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GCRO RESEARCH REPORT
NO. 05

PATHWAYS TO ANTIRACISM

July 2017
Edited by
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Contributions by
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PATHWAYS TO ANTIRACISM

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Pathways to Antiracism

For Owen Russel Erasmus who would have taught
us more about antiracism than a study on it.
- C.A.

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Photograph by Lesedi Mogale

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Photograph by Anna Kyriacou

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKF	Ahmed Kathrada Foundation
ANC	African National Congress
ARNHE	Anti-Racism Network in Higher Education
ARNSA	Anti-Racism Network of South Africa
ARW	Anti-Racism Week
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CANRAD	Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy
CAPAR	Canada's Action Plan Against Racism
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CONAPRED	Consejo Nacional para Prevenir La Discriminación (National Council to Prevent Discrimination (Mexico)
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DCC	Diakonia Council of Churches
DDPA	Durban Declaration and Programme of Action
DDP	Democracy Development Program
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
GCRO	Gauteng City-Region Observatory
HEI	Higher Education Institution



ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
IJR	Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la Xenofobia y el Racismo (Argentina)
INADI	Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la Xenofobia y el Racismo (Argentina)
LICRA	Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme (International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism) (France)
NAP	National Action Plan
NFAR	National Forum Against Racism
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SEPPIR	Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial (Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality) (Brazil)
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WCAR	World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance
WiCDS	Wits Centre for Diversity Studies



Photograph by Clem Onojeghuo

PREFACE

This publication aims to contribute to the vexing question of how we undo the effects of racism and racialisation in South Africa. This is a long-standing concern of the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO), whose founding executive director, David Everatt, is the author of *The Origins of Non-Racialism: White Opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s* (2010). In 2011 the GCRO partnered with the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation (AKF) on a research project on non-racialism, which saw 18 focus groups across the country with ordinary South Africans – cutting across class, age, gender and racial categories. The rich material from the focus groups was circulated to a number of researchers and intellectuals, resulting in a conference and two publications on non-racialism, one a special journal issue in *Politikon*[1] and the other an edited collection based on the special issue (Everatt, 2014). The partnership between the GCRO and the AKF was strengthened through sharing research ideas, and through jointly hosting the Democracy +20 seminar event at Wits Club in September 2013. In 2014 the GCRO, in collaboration with the AKF, began working on an antiracism research project. This project was designed to inform the Department of Justice's National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances. The papers published in this research report were commissioned as part of this project and have been presented at various fora. They have also been used as part of the rationale for the inception and formation of the Antiracism Network of South Africa.

This work is informed by a moral imagination that holds that intervention is possible in the racialised sociopolitical landscape in South Africa. This publication could thus be considered one of many contributions to the interventionist antiracism project in South Africa. We trust that this document will provide food for thought, add to the current debates in South Africa and inform and inspire the multiple strategies used by organisations and individuals across the country to strive towards a united antiracist country.

1. Volume 39, Issue 1, 2012.

Section 1

Introduction

CARYN ABRAHAMS

The papers published in this report are a product of a research study that considered possible mechanisms to reverse racism in post-apartheid South African society. The study originated from a long-standing partnership between the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) and the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation (AKF) on the meaning and interpretations of non-racialism in contemporary South Africa. Both organisations felt it necessary and opportune to consider a project which would inform a pragmatic approach to antiracism in South Africa. This report is the core output of this project.

In the opening paper, "Antiracism in Post-Apartheid South Africa", Kira Erwin considers antiracism as a critical and pragmatic approach involving civil activists, and discusses the methodological possibilities for doing antiracism activism. My paper, "Doing Antiracism Work: Seeing through Racial Subjectivities" seeks to consider how people think through race and argues that cognisance building is integral to doing antiracism work in South Africa. This is followed by a poem by Jacqui the Poet which was commissioned by the AKF, and was written for and presented at the launch of the Antiracism Network of South Africa (ARNSA) by the poet.

A third paper, entitled "Global Antiracism Strategies and Practice", considers the way that other countries have responded to the call by the United Nations in 2001 to develop national action plans (NAPs) against racism and related intolerances. In it Kira Erwin discusses the challenges of formulating such a plan and its complex relationship to the actual antiracist outcomes in those countries. Luke Spiropoulos then discusses the formation of ARNSA, and this is followed by Jacqui the Poet's second poem. The report concludes with a brief afterword written by me and Luke Spiropoulos in our capacities as the then research project partners at GCRO and the AKF.

Between each of the papers, a photo essay presents a few examples of how ordinary people think about race and racism in South Africa. The introduction to the photo essay suggests that one of the ways to overcome learned and normalised racism is to challenge the common-sense assumptions about race and racial attitudes as something linked to particular essentialised identities. The photos also function as interludes in the report, breaking up the academic text.

Overall, this report examines some of the potential pathways to an antiracist project for South Africa. It is not a comprehensive discussion of the forms of racism in South Africa, nor is it a manual of how to combat racism. This report offers a set of discussions which help us to critically consider both how we might begin to think about antiracism work in South Africa and how we articulate a set of debates which may be useful in the larger pursuit of an antiracist society. The report does not set out to "scold racists" or to set up a programme for hunting out racists. Rather, it is an attempt to allow scholars and activists to think though what a larger antiracism project might entail.

This report purposefully focuses on pragmatic responses to racism (individual, state and civil society), with a particular look at how to tackle racism through strategies that could loosely be grouped under antiracism work. The focus on racism here should not be seen as an erasure of the nuances of social engagements or as a reduction of the multifaceted social encounters evident in everyday life. It is important to acknowledge that there are countless ways that people mediate their social lives outside of



> **...one of the ways to overcome learned and normalised racism is to challenge the common-sense assumptions about race and racial attitudes as something linked to particular essentialised identities.**

Photograph by Yamon Figurs

"race" in South Africa, as Sarah Nuttall (2009) argues. Furthermore, institutional and systemic racism are discussed in some of the papers in this report, but not in detail. Of course, we recognise that dismantling racism requires structural change, primarily that of addressing the gross economic inequalities in South Africa.

Recognising these limitations and examining practical measures that attempt to address racism and lessen its hold on South African life remain important questions for us all. Practical responses to racism remain the most common and accessible mechanisms through which people fight against racism, either through individual or organisational activities. The research manager (at the time of writing) of the AKF, Luke Spiropoulos, stated that,

> many of these efforts described in the papers are focused on ... interpersonal approaches and that's ok – a world in which people are *only* less overtly racist, in which it is common for people to say (or, better yet, just think) things in private but not in public, is a marginally better world for the people who would otherwise have to endure this. It is not sufficient, but it is certainly necessary. Even better is a world in which a handful of people [who participate in these programmes] are exposed to the humanising efforts described in many of these programmes. They are open to expansion and improvement but I think that we are too quick to dismiss the small positives if they don't fit into an overall fix. (Personal communication, 2016)

In this sense the report's focus is vital for thinking through how and why practical and conceptual programmes remain part of the arsenal of antiracism work.

It is evident from a review of selected literature and antiracism programmes in South Africa (see "Antiracism in Post-Apartheid South Africa", this report) that programmatic interventions may include awareness building, education, dialogue, cross-cultural immersion programmes, focusing on methods to overcome trauma, social action and building justice movements, debate and praxis-based research (see Chambers and Pettman, 1986; Johnson, Rush and Feagin, 2000; Pedersen et al., 2005 Arquero, Sen and Keleher, 2013).

One of the difficulties of bringing together analysis of different types of antiracism practices is that it highlights the contested views of what constitutes racism and what constitutes antiracism. Racism intersects with many other systems of discrimination; it can also reconstitute itself depending on context. Even though racism is a contested, often incoherent notion, its effects should not be disregarded (Lentin, 2015). Violent forms of racial hatred often coexist with more banal ways of denying or dismissing experiences of racism.

For this reason a conceptual framework, rather than a fixed bounded definition of racism, is preferred in this report. Étienne Balibar interrogates some of the complexities of what racism means and provides a useful baseline to our discussion. He describes racism as a true "total social phenomenon" [that] inscribes itself in practices (forms of violence, contempt, intolerance, humiliation and exploitation), in discourses and representations which are so many intellectual elaborations of the phantasm of prophylaxis or segregation (the need to purify the social body, to preserve "one's own" or "our" identity from all forms of mixing, interbreeding or invasion) and which are articulated around stigmata of otherness (name, skin colour, religious practices) (Balibar, 1991: 17–18).

Antiracism, based on Balibar's conception similarly, would be a social phenomenon that is inscribed in discourse, practice, representation, claiming of identities and regard of otherness. As inscribed discourse, antiracism is a visionary set of beliefs and reproduced knowledge that underpin antiracist behaviour and practice. These may relate to a conception of humanity that transcends identity. As practice, it may be the set of rehearsed activities, actions and deliberate behaviours that seek to undermine, challenge and confront racism. These practices may be state-led practices, organisation-culture practices, or everyday modes of being with fellow South Africans that disrupt racial norms and racist behaviour. As representation antiracism could include deliberate and normative marketing campaigns, or more philosophically a shift in meanings and interpretations of community, belonging and identity.

The contributions in this report recognise the multiple constructions of racism and note that racism

"Antiracism seeks to impact public life and restructure existing relations of power in society, those based precisely on race. It is this progressive concept – as opposed to just being an 'anti' notion, that imbues antiracism with the potential to remake society."

has to do with the structural and interpersonal effects of race-making during and before apartheid, including, as Balibar suggests, racial prejudice, hatred, definitions of otherness, oppression, exploitation, racial superiority and violence. Similarly, antiracism has to do with the undoing or dismantling of both structural and interpersonal forms of racism, and problematising the effects of race-making that lends itself to racial hatred, oppression and violence.

Antiracism as a school of thought, like conceptions of racism, is contested and can be asserted in service of particular political and ethnic interests. As Kira Erwin's paper "Antiracism in Post-Apartheid South Africa" astutely argues, there is no particular typology of antiracist discourse; these discourses operate in ways that reflect the current hegemonic racial ideology of a time and place.

In one sense antiracism can thus be seen as the mirror image of non-racialism – the latter emerging from a particular political hegemony, i.e., the historical, African National Congress ideal. In another sense, because antiracism as discourse als emerges from the current racial ideology, and current racial ideologies appear decidedly apolitical (in the party-political sense) and pervasive within society, it follows that antiracism can be 'rescued' from necessarily being the antithesis to non-racialism. Similarly, antiracism need not replace non-racialism, since the latter concept is both confined to a particular political space, and according to some congress stalwarts is the natural antecedent of antiracism (personal communication). In sum what we are concerned with here, in the South African context, is antiracism as a political project outside the confines of legacy or party-politics.

Howard Winant's entry in *the Encyclopaedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism* contends that "antiracism is [indeed] a political project; such projects may be defined as those that *undo or resist structures of domination based on racial significations and identities*" (Winant, 2016: 3, emphasis in original). In this sense antiracism as a concept and practice can be a political project, drawing in civil society, and forging, what Mangcu suggests as a Bikoist vision of a new political collective – a "joint culture" (Mangcu, 2015). This kind of political project may remain protected from party-political claim, or political party interests may use it to particular ends – for example in disrupting race-bating around elections.

As a political project, toward a joint culture, rather than just opposition to racism (ibid.), antiracism seeks to impact public life and restructure existing relations of power in society, those based precisely on race. It is this progressive concept – as opposed to just being an 'anti' notion, that imbues antiracism with the potential to remake society while, in Winant's words, resist structures of racial domination.

Finally a politics of antiracism may also include political "buy-in" to the project,[2] at different levels of the state, while also invoking the everyday "politics" of doing this kind of work. This duality may prove challenging based both on the public policy context

2. This is already evident in South Africa. At the time of writing, the GCRO was involved with a group of eminent political and civil society leaders in thinking through the content of a province-wide antiracism and social cohesion strategy.
3. This is a move that was strongly cautioned against, based on research in other contexts of the outplay of National Action Plans against Racism (see Erwin's second paper in this report).



Photograph by Willam Stitt

and the strength of civil society. The first instance – the public policy context – may involve a form of social governance that is rooted in programming for social change on the one hand, or driven by a leaning toward criminalising racism on the other. In South Africa, there indeed has been a leaning toward criminalising racism; late in 2016 a Draft Bill on the Criminalisation of Racism was circulated for public commentary and has since shaped the public discourse around antiracism.[3]

The duality of antiracism being rooted in 'big' Politics and everyday politics, while challenging, also offers as Ash Amin argues,

> space for a politics of distance respectful of human difference, disagreement and dissent as the ground of peaceful coexistence ... [He contends that a] politics of anti-race[ism] combined with a politics of collective transformation, articulating shared problems, entangled futures, ... [requires keeping] the politics of recognition close to the politics of structural transformation towards a just and equal society. (Amin, 2010: 18)

From Amin's argument we see that antiracism can indeed be both visionary or idealistic and practical and grounded, and maintain a closeness between matters of interpersonal recognition and structural matters of justice. Seen this way, antiracism is a profoundly rich concept that has collective transformation at its heart.

Yet despite its visionary import – a future ideal if you will – antiracism as a current mobilising force is not without contentions. Indeed, as Balibar argues, antiracism mobilisation may even be described as "neo-racist" because it may be driven by those who wish to deny racism against black people, or by those who discuss social differentiation in ways that invoke notions of biological difference (Balibar, 1991). Winant (2016: 2) argues that antiracism as a broad social project has faced two threats. The first "threat" that emerges "from the right" is antiracism's capture and rearticulation as colour-blindness[4] on the one hand, and as cultural differentiation on the other. This reframing of antiracism is used as a way to push back the "rising tide of color", and has served to "ratify ongoing racial inequalities, discrimination and violence" (ibid.). The second threat to the larger project, emerging "from the left", is the growing disillusionment and exhaustion of antiracism activists, or "melancholia" as Winant terms it, in challenging structural racism and "colour-blind racial ideology". These threats are important to take note of, especially to inform emergent discussions of antiracism in contemporary South Africa, and to guard against forms of capture or articulation that only masks racism.

4. This, as shown in my later paper "Doing Antiracism Work", is similar to the recent fate of non-racialism as a concept.

Commitments to undoing the effects of racism take many forms. As is evident in the papers presented here, government, civil society and individuals can drive antiracism strategies. The content of antiracism work for some practitioners may well be social dialogue, pursuing forms of economic redistribution or creating integrated human settlements. Rather than prescribing the content of antiracist practices or programmes, this report encourages scholars and activists to consider how a broad social project of antiracism and its social outcomes might unfold in South Africa.

Recognising these complexities and shifting discourses within antiracism theory, and indeed in the way racism operates (Mbembe, 2015a; 2015b), it is necessary to think through the way in which these ideas shape our commitment to certain antiracist practices and strategies. It is hoped that this report can contribute towards such a project within the South African context, and add to a discourse of renewal and collective transformation, including both structural palliative elements to racism and visionary everyday politics that move society toward solidarity.

Photograph by Avel Chuklanov



VIEW FROM THE STREETS I: PERSPECTIVES ON RACE AND RACISM

CARYN ABRAHAMS, CHRISTIAN HAMANN AND RENDANI NEMAKHAVHANI

This photo essay is a snapshot of the perspectives of ordinary people in one area of Johannesburg – Braamfontein. It presents vernacular, everyday perspectives of race and racism in the contexts they inhabit and navigate. It is important to clarify at the outset that any investigation into people's attitudes, opinions and beliefs can only offer a glimpse into the complexity of those people's considerations. While in-depth conversations would be valuable, these brief responses from people are nevertheless useful indicators of some of the complexities and contradictions in relation to everyday discourse on race.

The second intention of this photo essay is to demonstrate the great diversity of opinions and to underscore the difficulty of anticipating what a person might say based on what they look like. This helps to complicate the idea of "the other". Crain Soudien (2015) uses the idea of the gaze, which, he suggests, replaces long-refuted ideas of biological difference between people in South Africa since individuals and groups can be categorised simply by a gaze. In his book *Declassified: Moving beyond the Dead End of Race in South Africa* (2014), Gerhard Maré argues that the legacy of racialisation in South Africa means far more than just the classification of races. It has also set race-thinking as a "natural", common-sense knowledge that is unquestioned when South Africans interact with each other. Race-thinking is not only descriptive, in this view, but it is a decision that continues to lock people into constructed categories (Bass, et al, 2014). The gaze – Soudien's framing of how we see each other – creates what Maré calls specimens of categories in South Africa, and South Africans locate themselves and see others as specimens in categories. He argues that this is profoundly dehumanising. Race-thinking, and we would add "the gaze", needs to be constantly disrupted and challenged for South Africans to break out of the confines of racialisation. The photo essay that follows allows for such a disruption of the gaze and the seemingly natural categorisation of people. It is precisely this possibility that is the beginning of a true non-racial project.

The photo essay comprises two sets of photographs. The first set is part of the GCRO-commissioned work. Photos were taken in and around Braamfontein, Johannesburg, and are accompanied by quotes from the just over 50 respondents. Many of the respondents were around 25 years old, and represent the perspectives of the born-free generation in South Africa. The second set of photographs is not part of the GCRO-commissioned work. The photos were taken at the Asikhulumeni nge Race (Let us Speak about Race) Dialogue and Social Media Campaign Project, which was a joint programme with the AKF, and express the opinions of student representative council leaders from universities across South Africa on race and racism.

The process of reading threads or themes through the various perspectives proved difficult, and the way they are organised in the photo essay serves to complicate the idea that racism is entirely pervasive in South African society. Some do not feel that their experience qualifies them to comment decisively on racism in society. For others, by contrast, racism is easily recognisable and inescapable in social interaction as understood through their experience. Still others recognise that racism is not dead, but say that it is subdued. Although these remarks are brief, they are indicative of the complex texture of attitudes about race in contemporary South Africa. Popular hopes about 'leaving it to the next generation' are not as seamless as South Africans may think (See Lefko-Everett, 2014). And, as Nuttall (2009) urges, there are many facets of social interaction in South Africa and race presents but one of the myriad ways (young) people think about and act within South African post-apartheid society.

The photo essay is used as a visual interlude between the papers. We have not attempted to provide

"The photo essay that follows allows for such a disruption of the gaze and the seemingly natural categorisation of people. It is precisely this possibility that is the beginning of a true non-racial project."

commentary but instead leave the textured and varied responses about race, racism and overcoming its challenges to present their own complex picture. It is hoped that presenting the material in this way gives a sense of the everyday perspectives of ordinary South Africans and allows us to challenge normalised ideas about people (and their responses) as "specimens" of racial categories.

Responses contained in this essay suggest that racism can be reproduced in everyday forms of recognition and respect. Seeing it this way provides a way to subvert these racial practices. But the responses also provide cause for reflecting on how complex it is to unpack the vexing issue of racism in South Africa. There is no single narrative: some have visceral and deeply traumatic experiences of race and others have not experienced it at all. And even a reading of these responses is not value-free. Our readings, however, can be challenged and disrupted and it is in this moment that there are possibilities for breaking out of deterministic ways of seeing and thinking.

On the outside looking in: Photographer's reflections on the 'View from the streets' project (Rendani Nemakhavhani)

Who am I to judge people's opinions on how they feel about race and racism in the country? Right now, I'm a photographer looking in. Paying attention to the little details that the participants brought with them. Many of them were no older than 25. Most were young adults, freedom babies if you will, coming into spaces where the race lines have been blurred since they took their first breaths. Who can blame them if they don't understand why we can't all just get along? The topic of race and racism is a complex one in our young democracy. The country was basically built on it. Black and white and the others that fall under BLACK. Here is my take on this issue: It's problematic for me when someone doesn't see why things like white supremacy and black inferiority complexes exist, or rather that they do exist at all. We (yes we) are collectively sweeping the dust under the carpet, but someone is always getting more while another receives nothing.

Oh South Africa! Look at you now. Black and white, and even those who find themselves in-between, we're trying to adapt to this democracy. Did Nelson Mandela's ideology of a rainbow nation leave the earth with him? I think it may have and this is why:

> While asking the participants questions about race, a plethora of emotions were shared on camera. There were some who had something honest to say and others who simply were not bothered by the whole conversation of race and racism in young South Africa. The notion of why we can't all just get along was commented on. The young adults influenced each other; friends usually shared a similar opinion. White males were not as welcoming as others, and the younger the participants, the less interested they were with this whole thing.

As a photographer, I needed to place myself in a neutral position so that upsetting and even disappointing comments did not hinder me from completing my job. It was interesting to witness. I hope that more of these conversations can be had so that the weight on all of our shoulders can fall off. We have a very long way to go. Who knows where we will be in the next 20 years?



"I can't speak much on the topic because I know the kind of position I'm in. So it wouldn't be fair for me to say anything. I do acknowledge that it exists."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I haven't experienced racism, to be honest. I don't know, but I think derogatory terms, when people call each other by derogatory terms, I think that's what bites me."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I haven't been too much into it because I rarely socialise with people from other races. It's pretty much the same to me; they don't treat me in a different way."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Like ... racism doesn't affect me. I haven't experienced it here on campus."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Racism doesn't affect me all that much because the school that I go to, it's still okay."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I think racism ... well I'm actually Asian so I think racism does not actually affect me so much, in a way, because even though I fall under the black category, I still feel like everyone should be treated the same, everyone should be given the same opportunities. Yeah ... 'cause I feel like I've been treated equally in terms of the society, this community. I've been making friends with different kinds of race of people and we're all friendly with each other, but I'm not sure whether in the job situation, job environment they will treat you the same because probably if you're Asian or if you are black the requirement should be higher or something like that. We still have to wait and see. 'Cause what I heard from outside is that ... where I came from, where I study at TUT [Tshwane University of Technology] they don't actually look at the racial things that seriously. Whereas apparently at UCT [University of Cape Town], especially if you are doing medicine or something, if you're Asian they tend to push the requirement higher. They think you're Asian, you should be ... so that's probably some racist issues there right? But I'm not quite sure, that's what I heard from people."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani

Section 2

Antiracism in post-apartheid South Africa

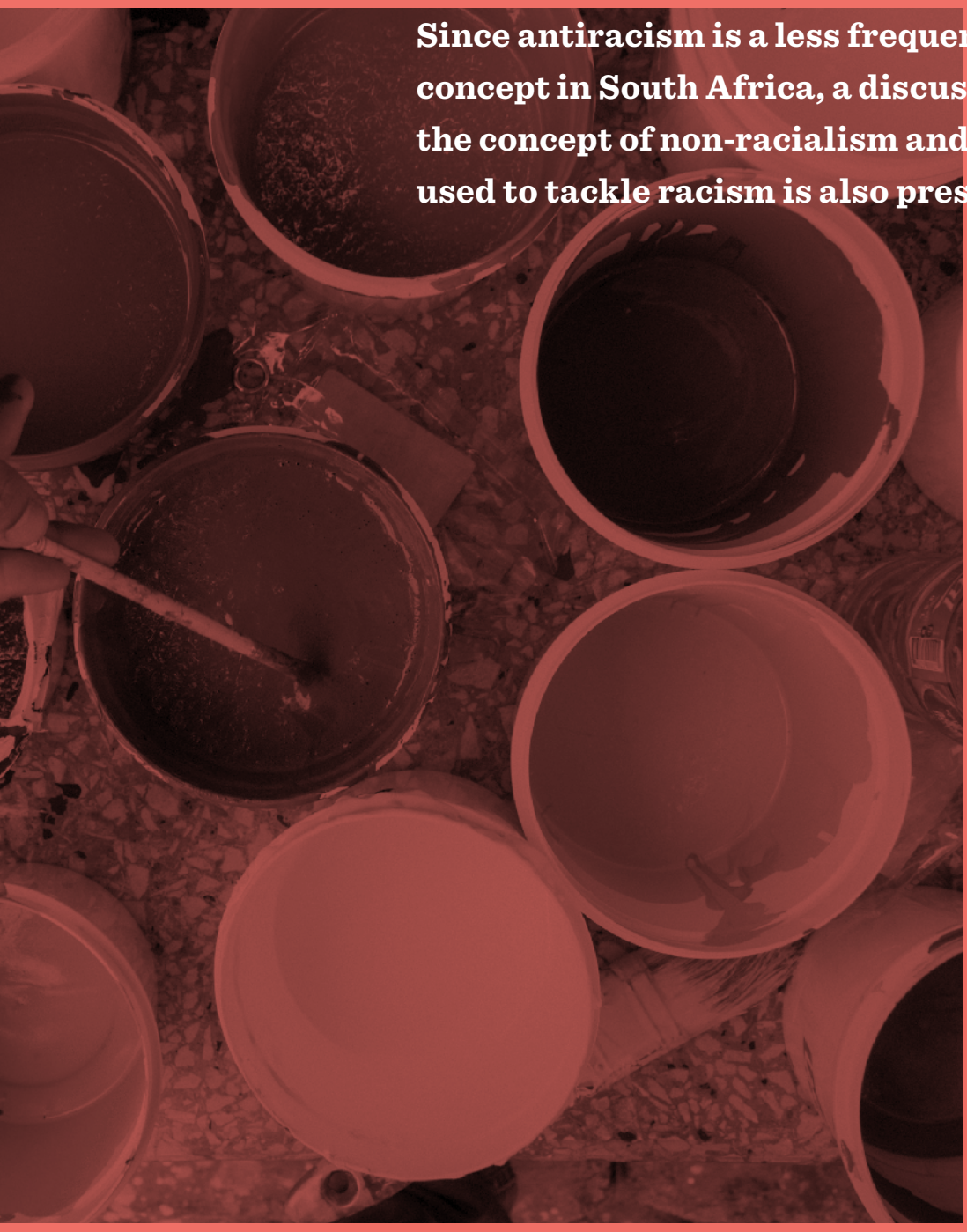
KIRA ERWIN

Abstract

The research presented here reviews selected strategies and practices by the state and various civil society and faith-based organisations after 1994 that attempt to address racism in South Africa.
To contextualise the research, the paper starts with an overview of antiracism theories from within and outside of South Africa. The paper examines the contested nature of this concept as well as some of the common strategies and projects associated with antiracism work. Since antiracism is a less frequently used concept in South Africa, a discussion on the concept of non-racialism and how it is used to tackle racism is also presented. Against this theoretical backdrop the paper then analyses the interview data from the selected South African organisations in relation to projects addressing racism. Many of these organisational strategies are directed at the micro level of institutions and communities. There are valuable learnings from these practices that suggest meaningful change within project participants and in specific sites, as well as sophisticated practices that acknowledge how race is interwoven with other forms of social difference, including class, culture, gender, sexuality and ethnicity. However, these projects do not collectively add up to a national success story of reversing racism, nor do they form a collective and collaborative effort in this regard. The conclusion makes a case for thinking about how we may best move these instrumental pockets of practice into a broader national antiracism strategy. One key suggestion to achieve this is to create a space for collaboration and collectivity between these civil society organisations, as well as between government and civil society. Creating such a shared knowledge project can leverage the strengths of existing strategies and co-design new strategies. This offers exciting possibilities for creating a national South African dialogue around plural rather than purist notions of antiracism that engages directly with many of the theoretical debates globally and locally around how best to fight against racism.[5]

5. Thanks also to Gerhard Maré, who provided valuable discussions and input into the initial literature review for this study. Kira Erwin is a senior researcher at the Urban Futures Centre, based at the Durban University of Technology.

Since antiracism is a less frequently used concept in South Africa, a discussion on the concept of non-racialism and how it is used to tackle racism is also presented.



Photograph courtesy of Unsplash

Introduction

In July 2014 the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) noted an increase in the number of complaints of racism made to the Commission. In the previous year alone, race-related reports accounted for 45% of the complaints received (News24, 2014). A large number of these cases emanated from experiences at schools and universities in South Africa. Thandiwe Matthews and Faraaz Mahomed note that the latter is of grave concern since "these young South Africans represent our educated elite, and possibly even our future leaders" (Matthews and Mahomed, 2014). The best-known incident occurred in 2012 at the University of the Free State and became known as the Reitz case, named after the residential hall that housed the students involved. Young white students living in the university's residences filmed black cleaning staff taking part in humiliating "games". The complexities of racism, intimacy and joint participation in this film are well documented elsewhere (See Jansen, 2016). This case catapulted racism back into debates on higher education in South Africa. In his inaugural speech three years before the Reitz case, the vice-chancellor of the University of the Free State, Jonathan Jansen (2009), succinctly highlighted one way that we are *not* addressing racism in South Africa:

> the deeper issues of racism and bigotry that conflict our university and many others will not be resolved in the courts. Whoever wins and loses in the Reitz case, I will still wake up on Monday morning dealing with the same social, cultural and ideological complexities that stand in the way of transformation, unless we do something differently.

What "doing something differently" means should be an important focus discussion in South Africa. These "overt acts of racial aggression" remind us of the countless underlying formal and informal, private and public "racially inflected processes in the country" (Wits University, 2014). Indeed, the high prevalence of reported racist incidents perpetrated by students at universities and schools, many of whom were born after the end of apartheid, can in itself be seen as a "colossal failure of education" (Melissa Steyn interview, December 2014). While the National Development Plan recognises that "systemic racism must be confronted by society as otherwise it will be reproduced and reinforce itself across generations" (National Planning Commission, 2011: 461), there is a lack of pragmatic solutions to these growing fractures. There are worrying disjunctions between what is considered to be one of the most progressive constitutions in the world and a high prevalence of discriminatory everyday practices in South Africa.

This paper is part of a larger project within the Gauteng City-Region Observatory focusing on the specific question of what has, and can, be done to tackle racism as an increasingly volatile social problem. The larger project includes the scoping exercise in this publication on examining national action plans (NAPs) against racism and related intolerances globally in order to propose, design and implement practices for South Africa's draft plan (See "Global Antiracism Strategies and Practice", this report). Despite the fact that South Africa has not finalised a NAP or a consolidated national framework to tackle racism, work in this area has been undertaken by government and other stakeholders. This paper does not offer an exhaustive account of antiracism strategies within the country past and present, as that would require a far greater research exercise than undertaken here. It does, however, review selected antiracism strategies and practices by the state and various civil society and faith-based organisations (FBOs) after 1994, some of which have actioned projects in tandem with government departments. The key research questions for this study are:

- What antiracism strategies and practices exist in post-apartheid South Africa?
- Have these successfully reversed racism, and, if so, how?
- What are possible pathways to reverse an apparent resurgence of racism and ethnic chauvinism in contemporary South Africa?
- What data are required to accurately investigate, quantify and map racism in South Africa?

To contextualise these questions, the paper starts

with an overview of antiracism theories from within and outside of South Africa. This theoretical lens is important since antiracism strategies are shaped by understandings of racism (Silva, 2012). The discussion will examine the way in which antiracism is a contested concept which is critiqued by the right and left of the political spectrum. Literature on different philosophical underpinnings and projects associated with antiracism work will be reviewed. Most of this academic work comes from the US, Europe and Australia, with some exceptions. In South Africa, academic writings directly on antiracism are less frequent, with the majority of work addressing race, racism and non-racialism. Antiracism is not a familiar term in the popular discourse of transformation in South Africa. Non-racialism, however, is firmly embedded in the country's social imagination, no matter how fuzzily understood. As a result, the paper also deals with how non-racialism was and is considered a strategic concept to tackle racism. Tensions and debates around non-racialism and its ability to fight discrimination mirror those found within antiracism theory and activism.

While there may not be a historic tradition of mobilising under a banner of antiracism in South Africa, work has been done that falls into the broader spectrum of antiracism practices, including the radical revision of racist apartheid state legislature and policies, and putting into place affirmative action policies after 1994. What is less clear is the aggregate reach and impact of government-initiated social projects and programmes aimed at eradicating racism. While acknowledging that these may exist, they are certainly not easy to access and little exists in terms of documentation. That said, this paper does deal with those government interventions within the legislative and education sectors that are accessible. On the other hand, pragmatic strategies and projects that deal with racism do exist within civil society and faith-based groups. These focus, to a large extent, on trying to build educational resources and facilitating social dialogues that enable groups or individuals to directly fight discrimination and address privilege. As will be outlined later, a flexible and contextualised approach to addressing discrimination *in situ* is a strength found in many of the organisations selected for this study, and indeed a core principal in contemporary antiracism theory. Many of these strategies resonate with antiracism educational principles even if they do not specifically name them as such. They also follow the pattern of global antiracism practices of attempting to shift prejudiced attitudes through listening to people's narratives and experiences. The middle section of this paper outlines these strategies and then unpacks some of the strengths and weaknesses in these methods.

The paper then moves to the question of whether these strategies *have successfully reversed racism, and, if so, how they did this?* Most of the organisations do not produce formalised evaluations of the impact of their programmes beyond a standard report for funders that reads as a list of activities undertaken and of underlying theoretical frameworks. In addition, the strategies work at the micro level of institutions and communities. As will be argued, the success of these depends on the framing objective. There are valuable lessons learned from these practices that suggest meaningful change within project participants and sites. However, these do not collectively add up to a national success story of reversing racism, nor do they form a collective and collaborative effort in this regard. That section of the paper deals in addition with the types of *data required to accurately investigate, quantify and map racism in South Africa*. Measuring attitudinal change is notoriously difficult, both at an individual and a societal level. Measuring and mapping racism is a difficult task that involves deep reflection on how you define and identify racism, and then quantify or qualify findings. Part of this difficulty

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is that race is intricately interwoven with other forms of social difference, including class, culture, gender, sexuality and ethnicity. If measuring and/or mapping are desirable, it must be contextualised to take account of these intersections. Some countries have, however, undertaken national exercises to map discrimination. How such baseline surveys may benefit the issues of evaluation and monitoring in South Africa are discussed.

The conclusion brings together the above theoretical and practical insights to make a case for thinking about how we may best move these instrumental pockets of practice into a national antiracism strategy. This discussion suggests that one way in which to develop a responsive national framework is to create a space for collaboration and collectivity between these civil society organisations as well as between government and civil society.

Creating such a shared knowledge project can leverage the strengths of existing strategies and co-design new strategies. This offers exciting possibilities for creating a national South African dialogue around plural rather than purist notions of antiracism. This national dialogue could engage directly with many of the theoretical debates globally and locally around how best to fight racism. It also presents the opportune moment for a detailed discussion on how we can strategically position antiracism and non-racialism as related concepts rather than fixing them into opposing camps. Given that the South African government is busy finalising the NAP against racism, xenophobia and related intolerances (see "Global Antiracism Strategies and Practice" in this publication), there is no better time than the present to mobilise such a collaborative forum.

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Methodology

The research involved a critical review and synthesis of selected South African antiracism strategies and practices initiated by civil society, FBOs, business and the public sector. These strategies were selected through a review of existing research on the topic and an online web search for programmes, organisations and projects that work in this area. I also drew on my own academic network to explore potential organisations for selection. I selected organisations because their mandate is to promote non-racialism or because they run programmes that deal with issues of race, racism and discrimination, both past and present. Other criteria for selection included forms of public dissemination of knowledge, and having pragmatic programmes and projects that promote change around issues of discrimination, including race-based discrimination. All the selected organisations have well-resourced web pages and documentation, enabling a more extensive review process. Documentation collected for review included annual reports, published articles, research reports and other web resources. One weakness in this selection programme is that all the FBOs are based in the Christian faith. I have little doubt that many other faiths have highly valuable projects and programmes that address various needs. These, however, do not have a web presence or do not couch their mandate within the framework of working towards reconciliation, diversity and non-racialism, as the selected Christian organisations do. As will be discussed later, the prevalence of Christian churches in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) continues to tie these FBOs to this framing of social justice. The organisations selected for this scoping paper and their mandates are briefly outlined below:

- The Ahmed Kathrada Foundation:[6] This is an active civil society foundation whose core objective is deepening non-racialism. The AKF's activities include archival collections on liberation histories, and seminars and public lectures which promote and deepen non-racialism. Importantly, the Foundation undertakes, supports and publishes research on race and non-racialism in South Africa.
- The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation:[7] The IJR was launched in 2000 as part of an initiative to develop the transition to democracy after the TRC, with a focus on the grassroots level of communities and towns. It runs a number of programmes, research and publication activities in South Africa, the most well known of which is the African Reconciliation Barometer project. Of particular relevance for this scoping paper is the Building an Inclusive Society Programme, whose mandate is to "promote reconciliation through deep-reaching interventions that focus on dialogue, education, memory and the arts as mechanisms for bridging divides and, ultimately, healing and inclusion". In the past, the IJR also published newsletters dealing specifically with issues of race and discrimination.
- Democracy Development Programme:[8] The DDP is a non-profit organisation that started in 1993. It supports "capacity building on government and civil society levels to ensure that both are empowered for meaningful participation in South Africa's transformation". The DDP uses the Peter Block method of dialogue to facilitate a series of conversations that "emphasises the importance of ownership, commitment, accountability, possibility and dissent".
- South African Human Rights Commission:[9] The SAHRC is mandated by the 1996 South African constitution to support constitutional democracy. Its mandate is to promote human rights across the country "without fear and favour". It also receives and addresses complaints of racism and racial discrimination from members of the public.
- Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy:[10] The CANRAD was launched in 2010 at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

6. http://www.kathradafoundation.org/ (accessed June 2016).
7. http://www.ijr.org.za/index.php (accessed June 2016).
8. http://ddp.org.za/ (accessed June 2016).
9. http://www.sahrc.org.za/home/ (accessed 22 February 2016).
10. http://canrad.nmmu.ac.za/ (accessed June 2016).



Photograph by Heidi Fourie

(NMMU) and "seeks to harness collective institutional capabilities in relation to research, teaching and learning, evidence-based advocacy, and interventions in advancing non-racialism and democracy". It runs the Institutional Culture Immersion Programme for staff and Diversity Month at the university. Besides other research and public forums, it also runs community-level dialogues that tackle issues of race.

- Wits Centre for Diversity Studies:[11] The WiCDS offers a postgraduate programme and courses for the public that centre on the notion of critical diversity studies to "build capacity to meet the challenges of diverse societies, especially in post-apartheid South Africa". The "research and education of the programme is informed by Melissa Steyn's (2007) notion of Critical Diversity Literacy and adapts the concept of 'racial literacy' to embrace other forms of *systemic social oppression,* such as gender, sexuality, and dis/ability".
- Emmanuel Cathedral:[12] This Catholic-based organisation has a mandate of bringing together diverse people in worship. It also runs a number of projects aimed at providing for people's needs, including a large feeding scheme, a clinic, a council for addiction, and assistance with finding temporary shelter. During the 2008/09 xenophobia outbreak, Emmanuel Cathedral offered shelter to many immigrants and was an integral part of the Durban inner-city response to these attacks. It is also home to the Denis Hurley Centre that links with multiple non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations to work for social justice.
- Diakonia Council of Churches:[13] Based in Durban, the DCC is a large Christian FBO that has the "mandate of being change agents in communities and churches in the greater Durban Area", particularly in advocating for social justice. Its projects range from economic issues to gender and environmental justice. Prior to 1994, the DCC actively fought for liberation and against racism and continues this mandate for freedom today. It was a member of the Durban team that hosted the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR). The Diakonia Centre continues to house many non-profit organisations and NGOs that directly tackle forms of discrimination.

11. http://www.wits.ac.za/wicds (accessed June2016).
12. http://emmanuelcathedral.org.za/ (accessed June2016).
13. http://www.diakonia.org.za/ (accessed June2016).



- Institute for Healing of Memories:[14] This FBO focuses on "the healing journey of individuals, communities and nations" that have experienced a divided past, and how these forms of divisions continue to impact on the present. The organisation started with the involvement of its leader in the TRC process. Father Michael Lapsley was active in the liberation struggle and continues to run healing workshops to help build a non-racial South Africa.

Following selection of the organisations, interviews were set up with individuals from some of them. The following interviews were conducted:

- Stanley Henkeman (Head of Programme, Building an Inclusive Society) and Lucretia Arendse (Project Officer: Education for Reconciliation) from the IJR
- Khayum Ahmed (CEO) of the SAHRC
- Allan Zinn (Director) from CANRAD and a member of the Antiracism Network in Higher Education (ARNHE)
- Nomabelu Mvambo-Dandala (Executive Director) from the DCC
- Melissa Steyn (Director) from the WiCDS and current chair of ARNHE
- Father Stephen Tully (Administrator) from Emmanuel Cathedral
- Rama Naidu (Executive Director) from the DDP.

The organisational documentation and interview transcripts provided the necessary data for analysis for this scoping paper. Where interviews were not viable, research and organisational documentation was used for organisations that do, or did, work in this area. In addition, two national business forums were approached for interviews; one declined to participate and the other did not respond to the invitation. The interviews were done in person, with the exception of Allan Zinn's interview, which was telephonic. Interviews were based on a conversational method that centred on the organisations' strategies and their successes and challenges. The participants were also asked to express their views on the key research questions.

14. http://www.healing-memories.org/ (accessed June2016).

Antiracism, theory and practice

Antiracism strategies can be found within civil society organisations, state institutions, FBOs and individual everyday interactions (Bonnett, 2000). Some strategies are directly shaped by the theoretical body of knowledge known as antiracism from the 1980s onwards; others are simply pragmatic actions to reduce racist experiences. It is important to recognise that ideas of racism and how to fight it may well differ between academics, activists and members of the public. A study by Graziella Silva comparing Brazilian and South African professionals illustrates how what she calls "folk conceptualizations of racism" shape individual antiracism strategies. In Silva's interviews with black South African professionals she highlights two dominant causal explanations for racism given by participants. The first is that racism is a part of human nature. The acceptance of racism as part of what humans do is not present within the Brazilian context and Silva argues that this explanation leads to an unconfrontational "antiracism strategy [of] working hard and doing your job … or ignoring racism to save energy for more important things" (Silva, 2012: 514). The historic and contemporary everyday racialisation of South African society has crystallised race into a form of common sense, which may in turn serve to naturalise acts of racism. We are, to put it simply, well trained to make racial distinctions. Perhaps, as David Everatt remarks, "it is barely surprising that citizens think and talk about race when the entire bureaucracy of society, in its state and non-state forms, insists on race as a primary indicator" (2012: 12).

The second explanation for racism was seeing it as a result of economic competition for resources linked to white privilege (Silva, 2012). Participants who took this view saw government affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies as being a necessary rectification against racism and white privilege. These participants were also more likely to "personally confront those they identified as racist in their daily lives" (ibid.: 516). Getting to grips with everyday antiracism strategies and how people identify and explain racism is an important area of study if we are to better understand racism in South Africa. The focus in this paper, however, examines organisational and governmental rather than individual antiracism strategies.

It is interesting to note that in the initial research for this paper only two South African organisations were found that clearly indicate antiracism as part of their mandate – the recent Global Watch initiative that tackles racism in sports, started by the Sexwale Family Foundation in 2014, and the ARNHE. Both these organisations have international influence, ARNHE through the academics who draw on international antiracism and critical race theory in their work, and Global Watch through Tokyo Sexwale's membership of the FIFA 2013 Antiracism Global Task Force. This latter initiative was not selected for review in this paper since it has just been launched and has a global rather than South African focus. The small number of results for antiracism organisations in South Africa differs significantly from searches for European or American organisations, which held many results. While acknowledging that more organisations might exist in South Africa, they are clearly not established enough to have an online presence or to have their projects reported in the media. In part, this may be explained by the fact that, outside of international political and academic corridors, antiracism is a less frequently used concept in the South African context. Non-racialism was historically used as a call for solidarity against racial discrimination.

"It is interesting to note that in the initial research for this paper only two South African organisations were found that clearly indicate antiracism as part of their mandate."

This is not to say that antiracism theories and ideas have no influence in South Africa – they have had, both historically and in the present. Support for the struggle against apartheid was also driven at the international level by antiracist groupings. These included Halt All Racist Tours, the anti-apartheid movement in a number of countries, the UN declaration of apartheid as a crime against humanity, and cultural boycotts by individuals. As discussed in the following section, some of the concepts and tensions found within antiracism are mirrored in debates on non-racialism in South Africa.

Antiracism is not a single philosophical position nor does it provide a formulaic set of strategies from which to fight racism. Broadly, it is about social justice and equality, particularly, but not exclusively, in relation to race and racism. Antiracism movements in the 1980s within Europe and the US pushed for recognition of structural and institutional racism in societies, and "promoted cultural tolerance and the celebration of cultural difference as modes of struggling against racism" (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002: 6). The focus on power relations and institutional racism remains an important contemporary focus within antiracism discourse. Underpinned by ideas of social justice, antiracism theory should move beyond an explanation for prejudice to providing an analysis of strategic tools to fight racism (Räthzel, 2002). However, as Jacqueline Nelson (2015) acknowledges, the literature that directly deals with effective antiracism projects, particularly at a local level, is scarce. Despite extensive academic theorising on race, racialism, non-racialism and racism in South Africa, there is little analytical work that transforms theoretical insights into a strategic praxis to dismantle both racialism and racism (Everatt, 2012).

Typically, practical antiracism strategies include "corrective action … in relation to special categories of the disadvantaged" (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002: 7); educational interventions aimed at revealing the workings of racism and white privilege (Bonnett, 2000; Carrim, 1998; Nelson, 2015); addressing prejudice through "making white people aware of their own racism" (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002: 7); and "developing positive image" strategies for people who are "racially excluded" (Bonnett, 2000: 100). Many of the civil society organisations selected for this paper, as well as national government responses, incorporate elements of these ideas. Antiracist strategies often take a rationalist interventionist approach of targeted educational programmes for different groupings within different contexts (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002). Usually this takes place in workshop-type forums that address individual attitudes and prejudices, where participants can exercise "the empathetic imagination" (Bonnett, 2000: 95). Many of the organisations in this study use a similar model of workshopping and dialogue, and the strengths and weaknesses of this will be unpacked. The focus on individual attitudes, while important, can distract from critical reflections on institutional and structural racism as argued for in the antiracism literature (Pedersen, Walker and Wise, 2005). The strength of antiracism is the demand to speak openly about racism in public forums. This direct confrontation challenges the tendency of denialism of racism in some societies (Nelson, 2015). For scholars such as Nelson, this is still a necessity in the Australian case, since without acknowledging racism you cannot expose how race-blindness serves to maintain racial inequalities (ibid.).

In the early 1990s, antiracism theory and movements came under intense criticism in Europe and the US. Unsurprisingly, some of this criticism came from the conservative right, but it was also critiqued from within the ranks of leftist and social justice scholars. One of the contentions was a tendency to essentialise race within the antiracism movement. Antiracism theory, particularly in the US, argued that in order to tackle racism you required the continuous development of "race-conscious policies" (Winant, 2002: 6). Some scholars accepted that "race-conscious" policies might be a relevant strategic tool within specific contexts but argued for caution and the importance of recognising other ways to fight racism (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002). This caution lay in how lobbying for racial categories and race-based policies contributed to static notions of race and identity. Policing what it meant to be black and how to fight against racism at times served to maintain other power hierarchies around gender and sexuality (Hall, 1996). The politics of identity within antiracism movements also focused on whether white antiracist activists and theorists should contribute to certain aspects of the struggle, since "white people

cannot fully escape acting in a whitely manner" and hence may have tendencies to dominate platforms in ways that dismiss the concerns of black activists (Matthews, 2012: 176). It was argued that white activists needed to raise consciousness of prejudices and privilege among white communities rather than working directly to "liberate" black people. These debates resonated with the 1970s' black consciousness movements in South Africa, where Steve Biko made similar critical observations about white liberals (Biko, 1987[1972]).

British scholars in particular wrote against hard lines of difference and justification for separation that they saw as prevalent in both the right and left in Europe, including within the antiracism movement (Räthzel, 2002). The UK had experienced a failed multiculturalism project that fixed cultural differences through a sterile celebration of diversity. This model presented authentic cultural "regimes" and diminished people's opportunities to traverse cultural identities and reshape notions of self-identity. This policy framework, Anne Phillips (2007: 14) argued, acted as a "cultural straitjacket" rather than "cultural liberator". Europe was also experiencing increasing forms of discrimination around immigration, leading Nora Räthzel (2002: 8) to warn antiracist scholars and activists to note how philosophies "used to argue for separation and against migration should make everyone think twice who believes difference per se could be liberating or subversive". Given the anti-Irish and anti-Cypriot discrimination on the continent, many European writers argued against "the privileging of colour racism over other forms of racism" (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002: 6–7). Scholars Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant (1999) took issue with what they saw as the Americanisation of antiracism that pushed internationally a narrow black/white identity polarity and concentrated on racial demographics and race-based policies. Nazir Carrim (1998: 317) raised similar concerns that "the bipolarity between homogenised groups of 'blacks' and 'whites', so consistent within both racist and anti-racist logic, is untenable within the South African situation". Racial homogenisation, he argued, is premised on problematic habits shaped during apartheid that present racial categories as having fixed cultural forms. The entanglement of race and culture creates dangerous forms of multiculturalism that plaster over "intra-black" dynamics and paint stereotypical ideals of difference *between* racial groups while demanding uniformity *within* racial categories (ibid.). From the 1990s, antiracism scholars increasingly grappled with how to avoid essentialism of culture, race and ethnicity while maintaining the fight against racism (Räthzel, 2002).

Directly challenging the ontological bind of racialising society through antiracist efforts, scholars such as Paul Gilroy (2000) and Kwame Anthony Appiah (1989, 1990) offered alternative strategies to move towards a more equal and just society. Fighting against racism without essentialising race called for the active denaturalising of race and demands for social justice for all. These theories argued for recognising complexity and fluidity within multiple identities, and warned against the dangerous terrain

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of fixing race that occurs even within counter-hegemonic movements. As will be discussed later, some strands of non-racialism in South Africa take a similar strategic trajectory to fighting racial discrimination. Gilroy's and Appiah's concepts of cosmopolitanism and humanism were, however, critiqued for presenting a "post-race" paradigm that failed to take account of the heavily racialised present. These critiques were primarily concerned with the universalist nature of these concepts. Ideals such as cosmopolitanism can silence and dismiss claims of racism through creating a moral and legal rhetoric of togetherness that enables the discriminatory practices of the dominant classes (Robotham, 2005). For example, Nelson (2015) states that the national ideal of harmony used by the Australian government portrays Australia as a non-racist state. This rhetoric in turn serves to suppress claims of and discussions on racism as these are seen as counter to the national agenda.

While recognising the fear of diluting the fight against racism, strategic antiracism approaches cannot ignore how racism is supported through capitalist, patriarchal and other systems of exploitation; "they all sort of interlock and hold each other in place" (Melissa Steyn interview, December 2014). Acknowledging the complexities of racism requires entering "a zone of indistinctiveness, where we are no longer sure that we are indeed theorising about racism, and not about other, very general phenomena with a number of historical and sociological illustrations" (Balibar, 2005: 21). For George Dei (2000: 40), this "'new epistemology' of anti-racism" is a necessary "praxical understanding of multiple oppressions [that] must create the possibilities for transforming society". Without such articulations, the strengths (and weaknesses) of the grip of racialism and racism into the present would be difficult to fathom.

Conceptual frameworks rooted in "interaction", "entanglement", "integration" and "intimacy" have been used to draw attention to frequently neglected dimensions of South Africa's history. These debates within the field of antiracism highlighted the need to address complexities of intersecting identities within antiracism theory and practice (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002). If taken seriously, this ensures collaboration between a wide array of social actors and activists, where antiracism is not conceptualised as having a singular focus on race. An antiracism that acknowledges the dangers of creating fixed theoretical positions requires spaces of collaborative pedagogy and solidarity (Dei, 2000). The anti-apartheid movements in South Africa often formed such collaborative spaces through collective protests and mobilisations across various issue-based organisations (Seidman, 1999). While these protests consisted of divergent groupings, there was solidarity in fighting for a better and equal society. One of the epistemological shifts in antiracism theory has been thinking beyond what to fight against and thinking carefully about the "type of society that would be fought for" (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002: 7).

Contemporary theorising of antiracism is also cognisant of how nationalism, transnationalism



and the global dominance of neoliberalism shape discourses of racism and antiracism (ibid.; Bonnett, 2006). It is critical, Alastair Bonnett argues, to "place anti-racism within the choppier realms of geopolitical change or struggle" (2006: 1087). Since the end of the 1990s, many antiracist organisations have included issues of discrimination against migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002). This expanded concept is evident in the UN call for countries that signed the Durban Declaration to design NAPs against racism, xenophobia and related intolerances (UN Department of Public Information, 2002). Indeed, the internationalisation of antiracism has resulted in some interesting critiques around the dominant "counter-authority" of American antiracism and how easily it has been recuperated as marketable capital (Bonnett, 2006). Antiracism movements had long argued that structural racial inequality means that "competition for economic and symbolic resources drives racism, [hence] a more equal division of resources and power could probably reduce racism" (Silva, 2012: 515). Indeed, the UN guidelines on writing up a NAP against racism recommend affirmative action policies or special measures and the collection of racial demographics (OHCHR, 2014). Neoliberal economic policies are able to consume such antiracism ideals when racism is seen as obstructing access to new and developing markets. Bonnet (2006: 1091) argues that we should be very wary when the collection of racial statistics and race-based development policy "is institutionalised by transnational capital". He warns that ethnic and racial markers are converted into social and economic capital masquerading as inclusion and participation. In addition, in "full consumer society", resistance and hegemony can form close relationships where "images of rebellion, escape and liberation are integrated into capitalism's ideological repertoire", maintaining capitalist class hegemonies (ibid.). In South Africa, the history of entanglement of race, class and culture demands careful analysis in thinking through possible antiracism strategies that do not uphold gross class inequalities.

What makes a racial ideology dominant at a particular period in time and how these hegemonic discourses are challenged through antiracist mobilisation requires a contextualised analysis. In South Africa, it would be a mistake to analyse racial ideologies as a set of stable ideas from colonialism through apartheid to the non-racialism and multiracialism of democracy. Racial ideologies, and responses to them, cut through, build on and diverge from one another depending on the historical and socioeconomic context. Racism, even in the form of manifestations that draw on discredited scientific discourses of biological difference, is certainly present in contemporary South Africa. Likewise, ideas of multiracialism, non-racialism and cosmopolitan or humanist sensibilities existed in pockets during the colonial and apartheid periods. Conflicting ideologies about race often coexist within society and within the individual (Appiah, 1990). Likewise, ideas and practices related to antiracism exist across various times, traditions and geographies (Bonnett, 2000). Arguing for a form of antiracist "purism" offers little value as a strategic tool to dismantle racism (Wieviorka in Bonnet, 2006: 1087). For example, Sally Matthews (2012: 173) argues that forms of white domination have shifted in contemporary South Africa so that "anti-racist strategies which were effective in opposing white supremacy may well be less effective in opposing white privilege". Racism has a "large range of repertoires" from which to draw (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002: 8). The fluidity and resourcefulness of racism to rearticulate requires an equally flexible and responsive antiracism movement that is able to attend to the "complexity of particular contexts" without losing sight of the broader issues within this field (ibid.).

"Racism, even in the form of manifestations that draw on discredited scientific discourses of biological difference, is certainly present in contemporary South Africa."



Photograph by Mark Momberg

Antiracism and non-racialism in South Africa

The above debates and epistemological tensions within broader antiracism theory closely align to debates on non-racialism in South Africa. Like antiracism, non-racialism is not a neatly packaged concept; it is at best fuzzily understood and often takes on divergent meanings. Yet its elevation to a constitutional principle shapes civil society's and government's responses to racism and firmly embeds it in the country's social imagination. The powerful symbol of non-racialism has been described as the "unbreakable thread" in South African resistance politics (Frederikse, 1990), used to mobilise both within and outside of the African National Congress (ANC). During the anti-apartheid struggle, "non-racialism" was the "rally cry of the Congress Alliance and United Democratic Front" (Everatt, 2012: 7). This rally cry assisted in bringing together diverse anti-apartheid organisations, from the trade unions to the South African Communist Party. It was not, however, a concept free from conflict and tensions. The meaning assigned to this unifying ideal was often contested. As Nhlanhla Ndebele (2002: 145) argues, "there were many issues around the question of open membership within the ANC that, taken together, indicate that a commitment to non-racialism was far from being an 'unbreakable thread'". For example, the ANC only opened membership to "non-Africans" involved in the struggle in 1969 (ibid.: 134). It was a long-contested process before "non-racialism undoubtedly sat at the heart of the ANC's anti-apartheid struggle" (AKF, 2013: 7).

The AKF's 2013 paper, *The ANC: Still a Home for All? Non-Racialism and the African National Congress: Views from Branch Members*, provides a fascinating look at the multiple ways in which non-racialism continues to be understood at ANC branch level. Its predominant form is equality between races (multiracialism) but it is also perceived as "not seeing colour at all" (ibid.: 12). While branch members are able to commit to this ideal despite different understandings, many members acknowledge that, in practice, there are "significant problems with race relations within the ANC, at all levels" (ibid.: 13). Two further research studies by the AKF – the first a large nationwide study on non-racialism using citizen focus groups,[15] and the second, interviews with various leaders within government and civil society – illustrate that non-racialism means different things to different people. In these studies non-racialism is variously equated to multiracialism, multiculturalism, nation building, race and race-blindness.[16]

15. See Everatt (2014) on the findings and analysis of this study.
16. See Bass et al. (2012) for an analysis of how the focus group data indicate a merging of multiracialism and multiculturalism.



Photograph by Zinhle Masinga



Photograph by Nzolo Bidla

Despite these divergent perspectives, the points of tension around non-racialism frequently parallel those in antiracism debates outlined earlier. Non-racialism in South Africa is used as an "ideological force to promote reconciliation and nation-building" (Ndebele, 2002: 133). Here non-racialism as a national ideal is similar to multiculturalism in the UK, and harmony and non-racism in Australia. While unifying to a point, political ideals such as these can serve to protect untransformative policies with a moral glow that is detached from any real economic restructuring (Abrahams, 2012; Beall, Gelb and Hassim, 2005). In this form, non-racialism is useful for political window dressing rather than for addressing racism (c.f. Nelson, 2015). David Theo Goldberg (2009: 529) has argued further that non-racialism in South Africa serves to push for a liberal race-blindness that disallows talk on race while simultaneously reproducing the "structural imprint" of racial discrimination. In the AKF focus group study mentioned above, understandings of non-racialism appear to confirm Goldberg's concerns, where "non-racialism emerges from the focus groups as oddly divorced from power, from economics, and even from racism" (Everatt, 2012: 25).

Other parallels between the South African and international context are concerns around the possibilities of racial essentialism in the fight against racism. Racialism and racism are ideologies that have undeniably shaped South African history. Besides the formal racist policies of apartheid, countless informal and personal daily interactions contribute to race-making and discrimination in the everyday. Many of these continue to entrench the dominant racial narrative of difference in South Africa (Erwin, 2012; Maré, 2001). Whilst a focus on race is appropriate, it can obscure other forms of social hierarchy and systems of discrimination. One such intersection with race that cannot be ignored is that of class. Class and race are intimately woven into the history of our country through the establishment and growth of capitalism in South Africa (see, e.g., Posel, 1983). Antiracist agendas that focus too narrowly on race through demanding its primacy in all social relations risk leaving untouched the class underpinnings that serve to naturalise race.

Since the templates of *racialism* remain firmly embedded in contemporary legislation, policy and official and public discourse this narrow focus is frequently found in South Africa.

Since the transition to democracy in 1994, there appears to have been little urgency to denaturalise race. The reproduction of race categories and classification in South African society is of concern in this regard (Alexander, 2013[1989]; Erasmus, 2010; Maré, 2001). For scholars such as Zimitri Erasmus (2010: 2), there is a problematic tendency to "conflate race categories with their social effects". She argues for dismantling "the lens of race so what lives behind race can be revealed with a view to disrupting underlying structures of privilege, rather than simply tinkering with or compensating for their outcomes" (ibid.: 50). In South Africa, where the idea of race is at times used as a tool to fight against racism, shattering this lens is not often considered an antiracist strategy. Crain Soudien (2013: 1) argues that both naïve race-blindness and the desire to redeem race as a "mediating concept" for engaging white privilege weaken the project of antiracism in South Africa. In the 1970s, Biko's ideas of black consciousness were "strategically essentialist" and ideas of mobilisation through racial identities are still resonant in contemporary South Africa (ibid.: 29). Entrenching race, however, no matter the rationale for its use, cannot discard how race continues to act as a "diminution of one's human complexity" (ibid.). Soudien's sophisticated argument that "unlearning weak logics open[s] one up to seeing the world in entirely new ways" is compelling (ibid.: 33).

Soudien points to possibilities for this unlearning. Influenced by the Unity Movement debates in the 1970s and 1980s, one aspect of the South African intellectual history of non-racialism has an "explicit anti-racial register" (ibid.). This tradition takes as its starting point a socialist activism against the oppression of the race–class nexus. Here the doctrine of race, and not just racism, is seen as foundational to capitalist oppression. The concerns with leaving race itself unchallenged extend beyond the caution against essentialism in early antiracism debates. Leaving race as a naturalised template in society reproduces the mechanisms of exploitation and oppression (Gillespie, 2010). Classification frameworks are "powerful technologies" which do the "invisible" work of putting people into place (Bowker and Star, 2000: 147). Neville Alexander, who has done much to develop the Unity Movement's ideas for the post-apartheid context, argues that this reading of non-racialism provides "nuanced, principled anti-oppressive action that we should look [to] for ways of furthering our work against racism, and its attendant forms of exclusion" (in Gillespie, 2010: 75). This reading of non-racialism "cannot be folded into neoliberalism, or even liberalism" as critics such as Goldberg suggest (ibid.: 62).

Counter-arguments to the call for critically dismantling ideas of race can be intensely emotive. Scholars actively writing for the denaturalization of race and a critical non-racialism are at times interpreted as "demoniz[ing] the employment of racial categories, underemphasiz[ing] or silenc[ing] white advantage, and vilify[ing] policies that attempt to redress racial inequality" (Milazzo, 2015: 8). Marzia Milazzo, an American scholar, writes that "the terms 'nonracialism', mainly used in the South African context, and 'colorblindness', used more frequently in the United States, have become de facto interchangeable" (ibid.). Most of these critiques lumping non-racialism into a singular race-blind concept come from American theoretical influences. This raises similar concerns to those highlighted by Bonnett (2006), Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999) and others on the internationalisation of theory on race and racism that is shaped by a dominant American discourse. As with all sites of knowledge production, including those focusing on anti-discrimination, power relations within the field need analysis.

Using non-racialism in contemporary South Africa as a broad mobilisation against economic exclusion holds strategic potential for fighting racism (Abrahams, 2012). Without corresponding substantive programmes that address South Africa's deep inequality, the fight against racism can too easily be reduced to "a study of relationship, cohesion and (inter)personal behaviour" (ibid.: 224). Many antiracism interventions have been criticised for tackling racism through interpersonal dialogues that are detached from structures of inequality (Goldberg, 2009; Pedersen et al., 2005). Yet in the face of the gross economic inequalities in South Africa, targeting interventions at the level of individual

prejudice and experiences of discrimination may be seen as one of the only viable avenues for antiracist organisations, particularly for those that feel they do not have sufficient agency to action the overhaul of government policy and state institutions necessary to shift structural economic disparities. If non-racialism was used as a "proactive attack on the socio-economic basis of racism and race-based inequality" (Everatt, 2012: 9), the scope for antiracism strategies may broaden to include diverse interventions which could strengthen rather than dilute the fight against racism. This would align more closely with how antiracism movements elsewhere have expanded to include a fight against xenophobia and related intolerances.

During the liberation struggle, non-racialism was learned through the messy practice of mobilising diverse organisations to fight against state oppression (Kathrada, 2012; c.f. Dei, 2000). While the fight *against* is a powerful unifier, Alexander (2013[1989]: 5) reminds us that being non-racial or antiracist is "much more than not being this or being against that … being non-racial or anti-racist means being *for* something". Recognising the importance of what we are fighting for and not just what we are fighting *against* was a concern echoed by antiracist theorists in Europe in the early 2000s (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002). A productive conversation on how ideas of antiracism and non-racialism relate to each other in South Africa is much needed. Falling into political polemics that pit these concepts as antithesis to each other would be to ignore the long academic and activist debates on the futility of this from both within and outside of South Africa. Writing in the UK context, Joshua Paul (2014: 702) argues against a complete dismissal of ideas of post-racial societies in relation to antiracism, and for the usefulness of imagining what these societies may be so that we can work "with and against race in anti-racism". There is immense value in thinking through how ideas of non-racialism as a future vision may shape more collaborative, responsive and dynamic current antiracism strategies; how they may serve as what Achille Mbembe calls the necessary *horizon* for antiracism theories and practices within the South African context (ARNSA, 2015b).

The organisations selected in this study are acutely aware of what it means to work within this difficult context of complex economic and social inequalities. To quote Reverend Ian Booth from the DCC: "we have a struggle which is conceivably larger and more difficult to wage than against apartheid – the struggle against poverty" (DCC, 2014). What is of interest is that these organisations do not appear to find the ambiguities and complexities of race in South Africa an obstacle to taking action. Intersectionality and the nexus of multiple forms of oppression are directly addressed as part of tackling issues of race. These organisations' pragmatic approach means learning what a negotiated form of togetherness means through *doing* at a very grassroots level. Much of the doing outlined in the following section is targeted at broader issues of inequality and discrimination, where race emerges *in situ* rather than as a targeted intervention focusing only on prejudice.

The next section examines some of the more well-known government actions against racism since 1994, and then moves on to an examination of the strategies used by selected civil society, non-governmental and faith-based organisations during this period. The diverse ways of thinking about race, racism, antiracism and non-racialism in South Africa discussed in this section influence government and civil society organisations' responses to racism. Underpinning the praxis in these organisations are various understandings of multiracialism, non-racialism, critical race studies, black consciousness, antiracism and liberation theology. Against the backdrop of the theoretical debates outlined above, this paper now turns to the selected organisations' pragmatic interventions and approaches.

"We have a struggle which is conceivably larger and more difficult to wage than against apartheid – the struggle against poverty."

Antiracism strategies and practices in post-apartheid South Africa

The remarkable achievement of a democratic order was the first measure of antiracism in the post-1994 period. South Africa immediately ratified the UN's 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The Convention confirmed that any racial doctrine of superiority and inferiority is "scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous" (United Nations Human Rights Office of the Human Commissioner, 1969). Following this, the 1996 constitution signified the defeat of apartheid, a system recognised as a crime against humanity. Schedule 7 of the constitution listed the apartheid laws that were repealed, such as the Population Registration Act (already withdrawn in 1991), and with them their racially discriminatory and racist content and intent.[17] Chapter 9 institutions such as the SAHRC were set up to guard against human rights abuses and create avenues for recourse and social justice. Racism is now legally proscribed, such as in the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (No. 4 of 2000), which prohibits

> 7. *(a)* the dissemination of any propaganda or idea, which propounds the racial superiority or inferiority of any person, including incitement to, or participation in, any form of racial violence; … (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2000).

The constitutional provisions and legislation changes in South Africa should not be underestimated. As Carrim (1998: 307) states, they "ensure that anti-racist measures are supported legally with the full backing of the state itself". In addition, the democratic-led ANC government implemented affirmative action, and later BEE policies aimed at tackling the unequal distribution of wealth towards white South Africans within the economy. Policy strategies such as these are often advocated as necessary antiracism and anti-discrimination measures (OHCHR, 2014; Silva, 2012). As discussed previously, they also form part of the critique of antiracism from the political right and left, both in South Africa and elsewhere. On the whole, measures to deal with racism in South Africa after democracy tended to remain within the borders of a legal and policy response.

Even the TRC, the most well-known reconciliation project after 1994 and arguably a remarkable achievement that contributed towards a "peaceful" transition, embodied this intensely legal approach. With a heavy focus on individual testimonies, many feel that this process offered perpetrators an easy way out of taking responsibility for the atrocities committed.[18] Nahla Valji (2004) observes that, given the acute racialised organisational principle of South Africa's past, the TRC was "ironically silent on the issue of race" and "this silence is evidenced in the nature of the reconciliation it has achieved today". The focus on individual stories also meant that systemic and institutional oppression was largely left unanalysed (Mamdani, 2002). In Silva's (2012) study on black professionals, the most frequent explanation for racism is that it is part of human nature, thereby ignoring the reproduction of institutional and structural discrimination. While legal frameworks and policy against discrimination and human rights abuse are a necessary and important task, it is not sufficient. For Jane Duncan (2012: 1), "the ANC's cardinal error – informed by errors in its theory of national unity – was to assume that they could legislate the nation into being, without creating the material conditions for South Africans to experience a common identity". As Kayum Ahmed, then CEO of the SAHRC, recognises, lawyers' skill sets offer a limited approach to matters of discrimination (interview, December 2014).

17. To appreciate the extent of race-based discriminatory and racist legislation, it is useful to turn to publications produced by the South African Institute of Race Relations, such as by Muriel Horrell (1978, 1982), the first of which also provides a summary overview from 1909 to 1948.
18. See, e.g., IJR (2012) for how conversations on this play out in school classrooms.





Following the TRC, the WCAR held in Durban in 2001 appeared to generate a renewed drive by the South African government to focus on issues of racism. South Africa signed the Durban Declaration, which "recognizes that combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is a primary responsibility of States" (UN Department of Public Information, 2002: 82). However, 14 years after the signing of the Durban Declaration, one of its obligations, a NAP against racism and related intolerance, remains in draft form (see "Global Antiracism Strategies and Practice" in this publication). The delayed process of developing a draft plan indicates, according to the SAHRC, a lack of commitment to this project (SAHRC, 2012). There is also a lack of commitment more broadly towards international obligations in this area. For example, South Africa is now four years overdue on its fourth, fifth and sixth periodic reports to the UN's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Furthermore, it has declined two requests by the UN's Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance to visit the country on fact-finding missions (Human Rights Council, 2014a). The South African government's pragmatic response to address racism has been partial at best. However, the country is not alone in this omission. Writing in 2006 on reconciliation in South Africa and Australia, Vicki Crowley and Julie Matthews state that:

> Reconciliation's official location within the rubric of state intervention is over – yet its work is clearly incomplete. In both contexts too reconciliation served as a rhetorical "rallying point", an agreement that something has happened which requires the demolition of previous colonial "truths" (Jacobs, 1997), and yet it is not clear how previous colonial histories can be destroyed or supplanted. (2006: 271)



Photographs by Christina Culwick

Given the difficulty of imagining a radically different society within the confines of the present, it is perhaps not surprising that the government took a legislative approach. The diminishing sense of urgency to address discrimination beyond a legalistic approach has political implications. Primarily, it makes empty words of a growing list of rhetorical devices such as "rainbow nation", "non-racialism" and, more recently, the call for social cohesion. If government is providing guidance and programmes that actively address how these forms of togetherness are meant to happen in a profoundly unequal and fragmented society, they are not widely known or lack visibility in popular perceptions. While acknowledging that some may exist, this lack of visibility leads Everatt (2012: 16) to argue that "it has been left to South Africans themselves to try and muddle their way across racially defined residential segregation, centuries of colonial exploitation, the legacy of Bantu education and any number of other potentially lethal social landmines to try and find one another". As early as 2001, a participant in a Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation workshop stated that,

> People are tired of the national propaganda of reconciliation. They say "Yes, there are still issues ..." but they don't respond. So who is driving the reconciliation agenda? In another way maybe it can still be "sold" to the communities, maybe as diversity, or anti-racism, transformation, moral reconstruction, but then those terms are not taken seriously anymore either. (Kayser, 2001)

It states the obvious to say that eradicating racist laws and frameworks does not automatically result in related changes in attitudes and habits (Matthews, 2012). There have been some attempts by government to address attitudes, especially in the educational sector, which will be discussed in the following section. Overall, it is difficult to find any literature or reports on government-designed social programmes

addressing racism aimed at various sectors in society. Government actions and institutional practices serve to affirm, enable and/or deny forms of social identities (Alexander, 2007). While the government is certainly not absolved from this responsibility, it would be simplistic to argue that the state alone can drastically shift ideologies in society.

What of other actors in society? How have civil society, NGOs and FBOs attempted to navigate this terrain? All the organisations selected for this study see it as their responsibility to maintain a sense of urgency around inequality and discrimination in the minds of the public. This is usually through public dissemination, such as public lectures and debates on reconciliation and inequality. It could include academic conferences such as the Doing Human conference hosted by WiCDS in 2015 (Wits University, 2015), or open public lectures on race and non-racialism held by the AKF, and CANRAD's Community Dialogues and Difficult Dialogues where they partner with the local newspaper to run public discussions touching on the "failure of the state and race and class" (Allan Zinn interview, December 2014). Many of these organisations also engage in research projects that deal with issues of race. With very few exceptions, they freely publish their lectures and research reports online, building a growing set of resources for use by other researchers and interested organisations. Some also have active social media platforms that reach wide audiences, such as the AKF Facebook page and the IJR's Reconciliation Barometer blog site, and in the case of the DDP, a community radio programme to raise critical issues on democracy and citizenship. FBOs also hold public dialogues on these issues, at times in secular settings through public talks by their leaders (e.g., the annual lectures given by the Institute for Healing of Memories). There are also religion-based activities such as the Christians Unite against Racism/*Amakrestu Abambisene Ekuchitheni Ukucwasana* procession convened by the DCC in 2001 in support of the WCAR. The DCC (2001) also published and distributed a pamphlet in both isiZulu and English titled "Ideas for Action to End Racism" that listed 10 practical ideas that could be used by people in their everyday thinking and interactions.

Besides keeping the issues of race and discrimination alive in the public arena, many of these organisations have more targeted and specific programmes, projects and interventions. Two cross-cutting themes emerge across these activities: the first is a focus on young people and the role of education in shifting how people think and act in society; the second is the use of dialogue, narratives or storytelling as a method to promote change.

"Besides keeping the issues of race and discrimination alive in the public arena, many of these organisations have more targeted and specific programmes, projects and interventions."

The possibilities of education as a mechanism for change

The role of education in fighting racism is a cross-cutting theme running through these organisational strategies. This echoes the use of education in antiracism practice internationally.[19] In the AKF focus group study and the leadership study on non-racialism, the role of education was frequently raised in relation to addressing discrimination and building a new society (AKF, 2012; Everatt, 2012). Commenting on the findings of the focus group report, Caryn Abrahams (2012: 118) notes that "there was one overwhelmingly similar response: the achievement of a South Africa in which race is not the primary way of regarding each other is best left to the next generation". Romanticising "untainted" youth as able to transcend a troubled past is not an unusual response in transitional societies. There seems to be a desire to imagine that prejudice and inequality will effortlessly be bred out of the system, although, as Abrahams (ibid.: 116) astutely points out, this desire may appear "the only available option in such an uncertain socio-political climate". Here it may be useful to stop and think about the collective burden we are placing on this constantly moving target of the "next generation", particularly in terms of unrealistic expectations under conditions of continued inequality and an intensely racialised adult world. A facilitator at the Institute for Healing of Memories states: "if we're going to change our world, we have to start with our children", although she immediately recognises that the adult workshops "help people who have gone through pain, hurt and trauma to deal with their issues, so that it doesn't get transferred onto their children" (IHOM, 2014: 3). Within educational research, parents are frequently seen as an obstacle to shifting students' attitudes in the classroom (Pillay, 2014; SAHRC, 1999).

Educational strategies can be radical social interventions for proactive social engineering, making them frequently used strategies in antiracism movements worldwide (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002; Bonnett, 2000; Nelson, 2015). Steyn argues for "critical diversity literacy in schools … introducing it from Grade R and we can introduce it in age-specific ways … we can win many of the children through school education" (Melissa Steyn interview, December 2014). In a 2012 newspaper article, Jonathan Jansen wrote that young people who come together in educational settings are already practising cohesion with positive spin-offs independently from the stagnating conversations about race and social cohesion in government. A careful look at everyday praxis may well illustrate that the imagined non-racial future already exists in pockets in the present, and often in unexpected ways and places. These pockets should certainly be highlighted as spaces of learning and nurtured wherever possible. However, the challenge is how to move these experiences into the mainstream rather than them remaining isolated glimmers of hope.

In 1995 the then Minister of Education Kader Asmal undertook an overhaul of the South African school syllabus. This became known as Curriculum 2005 and represented a "historic departure from the apartheid curriculum which was steeped in racism and exclusion" (OHCHR, 2001: 13). Yet in a 1998 study on antiracism in schools, Carrim (1998: 318) raised concern that there was "no nationally instituted antiracist programme or package which has been put into place [and] no structured, co-ordinated programmes to help teachers cope with multiracial/ cultural/lingual/ ability classrooms". A more detailed research report by the SAHRC, titled *Racism, "Racial Integration" and Desegregation in South African Public Secondary Schools* (1999), articulates the widespread racism that continued in schools after 1994. It too points out the problematic lack "of direction and assistance by the education authorities" for schools to deal with issues of racism, sexism and discrimination (ibid.: vii). Of concern, too, are the vague social justice goals written into Curriculum 2005 that enable

19. See the section in this report entitled 'Global antiracism strategies and practice' on the way in which many countries mention education strategies in their NAPs.

"Relying on individual schools to design antiracism measures may address the particularities of the specific school context but it also raises serious concerns about the effectiveness of transforming the school system as a whole."

multiple interpretations of justice and equality without specifically naming racism or unpacking the nature of structural racism in the country (ibid.). The report suggests recommendations for both policy changes and antiracism education programmes for teachers, students and parents.

Outside of the national curriculum, "the displacement of race, gender, ethnicity, religious identities and sexual disposition" has moved "away from the central state to the institutional site of the school" (Sayed and Soudien, 2005: 124), in effect leaving school management and governing bodies able to interpret how best to instil the values in the Bill of Rights. In 2000, a review of the national curriculum was commissioned and reported a lack of historical content. The review noted that "history was critical to the development of tolerance in students, and was equally critical in dispelling racist myths" (OHCHR, 2001: 13). In an effort to rectify this, history was strengthened in the curriculum and various antiracist and human rights teachings were embedded throughout the curriculum (ibid.). There was also an initial partnership with a civil society organisation called Street Law that combined "university-level training with outreach to schools". University law students taught modules on legal rights at schools across the country using materials on "tolerance, transparency, accountability, [and] representation" (ibid.).

The impact of these curriculum shifts is ambiguous. In the 1999 SAHRC report, the incidents of racism in schools are noted as an area of frequent complaints to the Commission. In a 2014 interview with the CEO of the SAHRC, he confirmed the continuation of this pattern (Kayum Ahmed interview, December 2014; SAHRC, 1999). Undoubtedly, racism in schools remains an issue. Teachers and principals interviewed for a 2014 study of former "Model C" schools acknowledged that racism existed and was not dealt with sufficiently (Pillay, 2014). While some schools had implemented independent antiracism projects, such as dedicating the school year to learning about racism and how to fight it, as well as targeting education of parents, there was in general a level of "ignorance of how to deal with it, largely as a result of fear, ignorance and denial" (ibid.: 159). Relying on individual schools to design antiracism measures may address the particularities of the specific school context but it also raises serious concerns about the effectiveness of transforming the school system as a whole. These strategies may only be implemented in schools in which there are staff who believe it important to confront racism. It also means that schools have to mobilise additional resources in order to implement such projects and educational programmes. This is deeply problematic in the context of continued disparities in education *delivery* and experiences within the country. In 2014, a SAHRC supplement in the *Mail & Guardian* reported an illiteracy rate of 51% in the bottom 50% of schools in South Africa, compared with 10% in the top 50% of schools (Spaull, 2014).

Dealing with racism in the classroom requires a commitment to educational programmes for teachers. The case from a school in the Free State, explained below by the CEO of the SAHRC, gives a chilling account of how teachers rather than curriculum can shape classroom experiences, how underutilised the SAHRC remains as an avenue for recourse, and the tacit acceptance of racism in South African society:



Photograph by Mitchell Hollander

> [A] teacher had the old South African flag in the front of his classroom, he would go around holding up a mirror to kids in the classroom and then the kids out of fear had to say, else he would shout at them, "you see a baboon, you see a kaffir, you see a monkey". This is something he would say to the kids in the class. Then a complaint was lodged with us and we interviewed the kids. Eighty-one per cent of the children said "we told our parents what was happening". Only one parent decided to lodge a complaint with the Commission. What was interesting about the case was that in a school in which the overwhelming majority of teachers are white and students are black, it was a white parent of white children who lodged a complaint with the Commission. The black parents remained silent, and their kids were the ones being targeted. So while that narrative shows the courage of those white kids and their father to lodge a complaint with the Commission, even under pressure not to do so by the school, it is also a narrative of the continuation of the disempowerment of black people in South Africa and their silence and voicelessness, the inability to speak out, even when racism is something that happens to them directly. (Kayum Ahmed interview, December 2014)

In the above case, the teacher was eventually dismissed from the school, but that it took a formal complaint to the SAHRC before the school took action reiterates the ineffectiveness of leaving it up to individual schools to handle antiracism education. Likewise, if teachers are underprepared to deal with and unsupported in fighting against racism, they may simply ignore gross discrimination to the severe detriment of the victimised students. Lucretia Arendse from the IJR's Teaching Respect for All Programme gives an example of this in the excerpt below. This Programme uses teacher-generated case studies of classroom incidents of discrimination and lack of respect which teachers felt ill-equipped to handle, or handled well, as a discussion point for educator focus groups:

> I had one incident of race in the Eastern Cape but that story is not documented or in the case studies. I had seven schools represented and they said it was happening in six of the seven schools, so … previously those schools were so-called coloured schools, so you know there were black learners coming in and even disabled learners and so the coloured learners in the food line would discriminate, would fight, would push out, would say to the black learners "this was our school you don't belong here so if you want food you get to the back of the line and you wait your turn". I asked the teachers, how do they deal with that, how do they address that? They said that sometimes it is so out of control that we don't know how to address it, we don't address it. So children who are disabled and some black learners go home without a plate of food because they are discriminated against. And they are saying, you know, we deserve this more than you do because this was our school. So even if that is not a case study, we could interrogate it as a case study. Give them

> the tools of how to deal with that, which is hectic. And it is children that have not lived through apartheid, who don't know what segregation is supposed to be. So it is that generational passing down of prejudice, so how do we address that? (Lucretia Arendse interview, November 2014)

Arendse highlights the earlier concern about the racial socialisation of young learners by their parents and communities and how this enters the school environment. Even with a solid anti-discriminatory curriculum, if teachers feel uncomfortable or unsure about how to handle issues of discrimination, this curriculum remains on paper rather than a school practice. Even for teachers committed to antiracism work, bringing these issues into the classroom means entering into "emotionally complicated and compromised learning spaces" (Zembylas, 2012: 123). Teachers are required not just to confront their own prejudices but simultaneously to create a forum in which students do not feel threatened or silenced (ibid.). Resources and commitment are required to ensure that teachers receive the necessary pedagogical training and support to take on discussions of race, racism and antiracism in ways they feel are productive for themselves and students. Given the lack of a clear national antiracism curriculum within the unequal education landscape, we need to be cautious of displacing responsibility for change onto the young in society. Glorifying children as the hope for the future without fighting to provide equal education that enables the actualisation of these goals places an unachievable burden on the "next generation".

Recognition of these difficulties may account for the large proportion of youth programmes within schools found in the selected organisations in this paper. Programmes in a number of organisations directly target students, teachers or the creation of teaching resources on issues of history, discrimination and social dialogue. Although the organisational strategies examined address multiple areas of discrimination, issues of racism and race are frequently present. Project leaders and facilitators take a firm antiracism stance and deal directly with issues of race and discrimination when they arise. At times, when facilitators observe or are told about incidents of racism, they will purposefully move them into the programme dialogues. Indeed, many of the participants interviewed have a distinctly antiracist approach to speaking openly and honestly about racism rather than shying away from confrontational discussions.

In 2014 the DDP ran the KwaMashu Debating League, which engaged with schools to build "citizenry through equipping learners with the ability to think critically and the willingness to engage in civic matters" (DDP 2014). This programme continued in 2015. The DDP also runs the Youth Ambassadors Programme for Grade 10 learning during the school holidays (DDP, 2015). Similarly, the IJR does extensive work with both students and teachers in its Building an Inclusive Society Programme – these projects have been running since 2012 (IJR, 2014a). This includes the Education for Reconciliation Project for educators, which works with teachers and learners using the concept of 'Teaching Respect for All' (ibid:31). This programme develops teaching material for the classroom, and includes an oral history project at schools that explores "places and people, in order to document different voices and to enable the documentation of multiple perspectives of local histories" in South Africa (ibid.:43). In addition, the IJR runs the Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project, which "engages youth in dialogues on various platforms, including physical and electronic, from which to promote conversations on issues that are pertinent to youth leadership and development" (IJR, 2013). The Institute for Healing of Memories runs a 12-month youth development programme in the Western Cape, where participants "learn about the human rights abuses of the apartheid years" as well as the transition towards democracy (IHOM, n.d.). The programme then asks the youth to explore their own role in "shaping a society that upholds human rights, justice and equality for all, irrespective of race, ethnic group or religion". The reports produced on many of these projects suggest that these programmes, while not easy and uncontentious, hold enormous benefit for the young people and teachers involved. Indeed, if statements by participants on their experiences are anything to go by, this is profoundly meaningful work (see IJR, 2013).

More methodical monitoring and evaluation of these programmes is not readily available, making it difficult to assess their long-term impact.

Long-term evaluation also takes time and money. Stan Henkeman of the IJR feels that that should be the task of the Department of Basic Education, which they partnered with on their Teaching Respect for All Programme. He explains,

> look we don't have grand designs on what we are doing, we really want to support teachers, to really teach inclusively, to not let opportunities slip to deal with issues of discrimination. So our objective is not to monitor how successful it is but to give teachers tools. How they deal with it? That is way beyond our mandate; that then becomes the Education Department's mandate because we are playing a support role for the department. They don't pay us to do this; we are doing this because it is part of our mandate to build an inclusive society. (Stanley Henkeman interview, November 2014)

How we consolidate these efforts and expand their reach remains a challenge that talks to the relationship and collaboration between the National Department of Education, schools across the spectrum and NGOs working in this sector. This issue will be discussed further in the concluding recommendations.

Incidents of racism and race in universities have also received extensive media attention. From articles on racial quotas in professional degrees, to incidents such as the Reitz case, the higher education landscape seems embroiled in racial tensions. The Reitz incident sparked a number of responses. Then Minister of Education Naledi Pandor commissioned the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions in 2008 to investigate issues of discrimination and transformation in South African universities. The report on the investigation, commonly known as the Soudien Report, included 40 recommendations to this sector (Council on Higher Education, 2009). The recommendations were aimed at higher education institutions (HEIs) as well as at the Department of Education and suggested shifts in staff development, student achievement and learning, student accommodation, knowledge and governance (Ministerial Committee on Transformation in Higher Education, 2008).

The report stated that while many universities had produced anti-discrimination policies and transformation charters, there was a question mark around how these were implemented, and frequently not implemented, on the ground (ibid.). Following recommendations in the report, Minister Blade Nzimande (Naledi Pandor's successor), set up an Oversight Committee on Transformation in 2013 to monitor progress of transformation in universities and to advise policy in this area. However, the impact of this latest committee remains unclear. Unfortunately, the chair of this committee has pushed for a narrow focus on transformation as equating to racial demographics rather than tackling institutional racism (Jenvey, 2013). At the time of writing, students at the University of Cape Town, followed by other HEIs, demanded that issues of institutional racism against black students and staff be recognised and placed firmly on the table of university leadership. At best, top-down policy has produced only partial institutional shifts within the higher-education landscape. It remains to be seen whether radical changes driven by a mass student movement from below can do so. Certainly, the current higher-education terrain is a critical hotspot for thinking through how antiracism strategies may be mobilised going forward.

Outside of this national government response, in 2011 the University of the Free State established the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice.[20] The director of this institution, along with academics

"Certainly, the current higher-education terrain is a critical hotspot for thinking through how antiracism strategies may be mobilised going forward."

20. http://institute.ufs.ac.za/default.aspx (accessed June 2016).



Photograph by Christina Culwick

heading up research centres that study issues of discrimination, formed the ARNHE.
The Network holds a symposium for students and staff twice a year across universities on issues related to racism to "keep the topic somewhat agitated" (Melissa Steyn interview, December 2014). Steyn explains that it is "not just for people you know in top leadership positions to take leadership around these issues; it is for all of us. It is like saying not on our watch, you know we want to be responsible and speak out" (ibid.).

CANRAD was established at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in 2010 due to "grave concern that racism, its alternatives and associated impact on development has not [been] given sufficient scholarly attention in South Africa".[21] Centres such as CANRAD and WiCDS work with university staff (through immersion workshops) and students (through modules and postgraduate work) to attempt to bring a critical literacy to issues of race and other social identities. While Steyn is positive about growing a cohort of young people who are able to grapple with the complexities of difference and commonalities in society, in her experience these educational efforts remain isolated pockets in universities rather than being integrated into all degrees (ibid.).

Developing a critical pedagogy in South Africa on intersecting forms of discrimination remains an essential need. Many of the strategies discussed above offer useful tools for teachers and students and there is research that indicates some schools are independently implementing antiracism strategies (Pillay, 2014). Bringing together institutions and educators who have experience in this field could consolidate learnings in order to embed this in the national educational agenda. Delivery of content, however, is far from guaranteed and usually tied into class privileges in South Africa. Mainstreaming such practices and projects would have to come with a departmental commitment to budgetary allowances for the resources required to move this beyond a curriculum shift on paper. Despite monumental inequalities, these existing strategies indicate that the drive to make a change, no matter how small, is absolutely necessary in society. This pragmatic response to dealing with social justice regardless of the scale of the project is a strength mirrored in the next theme, that of storytelling and dialogue to address discrimination.

"Despite monumental inequalities, these existing strategies indicate that the drive to make a change, no matter how small, is absolutely necessary in society."

21. http://canrad.nmmu.ac.za/ (accessed June 2016).

The power of storytelling and dialogue

The strategies used by the selected organisations, working in schools and elsewhere, utilise various forms of dialogue methods such as narratives, discussions or sharing of stories in relation to different contexts. This aligns closely to the antiracism praxis of consciousness raising and developing empathy (Bonnett, 2000; Zembylas, 2012). Working with different communities, CANRAD and the DDP utilise an approximately week-long workshop model. At CANRAD, this is called the Institutional Culture Immersion Programme, in which staff across NMMU faculties can have "deep conversations with each other and understand where people come from" (Allan Zinn interview, December 2014). For Rama Naidu at the DDP, the intention is to bring "people into a space in such a way that they can hear afresh, a different story. And prepare them to be vulnerable enough to share their stories openly, including their prejudices and humble enough to acknowledge that things need to change" (interview, December 2014). Similarly, the Institute for Healing of Memories runs workshops that "rest on an assumption that the experience of being listened to and acknowledged in a caring environment fosters emotional healing and allows the narrator to let go of painful feelings connected with the past" (Niyodusenga and Karakashian, n.d.). As Alphonse Niyodusenga and Stephan Karakashian explain, "a further assumption is that hearing the life experiences of other workshop participants who belong to different racial or ethnic groups can give rise to empathy, promote mutual understanding, and even lead to reconciliation" (ibid.). The DCC's *Ideas for Action to End Racism* (2001) suggests that people attend one of their special programmes – Stress-Trauma Healing, Peace Process or Exposure-Encounters – to "help you to work on racism and its effects" (ibid.). The DCC still offers the Stress-Trauma Healing course and has a reconciliation project that encourages "member churches to put reconciliation issues on top of their agenda and to create spaces to talk about diversity issues" (DCC, n.d.). The IJR uses a multi-stakeholder dialogue approach as its "preferred methodology for community and stakeholder engagement". This approach aims to "draw together a range of people from different backgrounds and experiences around a common table, to exchange perspectives on common issues and challenges, toward finding new ways of engaging" (Boezak and Ranchod, 2014: 4). The SAHRC also uses a form of dialogue mediation that involves stakeholders sitting around a table as their first step in dealing with complaints. Sometimes the storytelling and sharing of experiences is done through other creative mediums, such as developing a radio mini-series using local stories, creative writing, drawings and oral histories.

That sharing stories emerges as a common feature is no coincidence. Narrative strategies resonate deeply with South African liberation politics as a mechanism for participation and reconciliation. Many civil society leaders have strong links with the anti-apartheid struggle. This practice remains in the ANC's contemporary participatory model. Edgar Pieterse (2013: 21) describes how community participatory meetings with local government "take on a ritualistic character, where leading politicians and ward councillors patiently listen to people queuing in single file behind a microphone to tell their story". Sharing stories is also deeply embedded in the ethos of giving testimonials in Christian churches, a substantial presence in South Africa. Church leaders heavily influenced the TRC process, both through leadership positions and in advocating testimonials as a means to build empathy and heal rifts in society. The latter strategy was supported by an internationalist human rights approach that advocated similar methods (Mamdani, 2002). Creating safe spaces to listen to the stories of others and building empathy in "diversity workshops" are global reconciliation practices to address individual prejudice. In their analysis of antiracism strategies in the "Western World", Anne Pedersen et al. (2005: 21) explain that most of these could be "categorised as using either individual or interpersonal strategies". Indeed, as Bonnett (2000: 100) states, many such approaches "share the assumption that anti-racism may best be effected on the level of consciousness: that to change how people feel about others and themselves is tantamount to changing society".

In South Africa, the TRC elevated this strategy to a familiar and legitimate mechanism for reconciliation (Mamdani, 2002; Van der Merwe, 2003). Hugo van der Merwe (2003: 1) suggests that, after the TRC, some Christian churches recognised "that whites and blacks in South Africa still live in very separate worlds and see a need for opportunities where people can share their experiences of society – both of the past and the present". The Institute for Healing of Memories was founded in 1997 in "order to provide South Africans who could not appear before the TRC with an opportunity to relate their experiences and be acknowledged for their suffering during the apartheid years" (Niyodusenga and Karakashian, n.d.). Many churches continue to see themselves as active role players in reconciliation. This can have a specifically local direction, such as the DCC's move in 2015 towards a new organisational model working "more directly with churches in supporting them in being social justice activists" (Nomabelu Mvambo-Dandala interview, December 2014). Or it can be as part of a global push for social justice, such as when Father Stephen Tully explains how Pope Francis supports anti-discrimination projects: "it's always been there but he's really kind of ignited this particular genre of what we are about, that we are just here, we are all human beings and we've got to find that commonality where we are" (interview, December 2014).

In listening to the interviews with faith-based and other organisations, it is hard not to be impressed by these practical strategies. Without fail, the participants told powerful stories of individual change as well as examples of bridging social divisions, be it between churches or across language, nationality and racial divides. Yet facilitated workshops, as a particular change strategy, raise critical questions around lasting impact. Some studies indicate that these types of workshops are successful in the short term but have "limited success in the long-term" (Pedersen et al., 2005: 22). As Ahmed said of the dialogue methods used at the SAHRC:

> you can never really determine sitting around a table whether people's heart and minds have really reflected and have shifted. They may at that moment apologise and be empathetic and realise the error of their ways, but whether you really entrench that sense of apology within people, we struggle with that as an institution, and I can't say for sure whether we have managed to overcome that particular hurdle. (Kayum Ahmed interview, December 2014)

This is partly due to the difficulty of evaluating and assessing attitudinal change over time. In these types of settings, there can be a problematic disconnection between individuals' racist attitudes and the underlying social, political and economic systems of oppression (Pedersen et al., 2005). As Ahmed notes, an individual may well reflect briefly on a particular story, but outside the workshop privilege and discrimination are reaffirmed daily through countless small acts. Crowley and Matthews (2006: 271) warn that "these accounts may shock us into listening (Attwood, 2005) but their pedagogical work is poorly understood and may not necessarily provide a ready route to reconciliation". Van der Merwe is more specific in his critique. He argues that the "focus on personal experiences and morality diverted attention away from processes of social reconstruction such as conflict resolution and community development", which he argues are critical transformative processes (Van der Merwe, 2003: 4).

Another concern is that "safe spaces" may unintentionally value particular narratives over others (Melissa Steyn interview, December 2014). In a report on their workshops, the Institute for Healing of Memories acknowledges the ethical dilemma of causing unexpected trauma to participants (Niyodusenga and Karakashian, n.d.). Ironically, the international antiracism programmes examined in Pedersen et al.'s (2005: 23) study target sensitivity and gentleness towards white participants since it is recognised that "people's sense of self may be caught up in their racist ideology". Attempting to

"People's sense of self may be caught up in their racist ideology."

challenge racist attitudes while limiting stress and discomfort for white participants can serve to demand forgiveness and understanding from black participants. Stanley Henkeman (2012: 15) of the IJR argues that this approach is "short-sighted" as it is problematic to "talk about moving on as if it is commonly understood by all ... especially when historic inequalities are still reflected in the lived experiences of today". Focusing on personal narrative at the risk of leaving white privilege unchallenged perpetuates the TRC's individualistic tendency where reconciliation is "more about accommodating former beneficiaries than redressing past injustices" (Valji, 2004).

A more nuanced critique is the problematic neglect of conversations on the institutional, social and economic structures of oppression and power. Mahmood Mamdani (2002: 56) provides a similar critique of the TRC when he argues that a focus on decontextualised personal narratives "obscured the fact that the violence of apartheid was aimed mainly at entire communities and not individuals, and, as a consequence, reconciliation too would need to be between communities and not just individuals". Many of the organisations selected illustrate a critical approach to their work that attempts to embed these stories in historical inequalities and contemporary power structures. One way in which this is done "has to do with interrogating the legitimacy of stories" through "the careful, sensitive placing of stories alongside each other" (Melissa Steyn interview, December 2014). For CANRAD, WiCDS, the DDP and the IJR, these engagements cannot be once-off sessions, nor can they be devoid of talking about power. Many programmes are run over a number of days and programmes aimed at youth run for at least a year, and, in the IJR's case, over five years. The year-long programme run by the Institute for Healing of Memories is clear that "in order for young people to be able to respond sensitively to the present impact of past suffering, they must be knowledgeable about South Africa's history of segregation and oppression" (IHOM, n.d.). Both the IJR and the DDP have moved away from a project-based orientation to a process-driven practice (Rama Naidu interview, December 2014). The IJR describes this as a *mile deep and inch wide* approach, where continuous engagement happens over time at specific geographic locations (Boezak and Ranchod, 2014).

Maintaining traction yields results. As Zinn states, "in the first difficult dialogue sessions people were howling at each other but now people listen ... we do see this change, even in the heightened politics around elections people are not scared to have debates in public" (interview, December 2014). In recognition of this, CANRAD has now set up support group meetings for participants to continue to engage in difficult discussions beyond the initial workshop sessions (ibid.). A few of the organisations use reading resources to challenge participants to think about narratives within social power. Included in this critical stance is working at a community level rather than a solely individual level. Adam Andani and Rama Naidu (2013: 82) explain how the original method of hosting dialogues has been adapted in the DDP practices "to take into account South Africa's wounded past and, while acknowledging this past, also implies the need for a fundamental shift – from seeing communities as victims to seeing them as citizens". This type of work is emotionally taxing. Naidu explains the difficulty of navigating participants away from the habit where, following Zygmunt Bauman (2000), individuals are effaced and remain examples of the category:

> I might be painting a rosy picture; it's not always as easy as that, as people have been traumatised, with horror stories of racism, about inequalities of social injustices, they run really deep. But how do they translate that story of one story, to include everyone of that particular colour, or leaning? (Rama Naidu interview, December 2014)

The IJR has a dual approach – they challenge dominant narratives which can make participants, in this case educators, uncomfortable. Henkeman explains: "We challenge educators around their own complicity in the quality of education and skills, so it is a hard introspective focus ... we challenge whether Bantu education is alive and well in the classroom" (interview, November 2014). The discomfort is then navigated through offering tools, training sessions and resources that make possible another way of doing things (ibid.).

It is worth noting that there are other ways of valuing storytelling and working with suffering

and healing that do not take the form of workshops. Emmanuel Cathedral provides one such example. Here dialogue is still seen as crucial but change is centred on the long, slow process of providing fundamental needs, such as food, shelter and access to a clinic. Being open to listening to people rather than telling them what they should do is the key. Tully advocates a small step at a time approach:

> you need coffee, there's your coffee. Now you've had your coffee, what else do you need? Oh, well my baby is sick. Ok, well there's a clinic, go to the clinic. Fine when they are at the clinic, now what's going on? Ok, well maybe you can get a grant. So it's a slow, slow step ... that's what we are trying to do with our projects. That's what the feeding scheme is about, it's not about feeding; it's about having an opportunity of interacting and getting to know people. And through lots of prayer and mistakes, we are slowly getting to find out how we can help this individual. (Father Stephen Tully interview, November 2014)

This philosophy of patience and endurance has convinced Tully that fighting discrimination is best done by steering away from making policies about people. He clarifies, "you can have policies and programmes but you need people to sit with people and talk about their everyday things ... so if we can provide a means of interacting which is what we're trying to do, then we find that slowly these things happen" (ibid.).

Interestingly, Tully's preference for focusing on people's everyday worries rather than foregrounding racism is echoed in other organisations, although it has a more strategic intent. As Naidu explains, the key is how the invitation to participate is framed. He suggests that if you call something an antiracism dialogue, people who arrive are primed for an engagement with a specific agenda. You will also attract participants who already have some kind of antiracism praxis and are therefore not really the ideal audience. When creating dialogue around community issues, such as housing, land, safety and community-identified tensions, the issue of race almost always comes up. In Naidu's view, this begins a more honest and frank discussion that deals with race head-on, but in a way that is embedded within its local context. It also enables recognition of situations when the issues have more to do with other identities and social structures (Rama Naidu interview, December 2014). In this way race and racism are "mainstreamed" into all the conversations rather than targeted in isolation. Similarly, although the IJR projects do not tackle racism alone, their programmes actively challenge racial discrimination, and the difficult issue of how "internalised racism, internalised oppression" seep into unconscious practices in the classroom (Stanley Henkeman interview, November 2014).

This pragmatic approach is far more experimental than some global antiracism strategies that focus primarily on racism rather than on intersecting discriminations. These organisations allow race to emerge in all its intersectionalities and complexities, certainly more so than in much academic theory and research, or in the polarised discourse around race in the media and the political domain. For the participants in this study, such an approach enables deeply contextualised conversations about race, racialism and racism. This practice engages messy and blurred lines of entanglements and connects theoretically with an antiracism that focuses on multiplicities and related forms of oppression. In South Africa, where the stakes are so high in relation to race and racism, theorists on race can become philosophically stagnant through the fear of race-blindness and what we stand to lose when we do not forefront race in an agenda for social justice. These organisations offer an interesting alternative approach. More research into these strategic practices may offer reflections on how praxis could inform theoretical discussion on antiracism within the South African context. This is a useful starting point, rather than an overreliance on international antiracism theory to design antiracism strategies.

How successful are these strategies? The difficulties of mapping and measuring

The question of whether these strategies provide successful pathways to reverse a resurgence of racism and ethnic chauvinism is difficult to answer. If pockets of individuals discard racist ideologies and begin to critically assess historical and contemporary patterns of discrimination and privilege, then I think the answer to this question is a resounding yes. Are these strategies alone sufficient to pursue antiracism in South Africa? Then the answer would be a clear no. These organisational strategies do not have the necessary reach to make this kind of impact. For the most part they appear to work independently of each other and government, although some do have tenuous relations with specific government departments. Leveraging these strategies would require a collective and collaborative initiative. There have been previous calls for this kind of mobilisation but little has yet to materialise (see DDP and ACCEDE, 2013). For Dale McKinley (2013: 1), there is a "glaring strategic weakness … to be found in the general absence of broadbased civil society coalitions wherein a wide range of CSOs [civil society organisations] work together for a clearly identified and common strategic purpose".

There are a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly, civil society organisations can fall into rhetorical discourses around delivery that weaken their democratic mandate and create tensions between ideological positions (Pieterse, 2013). A scarce funding environment also creates territorial and myopic tendencies in civil society (Stanley Henkeman interview, November 2014). A lack of funding and capacity dampens civil society organisations' ability to "complement the efforts of local government"; as a result, the activities and strategies that do take place "are often unsystematic, incidental and limited in reach" (Andani and Naidu, 2013: 81). Many of the organisations selected here recognise that achieving substantial shifts in society requires government commitment; after all, "for better or worse, in our emergent democracy, civil society and the state are inextricably linked and inter-dependent" (Pieterse, 2013: 22). The lack of strong collaboration and co-production between government and these stakeholders is cause for concern. As one participant states,

> You know the government cannot do it by itself and the sooner they admit and acknowledge that the better, because they can actually use people like ourselves as a resource. It is about getting all these people together and saying how we can pool our efforts so that we cover a wide spectrum of society. (Stanley Henkeman interview, November 2014)

Tensions between civil society and the ANC government, particularly at local level, have increased since 1994 (Van Donk, 2013). This awkward and at times antagonistic relationship creates difficulties in expanding strategies, or at the very least learning from their successes and mistakes. For Henkeman, the "government is under siege at the moment and the ruling party … and the decisions you make under siege, when you are in crisis they are not necessarily good decisions" (interview, November 2014). Many of the participants interviewed noted frustration, a lack of transparency and a loss of trust in leadership in doing work with communities in conjunction with government departments.[22] There is a strong sense among these organisations, even the faith-based ones that appear to have a less antagonistic relationship with political structures, that they are left with no option but to go it alone.

Another frustration is around how social and economic disparities impede independent antiracism strategies from holding traction in society. Research indicates that while racism "relates to some personal characteristics … it also relates to more societal variables such as lack of education and local norms" (Pedersen et al., 2005: 21). To best harness the potential pay-offs from these existing strategies, government must make substantive socioeconomic transformations, where people living in the country

22. Interestingly, this was not the case for Emmanuel Cathedral, which felt it had a good working relationship with the Department of Social Development and the Safer Cities unit in eThekwini.

start to share equitable access to core services. Abrahams (2012: 122) is correct that "failure to do so, as with socio-economic crises in other transitional democracies, will result in easily inflamed and racially polarised positions". Many of the leaders interviewed for the AKF study of leadership and non-racialism reiterated concerns around the reracialisation of South African society by politically aligned youth, and how this was clearly linked to their socioeconomic status, particularly unemployment (AKF, 2012). Similarly, scholars who write on white privilege argue that recognition of privilege "best occur[s] through the changing of the environments that 'feed' these habits rather than through rational argumentation" (Sullivan in Matthews, 2012: 173). In 2014, the IJR Reconciliation Barometer, which measures, among other variables, "the frequency of contact and socialisation between race groups", confirmed the importance of the socioeconomic context. It noted that the "major insights of the Reconciliation Barometer over the years has been the extent to which class inequality has become a key mediating factor as far as racial integration is concerned" (IJR, 2014b: 26).

However, it is equally important to remember that some of the micro interventions discussed in this paper do have impact, so change is possible. Noting the important concerns raised here and in the previous section on antiracism dialogue and narrative strategies, I do not wish to underestimate the power of storytelling in bringing people together and building commonalities and empathy. Nor do I wish to be cynical in relation to the organisational strategies selected for this scoping paper. Sharing experiences does provide a catalyst for change in some people. The study respondents openly acknowledged and critically reflected on some of the limitations discussed above, but still see value in forms of dialogue and storytelling. There is a strategic reason to caution against a blanket cynicism of these methods. Steyn advocates a "methodologically promiscuous" approach since in order to address racism contextually, we need different types of methods, rather than attempting to define a one-size-fits-all solution (interview, December 2014). It may be less a question of whether these strategies work entirely or not, and more an indication of our lack of understanding of their didactic capacities that creates uneasiness.

While some programme evaluation reports are written for funders, there is a lack of methodological evaluation and impact assessments of these strategies. The question of monitoring and evaluating success is an important focus for future research on antiracism and building non-racialism.

Related to monitoring and evaluating specific antiracism projects is the question of *what data are required to accurately investigate, quantify and map racism in South Africa?* Attempting to quantify patterns of racism is, however, a difficult and contentious exercise. Research on a particular manifestation of racism would be required before specific variables and perimeters are drawn up, and as Anthias and Lloyd (2002: 8) remind us, "it is not possible to seek an exhaustive list of racisms and their empirical identification as though we can discover their essential truths". Taking on such a quest usually deteriorates into arguments around "which is the population that most experiences racism rather than what are the processes by which this happens" (ibid.). A large portion of surveys on racism focuses on participants' perceptions and attitudes to measure racism, but there are obvious flaws with these types of tools. Firstly, people may not give truthful answers, especially if racism is generally seen as abhorrent. Secondly, racist perceptions and attitudes can only be attributed to individual thoughts and not in how they play out in practice or are related to structural and institutional racism (Pedersen et al., 2005). A qualitative lens is required to capture the experiences of how racism is practised within specific contexts and how societal norms and structures enable or confront these practices. Of course, this is a much harder scoping exercise if the end product is meant to be a national map of racism.

There are, however, countries that do produce national data on discrimination. One example is Argentina, which produces the *Mapa Nacional de la Discriminación* (National Map of Discrimination) annually (INADI, 2014). This map is a collaborative national research project between the state *Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la Xenofobia y el Racismo* (National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism, or INADI) and 27 of the country's universities. INADI was set up when Argentina developed its NAP against racism, xenophobia and related intolerances, and

in 2010 had an annual budget of $6 million.[23] South Africa does not have such a national annual survey on discrimination. This would be useful to create a baseline measurement to investigate or measure racism. Having a similar baseline study in South Africa, with sufficient budget to drive this research and create collaborative spaces for researchers in this field, would go a long way towards thinking about the type of data required to map racism within our own context. The South African draft NAP does recommend that a baseline study on racism be carried out in South Africa (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2015). Such a study, especially if longitudinal, would assist in evaluating shifts in education curricula and institutions, and provide the necessary backdrop for the organisations discussed in this paper to make claims of changes and shifts in attitude.

"The South African draft NAP does recommend that a baseline study on racism be carried out in South Africa … Such a study, especially if longitudinal, would assist in evaluating shifts in education curricula."

Photograph by Christina Culwick



23. R66 305 100 as per exchange rate on 15 October 2014.

Conclusion

Antiracism strategies in South Africa after 1994 exist both in government legislation and policy and in the pragmatic strategies of civil society and faith-based organisations. Government changes in legislation towards a human rights framework and the inclusion of special measures such as affirmative action and BEE broadly align to international and UN standards around fighting racial discrimination. However, South Africa is long overdue in developing a NAP against racism, xenophobia and related intolerances, which it promised to do after the WCAR in 2001. Pragmatic responses to fighting racism in South Africa are more commonly found within civil society and faith-based organisations. Particularly, there has been a focus from both government and other stakeholders on strategies that deal with discrimination within the education sector at school and university levels. Many of these strategies, including those aimed at community dialogues outside of the education sector, utilise a narrative methodology through which to address issues of racism. There are strengths and weakness to this type of approach. Currently, the impact of these strategies on *successfully reversing racism in South Africa* is a difficult question to answer. Strategies selected for this paper tackle localised sites of tensions and may well be successful within the confines of the project. But these remain targeted pockets of intervention rather than feeding into a national antiracism framework. Our methodological and pedagogical understanding of these strategies would have to be enriched to begin imagining how we could expand this into a national social framework against racism.

Rather than singling out an antiracism agenda, racism in these projects and programmes is tackled through an embedded approach where ideas of race and racism intersect with multiple identities and power structures. Strategically, the selected organisations do, however, all gravitate towards utilising a flexible epistemology centring on a commonality of need. Teachers have a common need for teaching resources and training, community residents have a common need to address issues in their neighbourhood, staff and students in universities have a common need to navigate changing institutions, and all South Africans have a common need for food, shelter and access to healthcare. This provides a useful starting point to address discrimination and exclusion in ways that cut across social categories, address the complexities of local power dynamics and challenge assumptions. After all, how do you abstract racism from its entanglement with gender, xenophobia, class, culture and ethnicity in South Africa? In this way the South African civil society and faith-based organisations are more closely aligned with the antiracist scholars who argue for more inclusive, collaborative and critical approaches to antiracism (Anthias and Lloyd, 2002; Dei, 2000; Paul, 2014; Räthzel, 2002). For South African organisations, this epistemology may also be influenced by ideas of non-racialism. Despite the critiques of non-racialism as unrealised or being race-blind, it has offered a rather fuzzy vision of a future cohesive South African society. The ideas of non-racialism were also used to mobilise diverse organisations, such as labour, socialist and gender activists, to fight for a common goal of a more equal and fair South Africa. Here intersectionality, particularly around the class–race nexus, could not be ignored.

However, currently organisations that tackle racism do not form a collective under the banner of antiracism, or indeed non-racialism. In the case of civil society and faith-based initiatives, they operate independently from each other and have tenuous links with specific government departments. One commonality of need of the organisations selected for this study is the desire to work in partnership with government to tackle racism and inequality. This desire is coupled with a deep frustration that where partnerships exist, they are not reaching their potential, particularly at a local level. There is little doubt that a knowledge production exercise would be immensely valuable, where organisations such as those discussed in this paper, along with government departments and interested academics, could learn and build on one another's work and consolidate their efforts.

Developing such a collaborative space would require funding and organising capacities. Arguably, a strong civil society coalition or an academic

"The aim here would not be a singular national antiracism response, but rather to create a flexible toolkit of practical antiracism strategies that address racial discrimination at different levels in society and in local context-specific ways."

centre that creates the umbrella space for this type of sharing would be ideal. Certainly, such a collaborative may offer a possible pathway to *reverse an apparent resurgence of racism and ethnic chauvinism in contemporary South Africa?* The aim here would not be a singular national antiracism response, but rather to create a flexible toolkit of practical antiracism strategies that address racial discrimination at different levels in society and in local context-specific ways. It would also offer an exciting exchange of diverse theoretical views, such as those outlined in the earlier sections of this paper. Sharing a forum with practitioners who implement projects and programmes challenges theoretical doctrines to reflect on how theory can be reshaped by praxis within the South African context. If the forum was to be a successful mobilisation mechanism, it would have to agree to respect a *pluralist* rather than a *purist* agenda to antiracism. This forum could greatly contribute to how antiracism and non-racialism theories and approaches relate to rather than oppose each other. This has relevance not only within our own context but for current global debates in understanding the reproduction of discrimination in societies worldwide.

Drawing together relevant government officials, civil society and faith-based organisations such as the ones selected for this study could begin a discussion not only on how best to pragmatically tackle racism, but also about how government could capitalise on this existing work. An open conversation about the blockages among all stakeholders may open the door to co-developing a national responsive plan to fight racism. Using a commonality-of-need lens within such a collaborative space would recognise the importance of dealing with racism, but also that racism is not "isolated from other processes of conflictual socialization" (Balibar, 2005: 34). Without this approach, a push for a national state response to racism may take the easier and more familiar route of writing more policies and legislation, with little attention to the difficulties of implementation. One catalyst for drawing diverse stakeholders together is the creation and implementation of a NAP against racism, xenophobia and related intolerances. For example, a large part of Ireland's NAP budget was in providing funding for organisations that already did antiracism work at various societal levels, research into types of racism and how to address them, local community organisations, and antiracism education programmes in schools and government departments. Providing diverse funding in this way creates information-sharing channels and brings together multiple stakeholders within a knowledge production project that actively tackles racism within local contexts as well as addressing broader national questions. Argentina similarly used its NAP to bring together scholars and activists from around the country to better understand discrimination and fight it.[24] With the South African draft NAP in the final stages, there is no time like the present to initiate this collaborative forum.

24. See "Global Anti-Racism Strategies and Practice" in this publication for more detail on this.

VIEW FROM THE STREETS II



"We cooperate as if it's nothing. Nayi iNeighbourgoods (here is neighbourgoods [a community market in Braamfontein]) right now, but the difference right now is that others have money and others don't. And that's just the fact of it."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"So basically uhmmm ... racism for me, I'm a sports person so I think there's still part of that apartheid thing going on in the sports, where whites are getting more opportunities than players of colour. So uhmm it is affecting me a little bit, not in my personal life, but in my sporting life so that's basically it."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Uhmm ... so I haven't personally experienced any racism, but when I came here to Wits. Like something that strikes me coming from Europe is that there's still like this kind of separation when you look at the groups. Even though everyone gets along with each other, like you still have like on campus like white people kinda hang out more with white people like you really see that like the Indians and then the blacks will hang out together. So that was something that struck me because I didn't think that it would be like that intense. But uhmmm ... I've only been here for a few months, that was like my first impression, but also, when you get like ... when I was at OppiKoppi [a music festival] and then there's like this white Afrikaans people you'd talk to then suddenly they say like something really racist and it's like something I really didn't imagine that would still be here after like that apartheid thing. Uhmm ... yeah."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"My opinion on racism is that it still exists, but it's more undercover and more discreet. In certain places people do it on the down low."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani

Section 3

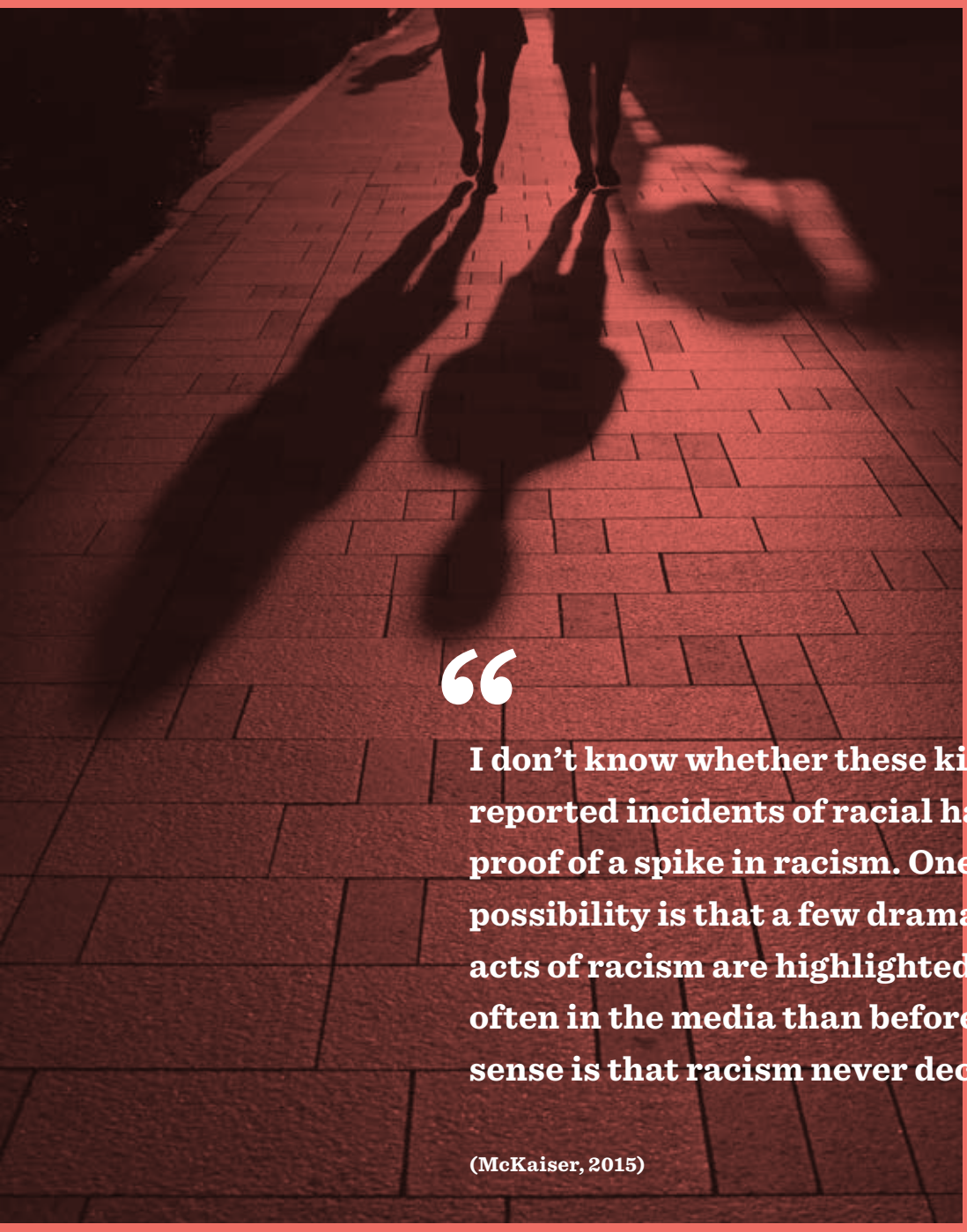
Doing antiracism work: seeing through racial subjectivities

CARYN ABRAHAMS

Abstract

This paper considers the way activists and others approach antiracism work. It begins with an explanation of the various ways people think through race, highlighting three typical subjectivities that shape racialised perspectives. The first, race essentialism, encompasses crass racism where there are assertions of superiority or inferiority. The second, race evasiveness, is when people distance themselves from accusations of racism by couching exclusion in other terms. The third, race cognisance, is when people acknowledge how race and racialised histories have shaped their ways of being and acting. The paper draws out these ways of seeing race, or acting in racialised ways, by looking at two recent examples that captured the public imagination, and demonstrates the complexities of race cognisance by capturing the voices of activists. The paper concludes that in this current conjuncture in South Africa, the challenge for activists is to teach people to be critical of their own race evasiveness, and, more generally, to think through ways to get beyond the struggle between race evasiveness, essentialism and awareness.[25]

25. At the time of writing, Caryn Abrahams was senior researcher at the GCRO, but has subsequently moved to the Wits School of Governance. She is grateful to Richard Ballard for comments on a previous draft.



> **I don't know whether these kinds of reported incidents of racial hatred are proof of a spike in racism. One obvious possibility is that a few dramatic public acts of racism are highlighted more often in the media than before. My gut sense is that racism never declined.**
>
> **(McKaiser, 2015)**

Photograph by Adamara

Introduction

Although more than two decades have passed since the transition to democracy, South African media frequently reports racist incidents, and there has a significant rise in the number of complaints to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) about experiences of racism (Mitchley, 2016). These reports raised the profile of racism in South African society, and caused a prominent political commentator to speculate in the following way:

> I don't know whether these kinds of reported incidents of racial hatred are proof of a spike in racism. One obvious possibility is that a few dramatic public acts of racism are highlighted more often in the media than before. My gut sense is that racism never declined. (McKaiser, 2015: 7)

There is much at stake in whether or not South Africa can resolve its racial tensions. South Africa, suggests the editor of *City Press*, "is the site of a globally watched experiment in racial reconciliation" (Haffajee 2016: 1). Following a widely reported attack by white students on black students at the Free State University, she remarked "it felt as though all of that which Nelson Mandela had put together was being torn asunder". In response, she commissioned a report entitled *Are we on the edge of a race war?* and concluded that the vitriolic moments that made it to the media were not typical of most ordinary people's views. The study drew on South African Reconciliation Barometer and South African Institute of Race Relations survey findings across South Africa and showed a much more complex and positive picture than the headlines suggested: many of those surveyed believe that race relations have improved, with the shared belief that all race groups need to work together for a prosperous future for everyone (ibid.).

There is no neat narrative about race in South Africa, nor has there ever been, as the extant literature shows (see Posel, 1987; Suttner, 2011). For this reason, it is important to unpack the complexities of racism and the various ways in which South Africans think through race (Ballard, 2003; Erwin, 2012; McKaiser, 2015), particularly as we attempt to construct a politics of antiracism.

One kinds of complexity in the story of post-apartheid South Africa is that understandings of social progress by commentators can be quite different. Gerhard Maré (2014) urges that the exercise would allow South Africans to imagine new possibilities of social interaction that are truly post-racial and to consider new forms of social difference that are not linked to race. Also proposing a new social imaginary, but along a different path to the one suggested by Maré, Joel Netshitenzhe (2015) argues that South Africans need to think beyond the negative constructions of the anti-apartheid struggle – being *anti*-apartheid and *non*-racial – and rather focus on acknowledging racial identities and committing to transcending them in order to build a positive set of public values. Eusebius McKaiser contends that it remains important for South Africans in a hypo-racialised society to explore the current complexities of racism and how they cause ordinary people to act in ways that may not be easily defined as overtly racist. He suggests that we cannot quite yet move beyond race to a different social imaginary, nor can we risk not being unequivocally against racism, saying "[u]ntil racism is eliminated, writing about racism will remain necessary" (McKaiser, 2015: 15).

This paper ties in with other contributions to this report, particularly Kira Erwin's paper entitled "Antiracism in Post-Apartheid South Africa". It considers the prospect of eliminating racism through antiracism work by engaging with how racial incidents are read, and highlighting some of the complexities of doing antiracism work. The first part of the paper outlines Richard Ballard's (2003) framework – drawn from Ruth Frankenberg's (1993) study – for understanding the complex ways in which South Africans think through race. The second part locates the current debates about race, but particularly our reading of racial incidents and antiracism discourse, in what Frankenberg calls "*race cognisance*". The final part considers antiracism activism as working within the various race subjectivities circulating in the contexts in which activists operate. It also considers the subjectivities they grapple with on a day-to-day basis.

Thinking through race

In an article that seeks to explain why people deny that race is important in shaping their social attitudes and interactions, Ballard (2003) argues that attempts to prove racism can result in some counter productive effects. In particular, those wishing to hold onto exclusionary or discriminatory ways of thinking and behaving might adapt their rhetoric to make these frameworks seem less obviously racist. Since people tend to resist being categorised as racist, they modify their own self-presentation and self-understanding to define themselves out of the category 'racist' which they then assume applies to extremists rather than themselves.

He proposes, after Frankenberg (1993), a way to understand the subjective and complex ways that people think through race in South Africa. Broadly, there are three ways that people think through race. The first is *essentialism*, and would be the type of thinking that typified Verwoerdian apartheid – where there was a deliberate "positioning of whites as superior and others as inferior" (Ballard, 2003: 3). As Xolela Mangcu (2015) and McKaiser (2015) have argued, this "first order" way of thinking through race continues to frame much social interaction in South Africa, where black people experience physical and symbolic violence and are at the receiving end of racial insult, hatred and exploitative practice. Although many people distance themselves from this kind of crass race essentialism and find it abhorrent, the many racist incidents reported in the media and many more that are not indicates that it continues to be part of South Africa's social landscape.

Beyond this *obvious racism*, however, is a second category identified which Frankenberg referred to as "colour evasiveness" and "power evasiveness". Here protagonists are keen to present themselves as not being racist and frequently insist that race does not matter to them. Yet they do not move beyond exclusionary or discriminatory thinking and behaviour entirely and are able to sustain such thinking and behaviour by deracialising it, for example by using terms such as "culture", "values" or "class". Thus, while race evasiveness may often disguise race essentialism, the former has become a way to engage with difference selectively and to "think about society as hierarchical but without having to use racial terms" (Ballard, 2003: 12).

Relatedly, Desmond Painter and Robyn Baldwin (2004: 21) argue that the complex reading of "language-primacy" incidents is also not immune from a form of race evasiveness. Language primacy suggests that certain languages are of greater value than others. The authors argue that "the racist effects of talk about language are not restricted to a conservative notion of immutable cultural and ethnolinguistic boundaries used to legitimate racial segregation" (Painter and Baldwin, 2004: 21).

One important element of evasiveness is an erasure of the impact of racism. The adherence to liberal values such as inclusivity, diversity and multiculturalism, can serve further to mask hierarchies and exclusion. Étienne Balibar (1991) argues that these liberal notions are related inexorably to racism because they set up a normative idea about what constitutes universal social experience in democratic society. Similarly, Painter and Baldwin (2004: 21) argue in the case of language in South Africa that

> a liberal conception of individual rights and a public order characterised by a universal citizenship is endorsed and made dependent on a particular language ... This construction of the politics of language in South Africa might seem the antithesis of a racist linguistic order, but it hides its racist effects precisely in these liberal terms.

"One important element of evasiveness is an erasure of the impact of racism. The adherence to liberal values such as inclusivity, diversity and multiculturalism, can serve further to mask hierarchies and exclusion."



Photograph by Davide Ragusa

Liberal universalist notions that not only hide racist effects, but also deny victims of essentialised racism the opportunity to decry racial prejudice and hatred. Thus it is not only about denying that race matters, but also denying that racism matters. This often results in feelings of guilt and shame for those who attempt to articulate experiences of racism (Tate, 2016).

The third way that people think through race is described as *race cognisance*, where individuals acknowledge that race plays a part in their own social existence and the ways that they think about others and their interactions with them. It is to go "beyond the liberal pretence that race [is] not important and [is] attempting to acknowledge, to [one's self], that race structures the way [one] thinks" (Ballard, 2003: 8). Ballard concludes that "[a] shift in mindset towards *race cognisance* would be essential in moving from a position where 'race doesn't matter' to a position where race is seen to be important but a product of oppressive historical structures" (ibid.: 17). In contemporary South Africa, this may require turning one's gaze inward to question how race operates in "my" social experience and my reading of others' experience and social interaction with them. It may also be a more complex awareness of the ways that class, privilege, guilt and racism have shaped ways of seeing and being in the world, and how these intersect in complicated ways to shape institutional practice. Thus, while *race cognisance* requires acknowledgement of how race shapes our thinking and ways of being in the world, it also includes an acknowledgement that race and racism have shaped people in different ways.

This framework is useful in understanding the complex ways in which people interact with and think through race. It compels us to think about the way racial and racist thinking and behaviour works beyond the headlines. Paradoxically, racism may be present precisely when the actors involved deny its importance. Yet by dodging the label 'racist' they are able to deny to themselves and others the relevance of race. The challenge for antiracist work is to avoid the *cul de sac* of colour and power evasiveness and to promote cognisance of the ways that race shapes our manner of seeing and being, and the ways it mediates how we read another's manner of being. It significantly complicates the often automatic responses of judgement that deem certain behaviours or comments racist.

Thus, while there are indeed racial subjectivities at work in both the viewer and the viewed, which also circulates, as Maré (2014) argues, within racialised institutional practice, this should never be invoked to excuse racism. McKaiser (2015) argues that as long as racism exists, it remains important to continuously challenge its presence. But what does "challenging racism" mean in light of the more subjective ways people think through race, and the subjectivities of reading race? It is precisely in this moment of complicating a reading of "racism" that the potential of antiracism is possible. This exercise sits well with the moral project articulated in McKaiser's *Run Racist Run* (2015) to overcome the ways in which subtle racism is embedded in subjective social interaction, complicating seemingly innocuous ways of being in the world that are profoundly mediated through race and learned racist



discourse. As will be seen, the events that surrounded these two incidents are embedded in very subjective understandings of what is permissible and what is problematic, what is racist, or cultural, or couched as linguistic preference.

Incident 1

In 2015, a private school – Curro Primary – in the west of Johannesburg came under intense public scrutiny for what was seen as the school segregating children on the basis of race. From a video taken by a black parent, it appeared that the children were separated into race groups during a school excursion. The parent was outraged and posted the video on social media. The video later went viral and was picked up by mainstream media (see Molosankwe, 2015). When questioned, school administrators and teachers argued that this was not an issue of race, but that certain teachers and learners were more comfortable in defined language groups. The children were thus separated into groups of English-language speakers, who were mainly black, and Afrikaans-language speakers, who were white. There was a suggestion that the practice also occurred at the school during classes (Mbanjwa, 2015). Despite the reasons given, the visible separation of learners in a mixed-medium school raised deep concerns among the (black) parents of those children, the Department of Education and the general public. The Department, called in to investigate the matter, temporarily closed the school, reviewed its licence and concluded that it had acted improperly with regards to the constitution and "reminded children of apartheid" (see Dayimani, 2015).

As a response to the Curro incident, governing bodies of a number of other schools in Gauteng took the provincial Department of Education to court over attempts to force them to adopt a dual medium of instruction and to alter intake requirements away from language policies. The court ruled that no school constitution stood above the country's constitution. The Department argued that this move was not only about in-school segregation of children, but an attempt to stop former Model-C (particularly Afrikaans-medium) schools from excluding African applicants on the basis of language. Curro at some point admitted that the policy of segregation of children was a response to pressure from white parents. The Education Department eventually raised the issue with the South African Human Rights Commission. The Commission reported in the months following the incident that a close watch would be kept on Curro School and that it was considering investigating racism at schools in South Africa (Eliseev 2015).

Although media reports said that Curro School was found "guilty of racism", the incident is more complicated than being culpable of racism. The school cited issues of language and used this as the basis for segregation, specifically pointing to the English-speaking white child who was grouped with other English-speaking learners who were black. As a response to public pressure, the school later included a "diversity" policy. Curro demonstrated a form of race evasiveness in upholding a version of exclusionary practice, but distancing it from race. The Department of Education treated the matter as a clean-cut case of race essentialisation where black children were

made to suffer indignity at the hands of white decision makers by being segregated.

This incident highlights the subjectivities of the parties involved – the MEC of Education, the school governing body, the white parents who had insisted on the separation of children, the black parents who laid the charge and the learners who may or may not have felt discriminated against. This is not to suggest that subjectivities or rationalities "belong" or are confined to any of these groups. It suggests, instead, that within the various narratives at play here, the main solution of a "diversity clause" in the school's policy, which came out of the court ruling, seems reductionist.

The director of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation explains the complexity here:

> How you deal with it manifests in many different ways – refusal to even look at dual-medium schooling, where even though the [education] department makes an effort to say we'll put extra capacity in training additional teachers so that those kids that don't speak Afrikaans are not going to be disadvantaged, the law allowed them to be right, but in all other ways they were wrong. So, you can defend privilege using a lot of the legislation because much of policy and legal precedent can still be interpreted in a way that shields privilege from whichever colour. (Neeshan Balton interview, August 2015)

Incident 2

The University of Stellenbosch is de facto a dual-medium Afrikaans and English institution. Its own students labelled the institution as racist, pointing to how certain teaching practices operated in racially exclusionary ways (see Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). The students, who organised under the group *#OpenStellies*, argued that the university in effect privileged Afrikaans as a language and white Afrikaans-speaking students over students who had come to the university intending to study in English – the majority of whom are black.[26] Non-Afrikaans speakers were made to listen to live (whispered) translations of Afrikaans lectures, and given inadequately translated material that seldom arrived on time. They said that this practice disadvantaged them and was the reason that many did not do well in exams.

Not all of those who were part of the *#OpenStellies* group were black. A number of white students and staff also opposed the policy, including one who curated a set of interviews with affected students/staff. A short video entitled *#Luister* (Listen), produced and circulated on social media, showed students recounting their experiences. They argued that their experience of being disadvantaged on the basis of language mirrored racially oppressive treatment. The organised group, through the *#Luister* video, also became a mouthpiece decrying acts of racism in Stellenbosch, both at the university and in Stellenbosch more generally where white Afrikaans students and residents were reported to have victimised black students.

The initial response of the university management was to claim that it was against racism, and that these students' demands were nothing but an obsession with transformation. Only after much public pressure did the university's executive meet with students and public announcements were made regarding their plan to rectify exclusionary teaching practice and implement the language policy. Early in 2016 – the next academic year – the *#OpenStellies* group once again protested against the language policy which favoured Afrikaans over English, calling for English to be the primary medium of instruction. Afrikaans university staff, administration and students counter-protested to retain Afrikaans as the main medium of instruction, centring their protest on the preservation and development of the language. A prominent Afrikaans trade union, Solidarity, was called in to represent this claim as a matter of protection of a minority.

There was also a response to the *#Luister* debate from other students at the university organising under the *#iamstellenbosch* hash tag (see Cassim, 2015). In some ways mirroring the *#ItooamHarvard* campaign[27] (which aimed to counter the notion that Harvard is a

26. Members of the group participated at the University of the Witwatersrand's Diversity Centre dialogue on race. Their photos are included in the second set of photos in this publication: "Perspectives on Race and Racism: A View from the Street."
27. http://itooamoxford. tumblr.com/; http://itooamharvard.tumblr.com/ (both accessed June 2016).

"The denial of institutional racism and the related deliberate shutting down of protests against racism in the name of egalitarian, cosmopolitan culture suggest a more complex picture."

white, elitist, patriarchal institution), this campaign sought to counter the notion that Stellenbosch University is a racist institution, particularly as the university prepared for 2016 admission. *#Iamstellenbosch* brought together a group of students demonstrating their appreciation of diversity and the cosmopolitanism of the institution. They also argued that not all black students were against the language policy and that race did not "colour" the social experience of all its students. Indeed, some black students also claimed to be disinterested in the language debate. The Facebook page of the campaign stated:

> [IamStellenbosch] comes from a place where we hold each other accountable to any form of discrimination and disrespect. It comes from a place in which we as students get to understand and recognise that we are different, our experiences are different, our goals, values and many other attributes are different. However it is these differences that hold us together as an entity of Stellenbosch University.

The group came under fire for brushing away real experiences of exclusion and instead favouring a colour-blind, multicultural and diverse expression of student life – and in so doing, denying any of the structural and interpersonal racism that other students faced (Cassim, 2015; Arderne, 2015). Some comments on the campaign on Twitter were "We are here to dismantle the powers of institutional racism, we don't want your *#IAmStellenbosch* false consciousness", and, more sarcastically "I'm black and don't want to upset my white friends, so I'll deny the existence of racism while smiling for the camera" (Cassim, 2015).

As in the Curro case, this example highlights the complex subjectivities that come into play when dealing with racial issues in South Africa. In this instance, the grievances included debates over language, exclusion and privilege, and also highlighted cases of essentialised racism. The *#IamStellenbosch* group's various responses to the *#Luister* video demonstrated race evasiveness. The group deliberately distanced themselves and the institution from accusations that they/it could be racist. The denial of institutional racism and the related deliberate shutting down of protests against racism in the name of egalitarian, cosmopolitan culture suggest a more complex picture.

Responses to the *#IamStellenbosch* campaign demonstrated a strong sense of *race cognisance* in challenging the race evasiveness of the campaign and in the way the incident was read, i.e., understanding the importance of race in the matter, and the subjective ways attitudes are mediated through race. One interviewee, for instance, said:

> I thought it was sarcasm ... but it's a movement. They are saying the debate is not about race or using language to exclude but it's about finding your roots and belonging in Stellies, detracting completely from the dialogue of language as weapon, and the beatings and the racism [that] black students face – minimising the experience of *#Luister*. I am really defeated because the self-oppression, hate and I would dare to even say mutilation shown in the images of two black people tell me that there is no real hope of honest, transparent dialogue around race, language and transformation. I am at a loss. (Zama Mojalefa interview, September 2015)



Photograph by Nicole Mason

Reading race: Implications for thinking through antiracism work

When we prise apart the two incidents discussed above, we see that there are no neat narratives of racism in *essential* terms, and, where they exist, they may be covered over by a version of *race evasiveness* that rejects claims of racism. The story is more complex than simply to suggest that all white people are unable to break out of their learned racism, or that all black people are still being oppressed by white people. There are, as Kira Erwin's paper "Antiracism in Post-Apartheid South Africa" shows, many white people engaged in meaningful race cognisant dialogue to challenge racism in society, and as McKaiser (2015) notes, many black people who have learned racism as a way of interacting in the world play out a form of racism in their interactions with, for instance, black foreigners.

These arguments note that the rhetoric is often about race even when it appears not to be, thus it remains important to stress that evasiveness, which is often tritly labelled 'subjectivity', may not just evade race, but may deny racism. The lived experience of black people – particularly in terms of how they face racism – should not be diminished in reading the subjectivities of those who act in racially prejudicial or racist ways (see Mtose, 2011; Thrasher, 2015). Public commentator and author Panashe Chigumadzi (2015) argues that colour-blindness (which we are calling *race evasiveness*) is conscripted to maintain black inequality and "is a violence to a black body". Similarly, in an American context, public commentator and author John Metta (2015) wrote the following in the *Huffington Post*:

> Living every single day with institutionalized racism and then having to argue its very existence, is tiring, and saddening, and angering. Yet if we express any emotion while talking about it, we're tone policed, told we're being angry. In fact, a key element in any racial argument in America is the Angry Black person, and racial discussions shut down when that person speaks. The Angry Black person invalidates any arguments about racism because they are "just being overly sensitive," or "too emotional," or playing the race card.

Thus, while antiracism work should encourage a critical reading of incidents and the subjective expressions of race evasiveness, labelling an attitude or behaviour 'subjective' should not be used to protect these attitudes and behaviours from being seen as racist; race evasiveness is designed to hide exclusion, some people still operate in race-essentialist ways, and some remain at the receiving end of racism.

The two "racial" incidents discussed above also highlight the importance of demonstrating *cognisance* in reading so-called racist or liberal incidents so that we do not unintentionally deny experiences of racism. Indeed, the very act of considering where racist "truly exists" should become an exercise in *race cognisance*. As a prominent antiracism activist puts it,

> The filtering processing you have to go through to ultimately conclude – that you go through to call something racist – that is a more progressive

"Thus, while antiracism work should encourage a critical reading of incidents and the subjective expressions of race evasiveness, labelling an attitude or behaviour 'subjective' should not be used to protect these attitudes and behaviours from being seen as racist..."

> way of dealing with racism than the knee-jerk reaction. Now this kind of [filtering] process is what is missing from a whole range of evaluative processes before you arrive at a conclusion that something is racist. To go through the [process of] elimination, to have the lenses called, and drawn and [ask] … is there something genuinely racist. If we call it racist [it is used to] shut you up. Where does that training exist? You can do a whole lot of conventional training that talks about race and structural racism, inherent racism and the legacies of racism, but there has to be a way in which you go take people through a process like this – a series of things to determine is this something genuinely racist. … I think we're sitting at a point where that inability [to filter] is getting us into serious trouble, because it [calls of racism] becomes the first point of reference for an issue, the first conclusion. (Neeshan Balton interview, August 2015)

Thus, these two cases demonstrate the importance of looking beneath the appearance of race/racism and the value of race cognisance as a necessary part of the process in doing antiracism work.

As the rest of the paper suggests, race cognisance may indeed be a marker of South Africa's current conjuncture and is evident in the responses of ordinary city residents. This kind of cognisance or awareness is pivotal to the work of social activists and others who are concerned with antiracism work.

Demonstrating race cognisance

Race cognisance is evident in the everyday discourses of ordinary South Africans. While there were some race-evasive responses in our interviews for the photo essay contained in this report, the majority of respondents were deeply cognisant of race. Consider these two responses from young urban residents of Johannesburg:

> Racism affects all of us, it affects our lives, the way we see each other, the way we view each other. Most importantly, it affects our social interactions, it's affected our past and the past always affects the future and the way we interact with one another. The way society is structured. That's how it affected all of those … it's probably one of the biggest contributors to how society is structured at the moment. Uhmm … its affected how me and my friends uhmm … relate to one another, how other people view us, view our relationships, my relationships with people uhmm … it's just … ya … it just has a very negative effect on everything (Respondent 74, Photo essay, 2015).

> Racism … it definitely exists, it affects us all. It affects us in different degrees. So ya … it takes us to things like privileges for most white people, it takes us to not knowing, or not having much as black people. So that whole debate about who is supposed to give us something, who is supposed to get something, that for me is the whole interesting thing about race relation[s] (Respondent 75, Photo essay, 2015).

We see in both these instances an appreciation of the subjectivities that come into play when thinking about race – for example, issues of historical legacy, interpersonal relationships, privilege and entitlement. This mirrors innumerable posts on social media that show the extent to which people respond to racist acts with acute awareness, as well as the detailed explanations in unpacking why certain attitudes and behaviours are racist.

In the case of activists, race cognisance is pivotal to their work of challenging racism and to their involvement in other civic endeavours. This is not surprising given that the nature of this work requires a deep understanding of the subjectivities internal to the activist, as well as the subjectivities that activists encounter. For some activists, being cognisant of race means profound self-reflexivity in the way they think about their work; for others, it means a critique about the contexts in which they work. For yet others it means discursive and physical fatigue in having to encounter institutional and political agendas and subjectivities as they relate to issues of race.

A social activist at an NGO notes the complexities in the work he does:

"In the case of activists, race cognisance is pivotal to their work of challenging racism and to their involvement in other civic endeavours. This is not surprising given that the nature of this work requires a deep understanding of the subjectivities internal to the activist, as well as the subjectivities that activists encounter."

> I think that many white South Africans are still in denial about the privilege that they accrued from apartheid. This may be because they do not want to occupy the position of the perpetrator; they do not want to experience the guilt associated with being the perpetrator. Alternatively, they do not want to recognise the subtleties involved with their benefit – e.g., a superior education. As a young, white, male South African, I myself have had to confront these realities. I have questioned my own achievements, where feeling that I benefited from apartheid seemed to threaten my sense of achievement. I want to be open to my faults; I want to understand myself within our country's history and current situation. I currently work at an organisation that is attempting to add to the resurrection of the national push for reconciliation. … We need to find a way of getting South Africans to hear how our history has affected different individuals and groups. However, there might be some defences and resistance to this, as it may evoke a wide array of emotions and memories. (Steven Rebello, email interview, July, 2015)

A respondent who heads up a prominent NGO explained the complexity of doing this kind of work. He said,

> My prejudices come to the fore, [even] as progressives, we can call it the "dual nature of individuals" where the rules [policy] and your own prejudices intersect, then you have a huge problem. (Neeshan Balton interview, July, 2015)

Within the faith community, one respondent noted,

> The reality, however, is that even in my own faith tradition there are leaders or pastors who will go to Bible college and come back to serve their religious organisations with the construction of racism and racial bias firmly intact, even by their own ignorance. (Seth Naicker, email interview, July 2015)

An activist in a prominent non-profit, political-leaning organisation said:

> My personal opinion is that racism has been bastardised in South Africa. We often throw it around when things don't go our way and this is often the first defence for our political leaders. The sadness of it all is that there are real racial tensions and issues that still exist in our country but because of the bastardisation of [the] term, we often turn a blind eye because it has become exhausting. (Kavisha Pillay interview, August 2015)

Finally, a respondent who is both an activist and academic said:

> When I see that something could be racist, I don't want to be *that* person. But then it makes me think that this kind of discourse about how we rationalise that it's a race thing, or that you're playing the race card, it makes it so that those people shut up, or their legitimate argument is [made] illegitimate and therefore any valid thing that they want to say is just taken away from them, which is a different side of racism. (Newo Erasmus interview, July 2015)

These five excerpts illustrate a set of complexities in thinking through antiracism work, and the subjectivities that come into play. Activists are cognisant of the ways that race operates in society and the complex ways in which people think through race. The responses include the prejudices and racial biases that circulate among people who do this work

"The responses of antiracism activists suggest that it is not only important to be race cognisant for the sake of understanding why people act in certain ways. Indeed, this form of cognisance is a self-evident and foundational practice in the work they do."

(excerpts 1–3), and the political and personal defences that are used either to defer uncomfortable conversations (excerpt 1) or in service of particular agendas (excerpt 4). Responses also highlight the difficulty with actually addressing racism given these multiple rationalities (excerpts 1, 4, 5). When respondents face these complexities, it often brings a sense of disillusionment and exhaustion, yet each respondent claimed that antiracism work is an important endeavour that requires tireless work. They embody the pursuit of a new social imaginary where racism is challenged, the complexities are acknowledged, and where there is a constant redrawing of the boundaries of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour or social attitudes. But as Ballard cautions, there needs to be a balance between drawing out these boundaries and

> getting people to acknowledge the ways in which race shapes the way *they* think. So the trick is to challenge racism but not in such a way that sends the people you accuse into a state of flat denial and so short circuiting the hard work of reflexivity. (Richard Ballard, personal communication, 2016)

The responses of antiracism activists suggest that it is not only important to be *race cognisant* for the sake of understanding why people act in certain ways. Indeed, this form of cognisance is a self-evident and foundational practice in the work they do. Race cognisance can also be used to critique race evasiveness and confront race essentialism. Antiracism practice extends the framework of how people think through race almost in a contrary fashion. The starting point is cognisance and, because of this, other forms of exclusion, evasiveness and defence become visible and can be articulated. Concomitantly, unpacking the forms of subjectivities and evasiveness allows a clearer, more critical reading of where racism exists and where there may be opportunities for critique and awareness. Intervention can then be appropriately tailored to the kind of race rationalities at work in particular contexts.

Conclusion

The concepts discussed in this paper provide a useful framework in which to think about antiracism work. Determining the fact of racism is not straightforward; it is significantly more complex in light of the subjectivities around how people see race. Even in the two high-profile incidents that occurred in 2015, which captured the public's imagination, the intersection of issues of race, class, privilege and language presented a much more complex case than one solely about racism. Yet, crucially, it was also about how these other complexities often mask racist exclusion in ways that may be seen as acceptable or legitimate.

The paper demonstrated the importance and centrality of race cognisance in doing antiracism work. Cognisance is important in both critiquing the kinds of language that mask racism and in understanding one's own subjectivities. It is also central to discussions about how South Africans formulate a politics of antiracism and to informing antiracism practice and intervention.

The kinds of "filtering" processes that one respondent talked about can be seen as a form of cognisance building. The value of and commitment to such a discursive practice should not be overlooked. It allows a reading of incidents (like the two discussed) that picks apart the strands of what are often lumped together with racism, and values a more complex reading of everyday interaction. The project of antiracism requires concerted cognisance-building efforts so that there is understanding of the subjectivities that shape people's interactions, beliefs and behaviours. That said, antiracist efforts should not only focus on attempting to address the nature of prejudice, but also on the nature of the harm done by racism. Antiracist endeavours should not further serve to silence black pain by overlooking the way racism is experienced.

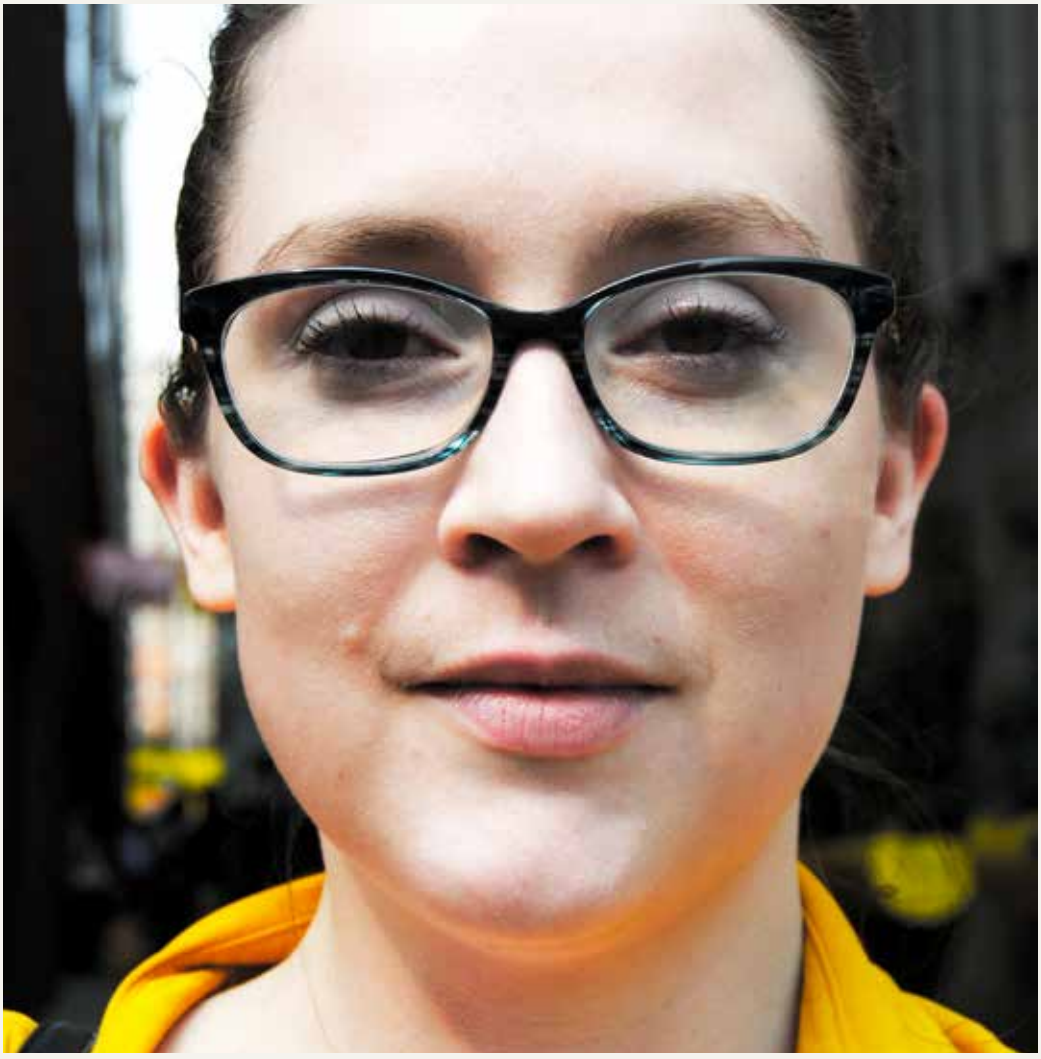
In this current conjuncture in South Africa, the challenge for activists is to teach people to be critical of their own race evasiveness, and more generally to think through ways to get beyond the struggle between race evasiveness, essentialism and awareness. Indeed, people's everyday discourses demonstrate a more complicated view of race and racism in South Africa, as illustrated in the excerpts from interviews. But while many are able to articulate the complexity at play when thinking about race, others use accusations of race in ways that do not aid understanding but only fuel animosity. State and party political practice can often be implicated in these crass accusations of racism. Since people often reject judgements of racism when they are directed at something they do or say, cognisance as discursive practice opens up possibilities for less antagonistic ways of identifying and confronting racism. The discursive practice of race cognisance and cognisance making is thus central to the work of antiracism if it is to invite people to be part of eradicating racism in society.

VIEW FROM THE STREETS III



"It's unfair, and the country needs to work out a way forward."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



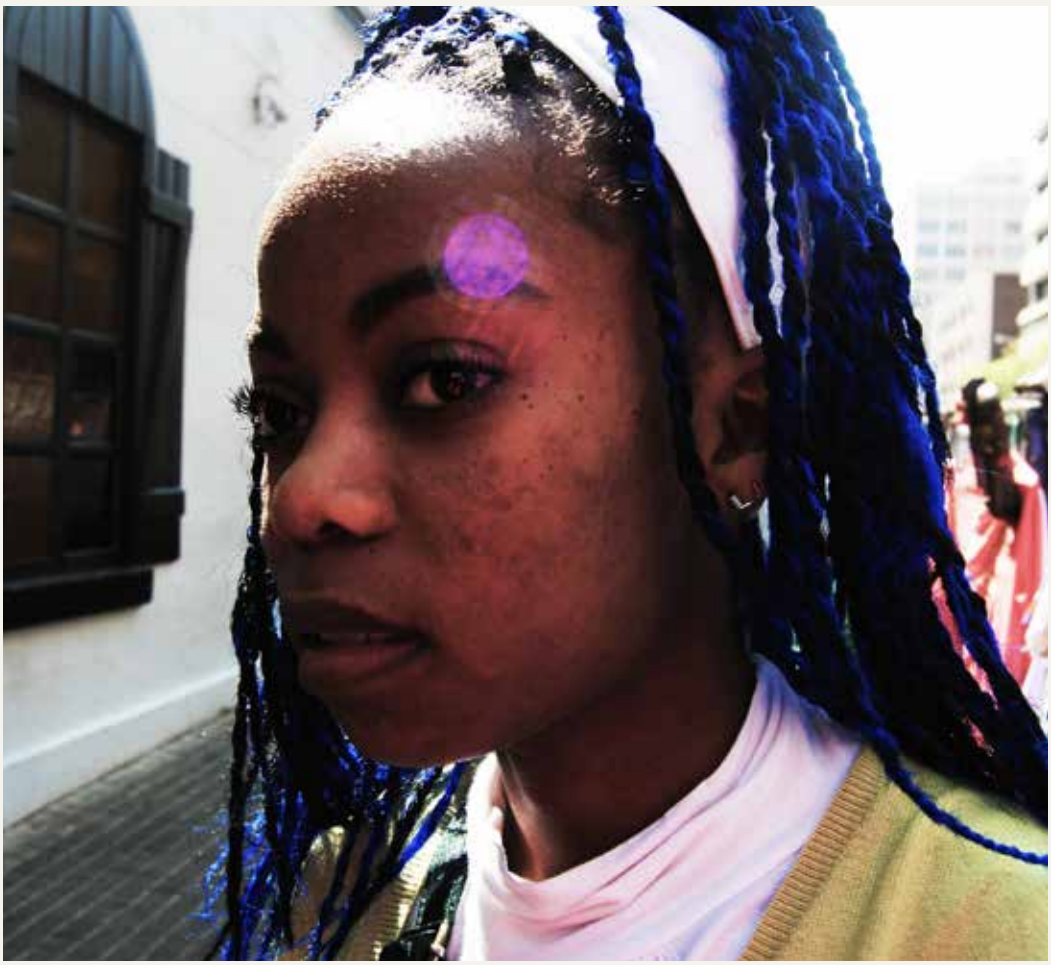
"It's a terrible thing to have to experience."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I've experienced it quite a bit in my life. It made me feel bad. It's weird how as humans we've progressed so much, yet we still have backward thinking. It's weird how the rest of the world is all one, yet we are only 20 years as a free country."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I've experienced it and so have my friends that I went to high school with as well. And it made me feel ... obviously angry, but I was more upset at the fact that there are still people out there in the world who have that type of mindset, who still think like that. Till this day I fail to understand that people still think like that. I know that we are what ... 21 years plus into democracy, but it's kind of whack that people still think like that."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"In racism, me I don't find much of it you know. If you just work very hard, but even if you work hard in industry, there is ... like opportunities aren't that many, where there is, it's just hard to filter out 'cause of all the racial issues and stuff, but either than that ... well ... socially, everybody seems to be chilled. It's just all the old farts that are still around that kinda need to uhmm ... not die off, but we need to kinda get rid of their perspectives and their ideals and let the young phase of ideals flyer in. So there's probably still a good 50ish years of racial tension, but it's getting there."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Racism affects all of us, it affects our lives, the way we see each other, the way we view each other. Most importantly, it affects our social interactions, its affected our past and the past always affects the future and the way we interact with one another. The way society is structured. That's how it affected all of those ... it's probably one of the biggest contributors to how society is structured at the moment. Uhmm ... its affected how me and my friends uhmm ... relate to one another, how other people view us, view our relationships, my relationships with people uhmm ... it's just ... ya ... it just has a very negative effect on everything."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Yeah actually, it is like that ... what I've experienced, during sports days, where I come from we'll play rugby. You can see there's racism, there's segregation within the players. If you tackle them, rugby is a contact sport, but if you tackle them, it's either I'm gonna get a beating there or something. So that affects my game play, so each time I play with the other race, I don't play to my maximum, because you tackle him, it's a fight. He tackles you, I'm fine. I don't know; I just don't know what's going on."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



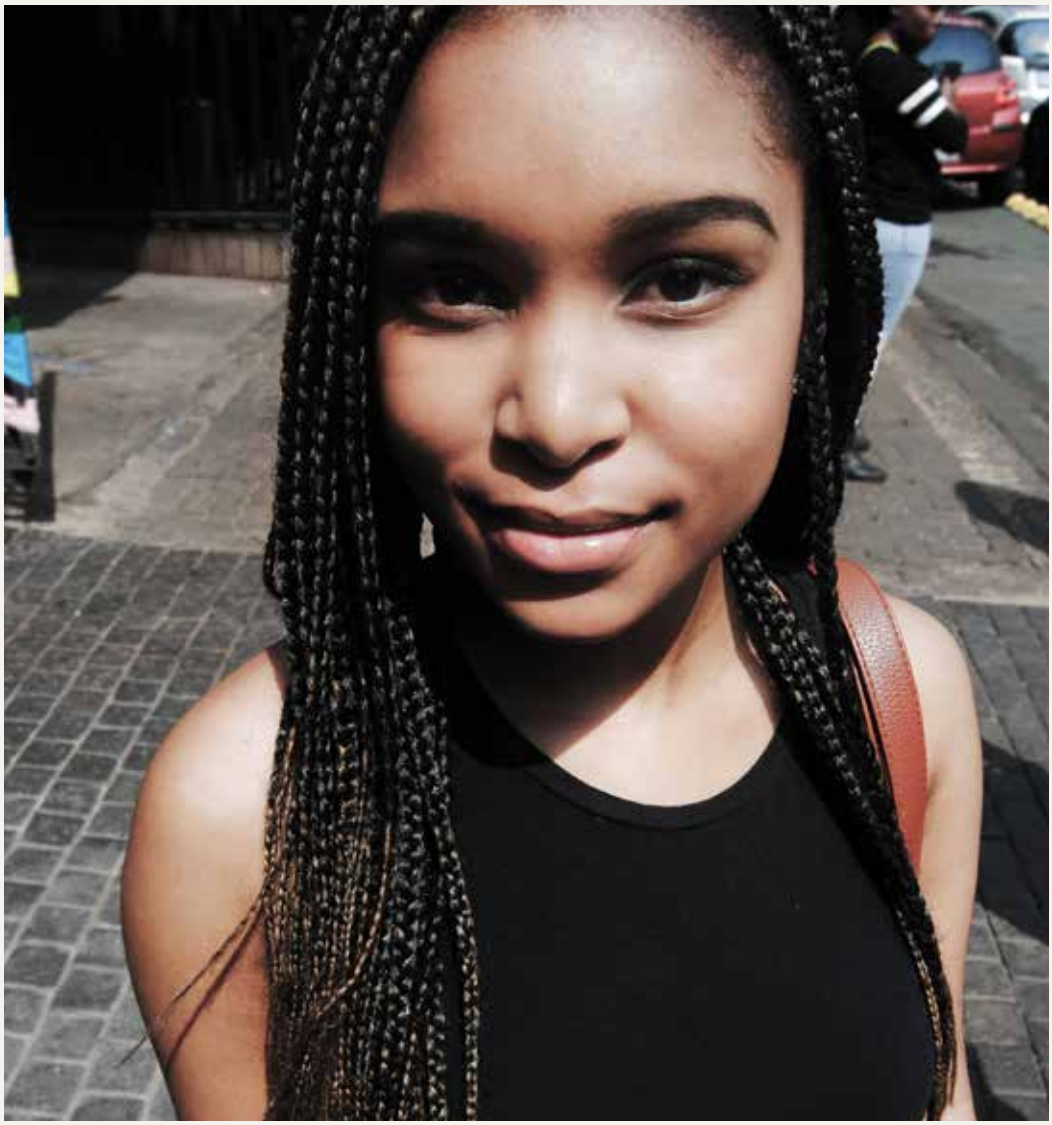
"Racism is obviously something that's really important to me, being a woman of colour. I think that 1994 was just a precursor and it wasn't thinking we should all get along. I think 1994 was quite interesting because it made a lot of us think we were supposed to get along, the rainbow nation. I think part of the problems was us having to come to grips with our own identities, create our own concepts. For the first time, we're seeing ourselves for what we are. So I think it's an interesting shift."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"We're living in a legacy of white supremacy. So, it's something that should be acknowledged, talked about and these things don't simply vanish. Uhmm ... so yeah ... just transparency and conversation."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I feel like it's a different change that's coming, I feel people are noticing things that weren't spoken of, and I think it's a good 'revolutionary' thing and we shouldn't be blind to colour and stuff like that, because it's South Africa. It's from our past; I mean we have to address these issues so we can move forward as a country."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I feel like ... we need to, as a country, talk constructively about racism. We shouldn't pretend that we've moved on and that it's over, and that everybody is fine, we're not fine! Nobody is fine! We still walk around with suspicions for no apparent reason. I feel like we need to find a way to talk about it without getting emotional, without getting worked up. To work together to find constructive solutions that don't put others down and don't put others ahead."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"We all gotta consider who we are, that's a real thing. We have to know who we are, race is a big issue, not in the way that people are portraying it though. It seems like we're too concerned with who the other person is. Think about who you are, find out who you really are, where you come from. I think that's really important."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani

If Truth be told then let me bold

BY JACQUI THE POET

If Truth be told then let me bold
Step forward and free my vocal chords
For this story, has to be told

If Truth be known then let me be bold
Step forward and free my vocal chords
For this story, must be told

My roots are nourished with blood from
fallen comrades
Who died so that I can stand here today
And freely take the stand as I speak them...
My thoughts
Uncut
Unedited
Uncensored
Unbanned

Foreign pens distort African histories
Learnt from my great grand
mother's memories
Unwritten
Unrecorded
Unknown
And therefore dismissed as tales of the
superstitious natives
Who like me believe that our
truth, must be told

As I grow old I relearn my history and go cold
At how I was led to believe the
deceptive lies I was fed
Through foreign pens that distort
African histories
Then lay claim to our land
"Stolen by the signature"
And in their written
Recorded
And well known literatures
Label my ancestors as savages

Now this great grand savage is tired
of beating around the bush
Shying from the Truth
Aroused by sugar coated lies that tell me Jan
Van Riebeeck's son
Discovered my land and brought me religion
And a white god on some heavenly throne
I should pray to
In times of my grief
When they bring me death with their rifles
And new life with their bibles

Hallelujah praise this white god for my black
sins are now white as the snow
And I'm sanctified
And I realize that we are all children of
one god after all
Even though once upon a time
We could not even piss in the same toilets

But that's all in the past I am told
By the tell a lie vision
That reminds me that Simunye, we are one
But then forgets to tell me the
truth, ya Mampela
Now the media strokes me up with
sweet sounding talk
Like, BEE, Affirmative Action for the PDI
And as I'm about to come to this rhythm of
the politically correct seduction

Reality brings me back to an anticlimax
As a white man drives past
His dog in the passenger seat
And the one he still sees as "kafir" at the
back of his bakkie

If Truth be told then let me bold
Step forward and free my vocal chords
For this story, has to be told
It's got to be told
It must be known

Aluta Continua!

VIEW FROM THE STREETS IV



"People take advantage of other people, let's say because you are probably Indian or coloured and you should treat another ... we should treat each other equally you know? Complexion, it's nothing but complexion. One thing, we are all human, we should all respect each other."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Well ... the way people are with crime especially. It's always blamed on the blacks."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"The most frustrating thing for me is ... I think the way people look at you. There's still this judgmental glint in people's eyes, even if you have white friends or black friends, even when you're together in a click with them, you'll still get weird glances like 'why is she with those people?' You know what I mean?"

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



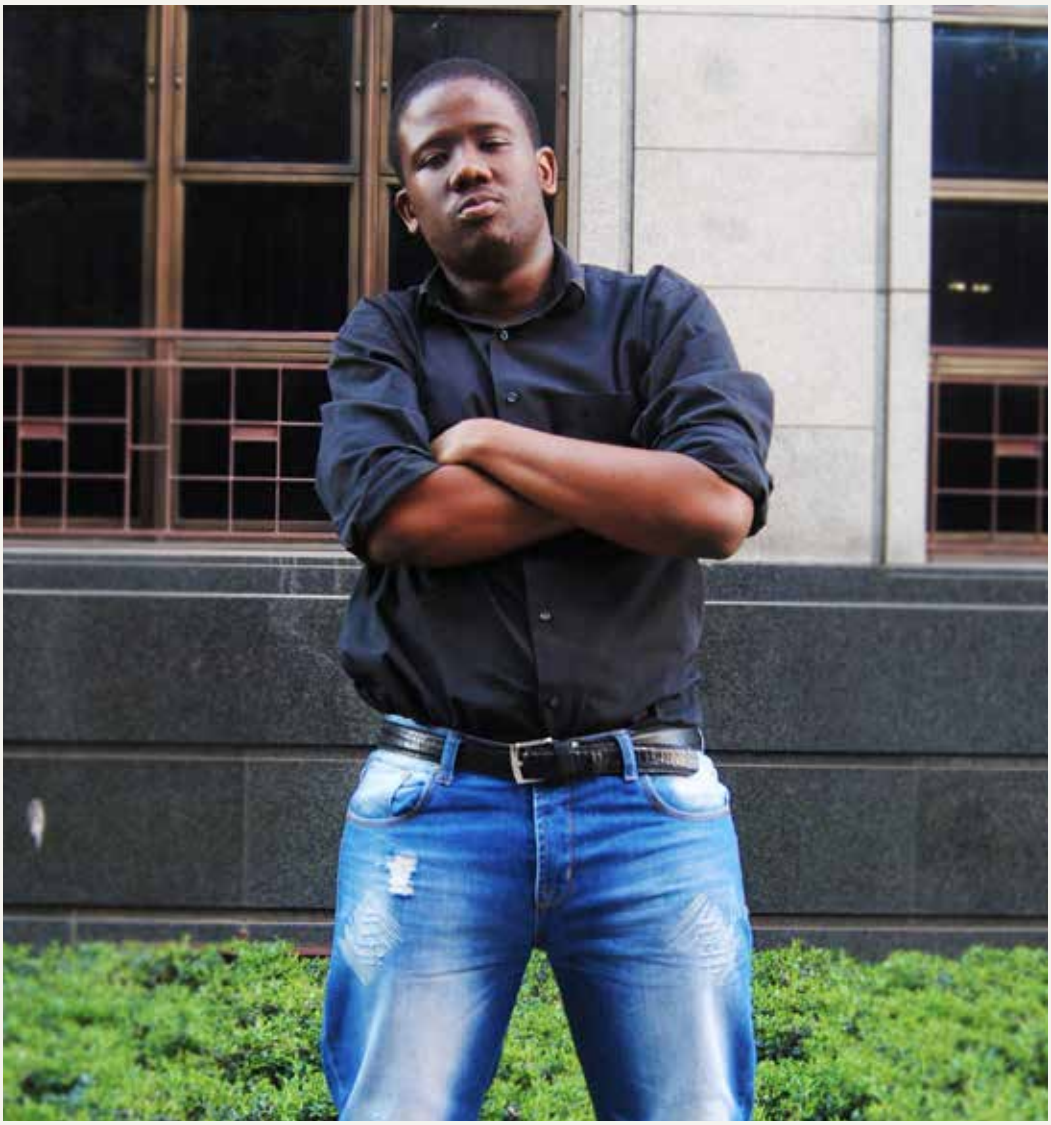
"The thing is, it's not that much of racism, I'm just saying that we were just at a particular res right, so usually you'll hear people making noise in the night right, then some night we were just talking, there wasn't that much noise, but just because we were black the security had much guts to come and tell us to shut up, and then the other guys they don't do that. The security is black. Maybe because he is afraid of them."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Racism ... it definitely exists, it affects us all. It affects us in different degrees. So ya ... it takes us to things like privileges for most white people, it takes us to not knowing, or not having much as black people. So that whole debate about who is supposed to give us something, who is supposed to get something, that for me is the whole interesting thing about the race relation."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"How it affects me today? Look at things like public transport. There's a certain perception about how different races are treated. We speak and behave in particular ways and that on its own shows how different the races are."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani

Section 4

Global antiracism strategies and practice

KIRA ERWIN

Abstract

In 2001 South Africa signed the United Nation's 2001 Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (DDPA) at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. One of the commitments in the DDPA was the development of a national action plan (NAP) against racism, xenophobia and related intolerances. Fifteen years after the conference, South Africa has developed a draft NAP. This paper examines NAPs within an international context, and outlines some of the key lessons South African policymakers could learn from the experiences of other countries that have implemented NAPs. While very few countries have produced evaluation and monitoring reports on their action plans, where these are available (for example, Canada and Ireland), lessons are drawn on what did not work and why. The main content of this report reviews and synthesises NAPs from selected countries that have adopted the DDPA suggestion, paying specific attention to Ireland, Canada, Argentina, Mexico and Norway. Successful NAPs, or as is more common, specific successful practical outcomes within these plans, are highlighted. The report includes a discussion on some of the inherent tensions between NAPs and international compliance, and more specifically how South Africa may want to start thinking about these during the development of such a plan. The concluding section of the report examines the findings in order to determine how South Africa could draw insights from existing plans in terms of their development, formation and evaluation. It also raises some critical questions on whether NAPs work and what is needed if they are to move beyond an exercise in international compliance.



“In 2001 South Africa signed the United Nation’s 2001 Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (DDPA) at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.”

Photograph by Luca Bravo

Introduction

The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (DDPA) was a product of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) held in Durban, South Africa, in 2001. The programme advocated that party states each develop a national action plan (NAP) against racism and related discrimination. As of 2014, no such NAP had been officially adopted by South Africa, one of the signatories to the DDPA. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) did some initial work in this area, but as will be outlined later in this report, since 2003 this process stagnated until it was picked up again in 2013. Indeed, the same is the case for many countries. In 2014 the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) published a document *titled Developing National Action Plans against Racial Discrimination: A Practical Guide (*hereafter *UN Practical Guide)*. It lists approximately 24 countries that informed the UN that they had adopted or intended to develop an action plan by January 2013 (OHCHR, 2014). Definitive figures on the number of states that have adopted such a plan are difficult to obtain. During data collection for this scoping exercise, 14 countries that have existing or past NAPs against racism and/or discrimination were identified. Some national plans are no longer active after the first five-year cycle, as in the case of Ireland and Canada. Since the WCAR had representatives from 163 countries (Banton, 2002), the number of compliant countries is very low. It is important to note that the absence of a NAP does not necessarily provide a good measure of a state's anti-discrimination laws or practices. Some countries that do not have an official action plan have nevertheless already implemented many of the suggestions made in the *UN Practical Guide*, including legislative recourse for acts of discrimination and targeted programmes to tackle it (South Africa and the UK are two such examples). However, there is growing international pressure from various regional and international bodies to develop such plans and the South African government is currently resurrecting the call to respond to their DDPA obligations.

The first section of this report contextualises the UN's 2001 call for NAPs against racism and related discriminations/intolerances. South Africa's 15-year process of developing such a plan is examined within this international context. The main content of this report reviews and synthesises NAPs from selected countries that have adopted the DDPA suggestion. Successful NAPs, or as is more common, specific successful practical aspects of these plans, are highlighted. While very few countries have produced evaluation and monitoring reports on their action plans, where these are available (for example, Canada and Ireland), lessons are drawn on what did not work and why.

In reviewing this international experience, the following questions are addressed:

- What is required to formulate a national antiracism action plan?
- What are the best practices and processes included in other countries' antiracism action plans, and what have been the outcomes of these plans?
- How have countries made budgetary provisions for programmes attached to national strategies, and how have programmes or interventions been structured within the bureaucracy?

In answering these questions, the report includes a discussion on some of the inherent tensions between NAPs and international compliance, and more specifically how South Africa may want to start thinking about these during the development of such a plan. The concluding section of the report examines the findings in order to determine how South Africa could draw insights from existing plans in terms of their development, formation and evaluation. It also raises some critical questions on whether NAPs work and what is needed if they are to move beyond an exercise in international compliance.

Methodology

For the most part, the data collected for this scoping exercise consist of various NAPs against racism and other forms of discrimination and related intolerances. Wherever possible, additional supporting documents were examined, including previous research and concept documents, state publications, non-governmental organisation (NGO) monitoring reports, evaluation and monitoring reports, and regional and international review reports. In all cases these documents were sourced online.
The sample selected for analysis was arrived at through a two-stage process. Firstly, a wide-ranging search was undertaken to collect as many NAPs as possible using the UN Office of Human Rights online library of country plans/policies, the UN's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) country reports and concluding suggestions (many states use their action plans as part of this reporting process), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) review reports, and a general online search for national plans against racism (including for the 24 countries listed in the *UN Practical Guide*). This multipronged strategy was necessary as there is currently no conclusive list of countries that have adopted such a NAP or a collection of these documents. In total, documents were collected for 24 countries, 16 of which had clear NAPs against racism or related intolerances: Argentina, Bolivia, Canada, Croatia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Malta, Mexico, Slovak Republic and Spain. It is worth noting that no NAPs were found for countries in Asia or Africa (although South Africa now has a final draft NAP). It is possible that these do exist but are published online in languages other than English. However, no such NAPs are listed in CERD reports or the UN library on country documents on racism (which is by no means comprehensive).

Acknowledging the language constraints noted above, countries with comprehensive documentation relating to their NAPs were selected for further in-depth analysis. Some states have translated their NAPs into English, but many have not. In the cases of Mexico and Argentina, some basic translation assistance was sought, but plans in English underwent more in-depth analysis. Besides developing a NAP that addressed racism or related intolerances, and in some cases plans that had entered their second cycles of development, the selection criteria focused on countries that provided documentation of the development process and/or an indication of evaluation, monitoring and review cycles. Ireland, Canada, Norway, Germany and Argentina were all selected using these criteria. Mexico was also selected. Although Mexico only published its NAP in 2014, the country has a strong national institution that deals with issues of racism and discrimination and provides interesting learnings for South Africa. Once these selected documents had been analysed with the three key research questions in mind, and exemplary practices and projects had been identified, additional supporting documents for these countries were sourced. These included CERD and ECRI country reports and, in the case of Ireland, civil society reports that discuss the NAP.

International context

In response to the Nazi atrocities before and during World War II, there was international condemnation of the openly racist practices and policies that existed in many countries. A new era of international human rights embodied in the UN reconstituted the liberal notion of freedom and equality, supposedly without its previous hierarchical and discriminatory structure (Hirschman, 2004). In 1969 the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) came into force under the OHCHR. Its objective is to "adopt all necessary measures for speedily eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations, and to prevent and combat racist doctrines and practices in order to promote understanding between races and to build an international community free from all forms of racial segregation and racial discrimination" (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 1969). The CERD was set up to monitor and evaluate signatory states. At present there are 178 party states, 88 of which are signatories. However, some party states have not agreed fully to Article 14, which gives the CERD the power to receive and investigate any official complaints or reports of racial discrimination or racism within a party state (UN Treaty Collection, 2017).

While mainstream official political and scientific discourse has vigorously discredited the notion of race as a biological fact (Stepan, 2003), racism remains a lived reality for many people across the world. Race continues to be constructed as a category of difference, mapped onto class and culture in ways that exclude and oppress. Racial discrimination is always tied up in power relations. Despite the international move away from state-sanctioned racism, systems of racial oppression continued late into the twentieth century – apartheid in South Africa and the Rwanda and Burundi genocide are but two examples. In 1994 South Africa experienced a relatively peaceful transition to democracy, often portrayed as a miracle, although, as Ivor Chipkin and Bongani Ngqulunga (2008: 68) note, this "is less the product of a 'miracle' than a 'fragile stability' in the political arena". South Africa's transition continues to inspire international discourses around social cohesion and equality (for example, Mexico's national annual award for equality begins with a quote from Nelson Mandela).

In 2001 the UN chose the South African city of Durban as the host for the third WCAR. The conference attracted representatives from more than 163 countries (Banton, 2002). As with the two previous conferences, the 2001 conference was plagued by single-issue politics and regional conflicts that overrode a more practical and action-oriented programme. The political focus left little room for constructive discussion on strengthening the monitoring and intervention function of the ICERD on party states that demonstrated obvious contraventions of this international accord (ibid.). The conflictual nature of these debates continued in follow-up meetings in 2009 and 2011 in which a substantial number of states refused to participate. These tensions highlight the difficulties in negotiating local, regional and international politics. As discussed later, some of the tensions between local and international discourses are present in relation to creating NAPs against racism.

Despite these conflicts, at the conclusion of the WCAR, UN member states signed the DDPA (UN Department of Public Information, 2002). This Declaration "recognizes that combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is a primary responsibility of States" (ibid.: 82). It "encourages States to develop or elaborate national action plans to promote diversity, equality, equity, social justice, equality of opportunity and the participation of all" (ibid.). Within this is a call that these action plans be developed in collaboration with NGOs. In 2009 the Durban Review Conference was held where state parties reaffirmed their commitment to creating NAPs (United Nations, 2010). In this review declaration the language is far more specific. The declaration also "*encourages* the States parties to include in their periodic reports information on action plans or other measures to implement the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action" when reporting to the CERD.

In all these conferences there is a strong assertion that the ICERD is the "principal international instrument to prevent, combat and eradicate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance" (UN Department of Public Information, 2002: 8). During the WCAR, many more state parties signed the ICERD. Yet in both the Durban Declaration and the follow-up conferences in 2009 and 2011 there is recognition of frequent non-submission of country reports. South Africa is no exception; its fourth to eighth periodic reports to CERD were only submitted at the end of November 2014 (CERD, 2015). In addition, South Africa in 2014 had yet to respond to two requests by the OHCHR's Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance to visit the country on a fact-finding mission (Human Rights Council, 2014a). In short, the CERD is not yet able to take non-compliant states to task. Michael Banton's (2002) critique that this should have received more attention at the WCAR is worth noting. In some ways, the UN's encouragement of NAPs against racism and related intolerances is an attempt to encourage consistent reporting. This is reiterated in the *UN Practical Guide*, which suggests that a NAP "can help States meet their obligations as parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and their commitments arising from the World Conference against Racism and the Durban Review Conference, as well as other regional and national obligations" (OHCHR, 2014: 2). Given South Africa's shaky track record in this international review process, developing a NAP against racism may assist in responding more consistently to these international obligations.

National context

Short history on developing the NAP in South Africa

The *UN Practical Guide* states that "a national action plan is the basis for the development of a comprehensive public policy against racial discrimination and can therefore help States give effect to their international human rights obligations related to the elimination of racial discrimination". It also strongly "suggests the establishment of a national body or institution against racial discrimination as one of the outcomes of the national action plan" (ibid.: vii). South Africa can already tick many of the legislative suggestions in this guiding document (ibid.). Since 1994, the country has had an impressive record of eradicating racist policy and legislation. Its constitution is strongly based on a human rights approach and the prohibition of racial and other forms of discrimination. These prohibitions extend to state policies and legislation, including an independent Constitutional Court. A substantial number of independent state bodies, known in South Africa as Chapter 9 institutions, deal with discrimination, including the SAHRC; the Commission for Gender Equality; the Public Protector; the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities; the Auditor-General; the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Authority to Regulate Broadcasting.

South Africa has also implemented affirmative action in terms of employment quotas in both the public and private sectors. The *UN Practical Guide* uses South Africa as an example of how these "special measures" can be employed as part of a national strategy to combat racism and discrimination (ibid.: 45). South Africa is very adept at collecting information on racial demographics and continues to use the census to gather data using apartheid-defined racial categories. Statistics South Africa provides detailed demographics through household surveys and the state census; this includes ward-level data (geographic sub-areas run by political councillors) and at times written reports on specific areas of discrimination such as disability (Statistics South Africa, 2014). There are also numerous non-state research institutions that undertake large-scale surveys, as recommended by the UN Practical Guide. For example, Afrobarometer "measures the social, political, and economic atmosphere in Africa" and provides longitudinal country data that monitor trends in public attitudes.[28] All of these sources meet the UN stipulations for collecting demographic statistics for race, ethnic and immigrant groups.

South Africa's NAP against racism and other related intolerances was published for public comment in 2016, getting to a draft stage has been a long and fractious process. For example, in 2000 at the National Conference on Racism titled "Combating Racism: A Nation in Dialogue" it was decided that "the South African Human Rights Commission should develop and adopt a comprehensive national action plan and strategy to combat racism" (SAHRC, 2001a: 5). In 2001, the same year as the WCAR, the SAHRC developed two documents to drive this process: *Developing and Adopting a Comprehensive National Action Plan and Strategy to Combat Racism* (SAHRC, 2001b) and *The National Action Plan and Strategy to Combat Racism* (SAHRC, 2001c). On 30 July 2003 there was an official media launch of the National Forum against Racism (NFAR), which was mandated "to develop and monitor the implementation of the National Action Plan against Racism".[29] In the press release for the event, the responsibility for implementing the plan appears to have moved from the SAHRC to the Department of Justice. Since that time, there are sparse records available online that talk to or about the NAP, except for adverts for a researcher and project manager in the Secretariat of the NFAR posted in 2006 and 2007.[30]

In the SAHRC *Equality Report* in 2012 (SAHRC, 2012), Kgamadi Kometsi, then the national coordinator for the Portfolio of Racism and Non-Discrimination at the SAHRC, outlined the stop-start process that has characterised the development of the NAP. He is clear on the SAHRC's disappointment that this process had not moved further than a draft document since 2001 (ibid.). He also makes the pertinent point that South Africa is no stranger to developing complex NAPs, such as the 1998 National Action Plan for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. For Kometsi, this experience should have made the development process easier rather than laboured (ibid.). There are examples of other countries, such as Norway, which appear to have successfully built on the initial development experiences to produce a rather intimidating number of action plans with very specific targeted outcomes – see how these fit together to address various forms of discrimination in the Norwegian NAP document (Ministry of Children and Equality, 2009).

There is little doubt that South Africa has a rich legislative and institutional landscape from which to develop an action plan. South Africa's preamble to the constitution states the aim to "establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights" (South African Government, 1996), and the democratic state is founded on the values of "human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms", as well as on "non-racialism and non-sexism" (ibid.). However, despite the move to democracy, the eradication of racist legislation and the development of the Chapter 9 institutions, South Africa continues to have one of the highest measures of inequality in the world (National Planning Commission, 2011). Material inequalities create fertile ground for maintaining and normalising forms of discrimination; "patterns of discrimination keep people in poverty which in turn serves to perpetuate discriminatory attitudes and practices against them" (OHCHR, 2014: 56).

While the country may have an admirable constitution and progressive policies, it suffers from a disjuncture between ideals on paper and practical implementation. This is perhaps due to a heavy overreliance on tackling discrimination through a legislative framework. Without a concurrent commitment to developing an anti-discrimination social framework, such legislation, while absolutely necessary, is insufficient. In other words, a commitment to addressing the complex issues of how ideologies of difference become systemic discriminatory practices is needed. It is in this area that the South African government has been particularly weak. Systemic discrimination in South Africa encompasses far more than a narrow focus on racism. It is also experienced through a hegemonic

28. http://www.afrobarometer.org/ (accessed June 2016).
29. http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/2004/appendices/041027progress.htm (accessed June 2016).
30. http://www.legalbrief.co.za/article.php?story=20061026143905573, http://www.legalbrief.co.za/article. php?story=20070223092206678, http://www.legalbrief.co.za/article.php?story=20070223092720764 (accessed 21 February 2016).

patriarchy that normalises violence against women and other men (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012). For Chandré Gould (2014), the South African context is one that continues to support routine violence. It is difficult to argue against this when thinking about acts of abuse and hatred such as "corrective rape", where lesbian women are violently punished as "deviants". Alongside these brutal examples are numerous tacit and banal forms of sexism, homophobia, xenophobia and racism, often intersecting to create a nexus of oppression. Tackling these issues requires not just a fixing of society "out there" but critical internal reflection on government practices and discourses. In the African National Congress government, both race and nationalism have been used as "central ideas for political mobilisation, so that the political expression of voice based on socio-economic interests is discouraged" (Beall, Gelb and Hassim, 2005: 688). According to Beall et al., this "reinforces 'status quo bias' in policy and consolidates the conventional wisdom on issues such as inequality or poverty reduction" (ibid.).

Thus, if the South African government wishes to develop an effective NAP against racism and related intolerances beyond reasons of a perfunctory international obligation, it would need to take seriously the more daunting and crucial challenge of developing a social framework to address racism and related discriminations. More importantly, it would need to find ways that ensure its implementation to effect tangible change. Bearing this in mind, it is useful for governments that wish to develop such a tool to examine the experiences of other states in order to draw lessons and possible good practices for further exploration within their own contexts. The following section offers examples of how different states have formulated and implemented NAPs.

Photograph by Ayo Ogunseinde



Drawing on lessons from other countries

Canada

Prior to the WCAR, Canada had a sophisticated legislative framework based on equal rights and against various forms of discrimination. Canada has also been held up as one of the forerunners in promoting multiculturalism as a state policy framework, in which diversity is valued as a strength rather than a problem to resolve (see Taylor, 1994). Following a visit from the UN's Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related forms of discrimination in 2003, Canada committed to developing a NAP. Canada's Action Plan against Racism (CAPAR) was adopted in 2005. The Plan had six key priority areas: assist victims and groups vulnerable to racism and related forms of discrimination; develop forward-looking approaches to promote diversity and combat racism; strengthen the role of civil society; strengthen regional and international cooperation; educate children and youth on diversity and antiracism; and counter hate and bias (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2005). While these key areas are all admirable, they were sufficiently broad to enable a large number of existing initiatives to fall under the Plan, which was ambitious in scope. It "included 40 initiatives and strategies that were part of existing budgets and programs in more than 20 departments and agencies. In addition, $53.6 million in funding was allocated to nine new initiatives within four departments" (Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 2010: iv). The inclusion of so many existing initiatives raised difficulties for the design and governance of the Plan, particularly since most initiatives fell under the authority of multiple departments that were responsible for their implementation.

The Plan aimed to represent "the first-ever horizontal, coordinated approach across the federal government to combat racism" (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2005: iii). The governance model used for this initiative was that of a secretariat (under a lead department) and an interdepartmental working group. The very frank evaluation report released in 2010 clearly regards this horizontal model as ineffective. It also indicates that the Secretariat was unable to adequately fulfil this role due to the limited resources made available to it, and the lack of senior management engagement with the NAP. Of the nine new initiatives proposed in the Plan, two had been cancelled by 2008, two were never implemented and five were ongoing with various levels of success at the time of the evaluation in 2010 (Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 2010). Besides the failure of the governance model, the inclusion of 40 existing initiatives in the Plan spanning multiple departments and departmental levels meant that, in both design and delivery, the Plan became a coordinated "performance measurement amongst the funded initiatives" (ibid.: v). Within this coordination role the scope of intended collaborations was unclear and ill-defined. The evaluation report clearly states that "there was little cohesion between the funded initiatives" (ibid.: vi). This was perhaps inevitable with a governance structure required to communicate with multiple departments without the necessary seniority.

The transparency and critical review in Canada's evaluation report are to be commended. Transparency and participation are also evident in the development stage of the Plan, through internal stakeholder consultation and the purposeful involvement of the UN and ICERD reviewing processes (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2005). While Canada continues to actively engage in policy issues and programmes that target discrimination, as well as timeously submit reports to the CERD, it has not developed a second round of a NAP against racism.

While governance structures and lack of coordination resulted in a weak implementation phase, Canada's experience offers another important lesson to South Africa. Like Canada, South Africa has an extensive, sophisticated anti-discriminatory legislative framework. Again, like Canada, South Africa could in all likelihood create an equally impressive list of 40-odd existing state initiatives that tackle various forms of discrimination. Yet it

was this tallying up of existing initiatives that led to the design of an unmanageable plan, in similar fashion to how Germany's plan produced nothing further than an audit of existing work. Arguably, a more productive use of the $53.6 million would have been a coordinated effort to research and produce independent targeted projects, or to create strong cross-departmental bridges and knowledge sharing.

Ireland

Like Canada, Ireland was an early adopter of the WCAR's 2001 call for NAPs against racism. In Ireland this process was led by the minister for justice, equality and law reform. In 2002 a discussion document to inform the consultation process was published. This outlined the government's planning process and called for consultation (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2002). It also provided an outline of racism in Ireland and presented existing government-led initiatives to combat racism. Since the pre-plan document already acknowledged existing initiatives, it enabled the development of a NAP to move beyond an inventory of what currently existed. This was useful in that it built on existing initiatives and allowed room to develop new targeted projects that tackle racism and discrimination. In 2003 the Ministry published a report offering a transparent and detailed outline of the consultation process as well as the resulting key findings of these discussions (National Action Plan against Racism Steering Group, 2003). Ireland undertook extensive consultations that incorporated national, regional and micro-level meetings with a wide variety of state and non-state organisations (see ibid.). The final NAP against racism was completed in 2005 and set to run from 2005–2008 (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2005).

Ireland adopted a governance model that was similar to that of Canada in implementing its 2005 NAP against racism. A steering group committee was constructed with various stakeholders under the sole responsibility of a junior minister in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (National Action Plan against Racism Steering Group, 2009). In her evaluation report at the end of the 2005–2008 cycle, the chair of the NAP against racism, Lucy Gaffney, clearly identified this model as a major stumbling block to implementation. In Gaffney's words:

> Successful implementation by a monitoring group often hinges on a good balance between strong stakeholder representation on the one hand and representation from those directly responsible for delivery on the other … the group was underrepresented by those Government Departments responsible for delivery of outcomes. While the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform had representatives on the group, these operated either in a coordinating or secretariat role. Direct representation from service provider Departments from the beginning would have been more productive. … The challenge is to find a structure or structures which will deliver both in terms of stakeholder engagement and delivery on the ground. (ibid.: 9)

The evaluation report on the NAP highlighted mixed results. While the governance strategy of this plan weakened implementation overall, the Irish case is worth noting due to its success in using a targeted approach rather than being overambitious in its scope. During the initial three-year cycle, the steering committee funded research on discrimination as well as a large number of targeted projects against racism, to an amount of €4 946 600 over four years. The majority of these projects were run by civil society at grassroots level, enabling micro-level interventions. Arguably, this develops civil society's capacity to partner and initiate projects that address racism and discrimination within specific contexts. Given the importance of context in understanding how notions of race and social difference are understood in everyday interactions and settings (Banton, 2013; Gunaratnam, 2003), this makes more strategic sense than funding only national government-led projects.

The evaluation report also cites a close working relationship with business as a successful project, in what they call a BIZLAB model that focuses on awareness of discrimination in employment in the private sector.

In 2009 Ireland entered into economic depression and the Irish government initiated severe funding cuts across all programmes. In a briefing note to the ECRI, the Equality and Rights Alliance in Ireland raised deep concern that the harshest cuts had been targeted at bodies dealing with rights and equality (Equality and Rights Alliance, 2012: 3). These included:

- 100% funding cut to the National Consultative Committee for Racism and Interculturalism (which led to its closure in December 2008);
- 32% funding cut to the Irish Human Rights Commission; and
- 43% cut to the Equality Authority.

As part of these cuts, the government announced in January 2009 that it would not be renewing a second cycle of the NAP against racism. However, despite the end of the Plan itself, targeted interventions within specific government ministries developed policies and programmes that lived far beyond the Plan. A state police force document titled *Diversity Strategy and Implementation Plan: Beyond Legal Compliance 2009–2012* (An Garda Síochána, 2009) directly attributes its inspiration to the NAP. Another example is the *National Intercultural Health Strategy 2007–2012*, developed "on [the] foot of the National Action Plan against Racism" (Health Service Executive, 2008: 3).

Norway

Norway has just completed its second cycle of a NAP against racism and discrimination, the first being the government's *National Plan of Action to Combat Racism and Discrimination* (2002–2006) and the second the *Action Plan to Promote Equality and Prevent Ethnic Discrimination* (2009–2012) (CERD, 2013a). The Norwegian model of governance is slightly different from that of Canada and Ireland in that the implementation of the Plan, as well as reporting and evaluation, are the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Children and Equality. Although an interministerial working group is responsible for follow-up measures on projects and annual status reports, many of the key projects are the direct responsibility of this Ministry (now called the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion).

The Action Plan is very clear that it is the state's responsibility to fight discrimination and racism in Norwegian society (Ministry of Children and Equality, 2009). As a result, the Plan focuses on government agencies at policy and administrative levels, specifically training and skilling staff as well as recording the public's experience of state services. In general, the Plan is forward looking rather than a tally of existing and past initiatives, although a brief summary of how it fits into a host of other action plans and the new Anti-discrimination Act is provided in the introduction. Norway appears to have a number of action plans targeting specific forms of discrimination, for example the Action Plan for Integration and Social Inclusion of the Immigrant Population and Goals for Social Inclusion (2007) and Improving Quality of Life among Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Trans Persons (2009–2012) (ibid.). Its Anti-discrimination Act is a new and "more comprehensive legislation against all types of discrimination [which will] help to show how various grounds of discrimination can be seen as interconnected" (ibid.: 14). The second NAP targets the following "strategic measures": working life and the public service, children and young people, the housing market and admission to restaurants and nightlife (ibid.: 8). Within these areas, specific intervention projects are outlined, for example the implementation of ethics training and reflection spaces for all healthcare personnel (ibid.), as well as training programmes for the justice department and the police, and funded projects that aim to build trust between the police and immigrant populations (ibid.). The Norwegian Plan also focuses on supporting bilingualism and interpretation services.

The NAP outlines the need to engage in knowledge production around discrimination in Norway and the

desire to "increase knowledge about the type, scope and causes of discrimination so that we can develop measures that work" (ibid.: 5). The state funded research into new methodologies, in this case a pilot study on situation testing, in an attempt to understand the contextual nature of discrimination (ibid.). The Ministry also funded the compilation of a summary of existing research on discrimination in Norway as a resource tool (ibid.).

Norway appears to seriously engage with both an internal and external reviewing process in order to evaluate, develop and refine existing initiatives. This ensures a high level of transparency of government policies and evaluation and reviewing processes. Norway engages in intense internal consultation for all reports on anti-discrimination plans. This includes funding the development of shadow reports by civil society when reporting to regional and international agencies. For example, in the 2013 review cycle the Norwegian government allocated NOK 200 000 to the Norwegian Centre against Racism to create a shadow report for the CERD (CERD, 2013a: 3). Norway reports to three external reviewing panels, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the ECRI and the CERD. Concluding comments from these panels are then taken into consideration when evaluating NAPs. For example, in its 19th and 20th periodic reports to the CERD, the panel expressed concern that the language support and interpretation services proposed in the 2009–2012 Plan had not been implemented with much success (CERD, 2011). In the next reporting cycle, Norway directly addressed these concerns with clear indications of how the government had responded to ensure better implementation (CERD, 2013a).

The Norwegian case study reiterates the importance of creating specific programmes and projects within a NAP rather than broad objectives. This enables continuous development of projects in order to ensure more effective implementation. Funding research on experiences of discrimination at key points of interaction between the state and the public and researching the systemic nature of discrimination enable critical reflection on government service provision and institutions. Importantly, Norway has developed a systematic model to make productive use of internal and external reviewing processes. A more in-depth analysis of how a government ministry can be used as a governance model for a NAP, such as in the Norwegian case, would be worth exploring by a South African delegation.

Argentina

The intellectual engagement in the Norwegian case is exemplified in Argentina's consultation and development stage of a NAP. In 2005 the Argentinian government issued a report titled *Towards a National Action against Discrimination: Discrimination in Argentina, Diagnosis and Proposals* (Mendizábal, 2005). The initial development of this plan was done in consultation with Mary Robinson, the then High Commissioner for Human Rights at the UN. This support included funding to initiate the plan's development from the UN Development Programme (ibid.). Selected government administrators and independent experts, chosen specifically for their expertise and not their political affiliations, ran a high-level collaborative team that was tasked with developing a proposal for a plan (ibid.). An extensive consultation and research stage commenced, which included regional task teams meeting with NGOs and civil society movements, as well as undertaking primary research through interviews to better understand forms of discrimination.

The team then split the development task into the key themes identified during the research and consultation stage. They also had a budget to invite outside experts and institutions for further consultation (ibid.). An existing national institute, *Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la*

32. http://inadi.gob.ar/ (accessed June 2016).

Xenofobia y el Racismo, commonly known as INADI, coordinated the process, and remains the key national institute that addresses issues of discrimination, xenophobia and racism.[32] This process resulted in a 360-page research report that orientates the Argentinian response both theoretically and practically. It provides rich detail on key forms of discrimination in the country that emerged from the research and consultation phase and offers practical responses. Areas of discrimination in this report include discrimination based on ideas of race, age, ethnicity or nationalism, sexuality, religion, gender, migrants and refugees, political ideology and poverty and exclusion. The report also offers a sophisticated analysis of the local context, with detailed discussions of historical and systemic practices of discrimination. Interestingly, it allocates an umbrella section on racism, as with poverty and exclusion as well as state and society, as these are seen as intersecting with all the other categories. The report states the necessity to see "the role of racism as ideological articulator of diverse discriminatory phenomenon" (ibid.: 51). It examines contemporary mappings across race, class and the aesthetics of consumer culture that create new forms of exclusion. While some of the proposals put forward in this report are broad calls for social justice, the level of intellectual engagement also enables some very specific, targeted projects, such as those that support street children. In the same year as the report was published, the Argentinian government adopted its recommendations, almost in their entirety, as the official NAP against discrimination (INADI, 2005).

There does not appear to be a re-evaluation or second-cycle development of this plan but INADI continues to drive research and key projects in addressing forms of discrimination. This active institute brings together a network of researchers and institutions that explores issues of discrimination and publishes an annual "discrimination map" of the country (INADI, 2014). It has branches in all 23 provinces in Argentina and in 2010 had an annual budget of $6 million[33] (CERD, 2010: 4). The initial time and effort put into the consultation stage means that the institute has a solid framework and data resource from which to develop further policies and action. For example, it has produced or coordinated a number of reports and further action plans that work towards equality, including the *Alliance of Civilizations: National Plan of Action of the Argentine Republic* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship and INADI, n.d.) and *En el camino de la igualdad*[34] (INADI and Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, 2011). These reports are often developed in conjunction with the minister of justice and human rights and the president's office.

The Argentinian case offers important insight into the long-term benefits of undertaking an extensive research and consultation process. Regional consultations and research meant that the plan reflects the concerns of the public rather than a state-oriented or political perspective of discrimination. Using the development of a NAP to build intellectual capital and research resources enables a sophisticated analytical framework that encourages ongoing research on discrimination and intolerance. A process of this kind requires substantial funding and dedicated personnel who actively engage in discussions on race, racialism and racism, as well as xenophobia and other related intolerances. Doing so transforms the NAP development process from a perfunctory exercise used for regional and international review to an intellectual knowledge production and resource building exercise for the nation.

Mexico

Like Argentina, Mexico established an independent state institute to promote and monitor anti-discrimination policies and advance social inclusion. *The Consejo Nacional para Prevenir La Discriminación* (National Council to Prevent Discrimination, or CONAPRED) was established in 2003 when a federal law to prevent and eliminate discrimination was passed.[35] This institute is separate from the Mexican Human Rights Commission (*Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos*). CONAPRED recognises the following groups as being discriminated against

33. R66 305 100 as per exchange rate on 15 October 2014.
34. Translated as the "Road to Equality" report.
35. http://www.conapred.org.mx/index.php?contenido=pagina&id=38&id_opcion=15&op=15 (accessed June 2016).

in Mexico: Mexicans of African descent, seniors, religious groups, ethnic groups, migrants and refugees, domestic workers, women, children, people with disabilities, people living with HIV/AIDS, youth and discrimination related to sexuality. CONAPRED is responsible for receiving and resolving complaints of discriminatory acts from the public, and offers access and support for making use of the legislative framework of the federal anti-discrimination Act (Muñoz, 2009). Importantly, it also addresses aspects tackling the social fabric of discrimination. It does this through developing educational programmes and materials freely accessible to the public. CONAPRED runs training workshops as well as sophisticated online distance learning courses on equality and inclusion.[36] It also acts as a knowledge production and coordination body for all research on discrimination in Mexico. CONAPRED houses a large central documentation centre in a physical library space as well as online. This includes an impressive collection of a multitude of resources on discrimination of all kinds in Mexico, including but not limited to academic research, commissioned research on discrimination by CONAPRED, journal articles, film and press clippings.[37] The organisation partners with various government departments depending on the nature of its projects. For example, the annual awards for equality and non-discrimination are an initiative between CONAPRED and the Secretariat of the Interior (CONAPRED, 2013).

In 2014, Mexico published a NAP titled *Programa Nacional para la Igualdad y No Discriminación 2014–2018* (National Council to Prevent Discrimination, 2014).[38] The document focuses extensively on reforms and training in public administration. Targeted actions are allocated to different government departments as well as state bodies such as the Human Rights Commission and CONAPRED. CONAPRED plays an implementation and monitoring role. While it is difficult to evaluate the plan as it is still new, even without it the existence of CONAPRED makes Mexico an interesting case study. Creating a state-led intellectual hub that collects and shares knowledge on discrimination in the country is in itself a worthwhile exercise. The *UN Practical Guide* recommends the development of an institutional body to implement and monitor the strategies developed in the plan. This may well be useful in ensuring that a NAP lives beyond the initial plan and moves into development of a national social framework for dealing with discrimination. However, regardless of whether or not an action plan exists, these institutions offer enormous benefits. CONAPRED and INADI in the Argentinian case stimulate and build contextualised knowledge programmes around discrimination in the country. Taking on the challenge to eliminate racism and other forms of discrimination through intellectual engagement makes strategic sense. Not only does it provide resources for academics and NGOs, but it offers an effective resource toolkit for government policymakers in making informed decisions. It would appear that without these institutional bodies, consolidated knowledge production in the field of racism and discrimination is not present during the development of a NAP. Another possible spin-off of this intellectual engagement is that it enables governments to better navigate some of the tensions that arise in developing these plans for a local context and an international review audience. It is to these tensions that the discussion now turns.

“Importantly, it also addresses aspects tackling the social fabric of discrimination. It does this through developing educational programmes and materials freely accessible to the public.”

36. http://cursos.conapred.org.mx/conectate/ (accessed June 2016)..
37. http://www.conapred.org.mx/index.php?contenido=pagina&id=9&id_opcion=146&op=146 (accessed June 2016).
38. The National Programme for Equality and Non-Discrimination.

Tensions between national and international contexts

Encouraging NAPs against racism through international institutions such as the UN has some inherent tensions. There is a tension between ensuring country-relevant plans that are couched in a local context and plans that speak to a prescriptive international human rights discourse. The *UN Practical Guide* recognises that "no uniform approach can be applied to all States" and upholds a state's autonomy to "decide what policies, programmes and activities it will put in place to achieve its general goals in the fight against racial discrimination" (OHCHR, 2014: 8). As with other social categories, understandings of race are not ahistoric, nor should they be decontextualised (Banton, 2013). Yet acceptance of this fact is not always evident in some of the CERD's concluding observations in country reports. There are frequently contested ideas around the meanings of concepts and the collection of demographics as country parties engage in the international review processes. For example, CERD strongly encourages, often repeatedly, the collection of state statistical data by minority demographics. It notes that this is necessary in order to monitor and evaluate access to services and equality measurements for vulnerable groups. The focus here is primarily on groupings that have historically been marginalised in societies – minority, immigrant and indigenous groupings. In general, one of the challenges of reviewing European NAPs against racism and related intolerance for a South African context is this intense focus on minority and immigrant groupings. Luxembourg's entire plan, for example, focuses on these "newcomer" groups (Ministry of Family and Integration, 2010).

The insistence on particular demographic statistics promotes an internationalist perspective that is not always sensitive to the local context. Arjun Appadurai is highly critical of minority statistics. In his book *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Appadurai, 2006), he argues that the divisive language of majorities and minorities used in modern nation building enables "predatory" majority groups to "use pseudo-demographic arguments about rising birth-rates among their targeted minority enemies" in order to advocate for discriminatory policies (ibid.: 52). This is not to suggest that these types of statistics are always used for sinister purposes; indeed, they are frequently used to ensure more equal access to service. However, it is important to point out that demographic statistics are not a neutral tool and how they are utilised often depends on how a government positions itself in relation to society.

The fine line between addressing context-specific discrimination within a nation state and opening up for review based on an international discourse of human rights is a difficult one for state parties to tread. This may be part of the reason for many states' lack of political will to action the DDPA (Human Rights Council, 2014b). For example, the Netherlands argues against the idea of special measures where specific groups in society are targeted for policy intervention. The Netherlands government believes that doing so in itself creates segregation and discrimination, rather than universal good-quality state services (Krommendijk, 2012). Argentina also makes an argument for rejecting international terminology and conceptual frameworks that it sees as problematic, such as the concept of "vulnerable groups". In its document *Towards a National Action against Discrimination*, it argues that:

> Acknowledging the diverse dialogue that [results in] victims of discriminatory processes in our country, this Plan abandons the concept of understanding them as "vulnerable groups". This situation of vulnerability is caused by the society that discriminates and sets them as "victims" and not to a supposed "condition" that might lead them to vulnerability. None of these groups would have become "vulnerable" had there not been a society willing to make them "vulnerable". (Mendizábal, 2005: 42)

Norway provides a clear example of this tension. Almost without exception, the CERD reports on Norway's periodic reviews insist that the state starts collecting data on minority groups. This is despite Norway offering a clear rationale for why

the state refuses to do this in both its NAPs against racism. In its last period review to CERD, the Norwegian report states:

> In Norway, the following groups are recognised as national minorities, in accordance with the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities: Jews, Kvens/Norwegian Finns, Forest Finns, Romani people/Tater and Roma. No statistics are produced at present based on ethnic groups; see section 2 of the Personal Data Act on sensitive personal data. In the light of previous cases of abuse of ethnic registration, several of the national minorities have expressed their strong scepticism about all forms of registration and surveys based on ethnic origin. (CERD, 2013a: 4)

Besides the contemporary use of census data to measure inequality, across the world these data have also been used for population surveillance, enforcing taxation, military conscription, segregating groups of people, driving political campaigns and targeting groups for genocide. Given Norway's occupation by Nazi Germany in the Second World War, this objection relates to a traumatic past for many within the country. Some of the minority groupings listed in the quote above would have been directly targeted for extermination under Nazi rule. National census data and new computerised technology were fairly accurate mechanisms for locating individuals categorised as belonging to undesirable groups, with fatal consequences (Luebke and Milton, 1994).

Nazi Germany was not the only country to utilise census data during wartime. The Census Bureau in the United States provided micro-level data that enabled the government to round up American citizens of Japanese ancestry for detention in camps (Seltzer and Anderson, 2007). In the Norwegian case, the state stands firm in its resolve not to collect demographics of this type despite international pressure. Given Norway's fairly extensive internal consultations in developing its NAPs, it is possible that, as the state suggests, this resistance is shared by the minority groups themselves. Although encouraged by CERD, it has increasingly started to collect statistics on the Sami people within its borders in an attempt to develop better language and education opportunities for this group.

Norway and Germany both refuse to include the term "race" as a category. As part of its argument to support this refusal, the latest Norwegian report states,

> In order to combat racism, it is important to do away with the notion that human beings can be categorised as races. Using the term "race" in the wording of the statute could have the effect of confirming such notions … the Government points out that discrimination on grounds of opinions or notions about a person's race must clearly be regarded as ethnic discrimination. (CERD, 2013a: 5)

NGO shadow reports to CERD completely support the Norwegian government's argument for this and urge CERD not to push for the inclusion of "race" in government policies (Norwegian Centre against Racism, 2010).

Germany's *National Action to Fight Racism, Xenophobia, Anti-Semitism and Related Intolerance* justifies its refusal to use the term "race" by citing the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation agreement signed by European member states in 2001 in Durban:

> The Member States of the European Union consider that the acceptance of any formulation implying the existence of separate human "races" could be interpreted as a retrograde step as it risks denying the unity of humanity. Nor is acceptance of such a formulation necessary in order to identify or combat racial discrimination. (German Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2008: 7)

As in the Norwegian case, the alliance of German NGOs that submitted the shadow report to CERD advocates that while "racism" and "racist" are valid concepts, "the words 'Rasse' (race) and 'rassisch' (racial) should not be used in any official German legal texts and documents or in any translations of international agreements, not even in composite words" (Forum Menschenrechte, 2008: 4). France, too, adopted a NAP against racism and anti-Semitism that ran from 2012–2014. Like Germany and Norway, it refuses to collect "ethnic statistics". A French report to the CERD in 2013 stated that "the affirmation of an identity is the result of a personal choice, not of a set of criteria that define, a priori, a particular group and that would necessitate a separate legal

regime". It is argued that the collection of "ethnic statistics" would contravene the French constitution (CERD, 2013b: 4).

In all these examples, the state argues that this has not detracted from its ability to work towards equality and human rights. Of course, there is a strong case to be made that a blanket human rights and equality approach may serve to deny racism and justify discriminatory behaviour by the state, where those who are viewed as not conforming to this ideal (particularly "foreigners") receive discriminatory "differential management" by government officials (Castels, 2013: 15). Without making a normative statement on this strategy, it is interesting to note that while South Africa has a history of deep racial oppression, it has chosen to maintain apartheid-entrenched racial categories rather than reject them.

Since South Africa is at the end stages of developing their NAP against racism and related intolerances, the plan will conceivably enter into regional and international review cycles. The African Peer Review's third report on South Africa clearly states that South Africa's lack of a NAP against racism is problematic (African Peer Review Mechanism, 2014). Before entering these review processes the South African government must deliberate on how national conceptual understandings, state practices and historical mappings of race may be challenged against a more internationalist view of antiracism. While authors such as Jasper Krommendijk (2012) have argued that the CERD review process has done little to affect the Netherlands' policy, this is not the case in other countries. Both Argentina and Brazil have shifted away from the ideas of "racial democracy" (Brazil) and "exceptional whiteness" (Argentina) that problematically refused to acknowledge racism as present in the respective countries (see Htun, 2004; Ko, 2014). Internal pressure to acknowledge racial discrimination and racism played a large role in shifting this political position, but this was often done in tandem with international pressure. In both countries this resulted in acknowledging that racism has been and continues to be a feature in their respective societies. Anna Pagano (2006: 22) argues that the polarised debate in Brazil around affirmative action "presents a unique opportunity to observe how global norms of multiculturalism unfold in a setting where they must compete with local and often divergent ideas of race and nation". It also raises interesting questions around how racial production continues within the shift to multiculturalism. As Chisu Teresa Ko (2014: 2530) points out, multiculturalism also "naturalizes racial and cultural differences".

The South African government has not yet engaged in a rich public debate on the constitutional principal of non-racialism and how it relates to racialism and racism (Maré, 2003). Current "multiracial" discourses found in official government speeches and ideals such as the "rainbow nation" create possibilities for retreating into identities constructed on the premise of differences (Alexander, 2002). Nor has the government engaged with social programmes of building non-racialism in practice. As David Everatt (2012: 7) states, this job has been "handed to under-funded NGOs … [where] the messy business of building non-racialism on the ground seems beyond [government]". On a more immediate note, the use of racial categories within what are broadly termed affirmative action policies or special measures should, according to UN discourse, be temporary (OHCHR, 2014). Here too South Africa may be pushed to justify policies that do not have sunset clauses or termination strategies. But it is not just issues of race that the South African government will need to deliberate on. Indeed, the NAPs examined for this scoping exercise as well as numerous CERD and ECRI concluding comments indicate that the international perspective moves far beyond seeing race as the primary form of exclusion. Issues around traditional cultures and language feature strongly, as do issues of gender, religion and sexuality. CERD's last concluding comments for the South African review

in 2006 read as a checklist of issues that remain a challenge in South Africa. Concerns were raised on the impact of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework, the extent of land restitution, gendered violence and language disadvantage in the justice system, amongst others (CERD, 2006). How internal discourses and power dynamics shape the inclusion of these issues in a South African NAP remains to be seen. If the South Africa government does not engage seriously in a rich participatory process during the development stage, the resulting plan would ignore forms of discrimination experienced by many people living in South Africa.

The current South African government has not managed to build strong "community-level state-society relations" (Beall et al., 2005: 688), and in this sense it may be out of touch with new forms of discrimination emerging in the country. Regional and international reviews may serve as useful mechanisms to pick these up. For example, when the UN's Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance visited South Africa in 1998, his report focused extensively on what he saw as brewing trouble around xenophobia and immigration laws (UN Economic and Social Council, 1999). The xenophobic attacks throughout South Africa in 2008 chillingly echoed his warnings 10 years earlier. Once a NAP against racism and related intolerances has been developed in South Africa and submitted as part of ICERD or African peer reviews, the government can expect this same level of scrutiny of all forms of discrimination and exclusion. Many review processes invite shadow or alternative reports from civil society. A strategic NAP developed through extensive public engagement and research that is action-oriented and manageable provides a solid basis to enter these international dialogues before getting caught up in this national–international tension.

Discussion and implications

A strong push for NAPs against racism and related intolerances by the UN after the 2001 WCAR has resulted in a number of countries developing such plans, with various levels of success. Developing a NAP can be used to consolidate and drive new government and civil society-led projects against racism and other forms of discrimination. Doing this in a way that results in productive outcomes requires large amounts of funding, as well as high-level government commitment in the form of senior ministerial responsibilities or in setting up an independent statutory institute. Four key considerations appear to influence the roll-out and success of NAPs, namely knowledge production, action-oriented plans, partnerships and governance models. These are outlined in detail below.

Given the limitations of this scoping exercise in assessing and evaluating the successful implementation and impact of the plans analysed here, it is recommended that the South African government explore these outcomes further through additional research and communication with the government officials and authorities responsible for these plans in the respective countries. Discussions of this kind would be particularly useful with Norwegian, Argentinian and Mexican delegates. Nevertheless, there is a nagging question of what it means to develop a NAP beyond that of technical compliance to the DDPA. In other words, is drawing up a NAP against racism and related intolerances worth doing, and do they work? While a complete evaluation cannot be given here, the last part of this concluding section raises some issues worth noting in this regard.

"Internal pressure to acknowledge racial discrimination and racism played a large role in shifting this political position, but this was often done in tandem with international pressure."

Knowledge production

One of the most interesting findings of this scoping exercise is the use of the development stage of a NAP, or the creation of a national institute against racial discrimination, as an internal knowledge production exercise. As will be outlined later, this is closely related to the governance model of having an independent institute responsible for the NAP. As of yet, South Africa does not have an independent institution such as INADI and CONAPRED. Arguably, the Human Rights Commission and other Chapter 9 institutions deal with various issues of discrimination in similar ways, although, critically, they do not provide a comprehensive collection of research resources, as the Argentinean and Mexican institutes do. The benefits of developing a NAP against racism and related intolerances through a process of government-led intellectual engagement are worth reiterating for serious consideration in the South African case. The NAP process:

- builds knowledge capacity and production through research that is used to develop a context-sensitive and relevant plan with targeted projects;
- creates resources for government officials and NGOs to address discrimination within various micro contexts;
- builds stronger "community-level state–society relations" through a regional and micro-level consultation process that focuses on both dialogue and research;
- enables a productive country-led engagement with the intersections and conceptual mappings of various forms of discrimination; in turn, this assists in navigating regional and international review cycles so that these become useful evaluation processes rather than spaces of tension and/or coercion.

Action-oriented plans

Focused action-oriented plans that target specific intervention areas or projects tend to be more manageable, and in the case of Norway, enable clear monitoring and evaluation in order to develop further NAP cycles. In the Irish case, targeted partnerships with other ministries on specific issues in healthcare and policing also lived far beyond the plan itself. Broad, overly ambitious plans, such as the Irish and Canadian examples, do not bode well for implementation. Creating objectives that are too broad in scope and require coordination across multiple government departments appears to render the plan unmanageable and complicates issues of responsibilities.

In the South African case, the NAP should at all costs avoid mirroring a mini National Development Plan document. Targeted projects create possibilities for a partnership approach where civil society and/or ministerial departments can directly address particular forms of discrimination within a specific context. Taking this approach crafts a social framework to tackle racism and other forms of discrimination. Building a social framework of this kind requires engagement with the messy practices of discrimination in the everyday, as well as in institutions. It is not surprising, for example, that many of the plans discussed focus on awareness, education and intervention programmes within public administration. People frequently suffer acts of discrimination in their encounters with government departments and personnel. Action-oriented programmes are well suited for intervention and educational projects in various societal contexts, but also within government structures.

Partnerships

Partnerships are the key to many of the successful aspects of the plans selected for this scoping exercise. Partnership models include academics, civil society and NGO organisations as well as international bodies such as the UN, all of which offer numerous benefits. Partnerships with academics and NGOs in the consultation and development stages created rich contextualised plans that targeted specific areas of concern in both Norway and Argentina. Argentina also formed a partnership with the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in order to raise funds to implement this robust consultation and development stage. These partnerships are not superficial or fleeting consultation meetings but more intimate long-term partnerships in which partners are active stakeholders in developing previous research (Argentina and Norway), writing up aspects of the plan (Argentina), or funded as part of the delivery framework (Ireland and

Norway). Many of these plans acknowledge that civil society grassroots organisations are better positioned to run specific programmes and projects that tackle discrimination. In many of these plans, funding is allocated for research and a wide variety of NGO-led projects (Ireland's plan offers an extensive list of who was funded, and even less wealthy states such as the Slovak Republic, in their NAP for the elimination of all forms of discrimination, allocate funding to NGOs that address discrimination (European Network Against Racism Slovakia, n.d.).

Governance model

The governance model for implementing a NAP is a key factor in its success. Good governance models are also about transparency and accountability to the public. Both Canada and Ireland serve as strong examples – public documents were released during the development process rather than presenting a completed plan to the public. For example, in the Irish case, an initial public document outlining the need for such a plan and the proposed consultation was published, then a consultation feedback document that reported findings, followed by a NAP and an evaluation document. The design of governance models in which the NAP sits at secretariat level, or is run by steering committees that are expected to engage senior officials from other departments, does not seem to be effective (see Canada and Ireland). Models where the responsibility for implementation and monitoring lies with one government ministry appear more productive, such as the case of Norway. In 2003 Brazil created the *Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial* (Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality, or SEPPIR). This office was initially assigned a secretariat role similar to that of Canada and Ireland. However, in 2008 the Brazilian Senate elevated this office to ministry level.[39] One outcome of this elevation was SEPPIR's ability to establish and sign the US–Brazil Joint Action Plan to Eliminate Racial and Ethnic Discrimination and Promote Equality in 2008. This Plan creates shared training, policy and practice resources between the two countries for civil society and government officials (U.S. Department of State, n.d.). Certainly, SEPPIR would have been hard pressed to sign such a bilateral agreement at a secretariat level. Another model that has been successful is that of an independent institution, such as in the Argentinian and Mexican cases. It is worth noting, however, that in both these countries these institutions pre-date the NAP and thus already have some institutional capacity. In both these countries there are also human rights commissions, which suggests the possibility of having both institutes within the state. South Africa, too, has a human rights commission and it would be worth exploring how these South American institutions responsible for antiracism and non-discrimination designate roles and collaborate with their respective human rights commissions. The existence of a national institute also appears to shape the development of a NAP through driving far deeper intellectual engagement with various forms of discrimination. While Norway and Ireland do fund research related to their plans, it does not take on the same rich foundational form as in Argentina and Mexico.

Do NAPs work?

Beyond the technical exercise on how to develop and draw up a plan are tougher questions as to whether drawing up a NAP against racism and related intolerances is a worthwhile exercise at all. In other words, do NAPs work? Developing a NAP against racism or other forms of intolerance is but one mechanism open to governments in the fight against racism. As outlined in the case studies, NAPs can be useful strategies in some cases and not particularly successful interventions in others. Much depends on how the development process is approached theoretically, how governance models are designed, how implementation is practised, as well as on funding commitments. In this sense a NAP against racism is not a panacea for racism, nor a sufficient benchmark against which to evaluate a state's action. Take Germany, for example, which published its *National Action to Fight Racism, Xenophobia, Anti-Semitism and Related Intolerance* in 2008. The plan provided an impressive list of existing government initiatives, which are given substantial

39. http://www.seppir.gov.br/ (accessed June 2016).

state funding (€193 million just for an initiative aimed at youth from 2001–2006). However, in a 2014 ECRI Germany review, the panel expressed its regret that the plan "has been relegated to the background" (ECRI Secretariat, 2014: 21). Since 2008, there has been no evaluation and readjustment of the plan. In part this could be explained by the lack of any implementation strategy in the plan, as it was literally an inventory of existing projects. Correctly, the ECRI identify this as problematic. Yet given the funding commitments and wide scope of government projects and policies that directly tackle racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism, few would argue that the German government has ignored these issues. Indeed, some of their current online resources specifically targeting the political education of youth are strong examples of government funding being used to create open forums for public discussions that build a philosophy of equality and human rights.[40] Similarly, countries that do have NAPs are not exempt from incidents of gross discrimination. Norway is one example. Besides the international horror at the murder of many young people at a Labour Party camp by right-wing extremist Anders Breivik in 2011, there is a growing sense of tensions in Norway that conflate race, immigration and otherness (McIntosh, 2015). Mexico too, despite a brand new NAP and the existence of CONAPRED, was advised by CERD in 2013 to focus on problematic forms of racism towards Mexicans of African descent (CERD, 2014). In short, a scoping exercise on NAPs against racism is a rather narrow assessment lens of governmental policies, programmes and commitment against discrimination. An evaluation of countries' activities in this regard requires a far broader research scope that would be unlikely to elicit any all good or all bad conclusions.

In addition, in many cases literally no information is available on the effectiveness or impact of these NAPs. Apart from the government evaluation reports on Canada and Ireland discussed previously, there are no readily available existing evaluations of NAPs. Country evaluation reports from both CERD and ECRI reviews are at best perfunctory. They often simply acknowledge the existence of the NAP, or request that one should be developed. There are also very few academic publications that attempt to unpack or assess these plans. Of course, there is literature on Norway and racism for example, or Argentina and discrimination, but there is no mention of the NAPs and how they shape public discourses or experiences. The lack of evaluation resources on NAPs is in itself a finding. It suggests that this activity may be a political performance for regional and international review bodies; a perfunctory technical exercise that does not necessarily infiltrate into society in ways that are made meaningful for everyday experiences.

NGO shadow reports submitted to CERD and the ECRI do at times mention NAPs, but none provide a comprehensive evaluation or critical assessment. The Forum Menschenrechte (2008) shadow report to CERD is particularly scathing of Germany's NAP, considering it a perfunctory inventory that failed to recognise many of the groups who suffer discrimination and that quickly became a dormant plan. But these are broad, albeit important, concerns rather than evaluations of any of the projects cited in the NAP. The Irish NGO Alliance against Racism shadow report submitted to CERD in 2011 states that since the end of the Irish NAP in 2009, "the State has no integrated, strategic mechanism or stated goals for government action to address racism in Ireland" (NGO Alliance against Racism, 2011: 14). This may be correct but the Irish NAP was not particularly good at this either, remembering here the chair of the Irish NAP steering committee's critical evaluation of the NAP as being unsuccessful in coordinating efforts across government departments. The NGO Alliance's sense of loss for the Irish NAP is captured more accurately further on in the report when they outline the negative impact on NGOs of the loss of funding and media awareness campaigns provided by the NAP. Since the NAP budget funded "over 110 organisations and groups working with a specific remit to combat racism", the negative impact on NGO-led projects and programmes would be extensive (ibid.). The Norwegian *NGO Shadow Report* submitted to CERD in 2010 makes only one reference to the latest action plan but clearly outlines high-profile cases of discrimination and where more work needs to be done

40. See http://www.fluter.de/ and http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/ as two such examples (both accessed June 2016).

to combat this within the public sector (Norwegian Centre against Racism, 2010).

Finding documentation that enables evaluation or measurement frameworks is easier for countries that have dedicated institutional bodies that deal with racism and other forms of discrimination. Both CONAPRED and INADI publish annual discrimination statistics and maps for their countries, and provide information and reports on their activities. In both cases these institutions could operate in the absence of having a NAP. Indeed, CONAPRED formed in Mexico in 2003 yet the country only published its NAP in 2014. As highlighted above, there are benefits to having such a dedicated institution, including that of public accountability and producing reports that account for institutional activities. Even then these data are not always useful. CONAPRED has used different methodologies in different years to collect data for its survey on discrimination in Mexico, making comparative assessments on levels of discrimination difficult (Tostado, 2011). What is evident is how useful research resources of this kind are for civil society and NGO groups in Mexico. Almost without fail, Mexican NGO shadow reports submitted to CERD in 2012 utilised CONAPRED data and research to argue for better policies, legislation or anti-discrimination programmes.

What this points to is the importance of the state–civil society context in which an action plan is developed. Strong civil society initiatives against discrimination in many ways hold governments accountable to the signing of ICERD. Where this is the case, NGOs use international conventions as regulatory mechanisms to lobby government (see Krommendijk, 2012), as well as actively utilise the review process to put pressure on shaping government policies and programmes. Without civil society engagement, there is a very real danger that NAPs become perfunctory technical exercises that do not translate into meaningful changes for the public. This may appear self-evident but the South African government officials responsible for the latest attempt at a NAP should note that at South Africa's review cycle to CERD in 2004, there was not a single NGO shadow report submitted, this despite South Africa being held up as a beacon of hope for its struggle against racism. Compare this to the 30 shadow reports submitted by Canadian NGOs to CERD, or the nine reports in Mexico's submission, or even the joint report from three Argentinean NGOs. However, this is not symptomatic of South Africa generally. In 2009, when South Africa submitted its review report to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 10 NGO shadow reports were submitted.

The above, in tandem with South Africa's consistent overdue reporting to CERD and the extensive delay in creating a NAP, suggests a curious lack of political will for this project. If the South African government believed that it had an existing well-resourced and -designed social framework to complement its impressive legal framework against discrimination, it could make the case that a NAP is not a necessary engagement at this point. This, however, is clearly not the case. The South African government has again renewed efforts to develop a NAP, but it is yet unclear whether this is simply to tick off a long-overdue international obligation. If this is the case then the latest officials responsible for the plan could quickly whip together, with some surface public consultation, a mini National Development Plan document that identifies various existing department projects, and sufficiently disperses responsibilities and accountability so as to render it ineffective. Such a plan would be sufficient in the short term to showcase at the next African peer review or CERD cycle, but would do very little to action change at a societal level.

"Finding documentation that enables evaluation or measurement frameworks is easier for countries that have dedicated institutional bodies that deal with racism and other forms of discrimination."

Conclusion

It is hoped that this review has made evident some possibilities against anti-discrimination, whether or not they take the form of a NAP. Engaging with the difficult and emotional task of exploring the intersections of discrimination in South Africa, including government's role in producing and reproducing this, is a long, slow process. This long-term commitment demands public participation, dialogue, consultation, research and co-production of a NAP. It also carries the possibility of growing state–civil society partnerships through shared research goals and ideas of social justice. Partnerships that move into action-oriented projects require substantial funding resources for various NGOs, non-profit organisations, research teams and other civil society actors. As in the Argentinian case, there are creative alternative avenues of funding to explore beyond scarce government finances. A government-initiated project, in this case a NAP, that talks with, draws on and actively develops civil society in relation to anti-discrimination has far more transformative potential than a perfunctory technical exercise that meets regional and international review obligations.

VIEW FROM THE STREETS V



"I think racial tension in the country is a very weird thing because it's kind of like an under layer in our society. I think we've spoken about it so much that we don't know what it is any more. Our [ideas are] interwoven into our stereotyping, trauma. It's very difficult to distinguish. It's going to be very hard to see the difference between black and white. For me it's in a very grey area, we don't know what we are dealing with."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"The thing that frustrates me the most is that they make it seem like it's not a problem, and on a daily basis it happens. When you complain about it they think that as a black person you are being annoying. I wish that I didn't know English. It's like you have to know it in order to be someone. I feel like it should just be African countries. It's like they brought this whole religion thing and when you're not following what they're doing they take it as a bad thing. Black girls aren't considered pretty unless they're mixed ... you know? So yeah ..."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Let's say class ... black and white people are together [in the work place] but when they go for lunch they split into race groups. Also what's shocking for me is Greenside, it's a place where everyone is white but all the waiters would be black. I think it's highly segregated. In the beginning I accused my friends of being racist, and also myself, all my friends are white so there's another problem. There's a complexity, it's not a racist culture, which I struggle, with, uhmm ... that is about race. I speak about racism every day, like 20 times with my friends. It just ... I think it's a stumble block you can never go past. Every conversation in South Africa, whatever it is, it's racism. I just feel frustrated. I come from a society [Germany] where everyone is white, and the same complexes are there. The exact same things, in income, in language and whatever. Many friends of mine are black, I go into places like Berea, I can never go past, I know as a white person it's over for me."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani





"For me, I call it racism, but more than anything I call it Afrophobia. I think it's the fear of blackness, the fear of people, it's not just white against black, it's also black people against black people."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani

ASIKHULUMENI NGE RACE (LET'S TALK ABOUT RACE) DIALOGUE

WITS CENTRE FOR DIVERSITY STUDIES

Photo Credit: Evans Mathibe

Asikhulumeni nge Race is a Dialogue and Social Media Campaign Project under Wits Centre for Diversity Studies. The Dialogue was held in November 2015 and was intended to provide a safe space for all to voice how they have been affected by racial ideologies. It took place just after the Rhodes Must Fall[41] and the Open Stellenbosch[42] campaigns in 2015. The young people at the Dialogue provided important insights and food for thought about the discourses of race and racism in South Africa. Although not part of the main photo essay, these pictures add greater depth and texture to the everyday responses we have already seen.

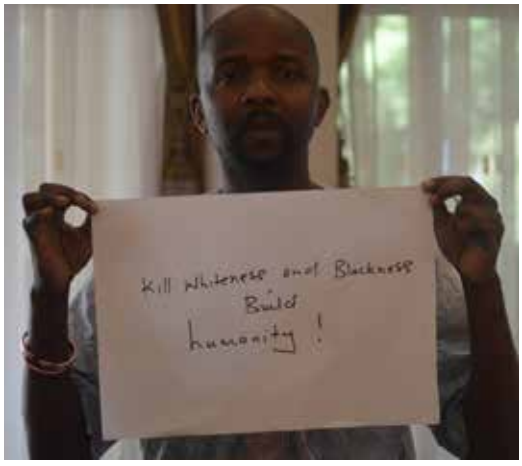
While the Dialogue was more theoretical, dealing with issues of discourse, privilege and blackness, the objective of the social media campaign held during the Dialogue session was to gain participants' responses to carefully framed questions. These questions asked participants to consider the racial landscape of South Africa, and what needed to be done to achieve a non-racial, antiracist country. Asikhulumeni nge Race – the Dialogue and the photographed comments – offered the possibility of contradictory and meaningful responses in a respectful, non-oppressive and non-judgemental way. The photographs presented here are from a Dialogue session that brought together student representative council leaders from universities around South Africa.

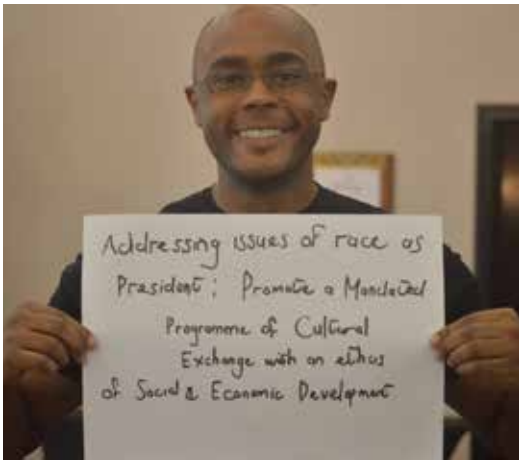
41. https://www.facebook.com/RhodesMustFall/ (accessed June 2016).
42. https://www.facebook.com/openstellenbosch/ (accessed June 2016).

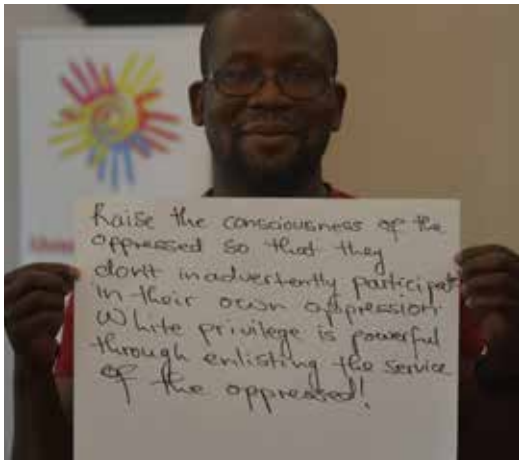


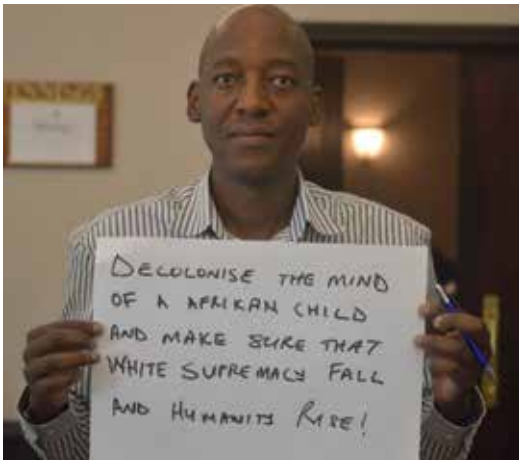



We need not fear the so
called 'victimization' of white people
in calling for transformation.
Transformation will not remain one
on a silver platter, we must
Fight for it for the Greater
Good of society
#YES TO EQUALITY


Kill Whiteness and Blackness
Build
humanity!


Addressing issues of race as
President; Promote a Mandated
Programme of Cultural
Exchange with an ethos
of Social & Economic Development


Raise the consciousness of the
oppressed so that they
don't inadvertently participate
in their own oppression.
White privilege is powerful
through enlisting the service
of the oppressed!


DECOLONISE THE MIND
OF A AFRIKAN CHILD
AND MAKE SURE THAT
WHITE SUPREMACY FALL
AND HUMANITY RISE!


THE REVOLUTI
-ON WILL BE
INTERSECTI
-ONAL

VIEW FROM THE STREETS VI



"Some people seem to be very ignorant towards it."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Basically how the inequality and how people feel that we are so different with races, and I really don't think that it's necessary. I think racism ... obviously it's a big issue, but I feel that people make more of an issue than it should be."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani

"It's like how everyone ... for example when there's like a disagreement or whatever, they always want to put it on race. So they just pull out the race card. I don't like how people just want to pull out the race card on everything and they don't want to deal with things normally and just accept that they're wrong."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani





Section 5

The birth of the Antiracism Network of South Africa

LUKE SPIROPOULOS

The Antiracism Network of South Africa (ARNSA) is an entity which seeks to bring together organisations interested in antiracism work to coordinate their efforts in order to expand the influence of their work across sectors and geographies. The intention of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation (AKF) in bringing the Network together was to combine the efforts of each organisation in an attempt to build a truly mass-based platform for antiracism work. The vision was for ARNSA to have affiliates in every town in the country which were in contact with and learning from each other, and which would have the collective weight of the country behind them when the need arose. Our belief was that every instance of racism in the country should be addressed, each local concern should make waves nationally and that national campaigns should have local partners capable of ensuring that they reach every corner of the country.

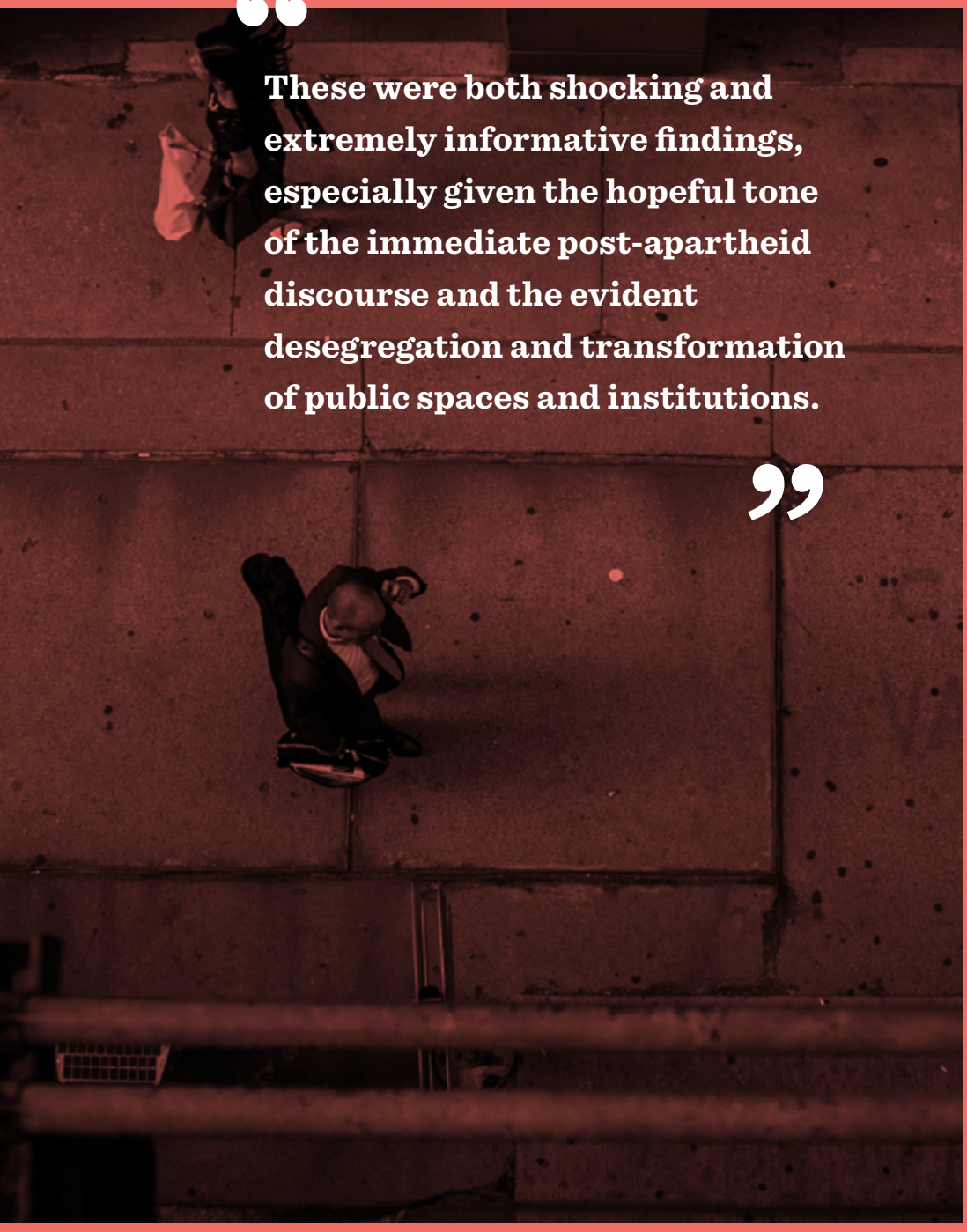
The origins of ARNSA lie in a colloquium hosted by the AKF in February 2015 to discuss the findings of two large-scale studies: the 2013 Quality of Life Survey of the Gauteng City-Region Observatory[43] and the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's Reconciliation Barometer.[44] These showed that large numbers of people were developing increasingly warped, defensive notions of the crime that was apartheid and that they had little hope that white and black people would ever come to trust each other. These were both shocking and extremely informative findings, especially given the hopeful tone of the immediate post-apartheid discourse and the evident desegregation and transformation of public spaces and institutions.

This colloquium took place in the context of increasing reports over the preceding months of racism in various forms across the country. The participants that the AKF brought together from across government, civil society and the academy to discuss these findings and reports were asked a simple question: Has there been a resurgence in racism since 1994? Participants wanted to go much further than answering this question, however. They wanted action, which they considered urgent. Additionally, they felt that the stakeholders in the antiracist project represented at the colloquium had neglected this issue for too long, and that there was a need not just for a concerted effort but for a unifying programme of action across institutions and organisations.

The AKF took this as a call to action and began to refocus its efforts more explicitly on antiracism, with a core emphasis on forming a network of like-minded organisations that could expand the scope of any work done.

Soon after this event was held, the AKF received the second of the two papers that make up the core of this publication, entitled "Anti-Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa" – a review of antiracism work being done in South Africa since 1994. The paper made evident that there was a severe shortage of organisations working in this field, especially in a country like South Africa. Those few organisations that were identified tended to be restricted by narrow geographies and limited collaboration. This was compounded by the fact that organisations doing this kind of work were further divided by competition for scarce resources and ideological

43. http://www.gcro.ac.za/research/project/detail/quality-of-life-survey-3-1/ (accessed June 2016).
44. http://www.ijr.org.za/political-analysis-SARB.php (accessed June 2016).



> **These were both shocking and extremely informative findings, especially given the hopeful tone of the immediate post-apartheid discourse and the evident desegregation and transformation of public spaces and institutions.**

Photograph by Etienne Pauthenet

differences. The advantages of collaboration, however – combining efforts, knowledge, experience and extending the geographic range of impacts – were too great to ignore.

Armed with this knowledge about the nature of the disunity within the antiracism world in South Africa, it was clear that the AKF could start trying to bring people together in a new kind of coalition. The AKF then approached the Nelson Mandela Foundation with the idea of collaborating on such a project and began the process of recruiting interested parties working in the field to participate in the project.

The next step was to arrange for an expanded list of organisations to be brought together at a consultative conference in July 2015. These included explicitly antiracism-focused entities but also those for whom antiracism would be a corollary to their core work on issues like housing, gender, health and immigration. The intention was to advance the idea of the Network, to effectively decide on its structure and agree to the principles around which it would operate, and then to begin to think up actions for collaboration between Network members.

The result was a set of core principles, most importantly that the Network was to be a structure made up of multiple organisations rather than a new organisation in itself, at least for the first two years. It was to be a highly collaborative and inclusive structure that avoided, as far as possible, the ideological stricture that has hobbled similar efforts in the past. The steering committee was also selected, made up of volunteer organisations in the different provinces. They would act as points of contact for regional coordination of the network and as forums through which members' preferences could be expressed.

Many organisations present at the consultative conference agreed to be included in the list of members of the Network. It was also agreed that they would reconvene in November 2015 to officially launch ARNSA once the inputs from the conference had been processed and the details of the formation and structure fully worked out. Participants decided that the first actions of the Network would be to promote an Antiracism Week (ARW) in March 2016. During that week, various organisations would organise antiracist-themed events in order to expand the Network and popularise the antiracist agenda in the public conversation. It was later decided that the first ARW would provide the ideal opportunity to do a series of regional launches for ARNSA in Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bloemfontein and Cape Town.

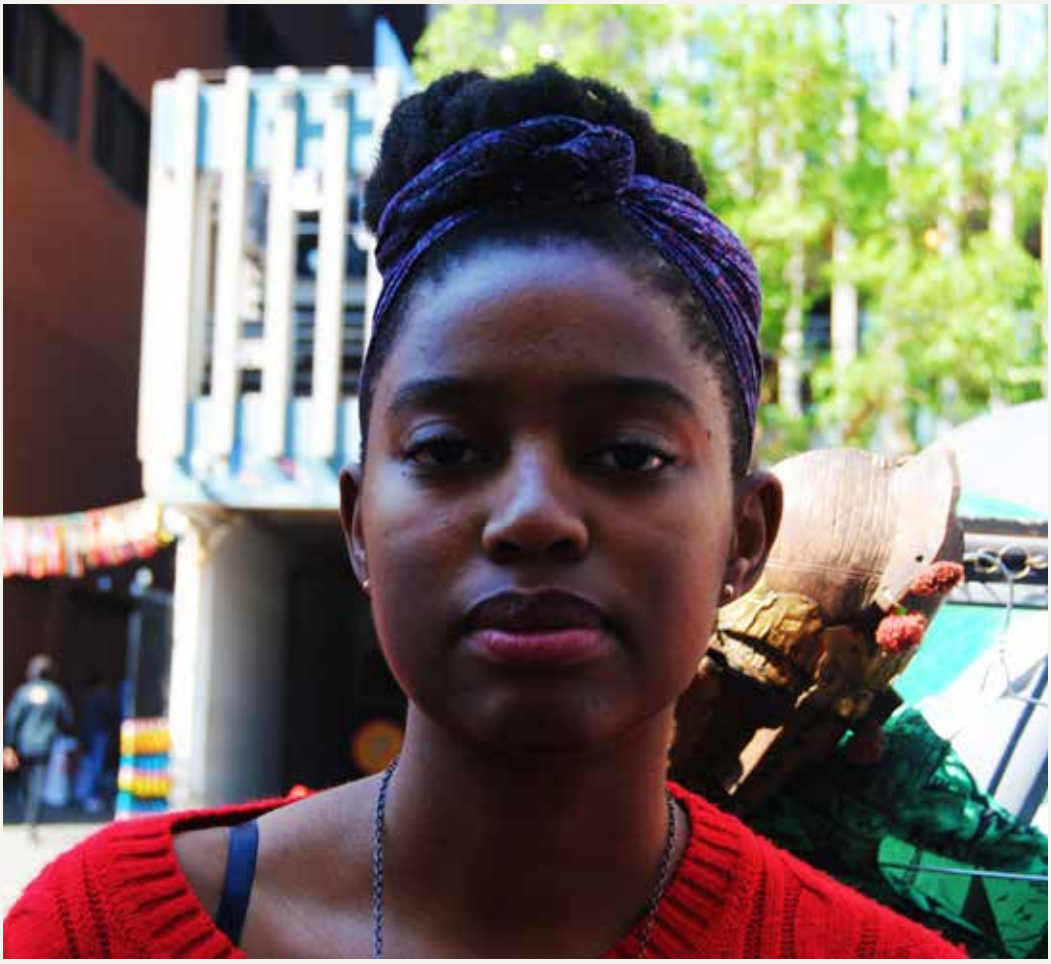
There was great progress following the November 2015 launch. ARNSA expanded its list of affiliates and produced a guiding principles document and an online and media presence.[45] Meanwhile, planning for ARW and the provincial launches commenced across the country.

ARNSA is thus well on the way to placing antiracism back in the centre of the public consciousness with a broad-based, cross-cutting, intersectoral network of organisations, institutions and individuals at its heart to carry it forward. What remains to be done is to grow the Network geographically and numerically, decide on long-term campaigns of action and get to work fighting racism wherever it emerges.

Note: At the time of writing Luke Spiropoulis was the Head of Research, Ahmed Kathrada Foundation

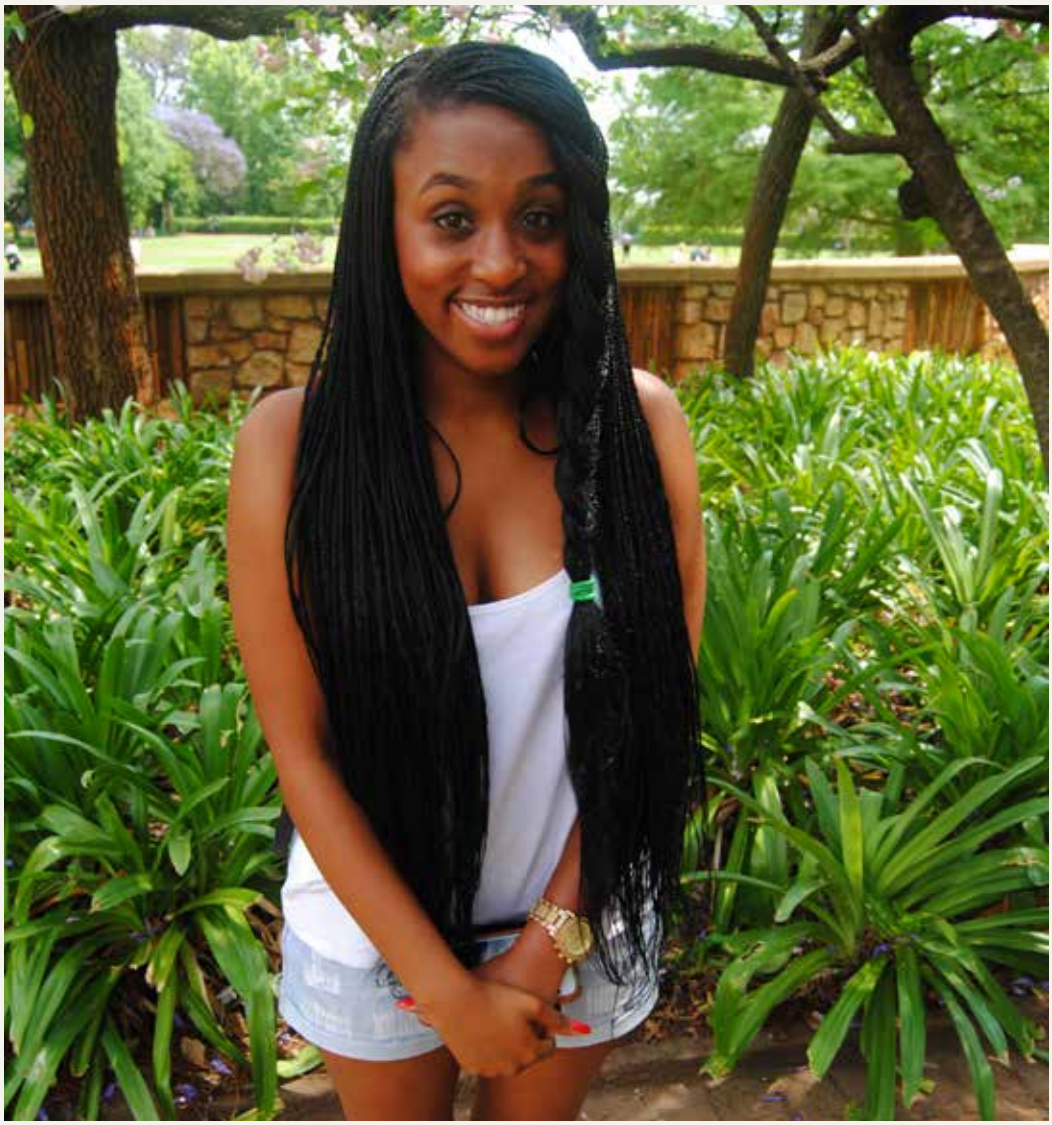
45. http://www.arnsa.org.za/ (accessed June 2016).

VIEW FROM THE STREETS VII



"I hear people say that they don't see colour. Colour is what defines us. What makes us get jobs or lose jobs, get money or not get money. Get allowed into places, not get allowed into places. So it sort of removes our experience of racism if they say they don't see colour."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I really don't have an opinion on other people's races and I don't really pay attention to race, but however I do feel like my own race does affect me, in how people interact with me and how people view me. I feel like for my white counterparts, it's more of a big deal than it is for me. And I feel like racism is still very present within the society and it's not necessarily like eradicated or gone, it's still very present and relevant."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"No comment."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"No comment."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani





Photographs by Evans Mathibe

Today I saw these clouds

BY JACQUI THE POET

Today I saw these clouds in a different light
I saw them floating in the skies and not falling
I saw them dancing with the wind
and not tumbling

Then I realised that the spirit of Afrika
Is still circling above us unstoppable
And in these blood soaked lands they
left these whispers
To know for Truth you can die
Like Jesus on the cross praying...
Forgive them father for they know
not what they do

But you can't stop these voices they'll forever
be telling the truth
Healing this nation's divisions
Listen to the cries of your hearts
African people still struggling
To the best of the drum dancing
With the beat of their hearts chanting
He Art
He Art
Cos in our HeArts he art that Black fist

That fist of a young man dying
That fist that liberated liberation
from the gallows
I'm talking about the black fist of Palestine, of
Hani & Mahlangu
To this fist I owe my freedom in this
African kingdom

We've got to realise that we can't
separate Humanity
For humanity is one
I will raise this black fist until I'm done with
so much suffering
I'm just reaching out to Humanity
Enriching souls awakening mindsets
Politics is not my intention
But I salute, the black fist of the oppressed

As long as our people are still living in fear
Believing that oppression is a way of life
No heart without a tear in the "ghettoes"
Dancing pain away in the toyi toyi dance
Do you still remember June 16th 1976?
September 12th 1977?
They lost their lives fighting for our freedom
Burning flesh was a common sight
And yet for equality, true equality, we
continue to fight

But for how long Africa for how long?
For how long Africans for how long?
Do you hear this voice of mine?
Do you hear your children cry?

Bana ba thari e Ntsho hear this song
Like ants and flies we continue to die
Trampled on by these Unseen oppressions
Our cultures dying we are left without our
own expressions
The only equality we see is in constitutions
But in reality, I still see oppression
Economically, there is still divisions

Unlock mental prisons
And join in this Antiracism Network mission
If you see this vision
Of an equal Africa without segregation
May God, truly bless this nation

VIEW FROM THE STREET VIII



"I feel like it's taking us a step back, when we are supposed to me moving forward. There's all these concepts, like BEE [black economic empowerment], trying to bridge the gap that was made back then. I just feel that as South Africans, that whole vibe is taking us 10 steps back. I'm not very happy about it."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I really have no strong feelings about it. Unless it's really like ... directed at me. Even then I think that it's stupid; the whole thing of racism. So there are no really strong feelings about it, it's like whatever."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I think sometimes it's a little bit unnecessary, because I think that we are a united country now and that we should stay together and not divide. Sometimes it does break my heart because I just want everyone to be happy together."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"It's been an issue for so long and no one can just get over it."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"... It's annoying, it's boring. You can like ... read the definition of racism on the internet and you'll see why, there are many things."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I hate racism. It's bad for the country. It breaks the unity. It's negative and it's lame and old school."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



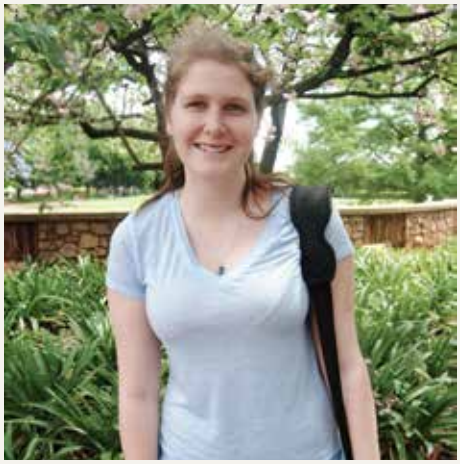
"I think that it's a problem. It's not just people being irrational. The mere fact that Stellenbosch for instance, people are being forced to learn in a language they don't understand. It's 2015 and that should not be happening."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I think the racism in this country should've by now been come to an end and equality should be more of a thing that we see in everyday life and not racism, or blatant racism, in our streets, in our homes, amongst our peers. I feel that everybody should be treated equally at this point, because this country belongs to all of us and not just the people that think they're entitled. And in my opinion racism is just a way for people who are too insecure to show their true feelings, to belittle people that are better than them."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



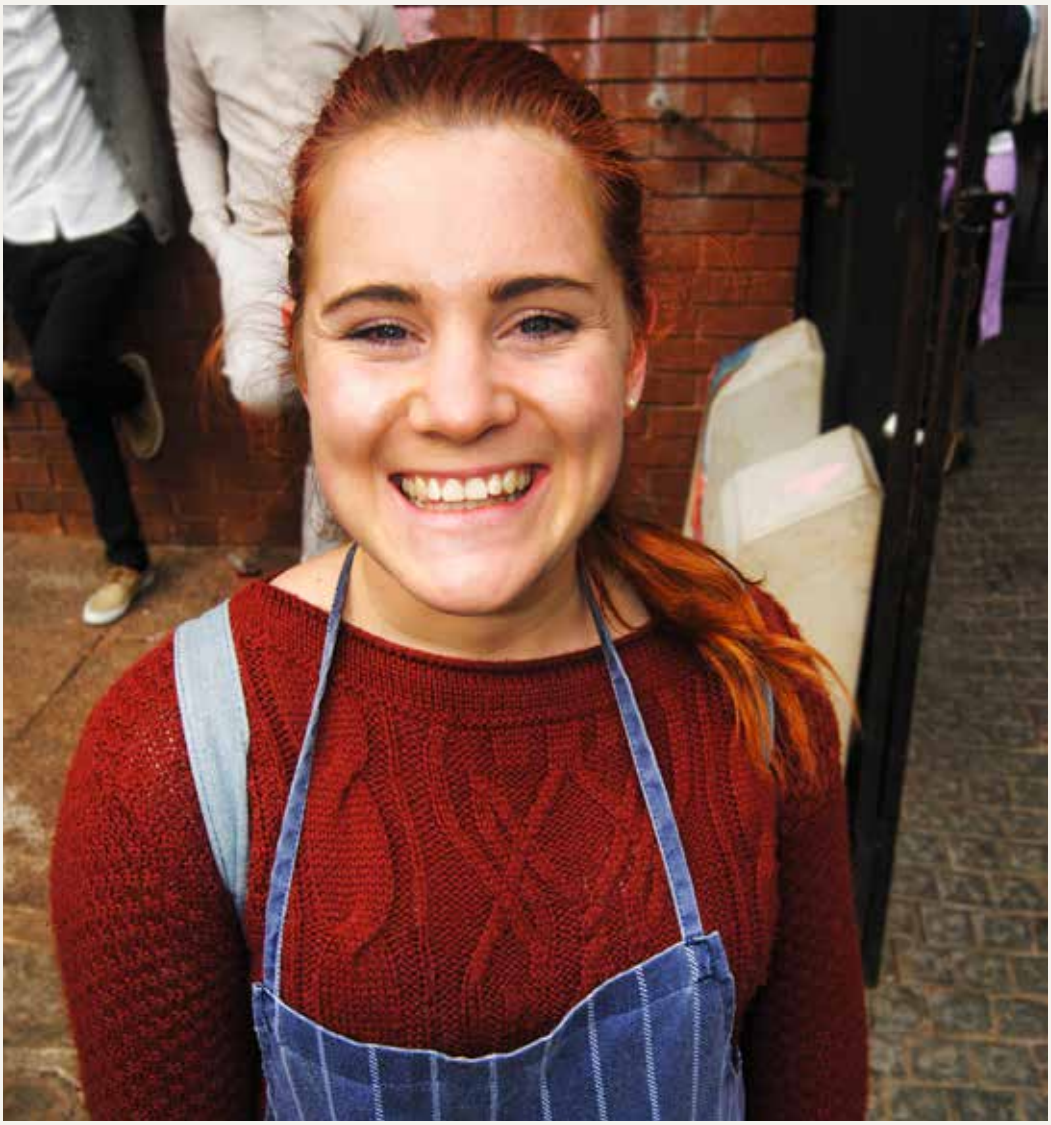
"Uhmm ... it's going to take a while for me to think about it though. I don't know ... it's kind of ... the fact that you're judging someone on the colour of their skin, it's so ... incredibly stupid. I mean it kinda shows how intelligent you are that you actually don't realise that it actually means nothing at all."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I don't even know if I can even say it's ignorance because it's like, you're really gonna base uhmm ... or you're going to discriminate against someone else because of the colour of their skin. I don't know if you could possibly classify that as ignorance because people who are racist don't know, you know ... they're just basing everything on the colour of someone else's skin and don't really see that we're basically the same, the difference is the colour of the skin. Ya, and honestly, it is pure stupidity and inhumane ... and ya ... I don't know."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I basically don't feel that we should have racism. I have strong beliefs that we are all one colour, and I definitely don't see colour."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Everybody is so equal ...
I don't know what to say."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"I think that everyone ... when I think about varsity, all my friends, they're all one to me. Race doesn't really come into it. Like my younger cousin and that, they wouldn't even think about race being an issue, and the fact that it's an issue for some people ... it confuses me."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani



"Well ... I believe that everyone is equal and that it's not fair to judge people on the colour of their skin. Uhmm ... we're all people on the inside and it really doesn't make a difference."

Photograph: Rendani Nemakhavhani

AFTERWORD

LUKE SPIROPOULOS AND CARYN ABRAHAMS

This publication is a collaborative effort of the Gauteng City-Region Observatory and the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation – a body of co-produced work between academia and civil society. It is written and produced with an unabashed moral imagination towards intervention in society. We hope the mix of intellectual and imaginative pieces has opened up possibilities for how we might begin thinking about the creation of an antiracist, non-racial society in South Africa. The photo essay suggests that we cannot hold to preconceived notions of essentialised attitudes linked to essentialised identities. These attitudes and identities are far from seamless and predictable. The papers in this publication highlight that antiracism in South Africa is a new approach with few that focus on the praxis of antiracism, and that the country faces continued problems of racism. The state, national political structures and civil society have focused their attentions on the effects of a racist history and on socioeconomic structures. These methods, from economic empowerment to addressing housing shortages and rebuilding the schooling system, are necessary (regardless of their effectiveness) but fall short of addressing the sociocultural and interpersonal nature of racism. This is the major distinction between what we have been doing and antiracism.

While there is general agreement that there can be no antiracism without a commitment to dealing with socioeconomic structures, the papers in this publication point out the inverse failure on our part – we have focused to such a degree on the structural manifestations of racism (without much success) that the interpersonal and cultural failings which underpin them have not been addressed. One cannot be tackled without the other. This publication forms the starting point of a concerted effort to address this shortcoming. This will involve further research, introspection and action on the part of organisations and individuals across the country and the world, through the antiracism network and otherwise, focusing on new kinds of holistic antiracisms.

The formation of the antiracism network, made up of civil society and academia, offers a wonderful possibility for societal change and it is hoped that further research and intervention or social activism will support this national movement.

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Ahmed, Kayum (CEO) of the SAHRC, 18 December 2014, Johannesburg

Ballard, Richard (Academic at the Gauteng City-Region Observatory), Wits University, 20 July 2015

Balton, Neeshan (Executive Director of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation), Lenasia, 24 August 2015

Erasmus, Newo (Academic at Wits University), Johannesburg, 21 July 2015

Henkeman, Stanley (Head of Programme, Building an Inclusive Society) and Lucretia Arendse (Project Officer: Education for Reconciliation) from IJR, 18 November 2014, Cape Town

Mojalefa, Zama (Communications officer at Young and Able), Personal Correspondence, 25 September 2015

Mvambo-Dandala, Nomabelu (Executive Director) from DCC, 17 December 2014, Durban

Naicker, Seth (Minister and social entrepreneur), personal correspondence, 16 July 2015

Naidu, Rama (Executive Director) from the DDP, 3 December 2014, Durban

Pillay, Kavisha (Activist, Corruption Watch), Personal Correspondence, 21 July 2015

Rebello, Steven (Staff member at Heartlines), Personal Correspondence 23 July 2015

Spiropoulos, Luke, AKF, personal communication, 2016

Steyn, Melissa (Director) from the WiCDS and current chair of ARNHE, 18 December 2014, Johannesburg

Tully, Fr. Stephen (Administrator) from Emmanuel Cathedral, 1 December 2014, Durban

Zinn, Allan (Director) from CANRAD and a member of ARNHE, 10 December 2014, telephonic interview



Photograph by Michael Crouch

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