dependent upon the ability to construct a narrative. For instance, life's events are rarely coherent and never manifest as stories. Instead it is the experience of the event which becomes the story. The process of such storytelling and creation is largely habitual, and helps us to organise new experiences and information daily. It is for this reason that narratives have a large part to play in human activities. In essence, narratives enable us to perceive human experiences as socially positioned, culturally grounded and coherent. The narrator will create a plot from what are ordinarily disordered and unrelated experiences, presenting them in a unified manner which is neither natural nor a true representation of the reality. It is out of these stories that meaning is distilled and produced, allowing for one to understand events and actions despite the underlying truths not being fully known (Adams et al., 2006; Hiles & Čermák, 2008; Jaworski & Coupland, 1999; Picca & Feagin, 2007; Riessman, 1993; Thomas, 2001).

The way we tell our stories also reveals a self that exists within a cultural matrix of meanings, beliefs, and normative practices. For instance, both the style and substance of stories are sensitive parameters of ethnicity, 'race', social class, gender, age and region. The form of our stories, the content of our stories as well as our story-telling behaviour are all sensitive indices not just of our personal selves, but also of our social and cultural identities (Schiffrin, 1996). As such narratives do not remain constant over time as they are laced with social discourses and power relations, which are ever shifting. Similarly, narratives serve a

specific social function and are shaped by the collective consciousness, shared societal processes and the speaker's current location in society. In many respects, plots, or the sequence of events, are drawn from the narrator's cultural context, emphasising that culture and individuals work together to co-create narratives (Camic, Rhodes & Yardley, 2003; Coombes, 2003; Curthoys, 2006; Elliott, 2007; Hiles & Čermák, 2008; Holloway, 2005; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998; Olick & Levy, 1997; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Riessman, 1993; Rubin, 1999; Steyn, 2001; Thomas, 2001; Zerubavel, 1996).

Thus, shared communal narratives act as prototypical ways of being and help one to understand both the self and others by containing and defining identities. These cultural narratives, which determine and shape the individual's life narrative, circulate in society and constitute our lives (Freedman & Combs, 1996). Closely related to the idea of communal and shared narratives is the concept of 'master narratives', which describes scripts which are typically designed to support the power of the dominant group and which specify and control how some social processes are carried out (Stanley, 2007). During apartheid the state created a master narrative which, on the one hand, framed whiteness as largely superior and, on the other hand, framed blackness as mostly inferior. This simultaneously underwrote the material and psychological experiences of South Africans as well as offering a frame for understanding the social world (Nettleton, 1972; Sennett & Foster, 1996). Montecinos (1995) notes that the use of master narratives to produce and reproduce certain identities will unavoidably provide a very restricted set of identities, which essentialise and wipe out the complexities and richness of a group's cultural life.

To a large extent, narratives are transmitted through discourse. Defined broadly, discourse refers to language use relative to social, political and cultural formations, which not only reflects but also shapes social order. In many ways language constitutes who we are, it not only allows us to understand and think about ourselves but also defines the various positions we occupy. Furthermore, language is the medium via which we interact with others and our social milieu. Discourse can therefore also be understood as institutionalised way of talking that regulates and reinforces action thereby exerting power. In essence, discourses exercise power in a society because they institutionalise and regulate ways of talking, thinking and acting. For instance, discourses can serve to express, convey, legitimate, produce or indeed conceal or deny such negative racial attitudes. Thus, discourse

fills out and confirms wider patterns of social organisation and its inherent power structures. Furthermore, society, culture and power relations are essentially constituted by discourse, where power and domination are legitimised through discursive practices. Indeed 'race' is a social construct brought into existence both in and through discursive practices and is only real in that it is experienced as real (Burman, Kottler, Levett & Parker, 1997; Chatman, 1980; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Jager & Maier, 2009; Jaworski & Coupland, 1999; van Dijk, 2001).

One of the purposes of examining the discourses and the narratives which they constitute, is to debate the ways in which everyday discourse both reproduces and challenges institutional power relations (Duncan, 2001). Power, according to Foucault (cited in Burman et al., 1997), is not the exercise of some authoritative and dominating force which emanates from a single point deep within the heart of the state. Instead, power is relayed in many nuanced ways through countless channels which range from the media to daily conversations. Burman et al. (1997), for example, argue that apartheid's power did not only reside in the state apparatus, but in the very fabric of everyday discourse. As such, discourse is seen to be inexorably intertwined with power, where narratives (especially auto-biographical narratives) are inherently more than mere descriptions of events.

An example of how narratives can be used to foster identity and provide a framework for understanding one's place in the world can be found in the theological development of Afrikanerdom through master narratives appropriated from Christianity. In many respects the origins of this master narrative of Afrikaner Nationalism can be ascribed to a rigid Calvinism which cast the Afrikaners as a chosen and covenanted people, similar to the Israelites of the Old Testament. In this manner early Afrikaners presumed a divine mandate to smite heathen peoples and reduce them to their pre-ordained position as perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water (Du Toit, 1983). In 1944 the chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond, van Rooy, stated that God had created the Afrikaner people with a unique language, history and traditions so that they may rise up and be His servants and fulfil a particular destiny in South Africa (Thompson, 1985).

Conversely blacks were actively constructed as 'creatures' who were infantile, lustful, immoral, savage and not fully human in order to validate their subjugation and exploitation

(Du Toit, 1983; Moore, 2005). These narratives of blackness were often intended to be accepted as fixed and natural, yet they had to be endlessly and anxiously repeated and reconfirmed by the coloniser, highlighting their constructedness (Kapoor, 2002). When the National Party rose to power in 1948 the discourse embodied by van Rooy's statement was used to legitimise the regimes' harsh racial policies. This cluster of constructs, which has been used to explain and justify racial inequality and repression in latter day Afrikaner dominated societies, constitutes a historical master narrative of whiteness more broadly and Afrikanerdom more specifically (Du Toit, 1983).

One can also generate a greater understanding of shifting broader social phenomena by analysing individual narratives and looking for emerging themes which are representative of shared or collective narratives. Narratives of the self are essentially represented against a backdrop of socio-cultural expectations. As these socio-cultural expectations change so do people's narratives of their identities (Schiffrin, 1996). Thus, by examining the trajectory of South Africans' narratives of identity one is able to trace the changes in identity in post-1994 South Africa. Essentially the narratives offer a window into exploring the often diverse, unstable, fragmented and diffuse sets of multiple identities which have emerged in post-1994 South Africa due to the changing social, political and economic terrain (Stevens, 2003).

For instance, with the changes in post-apartheid South Africa, many of apartheid's narratives have been turned on their head, reflecting a society in flux. For instance, apartheid's master narrative has been abandoned, labelled as socially undesirable and replaced by the multicultural pluralism of the *Rainbow Nation*. Indeed there is no single master narrative for liberation, rather there must be multiple narratives as different groups and individuals define their own experiences of oppression and map new narratives of empowerment (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995).

4. Narratives of 'Race' and Racialised Identity in South Africa

i. Narratives of 'Race' and Racialised Identity in Pre-1994 South Africa

'Race' has in many respects come to be synonymous with South Africa and South African history, particularly in the 20th century, which saw the rise and fall of the apartheid state. Apartheid has, according to Norval (1996), always been a notoriously difficult phenomenon

to characterise. The term 'apartheid' has, for example, been used to refer both to the practices which came into being more than three hundred years ago (making the history of apartheid coincide largely with that of South Africa) and to the more narrowly defined set of legislative measures that came to fruition with the rise of the National Patty to power in 1948 (Norval, 1996). Rather than being a distinctive policy with a historically defined beginning (1948) and end (1994), apartheid was the result of a process of arbitrary classification of South Africans on the basis of a variable definition of the construct of 'racial' difference (Franchi, 2003b).

This classification and the ensuing racial discrimination, segregation and oppression can be traced as far back as the 19th century colonialism where British imperialists enforced a firm divide between so-called 'Europeans' and 'coloureds' (Franchi, 2003b). During this time the West came to dominate the world through the acquisition and accumulation of territory and black subjects. The Western economies of the 19th century had almost insatiable appetites for overseas markets, raw materials, cheap labour and profitable land. This process of colonisation took place on an astounding scale and scarcely a corner of life was/is untouched by the facts of Empire (Treacher, 2005).

During this time it was felt that 'race' was the fundamental division of humanity and the different 'races' possessed inherently different cultural as well as physical qualities (Louw & Foster, 1992). However, the implementation of apartheid policy was only formalised in 1948 with the election of the Nationalist Party who came to govern South African on a platform of apartheid. The laws and acts passed by the government decreed, amongst other things, that all South Africans would be categorised on the basis of their supposed membership of one of four official racial groups, namely 'White', 'Bantu' (or the so-called 'Black' people of native African origin), 'Coloured' (those of so-called 'mixed-races' or 'mixed descent'), and later 'Asian' (people of Indian, Pakistani and Chinese origin). This resulted in the structural entrenchment of racial segregation, discrimination, oppression and exploitation of the black majority by a white minority (Franchi, 2003b).

Apartheid was essentially a political system that granted material and social privilege to white South Africans and ensured that they monopolise political power so as to maintain that privilege (Simms, 2000). Apartheid policy came to regulate every aspect of political,

economic, social and personal life along the axis of 'race'. By enforcing an overarching system of oppression, discrimination and segregation of material, economic, political and subjective reality on the basis of 'race', white South Africans were virtually guaranteed full employment, higher salaries, better compensation for injuries, better health care, a standard of housing and so forth (Bulhan, 1985). On the other hand, black South Africans were progressively stripped of their citizenship, homes, human rights and so forth. For instance, laws passed between 1948 and 1958 enforced the segregation of residential areas, labour, education and social services as well as the prohibition of marriage (The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949) and sexual relations (The Immorality Act of 1950) between whites and non-whites (Franchi, 2003b). Apartheid's regulations entrenched social asymmetry, inequality and enforced separateness functioned to ensure that while whites were privileged blacks were often relegated to the lowest rungs of the social ladder (Franchi, 2003b; Wale & Foster, 2007).

The colonialist situation is seen by Fanon as being akin to a Manichaean world in that it is rigidly cleaved into two absolutes of white and black, good and bad, coloniser and colonised, etc (Dalal, 2002). Fanon theorised that out of such circumstances two camps, one black and one white, emerged, which exist within the grip of a massive psycho-existential complex (Hook, 2004a). For him each one suffered its own misfortune; the white man's disaster, according to Fanon, arises from the fact that he killed man. The disaster of the black man, on the other hand, rests on the fact that he was once a slave. Because of these two disasters, which are inexorably linked and interconnected, human history and indeed the human psyche have been shaped such that whiteness is associated with a superiority complex and blackness with an inferiority complex. Fanon felt that under these auspices whites wished to seek the status of demigods and to keep blacks in their 'place' and that blacks either wish to become white[6] or react with envious resentment upon realising that they will never be white (Bulhan, 1985; Hook, 2004a). This dichotomous relationship, however, implies that whiteness and blackness can never exist independently, but only in relationship with the *other.* In this way whiteness can only define itself as superior if blackness is devalued and constructed as inferior (Macey, 2000).

[6] Where the wish to turn white is associated with the wish to attain the level of humanity accorded to whites in racist contexts (Hook, 2004a).

From the above discussion one can see that the racialised oppression in apartheid South Africa violated the black individual's space, time, energy and mobility, bonding and identity, where the oppressed found both their physical and psychological space unacknowledged, intruded into and curtailed. Furthermore, black South African's individual and collective identities were frequently challenged, undermined and confused (Bulhan, 1985). The colonial discourse, which informed apartheid, is such that the definition of being human is made identical to white coloniser and their knowledge system. In contrast the *other* is relegated to the side lines as something almost primitive (Dalal, 2002).

As Treacher (2005, p. 44) states "Colonised subjects are precisely that – subjects, subject to the desires and needs of others". Under these conditions of prolonged oppression certain psychological defences and patterns of identity development emerged amongst both the oppressed and oppressor. For instance, the oppressed often being to identify with their aggressors and will often internalise feelings of inferiority, which results in them attempting to simultaneously assimilate the dominant culture and reject their own culture. This, in turn, has the potential to foster feelings of self-loathing and self-rejection (Bulhan, 1985; Hook, 2004b). Furthermore, the oppressed often appropriates the label(s) provided by the dominant culture and frequently begins to internalise these labels, to the extent that their own sense of identity is sometimes mediated by the labels which are ascribed to them (Goldschmidt, 2003).

Biko (1978) postulated that the white domination and subjugation of black South Africans was essentially preparing the black man for a subservient role. He felt that the apparatus of apartheid served in producing a kind of black man who was man only in form due to the destructive and dehumanising process of oppression under apartheid. Biko (1978) goes on to echo Fanon's *double consciousness* (see Moore, 2005) when he describes how, under apartheid, black South Africans were quick to condemn white rule in private spheres, but were always sure to praise the Nationalist government in the presence of whites. This double bind is further exacerbated by the black South African's belief that his own lack of education and self-worth deny him the ability to be white, further intensify feelings of self-disgust and self-blame. Furthermore, Biko (1978) maintains that under such circumstances of oppression younger generations of black South Africans will often come to reject and despise their own culture and heritage. In this way he felt that young black South Africans

came to measure themselves against the normative standards of whiteness, perpetuating a vicious cycle of self-loathing as they could not match up to this comparison due to their position as the oppressed (Biko, 1978).

In comparison to the difficulties facing black South Africans, whites were, for the most part, constructed as superior. Narratives of whiteness during apartheid seemed to not only entrench racial stereotypes, which typecast blacks as inferior and whites as superior, but to also legitimise apartheid's system of institutionalised racism (Hartigan, 1999; Jupp, 1995; Kinloch, 2003; Said, 1995). For the most part the majority of white South Africans during apartheid grew up without ever really being confronted by the problematisation of 'race' and what it meant to be white. As with black South Africans, the master narrative of identity presented by apartheid also framed the subjective realities of white South Africans. Thus, many white South Africans also came to internalise the notion that whites were superior and blacks inferior. It is perhaps important to note that despite the essentialised nature of this account of identity during apartheid many black and white South Africans were conscientised and began to openly reject the ideologies espoused by the apartheid state (Biko, 1978; Nettleton, 1972; Sennett & Foster, 1996).

ii. Narratives of 'Race' and Racialised Identity in Post-1994 South Africa

The democratic elections in April 1994 brought a formal end to the apartheid era (Norval, 1996). The process of consolidating democracy in South Africa in the years that have followed the 1994 elections has included many significant and far-reaching changes in the country's political, social, economic and cultural life. The macrolevel changes, which were aimed at remedying the massive inequalities perpetuated by the apartheid state, included bodies and policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme, employment equity strategies such as affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), inclusive education policies, improved access to health care facilities, improved infrastructure for all, reconciliation efforts between various racialised groups, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, reframing of racial categories and so forth (Stevens et al., 2006).

Another important change was the promotion of the *Rainbow Nation* by Mandela's government of National Unity. *Rainbow Nationism* has manifested in many symbolic and

discursive interventions designed to encourage and celebrate racial reconciliation in the post-apartheid years (Coombes, 2003; Kiguwa, 2006b; Stevens, Duncan & Bowman, 2006; Terre Blanche, 2006). Non-racialism was a creditable and integral goal of the anti-apartheid struggle and although such an ideal remains an important aspect of the new constitution, in practice it has emerged as a much more contested and contradictory canon. There is for instance a continued identification of individuals by 'race' in conversation and the media. Similarly the racial categories defined by the apartheid state are still actively used on a daily basis, albeit insidiously and with much recalcitrance (Abdi, 1999; Ansell, 2004; Clark & Worger, 2004; McKinney, 2007; Posel, 2001; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997).

The above mentioned changes have generally been received by the populace as positive and hopeful. However, despite the changes heralded by the 1994 elections, racialised categories and racism are as much a part of daily life in South Africa as they were during apartheid. Like the ending of colonialism the ending of apartheid was a time of high hopes and ideals but pessimism seemed to set in as the extent to which whites still hold most of the power, economic wealth and control in South Africa became clear. The reality is that the legacies of apartheid and colonialism still haunt South Africa. They are not material facts relegated to the past; instead, they continue to exert an ever present and serious force on people's lived experience, on psychic lives, on matters of globalisation and of material relations (Treacher, 2005). Hook (2004b) asserts that all post-colonial societies are still subject to subtle forms of neo-colonial domination and that independence and democracy has not solved these problems. Treacher (2005) further supports this notion by arguing that the legacy of apartheid and colonialism are enduring issues that continuously wield power over how subjectivity is shaped. He goes on to state that no one, regardless of our heritage or current socio-cultural position, is exempt from postcolonial relations, ideologies or values. For Fanon, and indeed most postcolonial theorists, no one escapes the effects and corrosions of colonialism (Treacher, 2005).

Yet, despite these concerns, the abolishment of apartheid has disrupted the status quo and has resulted in many dilemmas of selfhood. Thus, many identities have become dislocated and subsequently reconstituted in a new, unfamiliar context which individuals no longer fully understand or relate to. Many of the shared experiences which sought to contain the individual and provided a sense of identity during apartheid have been dismantled and new

identities are having to be negotiated for both the individual and the broader community (Collier, 2005; Frankenberg, 2004; Green et al., 2007; Horrell, 2004; Kasese-Hara, 2006; Rattansi, 2007; Steyn, 2001). For instance, whiteness is now beginning to be characterised by feelings of guilt, fear, alienation and dislocation. Following the democratic changes of 1994 whiteness has been unhinged from its privileged position. Thus, white South Africans are being forced to construct a range of new *petit* narratives of whiteness, which invariably compete to explain and promote a view of how being white should be construed in a rapidly changing socio-cultural climate (Aveling, 2004; Bonnett, 1999; Dolby, 2001a; Farber, 2009; Steyn, 2001).

Furthermore, many have come to accept that in post-apartheid South Africa, individuals have the relative autonomy to construct their own identity. Essentially, individuals are seen as able to select a set of psychological and interpersonal goals based on values of individuation, self-determination, social approval, belonging, social responsibility, equity and caring for or about others. However, many tensions exist. For instance, the new political dispensation in South Africa has impacted on black adolescents. Virtually overnight they have been required to redefine their identities in terms of the most prevalent social norms and values – many of which black youths opposed and rejected during the mid-1980's (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Karenga, 2001; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). This once again echoes Fanon's instance that blacks wish of becoming white is in direct conflict with their material existence in a black body and in a racist society which limits the attainability of this wish (Hook, 2004a).

Thus, black South African youths are struggling with contradictory prescriptions which prescribe roles that are consistent with a Western capitalist framework, but which are frequently unattainable due to the racist legacy of South African society. Similarly, much literature on 'race', especially that based on critical 'race' studies, tends to explain 'race' and racism by rigidly presupposing white dominance and black inferiority. Thus, despite the relative fluidity of identity in post-apartheid South Africa, a certain degree of rigidity exists (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Karenga, 2001; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997).

In addition to this, many black South Africans continue to struggle under the burdens of labels which were imposed on them during apartheid and which continue to be imposed on

them, albeit more insidiously, in post-apartheid South Africa. In many respects, many black South Africans have internalised, incorporated and accepted the prejudices white South Africans have bestowed on them. This internalised oppression is liable to be expressed in deep seated feelings of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence and feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness and gratefulness for being allowed to survive. Indeed, Padilla (2001) notes that over time the oppressed begin to believe what the dominant say about them. In other words, the oppressed may come to internalise that they are subhuman, inferior, incapable of dignified tasks, and a burden to society, thereby reinforcing self-fulfilling negative stereotypes (Henrard, 2002; Jenkins, 1994; Moodley & Adam, 2000; Padilla, 2001; Pheterson, 1986).

As Fanon argued, "the colonised man is enslaved by his feeling of inferiority because of the colonisation of his psyche and the transplantation of ideas and images into it, which impresses on him that he is inferior to the white colonialist" (Azu-Okeke, 2003). Thus, many black South Africans seem to still carry the legacy of apartheid within themselves despite efforts of reformation and transformation. For instance, in Nigeria the effect of the subjugation and psychic colonisation of blacks was illustrated by Chinua Achebe who described how 'educated' black Nigerians in Britain rejected Amos Tutuola's novel (1952) because it was written in a colloquial language known as 'pidgin' English.

Many white South Africans, on the other hand, seem to be almost unaware of how the legacy of apartheid continues to benefit them. For instance, many are unlikely to attribute their self confidence in daily life to a deep seated colonial status hierarchy. Instead, many are likely, in accordance with aversive racism theorising (Kinder & Sears, 1981), to attribute their successes and achievements to hard work and innate ability. However, one cannot discount the fact that many white South Africans are culprits of white racism and feelings of superiority, albeit insidiously despite egalitarian views and beliefs. In many respects white South Africans also seem to have internalised prejudices against black *others*. As a result many have come to almost internalise feelings of superiority, normalcy and self-righteousness, even if this is at an unconscious level (Henrard, 2002; Moodley & Adam, 2000; Padilla, 2001; Pheterson, 1986).

In many respects internalised domination perpetuates oppression of others and alienation from oneself by either denying or degrading all but a narrow range of human possibilities. It is important to note that internalised oppression and internalised domination interact not only between different groups and individuals but also intra-psychically within one person. Oppression and domination are experienced as a mutually reinforcing web of insecurities and rigidities. For example, despite the fact that the political consequences of oppression (powerlessness) are opposite to those of domination (power and privilege), the psychological consequences are surprisingly alike. In other words, the fear of violence one feels as a victim of oppression reinforces the fear of revenge felt by an agent of oppression (Henrard, 2002; Moodley & Adam, 2000; Padilla, 2001; Pheterson, 1986). As such, white South Africans' feelings of superiority are often accompanied by contradictory feelings of guilt, fear, denial of reality and alienation (Ansell, 2004; Bacchi, 1996; Clark & Worger, 2004; Franchi, 2006; Harvey, 2001; Trepagnier, 2006).

Similarly, despite the apparent dominance of whiteness, many white South Africans feel disenfranchised and victimised in post-apartheid South Africa. The loss of the white South African's privileged status is not only seen as discriminatory against themselves but also as a signal of decreasing standards, increasing corruption and the end of meritocracy and is expressed through feelings of marginalisation and victimisation. The afore mentioned feelings of denial, which are infused with a sense of victimisation, are particularly evident amongst white South African youths who are finding themselves in a landscape which is not only tainted by the legacy of apartheid but also fragmented by the new South Africa – both of which have a significant impact on their lives and identities. Thus, it has become evident that, despite the changes South Africa has experienced, old racist stereotypes and racism have not dissipated and that racism continues to exist (Ansell, 2004; Bacchi, 1996; Clark & Worger, 2004; Franchi, 2006; Harvey, 2001; Steyn, 2005; Trepagnier, 2006).

Whiteness is, however, not unique in its instability and ambivalence following the changes brought about following the 1994 elections. Blackness has historically been constructed as the antithesis to whiteness, where the black *other* was seen to be infantile, sexually licentious and irrational – in short, everything that white Europe frowned upon. During apartheid black South Africans experienced higher unemployment rates, which often resulted in many able-bodied adolescents resorting to self-destructive behaviour, such as

drug or alcohol abuse. Similarly, the lack of access to educational services resulted in poorer academic performance and consequently, fewer prospects for social upliftment among black adolescents. As with white South Africans, those socio-historical structures which shaped black identity during apartheid have shifted fundamentally leaving black South Africans with the task of negotiating new and altered identities (Alexander, 2007; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997).

For instance, many black youths are now faced with contradictory role expectations. On one hand they have been exposed to the imagery, symbols and values that encourage individual achievement and upward social mobility. They now have to define themselves in terms of the most prevalent social norms and values which are strikingly similar to those espoused during apartheid. Yet, they have simultaneously been refused access to any significant material resources that may allow for this. Thus, they are juxtaposed between a dominant white capitalist ideology on the one hand, and a racist ideology on the other. Furthermore, there is a tension between the dominance of black people politically and the disempowerment of many black South Africans on a daily basis. Similarly, public discourse of *Rainbow Nationism* serves to further complicate the situation by undermining efforts to identify and address racial inequality. It is as if the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* undermines anti-racism efforts, thereby stunting transformation. These contradictions result in confusions and ambivalence which highlight the sense that, to a large extent, dominance is no longer as clear and apparent as it was during apartheid (Alexander, 2007; Kiguwa, 2006b; Soudien, 2007; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997).

5. Past Research in Post-1994 South Africa

According to the tenets of social constructionism 'race' is a socially created construct, which not only serves to organise and stratify society but is also a determining force in identity. Furthermore, identity is not free floating, but rather a project of interlocking personal and social factors, which are in constant conversation with the structures of the world. Thus, racialised identities are social constructions which, despite their fluidity, have an indisputably large influence over the lives, identities and material realities of South Africans. Narratives offer a means of structuring, maintaining and arranging such social constructions, which are, for the most part, diffuse and incoherent. Furthermore, these narratives are

culturally embedded and informed by the individual's social milieu (Nuttall, 2001; Steyn, 2001; Walker, 2005b).

This section aims to provide a brief, and by no means exhaustive, exposé of past research that has been conducted in these broad areas. Firstly, studies focussing on whiteness in post-apartheid South Africa will be explored. Secondly, studies dealing with black identities in post-1994 South Africa will be examined. Lastly, studies focussing on the identities of black and white South African youths will be discussed. It should also be emphasised that while some of the research was not conducted with South Africans, much of the data is consistent with finding made in South Africa.

i. White Identity in Post-1994 South Africa

Within societies which have been, or still are, white dominated (such as those in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Australia, New Zealand, the United States of America, Europe and so forth) whiteness is often understood as an invisible and normative identity, which is frequently seen to exist outside of the social, cultural and political forces which shape and racialise the identities of the marginalised *other*. Thus, whiteness is often considered a natural and invisible identity. This was particularly evident in pre-1994 South Africa where white identity was largely unquestioned and considered to be stable, immutable and supreme (Bonnett, 1999; Hartigan, 1999; Green & Sonn, 2005; Jupp, 1995; Kinloch, 2003). Frankenberg (1993) argues that whiteness is often considered to be a location which offers racialised structural advantage and privilege. Similarly, whiteness is often the normative standpoint from where whites consider themselves, *others* and society more broadly. In other words whiteness is often the unmarked category against which difference is constructed. In this way, whiteness typically refers to a set of cultural practices that are, for the most part, unmarked, unnamed and unnoticed (Frankenberg, 1993; Lipsitz, 1995).

This construction of whiteness as an often invisible and dominant position in society is an extension of colonialism, which actively constructed white immigrants as supreme, migrant elites. Narratives of whiteness which emerged from this time helped instate the cultural and racial stereotypes and myths which, in turn, served to legitimise institutionalised racism, the invasion of new territories as well as the subordination of the colonised populace (Hartigan,

1999; Jupp, 1995; Kinloch, 2003; Said, 1995). For instance, in colonies such as South Africa, Australia, the Southern states of the United States of America and so forth, laws were passed to help ensure the preservation of ethnically and racially homogenous societies as well as to ensure the continued domination of the non-white *other*. During apartheid these laws were expanded and ensured that South Africans would have different rights and privileges based on their 'race' (Jupp, 1995).

During apartheid, many white South Africans grew up without having their 'whiteness', privileged status or assumed superiority confronted. During this time narratives of whiteness seemed to revolve around the axis of white supremacy, dominance and normativity, and whites were seen to be dominant in most spheres of activity. However, it is somewhat fallacious to assume that during apartheid white identity was a homogenous construction. For example, despite the fact that many white South Africans supported the Nationalist government, many whites felt exceedingly guilty about apartheid's racist policies. While many choose to either ignore or deny this guilt there were some white South Africans who became conscientised and even politically involved, and embarked on a process of attempting to alter their reality (Nettleton, 1972; Sennett & Foster, 1996).

The democratic changes of 1994 have meant that, amongst other things, the meaning(s) of whiteness as well as the implications of being white in South Africa have been destabilised and unalterably transformed. However, the nature, degree and desirability of these alterations have been understood in numerous and often contradictory ways. What has, however, remained evident is that whiteness is no longer fixed or undeviating, but rather a site of change and struggle. Thus, whiteness is both constructing and being constructed by changing narratives which describe and provide the meaning of whiteness. Furthermore, while whiteness was relatively more homogenous during apartheid, it is now characterised by a more heterogeneous range of *petit* narratives which are inherently paradoxical and which are competing with one another to explain and promote a view of how whiteness should be. Moreover, whiteness is very much characterised by feelings of guilt, fear, alienation and dislocation. Thus, the democratic changes have unbalanced whiteness and its assumed dominance in South Africa, particularly in the political arena. However, despite the shifting nature of whiteness, whites are still seen to be relatively privileged (Aveling, 2004; Bonnett, 1999; Dolby, 2001; Farber, 2009; Steyn, 2001).

In a study of whiteness following the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, Steyn (2001) endeavoured to outline both the collapse and fragmentation of white narratives which had emerged during apartheid and the emergence of competing, alternative narratives that described, explained and produced whiteness in the changing social climate of post-1994 South Africa. Steyn (2001) outlined five emergent narratives of whiteness, 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*. These narratives reflect both an investment in and disinvestment from the past's conceptions of whiteness, as crystallised by apartheid. In a similar study conducted in Australia, Green and Sonn (2005) explored white Australians' discourse about their involvement in reconciliation processes. Eichstedt (2001), on the other hand, explored the somewhat problematic identities of white antiracism activists in the United States of America. The narratives from these studies shall be compared and contrasted in order to try and elucidate a deeper and richer understanding of whiteness.

In the theme *Still colonial after all these years* whiteness is constructed in a way which is unchanged and fundamentalist, despite the broader socio-political changes which have taken place in post-1994 South Africa. *This shouldn't happen to a white,* is similar in that the narrative expresses how whites feel as if they have been victimised by the 'unfair' and 'irrational' reversal in the normal racial status quo (Steyn, 2001). This narrative of victimhood is echoed in the findings made by Green and Sonn (2005) and Eichstedt (2001) who noted that in Australia and the United States of America that whites (especially white men) often feel victimised by the perceived phenomenon of reverse racism and suggest that the continuation of white dominance will be beneficial to all.

In contrast to this narrative, some white Australians project their own racist feelings onto 'other' white Australians. This essentially serves to preserve them as the 'good' whites while simultaneously allowing them to benefit from their proximity to racist views. In accordance with symbolic racism their claim of liberalism masks not only deep seated racist beliefs but also their belief in white privilege (Green & Sonn, 2006). Similarly in South Africa there are those whites who have come to accept the changes in South Africa's power structures as permanent and who try to find pragmatic and socially acceptable expressions of whiteness in the *Rainbow Nation*.

For instance, in the narrative *Don't think white, it's all right* there is an undercurrent of disharmony, but overriding this is a sense of optimism. Similarly, the narratives of those who fall under *A whiter shade of white* feel that they have not internalised the racist attitudes of South African society. Instead they feel that they are colourblind and non-racialised (Steyn, 2001). However, as CRT cautions, these narratives are deeply embedded in a discourse of denial which serves to distance them from responsibility and accountability for their own racialisation and racist attitudes. Furthermore, such narratives seek to protect the positive self image of whites by either splitting off and projecting outwards racial aspects of the narrator's experience or repressing these aspects of the self (Eichstedt, 2001; Green & Sonn, 2005; Steyn, 2001).

Those white South Africans who are moving away from their whiteness in different ways tell the story *Under African skies, or, white but not quite*. This narrative does not hang on to the old, familiar discourse of whiteness as a template for the future, instead it seeks to define new identities by drawing on other discursive and cultural repertoires to supplement or replace previous white identity (Steyn, 2001). Under the auspices of reconciliation white Australians are also being forced to negotiate new identities. There is, however, the sense that white Australians' desires for reconciliation are based primarily on what they can gain from the process. For example, many white Australians have romanticised indigenous peoples knowledge and culture (where the 'indigenous other' is seen as exotic and having a harmonious relationship with nature, heightened spiritual development and a rich cultural background), which they believe will be made available to them via reconciliation. In this way the culture of the black *other* is essentialised and patronised in line with the stereotypes and myths generated by whites during the time of imperialism. This seems to mirror the way in which African culture has been romanticised and commodified in post-apartheid South Africa (Ahluwalia, 2003; Green & Sonn, 2005; Said, 1995).

Furthermore, the significance white South Africans attach to being white is often paradoxical. For instance, white English speaking South Africans typically claim to be 'cultureless' and un-racialised. In a study focussing on identities in post-apartheid South Africa Salusbury and Foster (2004) found white English speaking South Africans did not express a coherent collective identity or cultural perspective. Thus, their sense of identity as white English speaking South Africans was interlaced with avoidance of a cultural or racial

subjectivity. Indeed, many seemed to attribute culture to the black *other* (i.e. to Zulus, Indians, Muslims, Buddhists and so forth). In keeping with CRT, these claims to culturelessness emphasise the invisible normativity of whiteness where the *other* was racialised in terms of their own white culture. Furthermore, this group was often quick to assign racism and the blame for apartheid to Afrikaans speaking white South Africans (Pattman, 2007; Salusbury & Foster, 2004; Sennett & Foster, 1996).

Similarly, Afrikaans speaking South Africans reported that the old Afrikaner identity is tarnished due to its association with apartheid and its incompatibility with new liberal norms. The end of apartheid has made it necessary for Afrikaners to establish a new sense of identity in a new context. In a study of Afrikaner identities in post-1994 South Africa, Vestergaard (2001) found that the new challenges and changes to Afrikaners' status reflect a general delegitimisation of Afrikaner history in the new South Africa. For instance, many Afrikaners have expressed concern that their culture and language are under serious threat in the new South Africa. For some Afrikaners, it can seem that the loss of the old order is the loss of order as such. The new South Africa is experienced as a chaotic place without moral or religious values, where many are concerned with issues like education, the economy, jobs, and, above all, crime (Vestergaard, 2001).

However, some traditional Afrikaans values and identities are being challenged by Afrikaans youths, who are eager to challenge and provoke the status quo. Furthermore, many Afrikaners prefer not to associate themselves with an ethnic identity at all. As such, many Afrikaans individuals increasingly define themselves according to their profession, their geographical location, or simply as South African. However, no matter their political views, all Afrikaners and indeed all white South Africans would agree that the coming of a multiracial democracy has radically transformed their social world (Vestergaard, 2001).

ii. Black Identity in Post-1994 South Africa

Intimately linked to whiteness is the notion of blackness. While whiteness was largely constructed as normative and unseen during colonialism, blackness was seen to be aberrant, deficient, inferior, uncivilised, dangerous, sexually rapacious and free. It was necessary for the coloniser to construct blackness in this manner so that they could

legitimise their suppression and mistreatment of the black *other*. In this way black South Africans were constructed as puerile, depraved, immodest, savage and essentially everything that whiteness was not (Cohen, 1999; Du Toit, 1983; Moore, 2005; Pattman, 2007). Members of this marginalised black group were continuously defined as *other* as they were seen to live outside the norms and values agreed upon by the white colonialists. In other words whiteness was the norm against which the marginalised *other* was racialised. Subsequently, the black *other* was denied access to dominant resources and barred from full participation in institutions (Cohen, 1999; Pattman, 2007).

The narratives of 'race' which emerged during apartheid, as stated previously, were in many respects a direct extension of those formulated during colonialism. During apartheid, black South Africans were assigned a largely subservient role and relegated to the lowest rungs of the social hierarchy (Biko, 1978; Franchi, 2003b; Wale & Foster, 2007). During this time, many black South Africans came to internalise apartheid's master narrative, which cast them as inferior. For instance, many blacks came to believe that it was their own lack of education, skills and worth as a person which resulted in their subjugation and exclusion from the white elite. This, in turn, frequently fostered feelings of self-hatred and self-blame, and culminated in many as an inferiority complex (Biko, 1978; Bulhan, 1985; Hook, 2004b). However, as with whiteness, blackness was not always a homogenous construct and there were those black South Africans who actively fought against the prescriptions of apartheid (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997).

The fact that the very fabric of South Africa's social landscape had changed so dramatically following the 1994 elections has not only had a deleterious effect on whiteness but has also had a large impact on blackness. The changes in post-1994 South Africa have inadvertently, begun contributing to role confusion rather than identity cohesion for South Africa's black youth (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). During apartheid South Africa many black adolescents developed a collective identity that, due to a shared and common political consciousness, resisted and challenged the pervasive racist ideologies of the era. However, since the abolition of apartheid and the emergence of new role models, economic structures and the pervasive dominance of Western ideologies, an ideological shift from collectivism to individualism amongst the black youth has been promoted. In many respects this has resulted in the surfacing of what Stevens and Lockhat (1997) term a *Coca-Cola culture*. Here,

a worldview which is informed by individualism, competition and individualistic aspirations, is starting to materialise.

This shift amongst the black youth from political activists to *Coca-Cola kids* has not merely been determined by the new socio-historical contexts. Instead, many black adolescents are seen to be actively embracing this worldview as a way of achieving greater integration. This seems to echo Fanon's theorising that at the heart of many blacks is the desire to be white. Similarly, Fanon's supposition that this desire is not only unobtainable in many ways but also alienating is supported by the fact that despite many black youths actively adopting aspects of white globalised identities they are essentially alienating themselves from their families' social realities which are inherently more traditionally African (Hook, 2004a; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997).

In another study, Soudien (2001) explored how dominant and oppositional forms of identity are being reproduced in young black people. In his study, Soudien differentiated between black and 'coloured' participants, however, for the purpose of this discussion focus will primarily be placed on findings relating to the black youths. It was found that the discourses which frame black identities offer constrained and qualified opportunities in post-apartheid South Africa. They seem to be constantly reminded of their blackness as a sign of inferiority, as was the case during apartheid. Furthermore, the black participants in the study were seen as trying to reach certain class aspirations by going to school in historically coloured areas. Soudien (2001) notes that these students wished to attain the social status that going to a 'better' school is seen to provide. However, their identities are very much divided between the attractiveness of this outside world and the familiarity of their inside world, or the township. In line with Fanon's theory a divided self was found to emerge within these black students (Soudien, 2001).

Makhanya (2009) offers further insight in her study which examined the impact that the early experiences of racism had on a group of young black adults' identities. It was found that participants perceived their early experiences of racism as having had a significant effect on their sense of identity. Similarly, the participants reflected that their parents, peers and societies negatively influenced their beliefs and attitudes on 'race' and their responses to the *other*. For instance, many of the participants noted that these encounters often

engendered feelings of inferiority and powerlessness in situations involving white people. Furthermore, the participants appeared to be conscious of the fact that 'race' is a significant determining factor in the people they will choose to form relationships with, the stereotypical ideas that they have about *others* and the ways in which they approach *others*.

iii. Black and White Youth Identity in Post-1994 South Africa

As discussed previously, youth and youth identity are of central importance to this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, adolescence is a crucial period for identity development. An individual's, through a process of negotiation and experimentation, typical struggle with questions about how or what they are. Secondly, this period usually coincides with an individual's transition from a relatively sheltered childhood to tertiary education institutions, which disrupts previously held beliefs and identities and forces individuals to generate new social meanings and social roles. The university is therefore an important location for identity development as it is a site where discourses collide, are distorted or articulated. Furthermore, the transition to tertiary institutions inevitably results in individuals being exposed to new social agents, peers and influences. While this transition typically offers the possibility of change and social mobility it also has the potential to re-inscribe inscribing racist beliefs, attitudes and practices. Thirdly, because identity is constructed in relation to others and the broader socio-historical context, youth identity is a mirror for the manifold and often incongruous identities in South Africa. Having said this, one must also emphasise that the racialised identities of South African youths is not merely a reflection of previous generations' racialised identities, but rather symptomatic of their own racialised development in post-1994 South Africa (Adams, Berzonsky & Keating, 2006; Cockcroft, 2002; De Fina, 2003; Dolby & Cornbleth, 2001; Dolby, 2001b; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Fisher, 2007; Goga, 2010; Goldschmidt, 2003; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Meacham & Santilli, 1982; Soudien, 2010; Stevens et al., 2006; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Tatum, 2003; Walker, 2005b).

The above discussion seems to highlight the fluid and shifting nature of identities, the notion of which is supported by studies such as the one carried out by Walker (2005a) in which she explored the personal narratives of a group of black and white undergraduate students and the institutional discourse at an historically white Afrikaans university which

was undergoing a process of transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. Here, it was found that there was a complex unfolding of both *Rainbow Nationism* and 'new' racism. Walker (2005a) noted that the university's official discourse on transformation seemed little more than a thin veneer subduing older apartheid ideology, which lives on in aspects of the symbolic life of the campus. Furthermore, she felt that the lives of all the students, whether it is acknowledged or not, are marked by 'race', racialisation and racialised subjectivities. However, despite this there are indications of delicate social change at work, despite the 'new' forms of othering which are emerging. For instance, differences in social class, school background and gender are intersecting with 'race' (Walker, 2005a).

Similar to Walker (2005a), Norris et al. (2008) conducted a study which investigates the collective national identity among young adolescents in post-apartheid South Africa. They focussed on the ongoing identity development of a cohort of 14 year-old South African adolescents who were uniquely positioned to embrace and/or struggle with and resist a collective national identity. It was found that black youth were more likely to define themselves as part of a cultural collective, either by language, religion, or ethnicity, coupled with a strong South African identity. On the other hand, it was found that white youths were more likely to think of themselves as being part of a gender or age group and to report weaker ties to a national identity (Norris et al., 2008).

Furthermore, the results from this study (Norris et al., 2008) seem to suggest that there is a greater sense of ambivalence around being South African amongst the white youth as a result of their historical colonial heritage and Western contemporary conditions. The study postulates that the results are indicative of long-standing cultural differences in black collectivistic versus white individualistic orientations among South Africans (Norris et al., 2008). These findings are, however, somewhat at odds with the findings made by Stevens and Lockhat (1997). Possible explanations include the fact that there was an 11 year gap between the studies, which highlights the fluidity of identity over time. Similarly, a different sample was used and because neither blackness nor whiteness is a homogenous construct the findings were divergent.

Norris et al. (2008) also found that white youths expressed that they felt that 'race' relations were more harmonious in South Africa today than in the past. Black youths, however,

expressed reservations about South Africa with respect to racial harmony and economic hardship, which many felt had not improved much in post-1994 South Africa. Yet, despite these misgivings, black youth expressed a sense of greater happiness with the affairs of the country and greater faith in government when compared to white youths. Norris et al. (2008) suggest that this disconnection is indicative of the strong influence that different racialised identities can have on individuals' beliefs about their social worlds and the kinds of social experiences members of different groups have against a backdrop of dramatic political change.

These results are similar to findings made by Dawes and Finchilescu (1998) in a study which explored the effects of the post-1994 political transformations in South Africa amongst a group of 14 year old adolescents. The study indicated that white youths were more likely to be negative towards the new government of national unity and saw their conditions of life as having deteriorated since 1994. In comparison, black youths were seen to believe that their standard of living has improved greatly since 1994. Both black and white youths, however, shared a common concern about violence and crime (Dawes & Finchilescu, 1998).

Soudien (2001) concludes his paper on youth identity by stating that the identities young people develop are internally divided. Their subjectivities are unavoidably the products of a series of intersecting encounters, which leave them in a number of different positions at different times and places. Thus, their identities are essentially incoherent and discontinuous. Soudien (2001) goes on to contest that, while the legacy of apartheid still continues to exert a force over them and their identities, they are simultaneously challenging this influence and trying to negotiate their place in post-1994 South Africa.

Similarly, Steyn (2001) notes that South African identities are intimately linked to the master narratives of whiteness and blackness, which were propagated during apartheid, in some way or other. Like Soudien (2001), she maintains that identities draw on, react to or subvert the residue of the apartheid's master narratives. Thus, despite the fragmentation of these master narratives in post-apartheid South Africa, it is necessary to acknowledge that it will remain a part of the unconscious fabric of South Africa for some time to come (Steyn, 2001). Dolby (cited in Walker, 2005b) noted similar findings in her 1994 ethnographic study of Durban high school students. Dolby reported that the school's rapidly diversifying student

intake demonstrated the fluid and shifting ways in which young people in South Africa interactively produced racial positionings, both within but also against rigid racial classifications. In this study students both incorporated traces of apartheid and redeployed them in new identity productions in which 'race' was reconfigured around taste and popular culture. This demonstrates how neither 'race' nor identities are fixed (Walker, 2005b). Indeed, identity formation at present is a process whereby the youth bring resources, find new ones and constantly negotiate their positions relative to others (Soudien, 2001).

This notion that youth are constantly negotiating their positions was seen in a similar study conducted by Pattman (2007), which addressed student identities at a university in KwaZulu-Natal. It was noted that students were typically defensive in response to questioning about 'race' and identity, which Pattman (2007) suggests is symptomatic of the racial paradox students are facing. Where, on the one hand, students' constructions and experiences of 'race' is a highly significant marker of identity and, on the other hand, their positioning as young people of the *Rainbow Nation* for whom 'race' is no longer a "barrier between human beings" (p. 479). Thus, the *Rainbow Nation* discourse was significant in positioning the lives and identities of the participants.

Furthermore, Pattman (2007) notes that, despite the *Rainbow Nation* discourse of racial diversity and acceptance, 'race' was still the predominant marker of identity for his participants. Walker (2005b) echoed this in her assertion that all of her participant's lives are marked by 'race', by racialised subjectivities, and by a past of racial separateness. This was particularly salient amongst Pattman's (2007) black participants, who seemed to be divided into two camps, namely the "S'khotheni group" and the "coconuts" (p. 481). The participants' construction of white superiority seemed to promote not only lack of integration between blacks and whites, but also divisions between blacks. The S'khotheni group's sense of identity as black African students was forged not just in opposition to perceived versions of whiteness which they constructed as external to them and imposed on them, but also through acknowledging and rejecting the seduction of whiteness for blacks. Thus, by differentiating themselves from coconuts (or blacks who they accused of becoming white) they were able to sustain a view of blackness as a pre-given, fixed and essential identity.

The white participants in Pattman's (2007) study also noted the importance that 'race' played in their identities, albeit more ubiquitously as many considered themselves to be un-racialised and cultureless. Many of the white participants associated whiteness with power or lack of power in the post-apartheid context, where many saw themselves as the new victims of reverse racism. Similarly, many seemed to oppose 'affirmative action' and were concerned that moral and educational standards were under threat due to racial integration. However, many also expressed feelings of guilt for apartheid and anger for the sense that they were being held accountable for the past (Pattman, 2007).

6. Conclusions

Chapter II provided an overview the main theoretical concerns of the study. Firstly, this study argued that 'race' and identity are both socially constructed categories. It was shown that despite the fact that 'race' is a product of human creation (in accordance with social constructionism) it is still an important component of identity in contemporary South Africa. In discussing identity, particular emphasis was placed on youth identity, which is a crucial period for identity development and an important point of departure for academic research.

Secondly, this chapter reasoned that narratives are not only instrumental in the construction of identities but that they also offer an invaluable method for researching identities. Following this, the chapter examined narratives of identity and 'race' in pre- and post-1994 South Africa. Lastly, this chapter provided a brief, and by no means exhaustive, exposé of past research which has looked at white identity, black identity and black and white youth identity in post-apartheid South Africa. The following section will detail the design and method utilised in the present study.

CHAPTER III: METHOD

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the study's methods, procedures and guiding theoretical principals. Firstly, this section will examine the study's qualitative paradigm, where particular focus will be paid to the study's framework, which is informed by social constructionism and critical 'race' theory. Secondly, the research aims and questions will be presented. Thirdly, this chapter will discuss the fourteen English speaking middle class South African youths who participated to this study. Fourthly, this section will explain how the data was collected, recorded and transcribed. Following this, this section will explore how the data was analysed using a thematic content analysis. In addition to this the study's ethical considerations will be consider. This chapter will then conclude by outlining my reflexive thoughts and feelings regarding the research. This discussion will centre around my own racialised positioning in South Africa, my reactions to the participant's and their data as well as my experiences in analysing the data.

2. Paradigm and Design

Paradigms are overarching systems of interconnected practice and thinking that define the nature of research along the three dimensions of ontology, epistemology and methodology (Kiguwa, 2006a). Positivism, which has and continues to hold considerable sway in the social sciences, asserts that the social sciences can be studied in an objective, rational and scientific manner similar to the study of the physical sciences. Those proponents of positivism prefer structuralist explanations and avoid interpretivist explanations which refer to human intentions, emotion and constructions. Qualitative research, however, rejects such claims for the most part and argues that positivism is misguided in attempting to study human subjects in the same way as physical and material 'things'. Instead, qualitative research holds that people are fundamentally different to 'things' because of the centrality of meanings and interpretations to social life (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005).

As such, there is at present a general trend towards revisionist thought which questions and problematises the plausibility of absolute truths, true objectivity, neutrality and non-

subjective realities. For instance, constructs such as 'race' are no longer accepted as absolute or scientific truths as they once were, especially during apartheid. 'Race' and other seemingly natural categories are no longer seen to be value-neutral and are considered to be bound up within normative prescriptions and power relations. Due to its ability to excavate the nuanced experiences of the individual experience, qualitative research is fast growing in popularity. Unlike positivist research, qualitative inquiry is of the opinion that multiple truths exist in parallel to one another. Qualitative inquiry is not so much concerned with the so called reality of these truths as with lived experience of the realities. Furthermore, qualitative analysis allows questions to be explored without being burdened by the need to establish the ontological credibility of social constructs, such as 'race', as a real thing. Thus, as indicated previously, this research's framework was informed by *social constructionism* and *critical 'race' theory* (CRT) (Burr, 1995; Burr, 2003; Hiles & Čermák, 2008; Nuttall, 2001; Padgett, 2004).

Social constructionism asserts that the ways in which we commonly understand the world and ourselves, as well as the categories and concepts we use, are socially, culturally and historically specific. The exchanges between people which occur on a day to day basis are seen as the practices during which our shared versions of knowledge are constructed. Thus, our ways of understanding are culturally and historically relative, where they are created through the daily interactions that occur in daily life. This study is aligned with qualitative methodology, for the reasons above, and has assumed a social constructionist perspective by recognising that it is not whether something is real or not that is of primary concern, but rather the extent to which individuals and societies uncritically accept that the construct is a reality. For instance, while 'race' is a human construct borne out of certain historical, social and political conditions, it still wields a great deal of power in post-apartheid South Africa and actively shapes the lives and identities of many South Africans. Critical 'race' theory (CRT) seems to echo this assertion by maintaining that, despite the fallibility of 'race' as a scientific truth, 'race' is embedded in everyday experiences and permeates the very fabric of social life. In accordance with both social constructionist and critical 'race' theory, this study took a critical stance towards those understandings and perceptions of the social world, which are usually taken for granted, by disrupting and destabilising them. Furthermore, qualitative narrative analysis allowed questions of 'race' to be explored without the

possibility of being burdened with the need to establish the ontological credibility of 'race' as a real thing (Burr, 2003; Camic et al., 2003; Delgado & Stefanic, 2001; Foster, 2006; Miller, Hengst & Wang, 2003; Nuttall, 2001).

Similar to 'race', identity is seen to be the product of social processes, where there is no pre-determined or absolute identity (Burr, 1995). The social constructionist approach to identity, therefore, rejects any category that sets forward essential or core features as the unique property of an individual's identity. Furthermore, this perspective maintains that identities are social artefacts, which are moulded, fabricated and mobilised in accordance with reigning cultural scripts and centres of power. Thus, constructionists conceptualise racialised identities as an interactional accomplishment, identities which are continually renegotiated via linguistic exchange and social performance. The constructionist approach has therefore allowed the research to explore the fluid subjective definitions of racialised identities by attending to the symbols and norms that initiate and sustain such classifications (Cerula, 1997).

Intimately linked to socially constructed notions of 'race' and identities is narrative epistemology, which suggests that human knowledge is produced and reproduced by listening and telling stories to one another. Indeed, people create order of often disjointed and diverse events and experiences by constructing texts which order these events and experiences into coherent narratives. As such, narratives are rarely, if ever, accurate and objective reflections of events. Instead, they are inherently subjective and liable to change and flexibility. This mutability highlights how narratives and the events, experiences and subjectivities they construct lack truth. Furthermore, narratives are intrinsically imbued with various power interests and are, therefore, considered value laden as they reflect the various negotiations, interpretations and constructs of a given sociocultural context. Thus, narratives act as mediators between the individual and their broader sociocultural situation. In addition to this, while narratives can be studied in and of themselves, they also offer a means for exploring and elucidating broader social constructs and phenomena. As such, this study assumed that the participants' narratives were shared by a broader community and, therefore, gave meaning and structure to the participants' lives. Thus, by examining the stories and experiential accounts of white and black youths the researcher was able to glean

information about the social constructedness of historical experiences, social knowledges, subjectivities and identities (Hiles & Čermak, 2008; Murray, 2003; Riessman, 1993)

Furthermore, narratives are dependent on the social context for their creation and are thus produced via exchanges and co-creation with individuals, organisations, societies and histories. Thus, the researcher is considered to be located within the research as a co-creator of any knowledge, meaning or understanding which was produced. Thus, the researcher was cognisant of the fact that she impacted on and influenced this study's process of knowledge production (Burr, 2003; Camic et al., 2003; Foster, 2006; Miller, Hengst & Wang, 2003; Nuttall, 2001).

Lastly, this study's qualitative standpoint echoes that taken by the broader Apartheid Archives Project, which also follows a qualitative framework. This is predominantly due to the fact that the project is aiming to document the quotidian and everyday lived experiences of 'race' and racism. Thus, both the Apartheid Archives Project and this research project have centralised the subjective individual experiences, where the pluralistic nuances, complexities, experiences of daily realities are emphasised. Thus, the qualitative standpoint of this study has provided the researcher with the opportunity to fully immerse herself within the sociocultural milieu. Similarly, this afforded the researcher unique access to complex and nuanced life experiences, which would otherwise have eluded her (Camic, Rhodes & Yardley, 2003; Eisner, 2003).

3. Research Aims

Since the 1994 democratic elections many South Africans have come to believe that, because apartheid is a thing of the past, racism too is a thing of the past. Yet the reality is that racism remains a minefield in South Africa and 'race' still impacts on the lives of all South Africans. The present context, namely 16 years after the abolishment of apartheid, provides an opportune moment to consider new and changing contexts of 'race', racialised identity and racialisation in South Africa (Fisher, 2007; Stevens et al., 2006). As such this study is concerned with examining the narratives of black and white first year students in present day South Africa. The students' narratives, which will outline the nature of their everyday experiences of 'race' and racism, will be analysed to identify the relative fluidity

and rigidity of 'race' in post-apartheid South Africa. By exploring constructs of 'race' and racism in various contexts and situations this study will critically address the inherent racial tensions in South African society. Lastly, this study will contribute to the Apartheid Archive Study, which was initiated with the aim of establishing an inclusive and holistic archive, in that it shall document the continued legacy of apartheid in South Africa.

4. Research Questions

The research questions for this study are as follows:

1) How are racialised identities reflected in the narratives of black and white first year students?
2) How are participants' personal racialised identities reflected in the narratives of black and white first year students?
3) How are racialised perceptions of the *other* reflected in the narratives of black and white first year students?

5. Participants

This study, as previously stated, aims to address the everyday experiences and constructions of 'race', racialised identity and racism in South Africa. The sample, which was purposive, consisted of fourteen English speaking middle class South African youths (aged 18 years or older) who are in their first year at an historically white university in Gauteng, South Africa. The sample had an equal representation of black and white youths. There were three black males, four black females, one white male and six white females.

While it is acknowledged that 'race' and gender continue to intersect in many ways to create different realities and experiences (Govender, 2006), no major differences between men and women were found in the sample. However, it should be noted that of the 114 students who expressed an interest in taking part in this study only nine were white, and of that nine only one was a male. Similarly, no significant differences were found along the axis of class or religion.

The study elected to examine first year university students, who are in their late adolescence at present, for a number of reasons. Firstly, much contemporary literature has identified adolescence as a crucial period for identity development. During adolescence many people begin to explore more fully various identities in an attempt to answer the question “who am I”. This is brought to the fore when individuals leave school and previously held identities, beliefs, values, etc. are contested and challenged by new environmental opportunities and demands. For instance, tertiary education institutions provide youths with an environment which allows them to explore various identities, values and roles whilst remaining relatively free from adult responsibilities. Secondly, individuals begin to move away from a sheltered childlike world view at this time. This is largely through exposure to peer groups and other social agents. As such individuals begin to gain a clearer sense of their location in the social world. Similarly, it is expected that such individuals will have a degree of self-reflexivity and critical thought which shall enable a more in-depth and analytical exploration of the topic. Thirdly, it is during adolescence that individuals begin to integrate their past, present and future in order to construct a coherent sense of self. Lastly, such individuals will have been, at most, approximately four years old when apartheid was abolished and will therefore have grown up in the *Rainbow Nation* (Adams et al., 2006; Cockcroft, 2002; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Fearon, 1999; Meacham & Santilli, 1982; Tatum, 2003).

This study collected and explored the narratives of both the assumed dominant and subordinate racial groups in South Africa and therefore, elected to interview both white and black students. In accordance with Critical ‘race’ theory (CRT), this study feels that by inviting the non-dominant group to tell their story, a counter-story will be produced which will challenge that of the dominant group. Thus, by interviewing the assumed dominant group (white students), as well as those who are assumed to be non-dominant (black students), a multidimensional overview of experiences of 'race' and racism has been elicited (Aguirre, 2000). Furthermore, the study addresses the nuanced experiences of 'race' and the relative fluidity of racialisation and racialised identity by examining any meta-stereotypes which emerged in the narratives. Put plainly, meta-stereotypes are the stereotypes that group members expect out-group members to hold about their own group. Meta-stereotypes are relevant because they often have a stronger impact on behaviour than the

out-group's actual perceptions (Gordijn et al., 2008; Torres & Charles, 2004; Vorauer et al., 1998).

The university which has been chosen for the study offers an interesting backdrop to such a study. Historically, the institution has been considered a white liberal university – that is to say, during apartheid it was seen to be active in its rejection of apartheid ideologies and made early efforts to admit black students and staff. However, despite this apparent liberalism, which CRT cautions us to be deeply critical of; the institution is still experiencing various protests from black campus members against what they see as continued exclusionary practices. Indeed King (2001) suggests that the image of the university as a liberal institution is at odds with the reality of its inherently racialised turmoil, which has seen clashes between black and white campus members which have centred, for a large part, around the pace and process of transformation (Arnove, 2001; King, 2001).

Besides lending itself to an interesting critique of liberalism, transformation and colourblindness, the university also offers a perception of 'race', racialisation and racialised identity in South Africa more broadly, as it is a microcosm of South African society in general. This is due to the fact that higher education institutions are racialised through the intricate interweaving of macrolevel processes and discourses that recur in everyday conversation and practices. Thus, while findings from the study are not to be generalisable in their entirety, they provide insight into the power mechanism and relations in contemporary, post-apartheid South Africa (Arnove, 2001; Buttny, 1999; King, 2001; Robus & Macleod, 2006).

Finally, for South Africans to build a new sense of community in a pluralistic society, they need to negotiate their notions of identity, both within themselves and within their new, shared world. Nowhere is this negotiation more evident and successful than within tertiary institutions, because education can function as the single most influential force for ameliorating social conflict and directing social change (Bock, 1982, p. 80). Students are, thus, at the forefront of reaffirming or renegotiating their identities, as well as establishing new trends in contemporary South Africa (Goldschmidt, 2003).

6. Data Collection

Participants were approached in one of their first year classes. Permission was sought from the university, the appropriate faculty and school, as well as the lecturer. Students were presented with a brief introduction to the study, and candidates who met the appropriate criteria (i.e. students who were about eighteen years old) and who showed an interest in participating, were provided with the Participant Information Form (see Appendix II). Such a sample is undeniably a sample of convenience and, as such, findings are limited in terms of their generalisability to the broader population. However, it was not the primary objective of the study to examine the entire South African population; instead the study was concerned with gathering thick descriptions of individual experiences. Through a process of thematic content analysis, dominant themes were determined and critically discussed (Steyn, 2001).

The data was collected during once-off semi-structured interviews, which were about an hour long. The interviews were conducted during the latter half of the second semester in 2010. This schedule was piloted in order to ensure that the data collected was able to answer the research questions, was not lacking or inappropriate, and was rich and detailed. In order to do this a small scale preliminary investigation was conducted. Here a number of participants from the relevant population were interviewed in order to evaluate the efficacy of the interview schedule. These interviews were not included in the final sample. Once these interviews had been conducted the interview schedule was adjusted and refined. A copy of the interview schedule has been provided (see Appendix VI). Similarly, due to the very nature of qualitative research and semi-structured interviews ensured that the questions were dynamic and adapted according to the needs of the study, as well as the individual participants. Similarly, the nature of the semi-structured interview ensured that participants were encouraged to answer questions in a truthful manner (Cartwright, 2004).

It was requested that interviews be in English, primarily due to the researcher's own limitations. It is, however, acknowledged that language, despite being viewed as a transparent medium which reflects stable, singular meanings, is deeply constitutive of reality and not merely a technical device for establishing meaning. Language and discourse are an integral aspect of society and are socially conditioned, rendering them an opaque

power object in modern society. Thus, using only English is both a concern and potential limitation of the study (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Painter, 2006; Riessman, 1993; Steyn, 2001).

7. Data Analysis

It must be noted that narratives are in no way an objective or partial way of representing events or reality. Each narrative, regardless of how factual it may claim to be, is constructed according to the author's particular point of view and is thus not an exact mirror-image of reality. However, despite this constructedness, narratives reflect important aspects of the individual's world, which are inherently related to the structuring of social order, rendering them invaluable tools for social studies (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999). The narratives which were collected were subjected to a thematic content analysis. Thus, the narratives were broken down into relatively self contained areas of content, which were then individually submitted to thematic content analysis (Elliott, 2007; Hiles & Čermak, 2008).

Thematic content analysis can be broadly defined as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting themes within data. A thematic content analysis will minimally organise and describe the data set in rich, nuanced detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The term thematic, as used by this report, loosely refers to the analysis of story-like verbal material, or narratives, and the use of relatively comprehensive units of analysis, such as themes (Smith, 1992). According to the tenets of thematic content analysis, any given text may contain a number of themes, and a particular passage may reflect more than one theme (Brandt, Dawes, Africa & Swartz, 2004). In this study, a thematic content analysis was used as it allowed the researcher to examine the data set or, in this instance the participants' narratives, for the presence of themes. These themes were an invaluable research tool as they emphasised and described patterns which occurred frequently and continually across the data set. Thus, in this study, themes provided a rich and nuanced description and understanding of, amongst other things, 'race', racism and racialised identities in post-apartheid South Africa from the perspective of South African youths.

Furthermore, a thematic content analysis can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality' (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This echoes this

study's social constructionist framework, which insists that reality is constructed. As such, a thematic content analysis provided the researcher with a means of disrupting the notion that 'race', identity and other social constructions are natural, material truths. Thus, the researcher was equipped to not only deconstruct various social discourses, knowledges and truths, but to also discuss these constructs as artefacts which are produced via communal interchanges. Similarly, thematic content analysis's ability to destabilise taken for granted notions of reality, was in line with the study's other theoretical framework, namely critical 'race' theory (CRT). Thus, the researcher was also provided with a means of exposing the centrality of 'race' and racism in contemporary South Africa, as well as disrupting dominant and normative ideologies.

The process of analysis was broken down into a set of stages, which began with the formulation of the research questions that guided the focus of the analysis. Following this, a reading of the narratives took place, where themes were allowed to emerge in a spontaneous and organic manner. Commonalities, themes, trends and patterns, which were then found to run through and across texts after multiple readings, were defined and the units of analysis (namely meaning bearing utterances, phrases, episodes, etc.) were assigned to these categories. Once the themes had been identified, the researcher then combed through the data set for exemplars of utterances under each theme, which were then used when writing up the research report. Once these stages were completed, conclusions were drawn. This method of extraction allowed for an examination of broad social functions and effects of narratives within their context's generation (bearing in mind that narratives imply an interaction between the narrator and audience/researcher). The researcher acknowledges the qualitative judgements implicit within the process of thematic content analysis. Thus, the researcher's role, and the manner in which she positioned herself in relation to the narratives, was subjected to review (Brandt et al., 2004; Elliott, 2007; Hiles & Čermák, 2008; Newel & Burnard, 2006; Stevens, 2003; Steyn, 2001).

Lastly, whilst this study remained a thematic content analysis, it also drew on many of the ideologies put forward by other critical modes of analysis, particularly discourse analysis (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). Thus, it is important to note that whilst thematic content analysis is often associated with more phenomenological standpoints or interpretivism, it can also been used more critically alongside social constructionism, as in this and other

research (Kometsi, 2007). Whilst the thematic content analysis was invaluable in many respects, it was felt that the analysis could be further enriched by drawing on tenets highlighted by discourse analysis. It is perhaps fruitful at this juncture to note that a discourse analysis was rejected as a primary form of analysis as the report was not principally concerned with the linguistic components of the participants' narratives (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2005). Thus, the participants' narratives were interpreted by exposing the role of discursive practice in the maintenance or rejection of the status quo and various power relations. Such a critical analysis addresses many social concerns by recognising how discourse, which is inherently a socio-cultural construction, has been used as a means to construct and conceal various power relations. Ultimately, the analysis sought to distinguish the links between discursive practices and broader socio-cultural structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002).

Furthermore, the analysis moved beyond an analysis of narrative content and examined contextual and rhetorical meanings (i.e. underlying meanings which encompass what isn't said as well as what is assumed) (Jager & Maier, 2009). As such the themes and patterns embedded in the narratives are related to discursive patterns within society. Similarly, the manner in which language contributes to either the reproduction or resistance of dominant ideological discourse has been analysed (Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002; van Dijk, 1996).

8. Ethical Considerations

Psychologists, whether acting as researchers or as practitioners, face ethical dilemmas wherever they work and considerable effort continues to go into ensuring the well being of their participants. At the heart of much of the concern about ethics is the reality that there is typically a power imbalance between professional psychologists and their clients or participants (Nama & Swartz, 2002).

This study requested that black and white participants explore both their and the *other's* constructions of racialised identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Neither the research topic, nor the required tasks were of an explicitly sensitive nature, yet it was imperative that ethical considerations were made to ensure that the participants were in no way harmed or distressed by their participation in the study. It was not anticipated that the study would

evoke particularly upsetting experiences, and the researcher ensured that she was sensitive towards the participants, especially in light of the above mentioned concerns regarding various ethical considerations.

The participants themselves were South Africans over the age of 18 and were therefore not classified as being a sensitive population. They were required to complete a set of consent forms (see Appendix III-V). In keeping with standard requirements, participants received a letter briefly describing the nature of the study and exactly what participation would involve (Appendix II), a description of any anticipated risks or benefits associated with participation, full identification and contact information of the researcher and her supervisor, assurance that participation was voluntary and that the participant has the right to withdraw at any point in time, without fear of prejudice, coercion or negative repercussions (Waldrop, 2004).

Due to the nature of data collection it was impossible to ensure anonymity, as the researcher was privy to the identity of the participants. Similarly, only partial confidentiality could be ensured as parts of the narratives were replicated in the research report and may well be reproduced in other literature pertaining to the study. Furthermore, all audio recordings and transcripts have been submitted to the Apartheid Archive Project. However, despite the narratives being available to the archives, steps were taken to ensure that the participant's identities are kept confidential. Every attempt has been made to ensure that the maximum level of confidentiality and anonymity are maintained – thus, all identifying names (of people, participants and places) have been changed in the report and in the interview transcriptions.

9. Reflexivity

As stated previously, positivism holds that the researcher is a neutral, indifferent, detached, clinical bystander who merely observes the clearly discernible causes and effects, objects or phenomena being studied. Constructionist thought, however, brings the assumptions made by the researcher into the foreground and asserts that there is no such thing as an objective outsider. Thus, I, the researcher, understood myself as being implicitly involved in the process of meaning making, which is inherently a collaborative process involving the teller, listener, analyst and reader. The researcher controls meaning, to the extent that they select

what features will be subjected to analysis, and how the voice of the participants will be represented. Reality, as it is presented, can itself be understood of as a construction of the researcher. Reflexivity refers to the self-awareness that the researcher has that they actively participate in the construction of knowledge and meaning, and that they hold sway over the participant, affecting the overall data collected. The researcher will always hold the larger proportion of power, as they determine the research agenda as well as ultimately deciding on how best to analyse the data (for instance what is to be included and excluded and so forth) (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson, 1999; Camic et al., 2003; Mir & Watson, 2000; Mir & Watson, 2001; Riessman, 1993; Sarbin & Kitsuse, 1994).

I am aware of the above mentioned concerns and as such constantly endeavoured to test my assumptions and worldviews, with the awareness that these too are social constructions and not natural truths. I am a 26 year old, white middle class female and am currently completing my Masters degree in Educational Psychology. I was aware that my socio-historic context and social experiences are unique and that, unless they were constantly questioned, they may have unwittingly influenced and biased my findings. Furthermore, I consulted with my supervisor on a regular basis to ensure that my assumptions were challenged and exposed to rigorous testing.

The very nature of this research project made it necessary for me to immerse myself in the literature centred on critical 'race' and whiteness studies. This engagement meant that I had to accept that I am a racial being and that my whiteness affords me certain privileges. At the onset of the project 'race' was very much something of my parents' generation and something which affected *other* people. However, as the project progressed, it became increasingly obvious that 'race' was a part of my reality. For instance, I was constantly aware that whiteness is often treated with suspicion and scepticism within anti-racist movements and practices (Eichstedt, 2001). Thus, I often felt that I was negotiating my own problematic identity within the process of data collection and analysis. Indeed, it would seem that as a white woman my stance against racism, in and of itself, invited interpretation.

In addition to this, I am also aware that anti-racism practices and projects strike a particular chord within myself. For instance, my training as an Educational Psychologist means that I am extremely sensitive to the devastating impact of racism, as well as the continued

racialised asymmetries in South Africa, which need to be urgently addressed. However, I am equally aware that, like many white South Africans, I am plagued by feelings of guilt about my own perceived complicity with apartheid and white hegemony, and thus seeking to make reparations. Furthermore, I am aware that by studying the identities of other people, I am being allowed to gain greater insight into my own identity and therefore deepening my own self understanding.

Similarly, it was challenging to acknowledge that my own 'race' impacted on her relationship with the participants and that they reacted to it in a way which was uncontrollable and not always desirable. This was most notable when the participant's associated me with a white hegemony I was opposed to. For instance, white participants often identified with me and assumed that I shared certain biases and prejudices. Black participants, on the other hand, often reported that they felt that they had to monitor what they said about white people, lest they offend me. However, it also became apparent that I was reacting to my own assumptions regarding the participants, something which had to be carefully guarded against and understood.

It also became obvious during the process of data collection and analysis, that the data was produced within a very specific context, namely in post-1994 South Africa and that this undoubtedly impacted on the data collected and its various meanings. For instance, the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* and its notion of colourblindness and racial equality seemed to often contradict what was being said and researched. Thus, it was often difficult and painful for the participants to speak about these topics. Moreover, it was often difficult for me to face my own racial demons and acknowledge that I too am a product of a certain socio-cultural context.

Furthermore, my immersion in critical discourse on 'race' has resulted in a heightened sensitivity to racism and racial slurs. Thus, I often experienced instances of racism, especially when analysing the data set, with indignation and annoyance. Similarly, I found it difficult to critically examine what was being said without becoming overly critical or unkind. There was thus, a need for me to balance her academic integrity with empathy, compassion and understanding. This was particularly evident with the white participants. It was therefore,

necessary for me to constantly remind myself that while there was often an ulterior motive to what was said, there was also a strong motivational factor for why it was said.

10. Conclusions

This section discussed the methodological concerns of the study. Firstly, the paradigms and design section detailed the study's qualitative and social constructionist orientation. Secondly, both the research aims and questions were outlined. Following this, the chapter briefly outlined both the study's participants, as well as the rationale as to why the focus of the study is on first year university students. In addition to this, this section described the collection process, the data analysis procedure, as well as pertinent ethical considerations. Lastly, I reflexively discussed my involvement in the project.

CHAPTER IV: REPORT

1. Introduction

The results and the interpretation of the thematic content analysis are now discussed in this chapter. This section will provide an account of the principle findings of this research project. An outline of the major themes and subthemes as they emerged from the data collected is put forward and discussed. The major themes, which all centre around racialised identity in contemporary South Africa and their meanings, are as follows: i) *South African Youth Identity and the Present Socio-Historical Context*, offers an introduction to the themes by discussing the relevance of an individual's socio-historical positioning in identity formation, ii) *Constructions and Perceptions of White Identity* and iii) *Constructions and Perceptions of White Identity*, move on to discuss how white and black identity are understood by both white and black first year students, and lastly iv) *'Race' and Racism in Contemporary South Africa*, discusses how 'race' and racism in contemporary society are impacting on racialised identities in South Africa at present.

2. Themes

The themes put forward by this study are, by no means, an exhaustive account of the racialised identities of black and white youths in contemporary South Africa. Instead, they offer a substantive look into the lives and psyches of those who are grappling with the very real tensions of being young adults in a rapidly changing social landscape. Before moving into the analysis, it must also be stressed that despite the themes being presented as separate, independent constructs they are by no means mutually exclusive and often refer back to each other within themselves. Discourses, which are inherently embedded, entail and presuppose other discourses to the extent that the contradictions within a discourse open up questions about what other discourses are at work (Parker, 1992). Thus, like discourses in general, the themes draw metaphors and institutional support from each other.

As such, the discussion will reflect a certain enmeshed quality and may not always provide a neat linear analysis. Indeed, the very nature of the complexity and diffuseness of 'whiteness'

and 'blackness' is represented by this nonlinearity. It must once again be reiterated that this study is a co-constructed, co-authored project. For instance:

> *Maybe in my mind I see you still just, like on, if there's a line, you're on my side of the line (Mike, w).*

The voice of the author is by no means mute and the findings not exhaustive. Instead, a thorough examination of the data and an interpretation, which is by no means definitive, is offered. Furthermore, it is necessary to highlight that it is not of central importance whether the views of the participants are representative of factual history as it unfolded. Rather, they present a version of history which can in many ways be taken as representative of the narratives of black and white middle class South African youths.

i. South African Youth Identity and the Present Socio-Historical Context

Before progressing with the analysis and discussion, it must once again be reiterated that identities do not form in a vacuum; instead they are fundamentally shaped by a number of different contexts, including the individual's culture, society, family, peers, as well as their social and work environments (Goossens & Phinney, 1996). In accordance with this, this section argues that South African identities can be seen to be functioning in relation to, and reaction against both South Africa's racialised past, as well as its present socio-cultural context. This echoes Steyn's (2001) assertion that the master narratives of whiteness and blackness promoted by apartheid are still influencing youth identities in post-1994 South Africa. Similarly, the new master narratives of the *Rainbow Nation* are impacting on South African youth identities. Thus, one must acknowledge the impact that both of these narratives have on identity, despite the disruption and disintegration of racialised narratives in post-1994 South Africa.

This section will firstly consider how the symbolic and discursive practices characteristic of *Rainbow Nationism* are a direct reaction against apartheid's racialised ideologies and the influence this has on youth identity. It will then consider how South Africa's past and its continued impact on identity is negotiated in contemporary South Africa.

a. "I've got white friends, I've got black friends and life's good": Youth Identity in the Context of the Rainbow Nation

Since the democratic elections in 1994 the metaphor of the *Rainbow Nation* has in many instances become a symbol of peace and reconciliation among the country's diverse population. The metaphor itself extends out of the country's long history of strife and conflict, and aims to project an image of different racial, ethnic and cultural groups being united and living in colourblind harmony (Bornman, 2006).

It can hardly be denied that the metaphor of the Rainbow Nation, as well as the other metaphors of the new South Africa (namely the new national flag, the national anthem as well as the Constitution), have played a significant and decisive role in the transition to the new post-apartheid dispensation. The new discourse of this dispensation attempts to offer new and different identity possibilities predicated on the recognition and reversal of past inequalities and the construction of a sentiment of national unity that integrates previously designated 'racially constructed' differences into a vision of a meaningful and valued national identity (Bornam, 2006; Franchi & Swart, 2003). This highlights the assertion that individual identities develop not only in interpersonal and community contexts, but also in historical and cultural contexts (Goossens & Phinney, 1996).

Thus, black and white youth identities in contemporary South Africa are negotiated in relation to the current South African context, which is, in many respects, framed by the discourse of *Rainbow Nationism.* Here the importance of harmonious 'race' relations and democracy are highlighted, while apartheid and its racialised ideologies are rejected. In many respects South Africa is a society which is still deeply marked by its racialised past, but there is also striving to make a different 'present' and a new future. As such, Walker (2005a) argues that young South Africans are likely to make complicated and more or less conscious investments in choosing some subject positions over others, in becoming and being one kind of person rather than another. In many respects, black and white South African youths are consciously attempting to assimilate the tenets of the *Rainbow Nation*, especially racial acceptance, into their identities.

> *But the person that I am today, like, I don't really care, like I'm just like 'Whatever, I've got white friends, I've got black friends and life's good' (Tumi, b).*

Um, and we, [I've] met lots of people and they aren't worried about race or colour or anything (Stacy, b).

I guess to just like try and, um, not see the race and um see people for who they are and making friends and interacting with people of different-, any race, any religion, anything like that (Raj, b).

Well that's what it should be, I think. It's, you know, everybody just living together (Nicky, w).

I don't really see colour (Ann, w)

Kirstan : How do you sort of feel about that?
Julie (b) : The Rainbow Nation?... I love it!

Within the current socio-cultural context of South Africa, where racism carries extremely undesirable social connotations, it is perhaps unfair to question too harshly the participants' attempts to portray themselves as colourblind and racially accepting. Yet, despite this, it is necessary to critically examine not only what was said, but also the function it serves. Thus, it is essential to look beyond the rhetorical strategies employed to distance the self from racialised ideologies, which are largely assigned to the past and to apartheid, to the underlying reason why people endeavour to align themselves with the ideologies of the *Rainbow Nation*.

Perhaps one way of understanding this, is to consider the way in which individuals will create improvised 'protoselves' or 'protomemories' within specific situations to fit certain contextualising structures (such as audience expectations, justification of emerging feelings, etc.). Discourse is never static and is constantly changing and developing different layers and connections. For instance, memory, especially autobiographical memory, is embedded in affective, interpersonal, sociocultural and historical contexts. As with identity formation, the act of remembering and articulating one's memories does not occur within a contextual void. Rather, these processes serve very specific psychological and social functions within an individual's current context, such as impression management. As such, autobiographical remembering becomes an important means of mediating moments of being. In many respects it is an improvised activity that forms emergent selves which give a culturally valued sense of self (Coombes, 2003; Parker, 1992).

Given the general social norms that prohibit explicit discrimination and racial derogation, individuals usually do not want to be seen as racist,s and therefore mediate what they say in order to avoid creating a negative impression with their listener or audience (van Dijk, 2002). In many instances, what the participants said and the manner in which they said it seemed to be mediated by such impression management, as they wanted to appear to be socially acceptable in today's context, which is framed by the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation*. This seemed to help foster self esteem, and helped them to feel that they were being shown in a favourable light (Bromley, 1993), and was particularly apparent for the white participants, who all seemed to employ some form of impression management in various guises.

> *And you see I just said them and I wasn't meant to say them, I wanted to say 'people of a different race'... That's why it's like, there is pressure to get, to get your wording a hundred percent right, like 'them' and things like that. Because if you don't, you show that there is, still in your mind, regardless of whether you want it or you don't, there's still a difference in your mind. And we shouldn't have that difference, we should just say 'us' not 'them', you know. We're all the same (Mike, w).*

> *And it's, it's also hard when you're put on the spot, so when you're trying to get the words, it might come across that you're being rude or racist or being derogatory when you're not (Kelly, w).*

Black participants, on the other hand, did not appear to make reference to being politically correct and did not seem to be overly invested in maintaining an image of not being racist. This absence seems to not only be indicative of their wariness of appearing racist (and therefore avoiding the topic altogether), but also because in many ways doing so would be to disrupt the status quo, an action which is typically met with hostility. For instance, Bonilla-Silva (2006) notes that when blacks are seen to disrupt the status quo they are often denounced (by whites) for "playing the 'race' card", for illegitimately demanding unnecessary racial compensations, for crying racism whenever they are criticised by whites and so forth. The fact that the researcher was a white woman could have further compounded these difficulties as she elicited a certain habitual response from the participants by virtue of her 'race'.

However, to assume that blacks cannot be racist is somewhat naive, as racial prejudice is by no means an exclusively white phenomenon, for there are many black racists and not every white person is a racist (Cox, 2009). Mbali (b) seems to support this in her statement:

> *There's that thing of black people can't be racist... I don't know how people get that. Black people can be racist. They just don't realise it... So, ya... black certainly can be brought up to think that white people are also bad (Mbali, b).*

> *It's like I know like some Indian people, and I would say more of an older people, and there is some exception to some young people but it is like-, I've noticed there is like they like mostly see the black people differently. They-, like some of them do actually see themselves as being superior to this black person and then I just think that that is really one of the stupidest things ever because they see people-, like Indian people who like owns their own shops and that then they treat their workers however they want just because he's the boss and he's Indian and in this case black so he can do whatever. So there is like-, and also there is probably racism in every race (Raj, b).*

The participants' desire to appear racially tolerant seems to subtly displace their desire to be racially tolerant. van Djik (2002) maintains that this is a way of managing one's negative beliefs about the *other*, where people will tend to try and deny such beliefs, provide disclaimers against such beliefs, etc., which are intended to avoid a negative impression with their listeners or their readers. While such a critical reading is called for, it must be cautioned that most people in most situations are invested in maintaining a socially favourable self image. Thus, a gap seemed to emerge between the participants' desire to be racially tolerant and their desire to appear racially tolerant:

> *Ya, and I think that you could also, like, you can, you know, a lot of black people might take what I just, like, what I've been saying as a racist thing (Ann, w).*

> *Well, I don't want to sound bad. I don't see them in a bad way, now I'm talking about black people like they different and I don't see them as different (Mike, w).*

> *Like, I don't want this to sound mean because I feel that I'm not racist, but it's just an analogy, it was just kind of like rats, in a way. Just like this huge crowd of just [black people] everywhere (Kelly, w).*

Yet, despite these complex and often conflicting factors it is important to keep in mind that in many respects identity reflects the adaptation of individuals to the sociocultural context, as they construct a self-definition that allows them to get along in their particular environment (Goossens & Phinney, 1996). Thus, the participants' actions and identities are adaptations to a world in flux and are, in all likelihood, the best that they can do at this time.

b. "Trying to see differences in a different way": Youth Identity in the Context of Apartheid's Legacy

The popularity of the abovementioned metaphors of the *Rainbow Nation* give the impression that they have, in many respects, been successful in creating reconciliation, unity and new forms of nationalism (Bornam, 2006; Franchi & Swart, 2003). However, despite these attempts South African youth identities are still marked, whether acknowledged or not, by 'race', racialised subjectivities and a past of racial separateness. As Elliott argues, societies, and the present, always risk being haunted by what is excluded. And the more rigid the position, the greater the ghost, and the more threatening it is in some way (Elliott cited in Treacher, 2005). For instance the discourse of *Rainbow Nationism* is in many ways a direct reaction against apartheid (Walker, 2005a).

> *And being that way you actually show that you aren't colourblind. 'Cause you're seeing, you're trying to see differences in a different way, instead of seeing it as a negative influence, see a positive. But still I'm seeing them as different to… (Mike, w).*

As Mike (w) states, racial difference is still being foreground as central to identity. This seems to suggest that the racialised ideologies of apartheid are still impacting on and shaping racialised identities in present day South Africa. Walker (2005a) points out that to be colourblind, ironically requires that one first notice and takes account of 'race'. In other words, an individual must first notice 'race' in order to direct their thoughts and behaviours in a way which is counter to their habitual ways of being and thinking that take 'race' into account. Furthermore, the colourblind ideal has been mutated from a discourse which aided anti-racist praxis during apartheid to one which facilitates white denial of racial hierarchy and their refusal to acknowledge racial privilege (Ansell, 2006). Thus, one is truly trying to see "*differences in a different way" (Mike, w)*.

Many of the participants referred back to colourblindness when discussing their own identities:

> *I don't really see colour, so I don't… Like that question just doesn't really mean anything to me 'cause I honestly don't see colour (Ann, w).*

> *It doesn't matter who you are, where you come from, what your skin colour is, who your parents are, you know, where you live (Alexa, w).*

To me, the colour doesn't matter. Whether I'm black, I'm white, I'm Indian, what matters is, I'm a human being and I'm living around people... (John, b)

Kirstan : It's almost like you're colour-blind.
Tumi (b) : Yes, I think I'd put it that way. 'cause I don't have a problem with anybody, Indian, black, pink, blue, I don't care. Ya.

However, to refer back to CRT (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004), professing colourblindness is perhaps a tactic, albeit unconscious, employed to distance oneself from uncomfortable beliefs and actions. Notions of colourblindness allow one to believe that segregation and discrimination are no longer an issue because of the democratic changes brought about in 1994. By constructing a picture of society where racial harmony is the norm, the colourblind perspective functions to further embed racial inequality by increasing its invisibility. Similarly, such discourse removes from public dialogue the need to maintain any discussions of transformation and racism, further entrenching racialised inequalities and imbalances (Gallagher, 2003). Thus, by ascribing to the notions of being colourblind, individuals are furthering racial inequalities, highlighting the manner in which South Africa's past continues to impact on contemporary South Africa.

They've done this reconciliation but they avoided the basics or the factors, how do we deal with the past rather than reconciliation (John, b).

Ya, so it's sort of affected where they are now, you know (Alexa, w).

Similarly, the participants' claims of attempting to negate the past to their parents, serves to distance them from a past which is socially undesirable and uncomfortable.

Everybody that I knew from my home... they all knew about racism... I didn't understand that 'cause we were out of that oppression and even otherwise, I wasn't exposed to being oppressed (Vuyo, b).

[My mother], she's allowed the fact that I'm in a new generation now and I can't not, you know, involve myself in another race because of what happened in the past, you know (Tumi, b).

You know, and also [at this university] because there are so many people older than you a lot of them maybe, I don't know, are more angry against different people because they sort of grew up in the whole apartheid thing whereas you sort of-, it didn't really affect us, so they are maybe more angry about it than we are. Whereas we are more open to everyone else (Julie, b).

People are still angry after Apartheid and whatever. And, I think they take it out on the wrong people which is also wrong (Ann, w).

Because, you know, it wasn't really my generation who decided on, you know, implementing those policies... And it's, I don't know, I suppose you just have to get over it and move on and learn from the experience rather than dwell on it and, you know, be bitter about it (Nicky, w).

I was born after apartheid happened and I wasn't born when I had to look at-, when I had to stay away from a black person or treat them differently, like they're lower than me. So nowadays, you know, I sort of see them as the same person as I am, just a different skin colour or whatever it is (Cali, w).

But I have heard the phrase where, like young black kids, like teenagers or even twenty, they even say to themselves, like, we need to move on from Apartheid. They weren't even affected by it (Kelly, w).

Likewise there are claims that this past is not their past and thus the participants are committed to moving forward and forgetting the past, as it were:

All I can do is look forward. There's no use looking back on the past. It's happened, we kind of have to deal with it now and now move forward. You can't spend your whole life looking back and wondering what could have happened... You know now it is up to me. I have to, I have to make sure that I'm not being the way that my grandparents and they were in the past (Alexa, w).

I was like 'Just get over it', it's so many years afterwards (Nicky, w).

We must start like our own new legacy now (Raj, b).

In this manner, the participants are attempting to ensure that more socially undesirable thoughts, beliefs and prejudices are projected away from the self, sustaining their own positive self image (van Dijk, 1997). By projecting racist feelings and ideologies into other social actors or the past, individuals are able to attribute their own affective state onto others, as if they are something foreign to the self, lessening unpleasant and uncomfortable feelings about the self (Clarke, 2003). Yet, despite this trend, some participants were mindful of the fact that the past not only interacts with the present, but also has sway over their future:

So it doesn't really affect me. Well not yet anyway. It might later than right now I suppose. It just happens, I don't know [laughs] (Cali, w).

Similarly, despite the numerous attempts to disavow the apartheid past, many participants seemed to make constant claims to this self-same past.

'Cause I mean it happened in our parents 'generation. The fact that they're passing it down, it would, it's never going to end. So if it doesn't change, then I guess race issues will always there, if, forever, even when my children are born and die (Tumi, b).

Basically your parents teach you and make you who you are... So when you have parents that have been part of something and they can see the difference then, well they see a difference and they teach you that difference (Mike, w).

On some level, there is the acknowledgement that they are who they are, not only because of their past, but also because of their parents' past. In many respects, this is reminiscent of transgenerational trauma, where traumatic historical legacies may be transmitted individually via unconscious phantasies of parents and grandparents, as well as collectively through the cultural unconscious. Schwab (2004) notes that in violent histories, such as South Africa's, there is often the transgenerational transmission of trauma from one generation to the next. It is important to note that both the children of victims, and the children of perpetrators, unwittingly live the ghostly legacies and secrets of their parents and parental generation.

And her dad, um, he studied medicine during Apartheid and being a black man studying medicine, I mean the white patients didn't want you to touch them and the other doctors wouldn't give you fair opportunities. So, he never pushed Apartheid on Karabo or anything, but then, well, when, she started bringing me home or Sarah home, he used to get really angry and un... And he sat her down one day and he made her read about all his, all his struggles, and then he told her, like, what the white man had done to him. And she came with all these books and she's like 'You know what white people did?' And we're like 'Ya, Karabo, but that was long ago, this is now'. And now she's dating a white guy, so I don't know... (Ann, w).

And my parents, despite how much they tried, they, there was still a difference. It's still 'The man who robbed us was black'... what your parents are, basically your parents teach you and make you who you are (Mike, w).

Ok, well it has affected us indirectly, well, maybe directly... (Ann, w).

Well it is fun considering that I have, ok, I've been raised by a person who's a product of apartheid (Vuyo, b).

You know, parents all teach you 'No, white people don't like black girls, why you always friend with white people?' and so… [sighs] I felt a bit, not isolated as such, but a bit like the black sheep (Tumi, b).

'Cause I think [family] plays a big role in... who a person becomes. Not just your race. Because I mean if you brought up in a family that hates white people and hates Afrikaans people and hates the whole apartheid thing I think you grow up with that resentment. Even if your family doesn't outright say it, you feel it and that's the prejudice you grow up with (Julie, b).

c. "It's like the same old way, everybody does it the same way, everybody speaks about it the same way. You know, if you got robbed, it's a black person": The Recalcitrance of Apartheid's Master Narratives

The term 'master narrative', or 'grand narrative', are scripts which act to universalise and cast dialogues in binary, contrasting categories that support the maintenance of the dominant (white) groups. Moreover, a master narrative is a script that specifies and controls how some social processes are carried out. During apartheid a master narrative of white superiority and black inferiority was put forward. While this script cast whites as all good and all knowing, it portrayed blackness as the antithesis of whiteness. Members of marginalised (black) groups had little or no input into the shaping of this master narrative (Stanley, 2007).

The continued prevalence of apartheid's master narrative in post-1994 South Africa and its impact on black and white youth identity has been noted throughout the data. In many respects most, if not all, of the participants made reference to this narrative.

> *Stereotypical. Ya, it's like the same old way, everybody does it the same way, everybody speaks about it the same way. You know, if you got robbed, it's a black person (Mike, w).*

They spoke about the binary which was created between whiteness and blackness, where blacks were seen as lazy, licentious and threatening and whites as hard working, intelligent and noble.

> *[On Indians] And most of them are all into the, you know, 'Let's go out, partying and', um, 'let's bunk lectures' and that type of thing (Stacy, b).*
>
> *I don't really follow like all like that whole Indian stuff, like you know like the one thing the Indians, for some reason I don't know at all, get married young and have a big family and all that (Raj, b).*
>
> *Julie (b): [Coloured students here] don't go to class often they sit and smoke hubly on the lawns most of the time, you know, that kind of thing... It just seems from the outsider's perspective that they don't work as hard as like other people who've maybe been brought up to do that.*
> *Kirstan: You think that plays into the stereotypes here? That you were talking about earlier.*
> *Julie (b): Ya... it does. 'Cause then people start to say that they're lazy and they're going to end up doing drugs, you know.*

So that's what people view it that the whites are much more hard-working than blacks, and they are much more willing to do the job, rather than being pushed to do the job (John, b).

My other friend, she's coloured, and she nearly failed matric and she's doing medicine now. And this girl was, she was so smart and, you know, it was just, like primary candidate versus not primary candidate (Nicky, w).

Like with the political situation that was happening when they said 'Shoot the Boer' and everything like that and then they were putting up signs of 'Kill Malema'. It just worsens this whole situation of the perception of white people wanting to kill black people, something like that. So I don't want myself and I don't someone to listen to this and say "Uh, that's just another white person thinking that blacks are different or blacks are criminals or blacks are poor" (Mike, w).

Kirstan : What in particular are you afraid of?
Candy (w) : Well mainly like that if something has to happen to me that my family will suffer or that I will have to watch my family suffer. Like in the case of a burglary or a-, heaven forbid, if my mother had to get raped or something-, I couldn't quite live with that.

One of apartheid's most prominent features was its harsh adherence to laws which stipulated and maintained racial separateness and purity. In many ways, the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* has attempted to disrupt this ideology, and while it is perhaps unfair and limiting to deny the advances that have been brought about in post-1994 South Africa, it is equally as short sighted to romanticise contemporary 'race' relations. Thus, one needs to acknowledge that many of the narratives collected spoke about racial separateness and about how people find being within their own racial groups much easier, echoing the ghosts of apartheid.

But a lot of the other people or the, uh, Indian people were like 'Well, no, you can't be a part of our group because you're part of theirs, you can only be part of one group'. Um, so that was, that is sort of the attitude of the Indian youth today, is that you're either only Indian or you're a part of their group. You can't be in between (Stacy, b).

I think they're also like perpetuating it. You'll find people who are-, who just don't want to mix with white people. Or they feel that, um, there's still that toll of apartheid, I don't know if it's maybe the way they were raised as well. But, uh, you'll find black people who genuinely separate themselves from white people (Mbali, b).

You know, like at first I was like, I just want white friends 'cause it's so much easier. 'Cause, I mean it really was (Ann, w).

What I've noticed about especially the white people in all my classes they mainly stick together, they won't make friends with the others (Candy, w).

> *Well... not really. I've-, but I suppose even like now everyone's sort of-, well not everyone, but most of the time you'll find that the black people are in their groups and the white people are in their groups, Indians in theirs... and everyone sort of sticks to their own race and like when you're making friends I find it a lot easier to make white friends than I do with black people. I don't have any sort of black close friends. So far they've stayed where they are and I've stayed where I am [laughs], so... it's fine (Cali, w).*

In short, the narratives collected for this study are a social product of the present in relation to the past. The 'present' in South Africa is, therefore, negotiated via its relation to the nation's turbulent and violent history. Likewise, the participants' identities are constructed in relation to the past and are, therefore, not impervious to the effects of South Africa's racialised history.

ii. Constructions and Perceptions of White Identity

This section will consider the racialised identities of white first year students as well as the racialised perceptions black first year students have of them. Whiteness has no stable consensual meaning and has been conceptualised in a number of different, yet not mutually exclusive, forms. Whiteness is a range of cultural practices and identities. It is a lens through which particular aspects of social relationships can be apprehended. Whiteness is an identity that only exists in so far as other racialised identities, especially blackness, exist. In the past whiteness has been conceptualised as supreme, invisible, unnamed, natural, normative, etc (Garner, 2006).

This section will also consider how whiteness has been constructed in the past and how it is currently being constructed in South Africa. This section will firstly consider how whiteness and white identity was constructed during apartheid, and how these constructs continue to impact on current white identities. Secondly, the author will reflect on the ways in which whiteness is being constructed as somewhat disadvantaged in the new South Africa. Following this, whiteness will be considered within the broader context of post-apartheid South Africa. Lastly, this section will focus on the continued normativity and privileged status of whiteness and white identity in contemporary South Africa.

a. "And everybody says the economy was so good and there were no beggars": Whiteness and Apartheid Nostalgia

Under the auspices of apartheid, whiteness was constructed as supreme, dominant and elitist. During this time, most, if not all, white South Africans grew up without having their whiteness and supposed racial superiority problematised. During apartheid, narratives of whiteness centred around supremacy and dominance, where whites oppressed and dominated in all spheres of activity (Nettleton, 1972; Sennett & Foster, 1996).

For many white participants, this narrative of whiteness as it was during apartheid, still impacts on the manner in which they understand whiteness and construct their identity. This is, however deeply problematic for white South Africans, as it often leads to feelings of guilt. This, in keeping with the notion that within the changing terrain of post-1994 South Africa white South Africans are burdened by feelings of guilt, shame, illegitimacy and so forth (Steyn, 2001). The white participants reflected that they felt guilty for a number of different reasons. For instance, they feel guilty because of the sense that they are somehow to blame for apartheid. Many of the white participants *"feel a bit guilty for things that happened in the past"* (Mike, w), as if they are somehow to blame for the atrocities witnessed during apartheid.

> *You're like, you're worrying about somebody singing a song in comparison to what we did that was like a tiny little, so small. If all we did was sang a song then it wouldn't have been a problem (Mike, w).*
>
> *It's unfair that they should be judging us based on what happened in the past because we didn't live through that, you know... Ya. Like I mean I felt really bad, and terrible and actually, I don't know, somehow I feel guilty because my parents and their parents were a part of it (Alexa, w).*
>
> *I honestly don't think that people want to hear about what their grandparents did to black people because they just want to move forward, and they just want to let it all go... when I think about it I'm kind of ashamed by it. Ok, I'm not ashamed to be white 'cause that would just be, you know, silly (Ann, w).*

Secondly, the white participants recognise within themselves vestiges of racist tendencies which they abhor and wish to deny. This recognition similarly evokes feelings of guilt.

> *People automatically also assume you're racist, which is hard, as well, 'cause in my African literature class there's only a few white people. And if you have an opinion, you're racist (Ann, w).*

I might have thought that [a black researcher was] like "ah, do you still live in apartheid era? Do you still hate black people?" (Cali, w).

I'm wondering that whoever listens to this is gonna be judging me. I'm thinking they're gonna say "Just another white racist"... I don't want someone to listen to this and say "Uh, that's just another white person thinking that blacks are different or blacks are criminals or blacks are poor" (Mike, w).

Thirdly, one has the sense that the white participants are feeling guilty for the ways in which they feel they are still being benefitted by apartheid.

I have had that before, you know, when they say "Oh do you have a car" and I say yes and they say "Oh, you're so lucky." And like I feel bad but then at the same time, I don't really have public transport, um, for me (Kelly, w).

The one [black man] asked me for shoes and I wanted to bring them... And he was, he says he just needs shoes so that he can run to the taxi and he doesn't have shoes. And I was like I know in my cupboard I have three pairs of shoes that are, are perfectly good, it's just they've got a slight hole and I'm too good for them. So but they will do, that will be like new shoes to this guy (Mike, w).

Lastly, there is the sense that the white participants' guilt is fuelled by a certain nostalgia for the past, which they simultaneously loathe and denounce but also covet. For instance many white participants seemed to refer back to this narrative of white dominance in a somewhat romanticised manner, especially when this view of the past is compared to contemporary South Africa today.

[My friend's white father] was just saying, like how they, you don't see one white person walking around. And it was sad because in them, like back twenty, thirty years ago, Hillbrow, it was like the place to be, you know. My mom was saying how they would take buses and bicycles and this and I just, I don't know that time, you know (Kelly, w).

The apartheid government... everybody says the economy was so good and there were no beggars, and I was like 'Well, the beggars were all in their little spot where they had to stay so that's why you didn't have to see them, 'cause they were hidden' (Mike, w).

And like twenty years ago [laughs] or fifty years ago [laughs], I don't know how long it was [laughs], then [my white boyfriend] would've got the job straight away. There wouldn't even had been black people looking for the job. (Cali, w).

Well, it is kind of conflicting. Um, as I say, I'm grateful for what I have (Alexa, w).

In this way, the white participants speak about the apartheid era with nostalgia. Nostalgia, such as this, seems to suggest that the white participants are mourning the loss of a "better" past. In this way, they are yearning for the past which is remembered as a time when one lived in a securely circumscribed place, with a sense of stable boundaries and a

place-bound culture with its regular flow of time and a core of permanent relations (Bissell, 2005). In many ways, this longing for the past underlines the white participants' sense that they have lost something and that, compared to older generations, they are no longer in a position of extreme, unquestionable privilege.

> *But... like I said in apartheid they felt that they were inferior to us and now with the BEE system being in place we feel, or most of us feel, that we're inferior to them (Candy, w).*

> *I can say [whites] are disadvantaged because right now, uh, the main focus of people is that, uh, black people must be in power, black people must be educated, black people must be (John, b).*

Many of the white participants seem to yearn for the apartheid era and the privileges it afforded white South Africans, yet at the same time they denounce this past. But, more than this, they seem to dislike themselves for wanting this past, that their *"self-interest comes in so it's a bit of a battle. So it's very hard to, um, to lie*" (Kelly, w). It must, however, be noted that the white participants rarely spoke about guilt in this way, which highlights both the discomfort felt around this topic and the desire to repress such feelings. Similarly, feelings of guilt invariably cause the individual to hate the hating self, which, in turn results in the individual wishing to make reparations for damage that has been done. This was seen in some of the white participants' narratives, where there was an attempt to understand the need to make amends for the past.

> *So like quotas and stuff, well maybe it's necessary now (Nicky, w).*

> *I feel it's unfair because we never took part in that, in that, um, in the Apartheid era, but there does have to be a consequence in some way or another. So rationally I, or logically, I understand [reparation for apartheid] needed to happen... But I also think that that step is sort of needed to balance out, um, you know, the scale from the past (Alexa, w).*

b. "It's more like 'Shoot the whites' ": The Perception that Whiteness is Under Threat in the 'New' South Africa

As Alexa (w) notes in the above quote, many white South Africans "*feel it's unfair"*. Thus, despite the white participants' attempts to "*rationalise [reformation attempts]*" (Alexa, w) and accept the necessity of transformation endeavours, there is an overriding sense that they are still deeply ambivalent about the process. This is closely linked to both their nostalgia for the past, where whiteness is seen to have been stable and ideologically supreme, as well as to their sense that whiteness has somehow been depleted and short

changed in the new South Africa. This sense that whiteness is in some way under threat, if not at a material level, certainly at an ideological level, extends back to the start of colonialism where whites felt threatened by the black *other* (Dalal, 2002; Steyn, 2001). Thus, while many whites embrace the goal of racial equality, problems arise when black progress is seen to exact a personal cost to their position of power and privilege (E. Taylor, 1998).

Thus, an ideological incongruency is seen to emerge where the white participants' various ideologies and beliefs are incompatible. While they support reformation attempts at an ideological level, they are somewhat unwilling to see it implemented (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005). It is therefore, somewhat unsurprising that whites perceive a 'racial' threat from the black *other* in contemporary South Africa (Stevens, 1998). This sense that whiteness is in some way under threat has lead the white participants to express feelings of disadvantage under South Africa's new dispensation, particularly with regards to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and perceived education policies.

> *I find it harder now because, you know, I got rejected from UCT because I was white. And they said it, they said "it's 'cause you're white" (Ann, w).*
>
> *I'm beginning to get told, even by the admin office [here] when I first applied that because I'm the wrong skin colour I have to get a higher point rating in order to get in (Candy, w).*
>
> *Like a lot of my friends tried to get into medicine and my one friend, she, they didn't even interview her. She walked into the door and they were like 'No, sorry', like she didn't even sit down. And it was because of quotas (Nicky, w).*

It is perhaps unremarkable that all the white participants seemed to speak to this perceived disadvantage of being white. It is, however, perhaps worthy to note that many of the black participants also spoke about whites as being disadvantaged in contemporary South Africa.

> *I don't think white people are really benefitted (Julie, b).*
>
> *[Whites are] not benefiting (Mbali, b).*

The black participants' perception that whites are no longer benefitted is somewhat unsurprising given the current discourse in South Africa about BEE and affirmative action. However, what is surprising is the degree to which a few of the black participants seemed to find this perceived lack of benefit as an anomaly. In other words, there is the sense that

reformation attempts and changes in racial power balances are in some respects misguided and ill-informed.

> *I also think sometimes people who don't work as hard are very quick to play the race card. Very quick (Julie, b).*
>
> *So I do see that black people do get that sometimes they don't deserve and white people should have, but because of the whole apartheid thing-, I don't think that that's the right thing (Raj, b).*
>
> *Let's say if I was a voluntary medical worker... Now let's say I get a promotion and say I become a qualified professional doctor, with what? I don't have any experience, I don't got the education that I need... I'll only kill people. So it's actually sinking rather than floating (Vuyo, b).*

At this juncture its is perhaps necessary to reiterate that given the researcher's 'race' such answers are potentially biased, and are in some ways a means of providing a politically correct and socially desirable answer. Vuyo (b), however, seems to offer an alternative voice when he states that, in his opinion, whites are disadvantaged. This is counter to some voices in South Africa, and Vuyo (b) is quick to acknowledge that somehow he "*[views] politics in a different way".* This suggests that whiteness is indeed recognised as advantaged by some. Similarly John (b) notes that:

> *Being white, it can be advantageous because, um, uh, most of the corporate businesses are owned by whites (John, b).*

Thus, while it is possibly correct to interpret claims of white disadvantage as means of impression management, it is also necessary to consider Gillborn's (2005) claim that the most dangerous form of 'white supremacy' is not the obvious and extreme repressive posturing of racism, but rather the taken-for-granted routine privileging of white interests that goes unremarked and unseen in the political mainstream. The failure, however, to examine notions of whiteness, facilitates the maintenance of its incorporeal nature thereby re-inscribing it as a dominant social power. This re-centring of whiteness, ensures that focus remains on whiteness and attempts to amplify the apparent burden they are subjected to because of reformation attempts, as well as their overwhelming sense of victimisation (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2000).

This is further entrenched by the white participants' claims that those black individuals who are seen to be benefitting from reformation attempts are illegitimate and somehow

fraudulent. In many respects, they systematically undermine the legitimacy of such reformation attempts as well as their benefactors. Reformation attempts are often embedded in a discourse of "*reverse apartheid*" (Candy, w) and are regarded as undeservedly taking away from more legitimate white candidates. In this way, privilege is constructed as a zero sum game – where there is an either or split between the two 'races' (Solomona et al., 2005).

> *I might not get as much free stuff [laughs] (Cali, w).*

Kelly (w) for instance speaks about how a friend who is "*flipping clever", "was head girl"* and "*got like... seven, eight distinctions and nineties"* might not get into medicine in South Africa because she is white. In constructing her friend in this idealised manner (i.e. as all good) Kelly (w) seems to imply the illegitimacy of the perceived quota system.

> *My best friend, who's gone to Israel, she wants to do medicine, she's done her A levels and she might come back. For her to say 'Well look, I might not even get in medicine here'. You know, she's flipping clever, she was head girl, she got like, I don't know, like seven, eight distinctions and nineties and whatever. And for her to tell me "No I might not even be, like, get into medicine' (Kelly, w).*

> *The whole affirmative action thing. It's a good thing, but I think at times implemented in the wrong way. Um, not like in the wrong way, but you understand what I'm saying. So, it's not given, I mean, it's not done properly, in a sense that, you know, it's supposed to be the people with the same grades that the other race gets chosen. It's more, um, you know, if there's a few marks difference they'll let it slide (Alexa, w).*

In line with the previous discussion, it is worthwhile to note that many of the black participants seemed to also echo this sentiment, mimicking the white participants' feelings of unfairness.

> *You do hear stories about the white person won't get a promotion or whatever because of the black person... Back in Zimbabwe when they just kicked the white farmers out their places and the black people and what happen there now. So I guess there is a disadvantage to it (Raj, b).*

Intimately linked to feelings of disadvantage is the white participants' sense that they are being victimised.

> *Because when someone says 'Shoot the Boer', regardless if I'm related to any form of Afrikaans people, which I'm not, still, it's more like 'Shoot the whites'... So when I hear things like, remarks against white people, I sort of feel like victimised (Mike, w).*

> *So when you know you're in a 'dodgyish' area and you're the only white person there, you know. Because you become a target, you know, if there's millions of black people and you're the only white person and you're a girl (Kelly, w).*

> *I have said something before in our [African Literature tut class] and I got attacked so I just… Ok, it's kind of like when the white people speak in the class, then [the black students] just don't listen, they just go "mmm mmm whatever, we don't want to hear what you have to say" (Ann, w).*

This discourse on victimisation, which on the one hand functions to distance whites from feelings of guilt and shame, aims to further their claim to legitimacy on the other hand (Steyn, 2001). It also speaks to the white oppressor's fear that one day the oppressed would revolt and exact upon them what they themselves had inflicted on the *other* (Clarke, 2003; Dalal, 2002).

> *So maybe [the blacks] wouldn't treat me as an equal or-... it really depends on their background. On how they were treated, for instance, when they were growing up, or if they lived through apartheid then maybe they would maybe see me as "okay, it's time to get what was ours." Like we got when it was apartheid, like maybe we treated them inferior and now think "let's switch roles" (Candy, w).*

It is important to note that the perception of white victimisation manifests somewhat differently in men and women. At this point, it is worthy to reflect that out of the 114 students who indicated that they were interested in taking part in this study, only 1 was a white male. One needs to interrogate why it is that white men are so unwilling to talk about their whiteness. A possible answer to this conundrum is the fact that such self-reflexivity is uncomfortable, as it invokes feelings of guilt, fear and defensiveness. Thus, many white South Africans may perceive their future as one of being a threatened minority, which may result in defensiveness and a decrease in nationalistic sentiment (Sennett & Foster, 1996).

The narrative of male victimisation is most often noted in discourse on reformation, in particular affirmative action. Affirmative action is considered by whites to result in "*reverse apart*heid" (Candy, w). It is seen as a policy of institutionalized discrimination against white men which penalises them, even though they are considered to not be responsible for the discrimination witnessed during apartheid (Franchi, 2003a; Leonard, 1989). There is a sense of entitlement to particular forms of privileged treatment for men which has been usurped (Solomona et al., 2005).

If you are a, maybe a white male with no real inclination, you know, you're not doing well in anything then maybe you'll feel the [benefit blacks have] and maybe those are the ones who complain (Mike, w).

When my brother was accepted into [this university], because he wanted to study medical at first, but they said to him that if he didn't make 95% as an average as a white male he would never get into masters. But they told him straight that if a black person had 55% they would-, he would be accepted into masters which is really unfair... I mean the quality of the medical care that would be provided by the 55% pass is just... (Candy, w).

It's very hard for a white male to get a job (Alexa, w).

As compared to white men, white women were seen by many of the participants as being particularly vulnerable to attack and victimisation, especially by black men who are viewed to be sexually licentious, aggressive and dangerously powerful (Clarke, 2003).

Kirstan : Do you feel you are more victimised because you are white?
Candy (w) : Not mainly because I'm white. I think it's basically because I am female. 'Cause it's always like they say that females are the weaker sex. So they will target you more.

Two white girls, the only-, in a car. Like, I realised how dangerous it could have been, you know... it's scary. Just being a woman... I mean you're disadvantaged in a way, you know, because you could be seen as, you can be taken advantage of (Kelly, w).

I suppose [the black passengers] have-... well they might think that "ah, like ah she's scared of me... like I better not touch her" (Cali, w).

It is as if the white participants are bound by the dominant discourse on femininity that typically aligns ideal womanhood with the presumed fragility and vulnerability of white women. In many respects, white women are idealised, especially in comparison to black women who are assigned a somewhat subordinate status (Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996).

I get the sense that a lot of people, um, generally see white females, um, as being more, I don't know, like higher class or whatever [laughs] in, ya, in that context, than females of other races. But that still between white females and black and other races of males there's still like a divide between that (Alexa, w).

Because, you know, if you're a black girl, like, I guess, you, you, um, you create a tough skin and you know what it's about and you're in the culture... [if] she doesn't know the area, at least, like, she'd fit in. So even thought you feel scared on the inside, you still fit in (Kelly, w).

Although this was the typical construction of femininity, especially white femininity, by participants, there were those who provided an alternative voice and who spoke about the privilege that their white femininity seemed to grant them.

> *Kirstan : How did it feel to be a white woman in that situation?*
> *Cali (w) : It felt really good. Actually I was really really nervous about getting into the taxi... But they-, everyone was very nice to me and kept to themselves, so great... It felt good... And this guy actually got out and opened the door for me and then got back in.*

There were also signs, albeit subtle, that suggest that for some white participants there was an awareness of the possibility that the perception of black men and white women (discussed above) are somehow myths or social constructions:

> *But that's the thing, like, so even like I had that vulnerability and my own fear, they were just, I guess, going about their own lives anyway, you know (Kelly, w).*

In many ways, the beliefs or explanations discussed in this section thus far provide a specific kind of information that can be used to ensure the maintenance of the status quo (i.e. white dominance). It must, however, be cautioned that the ongoing construction of white racial identities has socialised whites to conceptualise their world in ways that favour their positions within it. Thus, the white participants are, to a large extent, genuinely unaware and ignorant of the advantage their whiteness affords them (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005). Indeed, very few of them have personally experienced such inequity.

> *Um, so, no, in my life, personally. I mean, I know people who have (Kelly, w).*

> *You know, I can't, I feel like, I feel I don't have a valid opinion because it's, it's bits and drabs of what I've heard and certain things going on. I've never actually sat down and read articles with [mumbles] text and proper analytical, um, articles on BEE. Um, so that's why when it comes to politics of South Africa I'm not the best person because I don't necessarily know all the good and bad. It's like what people tell me (Kelly, w).*

> *A lot of other [white people] I came into contact with felt a little bit, ya, disadvantaged (Alexa, w).*

> *I know like lots of friends' dads who've been retrenched and, you know, replaced... (Nicky, w).*

> *Ya, I suppose... but I've never really been in a situation like that before. I mean I've been very fortunate I've lived in South Africa all my life and I've never had anything stolen from me or anything unfortunate like that so um, ya... so-, so far they've stayed where they are and I've stayed where I am and we've been fine (Cali, w).*

This distance is, however, dismissed by some white participants by claims that although they haven't experienced such discrimination up until now, it is inevitable that they will be disadvantaged at some point.

> *I haven't got there yet, I haven't seen the extent to which… (Mike, w).*

The difficulties experienced by the white participants seems to highlight the existence of alternative, and often conflicting ideologies. These conflicting feelings appear to then result in their own personal sense of suffering and oppression. This section has attempted to show that notions of "*reverse apartheid*" (Candy, w) and the narrative that whiteness is under threat, serve to limit the white participants' ability to effectively examine the underlying systemic and institutional structures that reinforce racism. By centring their own feelings of discomfort, guilt, victimisation and so forth, they essentially ensure that there is limited space and energy to address oppression, inequality and the maintenance of white privilege. However, despite this avoidance and denial, it must be acknowledged that the white participants are all doing their best to function in a world which is in flux. In many respects they are attempting to reaffirm their claim to space in post-1994 South Africa (Solomona et al., 2005).

c. "Whiteness is just normal for everyone": The Relative Normativity and Invisibility of Whiteness

In post-1994 South Africa, one of the central questions for whiteness is how to maintain privilege in a context where the black *other* has achieved political power (Steyn & Foster, 2007). The previous section attempted to demonstrate the ways in which white participants distance themselves from and deny their privileged status as whites. However, from the critical discussion, it is clear that whites are still benefitted due to their 'race'. John (b), one of the black participants, provided a definition of dominance which seems to crystallise the nature of white dominance.

> *Dominance... it's like being the most highly classified, or the most highly ranked, um, person or race. That's the dominance. Like, um, when I say dominant I mean like you are much more in position where... you are powerful. That's where I say [you're] dominant. Which means you are over, you are having those powers which others don't have. That's where I say you're dominant, and, um, dominant meaning there is many people, in that, in that sector (John, b).*

Many of the participants appeared to actively support a notion of perceived white dominance in South Africa.

> *Like, right now they are now trying to dominate, the black race is trying to dominate. But, um, the, the other races, like white, they, it is much more dominant, like, from the past it has been dominant but it is still there... (John, b).*

> *Because I think we still, I think there's still that, you know... that white people are still in dominance so black people aren't really... that thing of black people aren't really aren't benefitted is there, especially when you go back to rural communities... (Mbali, b).*

What is noticeable is that it is mainly the black participants who provide these insights into perceived white dominance, suggesting that for the most part whiteness and the associated privileges are normative and invisible, especially to whites (Essed, 1991; Solomona et al., 2005; Winnubst, 2004). In many respects, whiteness tends to be constructed as a norm, an unchanging and unproblematic location, a position from which all other identities come to be marked by their difference (McWhorter, 2005).

> *I think I felt a little, like I used to maybe always wish that I wasn't Indian so that I could fit in. I, well I did generally wish that a lot, just so that I could be like normal [white kids] that have a normal life, you know, and that can do whatever they want, and that sort of thing... they just didn't have [any culture]. And I think that's what I wanted, I just wanted to be normal and not have anything... Like a friends of mine, Thato, she's black and she also had problems trying to come to terms with her race because, you know, you feel "Ok, well, I'm not normal" (Stacy, b).*

> *One of the girls that I go to IR with she's like that she doesn't enjoy anthropology... and we ask her why and she's like "probably because I'm white and I don't have culture and black people have culture" (Mbali, b).*

> *I just think [whiteness is] just normal for everyone (Tumi, b).*

Fanon (cited in Clarke, 2003) suggests that the image of the white person develops in relation to the image of the black person. This is reflected by Kelly (w), who seems to only be aware of her whiteness when confronted with the image of blackness.

> *But [at this university], like I definitely know that I'm white and I know the implications there are (Kelly, w).*

Thus, one can speculate that whiteness is to a large degree, only seen in relation to blackness. This is in keeping with Lacan's theory that the self is defined in relation to some *other*, and that this *other* is to a large extent what "I" am not (Lacan cited in Clark, 2003).

Indeed, when asked to reflect on their racial identities separate from *other* markers of identity, all of the white participants were at a loss.

> *Um, actually I don't know how to answer that question. [laughs] Um, I don't know. Um, [laughs] I'm sorry but I just don't… Um… (Alexa, w).*
>
> *I have no idea (Ann, w).*
>
> *[Pause] I'm not too sure... [Pause] [laughs] I really don't know how to answer that (Candy, w).*
>
> *Well I mean I don't know, it's not really like a big thing to me.... It kind of makes no difference. I don't really, um, consider it an advantage or disadvantage or anything, it's just… (Nicky, w).*
>
> *Um, I don't know, it's just, I am white... It doesn't really have any specific meaning... I don't see any, like, big influence in it or meaning in it (Mike, w).*
>
> *It is perhaps also relevant to discuss Cali's (w) affirmation that whiteness is "just the colour of my skin":*
>
> *It's just the colour of my skin and I can get a tan and you can see when I blush [laughs]. I don't really think about it (Cali, w).*

This reference to skin colour as a concrete signifier of 'race' reduces the meaning of racialisation to that of physical attribute which seemingly negates the constructedness of whiteness. Thus, the social characteristics such as status, motivation, roles, attitudes, and so forth of whiteness as well as the significant forms of capital that are afforded to whites are overlooked and denied. This in turn further entrenches the invisibility of whiteness, especially in white South Africans (Levine-Rasky, 2000).

Linked to the above notions of whiteness, is the concept of identity and cultural capital. Côté (1996) holds that identity capital is the value that individuals invest in who they are. Identity capital is both tangible assets that are socially visible, and intangible (psychological) assets such as ego strength and self-efficacy. It is these intangible, psychological assets that allow individuals the capacity to understand and negotiate the obstacles and opportunities afforded by the environment (Goossens & Phinney, 1996). Cultural capital, on the other hand, is based on the assumption that knowledge of 'high culture' (aesthetics, speech patterns, etiquette, etc.) gains one access to the reward structures of the upper classes. These attributes of identity and cultural capital are key components of contemporary self-definition (Côté, 1996).

The more cultural capital one has, the greater the freedom one experiences to manoeuvre through various social fields. Apartheid's institutionalised racism ensured that whiteness remained a currency that ensured a smooth passage through daily life for white people. However, after the 1994 elections and the new dispensations it brought about whiteness seemed to have lost some of its cultural capital. The new dispensation attempted to allow blackness that position (Snyman, 2008). Yet, despite these changes, the narratives collected in this study seem to suggest that whiteness still maintains much of the cultural capital which it apartheid provided it with.

> *Ya, in some cases I feel like, um, I get more respect than a black person would. Even from a black person I'd get more respect... like in shops, for example. If you walk in there and, they'll come help you first rather than a black person... And they're more respectful to white people. Especially the black like people working in the shops, they a lot more respectful towards white people... I was at the back of the queue and there was a couple of black people in front of me, one of them was my friend. So this black lady got to the till and she's like "you can come here." So I'm like "No, they were in front of me", so she's like "No you can come, they must wait, you must come.". I'm like "No seriously, they were in front of me, you can help them first." But she wouldn't, so I had to go pay (Ann, w).*

> *I was at a bus stop once and there was this really sort of old black standing there and he-, as soon as I went into the bus stop he kind of stepped outside of the bus stop and waited there. Like-, I think he still he's still kind of in the apartheid thing where you can't be in the same area as a white person so he can wait all the way to the other side. Or like when I came in a taxi they, I don't know, they treat you differently. Sort of-, they are like "are you okay?" or "where am I taking you?" or "where do you want to get dropped off". That sort of thing. I don't know I didn't see them saying that to anyone else that was in the taxi. And I was the only person there. And this guy actually got out and opened the door for me and then got back in so, I don't know [laughs]... (Cali, w).*

> *I guess if they're a [mumbled] or if the police pulled over a whole bunch of black guys [laughs] they would probably just arrest them straight away... But I mean now with-, my friends got pulled over, and ya they're white and the guy who was driving didn't have his license and instead of fining him or whatever he just bribed him (Cali, w).*

Thus, whiteness is not only invisible and normative, but it also has more cultural capital, cementing it as dominant across many different arenas in contemporary South Africa.

On a more concrete level, the white participants seemed to appreciate the privileges their whiteness afforded them.

> *I take things for granted, you know, like being [at this university] is just, I'm just like "Ugh, going to [university]", you know. And [a black student is] like "I'm going to [university], this is," you know, "this is it" (Nicky, w).*

I don't know. It's very, it's very uncomfortable, in one sense, because I know other people had to suffer in order for me to get there. And I've always been, you know, throughout my life, kind of a very fair person, so it does make me feel, as I mentioned earlier, um, very upset and, um, remorseful that other people had to be… For me to be here (Alexa, w).

Similarly, the white participants' meta-stereotypes, or the stereotypes they expect members of the out-group to have of them, seem to belie their tacit awareness of the privileges their whiteness has bestowed upon them (Finchilescu, 2005).

I think [blacks] perceived me as being very privileged, and, um, just kinda having all the opportunities available and open to me. And, um, ya, and that I didn't really have to, you know, work as hard as some people, and it was all just kind of given to me. Which, it's not really true. I mean… I do… I did work, and I do work myself for everything that I achieve (Alexa, w).

No one's going to think that you are going to steal or something. It's kind of like a stereotype that you're put under... So I guess when they look at me they don't think "ah, she lives in a squatter camp", they'll think that I live in a house... Maybe people might put me in a stereotype and think "ah just 'cause she's white she's rich and she doesn't need any help with anything or you know..." but I'm not exactly rich (Cali, w).

[Blacks] think, they think I think I'm above them, if that makes sense. They automatically think that I'm going to place myself above them (Ann, w).

This acknowledgement of white privilege, in turn, sparked feelings of remorse and guilt, which the white participants attempted to both deny, rationalise and distance themselves from by placing the 'blame' on other social agents, most notably their parents.

I think in school in certain ways it has. I think, you know, the whole issue of Apartheid making white people more educated meant that my parents came from a better background than, um, most black people did. So, I think in a sense, yes it did benefit me, sort of in that way, um, because my parents were better educated, and they had enough money to send me to school... But then again, I mean, you know, my parents have worked a lot for what they have (Alexa, w).

I had to do a social biography and I looked at it and, um, I guess I am, I benefit a lot because of my race or my father's race. 'Cause when my father, my grandparents, great-grandparents arrived here, they had the option of buying a farm. And to black people they didn't have that option of buying a farm. And then they had the option of selling a farm and then becoming bankers, had children. And my father had the option of becoming an accountant, which he did, and therefore now I have the option of going to good schools and coming here. Whereas, um, a black person, in apartheid now, ok, I think a few people did get educations (Mike, w).

And I think a lot of, a lot of my white friends also blame apartheid... And they just say that, like, we're paying for mistakes we never made and stuff like that. Like, we didn't hurt anybody, it was maybe, like, our fathers or grandfathers but it wasn't us (Ann, w).

d. "I'm South African, I'm African": Renegotiating the Place of Whiteness in the Rainbow Nation

From the above discussion, it is apparent that white identity and whiteness is still the master signifier in many respects, despite its loss of political power (Snyman, 2008). However, this is juxtaposed by the very real feelings of no longer being politically dominant, and the perception that whiteness is under threat. The very construct of whiteness is no longer stable, but is rather at sea in the new South Africa, which is difficult for white youth to negotiate.

> *I don't find it hard to be a white South African. I know a lot of my friends do but I personally don't feel that there's any difference (Ann, w).*

There is also the impression that many white participants are questioning the legitimacy of their claim to space in contemporary South Africa.

> *This is my country. This is where I was born, this is where I grew up. I love this country. I don't think I want to leave this country (Alexa, w).*

> *I really love this country and I feel that, I just feel that white people because I mean there's, in the media or whatever, if you're white you're not really African. And I think that's misplaced because I was born here, I was raised here, so, you know, I'm South African, I'm African (Ann, w).*

In many respects, this seems to be linked to impression that apartheid and its racialised ways of being are still impacting on whiteness and white identity in post-1994 South Africa.

> *When the white people speak in the class, then they just don't listen, they just go 'mmm mmm whatever, we don't want to hear what you have to say' (Ann, w).*

Similarly, there is the sense that the white participants are in a position where they feel they have to defend their position in South Africa.

> *Because I know a lot of the time when I'm defending, it's not like I'm defending my own kind, I'm just defending what they, what I feel is right, they take it in a racist way. So, I feel if I was black it wouldn't be a racist comment, it would just be a comment from a black girl (Ann, w).*

> *Because, like everybody knows that they don't want that stereotype put on them because they might say some nasty comment about black people but as soon as it's done back to the, they get all defensive (Nicky, w).*

Where some have even begun to suspect that in some ways they are taking away from the black *other.*

> *I feel like they are putting me in a stereotype and are like "how dare she steal my education" (Cali, w).*

However, despite the difficulties facing the white youth there is the sincere and genuine desire to move beyond the shackles of the past and to be colourblind and in a space where 'race' is immaterial.

> *I don't want to see them as different, I don't want to see them at all, I just want to see them like how I see everybody else. Or how I hope to see everyone else (Mike, w).*

Likewise, there is the sense that the white youth feel as if they have to work doubly hard in order to ensure their space in South Africa.

> *It's not pleasant feeling. But at the same time it does kind of give you something to work towards. So, it makes you work harder, in a sense, because you realise that it's you know the world's like that. There's always gonna be some unfairness, and you just kinda have to deal with it (Alexa, w).*
>
> *I have to work harder than eighty percent of the people (Candy, w).*
>
> *You can still get a job whether you're white if you just work hard... But if you're the top student, you shouldn't really have a problem (Mike, w).*

This section concludes that South African white youths are suspended in a space where they feel that they are *"the wrong skin colour"* (Candy, w). This highlights the fact that whiteness is a deeply troubled construct in post-1994 South Africa.

> *Being… A white person in this country at the moment is, um, I think it's like a lot different from a while ago. A lot of stuff's changed, um, in terms of how you are perceived by other people (Alexa, w).*
>
> *I don't know, maybe, it's either one of two things. It's either not an issue at all... Or it's such a big issue they pretend it doesn't exist (Nicky, w).*

Whiteness is politically, if not economically, destabilised and although it is still privileged, this privilege is more constrained than during apartheid. In many respects, white South African youths are in a tenuous position and are strongly aware of how whiteness is beginning to be decentred in many spheres. Thus, a sense of confusion about the legitimacy of their position and claim to space in South Africa is elicited. However, despite the decentring of whiteness in some areas it has been argued that this disruption has by no

means been absolute, and that white South Africans in general and white South African youths in particular still occupy a somewhat dominant space in some areas of life (Dolby, 2001a; Solomona et al., 2005).

iii. Constructions and Perceptions of Black Identity

Arguably, much research and literature on 'race' and racism seems to focus on whiteness and white identity, often at the exclusion of blackness and black identity. Indeed, Seedat, Duncan and Lazarus (2001) criticise mainstream psychology for excluding marginalised groups at the level of knowledge production.

> *And white people really don't, well most of the ones I know, really don't care about the history of South Africa. Well, some of them (Ann, w).*

In many ways, this practice seems to further entrench the notion that whiteness is in many respects the master signifier and that blackness is its antithesis, that is to say that blackness is, in some ways, only in relation to whiteness and that it is what whiteness is not (Clarke, 2003; Garner, 2006).

This section will discuss perceptions of how blackness was constructed during apartheid and how it is now being constructed in contemporary South Africa. This section will begin by considering how blackness and black identity were constructed in pre-1994 South Africa, focusing particular attention on how these constructs are still impacting on black youth in South Africa today. The study will then consider how blackness is being constructed to be politically and economically dominant in South Africa at present and the effects this has on black youth identity. Similarly, the author will argue that despite these reforms and the redistribution of power, in many sectors blackness is still, to a large extent, constructed as the inferior antithesis to whiteness. Lastly, this section will conclude by considering how these various factors are all interacting and impacting on blackness in contemporary, post-1994 South Africa.

a. "Blacks are disgusting, rowdy and violent and things like that": Perceptions of Blackness in Relation to Apartheid's Legacy

During apartheid the sense of individuality was effectively diminished by constraining, racist laws and practices, which impacted quite substantially on both white and black identity. During this time, individual identity was, to a large degree, replaced by seemingly arbitrary and changing collective identities. Thus, individual identity was, to some extent, impoverished and there was an endless struggle to find ways to express oneself within the parameters of the law. Bloom (1996) writes that apartheid was extremely successful in denigrating black South Africans. For instance, one of Bloom's black participants, despite being a talented and gifted individual, would often feel inferior as a direct result of apartheid. Indeed, Bloom (1996) highlights how many black South Africans had a sense of self-hatred, shame and distrust due to their blackness, a diminished sense of competence and a lower sense of self-esteem.

Many of the black participants reported that they felt that they were made to feel "*a bit, not isolated as such, but a bit like the black sheep*" (Tumi, b). Thus, in many respects, the master narratives of blackness and black identity characteristic of apartheid were reflected by the participants. Many participants, for example, referred back to the narrative of blackness which was dominant during apartheid. Here, there was not only reference to the ways in which black identity was constructed, but also reference to how this construct continues to inform understandings of blackness in contemporary South Africa.

> *So I said to one of the [white guys] who was racist, you know, I was like "Can I just ask you a question?" He's like "Ya." I was like "Why do you hate black people so much? Like, why do you get so…" And he's like " 'Cause they're noisy and they dirty and [they] don't have respect" (Ann, w).*
>
> *Well I would make other-, like if there was a black guy behind me I would be cautious about it, more cautious about what he was doing. And I would you know sort of look over my shoulder to make sure he's not taking anything out of my handbag or-... or anything (Cali, w).*
>
> *They, or the people in that school were, again black people, were rowdy and violent and things like that. And you relate it to race (Mike, w).*
>
> *Like, last year when I was in [a traditionally Afrikaans University in Gauteng], uh, they were like, the group where it's the whites and they talk about the bad thing that black do and how they are so bad and stuff (John, b).*

I was RCL, for like matric, whatever, and I was reprimanding a little white boy about his uniform, ok. And he was like "Shut up, you black, you can't tell me what to do." And I was like, [laughs] I actually laughed because, like I didn't take it seriously. But then, at the back of my mind it actually like… I mean he's a little boy, he doesn't really know anything, it's just maybe his parents are the ones like "Don't be friends with blacks because of this and this, they're disgusting," whatever. But those small things make you realise just how people's mindset is "Just because she's black she can't tell me what to do because in the past black people were told what to do," you know (Tumi, b).

It is not improbable to argue that there were blacks who survived *apartheid* emotionally by rationalising that the whites meant well, and who half-believed that there was something 'bad' or 'primitive' about blackness compared with being white. The whites, after all, had power, skills and wealth (Bloom, 1996).

'Cause, you know, I've never been racist towards any white person… maybe it's easier for me to call another black person "stupid black person" because I'm black (Mbali, b).

Now I'd say black people did not know how it felt like to do their own things, to have their own power over their own lives. Now with the introduction of politics, it screwed people over. I know black people are screwed because of that. First off they think, if you're given a certain right, you have to exploit it. Two, you don't look at the responsibilities of, of actually using that right that you've been given (Vuyo, b).

One construction of blackness which seems to have maintained much of its intrinsic power in the public imagination of white South Africans is the notion of 'swart gevaar'. During apartheid the term swart gevaar (black danger) was coined to describe the threat which the black man was seen to pose against the white man as well as his clan, women and sensibilities (Dalal, 2002; Steyn, 2001). This notion was fuelled by the perception of black violence. Bloom (1996), for instance, describes how, during apartheid, many black children responded to its systematic denigration of their identity with as much violence as apartheid itself yielded against them. This seems to crystallise the fear held by many whites of blackness. Many of the white participants seemed to echo this narrative of swart gevaar, suggesting that it still holds sway in South Africa today.

Thursday I was going into my [International Relations]... tutorial... And I was running and I was kind of late and I was coming through the door and this black guy was like "get out of my way you bloody agent" and I just like looked at him and I was like "was that honestly necessary?" and I mean it wasn't like I was in his way or whatever I was trying to get through the people and I just had to go to class 'cause-, and first of all he had all his friends with him and they were all big, you know what I mean? (Candy, w).

Um, well, especially on freedom day, which is at-, my dad received a SMS saying that black people were going around saying they were going to kill as many white people as possible (Candy, w).

But, ya, they probably weren't paying attention or if they were, you know, being a girl, they, I'm sure [the black men] had thoughts or whatever... Luckily, nothing happened and if they did have a thought that they didn't carry it out (Kelly, w).

This sentiment was not only expressed by the white participants, but was also expressed by some of the black participants, underlying the recalcitrant nature of apartheid's master narratives of blackness. It is therefore pertinent to note that this view of blackness has not only been appropriated and internalised to some extent by the white participants, but also by some black participants, leading, in some cases, to an inferiority complex of sorts amongst black youths (Clarke, 2003).

That like my mom will say "you can see a black man by the way he treats the lady." Um at work, she works at [a governmental department], she says that at work they'll be in a lift and then when they go out the black people push through. The black men will, um, push through and won't let the lady pass. But if it's a white he'll hold the lift and let the black woman pass first. So it think there's still that interplay of, you know, black men are like this-, or black people are meant to be forceful, violent, something that. And then uh-, ya... white people are on a different level as well (Mbali, b).

Likewise, many participants spoke about blackness as a heterogeneous construct, echoing constructs seen during apartheid.

So, it's not like I'm one of these people that have grown up in [the northern suburbs of Johannesburg] or... a place where there are no black people and they think all black people are just the same (Mike, w).

I was at work the other day and there was a man, a pharmacist, Indian guy and he was telling me about how where now, before, during Apartheid he was too white to be black. No, too black to be white and now he's too white to be black (Mike, w).

Yet, despite vestiges of apartheid's master narrative(s) in the discourses of the first year participants, counter stories of a homogeneous blackness, for instance, also emerged. These narratives reflect that blackness is no longer considered a broad, all encompassing identity with little or no variation. This highlights how apartheid's master narratives of blackness are beginning to be disrupted and destabilised.

I've, I come from two different backgrounds, from… 'Cause my mom's Zulu and my dad is Sotho. I've always been in conflict with actually considering who I am (Vuyo, b).

I don't actually like the [term coloured], 'cause it's just, I don't know, it's like when you call someone a black person it's kind of like this box. I hate that, I hate that! 'Cause not everyone's the same. And you know within a race there's like some many like subdivisions, you know I don't like-, I prefer whenever people ask me where I'm from or what I am I just always say I'm South African 'cause it's just, well it's better (Julie, b).

Taryn can't speak any African language 'cause she was adopted by a white… Her mom is white and she was adopted by her white step dad. Her whole family's white, she's the only coloured one... And, you know, like, and I look at Taryn, who, she can't even speak an African language, she grew up with white people but they automatically have something to say about her because, you know, her skin is a little bit darker (Ann, w).

The perceptions of blackness which are informed by apartheid's master narratives are often at odds with the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* and its proposed racial equality and tolerance. As a result of these two conflicting viewpoints, many white participants are left with many uncomfortable and difficult feelings. For some white participants, there is the sense that they are attempting to negotiate and diminish their feelings of discomfort and shame by shifting the gaze away from themselves (i.e. white South Africans) and onto black South Africans. In this way, they are essentially trying to blame the 'victims' of apartheid for the past. To a large extent, victim blaming occurs when situations that appear as widespread public issues are discussed largely as personal troubles, and responsibility for them is located primarily in the individual or group which they affect (Wright, 1993). Alternatively, by blaming the victim, the punishment the 'blamer' feels they deserve is averted by denying any personal responsibility for the transgression and projecting that blame onto the victim, making them punishable instead (Hook, 2004a).

I've got a bad impression of a few white people and I've got a bad impression of a few black people. I think we're both guilty. No party in what's happened in our history has been, has been innocent. I mean I've, obviously we've done bad and didn't really call upon it and things like that but black people have done some bad things also. And there are differences and there are making statements now where they shouldn't be saying things that they're saying (Mike, w).

But still, he can still do something with your life if you want to. You can still go out there and… I mean, I don't know about, there are schools out there that, I'm sure government schools, ok I'm not too sure of the rules, but they can't really turn, a government school can't turn someone down because they can't pay school fees. If I'm, am I right? You know, a private school can, a university can but I don't know about a government school. So he could go to a school and apply at a school and get an education, even if it's just a Matric. Instead of sitting on the road, the corner of the road for two, for a year saying 'two rand' to everybody that comes passed because he's hoping get a little bit of money (Mike, w).

I don't think so... maybe if-, look maybe if I was like a black person born in like the slums, you know those areas, then maybe I would have. Just waking up and seeing where I am around. Seeing that I'm you know in a squatter camp and it's not my fault, it's because of what-, it's because of my ancestors. You see that's the only really bad thing (Raj, b).

I think their attitude is: no, they're sort of born into this environment and this sort of life where they have to sort of embrace it and just live with it. Whereas I think you can change it, you can change your circumstances (Julie, b).

For many black participants, there is a sense of 'survivor guilt' in post-1994 South Africa. Survivor guilt refers to the phenomenon which occurs when certain individuals feel they have been spared difficulties and hardships when others have perished or suffered greatly (Chodoff, 1997). Many of the black participants expressed this sense of guilt when referring back to their parents and older generations of black South Africans.

We're supposed to like be proud of where we come from and the fact that, you know, our parents struggled for us to be where we are and… So I, I do feel proud for the person that I am because of the fact that I know it took a lot for me to be where I am today (Tumi, b).

Everything that my mom has, everything that I have, that my brothers has that my sisters have, we all have to work from point one to point two (John, b).

[My mom] was very much like arrested a few times for, you know, being like an activist and that kind of thing... But like my mom's told me "don't give them a reason to be like-, don't give them a reason to say you're just there 'because'." Or "you must work hard so that you have something to substantiate you getting places" (Julie, b).

Intimately connected to the notion of survivor guilt is the impetus to work hard and do well, as described by many of the black participants. There is the sense that because their parents and their parents fought so hard for liberation that they have to not only make use of the opportunities available to them (which in most instances weren't available to their parents) but that they have to succeed.

[My coloured step mother] came, like she used to live in, like this really shitty part of Cape Town and like it took her a long time to... save up money to study (Nicky, w).

Um, I don't know where [the coloured] come from or what kind of background they have, but they seem to be-, they don't go to class often they sit and smoke hubly on the lawns most of the time, you know, that kind of thing. Whereas I was brought up very differently so I don't know... it just seems from the outsider's perspective that they don't work as hard as like other people who've maybe been brought up to do that (Julie, b).

Um, for me, and how my family has come up from, you know, as a child, everything that my mom has, everything that I have, that my brothers has that my sisters have, we all have to work from point one to point two (Vuyo, b).

> *I mean, for my parents during, a varsity term, I'm not allowed to go out at all. Whereas I have friends that go out every weekend. But for me to go out once during the term is like a really big thing for them 'cause they think "You know what, there's not enough time" or whatever (Stacy, b).*

Similarly, there is the sense that hard work is a means of disproving the racialised stereotype which typically typecasts blacks as lazy, incompetent and unintelligent. That, through hard work, black youth can overcome some of the inferiority that has been projected onto them.

> *Like a friends of mine, Thato, she's black and she also had problems trying to come to terms with her race because, you know, you feel "Ok, well, I'm not normal." But I think that after you start achieving and you feel like you've achieved things and you've got recognised for them, then you think 'Well, it doesn't matter,' you know, 'what I am, this is what I've done', and it makes you feel good. So I think once that starts happening, you start forgetting about your race and… And generally once you start achieving or once you start doing something to make you known… (Stacy, b).*

Such narratives suggest that there is this continued belief that all South Africans have the same opportunities, or at the very least, access to the opportunities. The failure or success of a particular individual or group is thus inexorably linked to the individual's own personal effort and agency. Ironically, such notions serve to further subjugate black youths, as their successes and failures are often grounded in their environmental circumstances. As such, any failures, which are arguably due to adverse circumstances, are then attributed to the individual, further exacerbating the likelihood of developing an inferiority complex (Solomona et al., 2005). Furthermore, such claims to meritocracy acts as a form of symbolic racism, where the application of seemingly even handed standards acts to maintain racial exclusion while at the same time sustaining certain racist beliefs and practices (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001).

b. "If I were black it would have been easier": Perceptions and Narratives of Black Advantage and Disadvantage in the 'New' South Africa

The narrative of having to work hard in order to succeed seems to run counter to the (predominantly) white discourse on black privilege. This discourse maintains that under the new dispensations in post-1994 South Africa, blacks are perceived to be privileged, often at the expense of white South Africans, and are therefore seen to not have to work hard as their success is all but guaranteed.

Um, ya… Um, I definitely think it would have been different if I were black. But, um, in the sense that, I don't know, it would have been easier… Well, not easier, but, um, I would have been able to find help from teachers, you know, from… If I was struggling, I think, a bit better (Alexa, w).

And also I think others would feel, like moving on from getting accepted to like the cricket team and the soccer team, not the rugby team, and they had those quotas. When you walk on that field and you see the man sitting on the bench and you know that that man's better than you for that job... I think it makes them feel less worthy than if you took them and you trained them to be better than that man and then put him in the team (Mike, w).

Furthermore, when speaking about BEE, white South Africans are often framed as competent whilst black South Africans are framed as incompetent.

Ok, we view, uh, like, other people view the white race as being people who are much more, who can do the job (John, b).

So that's what people view it that the whites are much more hard-working than blacks, and they are much more willing to do the job, rather than being pushed to do the job or, that's why, ya (John, b).

I think it's just pathetic because how you going to, you know, grow the country if you've got a whole bunch of idiots who are put in jobs because, and, and they don't have the skills. Teach them the skills and put them in jobs. If they deserve that job, great. You know, they do workshops to teach them skills, don't just give them a job (Kelly, w).

I read articles about it, affirmative action, and I, for me, it's actually crap, for me... It's crap. You cannot say "Since you've been oppressed, let me give you a car, let me give you a house, let me give you a trophy wife and you'll see what you can do" (Vuyo, b).

Some black voices seem to substantiate these opinions of black privilege, especially in terms of their perceived political and economic privileges.

I know my step mom, she's coloured, and she can get any job she wants, you know, at the drop of a hat (Nicky, w).

[Whites] don't get as many opportunities as they used to, like within apartheid because people are sort of very reluctant to give them opportunities in case they- it turns around and it's like "that's very racist", you know.... Whereas if someone gave a black person opportunities it wouldn't really be seen as racist. It would sort of be seen as making up for the past (Julie, b).

My racial colour is more powerful in business and in governance (John, b).

However, many black voices appear to contradict this discourse, either denying the material existence of such black privilege or decrying the value inherent in reformation attempts.

I haven't-, well I've seen it on paper [laughs] when like I applied to universities especially like [a historically white university in the Western Cape] they have different points for different races and like, I don't know, it might have benefitted me in that way. But I don't know, it doesn't really affect me, I don't find it fair, even though it will benefit me, I don't find it fair at all (Julie, b).

No, not for me, no... Maybe because I haven't really cared, you know, ignorant to the fact that maybe somebody got a job because they're black and I just didn't, I've never seen that happening. I've heard about it happen but never seen it within my surroundings or within my family or whatever… I see it as that. That's why I'm saying maybe one day I'll see it with my own eyes but for now I see it as just, people just trying to say 'Ya, well, black people are going to be advantaged now because of BEE or whatever'. So I just hear it but I don't believe it, yet. (Tumi, b).

Ever? No. I mean everything that I've had, I've actually had to work towards achieving a certain goal... So it's because I'm black that I have, I don't know, a car given to me... 'cause we're now in the democratic world, 'cause I'm black I'd get a Lamborghini. [laughs] That would be fun, but no, this is the real world. I can't get certain luxuries 'cause I'm black. It's all about working towards what you want to achieve as an individual (John, b).

No. I mean everything that I've had, I've actually had to work towards achieving a certain goal (Vuyo, b).

Directly? No I wouldn't say so. Maybe like once I'm finished with varsity and I'm looking for jobs and stuff like that then, again, I might see it. But so far in my life I think I've rarely seen it (Raj, b).

So I do see that black people do get things that sometimes they don't deserve and white people should have, but because of the whole apartheid thing-, I don't think that that's the right thing (Raj, b).

Nevertheless, this claim that the call for reformation and the redistribution of power in South Africa is 'reverse racism' is a deliberate and absurd lie, according to Carmichael (1992). He goes on to state that there is no correlation between the advocates of reformation (i.e. affirmative action, BEE, etc.) and white racists. This is due to the fact that racism is not merely the exclusion on the basis of 'race' but exclusion for the purpose of subjugating or maintaining subjugation. The goal of the racist is therefore, to keep black people on the bottom, arbitrarily and dictatorially. Conversely, the goal of reformation attempts is to ensure the full participation of blacks in the decision-making processes affecting the lives of black people and recognition of the virtues in themselves as black people (Carmichael, 1992).

Yet, despite the value and necessity inherent in reformation processes, many of the participants questioned its value. In many ways, the narratives collected suggest that in

some ways these processes are damaging to the participants' sense of identity. Furthermore, there is the sense that these processes are being distorted to further re-instate apartheid's master narratives of black as less than and unable.

> *It's, that's not sustainable... It's not exactly beneficial for anybody 'cause it's actually creating inequality and chaos (Vuyo, b).*

> *I wouldn't like it to be honest. I would prefer to be promoted because of my hard work, not because of where I am. It's just the way I see it that it doesn't matter for the way I look for, it actually matters for what I do... Ya, I would. I think I would. But that's just me saying it now (Raj, b).*

> *I wanna be given special treatment because I deserve it, not 'cause I'm black and they're feeling pity for me. I mean that's the worst thing, you study and you work hard and then just 'cause you're black "Ok fine, come." They don't even care about the work you've done to become where you are, you know. I don't like self-pity and self-pity and pity from others is like "Shame, she's black, let's give her a job"… So I haven't benefited just 'cause I'm black, no (Tumi, b).*

> *I would feel like I was less than... I would prefer to be accepted because my marks were good and, you know, because I was a good person, not because of what I look like. Because that's all sort of... it sort of puts you down in a way, indirectly (Julie, b).*

One could speculate that the black denial of privilege is, in some ways, similar to the white denial of racialised privilege: that the black participants are perhaps reticent to admit their privilege due to the associated social undesirability of doing so. On the other hand, this black denial of privilege seems to suggest that the discourse of black privilege is in some respects a white urban legend and that many black South Africans are acutely aware of how inequitable power balances still are in South Africa. Here, urban legend is used to refer to something (for example affirmative action) that is based on some kernel of truth but has been distorted and exaggerated as it is passed between individual with time (Spector, 2006).

> *'Cause I heard a story now and I don't true, it's really true, it might just be some random, like one person in a million (Mike, b).*

It suggests that this is a further mechanism employed by the white South Africans to deny and distance themselves from their unacknowledged privileged status, as well as to diminish the discomfort of feeling as though their privilege has been usurped by black South Africans in post-1994 South Africa.

> *Like, ya, where I won't go to town or, um, ya, like, I won't go into a taxi. Like, for example, my one friend, she's black but she's from overseas so she's not really from*

here, but yet because she's her colour, she can go into a taxi and it will be fine. Whereas I just can't (Kelly, w).

You know, and you, you gotta put in policies that you, you… You know that, um, the very clichéd but very true phrase where you teach somebody how to fish and, you know, he'll teach himself fishing and you give them a rod et cetera, you know. You don't give them a fish every single day (Kelly, w).

Um... well at the moment in all honesty yes, especially 'cause now with them implementing the BEE system it gives them that benefit. I mean even on the sports team they have to be like the... the quota system I think it's called? Where the um-... well okay I know for the rugby team it's for every white you have to have two people of colour or whatever and, um, those people are getting in just on the basis of that they have the different colour of skin. So it's putting them at an advantage... I mean it's not all that it's just the skin colour, some of them do deserve it but others you can see that they were just there because of the need be of fulfilling the law (Candy, w).

My white friends from matric who were, like, telling us that "No, you're only gonna get a job because you're black."... you hear it everywhere that "No, just because you're black and you struggled in the past, you're gonna get a better job than me and what's the point of me studying further if they're gonna take you first 'cause you're black." But I haven't experienced that yet because I've been on the same level as every single person out there. I haven't been given special treatment 'cause I was black. Maybe I will in the future (Tumi, b).

I haven't seen the major impact. I've seen certain things, but not a major major impact where black people are really empowered or something like that, no... (Mbali, b)

However, such narratives may well be indicative of how many white youths envy black youths. Envy is a destructive force which seeks to project one's own bad objects into another, thereby destroying the other's peace and happiness. Clarke (2003) notes that the racist seeks to destroy the good that they feel they cannot have. Thus, many of the white participants are perhaps deeply envious of blackness, especially in post-1994 South Africa, and therefore try to destroy and tarnish the perceived goodness of the *other.* Furthermore, if white South Africans are to acknowledgement that black South Africans are not all bad and deserving of their achievements, it will mean having to negotiate the understanding that perhaps they are not all good. As the individual comes to realise that blacks are not all bad, guilt arises, and they begin to hate the hating self (Clarke, 2003).

Ya, people are people. It's not saying that because I'm black I'm bad and somebody's white they're good. We all have certain characteristics which we all share as human beings (Vuyo, b).

Don't, the moment a taxi cuts you off, swear about his race. That's not, his race is not why he cut you off, he cut you off because he doesn't know how to drive... Because

you've been cut off by white people before and you didn't, you went on and looked at the guy as individual not by his race (Mike, w).

For black South Africans, however, there is almost a sense of Fanon's 'false consciousness'. In other words, there is the sense that over time, black people living in racist societies have absorbed through their daily experience that to be fully human is to be white. However, it is impossible to become white; so many people were forced to be white in phantasy. The result for Fanon is a deep ambivalence about being an 'inferior' black (Bloom, 1996). Many of the participants seemed to refer back to this white phantasy and spoke about the perception of blacks wanting to be more 'white'.

There's [black people] out there that I've met who are very, like, they don't wanna be black and you know, try and all these things to be white... I've had a lot of black friends who would, like, wish to be another race or like, you know, "You know, I wish I had white parents and I'd be white and things would be easier"... they wanna be white because it's cool or, you know, black people are dirty or, you know, black people are just not cool and being black is embarrassing, you know (Tumi, b).

But, you know, I find it's so strange how there's black boys who are so racist but… I mean white boys, sorry, that are so racist and then they've got black friends but those black friends are again those people who are like "No, I wanna, be white, I'm not black, I'm white." I had a friend who was a black boy and he was just, you know, he spoke like a white person, he just practised being white. And the only thing that separated him from being white was his skin colour. But his friends totally accepted him and they were so cool with him but any other black person they hated with their whole heart (Tumi, b).

I have a nickname called 'Cocktail'. 'Cause when people say I'm black, I say "No, man, I'm brown, I like being brown" (Vuyo, b).

Like coloured people are very much about how straight your hair is, how light or dark your complexion is, what colour eyes you have, what kind of clothes you wear (Julie, b).

What is of particular interest, is the ways in which black disadvantage was discussed by the participants. Here, blacks were described as being materially disadvantaged, yet, little or no reference was made to the personal and psychological disadvantages of being black.

But you know, you do get places where you feel a bit like, you feel like… People will look at you, especially, like, older white people look at you when, like you get to a place and, like, it's like the first time you go there and you're like, maybe the only black girl in the group of white, like white girls. They just look at you like, you know "She's not supposed to be here, what is she doing there?" (Tumi, b).

I don't get a feeling that they all really benefitted (Mbali, b).

Well, it, it doesn't have to be, since the new democratic government is, has been elected, I have to sit back, say Jacob Zuma will provide for me. He's way over there and way over here. If I don't provide for myself, who will? (Vuyo, b).

Um, but if they have to live, you know, in a township because they black, but I don't, then they would be disadvantaged (Kelly, w).

I don't know, don't think so. Um, not now, at all. Maybe coming from a disadvantaged background and then having to work their way up more than somebody who, you know, didn't have that previous background, maybe in that sense. And, you know, learning to accept 'Well, this is how South Africa is now' and maybe in like a personal, in a personal way. But I don't think any other way (Nicky, w).

Well, I think, I suppose from the point of view that they, you know, in the past they were discriminated against, so they weren't given the chances that we, that our parents were. So in that sense, I think that a lot of them have had to work much harder than they would have if Apartheid never happened. So, in that sense, I think they have been disadvantaged (Alexa, w).

From the above quotations, it should be noted that for many, speaking about black disadvantage was done with a great deal of reticence, especially for the white participants. It can be argued that this is a strategy employed by the white participants to distance themselves from feelings of guilt and complicity – that by acknowledging black disadvantage, they would perhaps have to address their feelings of responsibility and shame. Similarly, such denial serves to maintain the current status quo and is, therefore, in many respects, an act of symbolic racism (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001).

c. "Being black it's kind of fun, a fashion": The Relative Salience of Black Cultural Capital[7] in Post-1994 South Africa

Similar to the white participants' feelings of envy, they expressed feelings of fetishism in relation to blacks, blackness and black culture. Childs and Williams (1997) describe fetishism as being similar to stereotyping, in that both the stereotype and the fetish link that which is unfamiliar and disquieting (sexual/racial difference) to that which is familiar and accepted (fetish object/stereotype). The fetish object both stands in for the *other* (or a part of them) and functions as a point of concentration for what are taken to be their most essential attributes. Thus, the fetishised object can come to stand for that which is desired but essentially undesirable and forbidden. This is an instrumental object and mediating

[7] While this section focuses specifically on black cultural capital it must be reiterated that blackness is associated with other forms of capital as well.

objective, which is more easily controlled and manipulated than is the original disturbing (sexual or racial) *other* whose evidenced difference is experienced as threatening. The fetish is in some ways a magical object worshipped by a given society because it creates a sense of order and control in a frightening world, whilst holding a given belief structure in place. (Hook, 2005).

> *Like my one friend, she does dancing and at the dance studio, it's, there's, I think there's only a few whites or whatever and mostly they are all black. But they are all divine, divine people, you know... And we go out with them and it's great. And it was very funny 'cause they had a party and we went to their party, it was at a club that they pretty much took over and my friend and I, I think we were two out of maybe five white girls that were there, literally. And we didn't, we didn't actually feel, we didn't feel weird. Like we actually felt like we were on the movie, like on, like some American movie 'cause they dance differently and we were just kind of observing (Kelly, w).*
>
> *No, actually, you know, for me, being black it's, it's kind of fun, a fashion... (Vuyo, b).*

There was a noticeable objectification and exotification of the black *other,* where white culture and history are regarded as central (Troyna, 1993). In other words, whiteness became the norm by which other groups were exoticised, through the binaries that are inherent in the articulation of the displays (Solomona et al., 2005). Thus, there was the sense that the white participants were somewhat patronising of blackness and black culture, which was exoticised.

> *{Talking about going in a 'black taxi'} I felt kinda grateful, um, of the extra time and of the extra care they took-, I don't know, ya, I just-... [laughs] felt happy. I was actually quite excited... to have that experience and it was quite funny because the windscreen-wipers came on every time he tried to indicate. So as I said it was good times [laughs]. It was an incredible experience (Cali, w).*
>
> *You know, 'cause where my mom is [shooting a film] at the moment, like you, um, you know, I've been there a few times. And you, it's, also, how she describes it, there's the women who come out and they've got all the curlers in their hair and they're all talking across the fence and all the kids are playing in the street and you just get like this amazing sense of community (Kelly, w).*
>
> *And then you go, they go to the township here, into like the middle of Soweto, like deep in Soweto with these XF, this XF Jag parked outside this little shack. And they don't mind, you know, like, they didn't mind staying in that house compared to their big house because that's where they grew up (Ann, w).*

Snyman (2008) notes that as long as a discursively produced whiteness is taken for granted as natural and masked, any claim to Africanicity would be received with scepticism. This was noted amongst the black participants who seemed to react with a defensive, idealisation of

their black heritage. This echoes Vincent's (2008) opinion that the dominant (which is typically white) culture is in some way or other rejected. This is also accompanied by a defensive romanticism of black South Africans' culture (Vincent, 2008).

> *I think it's-, it's important to go back to your culture and learn about it, and embrace it (Mbali, b).*
>
> *Uh, when people ask me about myself now, I'm, like, proud to say that I am Indian and that I do have this culture and that, you know, I do come from this place. That, you know, I have something (Stacy, b).*
>
> *There are who, I don't know, they envy sort of having such a culture. And then there are those who just think "oh my gosh, these people they need to move with the times" or something like that... ya. They don't realise how important culture is in the black community. But then there are those who really really envy, you know, dressing up and showing your culture and who you are (Mbali, b).*
>
> *They showed Sotho people dancing and singing and stuff like that... And I actually took that notion into my head, 'cause they were wearing blankets and they did not have any shoes on... So I took that notion into my head that I don't want shoes, I want a blanket... So, I think, I think that went on for two years, I think (Vuyo, b).*

What is, however, significant, is that some of the black participants, despite the typical romanticised notion blacks seem to hold about black culture, seemed to view blackness in a similar way to the way the white participants viewed whiteness: they seemed to be almost blind to their own blackness and identity as a black South African youth.

> *Wow, um, [laughs] I think I'm sort of still a bit too young to understand in terms of what it means to be black, I think I'm just living as a black person. And I've never really had a race issue with anybody so I wouldn't even be like, "Ugh, I love the fact that I'm not white" or whatever (Tumi, b).*
>
> *Wow. Never thought about that one. Like seriously I've never thought about it (Vuyo, b).*
>
> *Um, I've no idea (Stacy, b).*

However, there is the almost paradoxical knowledge of blackness in specific situations and circumstances, most notably in situations where blackness is seen to have cultural capital and to thus be socially advantageous and beneficial.

> *What it means to be black, um, to me, the colour doesn't matter. Whether I'm black, I'm white, I'm Indian, what matters is, I'm a human being and I'm living around people... Ya, as an individual person, but I classify myself as black in a CV [laughs] (John, b).*
>
> *[Laughs] well, right now... I'm, uh, I don't know... I feel privileged. Um, if you if you look at the whole BEE type of thing, um, I don't know.... [laughs] (Mbali, b).*

These dichotomies seem to be symptomatic of the fluidity of racialised identity, particularly in post-1994 South Africa. Furthermore, it seems to emphasise the uneven terrain in which black South Africans are finding themselves and having to negotiate.

> *I speak about it sometimes with one of my friends, she's also coloured and she experiences the same thing as me so it's a bit different because her family's from Kimberley so they're all stereotypical and they don't always accept her. You know she changes her accent to sound more coloured when she's around her family type of thing. And in that sense, I feel-, when speak to her I feel really lucky 'cause like I don't have to change anything about myself when I'm around my family. Or when I'm around anyone. So it's actually refreshing to be able to speak to someone about it, you know. It just sort of confirms everything that you think in your head (Julie, b).*

This quote highlights one noticeable area of contention and difficulty for black participants, namely intra-racial racism. Intra-racial racism is a form of racism which occurs when an individual is discriminated against because of their 'race' by a member of their own ethnic/racial group. For instance, there is a struggle between many English speaking and Afrikaans speaking white South Africans over who owns the real whiteness (Paradies, 2006; Steyn, 2004). In post-1994 South Africa, there has been both a steady increase in black occupational advancement and rising unemployment rates. This has resulted in ever increasing intra-racial inequality among black South Africans. It is arguable that these ever increasing disparities as well as class aspirations amongst blacks have resulted in incidences of intra-racial racism (Wale & Foster, 2007).

> *[Black people in my class are] not going to stand up and say that the song is wrong when most of the black people in the class feel that it's right. And, you know, I just, I also feel like it's the pressure's from their own kind because they know it's wrong but I don't think they want to stand up and say it. 'cause, I mean, there has been one or two girls who have said, you know, like, ok, well I just think the song is stupid anyway. Then someone has said, 'ya, but it's a struggle song that your ancestors'… And she's saying 'ya, but it wasn't us'. Then, ya, she got, you know, a few words shoved down her throat (Ann, w).*

> *Well, um, with Indians? Well, with a lot of Indian people, as the years have changed, they've become very, like materialistic and very flashy and kind of, you know, um, snobby about things. Like when they come from a certain area they believe "Well, you know what, we have our people and we don't need any more than just the people that we have standing here, so we don't need to make friends and we don't need," you know. It's kind of you conform to their ideals of society and that type of thing or you don't become part of their group (Stacy, b).*

> *[Coloureds] see me as different, very different. A lot of them are like "ooh, you want to be white", they see me as a private school girl and a rich girl. And I mean it's not necessarily true. And it's just-, it doesn't help that I did go to a private school 'cause then*

it just sort of adds that extra fuel to the fire. So they wouldn't want to associate with me because sometimes they think that I think that I am better than everyone else, which is really not true at all (Julie, b).

That whole English thing is still a problem I think people can still see people who can speak English well as snobs or something like that (Mbali, b).

Kirstan : Have you been called 'white' by white people or by coloureds?
Julie (b) : By coloured people mostly. I think white people mean it in a more-... well the white people that have said it to me mean it in a more like joking way, they're like my friends. So I don't take offense to it. But a lot of coloured people, they say it in a very disparaging way.

Kirstan : How do you think your Zulu side of the family understood you as being half Sotho?
Vuyo (b) : [laughs] They never did and they still don't.

There is evidence to suggest that members of oppressed racial groups are more likely to consider negative behaviours from members of their own racial group to be discriminatory compared with similar behaviours from members of other racial groups. Paradies (2006) notes that some blacks have even gone so far as to report intra-racial racism as the most prevalent form of racism they have experienced. However, there is also the sense that intra-racial racism is often overlooked and not seen to be particularly harmful or damaging. This also seems to suggest that intra-racial racism insidiously re-inscribes racial prejudices and harmful stereotypes which then go uncontested.

I think, like calling, black people can call each other stupid and, you know, all those names we'd find offensive, we can call each other that 'cause at the end of the day we're just laugh it off. 'cause 'you're what I am, so why would you insult me if I'm like you' kind of thing. So they don't take it in a racial way if I call them 'stupid blacks' (Tumi, b).

We made fun of some people, some Indian people like if they're from India, you know. So we like just fool around with them. But it's not like-, I don't anyone who's really been discriminated against for being an Indian... It was just like-, we were like all close and that so everyone could like just mess around with each other... make fun of the accents and that-, though not really a big deal. Like they knew we were joking with them so that's fine. They never really said anything or like got mad or-, they used to join in on the jokes so-... (Raj, b).

In some ways, intra-racial racism also seems to be a means of splitting off the 'bad' parts of oneself and projecting them into those 'other' blacks, thereby keeping the self 'good' (Clarke, 2003).

iv. 'Race' and Racism in Contemporary South Africa

Apartheid's institutionalised racism ensured that whiteness and the cultural capital it provided ensured a smooth passage through daily life for white people. However, after the 1994 elections and the new political dispensations, whiteness seems to have lost some of its cultural capital. However, to be an attractive social capital, Africanicity has to continuously recreate itself as socially valued and desirable. Thus, both blackness and whiteness are in a state of flux where neither is all-powerful (Snyman, 2008).

The following section will explore the constructs of 'race' and racism in post-1994 South Africa. This section shall start by contemplating how racialised youth identities are being redefined in the new South Africa, where the effects of 'race' and racism are almost being down played. Secondly, this section will discuss how the participants attempt to distance themselves from racism. Particular focus will be paid to the manner in which racism is constructed as either being located in the social or a personal. Following on from this, this section will then consider how 'race' and racism are continuing to impact on youth identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Lastly, this section will suggest that class is intersecting with 'race' in many respects in identity formation. Furthermore, this section will conclude by arguing that class is becoming a more prominent and powerful feature of identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

a. "I can break rules, I can make rules like any other person can": Redefining Racialised Youth Identities in the 'New' South Africa

While many of the narratives collected seemed to suggest that, to a large extent, identity is still shaped by apartheid's master narrative, many narratives also provided counter narratives, which seemed to disrupt this old master narrative. 'Counter narratives' offer perspectives that run opposite or counter to the presumed status quo control. These narratives, which are in conflict with and are critical of the master narrative, often arise out of individual or group experiences that do not fit the master narratives. Counter narratives act to deconstruct the master narratives, and they offer alternatives to the dominant discourse (Stanley, 2007). Thus, while this report has suggested that vestiges of apartheid are still ever present, there is also cause to suggest that these vestiges are being disrupted and new master narratives are being forged.

I mean some people have actually spoken down to me just because I'm not bl-, because they just don't think I understand (Candy, w).

So it's not about 'Uh, ok, since I'm black I'm always supposed to be subservient to all these rules at random'... I can break rules, I can make rules like any other person can (Vuyo, b).

Well, like, for example, they were all just in the streets, you know, you're trying to drive, [black pedestrians] they like saunter as you're coming along. So it's not, so, so you're stopping, a lot because you can't, obviously, run them over... they were just like sauntering in and out of the streets, they didn't care. But, you know, that's their home, that's their neighbourhood, you know, it's not mine (Kelly, w).

Kirstan : Do you think you and your mom have different ideas of what it means to be a black person?

Tumi (b) : Yes, definitely because I think more because of the fact that she comes from that struggle. So she's got her own feelings and reasons behind why she'd feel the way she does. But for me, I don't have that reason because I was born when things were changed and, well, not changed but they weren't the way they were when she was growing up, you know. She struggled, she went through all of that being discriminated against and whatever.

Some of the narratives also referred to the participants' perceptions of their futures in South Africa.

Well, it is kind of conflicting. Um, as I say, I'm grateful for what I have and, you know, all I can do is look forward. There's no use looking back on the past. It's happened, we kind of have to deal with it now and now move forward. You can't spend your whole life looking back and wondering what could have happened (Alexa, w).

It's very angering to know that sort of, something so unfair, that you can't change is what's determining your future (Kelly, w).

These statements seem to re-iterate the changing landscape of South Africa where youth identity is in a state of flux. Moreover, these new, counter narratives suggest that whilst South Africa still has a long way to go in terms of national healing, that the racial terrain in South Africa is changing, albeit slowly.

b. "I think they are more outright about it… so I don't think I've really felt it here": Displacing Racism

As stated previously, there was a great impetus amongst the participants to distance themselves from racist beliefs and prejudices. This functions, not only as a means of presenting the self in a more socially desirable manner (impression management), but to also distance the self from unpleasant emotions and self-perceptions associated with such

beliefs. When reflecting on 'race' and racism many of the participants made a distinction between personal/internal and social/external loci of control. The term 'locus of control' refers to beliefs about whether the outcomes of an individual or group's actions are attributed to what they did (internal control) or circumstances beyond their control (external control) (Rotter, 1966). Many of the participants tended to ascribe an external locus of control to racism and racists. This seemed to serve to distance the self from such beliefs, thereby decreasing feelings of shame and accountability.

> *I was, this phase when I was younger. We were, I guess it was just anger and also I was too young to have my own opinion and that's when I would say very racist things and be very racist myself (Mike, w).*

Furthermore, by assigning an external locus of control to others who were perceived as being racist towards the self, the participants were able to somehow lessen feelings of hurt and scorn. This seemed to mirror how the emotional impact of apartheid was diminished by rationalising acts of racism (Bloom, 1996). Similarly, one could argue that by blaming the racist acts and beliefs of others on an external locus of control, participants are essentially blaming their own racist attitudes and beliefs on the external, thereby decreasing a culturally undesirable sense of self.

> *'Ok, it's fine, he's racist, it's there, it'll always be there till I die, it was there when I was born, that's fine. I'm still friends with white people, I still talk to them, I don't hate them. I don't even hate him, you know, 'cause I don't think it was his own choice to be like that. I don't think he was born racist, like I said, you know. Somebody has to put that in you, you know. So, I don't even have anything against him, really, a person... 'Cause I mean it happened in our parents 'generation. The fact that they're passing it down, it would, it's never going to end. So if he doesn't change, then I guess race issues will always there, if, forever, even when my children are born and die (Tumi, b).*

> *I think it would also depend on how I was brought up and where I came from. 'Cause I think that plays a big role in how a-, who a person becomes. Not just your race. Because I mean if you brought up in a family that hates white people and hates Afrikaans people and hates the whole apartheid thing I think you grow up with that resentment. Even if your family doesn't outright say it, you feel it and that's the prejudice you grow up with (Julie, b).*

> *I think they were brought up or taught that black, you know, wasn't such a great colour. Or, you know, if you're black then you're definitely a bad person. So you know to grow up in that environment certainly sort of brainwashes you. You're taught that this is how it is and that you must carry it out. So I think that sadly for them that they didn't get to experience, you know, intercultural relations and therefore they couldn't see it for themselves that black or white isn't necessarily bad (Mbali, b).*

This pattern was further support by narratives which identified 'others' as being racist. Once again, it can be suggested that doing so allows individuals to split off and project their own undesirable attitudes and ideologies into others. Hook (2004c) notes that attempts to isolate racism to the aberrant subject or *other* essentially turns a problem of social power into a problem of individual psychology, thereby supporting racist ideologies, albeit covertly. Such individualising frames of reference not only absolve the self from the responsibility of racism but also avoid approaching racism as a normative condition of a given society. Thus, individuals essentially distance themselves from the negative self image created by acknowledging the existence of such beliefs within the self (Clarke, 2003).

> *It's like I know like some Indian people, and I would say more of an older people... then they treat their workers however they want just because he's the boss and he's Indian and in this case black so he can do whatever (Raj, b).*
>
> *Especially with my dad's mom, you know, because she was, like she's old, so obviously she's, she experienced apartheid and now, like having a coloured person in her family, you know, it's... (Nicky, w).*
>
> *There was a difference between the white Afrikaans people during Apartheid and then the Jewish people during Apartheid, you know (Kelly, w).*
>
> *So you get there and the people still want to speak to you in Afrikaans when you're black and I'm thinking let's just use English rather (Mbali, b).*

Similarly, geographical location was used to separate and distance the self from racist incidents and racist attitudes.

> *She grew up in Bloem, so she knows that just as we're, we've been grown up not to see colour, they have. They, they, that's all they know (Ann, w).*
>
> *You know, I've been to… I actually… I've been to both the [a traditionally Afrikaans University in Gauteng] and here, 'cause, um, ya, I got transferred in the beginning of the year. I only spent a few weeks [there] and I recognised a huge difference between being here and being there. Here I feel a lot more like there's not so much racial tension. Everyone, you know just kind of… it doesn't matter whether you're black, white, Indian, you know, coloured. It's just how much work you put in, and, you know, the person that you are. Whereas at [there] there was a major, um, definition, especially within the residences – because I was in res there – between you know, um, the different racial groups. So like blacks and whites and couloureds (Alexa, w).*
>
> *Having to go back to the whole [historically Afrikaans university in Gauteng] thing, when I visit my friend, that's where you see people who are-, you know there are blacks, there are whites... and whites should be on their own and blacks should be on their own. There are certain people who will mix but, uh, most of the time the white people will be in a separate group and the back people will be in a separate group (Mbali, b).*

> *I think [the historically white university in the Western Cape] is more outright about [affirmative action]... so I don't think I really felt it [here] (Julie, b).*

For many of the participants, racial tolerance and acceptance was assigned an internal locus of control.

> *I could go into a place and totally be black, you know, put in a, maybe in a circle around racist white people and they tell me all these disgusting things about how disgusting… I don't think I'd walk out hating white people because one person's mindset is not the same as everyone else's and I always try and like tell people that "Ok, the first white person, you can't hate all white people because one white person was racist towards you" (Tumi, b).*

> *I'm just like a separate person. I know like some Indian people who were like a bit racist. Like one of my friends he hated black people for some reason and I don't know like what was up with him. There was just something-, not like the fact that I'm Indian, it's just my individuality (Raj, b).*

> *You know now it is up to me. I have to, I have to make sure that I'm not being the way that my grandparents and they were in the past (Alexa, w).*

By assigning racially tolerant acts to the internal locus of control, individuals are essentially bolstering their own sense of self by increasing their own culturally accepted self image. However, by splitting the locus of control between the internal and external locus of control in this manner limits individuals' abilities to shift their understanding of the situation and critically engage in the broader systemic power structures and limits the possibility of interrogating any deeply seated ideologies at a deeper level. It must, however, be stressed that individual racist or antiracism acts are not isolated instances of bigoted behaviour but a reflection of the broader, larger, structural, and institutional fact of white hegemony (E. Taylor, 1998).

Furthermore, there is a failure to examine the systemic obstacles that impact on individual agency and choice thereby limiting the pursuit of any real change. Similarly, such discourse serves to enable the individual to distance themselves from any unpleasant feelings or experiences of racism (Solomona et al., 2005).

c. "We say that race shouldn't matter… but sometimes it does matter": The Persistence of 'Race' and Racism in the Rainbow Nation

The post-1994 discourse of a *Rainbow Nation* promotes harmonious 'race' relations, democracy and non-racial citizenship. This has been echoed, to some extent, in the two

preceding subthemes, where, in the first instance, individuals feel that their identities are no longer as limited by racist discourse as they once were, and, in the second instance, where individuals feel that racism and racist ideologies, while they persist, are somehow separate to themselves. However, having said this, it is important to note that while the older apartheid ideologies have been subdued, they are not entirely defeated or restrained. The previous sections have outlined how black and white participants' narratives were peppered with the liberal transformation discourse of the *Rainbow Nation*, yet, despite this, racism and the master narratives from apartheid seem to be festering (Walker, 2005a).

> *Ya, white/black. I don't know... I think we live in a white/black world so when you classify somebody you see them firstly, first and foremost you see a person and you see their race. And then you... you start relationships with that person (Mbali, b).*

There is almost a somewhat romanticised belief that multiculturalism will solve South Africa's racial issues.

> *I think we should all look at each other as, um, South Africans... if everybody just saw each other as South Africans then we wouldn't have to worry about blacks and whites and Indians and coloureds and things like that (Mike, w).*
>
> *Well that's what it should be, I think. It's, you know, everybody just living together. I suppose we have enough problems in our country as it is without, you know, racial problems added (Nicky, w).*
>
> *Stacy (b) : It's normal, you know, look at everybody else, everybody's different.*
> *Kirstan : So difference became normal.*
> *Stacy (b) : Ya, so then difference actually became normal and, um, people started talking to people out of interest not really out of race or grouping together out of comfort.*
>
> *I prefer whenever people ask me where I'm from or what I am I just always say I'm South African 'cause it's just, well it's better... Ya, because if you say South African it's more broad, it's more-, there's not so much prejudice and like negative connotations attached to it (Julie, b).*

There is also the sense that multiculturalism is more concerned with the appearance of being multicultural and racially accepting than with actually maintaining those beliefs. This seems to cast further doubt onto the motives behind multiculturalism, where one could argue that it essentially serves to maintain the status quo.

> *That's why it's like, there is pressure to get, to get your wording a hundred percent right, like 'them' and things like that. Because if you don't, you show that there is, still in your mind, regardless of whether you want it or you don't, there's still a difference in your*

mind. And we shouldn't have that difference, we should just say 'us' not 'them', you know. We're all the same (Mike, w).

Kirstan : What do you think would happen if you sort of became friends with black people?
Cali (w) : I would pick up a weird accent [laughs].

So when [my dad] would come up we'd go out for supper and whatever and... I would, like, mispronounce a word, like, in a black accent or something, it'd just be like a silly mistake, 'cause you tend to pick it up when you stay with them. And he would get like all cross, you know "why you speaking like that, it's so embarrassing" or… So I do feel like "ok maybe next time I go home I must take a white girl with me," you know just to… he, you know, doesn't want me speaking a funny way (Ann, w).

Cali (w) and Ann's (w) quotes above seem to underscore a deep seated white fear that by interacting with the black *other* whites will lose something of their racial purity and will somehow begin to speak in a way which is alien and undesirable.

One could argue that beliefs such as those discussed above, are in line with CRT's argument against liberalism and that they merely sweep 'race' and racism under the metaphorical rug. Similarly, claims to colourblindness arguably still *other.* This is due to the fact that by not problematising 'race' and racism one is essentially maintaining white normativity and the status quo (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001). As Mike (w) states, colourblindness is just a different way of seeing difference

Being that way you actually show that you aren't colourblind. 'Cause you're seeing, you're trying to see differences in a different way, instead of seeing it as a negative influence, see a positive. But still I'm seeing them as different… you see I just said them and I wasn't meant to say them, I wanted to say 'people of a different race' (Mike, w).

The narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* also seems to discount the fact that acts of racism are still prevalent in South Africa at the present.

So I went out with [a group of white girls] the one night and we went to this very nice place, I don't even know where it was, and they were like… I, I just kept getting looks from people like I was strange and whatever. And they would just, have fun around me and I would obviously recognise it because I was the only person who was black (Tumi, b).

So, um, she was really pissed off, so she went to him and she says 'Well, sorry, are you not going to sing to us because there's black and white people sitting together?' And he said 'Yes, I don't approve of that.' So then we paid our bill and we left like good children (Ann, w).

And we also did another play that's called 'Too late'. And, um, the lecturer passed a comment, he read a line and it said something… The wife was telling her husband not to trust the white people, and then a lot of people in our class were like "exactly, they'll just take everything from you." And then, that was weird, 'cause there's only four white people in that class, so they made quite awkward for… 'cause I mean I have lots of black friends in the class. So they made it quite weird for us as well, 'cause, you know, they said "exactly, you can't trust a white man, they'll take everything from you" (Ann, w).

Kirstan : So while they weren't making you feel abnormal, they also…
Stacy (b) : Abnormal, they weren't making me feel normal either.
Kirstan : So it was quite subtle then.
Stacy (b) : Ya, it was just a little, you know, there.

This emphasises the fact that while "*we say that race shouldn't matter... it sometimes does matter" (Stacy, b).* Here, Stacy (b) seems to sum up one of the major conflicts facing many youths in South Africa: that despite a genuine desire for 'race' not to matter, it still has an enormous impact on daily life and South African identities.

Another area which seems to disrupt the idealised notion of multiculturalism is multi- or inter-racial dating. Vincent (2008) notes that sexual contact across the colour line is still seen by onlookers as richly symbolic, with the black participant seen to be in search of something far more complex than mere romance. Inter-racial sexuality played a central role in apartheid's institutionalised racism, where marriages between whites and other 'races' were strictly forbidden (Franchi, 2003b). As such, it is perhaps unsurprising that multi-racial relationships still carry so much symbolic meaning. Vincent (2008) goes on to note that, in the context of continued white racism, personal choices to date across the colour line emerge as highly politicised and the subject of public debate, regardless of the attitudes of the protagonists themselves.

[A white friend and I] were talking about inter-racial relationships, and they said it's like a cat and a dog. And I was like 'No, it's not like a cat and a dog, it's like a dog and a dog; maybe a dog with a little bit of a different hair or fur colour to the other dog' you know (Mike, w).

My friend is dating a coloured guy... and she didn't tell her parents, 'cause she knew they'd overreact. So I just said "Ag man, your mom's not racist, just tell her" and she told her. They've cut her off, they've stopped paying for her school fees, her varsity fees, she's at [a college in Johannesburg], here, so she stays with me now. So, ya, they just don't want anything to do with her 'cause she's dating this coloured guy. But these are religious people who love black people and, ya (Ann, w).

I have this black friend who says she'll never date a white guy. So clearly there's still that perception of, you know, you can go to a certain level with people of this race but they don't move past those boundaries. I don't think that she is necessarily racist but there is that sense of that whole race issue within her (Mbali, b).

After ten years, to still have the same outlook that you don't believe in inter-cultural relationships means that you've been hiding under a rock (Stacy, b).

My step mom, she's coloured... even now, if I walk with my dad and my step mom and like, you know, people look at them like "Oh my God" (Nicky, w).

Ann's (w) story seems to crystallise the notion that while multiculturalism is permissible in certain spheres, it is still unaccepted in most intimate relationships. It also demonstrates how South Africans are more invested in appearing multicultural but that they still harbour deeply seated racial prejudices.

So, ok, um, there was this one instance when I, where I, uh, when was it, uh, I was in grade ten. My school did an outing and I met with a white girl and we chatted and we chatted, ya, we had a long chat... Ya, I enjoyed her company, she, she was fun. She, she spoke... She, she, well my friends told me that 'No, you can't speak to her 'cause she's white and she'll tell you all those stupid stuff that "I don't speak to black boys"' and what not. But I actually went against that and I spoke to her and, she, we kinda had a conversation 'cause we kept in contact for like two years. Then I don't know, my phone got lost, so that broke up (Vuyo, b).

Vuyo's (b) comment that his friendship with the white girl broke up when he lost his phone seems to speak to the perceived impermanence of such multi-racial relationships. That beyond the symbolic reasons for such relationships, there is relatively little substance to maintain them.

d. "Again, it comes down to class, that's the only place it really makes a difference": The Intersection of 'Race' and Class in Post-1994 South Africa

In many respects 'race' is being replaced by class as the dominant social marker in post-1994 South Africa (Louw & Foster, 1992). Many of the participants indicated that for them class was an important way of understanding not only themselves but also other people.

Again, it comes down to class. Because an upmarket, wealthy white person or even middle income, is not going to be your everyday person with gangs or killing or, you know, robbing, you know (Kelly, w).

You see, but now it depends what type of white... If it was a white person that I would possibly know, it would be different. If it's like a white scum person who's poor on the street, no, it wouldn't be different (Kelly, w).

It's just economically, that's the only place it really... makes a difference (Nicky, w).

If I was black and in the same economic class that I am now I don't think things should be different (Mike, w).

Um, or the first thing I notice wouldn't be whether they're white or they're black or they're coloured it would probably be ah, their eyes or their hairstyle or the clothes that they wear, those type of things (Stacy, b).

As with racism and/or tolerance being assigned either an internal or external locus of control, so are class aspirations. Many of the participants believe that if one works hard enough they will be able to enter the middle class. This notion seems intertwined with notions of victim blaming, as well as with black participants' drive to work hard, be successful and accomplish various goals.

But again an individual can get out of their economic class, they can if they really want to. I know it sounds like, selfish of me because I'm already up there, that it's… (Mike, w).

However, one must be cautioned to not conflate 'race' with class, as this is at risk of being somewhat essentialising and reductionistic (Louw & Foster, 1992). Instead, one should view them as two separate, albeit interconnected phenomena. Similarly, it should be noted that in South Africa class has often been used as a euphemism for 'race'. For instance, due to apartheid's racialised policies, many black South Africans were dispossessed and their ability to accumulate and use capital was severely limited. Thus, many black South Africans were, and still are, living in abject poverty, where only a small proportion have entered into the new emerging black middle class (Carter & May, 2001). For instance, Mayekiso and Tshemese (2001) noted that in 2001, approximately 1% of whites were living in poverty compared to 61% of Africans who were living in poverty at that time. However, despite these concerns, it is important to stress that class seems to be emerging as the predominant marker of identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

3. Conclusions

At this juncture in time, South Africa is an intensely anxious society, living with many unresolved fears and collective phantasies, much repressed anger, guilt and shame and so on and so forth. Many black/white relationships are at best ambivalent. The necessary collective healing will have to go far beyond the superficial political processes of promoting

the *Rainbow Nation,* reconciliation and reparation. Collective healing requires a rejection of the fear of freedom and the ambivalent dependence upon authority. Healing also entails the growth of a sense of autonomy, of the replacement of false self structures with more authentic self notions (Bloom, 1996).

This section has presented the key findings of the research, as well as the interpretations of this study based on the thematic content analysis. It was argued that racialised youth identities in South Africa are being informed by both the master narratives of apartheid as well as the new narratives of the *Rainbow Nation.* This section also provided an analysis which focussed on the how the white and black participants perceive both their own racialised identities as well as the racialised identities of the *other*. This chapter concluded by firstly exploring the 'race' and racism in contemporary South Africa and by secondly concluding that class is emerging as a dominant social force.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

This chapter shall outline the study's concluding remarks, as well as the researcher's reflections on the process of the research. Firstly, the study's major findings will be discussed. Secondly, the strengths and weaknesses of the study will be reflected upon in order to elucidate a clearer and more objective understanding of the ramifications of the results. Finally, the chapter will conclude by discussing several recommendations which are seen to be useful in directing future research projects.

2. Overview of Key Findings

This study, which was framed by critical 'race' theory, aimed to gain a clearer understanding of how racialised identities are reflected in the narratives of black and white first year students. More specifically, this study was concerned with the manner in which the narratives of black and white first year students reflected the participant's personal racialised identities as well as with the manner in which the narratives reflected the participants' racialised perceptions of the *other*. In terms of the broader Apartheid Archive Study, it is believed that this research shall add to a body of work which will help to propel South Africa forward in its war against 'race' and the legacy of apartheid.

This study supported the notion that both whiteness and blackness are complex and diffuse constructs which defy absolute definition. Indeed, identity was conceptualised as being in a perpetual state of flux, rendering it difficult to pinpoint a statement which encompasses what it means to be a racial being in contemporary South Africa (Abdi, 1999; Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). In addition to the difficulties inherent to identity, South African youth identities are further problematised by the country's changing and somewhat turbulent terrain. Both whiteness and blackness have shifted positions in post-1994 South Africa. However, these changes have been mostly at an ideological and macrolevel, where one can argue that neither the material nor the psychological lives of South Africans have changed substantially (Eichstedt, 2001).

Apartheid was characterised by white supremacist rule, which was committed to the maintenance of racial separateness and purity. During apartheid 'race' was an inflexible construct which rigidly framed whiteness as dominant, normative and largely invisible, and blackness as subordinate and marginalised. Whiteness was constructed as supreme, pure and intelligent and was thus afforded untold privileges. In contrast blackness was cast as everything that whiteness was not, in other words blacks were unintelligent, lazy and licentious. Following the democratic changes of 1994, the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* emerged in many symbolic and discursive interventions, designed to encourage and celebrate racial reconciliation in the post-apartheid years. However, despite the many changes apartheid's racialised patterns of privilege and deprivation persist and 'race' continues to influence the lives of South Africans. Today, South Africans experience 'race' as nuanced and fluid, despite inherent tensions in South Africa's social fabric in terms of 'race'.

It was found that the racialised patterns which characterised apartheid still impact on black and white youth identity in contemporary South Africa. For instance, many participants continue to refer back to apartheid's master narrative of 'race' when thinking about and constructing their identities. In some cases the master narrative has been internalised and naturalised where the participants have come to understand whiteness and blackness in the same way they were constructed during apartheid. On the other hand, some participants seem to be constructing narratives of blackness and whiteness counter to that proposed by apartheid's master narrative, such as the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation*. While these statements set out racialised identities in a fairly clear cut manner, it must be cautioned that racial identity is rarely, if ever, so contained and neatly defined. Indeed, the racialised identities of the participants were complex and fraught with ambivalence and contradiction.

It was found that whiteness is in many ways suspended between apartheid's master narrative of supreme whiteness and the new emerging narrative of white disadvantage. Many of the white participants reflected that they are nostalgic about apartheid, and almost yearn for a return to such a time. Thus, it is apparent that the ways in which whiteness and white identity were constructed during apartheid continues to impact on current white identities. Furthermore, whiteness is being constructed as somewhat disadvantaged in the new South Africa, especially in light of the privileges it yielded during apartheid. Whiteness was also found to still be a normative construct, which is often invisible. Thus, whiteness

continues to be a norm against which many standards are measured, ever in contemporary South Africa. However, despite the relative normativity of whiteness it was found that many white South Africans have the sense of not quite belonging in South Africa and are therefore negotiating the legitimacy that their claim to space has in the 'new' South Africa.

Blackness was similarly seen to be suspended between apartheid's narrative of black inferiority and new narratives detailing black equality and perceived advantage. Thus, blackness too seems to be inherently ambivalent and in a state of unrest. It was found that, similar to whiteness, blackness is still being impacted on by the constructs of blackness which were seen in pre-1994 apartheid South Africa. In other words, blackness is still being shaped by narratives which cast blackness as *other* and relatively inferior. However, it was also found that new narratives are emerging which are beginning to disrupt these older narratives. Thus, there is a tension within blackness, where apartheid's old master narratives of blackness are, on the one hand, being internalised and, on the other hand, being negotiated and rejected. In line with this, this study found that there is an emerging tension in blackness which is, in many respects, seen to be both relatively advantaged in post-1994 South Africa and relatively disadvantaged. Blackness was, similarly, seen to have a certain amount of cultural capital in post-apartheid South Africa. As such, the study found that blackness is often considered to be politically and economically dominant in South Africa at present and that this has a substantial effect on black youth identity.

While the narrative of the *Rainbow Nation* promotes racial tolerance and colourblindness, this study found that such notions often detract from anti-racist practices and that dialogues about 'race' and racism need to be made public in order for collective healing to take place. After the 1994 elections and the ensuing socio-political changes, both blackness and whiteness are in a state of flux where neither is all-powerful. It was found that racialised youth identities are, for the most part, being redefined in contemporary South Africa. In some instances it was noted that the continued impact and influence of 'race' in post-1994 South Africa is being down played and negated. Similarly, when instances of racism were cited or discussed many of the participants attempted to distance themselves from these acts and beliefs by displacing the racism and projecting it into others. Yet, despite these attempts to deny and distance the self from issues of 'race' and racism, it was noted that participants are still being shaped by 'race' and racism. However, it was also found that as

much as 'race' is still impacting on contemporary South African youth identity it is also intersecting with other social constructs, notably class. Thus, this study found that class is starting to become a more powerful and predominant force in identity formation is post-apartheid South Africa.

3. Strengths and Limitations

The findings of this study not only acknowledge and support the ever growing body of literature on critical 'race' studies but also contribute to this knowledge base. It is hoped that such literature and the theory which is built on it will contribute to antiracism practices and will help to facilitate social reform in South Africa, and indeed globally (Reddy, 2005; Roediger, 2009).

Furthermore, this study's focus on identity also has an important contribution to make to an ever growing body of literature. Identity is a fluid construct, which shifts in relation to the broader socio-political context. Thus, identity offers a unique and invaluable method of examining South Africa's current socio-political climate as well as the changes which are being witnessed following the 1994 democratic elections. As such, this study's focus on identity is a notable strength. Similarly, the study's use of narratives is also a potential strength. This is due to the fact that narratives offer a helpful medium through which to explore identities and other social constructs. Furthermore, narratives, like identities, offer a unique way of studying the socio-political context.

Perhaps one of the major limitations of this study was the fact that the researcher is herself a white middle class female, and thus potentially partial to certain knowledges. Similarly, the participants reacted to the researcher in very specific and potentially problematic ways due to her whiteness. This study, however, maintains that despite these inherent difficulties, that it is necessary for white academics to also problematise racialised asymmetries. It is felt that antiracism processes are not merely the domain of black academia and that white scholars must also contribute in this regard.

A second possible limitation was that the sample consisted of a fairly homogenous population of middle class, English speaking black and white first year students at the same

historically English university in Gauteng. It would, therefore, have perhaps have been beneficial to interview students from various tertiary institutions in South Africa. However, given the pragmatic constraints of this project this was neither achievable nor feasible. Yet, despite the skewed nature of the participants, the information gleaned from their responses cannot be discounted, as it invites continued dialogue on post-apartheid identity. Similarly, the results invite continued research in other parts of the country and in other universities.

Due to this study's focus on 'race', relatively little attention was paid to the intersectionality of 'race' with other social constructs such as gender, class and sexuality, which also have a substantial impact on identities. Thus, this highlights a third possible limitation. Lastly, the primary means of analysis was a thematic content analysis, which, despite its benefit and value, presents a number of limitations as it is somewhat atheoretical and therefore has the potential to limit the findings somewhat. However, despite these limitations one cannot discount the contribution made by this study in understanding and probing first year students' perceptions of 'race' and racialised identity in contemporary South Africa.

4. Directions for Future Research and Recommendations

This above discussion on the studies strengths and weaknesses provides direction for future research and recommendations. It is suggested that this sample be drawn from a wider range of tertiary institutions within South Africa. This would provide an enhanced and more inclusive understanding of how individuals from different socio-cultural contexts perceive 'race' and racialised identities. Similarly, it would perhaps be beneficial to include a more varied age group to determine how notions of 'race' and racialised identity mutate and change within and between generations.

As noted in previous parts of this study, the intersectionality of various social factors, such as 'race', gender, sexuality and class, have a substantial impact on identities. Furthermore, the results of this study suggest that class is becoming a key broker in post-apartheid South African youth identities. Thus, this study would recommend that future research address the intersectionality of 'race' and class in youth identities, as well as the impact that class plays on youth identities, more specifically.

As noted previously, the interviewers own racialised position impacted on the research. For example, perceptions of in-group and out-group membership between participants and interviewer undoubtedly exerted a force over what was said, why it was said and the manner in which it was said. Thus, it is suggested that future research consider using interviewers with different demographic variables, so for instance to include black interviewers or male interviewers. It is felt that this would possibly result in participants speaking about different topics or disclosing information in a different manner. Similarly, it may be interesting to not only conduct one on one interviews but to also include focus groups. It is felt that this inter-racial mixing may yield insight into the ways in which discourse between different individuals is constructed and reproduced.

Furthermore, the method of analysis used in this project, namely a thematic content analysis, is perhaps a limitation in and of itself. While the use of a thematic content analysis is undeniably an accommodating and insightful approach to such research, it is a somewhat atheoretical approach and therefore limits the scope of the report findings somewhat. It is felt by the author, given the manner in which the participants spoke about 'race', racism and racialised identity, that a greater level of contextual analysis may have been achieved by employing a discourse analysis. It is maintained, that a discourse analysis would be valuable in that it would have provided a slightly different perspective and therefore, contribute to a more nuanced insight into 'race' and racialised identity.

Lastly, it is recommended that future studies continue to examine racialised identities in South Africa. As noted previously, identities and subjectivities are inherently fluid and are thus salient over time. Moreover, because identities are positioned within the broader sociocultural context they offer a means of examining the current socio-political terrain at any given moment. Thus, by continuing to study the fluidity and nuanced complexities of identities one will be able to map the broader socio-political changes as they occur in South Africa. Similarly, 'race' is an inexorably insidious construct, which left unmonitored has the potential to re-inscribe itself.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Ethics Clearance Certificate (H080504)

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

Appendix II: Participant Information Form

Good day,

My name is Kirstan Puttick, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters degree in Education in Educational Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. I shall be collecting a series of interviews outlining various experiences of South African youths. As such I would like to invite you to participate in this research project which will require an interview which will be approximately one hour in duration.

Please note that your participation is entirely voluntary and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate in the study. If you choose to withdraw from the study you may do so, without prejudice, at any time. There are no direct benefits to participating in this study. Similarly no risks are foreseen as a result of participation. However, if at any point you feel that you have experienced discomfort as a result of your interview a number of contact details for counselling services will be provided upon request. Interviews shall be analysed in terms of their relation to 'race', racialised identity and racialisation. In addition these interviews will be included in the Apartheid Archive Project and may be integrated into various journal articles and possibly included in a published book. If you are in agreement with your interview being used in the ways outlined above please could you indicate so on the attached consent form.

I would like to ensure you that any information you provide will be anonymised as far as possible – that is to say your interview will be included into a database under a pseudonym and all means of identifying you shall be removed, making recognition impossible by all except the researcher. Confidentiality will be a top priority and it is guaranteed that no one other that the researcher will be aware of your identity, despite interviews being reproduced in part or in their entirety once the findings of the project are ready to be published. Again I would like to reiterate that you may withdraw your interview from the database, without prejudice, at any point in the future.

A brief summary of my findings will be provided upon request. If you have any questions please feel free to contact my supervisor, Garth Stevens, or myself.

Regards,

Kirstan Puttick.

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Appendix III: Participation Consent Form

I, _____, having read the participant information sheet consent to participate in this 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 that I would like my interview deleted from the database.
My interview will be anonymised.
My anonymised interview could be selected for analysis
My anonymised interview could be selected for publication in a number of outputs generated by the project.
My interview will be included in the Apartheid Archive Project.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix IV: Recording Consent Form

I, _____, having read the participant information sheet, consent to participate in the interview and have my interview recorded. 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 that I would like my interview deleted from the database.
My interview will be recorded.
My interview recording will be anonymised.
My anonymised interview recording could be selected for analysis.
My anonymised interview recording could be quoted directly.
My anonymised interview recording could be selected for publication in a number of outputs generated by the project.
My recorded interview will be included in the Apartheid Archive Project.
Access to my recorded interview will be restricted.
My recorded interview will be kept in a safe place.

Signed: | |

Date: | |

Appendix V: Interview Consent Form

I, _____, having read the participant information sheet, consent to participate in the interview. 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 that I would like my interview deleted from the archive.
I may refuse to answer questions.
My interview will be anonymised.
My anonymised interview could be selected for analysis.
My anonymised interview could be quoted directly.
My anonymised interview could be selected for publication in a number of outputs generated by the project.
My interview will be attached to the published narrative.
My interview will be included in the Apartheid Archive Project.

Signed: | |

Date: | |

Appendix VI: Interview Schedule

Firstly I would like to thank you for your participation. As I told you previously I am conducting my research on 'race' and racism and I suppose one of my biggest curiosities is around what it means to you to be black/white?

How do you understand your identity as a black/white person?

Have you ever felt different because of your blackness/whiteness? (move on to either a or b)

Try draw out an experience that relates to this
How did you feel as a black/white man/woman in this situation?
How did you feel towards the black/white "other" in this situation?
How do you think it was to be the black/white "other" in this situation?
How do you think the black/white "other" saw/understood you?
How would this situation have been different if you were also black/white?
How do you feel things would've been if the black/white "other" had been black/white?

I guess what you're saying is that you've never felt different because you were black/white before? I'm wondering if you know any other black/white man/woman who has felt different because of their blackness/whiteness?
How do you think it felt to be them, a black/white man/woman, in that situation?
How did you think you would have felt towards the black/white "other" in that situation?
How do you think it was to be the black/white "other" in this situation?
How do you think the black/white "other" would have understood you?
How would this situation have been different if the black/white person was also black/white?
How do you feel things would've been if the white "other" had been black/white?

I think the opposite to what we have just been talking about is also true, that for many being black/white is beneficial... can you relate to this? (move to either a or b)

Try draw out an experience that relates to this
How did you feel as a black/white man/woman in this situation?
How did you feel towards the black/white "other" in this situation?
How do you think it was to be the black/white "other" in this situation?
How do you think the black/white "other" saw/understood you?
How would this situation have been different if you were also black/white?
How do you feel things would've been if the white "other" had been black/white?

I guess what you're saying is that you've never felt this before?
However I'm curious about how you would feel if you were promoted because of you were black/white
How do you think you would feel towards the black/white "other" in that situation?
What do you think it would be like to be the black/white "other" in that situation?

How do you think the black/white “other” would understand you? How would this understanding be different if you were also black/white?
How do you feel things would be if the black/white “other” was also black/white?

Do you think that being black/white places one in a position of relative benefit?
I'm wondering why you say so...
How do you feel about this as a black/white man/woman?
How do you see the black/white “other”?
What do you think it would be to be the black/white “other”? How do you think they understand the situation? How do you think they feel?
How do you think the black/white “other” would feel towards you as a black/white man/woman in that situation?
How would it be if you were both black/white?
How would it be different if the white “other” was also black/white?

Do you think that being black/white places one in a position of relative difference?
I'm wondering why you say so...
How do you feel about this as a black/white man/woman?
How do you see the black/white “other”?
What do you think it would be to be the black/white “other”? How do you think they understand the situation? How do you think they feel?
How do you think the black/white “other” would feel towards you as a black/white man/woman in that situation?
How would it be if you were both black/white?
How would it be different if the white “other” was also black/white?

Before we conclude I just have a few more questions, firstly what has it been like to talk about your [blackness/whiteness] today? What has it brought up for you? Secondly have you ever really spoken about your [blackness/whiteness] in this kind of way before? Thirdly, what was it like to talk about these issues with a white woman?