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Liminal Identity of Japanese expatriates/migrants in post Apartheid South Africa: How has “honorary whiteness” been (re)produced and influenced their subjectivity?

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2023-06

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

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Ban, Yukako. (2023). Liminal Identity of Japanese expatriates/migrants in post Apartheid South Africa: How has “honorary whiteness” been (re)produced and influenced their subjectivity? [Master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg]. WIReDSpace. https://hdl.handle.net/10539/40552

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Liminal Identity of Japanese expatriates/migrants in post-Apartheid South Africa: How has "honorary whiteness" been (re)produced and influenced their subjectivity?

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A research report submitted to Critical Diversity Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Critical Diversity Studies by combination of coursework and research

Johannesburg, 2023

Abstract

In post-Apartheid South Africa, racial segregation persists. Japanese migrants were granted "honorary white" status during Apartheid, while the Chinese were classified as non-white. This research explores the experiences of Japanese migrants in post-Apartheid South Africa to unravel the complex racial structure. Occupying a liminal racial and ethnic position, the Japanese benefit from class and nationality privileges, providing access to positions of power. The study sheds light on their navigation of liminal spaces and their understanding of race, ethnicity, and nationality in the social structure of post-Apartheid South Africa. The findings uncover prevalent neo-racism and a sense of racial in-betweenness, with Japanese migrants perceiving themselves as "in-between" black and white or as racially neutral. Their liminal position allows access to diverse social groups based on behaviour and contextual factors. This liminality holds the potential to challenge existing social structures through varied interpretations and interactions.

Keywords: liminality, identity, honorary whiteness, Japaneseness, neoracism, racial neutrality

Plagiarism declaration

I, Yukako Ban (2508207), am a student registered for the Masters in Critical Diversity Studies in the year 2022 and hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that ALL the work submitted for assessment for the above course is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
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Signed by:



Yukako Ban

Signed on: 15/03/2023

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Sayan Dey, for his guidance, information, and academic articles that shaped this research project.

My colleagues in Japan deserve my appreciation for their understanding and support while I balanced part-time studies with a full-time job.

Special thanks to my partner, Buntu Majaja, whose academic experiences and unwavering support were invaluable throughout my journey. Your assistance during high-pressure assignments meant a lot.

I extend my gratitude to my in-laws for their support and encouragement, and to my family in Japan for accepting me as I am.

I am truly fortunate to have had such remarkable individuals in my life, and I am deeply grateful for their contributions to my academic achievements.

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Introduction

One of the unsettling experiences in South Africa for me is when I fill in the section of population groups on the forms. I am a migrant from Japan and one of the first administrations I had to do was open a banking account. There were four population groups: white, black, Indian, and Coloured, which comes from the categorisation under the former Apartheid regime. I faced the similar, but perhaps more uneasy feeling of administrative work again when I applied for the master's course in Critical Diversity Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. Here again, I had to choose one of the racial groups on the digital form. This time, there were five categories which were white, black, Indian, Coloured, and Chinese. I strongly felt that none of them applied to me. I first felt that I was definitely not Chinese, then started thinking about which of the remaining categories best applied to me. I thought, there was no "accurate" choice for me, then decided to choose black because my spouse and in-laws would certainly choose this category. This was my logic at the time, but I wonder if other Japanese think in the same way. If this was a question of race, some, perhaps many, might imagine that I would be in the Chinese category. Such an experience made me wonder why such a problematic racial categorisation is followed even today and provoked me to indulge in the history of the Japanese community and its racial categorisation and positionality in South Africa.

My nationality, Japanese, has a unique positionality in South African history. Japanese expatriates were formally treated as honorary white during the Apartheid regime, which allowed them to reside and enter white-only spaces (Makino, 2016; Yamamoto, 2022). On the other hand, the Chinese population in South Africa was not allowed to have the same privilege (Park, 2008; Yamamoto, 2022). Although their positionality was also ambiguous, they were officially categorised non-white. In today's South Africa, Apartheid has been legally ended but the impact of the physical and psychological division has remained. I see Japanese identity in post-Apartheid South Africa as a liminal identity based on the racial binarism constructed in this society. In addition to the racial binary perspective, the Japanese population in post-Apartheid South Africa is mainly first-generation immigrants. This can be considered transnational as it is another layer of liminality between two different countries. In post-slavery America, Du Bois (1903) develops the theory of Double Consciousness along with the concept of the *Veil*: marginalised people become marginalised by the encounter with the metaphorical *Veil* and they find out they are different from Others. The notion of the two worlds in American society is illustrated with the *Veil* that divides the two different worlds

and the black souls and thoughts are internalised by what white Others see the black body (ibid). It can be said that Asian people also become Asian by being racialised when they encounter Others. If there is a *Veil* in the post-Apartheid South African society, which side of the *Veil* do Japanese stands on? Do Japanese also face the *Veil* and have Double Consciousness as non-white? Does the physical travel from one home country to another bring duality from another perspective? I will try to unpack the power structure of post-Apartheid South Africa by analysing the meaning and self-image of Japanese through the narratives around the social identity of Japanese expatriates/migrants.

This thesis consists of six Chapters. Chapter 1 explores the positionality of Japan and Japanese in both global and South African contexts, which helps to understand the liminal status of Japanese in various contexts. I also share my own background and experiences to make sense of the motivation for this research. Chapter 2 introduces the research problem and research question to guide us to Chapter 3, the literature review. I, here, refer to the honorary whiteness and whiteness in South Africa and some from broader Western contexts. Studies of liminal identity which have related to in-betweenness are also reviewed. Chapter 4 covers methodology and method. This research deeply focuses on Critical Diversity Literacy (CDL) (Steyn, 2014) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Among the many CDA systems, I refer to Van Dijk's (1993, 2006, 2017) approach, among others. Interviews had been conducted and the transcribed data was analysed based on Thematic Analysis. The analysis results are introduced in Chapter 5 and the conclusion is proposed in Chapter 6. In the racialised South African society, racial politics is one of the main concerns of the narratives of the informants although the discourses of denial of racism from the perspectives of neo-racism exist at the same time. The discourses in their narratives are based on the social cognition among the group of Japanese nationals and used strategies of justification to construct Others and the notion of honorary whiteness. This research will ask us the question of roles of those in liminal position in the power structure in the society.

Chapter 1:Japanese and Liminality

When we talk about world history, the binary terminologies have been often used, and normalised such as coloniser and colonised, white and black, Global North and Global South, and West and East. In this spectrum, the positionality of the Japanese can be seen as complex. Japan is known as a former coloniser before the end of World War 2 or the Pacific War ended in 1945. Korean peninsula used to be a colony of Japan as well as a part of China and Taiwan. Japan had never been a colony of European empires, however, the memories of being a victim of atomic bombs and temporal occupation by the United States remain strong in the mind of the Japanese (Bukh, 2007; Tsutsui, 2009). The size of its economy measured in terms of GDP based on U.S. dollars is the third largest in the world after the U.S. and China, and it is considered a developed country and a member of the so-called First World. Japan is in Asia or the far East from the European perspective. The Japanese are not known as white, sometimes described as a yellow race. Although there are no official statistics to measure the number of religious believers in Japan, the percentage of Christians is very low, said to be less than 1% of the population (Ishikawa, 2019). Colonial rule is often associated with the West, whiteness, Christianity, etc. Japan, too, was a colonial power and remains one of the most powerful economies in the world, but it is known as an Eastern, non-white, and non-Christian country. In my own experience studying Critical Theory, in looking at the structure of power, many times there has been confusion as to where to place the Japanese in this power structure which is often understood within binary frames. I assume that the liminal status of Japanese, which does not apply to this dichotomy, may be one factor in that confusion.

In the racial, geopolitical and the geo-racial structure, the Japanese can be called Asians. There is, however, some doubt as to how well this category of Asians reflects the reality of Asians including Japanese. During World War II, imperial Japan attempted to create “the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (大東亜共栄圏 or Daito-A Kyoei-Ken)” to liberate Asia from the Western force, which ironically led to Japan colonising other Asian countries (Hoshino, 2016, p. 197). This places Japan in a questionable position as a representative voice for Asia. It is also worth noting that the lived experiences of those in East Asia can be vastly different from those in other parts of Asia. For instance, in a country like the United Arab Emirates, where many blue-collar workers are from lower-income countries in Asia such as India, the Philippines, or Afghanistan, they are treated like second-class citizens. However, people from higher-income countries such as Japan or South Korea are treated

quite favourably. Lived experiences among people in higher-income East Asia are different from Asians from other parts of Asia. In reality, sub-categories such as nationalities or ethnicities have more meaning than being Asian as a racial category on many occasions. Even among East Asians, the positionalities, lived experiences, and identities can be various. This is because, in the context of colonial rule, one is on the dominant side and one is on the oppressed side, and there is no common memory, especially in East Asia. Also, after the Cold War, a country known as a democracy and one of America's greatest allies and a country known as a non-democracy and one of America's greatest enemies are right next door, shoulder to shoulder. It does not seem easy to have a common narrative for both countries. Chen's (2010) book "Asia as Method" unpacked this complex power structure in East Asia influenced by Japanese and U.S. imperialism, colonialism, and Cold War. Japanese imperial structure still remains, and the de-colonial work has not been completed as well as de-imperialization in East Asia. The impact of the Cold War in the region is tremendous and the binary thinking between communism and liberalism, authoritarianism and democracy, coloniser and colonised, Chinese and American ideologies, etc. are still influential. Chen's work reminds us of the complex power dynamics within Asia which has internal imperialists and has been divided by the continuous Cold war (ibid). Chen (ibid) claims the need for de-imperialization and de-Cold War in addition to decolonisation in East Asia.

Another point is the importance of considering the meaning of Japaneseness after World War 2 or pacific war. Matsuo's (2013) study of Japaneseness is inspired by the study of whiteness and holds up Japaneseness as a hegemonic concept in Japanese society. Being Japanese means having structural privileges in Japanese society, which universalises one's existence and often leads to ethnocentrism. Unlike Asian citizens in Western societies, where whiteness is a privileged structure, Japanese people raised in Japanese society are confronted with their own Asianness, for the first time when they step outside of that society. This is the *Veil*'s experience described in the introduction. As Shimoji's (2018) study of mixed race in the Japan points out, at the same time, Japanese society has internalised whiteness and Western culture, and while it emphasises its own "pure blood," there is a tendency to view whiteness as superior between mixed race with whites and mixed race with people of colour. There are a number of movements to make sense of Japaneseness in the Japanese society. For example, Nihonjin-ron is a movement of inquiring the meaning of Japanese, with deep historical roots in the propaganda of World War 2 Imperial Japan (Shepherd, 1991, p. 188), and in this Nihonjin-ron, the notion of Japan as a homogeneous country is often referred. To counter this

notion, Dale (2012) points out, in his book “Myth of Japanese Uniqueness,” that the characteristic of the mythical narratives about Japaneseness contains three aspects; Japanese is a culturally and socially homogeneous racial entity; Japanese is radically different from all the other racial groups; and nationalistic with hostility to any mode of analysis from outside of Japan. Another example is Nihon-Bunka Ron which also essentialise the characteristic of Japanese (Japaneseness) and racial characteristics are used as the basis for differences; for example, the nature of white sexuality is explained by associating with carnivorous culture and Japanese sexuality with herbivorous culture (Sugimoto, 1996). Some of them even praise their own people through simple contrasts, such as "Japanese are clean and industrious, while Asians are filthy and lazy (ibid).” As seen in the examples, in these movements, Japaneseness is explained separately from Asianness and is recognised as a unique perspective. This discourse is not limited to the academic community; books on the Japanese people and Japanese culture have become bestsellers and have been embraced by the masses. The book was published by a professor at the University of Tokyo, Japan's premier academic institution, and became a popular book, selling 28 printing by 1987 (Shepherd, 1991, p. 189). The sense-making of race and racism in Japan has its own complex and contradict trajectory.

Considering the above, the position of the Japanese within the racial structure is liminal and fluid, not only within the binary framework of whiteness and blackness, but also in various contexts such as colonial domination and subjugation, economic power, citizenship, and privilege, etc. In my view, the Japanese as a social group is a meaningful subject for research in analysing the power in social structures.

1.1. Historical contexts of Japanese national identity

National identity and nationalism will be one of the main inquiries of this research. In this section, I will discuss the national identity in the Japanese historical context. National identities are often politicised. Yuval-Davis (2006) says belonging is articulated and politicised when we encounter a threat in some way. In the case of Japan, a sense of belonging to *Yamamo-minzoku* (equivalent to ethnic Japanese) was constructed and reinforced through the encounter with Western colonial power and strategic political project by the imperial government. Also, we can see a close connection between Pan-Asianism and imperialism in Asia. To illustrate this, I have briefly discussed the historical background of Japanese nationalism since its encounter with Western colonial power in the 19th century in the following section.

1.1.1. Encounter with the Western colonial power

Japan, which had been closed off from the rest of the world from 1603 to 1854, rapidly modernised and Westernised after an American naval officer Matthew C. Perry visited Japan and negotiated the opening of the country in 1853. As a result of this, Japanese delegations were sent to Western countries, where they translated academic books, both natural and social sciences. Through this process, Western knowledge was internalised. The project of civilising and modernising the country can be interpreted as an attempt at the Westernisation of Japan. Even though its success in economic development and strong influence in the region, it could be argued that this successful "civilisation" cannot be recognised as liberation or resistance to the West in its true meaning. Japan can be trapped by the Western concept of Asia with the notion of white supremacy. On the other hand, scholars such as Davidann (2021) say that Japan has never been fully Westernised, but has developed by taking from and selecting from the West. Before the World Wars in the 1930s, there was even a strong anti-Western faction (ibid), and the movement still exists today. The interpretations of history are variable.

1.1.2. Imperial Japan and Otherness of Asia

As previously mentioned, there is a Japanese concept known as *minzoku* which is translated to race, ethnicity, and nation. It is worth noting that the formation of race/ethnicity and imperial activity have a close relationship. In this context, the exceptionalism and eugenic theory of the Japanese, an ethnic group known as *Yamato minzoku,* which is often understood as equivalent group to Japanese, came to be advocated by Japanese intellectuals in the 20th century (Hoshino, 2016). Imperial Japan and intellectuals are accomplices to create "Others" in the Asian racial group with a belief that *Yamato minzoku* is a superior group (Oguma, 1995). The controversial role of the creation of *minzoku* is pointed by several scholars (Chen, 2010; Doak, 2001; Oguma, 1995). The concept of *minzoku* was used to build an ethnic national identity as Japanese, but also for the broader identity for "the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." While ethnic identity tends to be utilised for decolonial context, imperial Japan weaponised the concept to assimilate inferior Asian ethnic groups to *Yamamo minzoku* to conquer other Asian countries (Doak, 2001).

The question of how to create a new *minzoku*, as citizens of the Great East Asian *minzoku* (**大東亜民族** or Daito-a minzoku) which was a new Asian country ruled by imperial Japan, was a big discussion point in the Japanese government of the time (Hoshino, 2016, p. 197). This

indicates that there was initially no common identity/subjectivity as Asian. The colonial activities that represented the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by imperial Japan were accelerated in the name of “Pan-Asianism” in the midst of imminent threat from Western colonial powers to Asia. This Pan-Asianism project ironically resulted in merely another colonialism conducted by a non-white nation, the exploitation of Asians by Asians. Interestingly, the Asia-Pacific war has been considered by some intellectuals in the U.S., as a conflict between (Western) democracy and (Japanese) fascism, as well as being a “racial conflict” between Asians (non-white race) and the colonial white race for others (S.-W. Lee, 2015). A number of black scholars including Du Bois supported this idea of racial conflict. Du Bois (1937) viewed Japanese Imperialism and its Pan-Asian project of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as a potential model of his vision for Pan-Africanism. His pro-Japanese stance brought him to Japan several times and he was treated as a dignitary. In the 1920s he regarded the rise of imperial Japan as a preferable alternative to Western hegemony (S.-W. Lee, 2015, p. 517). However, Du Bois did little to parallel the atrocities of Japanese imperialism with those of European imperialism (ibid). In his view, the future of non-white races, including China and Africa, would be based on Japanese industrialisation and modernisation (S.-W. Lee, 2015, p. 517). The colonial nature of imperial Japan, which was often taken negatively by China and Korea, was overlooked because of the perspective of seeing Asian as a single racial category and the binary perspective of white or non-white.

According to the research by Oguma (1995), which traced the genealogy of the academic signification of the Japanese self-image in the history of Japanese imperialism, a major project of modernisation was undertaken by sending envoys to the Western powers to defend their country from Western colonial rule. In the process, anthropology and sociology on race was also internalised, but as Japan became powerful enough to rival the powers, and as it continued to win wars against China and Russia, Japanese sociologists themselves began to engineer the racial implications of the Japanese people. Many theories, including contradictory ones, were proposed, such as the discourse that the Japanese excelled over the Han Chinese because of their historical mixture of other races, the theory of superiority as the children of God based on the myth of the emperor, and the theory that the Japanese were superior to the Caucasians or whites. In general, what was proposed was a meaning of the "Japanese race" as separate from the "barbaric Asian race”. Later, however, under the name of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," Japan expanded its territory to other Asian countries under imperialism (Greater East Asia War). While claiming that the Japanese are a eugenic race, it is fundamentally contradictory to carry out aggression based on "Pan-

Asianism," which emphasises the identity of Asia. For this reason, various theories among sociology and anthropology scholars of the time attempted to justify the Japanese invasion and superiority.

Even today, there is a narrative in Japan, which continues to differentiate Japan from other Asian countries because the other Asian countries are portrayed as underdeveloped and in need of support from developed countries such as Japan. Similarly, these histories of imperialism in Asia and economic gaps seem to reproduce the notion of Asian as Others in the Japanese psyche. Another perspective is that Japan has tried to be assimilated into Western society ever since its encounter with Western colonialism. The eighteenth-century slogan of "脱亜入欧" or "Datsu-A Nyu-Ou", which means "leave Asia and enter the West" (Wirth, 2015, p. 294) exemplified the complex identity of Japanese in relationship with the concept of Asia. This slogan is taught in schools even today. In this history, Japanese identity as Asian was demolished as a political project to recognise the West as a superior group. Wirth (2015, p. 294) argues that the Japanese aspiration to enter the great Western power club was not fully successful and had not been able to be treated equally.

1.2. Japanese in South Africa as Honorary White

The colonial and economic power of Japan also brought privilege to the Japanese in South Africa during Apartheid. Apartheid is a unique part of South African history that has been a foundation of the social cognition of South Africans. In 1930s, the so-called 'gentleman's agreement' between South African government and Japanese government allowed non-white Japanese to have white treatment (Makino, 2016, p. 8; Yamamoto, 2022, p. 88). This exclusive treatment of the Japanese was met with much resentment by white South Africans. A Japanese government official who visited South Africa at that time argued that this strong backlash was because white South Africans equated the Japanese as being of the same low class as the Indians and Chinese (Yamamoto, 2022, pp. 109–110). In the process of getting exemption and privileges, Japanese officials tried to differentiate themselves from other Asians and sometimes emphasised "Japanese race" (ibid, p. 96), which was used to create a distance between Asianness and Japaneseness: in this case elite, civilised, and educated "race" and therefore superior to other Asians. In the 1960s, after World War 2, the Group Areas Act allowed the Japanese to reside in white-only areas (Osada, 2002; Yamamoto, 2022). While testimonies show the discrimination and some hostile reactions to the entrance of Japanese into white-only spaces (Yamamoto, 2022, pp. 105–106, 124–125), Japanese privilege above

other Asians had been officially entitled in Apartheid South Africa. It is said that one of the reasons for the social mobilisation of Japanese during Apartheid was Japan's economic power and importance as a trading partner. Furthermore, the Japanese population in South Africa was very small, with few or no labour immigrants and many expatriates with relatively high levels of education and income, therefore it was exceptionally beneficial to cross racial boundaries (ibid, p. 98). Recorded comments by some Japanese government officials mentioned that the behaviours of other Asians and uncivilised Japanese were to blame for the discrimination against Asians (ibid, p. 112). There were also the articles in the Japanese Community Newspaper praising Apartheid and arguing that the Japanese should side with whites (ibid, p. 124). Japanese government had continuously tried social mobilisation by internalising whiteness and othering other Asians. In these efforts and narratives, there are few comments and acknowledgement of black South Africans. Regardless of whether equal rights are granted, this striving and internalisation itself can be seen as indicative of the honorary whiteness of the Japanese and may also be expressed in what Du Bois calls Double Consciousness. With the end of Apartheid in 1994, the racist legal system was abolished, as was the status of "honorary whites". As the systematic racism theory says, in a society that is structured based on racial understanding, especially white-on-black oppression, and racial stereotype, ideas, images, emotions, and practices (Cazenave, 2017; Feagin, 2013), racism continues to exist after the illegalisation of racial segregation and discrimination. While is no single agreed definition of racism, it is commonly associated with genetical, biological and/or cultural differences (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999, pp. 176–177). It is, however, commonly accepted that race socially constructed. Biological and genetic differences have been scientifically proven to not exist (ibid). If racism exists within the social constructs, honorary whiteness may also be present within the same social constructs. It is worth examining this in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Research on the Japanese in South Africa is very limited. Yamamoto's (2022) study of honorary whiteness among Japanese during Apartheid, as well as "in-between" racial violence, including among Asians, is one of the few studies that focus on the Japanese during Apartheid. Sugishita (2017) covers her research note about the ethnographic research on the Japanese community in post-Apartheid South Africa. Today's Japanese population in South Africa is, according to the statistics from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan, 1,113 in October 2021[1]. 21.9% of them hold permanent residents and the others are temporary

[1] 海外在留邦人数調査統, https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/toko/tokei/hojin/index.html

residents. This means that most Japanese living in South Africa today have migrated after Apartheid. The definition of Japanese in this thesis is those who have Japanese nationality including multiple nationalities holders.

1.3. Researcher's background and motivation for this research

As I mentioned before, I am a Japanese migrant in post-Apartheid South Africa. Here I share my own lived experiences and positionality as an example of the complexity of Japanese identity and the diversity of the group of Japanese in today's South Africa. As the nature of identity is multiple and fluid (Onorato & Turner, 2004), here I focus on the national and ethnic identity. The transnational migration from Japan to South Africa gave me some impact on how I see myself and my social identity.

A direct factor in my moving to South Africa was the fact that I now have a South African spouse (my fiancé at the time). I met him in Japan, so when I first arrived, I did not know much about South Africa. What I noticed was the effect of the racial classification of myself and my spouse. I believe that people who emigrate based on their relationship with their spouse are sometimes judged by their spouse's status. I assume that one of the reasons for this judgment is that they are forced to mention their spouse when they are asked about the reasons for immigrating to that country. Women in particular may be more likely to be judged based on their spouse's attributes, but in my case, since my spouse was a native speaker of Xhosa and was born in what used to be called Bantustan, it was very interesting to see how people reacted when I revealed this. For example, it is often the case that when I go to a restaurant by myself, the staff who are not that friendly to me will suddenly become nicer and more approachable when they know that I am a "*Makoti*," meaning a bride in the Bantu language and often implying a spouse of a black man. One time I was talking to a black woman from Limpopo Province, and I told her the reason I came to South Africa was that I was married to a South African. When she later met my spouse, she was surprised and said, "I didn't think your partner was black. I thought Asians liked whites." There are many other examples, but the common thread is that when I say I have a merely South African spouse, many people imagine a white spouse. Also, when I am alone, many black workers are very distanced from me, but when I am with my spouses or after I go with him, they have a completely different behaviour and treatment towards me.

It Is not only South Africans who react in this way, but also Japanese people I have met in South Africa. Many of them are very friendly at first because we are from the same country

and are fellow compatriots. In the process, I have some interesting experiences. Like South Africans, many people assume that my spouse is white. “Does your husband speak English or Afrikaans?” I was once asked this two-choice question. One asked, “What is your husband...?” asking about his race in a disguised manner. Until then, they were friendly, saying that they would invite me to a gathering sometime, but after I told them that he was black, I never received that invitation. Another incident that was symbolic, though non-directive, was when a lady refused to provide her services for me because my spouse was black. She was a professional freelance Japanese interpreter who had a white spouse whom I had asked to be an English-Japanese interpreter for my parents visiting South Africa from Japan at our wedding. She had initially agreed to take the job because of the availability of her schedule, but after she found out that my in-laws were black, she made a point of saying that it would be difficult for her to handle the job. When I called her to confirm, she replied that she was not confident that she could interpret English with a black accent.

These were episodes from my early days in South Africa, and although my understanding of the power structure and meaning among the races in this country was not that deep, I became aware of the meaning of skin colour in post-Apartheid South Africa. How is my Japanese or Asian (in most cases, East Asian, including people of Chinese descent) body viewed? Where is the Japanese community positioned? And what does the dark skin colour symbolise? It was after these experiences that I learned about the history of the Japanese as honorary whites. No Japanese were able to live in South Africa at that time in the position I am in, meaning as a spouse of a black South African due to the racial boundary, but today, Japanese people live in this country have various statuses from the freedom we are legally granted. These are the discourses that have inspired my research question which attempts to analyse the privileges that Japanese people have, the violence that accompanies them, the fluctuation of their identity because of the ambiguous meanings that are assigned to them, and the social power structures of post-Apartheid South Africa that are visible from a Japanese point of view.

Chapter 2: Research Problem and Research Question

In this study, I will focus on the liminal identity of the Japanese to make sense of the complex power structure in post-Apartheid South Africa. In this chapter, the details of the research problem and research question will be introduced. Most of the critical studies in post-Apartheid South Africa have analytical lenses based on the binary understanding of race (blackness and whiteness) or the four racial categories constructed by the Apartheid regime. Many of the studies have intersectional lenses such as gender, sexuality, and disabilities. Those who cannot fit into the traditional four racial categories are not covered as much. Although many South African nationals do not fit neatly into the four racial categories, the number of studies of people, especially those who are immigrants from abroad and fall between blackness and whiteness, is very limited.

As the great scholars in the field of race and psychology, Fanon (2012) and DuBois (1903), have proposed that race is to be embodied. When it comes to "Asianness" along with blackness and whiteness, the meaning is ambiguous and contextual. There are a number of scholars who work on the positionality and meaning of Asians (or Asian Americans) in the North American contexts (J. Y. Kim, 1999; Lai et al., 2015). As Okihiro's (1994) famous question "Is Yellow Black or White?" shows, there is always a struggle with where to locate Asians in the binary racial frame. Although most scholars discussing this topic in the North American context are descendants of either Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, geographic Asia is much larger than these three countries such as Vietnamese; Thai; Indian; Bangladeshi; Afghan, etc. Interestingly, in the American context, Asians often refer geographically to people from East and Southeast Asia who look more like Chinese, while in the British context, Asians often refer to people of South Asian descents as BBC calls its new Prime Minister Rishi Sunak an Asian British ('Rishi Sunak dey set to become first British Asian PM', 2022). The question to be asked here is what exactly is Asia? Is Asia a race or simply a geography? As Edward Said's (1979) *Orientalism* well demonstrates, the term is a generic term for the Other created from a Eurocentric perspective. It does not necessarily reflect the place, people, or culture of Asia. There is the term "Asian continent," but there is Eurasian continent, and there is no clear geographical boundary between Europe and Asia. Similarly, the existence of an Asian race is hardly a reflection of the reality of people living in a very vague place called Asia (Said, 1979). Even when considering racial embodiment, when looking at physical characteristics, the differences in appearance between typical Chinese and Indians are obvious, and it is difficult to imagine that people of Indian descent, for example,

would be subject to “Asian hate” that is motivated by the pandemic of COVID 19. Although the term “Asian” is also used in this dissertation, I believe that it should be used with an understanding of the context in which it is used.

1.4. What Asia represents in the post-Apartheid South Africa

How is the term Asia used in the post-Apartheid South African context? According to the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, the people in South Africa were divided into white (European) or non-white (non-European), and non-white were divided into three racial categories: Natives (blacks), Indians, and Coloured (mixed race) (Park, 2008, p. 124). In this classification, there was no Asian as a category. Most non-Indian Asians, such as Chinese and Malays, were classified as Coloured, except those categorised as honorary whites (ibid). Immigrants from Japan were allowed access to white-only spaces as honorary whites because Japan was diplomatically important for Apartheid South Africa (Osada, 2002).

In the South African context, when the term Asia is used, it rarely refers to people of Indian descent, but more often to people from other parts of Asia, especially those who have similar physical and external characteristics to the Chinese and those from East Asia. During Apartheid, the “Indian” category has been even treated as a separate entity from Asia. In a geographical sense, there are other areas besides India (South Asia) or China (East Asia) that are called Asia, but people in Central Asia and the Middle East are rarely directly associated with Asia in this context. Hence, Asianness in South Africa may be replaced by Chineseness, or embodied race among people from East and/or Southeast Asia. Therefore, in this paper, I will use the term Asian mainly to refer to those who are from East Asia and/or descendants of East Asians.

1.5. Japanese and honorary whiteness in South Africa

Let me now shift our focus again to the Japanese in South Africa. While the Japanese have Asianness (Chineseness) in terms of racial embodiment, they are Asians who, under Apartheid, were officially allowed to live in white-only areas and enter white-only spaces, as honorary whites, distinct from the Chinese based on Group Areas Act amended in the 1960s. They lived in limited (white) upper-class areas where they were protected. At the same time, as Apartheid was coming to an end, they were bitterly criticised by anti-Apartheid groups as being involved in and supporting the system, therefore some who used to live in Apartheid South Africa were hesitant to talk about those days (Yamamoto, 2022, pp. 122–123). During

the Apartheid time, being “not” Chinese made a big difference in the lives of the Japanese. In addition, in their psyche, they also believed that they are different from the Chinese (Yamamoto, 2022). Many Japanese living in South Africa were temporal expatriates and educated elites, while many Chinese have a history of being taken as slaves to the labour force, and some even have South African citizenship. Post-Apartheid period Japanese residents are different from those who lived in South Africa during Apartheid since most of them have already left. Some 20% of them have married South Africans or moved to South Africa permanently for other reasons such as work and most are still first-generation immigrants or temporary immigrants. This means that they have common experiences of migrating from relatively a racially homogeneous society to a multi-racial society, and economically relatively developed society to an under-developed society. As mentioned earlier, Japan itself has a history of imperialism that has led to a sense of superiority and othering of (other) Asians. In this regard, I will try to unpack how the Japanese understand Asianness and Japaneseness through the experience of migration, and how they find their positionality in post-Apartheid South Africa.

1.6. Research Questions

The research question is:

- How Japanese expatriates/migrants make sense of the self-image, identity, and positionality of Japanese in the racial structure of post-Apartheid South Africa?

Here, by analysing how post-Apartheid Japanese immigrants understand themselves as they negotiate between whiteness and blackness, between Asianness (Chineseness) and Japaneseness, between home and host countries, and with the other social categories of their respective (intersectionality), I try to understand the racial hierarchies and power structures of the post-Apartheid South African society.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Here, I will cover three key concepts for this research as a set in the literature review: honorary whiteness, liminal identity, and Critical Whiteness Studies.

1.7. Honorary Whiteness

The term "honorary white" was used primarily to refer to the Japanese during the Apartheid era. Initially, a liberal South African newspaper used the term "honorary white" in the context of criticising the ambiguity and irrationality of Apartheid's racial divisions, using the treatment of the Japanese as an example (Osada, 2002). Although the category of "honorary white" was never created as a legal racial category or written in the legal documents, the term honorary white became generally known (ibid). The term "honorary white" was commonly used in the context of Apartheid South Africa, but the use and concept of "honorary whiteness" is not limited to South Africa. Here, I explore and discuss the genealogy of honorary whiteness. It has been seen when it is used for groups belonging to a particular social category, as in Apartheid South Africa, and when it is used for an individual's desire for whiteness or social mobility within minority or non-white groups as well.

There is no simple, systematised genealogy of honorary whiteness. As for the use of the social groups in the American context, it is often used for Asian Americans and is sometimes described along with the concept of model minorities and the sense of in-betweenness of white and black. In another case, it is also used to describe Arab Americans, who are often statistically classified as white. As Okihiro (1994) also points out the fragility of the racial system, racialisation of Americans as white and normalisation of whiteness. The racial binary perspective creates the racial boundary between black and white which seems natural although people in reality, cross it constantly (ibid). While blackness is partly assimilated to the American society as legal citizens, Asians are alienated and continuously non-members of society, which shows the different racialisation of black Americans and Asian Americans (ibid). One of the relative concepts in this trait is racial interstitially introduced by Bow (2010), which describes the racial relational position of Asian Americans being in-between normalised whiteness and marginalised blackness. Asian Americans are not standing outside but in-between the binary category of racial logic (Bow, 2010). This is not to fix Asians in their respective positions as white and black, but to highlight the unsettling nature of their racial divisions and to point to a change in self-perception (ibid). The differences and diversity among Asian Americans are based on their nationalities and relationship to

imperialism, meaning the interstitialities are not only about race but also about geopolitics. (Lai et al., 2015). As an example, as Chinese ethno-nationalism, Chinese intellectuals see themselves as a part of the West. This comes from a sense of superiority while being colonised at the same time. This imperialist desire and ethnic chauvinism can also be seen among Chinese migrants in the U.S., however, that is not the same way as the Western project of imperialism and colonialism (Lai et al., 2015, p. 20). It has been argued that there may be the potential for the notion of racial interstitially to apply to the racial hierarchies within other settler colonialism outside of North America (Lai et al., 2015, p. 18). There is a limitation of these theories because they are contextualised in the U.S. and Canada, and do not address first-generation immigrants much; they only address Asian or Chinese/Japanese American whiteness. However, it can be said in the different contexts that power structures (proximity to whiteness) may emerge by focusing on geopolitics, not just the racial category of Asia.

As the concept of "model minority" is sometimes referred to as a relevant concept (Lai et al., 2015, pp. 22, 23, 24, 27), Joh (2021, p. 298) explains the notion of the model minority as the "myth of inclusivity" and "false sense of acceptance into whiteness." There is a sense of exception among Asians to be excluded from other minority groups (ibid). Another related concept is the tri-racial system introduced by Bonilla-Silva (2004). In this system, there are three main racial categories: white, honorary-white, and black. As racism is embedded into the social structure, honorary whites as a middle group are utilised to maintain white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2004, p. 934). Bonilla-Silva (2004) states that skin colour and level of assimilation can define the honorary whites such as light skin Latinos, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Middle Eastern Americans, while collective blacks can include Vietnamese, Laotian, Hmong Americans, and darker skin Latinos. Yancey (2003, pp. 3–4) also suggests that assimilation or integration of dominant culture will make non-white "white," as supporting racial status quo.

Son (2014) conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis with 1.5 generations, who migrated when they were younger than 12 years old, to second generations of Korean Americans in three cities in the U.S.. This analysis was based on the understanding that racial identities of the non-white emerging migrants will be triangulated between whiteness and blackness. Asian Americans as honorary whites tend to distance themselves from black and their known racial inferiority (Son, 2014, pp. 168–169). Although Asians are still a racialised ethnic group, they deny being a member of oppressed minorities (O'Brien, 2008) but remain 'honorary' whites

but not ‘white’ (Tuan, 1998). In Son’s (2014) research, Korean American informants show the minimisation of the impact of racism. As honorary whites, they endorse colour-blind racism and abstract liberalism, and racial progressive to acknowledge racism. In these processes, they used the rhetoric of forgetting, individualisation of the racial offenders by calling them stupid, ignorant, or uneducated, othering co-ethnic groups by normalizing mainstream whiteness. The concept of relative valorisation (C. J. Kim, 1999) was also used by some informants, which downplays their discriminative experiences by emphasising the worse discrimination against other groups. In her study, not all respondents were considered honorary whites who attain the white identity and deny racial stratification of Asians. While the majority of others fail to identify themselves as white (Son, 2014, p. 780).

Another social group that is sometimes linked to the notion of honorary whiteness is Arab Americans, whose positionality reflects their racial in-betweenness similarity to that of Asian Americans. Majaj (1999), a Palestinian-American poet, describes the state of Arab Americans as ambiguous “honorary whiteness” with conditional access to white society but not fully obtain whiteness as also situated between white and black, and neither white nor black. In addition, this conditional privilege as honorary white can easily be stripped away in a moment of crisis (ibid). It is interesting to note that honorary whiteness is used here to refer not only to Arab Americans but also to Americans who are supposedly “martyred” for showing solidarity with the Palestinian people but were stripped of their whiteness and murdered and buried on Palestinian soil, wrapped in the Palestinian flag (Majaj, 2000).

Japanese honorary whites in Apartheid South Africa were a group granted white equivalent or similar rights and access to white-only spaces in a context where racial divisions defined every aspect of life, and economic class and merit (to white society). Although it is similarly used in the American context to describe this conditional whiteness, it is treated as a concept pertaining to the in-betweenness of relatively latecomer non-white groups within a binary racial structure of whiteness and blackness. However, the definition is not constant and is sometimes used by such as Bonilla-silva and Bow. Yancey’s interpretation of neither white nor black but serving to reinforce white supremacy and Joh and Son’s perception of (often fictional) inclusion in white society and whiteness. What is common among them is the fluctuation of positionality and identity within the binary structure of race, the sense of assimilation into mainstream whiteness, and the othering of co-ethnic groups and blackness.

I have mentioned previous studies that have addressed the honorary whiteness of certain social categories within the racial structure. However, as Son and Majaj have noted, the term is sometimes used for the subjectivity, desire for social mobilisation, or exceptionalism of individuals as well as entire social categories. Young (2009) explains honorary whiteness as a "fantasy of exception" that is originally introduced in the novel written by Norton (2004) and define as individual aspiration to whiteness. Young (2009) calls honorary whiteness a fantasy because the power structure remains the same while the self can only achieve exclusion from oppression and the concept is still based on the colonial understanding of binarism. As is well known that race and class are overlapping concepts, racial appearance may represent social class, while class advancement may lead to a reduction in racial stigma (McFarlane, 2009, p. 185). Black people with money who follow middle-class norms can be "operatively white" (ibid, p. 165) while economic discrimination and segregation are continuously normalised (p. 187). In Black Skin, White Mask, Fanon (2012) mentions the aspiration to be white and the honorary citizenship of black in white society, and Nyamnjoh (2010) describes this aspiration described by Fanon as honorary whiteness. These references indicate that within certain contexts, there are normalised races, cultures (including language and education levels), and social classes and that those who deviate from them may participate in white society as honorary whites on an exceptional basis.

1.7.1. Honorary whiteness in South Africa

In the South African context, honorary whites are sometimes spoken of as a social category, as can be inferred from the history of actual legal racial divisions. However, for Asians in South Africa, it is different from other contexts in that there is no common memory among a certain group with matching embodied physical characteristics. The status was rather enjoyed by those with the attributes of being Japanese. Chinese descents on the other hand were clearly classified as non-white in the legal framework. The question here is whether the Chinese can be considered honorary white or not. In South Africa, there are mainly three different groups of ethnic Chinese: early immigrants who came back in the 1870s to 1880s for the mining industry; Taiwanese Chinese in the early 1990s; and the recent immigrants from mainland China which is the largest group (Park, 2013, p. 136). There were around ten to twelve thousand Chinese residents during Apartheid (ibid). Regardless of their mixed feelings toward the honorary white status of the Japanese and regardless of their identity, some stepped into white-only spaces claiming to be Japanese for the sake of convenience and access to the exclusive spaces. Chinese South Africans also shared their positionality of being between black and white (Park, 2008, p. 124). As Chinese access to white-only spaces has

become tacit and de facto, the Chinese have come to be perceived as having whiteness, or at least honorary whiteness (Park, 2008, p. 124). At the same time, the Chinese (Asians), like the honorary white Japanese, threated to the breakdown of racial boundaries. Thus, they were problematic but tolerated because of their small numbers (Park, 2008, p. 128).

In light of the aforementioned research and the study of honorary whiteness among the Chinese during Apartheid, honorary whiteness existed regardless of legal privilege or social acceptance. It defined the access to and desire for normal and mainstream whiteness and its privileges by members of non-white groups. In this respect, honorary whiteness will be a useful concept to examine the identity and positionality of Japanese in post-Apartheid South Africa.

1.8. Liminal identity

After honorary whiteness, the key concept is "liminal identity" or the state of liminality. The concept of liminality has been introduced by the ethnologist Van Gennep (1977) and developed by the anthropologist Turner (2017; 1974). It describes "a subjective state of being on the 'threshold' of or betwixt and between two different existential positions" (Ybema et al., 2011, p. 21). The states of the liminality of identity have been classified into two statuses: transitional liminality and perpetual liminality (ibid). Transitional liminality is a status of transition from one identity to another, which is temporary status while perpetual identity is the identity as the ongoing status of in-betweenness and on the "threshold." This concept resonates with the fluid identity and positionality of honorary whites between black and white.

Some studies about liminal identity are written by biracial scholars focusing on the identity of those who are biracial (Enders, 2011; Hill, 2010). Ender (2011) explains the experiences of a biracial woman as a state of perpetual liminality in the American context from a psychological perspective and points out the importance of racial identity in the society with heterogeneous understanding of race and ethnicity. People in racial/ethnic liminality can be a bridge builder between two races or become very aware of boundaries. This feature can be applied to other layers of binaries such as gender and sexuality (ibid). Although Wilber (1979) says that boundaries created by human beings are drawn between self and non-self, liminality seems to have ambiguous and fluid boundaries of identity. Literature on liminality often attempts to analyse changes and thresholds of individual identity and positionality without including other social categories as a whole. This is in part because the original

concept was derived from rites of passage, which focus more on the temporal change within an individual.

In the South African context, the identity of Coloured and Indian South Africans is sometimes referred to as liminal, because of their positionality between white and black (Isaacs-Martin & Petrus, 2012; Vahed, 2001). For Coloured liminal identity, their diverse and complex history and backgrounds play a role for the construction of their identity as well (Isaacs-Martin & Petrus, 2012, p. 97). They tend to internalise racism and have a desire to assimilate into white normativity (Isaacs-Martin & Petrus, 2012). This is similar to the aspiration to be white that Fanon (2012) introduces and honorary whiteness. The internalisation of white racism is also pointed out as Coloured people tend to understand that "white is right" (Isaacs-Martin & Petrus, 2012, p. 99). For Indian South Africans, Vahed (2001) mentions that Indians are sandwiched between white and black and points out the relationship between race and class as well as identity is forged historically and culturally. Although Indian South Africans are diverse in terms of language, religion, class, and customs, racial identity has been formed in relationship with other racial groups (ibid).

There is a perspective to see post-Apartheid South Africa itself as a liminal state of transition from racial segregation to democracy, which also causes an identity shift (Pansters & Van Rinsum, 2016). Kalua (2009) stands similar position seeing post-colonial African identity as liminal. Like Pan-Africanism and Negritude, deconstruction of the continent and black race is actively practiced. In this process, the rejection of others by blacks and the commonalities and differences within the continent continues to be emphasised, respectively. African identity, originally othered by European epistemology, is said to continue to be liminal without being fixed.

Looking at the South African context, it may be possible to see a permanent or temporary liminal status for any group members within a simplistic racial binary or racialised social category.

1.9. Critical Whiteness Studies

Lastly, I will touch on some research on Critical Whiteness Studies because we cannot dismiss the understanding of whiteness when we discuss honorary whiteness. The literature on whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa is vast. Whiteness is a construct of power and takes the identity of white as a norm and standard (Steyn, 2000). In South Africa, whiteness

and privilege were closely connected economically, socially, and politically (Steyn & Conway, 2010, p. 287). The end of Apartheid, even before it when South African tried to challenge the status quo, brought a crisis among white South Africans. It created a loss of certainty, comfort, familiarity, and privilege (Steyn, 2000). As Steyn and Foster (2008) argue that whiteness is still resisting change and reproducing white and racist discourses by victimising themselves or justifying white domination.

I have noted the in-betweenness of white and black in the sections on honorary whiteness and liminality, but whiteness and blackness are not two symmetrical concepts; whiteness is seemingly common sense, normalised, cantered, and universal while blackness is marked and subjugated. We need to be concerned about this normalised whiteness when we analyse Asianness and Japaneseness, which are neither white nor black.

Chapter 4: Methodology and method

In this chapter, I will introduce the methodology and method of this research. The framework I will use will be Critical Diversity Literacy (CDL) (Steyn, 2014) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2022; Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011; M. N. P. Johnson & McLean, 2020; Van Dijk, 1993). The narratives are corrected by in-depth interviews and the transcribed texts will be analysed. The detailed methods will be explained in this Chapter.

1.10. Methodology

The foundation of analytical framework in this research will be Critical Diversity Literacy (CDL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDL is introduced by Steyn (2014) and engages with the ways to understand privilege and oppression and how power is (re)produced. This will emphasise the importance of understanding such as the role of power in the construction of power, how systems of oppression intersect and co-construct, and the production of social identities and coded hegemonic practices (Steyn, 2014). Taking on the idea of CDL, I will focus on the role of power in creating differences in society, and look at hegemonic symbols and discourses as they are reproduced, resisted, and reshaped. I will analyse how social identity plays a role in this process, paying attention to the historical context. This stance resonates with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which I will explain in the next paragraph.

CDA is based on the study of language, which see language as a form of social practices and aims to unpack power, representation, dominance, prejudice and ideology in the text and expression (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2022; Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011; M. N. P. Johnson & McLean, 2020). I will use CDA for the analysis of reproduction of honorary whiteness and other forms of domination in post-Apartheid South Africa. Van Dijk (1993) cognitive-cantered approach is especially useful in this research because discourse is understood as what (re)produces and challenges dominance, and the role of discourse of reproduction of racism and ethnic inequality in the post-modern society are focused on. This is a useful lens to unpack how prejudice and social discrimination work. Another point of cognitive approach is how social cognition and individual cognition integrate and construct discourses. There is a connection between biased mental models and discrimination toward certain groups. Mental models are attributed to individuals, but social representation shapes the discourses and leads to the construction of general attitudes that contain prejudices toward minorities and other groups (Van Dijk, 2006). These discourses are often controlled by elites (including

politicians, media, corporate and other authorities), often creating a positive discourse for their own group and a negative one for others, justifying and normalising dominance or even denying dominance (Van Dijk, 2017). I believe that Van Dijk's CDA will be a potent lens to consider the social cognitions which is familiar to Japanese society or Japanese community in South Africa and how they relate to the (re)production of dominant discourse from the narratives of the Japanese living in the post-Apartheid South Africa with diverse backgrounds and experiences.

1.11. Method

In order to proceed with the discourse analysis, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews. Interviewees were (1) Japanese nationals, (2) native speakers of Japanese, (3) immigrants to South Africa since the end of Apartheid, (4) have lived in South Africa for at least one year, and (5) lives in either Western Cape or Gauteng province. Interviews were conducted in Japanese for about one hour, either in person or online (Google Meet) at the informant's request, and all conversations were recorded. After the interviews, they were transcribed in Japanese and Thematic Analysis was conducted. It was then translated into English and a Discourse Analysis was conducted based on the Japanese and English bilingual texts. The list of informants and the attributes of the informant are on Table 1 and 2 respectably. Two tables are used to cite each statement while preserving the anonymity of the informants. Because of the limited number of Japanese living in South Africa, and the possibility that individuals could be identified if the entire information set were revealed, I present limited individual information in Table 1. Table 2 shows the diversity of the informants in this study by representing other attributes. One of the important attributes on Table 2 missing on the table is social class. Most Japanese expatriates/immigrants are middle to upper-middle class in South Africa. It was rather difficult to find some living outside of the urban city centre but one of the informants identify herself as one of the people on the street and differentiate from other Japanese especially in terms of class.

Table 1: List of informants

Informant	Gender	Length of Stay (year)	First reason for migration
A	Male	4-15	Work (local employment or self-employment)
B	Female	4-15	Family (assignment of family members)
C	Female	4-15	Work (local employment or self-employment)
D	Female	16+	Family (assignment of family members)
E	Male	1-3	Work (Japanese company)
F	Male	1-3	Work (Japanese company)
G	Female	1-3	Family (assignment of family members)
H	Female	1-3	Work (Japanese company)
I	Female	16+	Others
J	Male	1-3	Work (Japanese company)

Table 2: Sample characteristics (N=10)

Characteristic	*(N)*
Residence	
Johannesburg	6
Pretoria	2
Cape Town	2
Age	
20-29	1
30-49	7
40-59	1
60+	1
Family structure	
Single	2
Japanese spouse	4
South African spouse (white)	2
Non-South African white spouse	1
Non-South African black spouse	1
With children	6
Current position	
Manufacturing industry	2
IT industry	2
Trading	2
Government	1
Housewife	2
Volunteer/retirement	1
Countries in which one have lived other than Japan	
Egypt, United Arab Emirates, United States and Saudi Arabia	1
Mozambique and Kenya	1
Thailand	1
United Kingdom and United States	1
United Kingdom	1
Ghana and Tanzania	1
Non but travel abroad including business travel	4

I conducted purposive sampling, meaning I intentionally tried to contact Japanese nationals with diverse backgrounds. The aim of this study was to investigate the manifestation of Japaneseness and honorary whiteness within the identities and lived experiences of the informants. With the deliberate intention of encompassing a diverse range of social groups, excluding solely their Japanese nationality, I selected the informants for this research. Unlike the Japanese community during Apartheid, today's Japanese residents came to South Africa for various reasons. Under the old regime, the immigration was more strictly controlled and almost all Japanese residents were corporate expatriates, and their rights were restricted. Japanese residents today are not necessarily expatriates nor belong to one single community. This is different from the "honorary white" Japanese during Apartheid who had a more solid community. This post-Apartheid Japanese community consist of some who got married to South Africans from different population groups or are locally employed without the sponsor of Japanese corporates. This largest group, however, continues to be Japanese expatriates who are assigned to the local office from the Japanese corporate headquarters. Since even people of the same nationality have different reasons for emigrating and different proximate communities, I intentionally contacted multiple communities and requested referrals of potential informants from them. In addition to personal networks, first contacts were made through Japanese associations led by Japanese companies with branches in South Africa and social media. The interviews were semi-structured which means there is a list of questions to follow, but there was a room for additional questions and digression episodes as the conversation flows. I, as a researcher, did not contribute my own opinions but rather nodded and agreed with the answers provided by informants.

One thing that became clear as I was introduced to informants was that there are few cross-regional Japanese connections, and that Gauteng has two main types of Japanese associations, one called *NIHONJIN-KAI*, which is directly translated into "Japanese Association," consisting mainly of expatriates from Japanese companies and the other consisting of a community of permanent residents with South African, and other non-Japanese (not explicitly stated, but probably Western) spouses. The *NIHONJIN-KAI* cantered in Johannesburg is the largest in terms of size, and the majority of the members are middle-aged (40-50s) or older men in middle or higher positions. They have little contact with people outside the Japanese community, and several described it as a "Japanese village (implying a small and closed community)." Based on the informants who belonged to the *NIHONJIN-KAI* it was inferred that the 10 informants did not include the typical prolife of the *NIHONJIN-KAI*. They were more likely to be actively seeking or forced to interact with the non-Japanese communities,

which may be a limitation in that it does not reflect the mainstream demographic of Japanese expatriates. However, when returning to the aim of unravelling the power structure of South African society through Japaneseness, I believe that this is an appropriate sample for the study.

Chapter 5: Analysis

This chapter deals with discourse analysis based on transcriptions of interviews conducted with 10 informants. First, I present the state of the Japanese community in post-Apartheid by specifying the contexts, followed by the results of the Thematic Analysis and the CDA. The first part focuses on the contexts as an important component of discourse analysis, which is based on the context model that defines what is shared and not shared within certain groups, which is often based on social identities, (Van Dijk, 2008, pp. 825–826). The overview of the lived experiences and narratives of the Japanese informants in South Africa provides the context upon which the discourse analysis in the next section is based. Through the informants' narratives, stereotypes and prejudices could be seen, as well as racism based on the groupings of Others in their processes of recognition and meaning making. The CDA in this study follows the social cognitive processes proposed by Van Dijk and other researchers (Van Dijk, 1993, 2006, 2017; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). Prejudice and stereotypes are not only emotional and psychological phenomena of individuals, but also a shared form of social representation for a particular social category and often reproduced within a common social group through discourse and communication (Van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). In the interviews analysed in this study, race and social categories such as ethnicity and nationality are mentioned. Blackness, whiteness, and Asianness are influenced by racial categories which are embodied into individuals and are differentiated from ethnicity and nationality as unembodied differences. However, these distinctions between race and ethnicity are extremely blurred and not clearly delineated and recognised, although they exist in the context of prejudice and racist perceptions. This is not surprising given the ambiguity of the concept of race as a social construct. For instance, Japaneseness has been used as a racialised concept throughout Japan's history and has made others of other Asians. Based on these considerations, I analyse how informants make sense of differences in race, ethnicity, and nationality and how they understand the South African society and their own social category, Japanese and/or Asian. To analyse the social perceptions of Japanese informants, I first introduce the general context of Japanese expatriates or immigrants in the study who have transnational experiences between their country of origin, Japan, and their country of destination, South Africa.

1.11.1. Context of Japanese expatriates/migrants in post-Apartheid South Africa

The common perception, at the national level, of almost all informants was that South African society have multiple communities based on race or ethnicity, and people are divided by these communities. Even though some did not explicitly describe racial clashes or distortions, there were indirect indications of division and segregation, such as the difficulty of making close friends from different racial groups without conscious effort. They are all aware of the history of Apartheid and understand that its effects continue till this day, even if they do not understand the details or the substance of this old regime. There was a wide range of discussion about what factors contribute to the phenomenon of communities being divided by race and ethnicity, with some interpreting it as differences in culture and preference, while others pointed to economic disparities and language differences, which will be discussed in more detail later. Comparing South Africa and Japan, regardless of race or other attributes, there was a common perception that Japan is more developed and South Africa is a more underdeveloped and younger country with a shorter history. Informants who have lived in South Africa for relatively short periods of time tend to be hopeful that the country has more potential for development than Japan, while those who have lived in South Africa for more than 15 years lamented the bleak future, and sometimes complained that the situation was getting worse, highlighting the economy that is not improving, corruption, and inflation.

The white-black binary is often used by informants to describe South Africans. Based on their respective lives in South Africa, both white and black images were discussed. I mention this here because those who are usually in contact with the white community and those who are usually in contact with the black community had different nuances toward each group. In the narratives of informants with proximity to the white community (e.g., those having white spouses or living in affluent neighbourhoods with mostly white families), stated during the interview that they have almost no friendships with black people. In their narratives, townships, uneducated people, and lower class, etc. were almost synonymous with the black community. There were many statements that perceived the uneducated, poor and working class as being more discriminatory toward Asians and Chinese. This group of informants also noted that whites, especially Afrikaners, tend to be pro-Japanese. Informant A who has lived in South Africa claims that whites, especially Afrikaners, have always been exposed to Japanese-made machinery, so when they hear the word "Japanese," they change their response to a positive one. While countries imposed economic sanctions on South Africa

during Apartheid, Japan, which ostensibly participated in the sanctions but continued to actively trade with the country, became Apartheid South Africa's largest trading partner in the 1980s (Makino, 2016). These economic relationships were not unrelated to Japanese status of honorary whites under Apartheid. This may have resulted in the positive image of Japan for those who are benefited from Apartheid. On the other hand, informants who have proximity to the black community state that black South Africans are more friendly to them. Conversely, informant F, G and I said these following comments; they feel a "thin wall" from white people: some of the white South Africans "ignored me"; "when she (a white South African) was drunk, she said, 'White people don't like Asians, but I like them," while others said, without specific examples; "I feel the Orientalism of white people"; "I feel that they look down on Asians"; and "I sometimes wondered if white people weren't more tolerant of other races." In South African society, where space and community are still divided by race, I found that Japanese social cognitions and experiences related to race varied and tended to some extent depending on their proximity to different communities.

Furthermore, when they talk about experiences related to their race, there are always the experiences and comments about Chinese/China. Most of the informants had experienced being called "chin chung chang," "China," or "Ni hao" on the street, and each was trying to interpret how Chinese people and China are thought of in South Africa and what the intention of those who call out "China" is in throwing such words. Of course, this experience is similar to Du Bois's *Veil*. Embodied Asian/Chinese race will be experienced with the encounter of Others. How one interprets this embodied racialised experience is different for each, and it seems that the interpretation of these racialised experiences changes throughout our lives in South Africa and other foreign countries. What is interesting is that most of these racialised "China" experiences are in the context of encounters with black bodies, but few or not with white bodies. This may have influenced the sense-making of blackness among Japanese informants. While there were few statements of discomfort with self-identification as Asian, there were many statements of resistance to being seen as identical to Chinese.

10 informants in this study live in either Cape Town, Johannesburg, or Pretoria, and there seems stronger community function in Johannesburg. There is a casual Japanese network in Cape Town, but nothing exists in Pretoria. There seem to be two major ones, cantered in Johannesburg. One of them called *NIHONJIN KAI*, mainly composed of expatriates of Japanese companies, is organised on a membership fee basis. Most of the employees who belong to Japanese companies and are posted to South Africa are men in middle management

and above. One of the informants, informant H, who is a female expatriate, said, “They are all older men (おじさん or Ojisan) in the community”. Since there are many men among the expatriates, many of their family members, who have immigrated to the country as an incidental expatriate, are women and children (same-sex marriage is not legalised in Japan). The other community is called *NAGASUMI KAI*, which is a kind of friendship group mainly composed of Japanese who are living permanently in South Africa. They seem to have a mailing list and get together several times a year. According to informant C, many of the long-time residents are married to locals, and most of them are women. *NIHONJIN KAI* is the largest, and the informants who are also involved there say that many of those who belong to it spend their time in a small community with very few contacts with non-Japanese people in South Africa.

At the individual level, the lived experiences of the informants are diverse, but there are some shared tendencies. Those with a wide range of activities, such as those who usually have the opportunity to travel on foot, have experienced language associated with China being thrown at them. Several informants living in Gauteng Province mentioned that cars driven by Asians are more likely to be stopped by police officers because of the stereotype that Chinese people have more cash. Some expatriates are not allowed to walk or drive a car and have a driver arranged by their company based on the regulation installed by their employers, so those who live that way have experienced "no special treatment as a foreigner" and "no discrimination" in South Africa, and "maybe because it is a country where people of all races are used to living”. These situations and the positionality of the Japanese community in post-Apartheid South Africa will give us some contexts to understand the discourses in the following narrative analysis.

1.12. Discourse Analysis

In this section, I will analyse the more detailed discourses contained in the informants' narratives with focus on power structures in their understanding of the society and its reproduction. As mentioned in the introduction, historically, Japanese self-image has always been fluid and ambiguous in the face of global colonialism and the accompanying Western-centeredness and white supremacy. In addition, in the context of post-Apartheid, where society as a whole is liminal, and racial and ethnic politics shape people's different realities and lived experiences, I examine how Japanese informants interpret the social meanings of Japaneseness and racialised selves. According to Van Dijk (1992, 1993) and other CDA

researchers, power structures such as racism have been reproduced through discourse and communication. While a variety of discourses were observed in the interview narratives in this study, particular attention was paid to the relative positionality of self or Japaneseness as it relates to liminality. That is, who is considered as one within the-group and who are the Others. This also includes a focus on discourses within the racial/ethnic hierarchy that are also related to honorary whiteness. The analysis also considers perceptions of nationality and nation, which overlap with ethnicity.

Through CDA, four main discourses have been recognised: the race neutrality, neo-racism, fantasy of exception, denial of whiteness and honorary whiteness, have been recognised. The race neutrality is the perception of being "neutral" in racial politics, with an emphasis on in-betweenness, outsider hood, or being neither black nor white. In this discourse, informants differentiate themselves from racial politics, although it is not clear whether they see themselves as Japanese or Asian. This notion of race neutrality is also connected to a sense of being racially colourless. This turns out to be nothing more than a fantasy once we consider the existing power structure. Underpinning this fantasy is neo-racism. The view that people in the racialised society are racialised and divided not only by race but also by ethnicity was common among the informants, but the differences are justified by cultural and class differences. Moving away from the racial structure in South Africa, the fantasy of exception is the discourses between Japaneseness and Chineseness, and complex understanding of Asianness. It points to the perception of Japanese exceptionalism from the othering of the Chinese, as seen among the informants. This notion can cause the Japanese to distance themselves from even whiteness. Some rejected the violence and h exclusivity of whiteness. And last discourse is honorary whiteness. Even in the post-Apartheid period, I see that some informants recognise their own whiteness as exceptional and honorary whiteness, and that they hold a reasonable social status in South Africa.

1.12.1. Racial in-betweenness and non-raciality

In the racialised South African society, it can make people think about their positionality in the racial structure. I would like to first address the discourses on the in-betweenness, non-raciality and neutrality of one's own race/ethnicity in the informants' narratives. This discourse was heard from informants who usually encounter multiple racial groups through work, hobbies, and school for their children. All informants consciously identified themselves as neither white nor black, and several of them were found to narrate that they (Japanese or

Asians) are “neutral” in the racial structure, that is, they do not have racial connotations or are not caught up in racial politics.

やっぱり双方のことを聞くと、やっぱりよく使う言葉が、「Those people」とか。コミュニティでやっぱりお互いそういうふうにいって（笑）それを間で聞く私たち。っていう（笑）そういうときあります。やっぱり。

“So, when I go out with my (black) friends, they often say things like, "those people". In the community, they say things like that to each other (laughs), and we listen in between. (Laughs) There are times when we hear each other say that. (Laughs.) Yeah.”

Informant B who often goes to the African music events while going to a fitness studio filled with upper-class (majority white), shares her feeling of in-betweenness. She has a sense of in-betweenness among difference races. Only three out of ten informants had frequent visits or residency in communities or spaces where non-whites were the majority because most of the informants lived in affluent areas. The common narrative shared by these respondents was a sense of being somewhere in between two different worlds or races. It is also said that Asian race is not standing outside rather between racial logic in the north American context (Lai et al., 2015, p. 18).

Regarding Japanese informants' sense of belonging in the racial structure, besides their self-perception of being in the middle of the two different races, what was reported most often was a discourse in which they saw themselves as free from racial categories. In order to get a sense of their racial positionality, all informants were asked to envision various racial categories on forms and which they would choose among the different population/racial groups. Interestingly, I got all kinds of answers: white, Asian, Indian, Coloured, Chinese and black. While many chose Asia if there was an "Asia" field, there were many forms that did not have an Asian option, such as the university application I had with options of black, white, Coloured, Indian and Chinese. Some informants stated that they would choose ‘white’ because of the history of honorary whites during Apartheid, ‘Coloured’ because they identify themselves as a yellow race[2], ‘Indian’ because of the Asian connection, ‘Chinese’ because it would be closer in terms of race, and ‘black’ as solidarity to Black Consciousness. As for the category "Chinese," some stated explicitly that they would not choose it because they did not

[2] Those who responded as Coloured were unaware of the classification of Coloured in the apartheid era and understood Coloured in the context of Western society in general.

want to be identified with China, while others said they would leave it blank if it is possible by saying difficult or irrelevant.

うーん、どこにも当てはまらないと思いつつ。（笑）そうですね・・・難しい。でも私はたぶん空欄で出しちゃうと思います。関係ない情報かな、と思いますね。

“Hmmm, I don't think I fits anywhere. (Laughs) I guess so...it's difficult. But I would probably leave it blank. I don't think it's relevant information.”

Some informants understand and agree with the reason for the existence of these population groupings considering South Africa's history. On the other hand, some point out the ridiculousness and nonsense of these racial classifications. They described talking about race as unscientific, citing affirmative action as an example and stating that it was a contributing factor to South Africa's economic stagnation.

Many of the informants felt that there was friction and distortion among the races in South Africa. However, narratives about their own racial experiences were repeated as non-racial entities or outsiders situated outside the racial structure. Others believed they were free from racial rancour and could be treated as one person without racial stigma. In other words, they perceive that they can be racially "neutral".

仕事でも僕の場合は、そう言った（人種に関する）感情を抜きにしてできるので、割とこう、なんだろう、自分の人柄と、仕事の能力だけで、判断してもらえる？へんな、そういうレンズがかかってないと、僕は勝手に思ってて。そう。それはすごく、こっちに来ての、まあ、メリットになるのかなと感じています。

“In my case, I can do my work without such feelings (related to race and racism), so I can be judged only by my personality and work ability. I don't think there is a strange (racial) lens on me. Yes, yeah. I wonder if that is one of the advantages of coming here. This is what I feel.”

Informant F stating the remark above has been appointed as a manager in the local branch of a Japanese company and is a future executive candidate. In his narrative, because he is racially neutral, he takes advantage of the fact that he can express his opinions without racial lenses, without being evaluated or disciplined due to his race. However, it is easy to imagine that his gender and his position as a manager within his organisation (plus being sent from the Japanese headquarters) gives him privilege. In addition to being aware of the impact of social categories other than race, we need to consider what neutrality looks like in a state where racial differences are associated with power and there is an imbalance of power as between the centre and the periphery. It can be said that being able to be unaware of racial violence

represents, in a sense, the privileged position of Japanese informants. If it is true that they have access to both the white community and the black community, and that they recognise that they can create relationships with both with fewer historical trauma.

1.12.2. Proximity to whiteness

While majority of the informants express in-betweenness, non-raciality and neutrality of their racial positionality, there were also comments that suggested the proximity of Asianness or Japaneseness to whiteness.

私よりも年配の、カラードの人とか、黒人の人の人って、私に向って、なんか、まあ「Mr」って呼んでくるときとか、すごく丁寧に接してくる。言葉使い。白人の人だったら、「Hey my boy!」みたいな感じじゃないですか（笑）。それはすごく感じます。

"People who are older than me, Coloured people or black people, are very polite to me, like when they call me, well, "Mr." or something like that. The way they use language. If I were a white person, they would say, "Hey my boy!" (laughs). I really feel that."

アジア人も全て含めて我々って大抵は白人っていうカテゴライズされて「白人」「抑圧者」「金持ち」っていう、そういうところに結び付けられ、同じように結び付けれらているって思っていたんだけれども、でもやっぱり日本人の身近に働いている人たちは、日本人とヨーロッパ系白人が違うということを認識していて。ヨーロッパ系白人と違うけれども、この人たちは、すごくあの、成功していて... すごいなっていうのが。白人に対しては、あいつら、自分達のこと抑圧して、アパルトヘイトやって金持ってるんだろ？っていうふうに思っているのも。なんていうんでしょう。対比して思っているみたいです、はい。

"I thought that most of us, including Asians, were categorised as "white," "oppressor," "rich," and so on, and that we were all bound together in the same way. However, people who work closely with Japanese people recognise the difference between Japanese people and European whites. They understand that Japanese are different from European whites, but Japanese are very successful...they think it is amazing. They seem to think that whites oppress them and have money from Apartheid. I don't know what to call it. They seem to think of them in contrast, yes."

The first quote is from informant A, whose wife is a white South African, who is self-employed and may contract or be an employer of South Africans. In his contact with South Africans of various races, he noted that he felt historical trauma from the attitudes of non-whites. He observes that as an Asian man, he is treated like a white person. This implies the whiteness on Asian bodies for non-white South African, which shows the deep impact of colour-based racism in post-Apartheid South Africa. He also noted that he spent his school years in Europe and was bullied as an Asian in the white community, therefore he has also

taken a different position from a white person. His subjectivity is still “neither black nor white,” however, he is clearly aware that Japaneseness or Asianness is closer to whiteness.

The latter statement was made by informant I who had lived in some townships. She is aware that within townships, Asians are a part of “white Others.” At the same time, she also made statements distancing her “whiteness” as an oppressor. While it is not clear to distinguish here whether the first statement is talking about nationality or the embodied Asian race, it seems from the statements of different informants that Japanese or Asians tend to be treated as whiter beings than their non-white South African counterparts. What is shown here is the experience of being othered by the non-white community. These experiences are not necessarily a result of identifying with the white community; however, it makes sense that the informants can at times be recognised themselves as being a part of white(r) community when we consider that privileged groups, in this context whiteness, are often unmarked and normal category (A. G. Johnson, 2017, p. 35).

1.12.3. South Africa as a white country or black country for Japanese eyes

I used the expression of "black-white binarism" many times in this writing, but the nature of blackness and whiteness is not the same. Whiteness can often be seen as a natural and normal category. As the interviews proceeded, the meaning of the country "South Africa" in the informants' social perceptions began to appear racialised. Even though they express the sense of in-betweenness and neutrality, some informants seem to regard white as a normal category, or “superior” category. Johnson (2017, p. 103) also suggests that privileged groups, in this case, whites, tend to be considered to representing a whole society. Informant D mentioned as below when we talked about the selection of population group.

“Don't think it used to be, maybe it was White. Because I'm not Indian, I'm not Coloured, I'm not Black. So maybe White”.

昔はね、多分ホワイトだったと思うな。だってインディアンではないし、カラードでもないし、ブラックでもないし。だからホワイトかな。

She (Japanese) is not Indian, Coloured, nor black, but she does NOT say she is NOT white. She said that she would choose Asian if there is an option, therefore she may think she is NOT white. What can be read from her remarks is how the category of white is unmarked and normalised in her cognition and it might also be said that crossing the racial boundary to

whiteness as an Asian body is not policed that much. In the case of this informant, it is possible that the event of marriage to a white person may have made the accessibility of whiteness easier. Or, as far as she is concerned, since she could not speak English at the time of immigration, she may understand racial disparity as an experience of lack of language proficiency and foreignness, rather than a racial experience. Informant I, after responding that he was either racially Chinese or, if not, white, was surprised that some Japanese would respond otherwise, especially as he could not imagine that some Japanese would select black. He said, "I think it's partly because of the historical background, and partly because I think there's something in my psyche that wants to be categorised as white...I guess." Although it is not a direct statement, there seems to be a perception that whiteness is normal, superior and better.

In this regard, I am able to observe how informants perceive the country of South Africa and how it is twisted and fluidly changed in their narratives. This is because of the co-existence of contradicted narratives: first one is a narrative about Japanese favours such as; Japanese culture is well known in South Africa: that Japanese food is popular: and that many South Africans are interested in Japan, and the other is a narrative about the indifference and ignorance of Asian groups such as: the majority, the black population, does not even know the difference between Japan and China and so on. The positionality of the informants is reflected in what colour of "image of South Africa" each of them portrays. Informant A said that “Japanese people live scattered except in townships.*”* He also mentioned that “there is no discrimination against Japanese people unless they go to the townships.” These statements show othering townships and regard townships as a place that is not suitable for Japanese people. The centre of the understanding of what is South Africa for these informants is white South Africa while non-white South Africans are marginalised and represented by townships that are not considered as mainstream spaces. Some other informants commented that “South Africa was blacker than I thought” exemplifying that about half of the kids in the kindergarten in Johannesburg are black and another saying that “a significant number” of (white-collar) workers in Sandton are black even though the significant number in the office is less than half. If 90% of South Africa's population is non-white and 85% is black, then the ratio of half is far less than the actual percentage of the population, but the fact that the overwhelming blackness still comes up as an impression of South Africa, unconsciously or consciously, suggests that there is a perception among informants that South Africa is a white country. Here is another example of what South Africa represents based on the racial cognition:

今のところはとっても、南アらしいっていうか、良い南アの幼稚園でとても満足していて、とてもナチュラルな感じで、お勉強お勉強じゃない、そう良いバランスで、どちらかというとすごいお勉強が遅いとこなので、私は、白人の人が多いのかな、って思ったりするんですけど。なんとなく、自然なところって多いような気がしますね。

"I am very satisfied with the current kindergarten, which is like a typical and good South African kindergarten, which is very natural, not too studious, but with a good balance, and the school is rather slow in learning, which is why I think there are many white people there. But somehow, I think there are a lot of white people...where there are a lot of natural places."

Informant G likes the kindergarten where her son goes because it is "a typical and good South African kindergarten" with lots of nature activities and that is why she thought "there are a lot of white people." South Africanness and the large number of whites are somehow mentioned as being relevant. This indirectly shows the perception that South Africa is a white country. In the comments of an informant who has lived in townships, it seems that when referring to South Africans, she unconsciously refers to white people, and when referring to non-white people living in the townships, she uses the term "people in townships". Most informants seem to have a sense of whiteness when referring to South Africa as a country.

Informant C, with a white South African spouse, remarks "we can't make South Africa better because I am a foreigner, and my husband is white minority." Her comment implies her understanding that South Africa is a black country and is not their country but for someone else (black people). She also mentioned as below.

たけど、やっぱりアファーマティブアクションっていうのがあったから、黒人の人たちに色々こう流そうとか、もうほんとに、低所得者の人、というよりは、もうもっと、黒人ですよね？という人たちを、底上げしていかなきゃ、っていうのでいろんなこう、投資とかしてきたと思うんですけど。２０年３０年やってきて、あのー・・周りのあった・・あったものがちゃんとメンテされなくって、すごく大きな問題にもなってきているので。あのー、そうそうだから、それで、戻ったほうがいいとかいうのは間違っているなあって思うなあ（笑）って思うんですよねー。だからもう新しい、新しいねえ、南アフリカを描かないといけないと思うんです、ビジョンを。

"But, of course, there was affirmative action, so we had to plan for the black population in various ways. It is not about raising the level of low-income people, but the level of black people, right? But after 20 or 30 years of investment, the things that were around were not maintained properly, and it has become a big problem. But after 20 or 30 years, the things around us are not being maintained properly, and it is becoming a big problem. So I think it is wrong to say that we should go back (laughs). So I think we need to draw a new, new, new vision for South Africa."

This statement, which sees affirmative action as a factor in South Africa's post-Apartheid misrule, is a discourse that sees post-Apartheid as a predominantly black society ruled by blacks. This is consistent with the typical white discourses that the new South Africa is against white interests (Steyn & Foster, 2008, p. 41; Verwey & Quayle, 2012). It is a discourse typically prevalent among the white community in white-settler's countries of relatively declining influence, not only in South Africa but worldwide (Van Dijk, 1992). This discourse has often been used to justify the 'white flight' reasoning which happens when white's leaves a country in masses (Steyn & Foster, 2008, p. 41). Although this informant was the one of the few who mentioned affirmative action, there were two other informants who mentioned the discourse of "white South Africans are moving out of the country," indicating that the Japanese informants are following the "white discourse." This gives us a glimpse of the proximity of the communities they usually come in contact with, normalisation of whiteness in South Africa, and the positionality where the informants' image of South Africa is constructed.

1.12.4. Being neutral in the unequal power structure

Thus far, I have analysed the discourses of Japanese informants. The notion of "neither black nor white" is recognised. In this notion of in-betweenness, some informants see themselves as non-racial and can be neutral in the racial politics in South Africa. However, as is discussed in the previous section, the positionality of Japanese or Asians is closer to whiteness than blackness and they tend to see whiteness as normalcy. Even though they recognise themselves as racially liminal and neutral, the reality is that they are also in a part of racial structure and involved in the racial politics. Asians can be seen as white based on colour-based racism and other factors such as class, gender and organisational positions which give them the social privilege, especially in a society, like South Africa, with a history of racial injustice that still impacts on the everyday lives of the people. Liminal positionality or status may sound innocuous and neutral, but a state of neutrality will not be easy to achieve.

If Japanese or Asians stand in the middle of racial binary category, the question will be where in the middle do they stand? At this point, it may be useful to consider a different way of accessing the "middle position." One such way of looking at this position is to consider this as one that is similar to that of a bystander. One of the extreme versions of injustice is genocide. This can be described as an extreme form of bullying. In bullying, there are three characters that make it possible: the bully, the bullied and the bystander. The bully is a perpetrator, and the victim is the bullied. The bystanders on the other hand occupy a

questionable position. It will be argued here that perpetuation of bullying from bystanders' position manifests in different forms. This includes those who cheer and encourage the bullying and to those that silently observe the bullying. Bystanders may have the option to publicly criticise or resist but chose not to. Thus, their silence is support. There can be no innocent bystander and bullying will be accelerated only when there is support by bystanders (Coloroso, 2007, pp. 81–83).

In the nutshell, there are multiple possible ways to be a bystander. Liminality and bystander are not the same concept, but there can be an overlap if there is inequality of power distribution. Given the premise that different racial and ethnic groups in South Africa function as a racial hierarchy with power imbalances, not just group differences, it is problematic to be unaware of that power structure and to believe in being neutral. There is also an essence of elite discourse in their narratives, which often describes them as liberal and tolerant and denies racism as a major problem (Van Dijk, 1999, p. 148)

世界中でブラックライブズマターとかって、黒人差別辞めようね、人種差別辞めようね、って頭ではわかるじゃないですか。でもやっぱり自分が、ちょっと・・・、なんだろう。個人的に嫌な経験をしたりとか、危ない目にあったりとか、友達が危ない目にあっちゃったりとか、そういうことをすると、やっぱり、「ああ、こうやって・・・、なんだろう、人種差別、の、何だろう、始まりと言うか、みんなこうやって、人種差別の道に、なっていっちゃうのかな」ってこう、理解できちゃう、自分、もいたりとかして。気持ちがちょっとわかっちゃうというか。でも片や一方で、やっぱりあの、不平等、な、環境で生まれ育った方もいる訳で。そういう人たちをやっぱり見ると、そりゃそうだよな、って思います。なんか親戚、とかが、まあね、亡くされたりした方も、知っているので。自分の親とか、ね。兄弟とか親戚、親友がそういう目にあったら、やっぱり、許せないと思っちゃうし。なんか、どっちの気持ちも..どっちも気持ちは、わかんないです、経験がないので、わかんないけど、どっちの思考もなんかわかり、わかっちゃってて・・・なんだろう（笑）。消化しきれない感じ？

"Black Lives Matter around the world is saying, "Let's stop discrimination against black people, let's stop racism." I know in my head that we should quit racism. But I still think I am a bit... I don't know. When I personally have a bad experience, or when I am in danger, or when my friends are in danger, I think, "Oh, this is how..." I don't know, "this is how racism started," or "this is how it is going to end up." I can understand it. I understand a little how they feel.

But on the other hand, there are those who were born and raised in an unequal environment. When I see such people, I think, "Of course, that's true. I know people who have lost relatives, well, you know. Their own parents, you know. If their siblings, relatives, or best friends were to suffer such a loss, I would feel unforgivable. I don't know how I feel...I don't know how I feel either way, because I haven't experienced it, but I know how I feel about both sides...I don't know. I don't know, I don't know, but I know what both thoughts are... I don't know. Maybe that's not an answer."

This is a statement from informant B who has regular contact with both the black and white communities and feels the division between each community and being in-between. While

she is aware of the existence of resistance movements such as Black Lives Matter, she basically understands that racial differences are mere differences, and hatred is "it takes two to make a quarrel." Although she recognises racism as a problem, she does not see racism as a structural or historical problem, but as something that occurs based on personal experience. The problem here is that it affirms racism in a sense. In another example, when informant C, who has a white South African spouse, stated that she sometimes felt that her partner and his family, who grew up in the suburb area during Apartheid, had a racist viewpoint, she said, "they were controlled in many ways, and the maids were mostly Coloured. There were very few blacks, so it affected their perspectives somewhat." Thus, I could confirm that among Japanese informants, there is a discourse that it is "inevitable" that there is discrimination against blacks and non-whites by whites, which they think is regarded same as some non-whites could hold negative sentiments against whites due to Apartheid. Liminal status/identity is understood as a status of being on the threshold. However, in the real society, the width of the threshold can be wide, and we can still have various positionalities if we can stand on the power side, we are pushed to the marginal spaces or willing to stand with those in the marginal spaces. In terms of the positionality of Japanese in post-Apartheid South Africa, it seems Japanese informants are standing close to the whiteness at least subjectively. Here is the statement by informant I who lived in both townships and the city centre.

だから例えばドライバーだとか、そういう人たちを話すときの話題、うーん。話題と日本人駐在員と話すときの話題だとか、頭を切り替えて人格も変えないとこう、うまく話せないような、いや、話せるんですけども、じゃあ、駐在員に向ける顔をそのまま労働者のアフリカ人に向けると、私も、駐在員と同じ、あっちの世界の日本人になってしまう。という感覚がして。

"So, for example, when I talk to drivers or other such people, I have to switch my mind and change my personality to talk to Japanese expatriates, or else I would not be able to speak well. No, I can talk. I feel that if I put the same face on the African workers as I do on the (Japanese) expatriates, I would become a Japanese in the other world, just like the other expatriates."

Japanese expatriate community is on "the other side" of the predominately black majority township community in her perspective. Even if we put the racial perspective aside, considering the high economic standards and other factors, the majority of common Japanese are among the wealthy. In South African society, where race and class are correlated, their "in-between" status is positioned closer to privilege and even might support the status-quo unconsciously. This informant is aware of the proximity to power, which is probably related to the positionality and community she belongs to in South Africa.

Racial neutrality is often discussed with colour blindness. Racism is invisible but exists regarding the issues of marginality and non-belonging in the historical context, which is caused by disregard without intention (Coram & Hallinan, 2017, pp. 102, 109). Curry and Curry (2018, p. 673) describe that "truly white supremacist society is colour blind," Although race is a social construct, the impact of racialisation and racism is reality because of its embodiments (Curry & Curry, 2018, p. 672). This neutral discourse supports racial inequal power structures whether intentionally or not. Most of these narratives are showing their proximity to the power side, which may hinder their ability to see those power structure that exist.

1.12.5. Neo-Racism

Here I will introduce the discourse of neo-racism, which is a foundation of the discourse about neutrality. Neo-racism is the racism justified by the cultural differences and differences of national origin, and called "racism without race" or a new racism compared to the old one which focus on the biological differences among racial groups, and justifies the discrimination toward a certain group of people as well as old racism (Goldberg, 2008; J. J. Lee, 2007; Wodak & Matouschek, 1993). In the interviews, most informants rationalised the division of South African society by race and ethnicity as differences in culture and preference. In addition, they avoided using words to describe race, especially the word "black", and used other terms to describe non-white and/or black people, such as low-income people, people in townships, and uneducated people. Some informants recognised differences in racial characteristics, which some believed contributed to the fragmentation of the community. The following example illustrates the imbalance in placement within a firm by race as "differences in areas of expertise".

こっちでやっぱり驚いたのは、BBBEEの影響もあって、黒人...この国って85％の方が黒人だと思うんですけど、オフィスに行っても、まあ７割８割くらいの方が黒人なんですけど。やっぱり一方で、まだ問題って思うところは、マネジメント以上のボードルームに入ると、その比率が白人８割５部９輪みたいな感じで、白人黒人が逆転しちゃってて。それはしょうがないのかな？て思うところもあって、その仕事できるできないよりも、得意分野が全然違うなってすごく思ってて。白人ってやっぱり日本人にちょっと近くて、セコセコ、なんか、急ぎながらみんなやって。なんて言うんですかね、時間軸とか、その仕事の進め方がそのちょっとしっかりしてて。なんか日本とすっごい似てるところがあるんですけど、黒人の方はちょっと時間がゆったり流れている一方、プレゼンテーションが上手かったりとか、表現が上手かったりするので。なんかどうしてもやっぱりマネジメントに白人の方がいっぱいいると、どうしても白人の方が上がりやすいのかな？って。なので・・・どっちが優秀とかではないんですけど、そこがまだちょっと、働いてて、すごく最近感じるところだなーって思うところですね。

“What surprised me over here is that, partly due to the influence of BBBEE, blacks...I think 85% of the people in this country are black, and when I go to the office, well, about 70% to 80% of the people are black. On the other hand, I think the problem is that when you go into the boardrooms above the management level, the ratio is like 85.9% white, the black-white ratio is reversed. I wonder if that can be helped. I think it is not so much that they can't do the job, but that they have completely different areas of expertise. White people are a bit like Japanese people, and they are in a hurry to get things done. I don't know how to say it, but they have a time axis and a way of working that is a little bit solid. Blacks are a bit slower, but they are also better at presentation and expression. I wonder if it is because white people tend to be more successful when there are many white people in the management team. So...it's not that one is better than the other, but that's something I've been feeling recently while I've been working here.”

Informant F essentialises race by emphasising that there is no superiority or inferiority between races yet acknowledging that there are essentialised racial differences. Based on this understanding of whiteness and blackness, he discusses which is more akin to Japaneseness. His experience in coming to South Africa as a male expatriate and interacting with white-collar employees has essentialised the characteristics of each racial group. It is doubtful, for example, that white people in the working class have the same cultural capital (Teppo, 2009). Another example is from informant E who works as an expatriate said that the facts that there are more blacks at KFC and that almost all customers at Woolworth (South African grocery stores targeting middle to upper class) in his neighbourhood are whites may be because of the differences in preference. Again, informant F understand that "different races have different hobbies and pastimes" because of the lack of blacks among participants in road races that cost as much as R500 to participate in and leisure facilities such as bouldering. However, the underlying economic disparity and imbalance of access were not considered in these narratives.

As mentioned in the previous section, according to these neo-racist understandings, some of the informants expressed distrust of affirmative action. In their remarks, they explained that they had heard that "there are rules that require blacks to be given the upper hand." On the other hand, one female expatriate, while mentioning BBBEE, also mentions the power structure of South African society. Informant H, who had previously expatriated in other African regions and seems to have a psychological familiarity with people of Africa, shared the different perspective.

黒人の人をそれなりのポジションにたてなきゃいけない、みたいな。でも実際、そのポジションについてなくても、そのビジネスを牛耳ってるのは白人の人だ。みたいなのは結構、どの業界もあって。なんか面白い・・面白いっていうか、こういうふうに社会って成り立っているんだなっていうのはあります。

“It's like, you have to put a black person in a certain position. But in fact, even if they don't have the position, it is a white person who is in control of the business. I can see this in various industries. I think it's interesting...I mean, it's interesting to see how society is structured in this way.”

She makes the above comments in terms of power and social structure rather than in terms of intrinsic differences and superficial population distribution by race. She has spent time in other African countries in addition to South Africa and has a keen interest in the African continent. Within her company she has jurisdiction over the entire continent, not just South Africa. Even among the same Japanese informants, it seems that their interpretation of post-Apartheid South Africa and the resulting understanding of their own social group’s positionality differ depending on which social category they have proximity, affinity, etc to. She did not mention further opinions about affirmative actions. It is interesting that this perspective has emerged in the face of many negative perceptions of the policy as a policy of black privilege. This example shows that the positionality of people in liminal space can be diverse.

1.12.6. What African and un-African represent

One of the most frequently observed discourses in the informants' narratives related to neo-racism was that of African-ness. The previous section dealt with Japanese informants' discourse on "South African-ness," but perceptions of "African-ness" have also been articulated in their social cognition and observed in their narratives. A common expression, especially among expatriate informants, is that "South Africa is not like Africa.” The adjectives "European" and "Western" are used as contrasting adjectives of “African.” Informant C said that when she first came to South Africa before migration, she "joined a

program in a ‘developing country’," and she felt that she had come to a place that was "developed” for that program. Informant E, who has lived in another African country mentioned as follows.

南アフリカ、アフリカの中でも、ま、進んでて、やっぱりアフリカじゃない、でもアフリカじゃないって言われている通り、そうだったのかもしれないですけど、やっぱりアフリカだなと思う・・・電気が切れたり（笑）。差がすごく激しい。

“South Africa is advanced even among African countries, but it is not Africa after all. But maybe it is just as they say it is not Africa, but there are some things that make me think it is Africa after all. The electricity goes out, for example (laughs). The differences are so intense.”

In this narratives, lack of electricity is cited as a part of “African-ness”. Informant I noted specifically about Sandton area in Johannesburg and Cape Town as examples of un-African-ness.

本当にサントンは特異ですよね。あとはケープタウンも。それ以外の都市は・・・まあ、思って、思っていた南アでもないか？なんだろう。本当に欧州の・・・地方の都市。こじんまりした村、といったよう感じだなって思いました。もうちょっと発展していないと思ってました。ブルームフォンテインとかキンバリーとか。あと道中でも小さい村とか。まあタウンシップは違いますね。タウンシップはもう・・・これぞアフリカだなあという感じがしましたねえ。（略）そうですね、一言で言うなら、欧州、欧米人が作り上げた街だな、うん・・・サントンとケープタウンで。まあアフリカの中で、頑張って発展したのが地方の都市っていう感じですかね（笑）。（欧米人が作り上げた感じがするのは）マジョリティが白人、ですよね。歩いていると白人が多いですし・・・。あとはまあなんか、建物についても、見た目も、欧州欧米っぽいし。あとはなんだろうな。まあ入っている企業も、これも（アメリカに本社があるコンサルファーム）とかそこらへんに・・・はい。

“Sandton is really peculiar. And then there's Cape Town. The rest of the cities are... well, they don't really feel like South Africa, do they? I wonder. It's really a European ... provincial city. I thought it was like a small village. I thought it would be a little less developed. I thought it would be more like Bloemfontein or Kimberley. And also small villages on the road. Well, townships are different. The townships are very African. --- Well, to put it in one word, they were towns built by Europeans and Westerners. Yes...Sandton and Cape Town. Well, in Africa, the cities that have developed the best are the local cities, I guess (laughs).

(What makes me feel that Westerners have created these cities is that) First of all, the majority of them are white. When you walk around, you see a lot of white people. And then there are the buildings and the look of the city, which are very European and American. I wonder what else is there. Well, the companies that are in the building are also like this (a consulting firm headquartered in the U.S.) or thereabouts…yes.”

In these discourses, economic development is linked to European/Western-ness. Since the large number of whites is mentioned as an endorsement of Western-ness, it seems that whiteness and economic development are correlated. The developed parts of South Africa are viewed as European achievements and the townships, which are non-white neighbourhoods, poverty, and relatively low economic development, are described as African-ness. Ironically, it was also the former white government that created the townships and forced non-whites to reside in them, but this part of "European/Western achievements" is not conscious here.

In addition, there were several instances where the desire to "help" African or non-white people was expressed. Two cases by informant A and I are presented here, where the informant himself wanted to help, and where a white employee who was close to the informant stated that he or she wanted to help.

困難な問題だって言っても、えーと、なんていうんでしょう。それで終わるわけにはいかないですし、逆に、助けたいという・・・、何か良くしてあげたいなあ、っていうのは、ここ2-3年でどんどん気持ちが強くなっていますね。というのも、やっぱり10年くらいたつと、何らかの形で、なんか地域に、お返ししたいっていうのは、まあなんか、出てきて。だから、一人でもひとを雇用してあげるとか。・・・まそんな感じですね。

"Well, even if I say it is a difficult problem, well, how should I put it? I want to help them...I want to do something to make things better, and over the past two to three years, my feelings have become stronger and stronger. After 10 years or so, I feel that I want to give back to the community in some way. So, I would like to employ even one person or something. That's about all I can do. That's what I can do. I feel that I can do something like that. Well...let's see... Well, it's difficult, isn't it?"

まあ意外と、あ、意外とじゃないですね。びっくりしたのは、もう少し白人は黒人に対して、差別的な目線で見ているのかな、って思っていたんですけど。まああんまり差別的、自分達の方が優位に立ってますって人はいなくて。そういう会話を5人くらいとしたんですけど、誰もそんなこと言ってなくて。なんなら黒人のことを助けてあげたいとか、そういうものすごい・・・人間的な心を持っている人が、多いんだなっていうところが、びっくりしたし、安心したところではありましたね。黒人は黒人で、もう少し白人を恨んでいると思っていたんですけど、まあそんなこともなく。（略）白人の人たちは・・・アパルトヘイトがこう終わって、まだ経済格差もあって、失業率６０％のマジョリティが黒人ですよね。白人の失業率は・・・失業している人はなかなかいないと思うんで。まあその白人の人たちは黒人の人たちを助けてあげたいと思っている。・・・で黒人の人たちは別に白人の人たちをアパルトヘイトで怒っていることもなく。アパルトヘイトが終わってくれて、もう自分達も社会進出することができたと。別に白人のことも恨んでないし、一緒に手を取って、南アを、なんかこの会社を良くしていきたいと。なのでまあ、自分の人種に対して・・・。いや、私に対してそう言っているだけかもしれないですけどね（笑）

"Well, surprisingly, oh, not surprisingly. What surprised me was that I had expected whites to look at blacks in a more discriminatory way. But I was surprised to find that there was no one who was discriminatory, or who said that they were superior to black others. I had that conversation with about five

people, but no one said anything like that. I was surprised and relieved to see that many of them had a very human heart, like wanting to help black people. I had expected blacks to be a little more resentful of whites, but that was not the case. --- White people...after Apartheid ended like this, there is still economic disparity, and the majority of the 60% unemployment rate is black. The unemployment rate for whites is...I don't think it's easy to find people who are unemployed. Well, those white people want to help black people. ...And the black people are not really angry at the white people for Apartheid. They are just happy that Apartheid is over and they are able to participate in the society. They don't resent the white people either, and they want to join hands with them and make South Africa, or this company, better. So, well, they are not saying about their race.... No, maybe he's just saying that to me (laughs)."

This notion of "helping blacks/non-whites" can also be problematic. When it comes the concept of "white saviour" which often serves to deny the agency of non-white others (Aronson, 2017; Ash, 2015). The latter informant described white South Africans who "want to help black people" as having "a very human heart" and as NOT thinking that "they are superior to black others." This way of thinking is indicative of the normalised imbalance of power that exists with fixed categories of the "helpers" and the "helped," is normalised. Next statement is by an informant who has an African spouse.

その、アフリカの、社会学だとか歴史学だとかって、結局ヨーロッパ人に作られてきていて、今も大学、私は、やっぱりあの、白人の、ヨーロッパ系の人たち、研究者が、あのー、まだドミネートしているふうに感じるんですね。もちろん物凄く黒人の研究者増えてきているけれども、うーん、なかなか、黒人の研究者が増えてきていても、その黒人の研究者っていうのはエリートの、エリート黒人の研究者で、やっぱり、問題意識があっても・・・ま、あのー、うん、大多数を占める貧困層とは、またちょっと、あの、歴史的に、彼ら自身の経験も、全然違うところにあると思っています。

"I feel that, even now, in universities, white European researchers are still dominating the field. Of course, the number of black researchers is increasing, but even though the number of black researchers is increasing, they are the elite, the elite black researchers, and even though they are aware of the problems...well, they are not the same as the poor who make up the majority of the population, you know. I think that historically, their own experiences are completely different from the majority of the poor."

She was inspired by the people in townships and dreamed to live there when she was younger. She stated that although she initially felt "かわいそう" or "sorry″ for the children living in the township's battered houses, she was conscious of relating to them as equal human beings, and then made the statement above. There are two points: One is that the so-called "elite black academics" and the poor (black) South Africans are perceived as different categories, as something that does not overlap. Education level and occupation are indeed correlated with economic level, although they are inherently separate categories. However, it is quite conceivable that some black academics themselves or their extended families come

from or reside in townships. At the very least, they may see the townships as something they feel connected, more so than Japanese researchers who come from completely different backgrounds. This statement reaffirms the correlation between racial differences and economic class differences, as well as implies the recognition of un-African-ness toward African/black elites. Second, it goes without saying that South African academics are influenced by European academics. This is true, not only in South Africa, but the entire academic system in the world. In this context, it is unclear whether Japan is really excluded from this European power structure. Japanese academia, as well, has been influenced by the West to no small extent. This statement reflects their fantasy that it is possible to be more "neutrally" involved in the field if one is from Japan, which is related to the aforementioned Japanese in-betweenness.

Although expressed differently by each informant, the informants speak about African-ness based on the image of a developing, poor, in need of help, and non-elite. Japanese informants living in South Africa feel that South Africa's economic development and elitists, and anything that does not fit into these categories tend to be seen as "un-African" and at the same time associate them with Europeanness and whiteness. This notion may support and reinforce the neo-racist understanding of the post-Apartheid South African society.

1.12.7. Narratives of positive ingroup and negative outgroups

Positive self-presentation and negative discourse toward others, widely noted in studies on the reproduction of racism in discourse and communication (Van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Matouschek, 1993; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999), were also found in the informants' statements. As Van Dijk (1992, p. 88) points out, recent racism is a more subtle and modern form of justifying inequality and injustice, i.e., not on the basis of biological differences, but on the basis of cultural differences. In the post-Apartheid South Africa, it is an unquestionable social consensus that Apartheid and racism were incorrect and reprehensible policies. Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous section, there were remarks describing the differences among different racial/ethnics groups as well as negative discourses against various non-white groups in the informants' narratives. In this section, I will unpack the discourses around Others for Japanese informants by analysing who can be Others for them and how they make sense of these differences. The notion of fantasy of exception can be recognised through this analysis (Young, 2009).

Chinese as "Other"

Not a single informant thought that the country of Japan or Japanese nationality bore a negative image. They were respected for their skills, culture, etc., and were treated exceptionally well when they found out they were Japanese. Informant A and F responded that there is rather "ポジティブな差別" or positive discrimination against Japanese than being negatively discriminated against. Other informants also imply some positive reaction when they disclose their nationality, which are often compared with negative impression against Chinese people.

本当リスペクトされてる、なっておもいます。日本人っていうだけで。本当に。やっぱり、ディシプリンしてる、人々だっていうのが、何かを通して、こう、皆さんの中で、なってんでしょうねー、あるんでしょうね。不思議ですね、はい。

"People in South Africa really respect Japan. Just because I am Japanese. It really is. I think that people see Japanese as disciplined people through something, I guess. It is a wonder, isn't it?"

This is from Informant H, but I took just one of the many statements about the positive reputation of Japan. When most informants indicated that being Japanese is never a negative thing, Chinese as a social group is often mentioned together. The example below is by Informant F.

まあ、そうですね。日本人だからと言って何か得をしたってことはそんなにないかな。ただ、日本人って礼儀正しくて、すごいアドバンスな国だよね、とか。うん、周りに対しても優しいよね、とか。中国人を引き合いに出して（笑）。中国人はうるさいけど、日本人は穏やかでいいよね、とか、結構ポジティブなことを言われたことが多いですね。

"Well, yes. I don't think I've gained that much in any way just because I'm Japanese. They just think that Japanese people are very polite and are a great advantaged country. Yes, they are very kind to the people around them. I was told, referring to the Chinese (Laughs). I've had quite a few positive things said about me, such as, "Chinese are noisy, but Japanese are calm and nice."

The most common narratives were concerned with the differences between Japanese and other Asians such as Chinese and Koreans. I understood that the general perception of the Japanese image in the world (even though I am not sure which part of the world meant) was that they were generally serious and methodical, and respected. Often discussed as a counter concept to Japaneseness is that of China (and occasionally Korea). There were many negative discourses about the Chinese, such as stories about anti-Chinese sentiments seen in the media and comments that the friendly attitude toward the Japanese would not be extended to the Chinese. There are some informants who only mentioned the positive brand of Japan without telling negative narratives of other Asians. One even commented that there were no negative

attitudes to being Chinese. However, the opinions that speak of hatred of and discrimination against Chinese people in South Africa (not as their own opinions or feelings) are by no means a minority, and they speak with conviction. Here are some other examples as below.

（南アフリカでは）総労働者数の１０％強が製造業で雇われていると言われてて、その中の大半が日本企業。VWとかBMWとかもありますけど。やっぱ（日本企業が）多いので、触れる機会がすごく多い。そこでやっぱり、いいイメージがついてたっていうのと、まあ歴史的に、日本企業ってずっと南アを輸出地域として、工場を持っているので、やっぱりその歴史的にここにいた日本人がこう、プラスのイメージを築いてくれていたなっていうところもすごくこう大きいんだと思いますし。あとはもう、日本人ってやっぱり、礼儀正しいし優しいっていうのが確かにあると思いますし。他の、あの中国人が何とかいうつもりはないですけど、やっぱりちょっと...アグレッシブじゃないですか、中国韓国の方は。それと比べてやっぱり（日本人は）おとなしい、っていうのもあるんで。そう言ったのが積み重なって、結構ポジティブなイメージ（があると思います）。車もあるし、アニメもあるし、まあジャパニーズフードって健康的なイメージもあるし。で、来てる日本人も結構アレだし。っていうので、ポジティブ。...それが歴史的に積み重なって。と、思われます。個人的には。月並みな感想ですけど。

“In South Africa, it is said that more than 10% of the total number of workers, are employed in the manufacturing industry. Of these, the majority are Japanese companies, although there are VW and BMW. Since there are so many (Japanese companies), there are many opportunities to come into contact with them. So, they have a good image. Historically, Japanese companies have always had factories in South Africa as an exporting area, so I think the Japanese who have been here historically have built a positive image. Also, I think it is true that Japanese people are polite and kind. I don't mean to say anything about other Chinese people, but I think that Chinese and Korean people are a bit aggressive. Compared to them, Japanese people are more reserved. The combination of these factors gives us a positive image. There are cars, animation, and Japanese food has a healthy image. And the Japanese who come to Japan are also pretty good. So, it's positive. I don't know what it is, but I think it is a positive image that has been created. I think it is a historical accumulation. I think. Personally. It's just a general idea.”

空港でどこからきたの？って聞かれて「Japan」っていうと、それなりにリスペクトされた対応を、税関とかでもされるなって思って。これをチャイニーズって言った瞬間に、もうスーツケース全部開けろって言われるんじゃないかなっていうのが、すごい感じてて（笑）最後の荷物の後に。だからなんかすごい、そこでのギャップを感じますねー・・。中国もすごいいい人たくさんいるし、私も中国人の友達結構いるんですけど、なんかそのもう、ギャップは感じますね。

“I was asked at the airport, "Where are you from?” and I said "Japan", then I was treated with a certain level of respect, even at customs. And I felt that the moment if I said "Chinese," they would have asked me to open all my suitcases. Yes, so I feel like there is a gap there.... There are many nice people in China, and I have many Chinese friends, but I feel there is a gap.”

The first narrative of informant F may not have necessarily needed to cite the image of Chinese nationals, but it seems that when talking about Japaneseness, Chinese and/or Koreans who share embodied racial experiences were spoken of; second by informant H, the discourse that "Japanese are more privileged or favoured than Chinese" is emphasised, even

though it is not certain how Chinese nationals are actually treated at the airport and other places. In the first quote, it is stated that the high presence of the Japanese themselves and their politeness created a positive image of the Japanese, based on the large number of Japanese companies, but historically Chinese residents are much more numerous in comparison. 10,000-12,000 people around the time of mineral discoveries in the 1870s and 1880s (Park, 2013, p. 136). In the 1990s, there was a massive migration from mainland China, estimated at 350,000 and a half million (ibid). On the other hand, the number of Japanese residents in South Africa in the recent years has generally been around 1,000 to 1,500. Park's (2008, p. 124) research on the Chinese during Apartheid showed that many South Africans could not tell the difference between Chinese and Japanese, and as a result, many Chinese residents were also “treated as white, or at least honorary white” by South African citizens of all colours. It remains to be verified to what extent the differences between Chinese and Japanese claimed by several informants reflect real discrimination against Chinese (excluding Japanese) or a widespread fantasy of anti-Chinese sentiment in the world among Japanese. These sentiments are often disguised in phrases like, "this is what is generally said" or "I have Chinese friends, but..." These often serve to reproduce stereotypes and prejudices against Chinese people and to justify this fantasy of exception that Japanese can be exceptionally treated better than other Asians.

There were surprisingly few remarks about non-white Others apart from the Chinese and/or Asians. Depending on the groups of people with whom the informants usually interacted, the narratives about blacks and whites differed greatly, confirming sometimes conflicting sense-making among Japanese informants. In particular, it was apparent that they chose their words carefully when addressing blacks, but it was possible to hear comments that would indirectly refer primarily to black South Africans. They used terms such as townships, low-income people, and the uneducated. The most common statements were that most of the experiences of being approached by people saying "China," "ching chong chang," or "Asia" were from black people, and there were many narratives of "people from the black community who don't really understand those differences (between Chinese and Japanese)." Many of the informants do not have a positive view of such accusing but seem to recognise that it is something inevitable and that there is nothing they can do about it.

やはり、所得が低いところだと、そのー、仕事を奪われている感があると思うので。なんかそういう差別的な考え方はあると思いますし、そういうところだと、お金ないんで。安い中国製品しか買えないんで、もっと、中国イコール安っぽいってイメージが強いかもしれないですね。（略）うん。チャイニーズ...そうですね。なんか人は、下に人を作りたがるじゃないですか（笑）。なんか、まあ、すごく差別されてきた黒人の人も、だれか差別したくなるんでしょうね、とは思うけど。

中国製は質の悪いっていう噂が、噂っていうかまあ、悪いっていう認識があって、逆に日本のブランドは質がいいっていう認識がありますよね。お金持ちだと、中国でもお金出せばすごく質の高いものがあるっていうのがわかっていると思いますし。うーん、今技術的にも、まあ例えば日本抜いてとか、すごく先進国になっているっていうのは知っているかもしれないので、そういう差別は少ないかもしれないですね。

"I think that in places where incomes are low, there is a sense of being deprived of work. I think there is a kind of discriminatory mindset, and in such places, people don't have money. In such places, people don't have money, so they can only buy cheap Chinese products, which may give them a strong image that China is cheap. ---Yes. Chinese...Yes, that's right. People want to make someone under them, don't they (laughs)? I think, well, I think that even black people who have been discriminated very much, they would want to discriminate someone else, I guess.

There is also a rumour, or perhaps a perception, that Chinese products are of poor quality, while Japanese brands are of good quality. If you are rich, I think you know that even in China, there are very high-quality products available if you pay for them. Well, they may know that China is now a very advanced country in terms of technology, surpassing Japan, for example, so there may be less discrimination."

In this statement, the strategies of justification are utilised. First, the positive narratives of Japan and the negative narratives of China are told as general facts, not as personal opinions. The logic is that it refers mainly to low-income people living in townships, who can only afford (cheap) Chinese products because of their economic level, and therefore blacks discriminate against Chinese people. In addition, the discourses are overlaid with the idea that those who were once discriminated against also want to discriminate against others (because they have been discriminated against). There is no inevitability that buying cheap Chinese goods will lead to prejudice against China/Chinese. The overlaying of the story of income stratification with the historical collective memory of racial groups makes sense of the stereotype of blacks as Asian racists. This discourse that "low-income people (mainly black people) are racists" is common in denial of racism discourses, which deny the existence of racism in the mainstream society and assume that racism is a problem only for the people in the periphery such as poor (Van Dijk, 1992, pp. 99–100). For example, in some European countries, it is often argued that racism is the problem of poor whites (ibid), but here the problem of Chinese racism is imposed on the poor=blacks. Through this strategy, the issue of racism becomes differentiated from any personal prejudices. There is double Othering of the poor blacks and Chinese in this narrative. Whether the discourse of "anti-Chinese sentiment among the poor" itself is an actual phenomenon needs to be verified but the social cognitive

interpretation or mental model of informants about Chineseness is negative in any case. At least, in the researcher's personal experience, when visiting villages in the Eastern Cape Province, which was once part of the Bantustans, I met many people who happily told me that they wanted to go to China one day to shop because they could afford a lot of things at the China Store and that China was a country they admired.

Another interesting point is that it seems that the informants make sense of the meaning of Chinese and Asian differently although the two concepts are sort of overwrapped in the South African context. As was seen by the earlier discussion on the selection of the population groups, most informants were more willing to accept the Asian racial category than they are to accept being categorised as Chinese. However, many informants have puzzled reaction when the question related to the experiences as Asian had been asked as if they had never thought of being Asian. The term Asian seemed to create contradiction and complex affection toward the term Asian which can be connected to Chineseness. Here is a quote from informant B.

おっきいですよね。アジアの括りで考えると。でも・・・、まあ人によってはちょっと、下に見られてたりはするのかな、って思いますやっぱり。言葉が流暢じゃなかったりとか。うーん。そうですね。・・・と、どこでしゃべったのか、聞いたのか覚えてないですけど、やっぱり、中国人の人口が、やっぱりすごく多いので、南アって。非にならないほど。で、やっぱり現場で労働力として来ている人たちもいる訳で、そういう人たちに対してやっぱりさげすんだ、目で見ている人もいるよ、っていうことは聞いたことがありますね。

“It's big, isn't it? If you think about it in the Asian context. But... I guess some people look down on us. Like not being fluent in the (English) language. Hmmm... Yes, that's right. I don't remember where I spoke or heard it, but, as I said, the Chinese population is very large in South Africa. It's so large that it can't be compared to other Asian countries. I have heard that there are people who come to South Africa to work as laborers, and that there are people who look down on such people.”

Asians, especially Chinese are narrated as negative Others, even though this question was meant to understand their lived experiences as a racialised Asian person. In these narratives, rhetoric is used to justify discriminatory treatment of Chinese people due to their lower economic status without individual informants making hateful or racist remarks about China, Chinese, or Asia, which reflect the strategies of justification (Van Dijk, 1992; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). The rhetoric of positive ingroup and negative outgroup is a typical strategy of justification of prejudiced discourses. These often with the “facts” place emphasis on only the positive or negative parts of each group, and have a form of story-telling (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 265). Some of the informant's discourse essentialised the temperament of the Japanese as

docile and the Chinese and Koreans as aggressive (informant H and others). Others described the Japanese as more "優雅" or elegant than the Chinese (informant B). Discourses about Others are often based on the social cognition that is full of contradictions (Van Dijk, 1992, p. 115) as we can see by the inconsistent discursive logic of the negative reputation of the Chinese by some informants. As strategies of justification of prejudice on Chinese, informants may bring up quotes of what other South Africans have said, or generalisations, to justify Chinese being looked down upon, or the rhetoric of apparent admission such as "some Chinese are good people, but..." or "I have Chinese friends, but..." is used (Wodak & Matouschek, 1993, pp. 231–232; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999, pp. 185–186). In addition, some discourses justify the Chinese immigrants on the grounds that they are relatively more likely to be from the working class than the Japanese.

Another popular narrative around Chinese/China related to Japanese informants are about the experiences of being called "Ni hao" or "China" on the street or in shops, and each of their responses were different. Some were angry, others ignored it because they were not Chinese, while others had once responded in that negative way but now softly corrected it. Many people would agree that speaking to a Japanese person in Chinese is a form of misidentification. What can be seen from these statements is that the Chinese are Others to the informants. In addition, almost none of them saw an attack or discriminations on Asians bodies (Asians in the broad sense of the word) as a part of their problems. When othering, groups of those that may pose a threat, in terms of territory, space, housing, employment, norm, value etc., to the ingroup tend to be othered the most (Van Dijk, 1999, p. 115). This may make Chinese as a target of othering by Japanese because Chinese and Japanese embody the same Asian race therefore the Chinese narratives and reputation can be more of a threat to the lives of Japanese than that of either black or white South Africans. In retrospect, such narratives have been repeated. When questioned about the honorary whiteness of the Japanese, the South African Minister of Home Affairs at the time responded to the question of why the Chinese were treated as non-white and the Japanese as white, stating that the Japanese were "eminent visitors," that they were few in number, and that unlike the Chinese and Indians, they had the ability to assimilate (Yamamoto, 2022, pp. 172–175). This discourse differentiates the Japanese from other Asians and non-whites, and to a lesser extent, this may be said to be internalised in the contemporary Japanese population.

Denial of Chineseness

Several informants spoke not only of negative discourses against the Chinese. Some of them even refuse to be seen as identical to Chinese based on the negative narratives of Chinese/China.

ビザが発行しない発端が、かなりの中国系の人が、南ア人ができる仕事のために中国人を呼んできてやっていると。それに対抗するために、何国籍であれ、そのポジションは絶対その人しかできませんみたいな、書類が必要になったんですよね。つまり書類が変わったんですね。で、それは、中国の人がわっと人を引き連れてきちゃうからだっていうのを聞いて。でも日本人はそういうことは本当にしないし、そういうとこの区別をしていかないといけない。ビザのプロセスひとつとっても。こういう話を聞いて、確かになあ、って思ってしまったので。

“He said that the genesis of the visa not being issued was that quite a few Chinese nationals have brought in Chinese nationals to do the work that South Africans can do. In order to counteract this, it became necessary to have a document that said, "Only that person can do that position, no matter what nationality he or she is. In other words, the documentation has changed. I heard that the reason for this was that Chinese people would bring in a lot of people. But Japanese people don't really do that, and we have to make a distinction between the two. Even in the visa process. I thought to myself, "I'm sure that's true.”

まあ、特定の人種で言うと、中国人に対してはそこまで良い感情を抱いてないのかなとは、思いますね。そのプレトリアの例でもいうと、中国人だったらって言うのはありますし。うーんじゃ他に例があるかって言われたらどうだろうなあ。ちょっと自分の偏見かもしれないですね（笑）他に例をあげると…うーん。なんだろう、結構ニーハオって言われるじゃないですか。いや、こんにちはだよって言うと「おお、お前日本人か！」って。ニーハオって言った時よりも結構フレンドリーに接してくれる人がいるので、ちょっとそう言う経験から自分の中で、中国人ってあんまり、受け入れられてないのかなーって思っていたんですけど、今自分で話していて、あまり中国人を否定しているシーンってそういえばないなあって思ってしまいました、すみません。

“Well, in terms of specific races, I don't think they have such good feelings toward the Chinese. In the case of Pretoria, I would say that if I were a Chinese person. Hmmm... Then I wonder if I can give you any other examples. I might be a bit prejudiced (laughs). I don't know... People often say "Ni hao" . When I say, "No, it's Konnichiwa (hello in Japanese)," they say, "Oh, you're Japanese!” and they become more friendly. I had been wondering if Chinese people were not so accepted, but now that I am talking to myself, I don't find myself in a scene where people are denigrating Chinese people. I'm sorry.”

The first comments by informant H emphasise the difference between Japan and China and the refusal to be identified as Chinese. The narrative that “Chinese people are taking jobs from local South Africans” is also popular among Japanese in South Africa. This was mentioned by other informants as well. This often rationalises the essential difference between Chinese and Japanese and gives another reason to refuse being categorised as Chinese. The second example by informant J defines Chinese as a racial group. Here is also the emphasis on the differences between two ethnic/national groups are repeated. The case in Pretoria mentioned in this statement refers to a time in which the informant mistakenly entered into a private property which he had mistaken for a spot for viewing jacarandas.

When the white man who owned the property found out that he was Japanese, he welcomed him and made racist comments against the Chinese and Koreans. Informant J noticed that he could not find any example that Chinese are disliked, except the one he mentioned before. Again, the reality of the treatments toward Chinese people in South Africa were unclear, "Chinese being disliked or anti-Chinese" narratives are popular among Japanese.

Black South Africans as "Other"

It is not only the Chinese who are represented Others by the Japanese informants. The rhetoric of othering is also used for South Africans, but as noted above, the informants' view of (mainstream) South Africa is not homogeneous, but rather they hold the view that it varies according to race and ethnicity. Therefore, even within their narratives, different othering and its implications are made depending on which group of South Africans they are talking about.

As a matter of fact, the better educated segments of the population are more likely to be aware that Japan and China are two different countries, have some knowledge of Japanese culture and at least know 'Konnichiwa' (hello in Japanese). Informant F said he had visited Orania, which is known as an Afrikaner separationist town, and he was glad because people greeted him with 'Konnichiwa' rather than 'Ni hao' when he was there. In South Africa, where race and income levels are correlated, and since to some extent income level and education level are also correlated, it is conceivable that relatively more whites are aware that China and Japan are different countries and may even have different images of each. As I mentioned in the previous section, informant J shared the incident when the white man told him that he would welcome the Japanese because they are nice people, but it would be different if he were Chinese or Koreans. The white South African was reinforcing the discursive contrast between the Japanese and other Asians. On the other hand, Informant G also shared an episode in which she was surprised to hear that the staff at a restaurant thought that China, Korea, and Japan spoke the same language. In my personal experience, too, some young people I meet in the inner cities and townships who have not received higher education think that Japan is a part of China.

Thus, while there are some special positive responses to the Japanese by South Africans in the narratives of Japanese informants, the reality is that for some (or rather majority of) South Africans, the differences between Asians are not particularly recognised. It is possible that more white people differentiate Japanese people from Chinese, which potentially contributes to constructing the discourses that favour whites. In the Japanese social cognitions of othering

Chinese and other Asians, that gives them more positive impressions of those who recognise the differences between Japanese and Chinese and treat them differently, in the case of South Africans, mostly whites.

グローバルな視点とか、そういう感覚がある人は、やっぱり、あの、ジャパニーズとチャイニーズの違い、っていうのも知っていて、やっぱりその、日本人のマティキュラスだ、とかハンブルなところとか、文化は素晴らしい。で、そこはチャイニーズと違うんだ、とかって言ってくれる人もいますし、かた一方でやっぱり、あのー・・・。何だろう、言うと言葉は悪いですけど、ブラックコミュニティのあんまりそういうことを知らない人たちから、みると、「チャイナ！」みたいな（笑）アジア！っていう（笑）

“People who have a global viewpoint and a sense of the world also know the difference between Japanese and Chinese. The Japanese people have a wonderful culture, with its meticulousness and humility. Some people say, "Japanese are different from Chinese in this respect. On the other hand, well... I don't know, it's a bad word to say, but from the point of view of people in the black community who don't know much about that kind of thing, they are like, "China!”” Asia!” (laughs)”

“Black people, as I said before, if they're not educated or anything, it's a "ching chong ching" world to begin with.”

黒人の人たちは、さっきも言った通り教育も受けてなかったりすると、そもそも「チンチョンチャン」の世界だから。

In these two statements by informant B and I, the attributes of being uneducated and low-income are equated with blackness. Each is the statement of a different informant, but both assert that the ignorance of uneducated people and the prejudice that comes with it are inevitable. Both say that they "don't care" about such discrimination and prejudice, “nor do I think it's a microaggression”. These statements justify the racial conducts of black people by othering them and function to mitigate these racial incidents. This also serves to distance themselves from the target of the derogatory words, China or Chinese (Son, 2014, p. 775) by making uneducated black others, who cannot identify the two groups, a factor in this racial incident. Though these discourses, what we recognise the exceptionalism of Japanese by differentiating other racial and ethnic groups, and the normalisation of the exceptionalism toward Japanese.

1.12.8. Denial of whiteness and Japanese superiority

Although aligned with the discourses of negative othering, discourses of othering toward whiteness rather than non-whiteness could also be heard from some informants. It is the essence of identity and subjectivity, but it is constructed with confusion and complexity that cannot be explained by simplistic logic. These narratives introduced as below express the

denial of oppressing nature of whiteness, resistance against domination, and the sense of superiority of Japaneseness.

White South Africans as "Other"

In previous discourses, we have seen the othering of the Chinese and blacks and its exceptionalism, in which informants have emphasised their group's Japaneseness. Although not explicitly stated in this context, a high level of education and politeness have been described as Japaneseness. Some informants do not see whiteness as unconditionally good either, but as a symbol of oppression. In this context, there were also several discourses that othered whiteness.

このサントン中心の日系企業で働いている南ア人の労働者の話を聞いていると、面白いんですけど、我々が、アジア人、日本人が、ヨーロッパ系の白人とは違うと認識していて。だから、あの（日本人には）白人に対する憎悪を向けられないというのは面白いなと思いました。「日本人ていうのはすごいなあ。自分と同じくらい若いのにこんな、マネジャーになって頑張っててすげえな」みたいな、その労働者の中にはそういうリスペクトがある

"It is interesting to hear the stories of South African workers who also work for Japanese companies here in the city centre, and they recognise that we, Asians, Japanese, are different from European whites. And so, I thought it was interesting that the Japanese could not direct their hatred toward whites. There is such respect among the workers, like, 'Wow, Japanese people are so amazing, they are working so hard to become managers even though they are as young as I am'."

サントンに来て、そこそこ教育を受けている人たち（白人）から、日本語って文法のない言語なんでしょ？とかって言われたりだとか、そこそこ教育を受けている人たちの、オリエンタリズムを感じる、ことがすごく・・・ああ、この人たち、すごいアジア人のこと見下してるんだろうなあって（笑）思うことが、ありますね。

"When I came to this city, I was told by some educated (white) people that "Japanese is a language without grammar, right?" I felt the Orientalism of people with a certain level of education. I sometimes feel that these people look down on Asians (laugh).

Several informants had the impression that white South Africans were cold, saying that they felt distanced, informant F described there is "**薄い壁**" or a thin wall, that it was difficult to get along with them, and that they were ignored. Both quotes here are from informant I saying that she originally perceived both whites and Asians to be seen as "white" and "oppressors" by black South Africans, but that she recognised the difference in their respective images when she moved to the city. The impression of being "looked down upon" by whites, as in the second quote, was also seen by other informants, but when these statements were made, it was said with more emphasis on Asianness than Japaneseness.

Informant J who has lived or travelled frequently in Europe says that there is more blatant racism against the “yellow race” in Europe (e.g., being imitated as a monkey) than in South Africa. He felt that he was less likely to be discriminated against because of his Asian/yellow race in South Africa. In both cases, many informants viewed whiteness as others that could also acts in a discriminatory manner against their own group. Together with their experiences in countries other than South Africa and Japan, we see whiteness as Others and their racial identity that is neither black nor white, being constructed.

Another narrative is to regard South Africa including white people, as underdeveloped. Informant D has the longest residence history since the end of Apartheid. She is aware that white supremacy is still in place and says that compared to herself, who was "educated in Japan," South Africans (mainly whites who have been in power since the end of Apartheid) are lazy. In addition to the quote below, many other concerns have been expressed that "EVEN white people don't think about things" and that ″EVEN in 2022, things still haven't improved.″ It is apparent that there is a perception that South African society, as represented by whites, is "behind" Japan and other countries in the year 2022, the present day.

この国の、やっぱカルチャー自体が、まだいまだに好きになれないのね。というのは、みんなレイジー。今でも話すけど、その、まず、その、アパルトヘイトのために、黒人の人たちがね、みんなこう、阻害されたでしょ。それで差別されて、白人がやっぱり偉いと。ね。でいまだにまだそれ残ってるけどね。（略）問題は、じゃあ・・・その私は日本から来て、日本の教育を受けて、私は頭良くないけど、人を助けることは好きだったから、昔から。で、たとえばね、一緒にボランティアやってると、みんなね、その・・・時間を費やすだけで、遅いんだよね。そのやることが。ものをあんまり考えないわけ。例えばもう、こんだけこれをやったらすぐにできるのに、っていうのをしない人たちがまだいるわけ。だから私がどんどん改善したわけ。特に今の若い人たち。ひどいよ。そう融通効かないから。じゃあこれはやったら次どれをっていうのがないわけ。そうだから、そういうのがね、全く変わってない。昔と。だから昔はそれでよかったかもしれないけど。でも私は日本から来て、最初ほんとびっくりした。

“I still don't like the culture of this country. I mean, everyone is lazy. As I still talk about, first of all, because of Apartheid, black people were all inhibited, you know. And then they were discriminated against, and white people are superior. And that (Apartheid or white supremacy) is still there. And that still remains. --- The problem is that...I came from Japan, received a Japanese education, and although I am not very smart, I have always liked to help people. So, for example, when I volunteer with South Africans, they are all...you know...just spending their time, and they are slow. They don't think much. They don't think much. For example, there are still people who don't do things that could be done immediately if they just did this. That's why I have been making improvements. Especially young people today. They are terrible. They are so inflexible. There is no way to say, "Well, if I do this, then which one will I do next? That's why, you know, things like that haven't changed at all. It hasn't changed at all. That may have been fine in the past. But when I came from Japan, I was really surprised at first.”

The discourse here is rather nuanced, with Japan being superior to whiteness. Although there were gradations of distance from whiteness, there were also discourses in which many perceived themselves as different from, and in many cases superior to, white South Africans. It is ambiguous because they see white South Africans and white Europeans as being in a similar category. This narrative may connect to the notion of Japanese superiorly to other racial and ethnic groups including white South Africans and the resistance against discrimination and domination by whiteness.

1.12.9. Honorary whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa

Lastly, I will address the honorary whiteness in the narratives of the informants. While discussing of the positionality and experiences in post-Apartheid South Africa, the notion of racial positionality of Japanese informants holds honorary whiteness, between white and black binary social construction, and the notion of being an exception as a Japanese. I attempt to use the Bonilla-Silva's (2004) tri-racial system to analyse the informants' discourses on the transnational experiences of immigrating from Japan to South Africa and establishing an honorary white identity within the dominant dichotomy of whiteness and blackness in the context of post-Apartheid South Africa. On the other hand, based on their collective memories and social perceptions in their native Japan, I point out the discourse and its impact of isolating themselves from the negative and discriminatory nuances encompassed by the term "China" by othering the Chineseness (Asianness).

First, a tri-racial system originally explains the recent racial system of the post racial society in the north American context. Instead of the traditional black-white binary racial system, tri-racial system was proposed as a result of the increase of the population that is in-between black and white, such as Asian, Latino or Middle Eastern. These groups occupy the position of honorary whites, as an intermediary group which functions as a kinder and gentler form of white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Ramsaran, 2022). Honorary whites are defined by the colour of their skin and the level of assimilation to whites, which is basically the proximity to whiteness. In the American context, some people feel that whiteness is threatened by the fact that America is becoming "darker" with the increase in diverse immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, and South America, in addition to blacks who were once taken as slaves. However, Yancey (Yancey, 2003) says that a society becoming more diverse and accepting of more non-whites is not necessarily a crisis for whiteness or necessarily involved. Rather, he says that whiteness is strengthened when non-whites who become honorary white internalise universalised whiteness. As Bonilla-Silva (2004) states, racially diverse societies

also allow people to have honorary whiteness. In this case, whiteness is defined not only by skin colour but also the social attitudes and social class. This resonates new racism (cultural racism or neo-racism) that emphasises cultural differences rather than biological differences (Ramsaran, 2022, p. 275), and it is not about legal frameworks neither as well as honorary whiteness. According to tri-racial system, honorary whiteness can be explained by how assimilated non-white people play a role in reproducing to whiteness and to denying blackness by internalising the power structure including the racial logic itself. Many of the discourses of othering toward non-whites in this study can be understood to include honorary whiteness, as they overlap with claims of their own whiteness. Although this system is not referred to in the South African context much, similar populational shifts might be happening in post-Apartheid South Africa, which has traditionally been identified by the binary categorisation of white and non-white.

In addition, Japaneseness is fraught with complexities that cannot be understood solely in terms of in-betweenness or honorary whiteness in a binary black-white system, using a triracial system. It is the denial of Chineseness (or Asianness) that can be seen repeatedly in the informants' narratives as well as a denial of blackness. In order to unpack the complex and fluid Japanese positionality, I can see by analysing how the favourable aspects of Japaneseness are emphasised in the positive in-group and negative out-group discourses, while the other Chineseness is not only othered but also demonised. When the informants talk about the image of Japan in South Africa, most of them mentioned its positive aspect if not negative. Some stated that "there is not that much special treatment," but in that case it was in the context of "in South Africa, people don't feel that good about being Japanese" compared to the friendlier treatment in other countries outside of South Africa, and in general, "the Japanese have a positive image in the world," which is the common perception among Japanese. Few recognise these positive treatments as their privilege because these are normalised. Their understanding of cultural superiority and superior geopolitical socioeconomic positionality of Japan justifies these favourable treatments. It goes without saying that the favourable treatment of Japanese nationals is not all imagination but is based on informants' lived experiences. This can also be seen by the fact that Japanese passports have the world's top level of credibility in the world passport rankings. There is nothing wrong in having a positive self-image and positive national identity, however, this notion of positive reputation of Japanese can be problematic if it is supported by the construction of the negative Others. Here I will introduce an insightful incident in Bangladesh in 2016. On July 1, 2016, 22 people, including seven Japanese, were killed when Islamic extremist militants

attacked a restaurant in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. According to eyewitnesses, a male Japanese aid worker who was present at the restaurant yelled, "I am Japanese, don't shoot".[3] This Japanese expatriate was murdered after his cries were heard in vain. Terrorism and murder in any form are not acceptable, but the assertion of Japaneseness in this predicament shows a strong belief in its nationality and in Japanese exceptionalism. If the Japanese do not deserve to be murdered, they may unconsciously recognise the existence of Others who may deserve to be murdered. The following comment was written by a Japanese media reporter covering the Middle East, quoted in a news article about this incident in Dhaka.

今回のダッカ事件でも、日本政府は「日本はあなたたちを殺したことはない。なぜ、日本人を殺すのか」と、日本人が殺害されたことの不当性を「イスラム世界」に対して訴えるべきである。

"In this Dhaka incident, the Japanese government should (also) appeal to the "Islamic world" about the injustice of the murder of Japanese people, by saying, "Japan has never killed you. Why are you killing Japanese people?"

In this context, the claim that the Japanese, unlike the West, have not invaded the Islamic world or murdered Muslims is a reason why the Japanese should not be killed. Although the Bangladeshi example is a digression from the South African context, when I consider that, like the murdered expatriate in Dhaka, the Japanese informants are transnationals who are native speakers of Japanese and have spent much of their lives in the Japanese context, there is some degree of shared social cognitions regarding the understanding of Japaneseness. In the narratives of Japanese informants living in South Africa, the Chinese, who were recognised as Others, were mentioned as being discriminated against, and the reasons were justified by their relatively low social class and cultural inferiority. There is exploitation and demonisation of Others behind the justification for favourable treatment of the Japanese as for whiteness exists with blackness as oppressed Others. In addition, I would like to point out that even if the informants deny their Chineseness, an embodied racial experience is

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[3] Yasunori Kawakami, ダッカ事件「私は日本人だ」の訴えを無にするな, Newsweek, 2016/7/7 https://www.newsweekjapan.jp/kawakami/2016/07/post-18.php

APF News, Night of terror in Dhaka left 'bodies in a terrible state', Yahoo! News, 2016/7/4 https://sg.news.yahoo.com/night-terror-dhaka-left-bodies-terrible-state-134529229.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAKglaumM2Yv8M5NNEwT5ojKlhq6VazrgxbCKRDZxTtQQw8ktvpT5KJ5ohJF5PsnX4QcEWePhXWcjwHc2zwv9q9ylBfYiF19fU4f1DRv9ZgiSnJCsaQmoi0upNHf9uP_mjPMjovkZG_RQOaf2X9L-C7m4Z9N9r7-W3KBIwe1jMzAG

inevitable. Many informants are aware that Asians and Chinese are looked down upon (often by whites). Othering and denying Asianness and/or Chineseness and assigning exceptional meaning to Japaneseness do not eliminate discrimination and prejudice against Asians. Although Japanese informants themselves have negative racial experiences (e.g., being called ching chong chan), many of them mitigate the discrimination by justifying it as "Chinese are known for labour workers taking jobs from South Africans" or "black are uneducated". Rather, I would like to point out that many Japanese are complicit in reproducing that negative discourse against Asians and Chinese, which in turn causes negative experiences against the Japanese themselves.

Conclusion

This research is a form of self-reflective process because I myself can be one of the informants. As I mentioned in the introduction, I sometime felt my positionality in post-Apartheid South Africa and Japanese communities are liminal and struggle to find out where I should speak from. In this deeply racialised country, South Africa, it is inevitable to use racial lens to make sense of its society, but the positionality of Asian has been ambiguous. Those who were categorised as Asian during Apartheid were mainly those who were of Indian descents. Embodied East-Asian race, which often describes the Chinese race, were not Asian but mostly Coloured at that time, but the term Asia often suggests someone with East Asian and Chinese appearance today. The positionality of Asian/East Asians is also diverse. In South Africa, Chinese people were once called Chinese Coolies and categorised as Coloured, while Japanese obtained the status of honorary whites, while South Korea refused to have a diplomatic relationship with the Apartheid government. The historical trauma between East Asian countries including Japanese imperialism also constructs different realities among East-Asians. The complex intersection and liminality of racial and ethnic positionality are still alive today, and which have been reflected in the narratives and discourses of the informants. Analysis of intersection with other social categories such as gender could be theoretically conducted but there are few significant discourses found in the data gathered for this study. Japaneseness may also reflect the reality of Asians in upper-middle class expanding the survey to Chinese residents and Korean residents with various roots may potentially provide different insights, but this study is focused on Japanese positionality. In this research process, the desire to be neutral falling into colour blindness, and liminal and contradict nature of Japanese identity, between Asianness, Chineseness, Japaneseness, and whiteness has been unpacked.

Liminal status and neutrality can be intertwined as a concept. Racial neutrality is often described with the ideology of colour blindness (Coram & Hallinan, 2017; Curry & Curry, 2018; Garces, 2020) because this notion of positionality overlooks the power inequality between different racial groups. As both tri-racial system that explains the role of “honorary whites” in the post-racial society and colour blindness are introduced by Bonilla-Silva (2004). Those who exist in-between tend to blindly accept the existing power structure and reinforce it. Racism is known as morally and even scientifically wrong today, and very few people can officially claim racially discriminatory remarks in apparent forms. The informants in this study are also against and deny racism and Apartheid on the surface while at the same

time recognise and essentialise the racial and ethnic differences in their narratives. The interesting link is that psychological pitfalls that encourage discrimination by denying racism can also be seen in the Japanese history. The Empire of Japan and its officials were continuously facing racial discrimination in the white dominated international politics. The government at that time officially claim ani-racism against Asian/Japanese exclusion movement or yellow peril movement (Oguma, 1995, p. 167) and submitted the Racial Equality Proposal in 1919. Ironically, however, some Japanese intellectual started differentiating Japanese from the West by describing themselves as a more peaceful nation without racial discrimination because the Japanese imperial project was not concerned with conquering other racial groups nor segregating others but would be achieved by assimilation, which makes Japan superior to the West (Oguma, 1995, pp. 42, 120, 326). These claims focus only on redressing the imbalance of power between the Japanese themselves and West or whiteness, ignoring the violent nature of the Japanese towards non-Western Others/other Asians. What these pre-war and wartime narratives show is that denying racism, as represented by colour blindness and racial neutrality, is not enough to prevent racial injustice and the violation and exploitation of power over the racial and ethnic others. Those that can be in a liminal position can themselves become complicit in violence and injustice, insofar as they have some power or access to it.

As Oguma's (1995) research unveiled, the Empire of Japan separated Japaneseness from Asianness through showing its proximity to the West (whiteness) by exemplifying the theory claiming that the Japanese had white ancestors (pp. 172). At the same time, it asserted Pan-Asianism, emphasising non-white Asianness and kept differentiating themselves from the West. This fundamental contradiction is certainly alive in the discourse of Japanese people living today. This notion of exception, honorary whiteness as a form of fantasy of exception (Young, 2009), is still shared among Japanese. Especially in the context of post-Apartheid South Africa, the differences between Chinese and Japanese tend to be emphasised, which is probably because of the vague definition of "Asian" in the South African history and the presence of Chinese community that can influence the lived experiences of Japanese expatriates/immigrants. Honorary whiteness does exist in post-Apartheid South Africa. It appears to counter discrimination and in fact legitimises exceptional privileges to a limited range of Japanese ingroup, which accepts and even reinforces discrimination and negative discourses against Chinese outgroups and other non-whites. Honorary whiteness acts as a reinforcement of the status quo, not resistance. At the same time, the experiences of being othered, orientalised and discriminated by white Others, and the oppressive aspect of

whiteness makes white South African Others for Japanese. The fluid and complex negotiation of identity between whiteness can be observed by facing treatments as white by certain groups of people in South Africa, which sometime deny its whiteness.

Japaneseness can go beyond the boundary because of its liminal status. Being in post-Apartheid South Africa, a foreign country for many Japanese, and being positioned between the black-white binary can make Japanese expatriates/migrants transcend the boundary. In the South African context, it may be a privilege of liminality to have access to both whiteness and blackness. Discourses narrated by the informants that are ambiguous, fluid, complex, and sometimes conflicting may be said to represent the nature of identity. Identity and positionality are multiple and fluid even if it is not liminal. Liminal identities can both resist and pander to power. If liminality is considered a bystander position, a choice must be made as to which stance to take. Honorary whiteness is the result of internalising that power and violence while denying it, often seeming to resist the power but the consequence is to support existing power structures. Social identity, which is often supported by historical trauma and collective memory, is a cognition rooted in the society rather than the individuals. Unpacking its effects will be essential to creating a more just society. It is important to work on understanding social identities such as national/ethnic identities in a liminal status. This is because having an in-betweenness also means being "neither" which entails a process of Othering. In the process, from a liminal position, one can become both a subject and an object of oppression. At the same time, however, I believe that resistance from a liminal position can be the key to dismantle the existing power structures because the liminality allows people to make a decision which stance they will take.

Recommendations for future studies

In this study, I examined the concepts of liminal identity and honorary whiteness through the lens of Japanese immigrants and expatriates, serving as case studies. There is a notable gap in research exploring liminality within the racial/ethnic power structure, not only limited to Japanese informants but also encompassing immigrants from China, other Asian countries, and Chinese South Africans from mainland China and Taiwan, who have resided in South Africa for several generations. Comprehensive understanding of post-Apartheid South African society and deconstruction of the power structure necessitates a multilingual and intensive exploration that takes into account diverse racial/ethnic perspectives. I firmly believe that it is imperative to prioritise the examination of intersecting factors such as

gender, sexuality, class and disability, as they contribute to a nuanced understanding of these dynamics.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet（インタビュー調査についての情報書）

研究タイトル:ポスト南アフリカにおける日本人のアイデンティティの境界性

Research title: Liminality of identities of Japanese in post-Apartheid South Africa

南アフリカ、ヨハネスブルグにある University of the Witwatersrand(ウィッツ大学) にて、Critical Diversity Studies コースの修士課程に在籍しております、伴優香子と申します。日本国籍で、3 年ほど前から南アフリカに住んでおり、1 年半前から本大学で 研究をしています。修士論文のテーマとして、ポストアパルトヘイトの日本人のアイ デンティティについて調査をしており、その一環としてインタビューを実施したく存 じます。この調査では、日本国籍保有者が国境を越え南アフリカへの移住を通して、 どのような体験をし、自分自身のアイデンティティをどうとらえているのか(アイデ ンティティ交渉)、特にナショナルアイデンティティ(日本人であること)に着目し ています。

My name is Yukako Ban and I am currently a Masters student in the field of Diversity Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. I am a Japanese who has been living and studying in South Africa for the past year and a half. In fulfillment of my degree, I am conducting a research study on the experiences of Japanese expatriates/migrants in South Africa. My research intends to reflect upon how individuals of Japanese nationality experience the transnational migration to South Africa, and negotiate and make sense of their identity including national identity and other parts of identities.

この調査の目的は以下の 3 点です。

- 母国と移住先の国、アジア人であることと日本人であること、南アフリカの人種区分などさまざまなカテゴリーの境界に位置する日本人のアイデン ティティが、どのようにゆらぎ、解釈されていくのかの分析を試みる
- さまざまな立場で南アフリカ暮らす日本人の皆さんの経験やアイデンティ ティの多様さ、共通性から、「日本人」というアイデンティティを再考す る
- 国家間を越える移動が当たり前になり、またデジタルツールの発展により国境を越えて人と繋がることが容易となった世界で、トランスナショナルな経験とアイデンティティの在り方の関わりに関する考察を試みる

The aim of the research is to:

- To analyse how Japanese identity fluctuates and is interpreted at the “threshold” of various categories (liminality), such as home and host countries, being Asian and being Japanese, and among the categories of population groups in South Africa.
- To reconsider the identity of 'Japanese' in light of the diversity and commonality of the experiences and identities of Japanese people living in South Africa from different perspectives.

- To consider the transnational identity in a world where transnational mobility has become commonplace and the development of digital tools has made it easier to connect with people across national borders.

この調査は、アパルトヘイト後に南アフリカに移住し、1 年以上経過した日本語を母 語とする日本国籍保有者を対象としており、該当する方にはぜひ、この機会に本研究 に参加いただきたいと考えております。この調査は、研究者との日本語による 1 対 1 のインタビューによって行われ、所要時間は 1 時間半から 2 時間ほどです。インタビ ューは基本的にオンラインで実施しますが、ハウテン州内であれば、直接研究者が赴 き、対面で実施することも可能です。インタビュー実施期間は 2022 年 10 月中旬ま で、日時は研究者との個別調整で決定されます。

参加していただく場合、あなたの同意と機密保持は尊重され 研究過程と報告書などす べてに応じて、あなたの身元は完全に匿名に保たれます。あなたの参加は完全に任意 であり、インタビューや報告書の中でいくつかの質問には答えないという選択も可能 です。また、この研究への参加はいつでも辞退することができます。この場合、いか なる罰則もありません。 この研究の結果は、研究者の学位論文に使用され、ウィッツ大学のデータベースを通 してオンラインで公開される予定です。インタビューの音声は研究の分析のために録音されますが、論文公開後に削除されます。文字起こしをしたテキストは、個人情報 を除いたうえで、パスワードによって保護された状態で、ハードディスク上に保管さ れます。

本調査や参加に関して、ご質問やご意見、ご不明な点がございましたら、お気軽にお 問い合わせください。

The survey is aimed at Japanese nationals who immigrated to South Africa after apartheid and have been living in the country for at least one year and are native speakers of Japanese, and we would like to take this opportunity to invite those who fall into this category to participate in this study. The study is conducted through one-to- one interviews in Japanese with the researcher, which last between one and a half and two hours. The interviews are generally conducted online, but can also be conducted face-to-face by the researcher in person within Gauteng. The interviews will take place during August 2022 and the date and time will be determined by individual arrangement with the researcher.

If you choose to participate, your consent and confidentiality will be highly respected and your identity will be kept completely anonymous throughout the research process and reports. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may choose not to answer any questions that may arise during the interviews or in the reports. You can also withdraw from participation in this study at any time. In this case, you will not be penalised in any way.

The results of this study will be used in my dissertation, which will be published online through the University of the Witwatersrand database. Audio recordings of the interviews will be taken for analysis of the study, but will be deleted after publication of the thesis. The transcribed text will be stored on my hard disk, minus any personal details, and protected by a password.

If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the study or your participation, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Appendix B: Consent form （同意書）

この度は、研究へのご協力を検討いただきありがとうございます。
下記事項をしっかりとお読みいただき、同意いただけるものをご選択ください。

——

・研究者・伴優香子による、南アフリカの日本人のアイデンティティに関する調査を説明する書類（インタビュー調査についての情報書）に目を通した。
I have read the letter provided by the researcher, Yukako Ban, which outlines that this study is about the liminality of identity of Japanese in South Africa
☐はい ☐いいえ

・18 歳以上である。
I am 18 years of age or older.
☐はい ☐いいえ

・調査に協力することは、研究者との 1 対 1 のインタビュー（1 時間ほど）が含まれることを了解している。
I understand that my participation will include taking part in an interview (for about one hour) in Japanese with the researcher which will last for about one and half to two hours
☐はい ☐いいえ

・この調査への参加は任意で、答えたくない質問があった場合、拒否することが可能だと理解している。
I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and I can opt--out of answering any questions or withdraw entirely from the study at any time without repercussions:

・インタビューが録音されることを了承している。
I understand that this interview will be audio recorded:
☐はい ☐いいえ

・調査に協力することで、個人情報が公開されたり、調査結果が反映される論文にて個人が特定されることがないよう配慮されることを理解している。
I understand that my identity will remain anonymous through the use of a pseudonym and all potentially identifying factors will be changed in the research report to protect my anonymity
☐はい ☐いいえ

・今回の調査を反映した論文が、最終的にウィッツ大学（University of the Witwatersrand）のデータベースにて公開されることを理解している。

I understand that my participation in this study will result in a research report which will be available online through the University of the Witwatersrand database:

☐はい　　☐いいえ

・記録された録音音声は、論文公開後に削除されるが、文字起こしは個人情報を削除したうえで、ハードディスク上に保管されることを理解している。

I understand that audio recordings will be deleted after the publication of the research and transcripts of the interview will be saved on the researcher's personal password-locked computer and a password-locked computer

☐はい　　☐いいえ

・今回の調査に協力することに同意する。

I consent to participating in this study through the interview

☐はい　　☐いいえ

・今回のインタビューの発言を、直接引用することに同意する。（※）

※直接引用とは、発言内容をそのまま引用すること

I consent to the researcher's use of direct quotes from this interview

☐はい　　☐いいえ

氏名/Name

ご署名/Signature

日付/Date：　　年　　月　　日

Appendix C: Questionnaire（質問書）

- 南アフリカ在住歴、加えてこれまでの経歴について簡単に教えてください。
  Please tell us briefly about your history of living in South Africa, your background and language level.

- 南アフリカに来て一番驚いたことは何ですか？
  What surprised you the most when you came to South Africa?

- あなたの思う南アフリカの良いところ・悪いところは何ですか？
  What do you think are the best and worst things about South Africa?

- 南アフリカに移住してから、南アフリカやアフリカに関する見方など変化しましたか？どのように変化しましたか？
  Have your views on South Africa or Africa changed since moving to South Africa? How have they changed?

- 南アフリカで出会う、南アフリカ人や他の人種民族についてどう思いますか？
  What do you think about South Africans and other ethnic groups you meet in South Africa?

- 南アフリカで差別にあったことがありますか？不当だ、不快だと感じる扱いを受けたことがありますか？（人種、ジェンダー、年齢など、どんなことでも構いません）
  Have you ever experienced discrimination in South Africa? Have you ever been treated in a way that you felt was unfair or offensive? (Any race, gender, age, etc.)

- 南アフリカの生活ではどんなコミュニティと接することが多いですか？
  What kind of community do you tend to interact with in your life in South Africa?

    - 日本人コミュニティと過ごすことが多いですか？それはなぜですか？それについてどう考えますか？
      Do you spend most of your time with the Japanese community? Why is that? What do you think about that?

    - 日本人以外のコミュニティと過ごすことが多いですか？それはなぜですか？それについてどう考えますか？
      Do you spend most of your time with non-Japanese community? Why is that? What do you think about that?

- 南アフリカの書類手続きなどで、人種を選択するときにどうしていますか？またその時どう感じますか？
  What do you do when you have to choose your race (population groups) in the South African paperwork process? How do you feel about it?

- 日本人として南アフリカで暮らすことについてどう感じていますか？
  How do you feel about living in South Africa as a Japanese?

- 南アフリカに移住してから、日本への見方、日本人であるということについて考えが変わりましたか？
  Have your views on Japan and being Japanese changed since moving to South Africa?

- 南アフリカで、日本人でよかったと思うことはありますか？
  Are there any things you are glad about being Japanese in South Africa?

- 南アフリカで、アジア人でよかったと思うことはありますか？
  Are there any things you are glad about being Asian in South Africa?